# Mediterranean

# Journal

## *of*

# Educational

# Studies

## AIMS OF THE JOURNAL

The *MJES* is a biannual refereed international journal with a regional focus. It features educational research carried out in Mediterranean countries, as well as educational studies related to the diaspora of Mediterranean people world-wide. The journal offers a forum for theoretical debate, historical and comparative studies, research and project reports, thus facilitating dialogue in a region which has strong and varied educational traditions. There is an important international dimension to this dialogue, given the profile of the Mediterranean in the configuration of the new world order, and the presence of Mediterranean peoples in Europe, North America and elsewhere. The *MJES* is of interest to scholars, researchers and practitioners in the following fields: comparative education, foundation disciplines in education, education policy analysis, Mediterranean studies, cultural and post-colonial studies, area studies, intercultural education, peace education, and migrant studies.

**Editorial correspondence**, including manuscripts for submission, should be addressed to Ronald G. Sultana, Mediterranean Journal of Educational Studies, Faculty of Education, University of Malta, Msida MSD 06, Malta. Tel. (+356) 32902936; Fax. (+356) 336450; Email: <gsul@unimt.mt>. Books for review should be sent to Peter Mayo at the same MJES address.

# M.J.E.S.    Mediterranean Journal of Educational Studies

## CONTENTS                          Volume 1  Number 1  1996

*"Le monde méditerranéen est depuis des siècles le lieu de rencontres fécondes entre civilisations diverses. Mais c'est aussi une aire de fracture, d'affrontements graves et de conflits. Les séquelles du colonialisme, les déséquilibres économiques et démographiques, l'évolution des attitudes religieuses rendent aujourd'hui la situation très préoccupante dans cette partie du monde.*

*Il est évident que l'apaisement et la résolution de ces conflits dépendent en premier lieu de la compréhension mutuelle et de l'esprit de tolérance, lesquels sont favorisés par l'éducation. C'est pourquoi je salue avec enthousiasme le lancement d'une* Revue Méditerranéenne d'Education. *Il est très particulièrement prometteur qu'elle ait son siège en ce carrefour fertile qu'est Malte"*

*Georges Duby*
*Académie Française.*

# EDITORIAL FOREWORD

## THE MEDITERRANEAN, EDUCATION AND THE MILLENNIUM

RONALD G. SULTANA

**W** e are pleased to bring to our readers the inaugural issue of the *Mediterranean Journal of Educational Studies*.

The *MJES* is a unique initiative in the Mediterranean, and constitutes part of a wider project of the *Mediterranean Education Programme* that has, as an overall and guiding purpose, the following aim:

> *"To develop South-South and South-North dialogue in the field of education, and through this, to enhance the possibility of mutual understanding and co-operation among Mediterranean and other people in the various spheres of life".*

The other elements of the *Mediterranean Education Programme* that contribute to the achievement of the goal just outlined are the Mediterranean Education Network/ *Réseau Méditerranéen de l'Education* (La *MER*), the *Mediterranean Education Documentation Centre*, and the annual *Selmun Seminar*. Details regarding these and other Mediterranean education activities are provided in the concluding sections of this inaugural issue. The present editorial introduction constitutes a statement of purpose for the *MJES*, placing the journal within the context of the larger events that currently structure and mark the Mediterranean region.

### The Mediterranean: the 20th century and beyond

The timeliness of this set of inter-related initiatives, and of the *MJES* in particular, becomes immediately evident when we consider the increasing importance of the Mediterranean region in the current global climate. The configuration of the world order in the aftermath of 1989 has seen an increasing emphasis placed on a North-South axis as the integration of the Eastern bloc into the West becomes not only an ideological, but also a material reality. The Mediterranean has become one of the regional contexts where the North meets the South, and where increasingly the need is felt to develop an understanding of different perspectives, cultures and interests. Because of the intensification of the processes of political, economic and cultural interaction, as well as due to the movement for European integration which tends to restructure - and at times strengthen - the boundaries between those that are members of the Union and those that are not, countries bordering on the Mediterranean Sea are looking for a sense of identity and for unity. They had, of course, known a unity in earlier times, when, to use the words of one of the most renowned scholars of the region, *"in the Mediterranean to live was to exchange"* - whether this exchange involved persons, ideas, ways of life, beliefs...or habits of courtship (Braudel 1992: 548, 550). But much of this unity had, by the seventeenth century, given way to

discord as the region lost its role as the economic and cultural power-house of Europe, and became instead the site where imperialistic ambitions of the industrialising North were played out.

*Axis of difference*

Since then, the Mediterranean has been associated rather more with rifts than with cohesion. The geographical Mediterranean is clearly divided into distinguishable sub-regions, so that we can speak of the 'north' and 'south' Mediterranean as we can speak of the 'east' and the 'west'. Globally, the region is made up of twenty states if one had to include Portugal, and covers 3 million square kilometers. It is the home of 500 million inhabitants, representing 8% of the world's population. 200 million of these Mediterraneans are Arabs, and in all, over 200 languages are spoken around the basin (see Grenon & Batisse 1989; Luciani 1984; and ICM 1995a). The 'north Mediterranean' countries - what are referred to as the 'Latin arc' countries or, significantly, 'southern Europe' - are, for instance, distinguishable from the countries in the south of the basin by several of the commonly used indicators of development. They generally have a faster rate of industrial development (though still 'less developed' when compared to northern Europe) and have high literacy rates. Despite progress in the south Mediterranean countries, there were still between 5 to 34% of students who were still not receiving a primary education in 1991, with high illiteracy rates for several Maghreb and Machrek countries such as Morocco (50.5%) and Tunisia (34.7%) in 1990 (Gizard 1992; UNESCO 1995).

The Latin arc is moreover characterised by a low birth rate regime, the lowest being those of Italy and France with 1.3 and 1.8 children per woman respectively. In contrast, the south is a demographic time bomb of another sort, with high birth rates that are topped by Libya, with 6.7 children per woman (Regnault 1992). Algeria and Morocco have doubled their populations since the French retreat, and Egypt will double its population in twenty five years. The annual per capita income is less than $1000 in the 'south', while that of the 'north' is at least ten times as much. One could also speak of a 'south' that 'exports' migrant workers, and of a 'north' (and 'west') Mediterranean that receives them; of a 'south' that is a home for Islam, and of a 'north' (and 'west') that is steeped in Catholicism, even if this is a secularised version; and of a 'north' that is increasingly integrating in the 'new' economic and political bloc, the European Union, and of a 'south' that is excluded.

Similarly, the 'east' Mediterranean countries - the Levant - face challenges that are different to those which trouble the 'western' sector of the basin, and that are decisively lodged in the geo-political context that can be more meaningfully and appropriately called Middle Eastern, or, if we took a north-easterly direction, Balkan. Whether we look to the north, south, east or west, we note the rise of fundamentalist movements within the three monotheistic religions of the region, movements which emphasise separatism rather than solidarity in the Mediterranean.

*Axis of cohesion*

Given these differences and division, it is not surprising that organisations such as the World Bank prefer to disaggregate countries of the basin and to organise them around more immediately significant economic or geographical units. As Fernand Braudel's path-breaking *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (first published in 1949) points out: *"It would be difficult to recognise any unity in this dense, composite and ill-defined world (i.e. the Mediterranean)...other than that of being the meeting place of many peoples, and the melting-pot of many histories"* (Braudel 1992: 171). But it was the same Braudel who most forcefully pointed out the climactic arch that gives the Mediterranean region its permanence and continuity. According to Braudel, the Mediterranean climate, stretching as it does from the northern limit of the olive tree to the northern limit of the palm tree, exercises a unifying influence that has a social, besides geographical referent. Braudel (1992:172, 178) in fact argues that

> *it is significant that at the heart of this human unit, occupying an area smaller than the whole, there should be a source of physical unity, a climate, which has imposed its uniformity on both landscape and ways of life...It is a matter of some importance to the historian to find almost everywhere within his (sic) field of study the same climate, the same seasonal rhythm, the same vegetation, the same colors and, when the geological architecture recurs, the same landscapes, identical to the point of obsession; in short, the same ways of life...a native of the Mediterranean, wherever he might come from would never feel out of place in any part of the sea.*

That inner soul is the result not only of ecological continuities, but also of mutual influence among the peoples of the region. And referring to a more contemporary world, Davis (1977: 255) has argued that the intensity of contact has carried over from the past, so that *"Over the millennia it has proved impossible for Mediterranean people to ignore each other. They have conquered, colonised, converted...the contacts are perpetual and inescapable"*. It is this constant factor of interaction, borrowing, diffusion and acculturation that are - at least partly - responsible for the homogeneity of the Mediterranean.

It fell to anthropologists and social scientists to explore the extent to which one could speak of the present Mediterranean reality as a social system, an attempt which less than a decade and a half ago was considered to be 'new and controversial' (Gilmore 1982: 175). Under the influence of authors such as Pitt-Rivers (1963), Peristiany (1965, 1968, 1976a, 1977b), Wolf (1969), Gellner (1977), the Schneiders (1976), Davis (1977) and Boissevain (1976, 1979), a pan-Mediterranean focus was developed in order to explore Mediterranean distinctiveness around unifying themes. Their studies suggest - controversially - that a relatively uniform Mediterranean ecology led to an aggregate of sociocultural traits which Gilmore (1982), drawing on a variety of sources, lists (and here I both paraphrase and quote) as follows:

A strong urban orientation; a corresponding disdain for the peasant way of life and for manual labor; sharp social, geographic, and economic stratification; political instability and a history of weak states; 'atomistic' community life; rigid sexual segregation; a tendency toward reliance on the smallest possible kinship units (nuclear families and shallow lineages); strong emphasis on shifting, ego-centered, noncorporate coalitions; an honor-and-shame syndrome which defines both sexuality and personal reputation; ...intense parochialism and intervillage rivalries; communities are marked off by local cults of patron saints who are identified with the territorial unit; general gregariousness and interdependence of daily life characteristic of small, densely populated neighbourhoods, where patterns of institutionalised hostile nicknaming abounds, where the evil eye belief is widespread, and where religion plays an important institutionalised political role, as do priests, saints, and holy men. Marriage patterns, while superficially varied, signal the unity of the Mediterranean through the practice of the dowry. And there are important similarities in politics also, with weak bureaucracies at the national level leading to unstable democratic regimes, often alternating with dictatorships of both Right and Left. At the micropolitical level, this emphasis on informal personal power rather than formal institutions is reflected in the reliance on patronage, with clientage being the preferred form of adaptation to social inequality in the region.

Over and above these Mediterranean 'traits' - which seem to have evolved due to internal contacts which are both historical and contemporary, and which tend to germinate around the basin due to a similar eco-environment - others have emphasised the identity of the Mediterranean region in terms of a shared subjugation to external economic pressures. Authors such as Yachir (1989) and Amin and Yachir (1988) take a political economic approach to the Mediterranean, and draw on Wallerstein's world-systems analysis with its emphasis on centre-periphery relations, or on Santos' theorisation of semi-peripheral societies, in order to argue that what is quintessentially Mediterranean is not the result of local or regional conditions, but rather more a direct response to 'de-development' by the core powers.

## Regional identity-formation in the *Mare Nostrum*

How, therefore, can we make sense of the centrifugal and centripetal tendencies that mark the Mediterranean region? One way of tackling this question is to consider 'regions' as constructs rather than as 'facts'. This should not be difficult to understand in a decade which has seen the overt intensification of the creation of a region called 'Europe' which, while historically and even culturally disparate, became a 'region' - or a system containing unities - under the influence of conquering armies, Christian mysticism, merchant traders, and captains of industry. At different moments in history, it has been politically and economically expedient to focus on the similarities or the differences that mark the old continent, and to use specific constructs of 'Europe' to include or exclude groups of people and whole nations. Indeed, 'Europe' is constructed

differently by diverse organisations such as the European Union, the Council of Europe and UNESCO, and behind these varied constructions lie important ideological, political and economic considerations. In other words, a 'region' should not be considered in a reified manner: it can become one, or fail to become one, as a result of vested interests by those doing the naming.

Several initiatives in diverse fields are indicating the extent to which the Mediterranean region is surfacing again as an important actor in the international arena, and that it is in the process of identity-formation. 1994, for instance, saw the European Council of Heads of State and Government meet in Corfu in order to give political impetus towards a new partnership with the Mediterranean. That Euro-Mediterranean partnership, confirmed more recently at meetings in Essen and Cannes, gave rise to a series of Association Agreements aiming at invigorating multilateral process of political, economic and social dialogue between the European Union and its twelve Mediterranean partners. In 1995, the Amman Summit tried to revive the idea of setting up a Middle East and North African Regional Bank, and the Crans-Montana Forum met in Malta, bringing together heads of states, ministers, governors of central banks, diplomats and academics to discuss issues related to security challenges in the Mediterranean, co-operation between North and South, and the democratic process and human rights in the countries around the Mediterranean. Much the same themes have been discussed at the two meetings of the Interparliamentary Conference on Security and Co-Operation in the Mediterranean (CSCM) which took place in 1992 and 1995 in Malaga and Malta respectively. Even more recently, the first Euromed Civil Forum, convened immediately after the EU Conference in Barcelona, formulated a framework for co-operation over and above political agreements, through social, economic and cultural agencies in the Mediterranean Basin (ICM 1995b).

Most of these initiatives have seen Brussels directing the pace and scope of European and Mediterranean interaction. Such a reflection is true of Med-Campus activities, for instance, which while providing opportunities for joint projects between European and Mediterranean partners in such areas as tourism studies, adult education and training, and the development of alternative sources of energy, tend to be generally marked by a concern with the transfer of technology from the North to the South. Indeed, the often hierarchical nature of the interaction suggests that the central aim of the EU in the Mediterranean is to consolidate a European sphere of influence. Not only is this influence important in terms of preserving markets for European products and services, but also to maintain stability in what is increasingly seen to be a volatile region, as well as to control the flow of migrants from the South to the North.

Other initiatives, while perhaps less momentous on the political scale, nevertheless do indicate that there are, indeed, processes of identity formation around the Mediterranean region. Since 1982, for instance the Paris-based *Fondation René Seydoux* has regularly published updated versions of its *Répertoire Méditerranéen* (1993), providing details about the activities of the different institutions working on Mediterranean concerns in the fields of human, social and applied sciences. The sixth

edition of the *Répertoire* lists 511 such agencies. 1982 also marks the year of the World Conference on Cultural Policies, when UNESCO took a small but significant step by declaring its interest in Mediterranean affairs, and recommended to its member states to proclaim the Mediterranean the *"sea of human civilisation"* and to *"use the resources of culture and communication to intensify their activity on behalf of peace and international understanding around the Mediterranean"*. UNESCO justified these recommendations on the basis of its understanding that *"the Mediterranean has (...) constituted a link between peoples and cultures, as a sea which is a source of creativity and of fruitful exchanges spanning millennia, and a means of communication between European and Islamic cultures"*.

In 1995, and as a culmination point of various bi- and multi-lateral initiatives undertaken by individuals and organisations under the auspices of - or in collaboration with - UNESCO, the latter decided to group together under the name 'Mediterranean Programme' a set of schemes, networks and activities with the aim of contributing *"to the advancement of the countries and people of the Mediterranean in the sectors that correspond to UNESCO's mandate"*, to *"develop co-operation between public and private sectors (civil societies) in all parts of the Mediterranean area";* and to *"promote the Mediterranean as an ecocultural region"* (UNESCO Mediterranean Programme, 1995:5). The UNESCO Mediterranean Programme, guided by documents such as the 1995 Carthage Charter on Tolerance in the Mediterranean, functions as a network for over 600 organisations, centers, universities, institutions and municipalities, relayed in each country by National Commissions, UNESCO clubs, Associated Schools, and UNESCO accredited NGOs.

Among the more important of these NGOs that have culture and education as a main or subsidiary focus are the Community of Mediterranean Universities (CUM) based in Bari (Italy) and active, through its decentralised Schools, since 1983; the University of the Mediterranean (UNIMED), with a central base in Rome, and with outreach bureaux in Amman, Cairo, Valletta, Montpellier and Rabat; the *Laboratorio Mediterraneo*, set up as a cultural foundation in 1995 and based in Naples; the Network of Mediterranean Study Centres, established in 1995 and co-ordinated by the *Institut Català d'Estudis de la Mediterrànea I Cooperacío* (ICM); the 'Children of the Mediterranean' programme, launched by Federico Mayor in 1993, and involving children under the age of eleven with the aim of affirming the twin messages of ecology and peace; the South-East Mediterranean Project (SEMEP), which is primarily involved with environmental, technical and vocational education in Albania, Greece, Turkey, Lebanon, Cyprus, Israel, Jordan and Egypt.

While currently privileging Eastern Europe and channeling much of its attention and resources in that direction, the Council of Europe has followed in the tracks of UNESCO, and has, through its North-South Centre for Global Interdependence and Solidarity, set up a Mediterranean Information Centre (Transmed-Info Centre) in Lisbon, with the purpose of identifying and organising into a trans-Mediterranean network the main sources of information about the Mediterranean. The European

Cultural Foundation has its own Mediterranean Programme focusing on translations from Arabic and Hebrew to European languages and vice-versa, as well as on a Network of Mediterranean Bookshops. Relevant to what has earlier been referred to as the shift in focus of the social sciences towards the North-South axis, the Vienna Centre for the study of East-West relations has relocated itself in Malta in order to coordinate EUMENESS, the Euro-Mediterranean Network of the Social Sciences.

## The *Mediterranean Journal of Educational Studies*

The *MJES* must be seen within the context of all these disparate activities, and indeed has, as its primary purpose, the provision of a forum for debate and reflections on Mediterranean education, understood in its broadest sense. There are now several journals that deal specifically with the region, including, among others, the Washington-based *Mediterranean Quarterly*, the Japanese *Mediterranean World*, the French *Cahiers de la Méditerranée*, the University of Malta's *Journal of Mediterranean Studies*, the *Library of Mediterranean History*, and *Mediterranean Politics*, the inaugural issue of which is to be published by the University of Portsmouth, England. Indeed, the *Répertoire Méditerranéenne* lists close to 600 journals and reviews that focus on countries from around the basin. None of these journals is concerned with education across the Mediterranean, which is perhaps not surprising given the diversity of education systems that mark the region.

And yet, there is ample opportunity and scope for systematic comparative analyses, for collaboration in education, and for the development of networks of scholars and joint research projects across the Mediterranean. There are over 250 universities and research centres in the region, with the youngest University being that of Cyprus, set up in 1992. There are more close to 130,000 University teachers and researchers (Boissevain 1982; Busuttil 1992), and most Universities have a Faculty, School or Institute focusing on educational sciences (see the *World Book of Learning* 1996). There is also plenty of scope for comparison between education systems. Higher education systems in the Mediterranean, for instance, tend to be more focused on teaching rather than research, an obvious repercussion of lack of sufficient funding and of the transfer of knowledge southwards. Most Mediterranean universities tend to be dominated by Faculties providing traditional professions such as doctors, lawyers, pharmacists, architects and religious specialists. There tends to be an over-reliance on the metropole and the 'north' for research and training partnership, often leading to post-colonial dependencies. Teaching styles and pedagogies tend to be uncritical and unquestioning, given the authoritarian relationships that dominate at many levels of the different institutions (Boissevain 1982), and the proximity of education systems to sources of power, whether these are secular or religious. Indeed, secular universities are a rarity in Muslim countries, for instance (Busuttil 1992). The 'brain drain' problem is particularly acute in the Maghreb countries, with 250,000 graduates emigrating north-wards in the last twenty five years, representing an average of 10,000 graduates

per year, an enormous blow to human resource investment in the region. The brain drain phenomenon is also pertinent to Greece, all the *Mezzogiorno*, and Corsica (Gizard 1992).

There is a similarly wide scope for comparative studies of Mediterranean compulsory education systems. Just to mention a few examples, one could focus on the influence of the Napoleonic tradition on the development of centralised administrative systems. Economic underdevelopment has also led to an attraction for vocationalist forms of schooling on the part of system managers, while colonial experiences, and traditional Mediterranean views (see Braudel 1992: 520, 524) have, paradoxically, kept most of the population away from such vocational schools given that manual labor was constantly associated with low status. The importance of religion in the Mediterranean region, and the ability of the clerical class to generate funds via devotional practices of the faithful, has led to a situation where parallel educational services can be offered through denominational schools, an issue of no small consequence given the rise of fundamentalism in the Mediterranean region's three main and monotheist religions. At all levels, the medium of instruction presents a veritable challenge, as policy-makers have to decide whether they adopt an international language to teach scientific knowledge (mainly English and French), or translate and adapt books in the mother tongue. At all levels as well, the issue of women's education remains a crucial one, as cultures struggle to manage social movements for women's liberation without destroying traditional family life and the roles it entails. In a similar vein, comparative education studies have a rich research program should they focus on the contradictions between the socialisation provided in conventional Mediterranean families and schools, and the tidal wave of modernisation catapulted into the home via television programs and cinematic productions from the North (Perrein 1992).

The *MJES* sets out to respond to this lacuna by privileging and promoting both comparative education studies of the Mediterranean as well as case-studies of individual countries belonging to the region. Given the diaspora of Mediterranean people world-wide, the journal will also feature studies of the educational fortunes of the region's migrants in such contexts as North America, Europe and Australia. Comparative Mediterranean education studies, and Mediterranean education studies *per se*, can contribute to the new, hesitant sense of regional identity outlined earlier. The *MJES* and the *Mediterranean Education Programme* it forms part of provide, therefore, another possibility for genuine dialogue between South and South, as well as between South and North, with the view of promoting mutual understanding, equitable partnerships, and collaborative ventures. The emphasis is on facilitating an increased awareness - and valorisation - of the expertise that already exists in the region, and on the building of bridges and partnerships between scholars, researchers and practitioners in the such fields as comparative education, foundation disciplines in education, education policy analysis, Mediterranean studies, cultural and post-colonial studies, Southern European studies, intercultural education, peace education, and migrant studies. Such identity-formation is not exclusive of others: being *for* the

Mediterranean does *not* mean being against others. But it does mean that the South develops its own sense of identity, worth and unity so that it relates with the North from a position of strength.

## *Themes that will feature in the MJES*

In order to achieve the goal of facilitating dialogue and understanding, both within and outside of the Mediterranean, the *MJES* will feature articles which dwell on a variety of themes, including: the identification of key categories organising education institutions in the South; comparative educational history of Mediterranean countries; ethnic and religious conflict and the role of education; comparative case studies relating to Mediterranean countries and substantive educational issues (such as adult education, higher education, equity, gender and scholastic attainment, privatisation and education, policy-making, centralisation and decentralisation, values education, and so on); the influence of European education systems, especially in the context of a uniting Europe; the influence of religious systems on education systems; education and development (including such themes as human resource development, vocational education and training systems, linkage between education and the economy, and so on); the role of the intellectual; Mediterranean Studies curricula; student flows in, out of and around the Mediterranean; education and dependency in the current world order; Mediterranean background students in the world diaspora. Some of these themes as well as other foci will be the subject of special issues of the journal, in order to permit more systematic and comparative studies. In addition, the journal will live up to its goal and facilitate dialogue by encouraging readers to respond to articles that appear in the *MJES*, and to comment about views expressed. Publications, conferences and research projects related to education in Mediterranean countries will be reviewed and announced in the Book Review and Networking sections of each issue of the *MJES*.

## *Language policy of the MJES*

Articles will appear mainly in English, though occasionally papers submitted in French will also be published. We are not insensitive to the irony of a situation where the *lingua franca* of the region reminds us of past colonial régimes. On the other hand, one must be pragmatic: communicate we must, and while there are obvious dangers that, in drawing on colonising languages we integrate and reproduce colonising concepts and structures (Ngugi wa Thiong'o 1981), there is also the possibility that we creatively use that same language to colonise it with our own meanings and experiences (Achebe 1975; Eco 1994). In an attempt to facilitate dialogue, we have opted to reproduce the abstracts of each article in French and Arabic, other commonly used languages of the Mediterranean. Furthermore, we will celebrate the diversity of the region by publishing each article abstract in the mother-tongue of the contributor.

The use of English as the key medium of the journal should not discourage potential contributors who are not fluent in the language. One of the tasks of the editorial team is to offer assistance in this regard, ensuring that papers that deserve to reach a wider audience actually do so. In exceptional circumstances, and dependent on the resources that the editorial team has at its disposal, articles which make a particularly strong contribution to the goals of the journal will be translated to English.

## An invitation

Given the context outlined above, and the aspirations of the *Mediterranean Journal of Educational Studies*, the editorial board is pleased to invite potential authors to submit their work, following the guidelines set out at the end of this journal issue. Our aim is to be readable, current, reflective, provocative if necessary, and substantive. To this end we have established the *MJES*. We will periodically revisit the goals and assumptions underlying this initiative in keeping with our readers' responses and the temper of the times.

## References

Achebe, C. (1975) *Morning Yet on Creation Day.* Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday.

Amin, S. & Yachir, F. (1988) *La Méditerranée dans le Monde: les Enjeux de la Transnationalisation.* Paris: La Découverte.

Balta, P. (ed.) (1992) *La Méditerranée Réinventée: Réalités et Espoirs de la Coopération.* Paris: La Découverte/Fondation René Seydoux.

Boissevain, J. (1976) Uniformity and diversity in the Mediterranean: an essay in interpretation. In J.G. Persistiany (ed.) *Mediterranean Family Structures.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Boissevain, J. (1979) Toward an anthropology of the Mediterranean, *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 20, 81-93.

Boissevain, J. (1982) Towards a Mediterranean scientific community, *International Foundation for Development Alternatives*, Vol. 27, 1-8.

Braudel, F. (1992) *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II.* London: BCA.

Busuttil, S. (1992) Vers un projet Averroès des universitès. In P. Balta (ed.) *La Méditerranée Réinventée.* Paris: La Découverte/Fondation René Seydoux.

Davis, S. (1977) *The People of the Mediterranean: An Essay in Comparative and Social Anthroplogy.* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Eco, U. (1994) Pourquoi il ne faut pas lutter contre l'anglais, *L'Evènement du Jeudi*, 13-19 octobre, 100-102.

Fondation René Seydoux (1993) *Répertoire Méditerranéen*, 5th edition. Paris.

Gellner, E. & Waterbury, J. (eds) (1977) *Patrons and Clients in Mediterranean Societies.* London: Duckworth.

Gilmore, D. (1982) Anthropology of the Mediterranean area, *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 11, 175-205.

Gizard, X. (1992) Des outils pour les nouveaux mondes. In P. Balta (ed.) *La Méditerranée Réinventée*. Paris: La Découverte/Fondation René Seydoux.

Grenon, M. & Batisse, M. (1989) *Futures for the Mediterranean Basin: The Blue Plan*. New York: Oxford University Press.

ICM ~ Institut Català de la Mediterrània d'Estudis I Cooperació (1995a) Forum Civil EuroMed. Barcelona.

ICM ~ Institut Català de la Mediterrània d'Estudis I Cooperació (1995b) Forum Civil EuroMed: Conclusions. Barcelona.

Luciani, G. (ed.) (1984) *The Mediterranean Region*. London: Croom Helm.

Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1981) *Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature*. London: James Currey.

Perrein, L. (1992) Les paraboles de la communication. In P. Balta (ed.) *La Méditerranée Réinventée*. Paris: La Découverte/Fondation René Seydoux.

Persistiany, J.G. (ed.) (1965) *Honour and Shame: the Values of Mediterranean Society*. London: Wiedenfeld & Nicolson.

Persistiany, J.G. (ed.) (1968) *Contributions to Mediterranean Sociology*. The Hague: Mouton.

Persistiany, J.G. (ed.) (1976a) *Kinship and Modernization in Mediterranean Society*. Rome: Center for Mediterranean Studies.

Persistiany, J. G. (ed.) (1976b) *Mediterranean Family Structures*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pisani, E. (1992) En quête d'un avenir. In P. Balta (ed.) *La Méditerranée Réinventée*. Paris: La Découverte/Fondation René Seydoux.

Pitt-Rivers, J.A. (ed.) (1963) *Mediterranean Countrymen: Essays in the Sociology of the Mediterranean*. Paris: Mouton.

Regnault, H. (1992) Exister dans l'économie-monde. In P. Balta (ed.) *La Méditerranée Réinventée*. Paris: La Découverte/Fondation René Seydoux.

Schneider, J. & Schneider, P. (1976) *Culture and Political Economy in Western Sicily*. New York: Academic Press.

UNESCO (1995) *Mediterranean Programme*. Paris: Unesco.

UNESCO (1995) *World Education Report*. Oxford: Unesco Publishing.

Wolf, E.R. (1969) Society and symbols in Latin Europe and the Islamic Middle-East: some comparisons, *Anthropology* Vol. 42, 287-301.

Yachir, F. (1989) *The Mediterranean: Between Autonomy and Dependence*. London: Zed Books.

# THE CIRCULATION OF EUROPEAN EDUCATIONAL THEORIES AND PRACTICES: THE ALGERIAN EXPERIENCE

## MOHAMED MILIANI

**Abstract** - *This article sets out to explore the historical development of educational provision in modern Algeria. It argues that despite the country's formal political independence, and despite the authorities' attempts to celebrate national identity, Algeria is still characterised by the wholesale adoption of European educational theories, policies and practices, even though these fail to connect with indigenous realities and needs. The article considers the tensions between fundamentalism on the one hand, and westernisation on the other, claiming that both positions fail to respond to the question of Algerian identity and to the development of an effective educational system that reflects that identity.*

O n an historical plane, Algeria has for a long time been the land of invasions of several peoples and tribes, namely the Vandals (429-535), the Ottomans (1554-1830), the Spanish (1504-1792), and the French (1830-1962), but she has also been the crucible of several civilisations: berber, phoenician, carthaginian, roman, byzantine, arab-muslim, turkish, spanish and french. If, on the one hand, the Algerians' resistance at this level has been fierce and successful, on the other hand, it has been tougher, sometimes quasi insuperable, if not quixotic (others would say counter-productive), to fight against the incursion of more elusive, though less visible, and yet more invading opponents: i.e., ideas and theories, particularly on educational matters, which were or are still produced in foreign contexts and applied in Algeria.

After their political freedom, few developing countries achieved economic independence, and very few have been able to attain their total cultural freedom. Besides, the weight of the colonial heritage concerning the school system has been particularly heavy, and its consequences catastrophic. Thus:

> ...*what the Europeans' departure is going to bring about is the sudden promotion of a certain number of civil servants on the spot, and a massive entry of those who have benefited from their schooling in French, as well as men - mainly 'political' cadres of the struggle (for independence) - who benefit from a loosening of the regulations concerning recruitment (Glasman & Kremer 1978:26).*

This is true of all sectors of the state, but education has been particularly hit. Therefore, when developing countries tried to improve their educational structures, they experienced multi-faceted problems which prevented education from playing its role in the overall development of the nation. This is no less the case of Algeria.

The aim of this paper is to study the circulation of certain European educational ideas or theories and their application in the school system whose major aim, whether in formal or informal education, is to prepare and help people to reach, through

training, a better standard of living, of literacy and health. The present debate centres on the assessment and quantification of the importance of the impact of these ideas on the system, and their role in the improvement of the educational structures, and the possible attribution of failure, admitted or not, in the implementation of the above-mentioned thoughts and practices.

Two broad periods can be identified in the history of educational ideas and thoughts in Algeria. They correspond roughly to the application, very often misapplication, of a major educational theory or practice (home-produced: rather rare; or imported or borrowed from foreign countries: very often the case, and the object of our concern in this paper). The two identified periods tie with the educational philosophies which pervaded the Algerian educational system for decades. In the first period (1962-1970), Algeria went through a mimicry phase, due more to objective factors than well-thought out decisions. Then, in the second period (1971-1995), she started to develop its own idiosyncratic vision of, and strategy in, education and pedagogy.

## "The colonial hangover" (1962-1970): the impossible emancipation

The first period can be qualified as the era of *'impossible emancipation'* because of the rather restrictive political, social, economic and educational factors present shortly after Independence in 1962. Besides, any national culture retreats or even fades away when foreign cultures invade a given country with ease or with force, and where little resistance is developed against the intruder. This is certainly true of Algeria which failed to generate the conditions for success in general growth or those for a steady development. In addition, the skilled manpower and adequate financing necessary to allow the country to free itself from the long standing bonds with metropolitan France were scarce or absent. Once again, the limited means (human: lack of teachers; infrastructural: few schools, lycées or colleges, and only one university in Algiers; financial: Algeria was then an agricultural country; and organisational: lack of managers) and an absence of expertise in educational matters made the task of bringing about a 'true' Algerian educational system difficult, if not impossible to achieve.

After independence, and despite an ultra-nationalist ideology, the educational authorities had to make do with a hybrid school system resulting, on the one hand, from the lukewarm reforms undertaken by the French during colonisation, and on the other, the embryonic educational framework consisting of hundreds of koranic schools and *medersa,* the equivalent of the European colleges providing religious teaching. With independence, Algeria inherited problems from colonial rule: a rigid school curriculum and a very selective system of examinations strewn with formal tests like obstacles throughout the school system: first, *La Sixième,* 6th year primary school; second, the B.E.P.C. *(Brevet d'Etudes du Premier Cycle)* fourth year secondary school; third, the *Probatoire,* or first part of the *Baccalauréat,* sixth year secondary school;

2

and finally, the *Baccalauréat* or its second part, seventh year secondary school. This obstacle race, of course, led to a very high school drop-out level.

From 1962, the Algerian government felt the need to develop an authentically Algerian system of education able to satisfy the country's plans for rapid economic growth, and also to face the ever-growing demand of the public for a substantial increase in education provision. To face this demand, but also to stop the human haemorrhage from the schools due to the departure of teachers of French stock, educational institutions called upon teachers from traditional structures, namely koranic schools and *medersa*. This had bad effects on the quality of teaching. Educational authorities had to reverse this decision (Grandguillaume 1983) in order to avoid the entrenchment of a very low level of educational provision. Since then, the school system has undergone a series of reforms to re-shape the educational structure, basing its philosophy on ideas originating mainly from Europe, either directly imported from European countries or through people who were completely behind these ideas because of their education or training.

The first period in the history of education in Algeria is characterised by the reproduction of European school models. Indeed the Algerian educational system remained, for a long time, a carbon copy of the French one. French policies of centralism, in synchrony with the *democratic centralism* of the Algerian regime, and secularism, since religious teaching was not as systematic as it is presently, were carried on without change, deviation or alteration. The educational authorities had, as a priority, to take over from the French manpower at all levels of the school system (as teachers, course designers, educational institution managers, inspectors, etc.). It is partly thanks to foreign expatriates' know-how that all sorts of problems were handled more or less adequately.

The application of such borrowed theories and practices has led *de facto* to a centralising and standardising monolithism which, in the long run, has discredited or rather ignored, the indigenous traditional values and attitudes to make room for modernism as determined by the *developed centre* (as opposed to *underdeveloped periphery* to which Algeria belonged). One must add that this educational monolithism was in harmony with political monolithism advocated during the 1960s and 1970s by the anti-imperialistic and socialist leaders who ruled the country. People endured the rigours of this new yoke. In some ways this was not new to them, but this time they bore this version of the burden with more understanding and even fatalism: a well-known attitude Algerians develop in the face of strong adversity or a catastrophe.

Amidst this profusion of thoughts and theories originating from Europe, Algerian educationists were more concerned, consciously or not, with the preservation of the school infrastructure, the provision of sufficient but not necessarily qualified manpower, and the development of a centralised administrative system, partly because of a need to maintain their own status and privileges, due to their lack of expertise and know-how, or because of an absence of intellectual courage to tackle real problems at the root of the ills.

*3*

Besides, the Algerian educationists were then engaged in action as technocrats, busy with the technicalities of the school system. They did not take up the role of intellectuals and failed to generate theoretical debates in order to develop an indigenous philosophy of education to inform their policy-making. This failure can be partly attributed to the insufficency, quantitatively and qualitatively speaking, of Algerian cadres, but also to the tight control of the political authorities, (or rather the ruling party) over educational matter and change in the school system.

Despite its socialist regime, Algeria turned quite often towards the developed centre for an expert's view or help to solve the numerous problems she experienced in all fields. However, maybe due to the Algerian regime, there was a certain western European reluctance to co-operate and help the country meet its economic, political, and educational needs. Consequently, the Algerian state looked eastward, towards the Eastern block and the Middle Eastern countries, and although without the proper financial or human resources, adopted a voluntarist policy to reduce, among other things, the level of illiteracy. Such was the priority of the first government, intent to meet the demands of the school system and the economy. However, there was an additional problem: a marked opposition between the productive sector and the system of education. Each of them seemed to be living in total isolation from the other. Thus:

> *the educational system produced degree-holders in the scientific and technical fields, less and less called upon by industry, and whose job, when they are recruited, has nearly nothing to do with the expressed needs. As for the productive sector, it met its own needs in technological competences in a quasi autonomous way, on the one hand by equipping itself with its proper structures of training, and on the other by drawing heavily and from the start on foreign technical aid (Djeflat 1993:43).*

In the first decade of its Independence, Algeria became the field for the experimentation of foreign theories brought by individuals (experts, teachers) or groups (companies, research units) from Europe, the USA, or the Middle East. Strangely enough, this burgeoning life of ideas prevented the educational authorities from freeing themselves from too narrow a cooperation with 'friendly' states. The ideas applied were not always for the good of the country nor of the people. Algeria badly needed hundreds of experts in education, industry and economy in general. Unfortunately, the expatriates were not always as expert as it was claimed, to say the least. Moreover, this cacophony of conflicting views did not help the authorities to find a happy medium between some extreme opinions. All this gave a heterogeneous and unorganised character to the whole educational system, which reinforced its lack of organisation and coherence.

Meanwhile, the solving of the economic (until the oil boom of the 1970s) and political problems (military coup in 1965) was the first item on the government's agenda. Education was not, practically speaking, a priority for politicians except in speeches and slogans. In the political sphere, the only concern was the number of millions of dinars to give to education, which meant little, when we know that over 70% of the

*4*

budget was devoted to salaries.

Under such adverse conditions (intellectual, human, political, and financial), it was almost impossible for the educational system to come of age. It was rather too early to have some kind of tradition established, as it was also imaginary or illusory to see total change occur overnight. The agents of change (Algerian experts, teachers, etc) were at that time few, untrained, or ignored. On the other hand, one should not forget the force of inertia constituted by some groups or individuals who felt endangered by certain educational measures, and who were thus more interested in preserving or getting a status, a profit, or a privilege to the detriment of the school system or the nation. During this first decade of its rather short history, if one considers 1962 as the starting date of modern Algeria, decision-makers, more often than not, affected a simple transplantation of ideas. Besides, they had very little if any capacity to adapt these theories to the environment, let alone create or invent ideas suitable to the educational setting. The motto of educationists seemed to be: *'Adopt, do not adapt'.*

But this state of affairs could not go on forever. Deeper reforms were needed in order to change the whole face and structure of the school system. Besides, it was important to shed the vestiges of 132 years of colonialism and build a socialist society that would move vigorously to the twenty first century, and at the same time prepare the country to obtain the autonomy and emancipation which it had failed to achieve in the first years of its independence. This was a highly difficult, if not utopian goal. However, that did not mean that Algeria had to live in autarchy. Development does not mean 'reinventing the wheel', but going beyond all the advances achieved in science and technology, rather than being tied by them.

## "The paradigm shift" (1971-1995): the era of inconsistencies

Once the economic (thanks to the oil boom of the 1970s) and political problems (disappearance of strong opposition and strengthening of one-party socialist system) were somehow handled, the government turned towards the educational structure to reform it. Reforms were more carefully planned and most of the time were based on imported theories. However, this period was characterised by a gap between wishful thinking of the authorities, and a reality rarely apprehended in its entirety. Real problems on the terrain were very often not well grasped, if not totally ignored. Therefore, any change was very remote from the problem area it was supposed to remedy, either because the objectives were not realistic or the means to attain these objectives absent or insufficient.

The intention of the political as well as the educational authorities was first to strengthen the socialist approach to education (provision of equal opportunity to all, free schooling, school for all, scholarships awarded to the majority of pupils, or nominal fees in all cases). One other way of bringing change to the philosophical aspect directing the school system was to adopt the Polytechnical Curriculum Theory (East German model) for the first nine years of schooling. Hence 1978 saw the setting

up of the Foundation School based on the fundamental principles of socialist education, namely:

• Compulsory schooling up to the age of 16, in order to ensure literacy and faithfulness to the Constitution and the National Charter;

• Fusion between primary and middle schools to avoid the problem of drop-outs;

• Scientific and technological literacy, given that an important objective of education was to produce citizens capable of adapting themselves not only to socio-economic and cultural, but also to technical and technologic transformations taking place. Literacy electives were encouraged less and less;

• Tightening of the bond between schooling and work, since education needed to be conceived and planned as an integral part of the development of the country, and had therefore to be intimately linked to the planning of other sectors (such as agriculture and industry).

The introduction of Foundation School has diminished the number of years of compulsory education from ten (in the old French-type system) to nine. French as a medium of instruction has disappeared from the school curricula. It is now considered as the first foreign language, a slight privilege over the other foreign languages, namely Spanish, English, German and Russian. Besides, the pupils can be oriented either towards vocational training or towards the secondary school. Entrance to university is subject to the award of the *baccalauréat*. Another institution was recently created: the University of Further Training (*l'Université de la Formation Continue:* UFC), for those who leave school without the *bac*. While no one would dispute its contribution, there is one criticism that is often made: it is a 'shadow university' with nearly the same programmes as can be found at the traditional universities without, however, the necessary human resources.

The *Ecole Fondamentale et Polytechnique* was the result of the pressure for more and better education. It supposes the reconversion of the middle cycle and its combination with the primary cycle which precedes it. Its aim is to become progressively polytechnical, combine theory with practice, and bridge the gap between academic and practical studies. Foundation School came about to put the whole system back in its qualitative context with the hope that it would solve the problem of drop-outs, which has become somewhat catastrophic in proportion.

We have avoided speaking of higher education, because it is our feeling that only cosmetic changes were brought about by the 1971 Reform of Higher Education. Among such changes was the transformation of faculties into institutes. On the other hand, Foundation School was thought to revolutionise the system, and at the same time satisfy the demands of modernism, which meant that the Algerian system of education had to support an industrial revolution. This it did not always do and indeed a number of harmful and counter-productive decisions were taken. Thus, 1979 saw the end of the technical colleges *(Collèges d'Enseignement Technique: C.E.T)* in a period when industry needed large numbers of skilled and semi-skilled workers (Djeflat 1993).

This paradigm shift (i.e. from a highly selective school system to a school for all through a democratisation of education) could not be completely realised because the triptych of the government's educational policy was far from being achieved. This threefold policy included:

• The 'Arabisation' of all curricula and medium of instruction (most scientific subjects are still taught in French);

• 'Algerianisation' of the teaching staff (now standing at about 80%); and

• The democratisation of education.

Results were mainly achieved in the democratisation of education. There has been in fact a quantitative development of education to mitigate the limited and selective opportunities provided by colonial masters. The benefits include the replacement of an elitist system by a more balanced one with equal opportunities for all, and the reduction of social stratification (Miliani 1991). There has been a shift, therefore, in that education went from a phase where it was highly selective and competitive, to a stage where it became considered as an inalienable human right for the benefit of all. This swing of the pendulum was not supported by the pedagogical, didactic and human resources necessary to provide a quality education for all. Furthermore, a new phenomenon appeared with mass schooling: school drop-outs. These drop-outs and other young unemployed who developed a kind of anti-establishment attitude, became known as *'Hittiste'* (those who lean on walls).

The type of school advocated was therefore more concerned with political principles in line with the socialist regime than with other types of organisation or ways of functioning of the educational system. However, the role of education is now increasingly being seen as a promoter of growth and as an investment for the future.

Despite the everlasting slogans, the situation on the terrain was totally different. In reality, there was also a continuation of a French centralist orientation and of the dominance of degrees over expertise. Degrees were and are still valued more than the level of expertise of teachers. The other problem came from the fact that the educational authorities were, and are still, looking for the help of foreign training research units, i.e. *Bureaux d'etudes*, mostly French, American and British, in order to have access to technologies, an assumption which proved with time to be false. Most of the time these very companies of educational engineering were focusing their efforts on obtaining contracts which excluded the national expert from the control or mastery of the knowledge or know-how they sold. Indigenous experts were mostly concerned with administrative affairs.

> *The intervention of the research unit means the coherent use of methods and techniques of capitalistic management: experts, profitability, computer, everything there is to impose the image of a superior rationality, and therefore not questionable (Glasman & Kremer 1978:127).*

The result of this profusion of ideas and theories was an incoherent set of structures and practices. This was partly due to the antagonistic nature of the theories or experiences applied, for there was not only diffusion of a knowledge and/or know-

how, but also  the laying of an ideological superstructure upon a culture alien to it. This melting-pot of ideas gave birth to educational institutions (Foundation School, *Lycée, Collège,* University, University centres...) that are placed side by side without being integrated into a whole. This atomistic vision of school could not logically lead to a well integrated educational system.

Furthermore, there was then a blatant contradiction between the so-called anti-imperialistic position of the country, as expressed in official speeches, and the use of capitalist methods of management recommended by these research units.  The latter's educational theories and proposals were supposed to be adapted to the 'national realities' of the country.  However, content-wise the system was similar to that of many European nations, while the  local teaching methodologies left a lot to be desired.  In fact, what is still advocated is a quantitive approach to the development of education despite supposedly future-bound policies whose intent is focused more on quality. This concern for quality exists, but reality in the field is wrongly apprehended. To the real problems diagnosed (problem of drop-outs, medium of instruction, large class  size, lack of qualified or well-trained teachers, foreign language learning...) in all  educational areas, the authorities respond by launching sporadic, unsystematic and incongruous actions.  Changes are always conceived in a limited and localised stage of the system, never as part of a whole where transformation at a level may have impacts on others.  Besides, decisions for change seem to come out of the blue.  The idea of long-term planning, of thinking in terms of decades, is something that decision-makers do not seem to be capable of.

## Perspectives: between social fracture and economic crisis

Several individuals' personal and/or political ambitions have driven the country to its present social predicament.  Even schooling has contributed greatly to the present social and cultural plight as Carlier (1995:406) notes, the *"Foundation School has provided the managerial staff, the troops and lexis, if not the syntax of neo-fundamentalism".*

The disappearance of social values has led the country to a fracture among members of the population which used to be united against one common enemy, colonialism.  Since then it has lost faith in the future and in itself, and has also lost its sense of direction.  The problems are all the more insuperable now that the country is suffering economically from the dictat of the International Monetry Fund: the influence of the world economy is being felt more and more, as Algeria progressively adopts a market economy.

This tragedy has many faces: economic, because Algeria relies too much on trade with Europe; social, since over one million Algerian emigrants live in France; political, given the strong links with the European Community and the USA; and technical/technological, due to the reliance on European know-how and expertise.  All these facts will always facilitate the circulation of foreign ideas, notwithstanding the

speeches of educational/political authorities who increasingly advocate an open resistance to change initiated *extra muros* to make room for intramural initiatives. By way of reply to change generated from European thoughts, there is still a strong move to return to 'primeval roots', a favourite slogan of the conservatives. Among these are the *Salafists* who since the 1970s have advocated a puritan reformism towards 'authenticity', a concept rarely explained or defined In fact, a clarification of these roots is neither needed nor desired, because this would mean tackling very controversial aspects, where very opposed views are expressed. Foremost among these would be the discourse on national identity, the writing of the history of Algeria, and so on.

Today the government has decided, once again, to develop the ethos of a national system of education. It has thus decreed in April 1995 that a Higher Council for Education be created in order to structure the educational system in a more efficient way. The objective of the council is to link the work of the ministries of Education, of Higher Education and of Employment. Will this be another hope nipped in the bud? My feeling is that this top-down approach to solving problems is not the way to face the numerous demands of the school system. For over thirty years, education has tried many theories, most of them of European origin, but what seems to be essential is not only which educational theory to implement, but also whether the approach advocated is a systemic one or not. Most of the time, failure seems to be due to a micro-analysis of problems, forgetting their relationships with and in the whole.

Furthermore, I see a major point of contention which will block the implementation of European ideas in the Algerian school system: the notion of progress and growth the educational system should aim at. There is now a marked difference between those who favour the western view of development, and those who hold strong religious opinions. If the latter's vision had been subterranean but always present, even before independence and especially during the last ten years, it has now emerged as a major force to be reckoned with. The problem now is that the ideas and positions held by these opposite standpoints are at both ends of the theoretical and practical spectrum. What is unfortunate is that extremism characterises both positions and a happy medium seems very unlikely to be found. In any of the considered cases, when there is a possible change, there is no ecological consideration for the system of education. On the other hand, it is also my belief that education will always suffer from a primary monolithism of the decision-makers which is the expression of the fear of the alien, the other, except if the other is of arab or muslim origin. This tendency towards sameness sends back to us the everlasting problem of our national identity, a problem not yet solved. Very few governing authorities, political, cultural or educational, have dared tackle the thorny problem of Algerian identity. Many subterfuges have been used, but the problem remains untouched. Talking about this, Grandguillaume (1983:155) posits that

> *...it is necessary (for the Algerians) to forge a myth of origin, a discourse on the origins which is also... a discourse on identity... the heroic struggle (against*
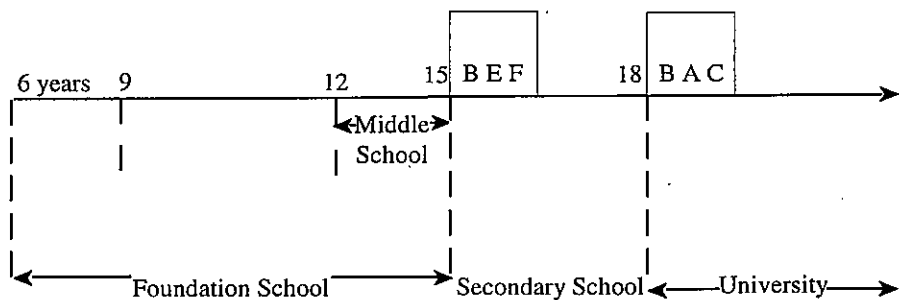
*Table 1.* The Algerian School System

(BEF: *Brevet d'Enseignement Fondamental*).
(BAC: *Baccalauréat*).

| age / Level | 2-5 | 6-9 | 9-12 | 12-15 | 16-18 | 19-25 | Educational Institution |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Pre-school | not Systematic | | | | | | Kindergarten |
| Foundation School | | compulsory & free | | | | | 1st Cycle (Basic stage) |
| | | | compulsory & free | | | | 2nd Cycle (Awakening stage) |
| | | | | compulsory & free | | | 3rd Cycle (training stage) |
| Secondary School | | | | | free | | *Lycées* & *collèges* |
| Higher Education | | | | | | free | Universities & *Grandes Ecoles* |

*Table 2.* The Stages of the school system

*France) can create this myth... the nation must be symbolised, it cannot be this way permanently by negation only, by opposition to the other, by the sole discourse on war.*

The pluralism (or rather richness) of the country (linguistic, regional, ethnic, and intellectual) is thus ignored, denied or fought against, first by the ruling class, and then by several cultural and educational bodies, and this in favour of some supposedly unifying notions like *qawmiyya:* supra-nationality, one great arab nation, instead of the more limiting and yet identifiable *wataniyya:* nationhood (Laheraf 1988), or entities (Pan-Africanism, Pan-Arabism, Pan-Islamism...) which thus far have been ephemeral myths:

*Arab nationalism and socialism on one side and islamism on the other have in Algeria taken on forms more uncompromising, ostentatious and authoritative than anywhere else, in a kind of caricatured excess imposed by an image of the self by constantly calling upon the past (Carlier 1995:408).*

This monolithic approach to development is not the only problem experienced by the school. On the other side of the spectrum, the circulation of foreign ideas will always be detrimental to the Algerian system of education if endogenous and exogenous factors are not looked at carefully and changes brought about progressively. The need or obligation to graft foreign theories onto the system will always pose a problem because these are imposed on an alien set without a consideration for the whole, putting into question the ecological validity of these theories. The following points show the complexity of the intellectual debate the circulation of European theories can generate:

- Does not mimicry of educational thoughts, whatever their origin, harm social behaviours and cultural habits specific to countries of the periphery?
- Does Occidentalism (following western ideas) mean modernism/ development as defined by the countries recipient of the mentioned theories and ideas?
- Does not Occidentalism, which pretends to tend towards univeralism, mean uniformalism in its negative sense? Does not sameness then mean the end of progress, development and possibly creativity?

But this is another debate. And the Algerian educational system is not yet there.

---

**Mohammed Miliani** *is Professor at Es Senia University, Oran, Algeria, where he directs the Insititute of Foreign Languages. Tel: (06) 416939; Fax: (06) 337216.*

# References

Ageron, C.R. (1983) *Histoire de l'Algérie Contemporaine (1830-1982).* Paris:PUF.

Boutefnouchet, M. (1982) *La Culture en Algérie.* Algiers: SNED.

Carlier, O. (1995) *Entre Nation et Jihad.* Paris: Presses de Sciences PO.

Colonna, F. (1975) *Instituteurs Algériens 1883-1939.* Paris: Presses de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences PO.

Djeflat, A. (1993) *Technologie et Systéme Educatif en Algérie.* Algiers: OPU.

Glasman, D. & Kremer, J. (1978) *Essai sur l'Université et les Cadres en Algérie.* Paris: CNRS.

Grandguillaume, G. (1983) *Arabisation et Politique Linguistique au Maghreb.* Paris: Françoise Maspéro.

Lacheraf, M. (1978) *Algérie, Nation et Société.* Algiers: SNED.

Lacheraf, M. (1988) *Ecrits Didactiques sur la Culture, l'Histoire et la Société.* Algiers: ENAP.

Miliani, M. (1984) Algeria's goal: a better stardard of living, *Middle East Education and Training,* Vol.6 (2) London: International Publications Ltd.

Miliani, M. (1991) Algeria, in *Handbook of World Education.* Houston, Texas: American Collegiate Service.

Necib, R. (1986) *Industrialisation et Système Educatif Algérien.* Algiers: OPU.

*12*

# IS THERE A SEMIPERIPHERAL TYPE OF SCHOOLING?
## State, Social Movements and Education in Spain, 1970-1994

XAVIER BONAL
XAVIER RAMBLA

**Abstract** - *This article applies the theory of semiperipheral societies developed by the Portuguese sociologist Boaventura de Souza Santos to the Spanish educational system. It is argued that the characteristics of semiperipheral societies can be observed at work in Spain's school system. The article reviews the main educational developments and changes from Santos' theoretical perspectives, and concludes by arguing that this type of analysis might change the automatic transportation of theories produced in central countries to those of the periphery and semiperiphery. It is proposed that a shift in frameworks can be particularly useful in comparative studies in the Mediterranean region.*

## Introduction

**I**f we had to adopt Western standards in educational development as a benchmark or referent, then Spain appears to be behind its continental neighbours, and somewhat a 'late-comer'. A mass school system had not been set up until the seventies, a true state school system had not existed until the eighties, participation in school decision-making had not been defined until 1985, and a system for vocational and educational training is still practically non-existent. These shortcomings have been key issues as far as educational legislation is concerned. The General Educational Act (LGE) of 1970 started a new model of state involvement in education. The school system had been historically dominated by the Church. The LGE 1970 signalled the first step in a change of state intervention culture, aiming to universalise provision of eight years of compulsory education and to extend post-compulsory secondary education. After Franco's death in 1975, democratic governments had to set the conditions for participation. The inheritance of a strong private educational system raised a political right-left contention. In 1981 a right-wing act was passed defending absolute ideological autonomy of schools. When Socialists came into power in 1982, they repealed the act and passed a new one based on a public model of schooling (Act on the Right to Education, LODE 1985). These struggles have delayed curriculum change until the approval of the 1990 General Educational System Act (LOGSE).

A similar pattern of events can be observed when we look at different dimensions of Spanish social structure. Economic organisation, public services, family patterns, labour markets, social movements, and so on have only recently adopted models prevailing in Western countries (Miguélez & Prieto 1991; Maravall 1985; Espina 1989; Flaquer 1990). For this reason, many authors argue that Spain is a backward country that is trying to accelerate its modernisation process (Moreno & Sarasa 1993).

It is our view that these alleged shortcomings must be contextualised within a reality distinct from Western countries, the 'centre' from where sociology normally analyses the phenomena. Other views assert that elements constituting social structures are articulated in different ways in different states or regions. With respect to education, Green (1990), Dale (1989) and Ramirez & Boli (1987) are supporters of this thesis. They see educational systems and the role of the State as the product of specific historical processes which have salient differences in spite of partial similarities, and therefore cannot be simply compared quantitatively.

In this article we want to ask if some of the issues raised by authors like Tilly (1993), Malefakis (1992), Santos (1990a, 1990b, 1992), Stoer et al. (1990) or Correia et al. (1993), contribute meaningfully towards an analysis of state intervention in Spanish educational policy. These authors have tried to sketch a South European region in their consideration of features of social structure or forms of state intervention. More specifically, we want to focus on Santos' theory of semiperipheral social structures and on the related analysis of the educational system in Portugal by Stoer (1994).

## The theory of semiperipheral societies applied to education

According to Santos (1992:109), semiperipheral societies are characterised by a significant articulated mismatch between production and social consumption, that is to say, consumption patterns are closer to central capitalist countries than is development of production. However, two factors enable society to cope with this mismatch. First of all, buffer groups in the social structure help meet the deficits of public provision. They fulfil the needs that markets and the state fulfil in other economies. For instance and with reference to the Spanish case, we can point out that women's domestic labour has played a key role in substituting welfare state provision; underground economy has complemented income in many areas and has helped many families to survive; and family support is necessary for small businesses, which represent one of the mainstays of the labour market.

State regulation has to be very wide in order to arbitrate these groups' de-centralised and scarcely institutionalised practices (Santos 1990). That is, the State is central in social and economic regulation, even though its direct intervention in production or in service provision is very narrow. For instance, social legislation allows some private institutions to provide education, health or social services, but maintains a bureaucratic control over their organisation. The main consequence of such an articulated mismatch is that the state is internally strong because of its wide field of activities, but it is often weakened by its own regulation: due to the heterogeneity of its policies, its legitimation is continuously strained.

In summary, following Santos, we can argue that in semiperipheral societies the contradiction between accumulation and legitimation is more acute than in central societies. Where a strong state has to deal with many heterogeneous demands,[1]

solutions to core problems of the capitalist state often became more contradictory because decisions setting accumulation conditions easily damage state legitimation.

Stoer et al. (1990), Correia et al. (1993), and Gomes (1994) draw on Santos' ideas when analysing the semiperipheral features of Portuguese educational system and policy. Thus far, this theory has not been applied to the Spanish case: however, some considerations allow us to think that similarities between Spain and Portugal can be analysed from the same theoretical perspective.

We could argue that the main mismatch pointed out by Santos can be translated into the educational field. The fact that the expansion of education and the economic crisis have taken place simultaneously in countries like Portugal, Spain or Greece, may explain the mismatch between educational 'production' (provision) and 'consumption' (demand) (Gomes 1994). In the case of Spain this can be observed in the surplus of students at the higher education level or in the inefficiency of the grant system to guarantee the continuity of eligible students (Clero 1993). The mismatch is also noticeable at other educational levels. For instance, although female activity rates are increasing (Espina 1989) - and therefore, so is demand for infant schooling - there is a lack of nurseries to facilitate it. Besides, although many teenagers leave school at sixteen or seventeen (Casal, Masjuan & Planas 1991), there is not a complete vocational education and training system for them.

Buffer groups make it possible to cope with this mismatch. Family networks take care of children or unemployed teenagers and family economies have to pay for indirect costs of higher education. That is one of the reasons why increasingly youngsters leave home later in life (Casal 1994).

As Santos (1990) suggests, in spite of deficits in educational provision, the state is able to manage the legitimation crisis through the production of legal measures. For instance, the state allows the private sector and local governments (which are not legally in charge) to provide infant schooling or youth training schemes. That is, the state is able to transfer educational provision to other actors when it cannot meet the demands. This type of educational policy broadens state regulation but moves it away from managing the final delivery of its service. Therefore, internal contradictions in educational policy-making are especially acute. For instance, the Act on the Right to Education (LODE 1985) had to standardise school organisation although half of the schools belonged to the private sector (Boix & García 1985). Similarly, the hiring of teachers remains very bureaucratic and centralised (Gimeno Sacristán 1995), whereas school autonomy has increased.

Stoer et al. (1990) and Bonal (1995) have shown how these internal contradictions lead to a specific logic of curriculum policy-making. Stoer et al. (1990) draw on Fritzell's (1987) arguments about the education-production correspondence to make a case that negative correspondence is more likely to pattern curriculum policy in semiperipheral societies. That is, due to legitimation problems, the state relies on structural autonomy and promotes democratic values more than industrial values. Bonal (1995) extends this thesis to the analysis of the last Spanish educational reform, arguing how expressive contents are particularly meaningful in curriculum change.

*15*

## The specificities of educational policy in a semiperipheral social formation: the case of Spain

In this section we try to sketch an explanation of the way in which Santos' arguments can be applied to an analysis of the recent history of Spanish educational system. It is our view that this historical approach has to introduce the role of agents in order to grasp the formation, the evolution and the consequences of semiperipheral contradictions in educational policy-making. In Giddens' terms (1993), we want to focus on the structuration of educational policy-making, considering both agents and structures. The interplay between agents and structures crystallises in what Dale (1989) refers to as the 'mandate' of an educational system. A mandate is an action programme establishing what is desirable and legitimate to expect from an educational system. At a certain moment, a specific mandate of an educational system is simultaneously shaped by the former mandate, the demands emerging from agents and through the social structure. This interplay fixes the limits of what is achievable and what is not in educational policy-making. In a semiperipheral state such as Spain, the ascendance of the state has become quite relevant, since it has imposed its own dynamics over the link between mandates and contradictions, and has even succeeded - at least temporarily - to model agents pressing over educational policy.

In the recent period of Spanish history several mandates have co-existed, but one of them has tended to predominate. Four periods may be distinguished in relation to the interplay between mandates, contradictions and agents.

### The 1970 - 1977 mandate

From 1970 to 1977 the late Francoist governments tried to re-define the mandate of the educational system in Spain. Since 1857 there had not been an Education act. The old mandate had just required educating élites and keeping the masses ignorant, because their literacy was openly perceived as a threat (De Puelles 1986). Some internal (migrations, baby-boom, emergence of technocratic élites) and external (agreement with EEC, foreign investment, tourism) factors provoked the need to legislate on many areas, one of them being education. The new mandate implied, therefore, a formal divide in Spanish history: *it aimed to set conditions for meritocratic reproduction.* Thus new technocratic élites could reproduce their positions and the external image of the régime was improved.

. Such a change in the political agenda of Francoism highlighted a *contradiction* that already existed due to the increasing number of students in universities (Lerena 1986). All of a sudden, the élitist educational system that could not manage massified universities declared it would provide equal opportunities for everybody. The consequence was that expectations were enhanced whereas participation was not allowed and facilities were not provided. Perception of deficits was automatically multiplied as neither primary schooling was guaranteed nor was massified University

helped. And what is more, the old monopoly of religious private schools, being based on the accepted and provoked shortcomings of the state system, was challenged.

| Mandate | Structural Contradictions | Main Agents |
|---|---|---|
| Building a meritocratic educational system | Raising expectations vs. Low participation and poor facilities | - Technocratic political élites<br>- Religious private sector<br>- Fragmentary anti-Francoist opposition |
| Democratisation of access to education (cost-free public education, building schools, conditions for participation) | - Previous mandate +<br>- Low participation<br>- Unchanging teachers working conditions<br>- Ideology of economic restrictions | Institutionalisation of demands:<br>- The Right represents the interests of the religious private sector<br>- The Left absorbs demands from community associations |
| - Improvement of the public sector by organising and broadening it<br>- Modernising the educational system according to European standards | - Non-involvement of 'industrial trainers' in educational policy<br>- The existence of a dual educational system | - Religious and private élitist schools<br>- Nationalistic political parties and other sectors<br>- Teachers' Union demands |
| - Curriculum change<br>- Excellence<br>- New concept of citizenship: an individualistic model | - Low prestige of VET<br>- Scarce resources<br>- Democratic deficits<br>- Bureaucratic assessment vs. de-regulation | - Teachers against labour conditions<br>- Students against *numerus clausus*<br>- Discreet involvement of new social movements in education |

Of course, implementation of LGE has oscillated from side to side during the twenty years when it has been the basic scheme of the Spanish educational system.

The interests of three main agents - namely, political élites, the Church and opposition movements - should be taken into account in order to understand why a true counter-reform was launched between 1971 to 1977. With respect to political élites, it can be suggested that state auto-rationalisation had begun in 1959, when

economic policy had been orientated in line with the OECD pattern. Free exchange rates and wider economic liberalisation eroded the basis over which the Financial Aristocracy had reconstructed its Ancien Régime hegemony in Spain (Moya 1975: 93-119). A new bureaucratic élite was born and consolidated around the Catholic movement called *Opus Dei*. Substitution of old factions supporting Francoism (the Party, pro-aristocratic Catholics, and the military) in Ministries, and aristocratic surnames in the main boards of directors, attained its peak by 1970. At first LGE aimed to broaden this new rationalistic legitimation.[2]

However, the aims of LGE were not accomplished because resources were diverted and potential support was eroded. Actually, its early implementation consisted of transferring huge subsidies to religious private schools in order to make sure that universal schooling could in fact be provided despite the lack of attention and resources accorded to the public system. Some pro-Church politicians negotiated this arrangement, although Catholic political dissent was notable. Furthermore, some university professors and school teachers withdrew political reformist pressure after the first legal developments (Subirats 1974).[3]

Social movements increasingly exerted pressure but they failed to constitute a coordinated nation-wide platform. In the educational field social movements drew their strength from three sources, namely the professional class, the working-class, and community associations. But these found expression in a middle class, professionalised movement and a working-class suburb-based movement. The first had its roots in Catalonia and Euskadi, where the middle-classes turned to the school in order to ensure new and academic ways to guarantee social and cultural reproduction (Subirats 1975). The second one remained restricted to a local context, where educational and labour demands often merged (Balfour 1990).

In summary, during this mandate the state was able to define a formally meritocratic educational system, but it could not implement it fully because structural contradictions and fragmentary societal demands restricted what was actually achievable.

## The 1978 - 1982 mandate

A second period can be distinguished between 1978 to 1982. This is the first democratic period, also known as the phase of political transition. The new mandate tried to *respond to former contradictions without substantially changing either the structure of the system or the curriculum.* The 1978 Moncloa Agreement between parliamentary parties (Socialists and Communists who represented trade unions as well) defined educational policy as one of the main instruments leading to an equitable distribution of the burden of economic crisis (Bas 1978). Specifically, the mandate could be summarised by stating that educational policy was entrusted to bridge the gap between the LGE of 1970 and actual policy ever since. The main agenda in educational politics was an ambitious construction programme since several schools

had to be built if access to education was to be democratised

Naturally, the same contradictions highlighted by the late Francoist counter-reform were salient during the period of political transition. But new contradictions emerged too. Firstly, although participation was now not only allowed but also proclaimed, its range and intensity did not increase dramatically (Fdez. Enguita 1993). Secondly, some professional demands - such as teachers' claim for increased status, or young university teachers' lobby consisting of demands about labour conditions and pedagogy - were delayed because Socialist parliamentary opposition blocked the Centrist government project for university autonomy (*Ley de Autonomía Universitaria:* LAU, 1981) and also eroded its act on school organisation (*Ley Orgánica de Estatuto de Centros Educativos:* LOECE, 1981) (De Puelles 1986). Thirdly, perception of deficits was institutionalised and simultaneously counteracted by official discourse on the grounds of restricting expenditure in times of crisis.

Pluralism was adopted in educational policy-making, thus redefining the role of agents. Both bureaucratic élites and the Church configurated their interests in the new *Unión de Centro Democrático*, the party backing the government. Parliamentary opposition, on the other hand, recruited a generation of younger politicians with the goal of developing a new cadre of professional élites and in the hope of striking a new deal with the Church. Thus the school-building programme and the debate on organisational structures contributed towards the consolidation of new institutional actors. Socialists and Communists were instrumental in channelling social movement demands into this debate, one embracing health and housing as well as education. They convinced the unions that it was important to reach an agreement on these issues, and they co-opted leaders of the community associations movement into local governments. In some ways they absorbed forces from civil society so as to make the agreement possible.

As a consequence, de-mobilisation followed the institutionalisation of demands (Subirats 1988; Lope et al. 1989) and a vague consciousness of consensus became a key but weak element of civic culture (Pérez Díaz 1991b). It can be concluded that 'consensus', the main motto of political discourse during those years, gave rise to a 'silencer effect' (Orti 1989). In Catalonia, for instance, the silencer effect may have relied on the split between locally-based demands on the one hand, and the debate on ethnicity on the other. After 1978 schools and primary health care centres became established to such an extent that popular expectations were quantitatively met, and the suburbs had obtained facilities they lacked. On the other hand, 1979 elections for the *Generalitat* autonomous Government galvanised a debate on ethnicity that consolidated a Catalan national consciousness. Political autonomy, abolished by Francoism after the Republic, had been a symbol for all political opposition movements, starting from those defending the immigrants' social rights to those defending Catalan political rights. In education as in other fields, working-class and community association movements accepted the idea of political autonomy although it was not their priority. After the 1978 Agreement and the 1979 election a double-sided

definition of ethnicity became hegemonic. Whereas Catalonia was homogeneously perceived as an oppressed nation within Spain, the meaning of its symbols merged with the perception of social inequalities in the Catalan context (Woolard 1989). In this way, the abstract definition of ethnicity became the mark of nationhood and social rights were relegated.

We can conclude that democratisation of access was restricted to some quantitative issues during this mandate. Internal qualitative contradictions of schooling became salient and civil society was broken up by political parties.

## The 1982 -1985 mandate

From 1982 to 1985 the new Socialist government brought about a significant change in Spanish education policy. The Socialists had already announced, during the Centrist legislature, their intention to repeal the Schools Administration Act (LOECE) passed in 1981. With the new legislature, Right and Left positions concerning educational policy were more rigidly defined than before. While the Right centred its discourse on school choice and an ideology of autonomy for private schools (even for those subsidised by the State), Socialists were basically supporters of the principle of equality of opportunity and of compensatory policies, and were especially involved in the development of a new education act meant to consolidate the public education sector as well as parental involvement in school administration.

Over and above such goals, educational policy had to start responding to the deep changes in economy and production. An efficient policy was necessary to modernise curricula and to improve teacher training, thus developing a better education system, one that was in synchrony with new societal demands.

Thus, during this period, the education policy mandate was shaped by the need to compensate for historical inequalities between private and public schools, but the educational system also had to avoid obsolescence, and to be closer to European educational systems (Maravall 1985). Equality and excellence appeared as two simultaneous needs, ones that were in perpetual tension due to a poor educational budget.

But contradictions inside and outside the educational system made it very difficult to attain both goals. Excellence was a rather difficult objective for educational policy to achieve because there were no historical links with the production system. Besides, the very existence of a dual education system and the inheritance of a culture of school-choice among the middle-classes constrained the state's attempts to unify criteria and to broaden the public sector. The political struggle over the Right to Education Act (LODE 1985) illustrates the resistance that private schools could put up to guard themselves against loss of privileges. It was impossible to bring about any curriculum change before implementing a compensatory policy to correct historical inequalities. In this process of struggle, the

ministry had to deal with different interests embodied by different agents. The Church and private élitist schools centred their demands against State interventionism on school ideology. The focus of the struggle was located on the school owner's freedom to hire and fire teachers depending on how close they were to the school ideology and practices. But the Socialist government also had to deal with another private school sector (CEPEPC) - a progressive one, born in Catalonia as an alternative to the national schools during Francoism - whose demands for moving into the public system had not yet been met.

On the other hand, the demands on the part of nationalist parties and other non-public educational organisations for the decentralisation of educational competencies added other difficulties to the development of a uniform policy in favour of equity (Boix & Garcia 1985).

In a context of insufficient funding, a compensatory policy could only be addressed by taking money away from one educational sector and allocating it to the public sector. This zero sum game was in fact played out in part, and at the cost of private suburban schools, which almost disappeared during the eighties. But it did not affect church schools or those of the secular bourgeoisie (Mayoral 1989).

The consolidation of the public educational sector also had to face teachers' demands on labour conditions. Non-civil servant teachers (PNN) - who had begun their struggle in the late seventies - became a huge problem in the early eighties. At the same time, decentralisation processes put pressure on the State in terms of maintaining the same wage level for all Spanish teachers, including those working in regions with full competences on education budget allocations (Iriso 1990). This process became particularly acute in Catalonia after 1987, since many teachers decided to leave their work places when knowledge of the Catalan language became a prerequisite for teaching in primary schools. Having left their work places, they were also losing some acquired privileges, since Catalan teachers had won a salary increase after 1987.

To summarise, in the 1982-85 period, the conflictual interests of different agents collided in the discussion of the very controversial Right to Education Act (LODE). Here, the goal of educational equality of opportunity was, for the first time, an objective of educational policy. But this goal implied severe political costs to different social groups. Religious private schools, secular and progressive private schools, Parents' Associations, regional governments of Teachers' Unions: all of these had different interests and problems within the educational system. The very different reactions of these sectors during and after the passing of the 1985 LODE shows how impossible it is for the State to go beyond the content of the Act to move in the direction of a more Left-wing educational policy. Thus a mandate aiming to find a balance between equity and excellence ran into difficulties mainly due to a low correspondence between education and production, and due to resistance from the private sector. Moreover, labour and nationalistic demands entered into the political agenda.[4]

## The 1985 - 1994 mandate

The State faced two challenges during the more recent period, 1985-1994. On the one hand, the State had to restructure the educational system in response to different pressures. Among these one can mention internal decentralisation, European convergence of educational systems, and the implementation of LODE, all of which compelled the State to introduce changes in compulsory schooling and school administration. On the other hand, a curriculum change was particularly urgent. Schools were still under the 1970 General Education Act. Everything was out of date in terms of textbooks, knowledge areas, teacher training programmes, teachers' expectations and mobility, the vocational/academic division, and so on.

These two main challenges have modelled the new mandate of educational policy for the last decade. The state has had to change the structure and the content of the educational system. The most important word in current official discourse is quality of education. Actually, after the failure of Savary's Act in France (Weiler 1989), Socialists learnt to focus on quality instead of equity.

The new mandate concentrated on excellence in educational provision as a means to achieve European competitiveness and also as a means to guarantee individual development. In this period there is a turn towards a new concern for citizenship. The 'social group' loses ascendance in the discourse in favour of the rights and duties of 'individuals,' both as a vehicle for national development and in terms of developing personal potential.

A process culminating with the approval of the 1990 Educational Reform Act (LOGSE) bears witness to the constraints and contradictions which surround the project, and which determine both content and conditions for the implementation of the educational reform.

The contradictions that prevail in the implementation of the new mandate are internal and external to the education system. On the one hand, technical and vocational education has had neither the social status nor the public attention that academic education has enjoyed. Therefore, the 'new vocationalist' policy is used more as a tool for state legitimation than as a direct response to productive needs (Bonal 1995).

Another problem concerns resources: although LOGSE declares educational expenditure must attain European levels, actual budgets do not (Gárzon & Recio 1992).

Thirdly, the Spanish educational system still has enormous democratic deficiencies which are directly translated into social pressures on the field of educational policy-making. It is therefore difficult for the State to speak in terms of excellence of secondary schooling, since this sector has never been a compulsory or a comprehensive one. It is also difficult for the State to promote efficiency measures in school management and administration within a very bureaucratic mode of school

assessment and inspection, or to develop a more democratic system of school participation (through school councils[5] included in LODE ) whilst encouraging a more enterprise-run culture of school management. Actually, after the 1985 LODE, parental involvement in schools has been a complete failure. Thus, barely ten years later, the first draft of the new act on participation and quality places the responsibility for school administration in the hands of headteachers (MEC, 1994).

Finally, contradictions can also be identified in curricular aspects, and this mainly due to the low correspondence between education and production. Post-Fordist policies lose coherence when considering what labour places are available after vocational training. Contradictions are also located in curriculum decisions. De-regulation only operates at the level of curriculum decisions and practices whilst the State keeps a bureaucratic culture to assess teachers and schools (Gimeno Sacristán 1995).

Concerning agents, only hypotheses can be advanced at this moment because, to our knowledge, there are no sociological analyses available on this issue. Certainly, demands exist, but they are fragmentary. The 1990 Educational Reform Act (LOGSE) is supported by a wide consensus in comparison to LODE. The only protest came from the Church and the Catholic Parents Associations, who were against the exclusion of religion as a compulsory subject in the curriculum.

Teachers launched a strike in 1989 claiming better wages and improved labour conditions in reaction to a policy favouring their economic proletarianisation. Students' movements protested against *numerus clausus* regulating access to university. In 1987 they launched another strike against this measure and the protest led to the resignation of the minister. Very particularised conflicts - such as claims against cuts of posts for philosophy teachers in secondary education, or struggles between short-term (*diplomatura*) and long-term (*licenciatura*) professional bodies - are spreading. On the other hand, new social movements have not been very effective in influencing educational policy, or, more specifically curriculum development. Feminist and environmentalist concerns do feature in curricula, but it is difficult to judge the extent to which this is a consequence of pressures from social movements. Moreover, feminist issues have been promoted through institutionalised channels.

However, this segmentation of interests might be overcome as long as civil society realises that LOGSE goals are not met due to budget cuts and delays. *Comisiones Obreras,* one of the main teachers' unions, has campaigned for a new financial act for the educational system. At the same time, there have been since 1994 a number of demonstrations by parents, teachers and students demanding a true implementation of LOGSE.

In summary, although the educational mandate has shifted from equality to quality, similar structural contradictions remain. This time, the state had regulated and contained both Right-wing and Left-wing demands, but potential dissent is noticeable among fragmentary and newly institutionalised interlocutors.

*23*

# Conclusion

Educational policy must be analysed within a broader context that must be defined on theoretical grounds. In this article we have tried to point out the main features of schooling and educational policy in Spain. It is our view that the 'backwardness approach' should be avoided in order to grasp the specificities of a semiperipheral social formation. That implies taking both structural properties and the agents' role into account. Two concepts must therefore be related when analysing a semiperipheral type of schooling: mandate and contradictions influence agents, and conversely agents may raise recursive effects on mandate and contradictions.

Two main conclusions can be stated. First of all, our historical analysis of the Spanish system from 1970 to 1994 has shown the progressive structuring of a public school sector. However, in contrast with central countries, it is a semiperipheral type of schooling because it entails a significant gap between aspirations and provision. Although facilities were provided between 1978 and 1985, remaining qualitative and quantitative deficits have continued to produce structural contradictions. For this reason, Spanish schooling relies on buffer groups, has not been subjected to strong regulation, and keeps a low correspondence with the production system.

Secondly, legitimation through educational policy-making has been confronted with newly institutionalised and very fragmentary demands. The public-private contention has been especially acute between 1970 and 1985, this being the core political issue. With respect to the other demands, the eighties have witnessed the segmentation of the previous anti-Francoist consensus: teachers struggle for improved labour conditions, student movements protest against *numerus clausus,* a number of private secular schools struggle to become state schools, regions make nationalistic demands for decentralisaiton, and so on. This kind of pressure has compelled the State to deal with many legitimation problems, and to institutionalise interlocutors for negotiation.

These two points contribute to an understanding of the semiperipheral nature of Spanish schooling. Similarities with other Mediterranean countries could make comparison worthwhile for theoretical and empirical reasons.

# Notes

[1] Certainly, every state deals with heterogeneous demands (Dale 1989), but demands are even more heterogeneous in semiperipheral states because the social structure is much more fragmentary (Santos 1990a).
[2] We support this thesis instead of an alternative one stating that counter-reform can be explained simply by arguing that internationally homologated educational policy foundered because a weak industrial capitalist fraction had not enough strength to back it (Bozal & Paramio 1975). Agents disappear in this deterministic view since it implies that a necessary process of modernisation is halted because one of its alleged necessary conditions is not fulfilled.
[3] In fact the church found itself in an ironic situation. On the one hand, state religious confession and generous educational subsidies show that the Church was at the height of its hegemonic power. On the other hand, however and simultaneously, many clerics were questioning 'their own' Church's triumph by pointing out that young people, workers and non-Castillian citizens had been ignored (Pérez Díaz 1991a), and that

the key educational issues raised by these categories had not been dealt with by the LGE.

[4] Educational policy during this period might have provided an appropriate context for the take-off of the public education sector. However, more qualitative goals linked to the development of a policy favouring equality of opportunity and including reforms of curricula and of vocational education - were not met. The fact that 'industrial trainers' were not involved in educational policy-making - especially in vocational education - did not contribute at all to substitute obsolete content and pedagogical methods. Qualitative changes did take place in the university sector. The University went through a process of nationalisation, with departments being run by elected directors rather than personal chairs, and market-based degrees set up, for instance. Paradoxically however, access to the non-university sector remained quite undemocratic. Neither was this sector marked by an improvement in quality.

[5] School councils are the main decision-making bodies at the school level. Teachers, parents, local government and pupils are represented.

---

**Xavier Bonal** *is a graduate of Economics (UAB, 1978). He holds a PhD in Sociology from the Autonomous University of Barcelona (UAB), and lectures in Sociology of Education and Social Structure in the Department of Sociology at the UAB. He is currently research director of the GRECS (Research Group in Education, Culture and Society) at the Institute of Education (UAB).*

**Xavier Rambla** *is a graduate of Contemporary History (UAB, 1989) and of Sociology (UAB, 1991). He obtained his PhD in Sociology in 1995 (UAB). He is currently a lecturer in Methodology in the Department of Sociology at the UAB and a researcher with the GRECS (Research Group in Education, Culture and Society at the Institute of Education UAB). Address for correspondence: Department of Sociology, Autonomous University of Barcelona, Bellaterra (Barcelona) Spain. Tel: (3) 5811784; Fax: (3) 5812007.*

## References

Balfour, S. (1990) *The Workers, the City and Dictatorship.* Cambridge: CUP.

Bas, J.M. (1978) Pacto de la Moncloa y política educativa, *Cuadernos de Pedagogía,* Vol.37.

Bonal, X. (1995) Curriculum change as a form of educational policy legitimation: The Case of Spain, *International Studies in Sociology of Education,* Vol.5(2).

Boix,M. & García, J.A. (1985) *La Lode Anàlisi i Comentaris des de Catalunya a una Llei Controvertida.* Barcelona:UB.

Bozal,V., Paramio L. et al. (1975) *La Enseñanza en España.* Madrid: Alberto Corazón.

Calero, J.(1993) *Efectos del Gasto Público Educativo, El Sistema de Becas Universitarias.* Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona.

Casal, J. (1994) *L'emancipació Familiar Des Joves.* Universitat Auntònoma de Barcelona: Unpublished Phd Dissertation.

Casal, J., Masjuan & J.Mª. Planas, J. (1991) *La Inserción Laboral y Social de los Jóvenes.* Madrid: CIDE.

Correia, J.A., Stoleroff, A.D. & Stoer, S. (1993) A ideologia da modernização no sistema educativo em Portugal, *Cadernos de Ciências Sociais,* Vol. 12/13.

Dale, R. (1989) *The State and Education Policy.* London: Open University Press.

De Puelles, M. (1986) *Educación e Ideología en España.* Barcelona: Labor.

Espina, A. (1989) La mujer en el nuevo mercado de trabajo, *Economía y Sociología del Trabajo* Vol.6.

Fdez. Enguita, M. (1993) *La Profesión Docente y la Comunidad Escolar: Crónica de un Desecuentro* Madrid: Morata.

Flaquer, Ll. (1990) La familia española: cambio y perspectivas. In S. Giner (ed) *España. Sociedad y Política.* Madrid: Epasa-calpe.

Fritzell, C. (1987) On the concept of relative autonomy in educational theory, *British Journal of Sociology of Education,* Vol.8(1).

Gimeno Sacristán, J. (1995) La desregulación del currículum y la autonomía de los centros escolares, *Signos,* Vol.13.

Garzón, B., Recio, M. (Martes 3 de Marzo de 1992) Reforma educativa y convergencia Europea, *El País.*

Gay, J., Quitllet R. & Pascual, A. (1973) *Societat Catalana i Reforma Escolar.* Barcelona: Laia.

Gomes, R. (1994) O discurso educativo e o poder: ensaio analítico das retóricas educativas em Portugal (1974-1991), Paper presented at *II Congrés Català de Sociologia.* Girona (15-16 April).

Gómez Llorente, L. (1983) La política educativa, *Cuadernos de Pedagogía,* Vol.100.

Green, A. (1990) *Education and state formation. The Rise of Education Systems in England, France and the USA.* London: Macmillan.

Iriso, P.L. (1990) *Estructura del estado y relaciones industriales: los sindicatos en la educación pública española.* Estudios/Working Papers No 9. IESA-CSIC.

Lope, A. Jordana, J. Carrasquer, P. (1989) La nova etapa de l'acció sindical a espanya: transformacions laborals i canvis estratègics, *Papers, Revista de Sociologia,* Vol.32.

Malefakis, E. (1992) *Southern Europe in the 19th & 20th Centuries: An Historical Overview.* In Estudios/Working Papers IESA-CSIC No.35.

Maravall, J.Mª (1985) *La Reforma de la Enseñanza.* Barcelona: Laia.

Mayoral, V. (1989) Dualismo escuela pública-escuela en españa. In J. Paniagua & A. San Martín (eds) *Diez Años de Educación ed España* (1978-1988). Alzira: UNED.

MEC (1994) *Centros Educativos y Calidad de la Enseñanza.* Madrid: MEC.

Miguélez, F. & Prieto, C. (1991) *Las Relaciones Laborales en Espanã.* Madrid: Siglo XXI.

Moreno, L. & Sarasa, S. (1993) Génesis y desarrollo del estado del bienstar en españa, *Revista Internacional de Sociología,* Vol.6.

Moya, C. (1975) *El Poder Económico en España.* Madrid: Tucar Ed.

Orti, A. (1989) Transición postfranquista a la monarquí parlamentaria y relaciones de clase: del desencanto programado a la socialtecnocracia transnacional. In J. Paniagua & A. San Martín, (eds): *Diez años de educación en España* (1978-1988). Alzira: UNED.

Pérez Díaz,V. (1991a) *The Church and Religion in Contemporary Spain.* Estudios Working Papers. Madrid: IESA-CSIC.

Pérez Díaz, V. ( 1991b) La emergencia de la españa democrática: *La invención de una tradición y la dudosa institucionalización de una democracia* estudios. Working Papers, Madrid: IESA-CSIC.

Ramírez, F.O. & Boli J. (1987) The political construction of mass schooling: European origins and worldwide institutionalisation, *Sociology of Education,* Vol.60.

Santos, B. de Sousa (1990a) O estado e os modos de produçao de poder social. In *A Sociologia de Sociedade Portuguesa na Viragen do Século.* Lisboa: Fragmentos.

Santos, B. de Sousa (1990b) State, wage relations and social welfare in the semiperiphery: the case of Portugal. Paper presented at the Havens center for the study of social structure and social change. Madison: University of Winsconsin Sociology Department.

*26*

Santos, B. de Sousa (1992) *O Estado e a Sociedade em Portugal (1974-1988)*. Lisboa: Ediçoes Afrontamento.

Stoer, S., Stoleroff, A. & Correia, J.A. (1990) O novo vocacionalismo na política educativa em Portugal e a reconstrução da lógica da acumulção, *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais,* Vol.29.

Stoer, S., Stoleroff, A. & Correia J.A. (1994) Construindo a 'escola democratica' attravés do 'Campo de recontextualizaçao pedagógica', *Educaçao, Sociedade e Cultura,* Vol.1.

Subirats, M. (1974) Los primeros cuatro años de la ley general de educación, *Cuadernos de Pedagogía,* Vol.1.

Subirats, M. (1975) De la renovació pedagòcica a Catalunya, *Perspectiva Escolar,* Vol.3.

Subirats, M. (1984) L'evolució de les forces socials: mobilització i desmobilització, *Papers: Revista de Sociologia.*

Tilly, C. (1993) *Coerción, Capital y los Estados Europeos, 990-1990.* Madrid: Alianza.

Weiler, H. (1989) Why reforms fail: the politics of education in France and the Federal Republic of Germany, *Journal of Curriculum Studies,* Vol.21(4).

Blank Page

# THE REFORM OF MASS SCHOOLING IN PORTUGAL (1974-1991)

## RUI GOMES

**Abstract** - *This article discusses the crisis of mass schooling in a semiperipheral country. It draws on a theoretical framework that highlights and analyses the field of educational rhetoric in order to reveal the specific characteristics of the reforms of the Portuguese educational system in the 70s and in the 80s. The article concludes by arguing that the analysis of Mediterranean educational systems needs to be placed in a more suitable theoretical context, one built upon comparative studies.*

## Introduction

*C*hanges in policies in Portugal over the past twenty years have tended to follow - with a time lag - the direction and trends pursued by advanced capitalist countries. However, Portugal has its own specificity, one determined by its semiperipheral position in the world system (Wallerstein 1984; Santos 1990). The status of semiperipherality positions the Portuguese State centrally, endowing it with the corresponding monopoly of power but not with legitimation. In such a context, policies adopted in the social arena - and especially in the field of education - play a crucial part in reproducing and managing the permanent contradiction between accumulation and legitimation. As a consequence of this, the State is obliged to spend above its resources in order to win consensus.

The Portuguese State has maintained a monopoly over some domains of social production and reproduction. Several arguments have been suggested in order to explain this State's central position. Some authors (Santos 1986; Stoer and Araújo 1992) suggest that this is the consequence of the disarticulation between on the one hand the modernisation of the juridical-institutional framing of social production and reproduction relationships, and actual social practices on the other. This leads to a situation where delayed capitalist relations coexist - at the same time and in the same social field - with advanced consumption and social rights patterns similar to those prevailing in countries belonging to the capitalist centre.

## Semiperipheric countries and the State

The assumption underpinning this article is that it is the State that promotes the separation between politics and the economy in semiperipheral countries. Here, the demands for resources accompanying the acquisition of new social rights are not in synchrony with the limits imposed by capitalist accumulation. State provision is based on the compatibility between economic growth and social policies, and between

accumulation and legitimation. Such legitimation is the result of the externalisation of politics towards the economic arena. Hence, the social right to education, once created and expanded by the entrenchment of democratic processes, gives rise to new social aspirations and leads to the acquisition of new rights. This amplifying effect configures the inherent toughness of rights: in this context, one will find it very difficult to justify a diminution of investment in education, for instance, even when there is an economic downturn. This is precisely why the 'rhetoric of rationality' thrives when the system expands demographically and when the State intensifies its delivery of resources, and 'normative rhetoric' surfaces when the economy falters, and when students, with their optimistic expectations and aspirations, keep on flooding the educational system.

It is when the latter happens that the smooth and harmonious running of the system is jeopardised, given the contradiction between, on the one hand, an instrumental logic - which tries to respond to economic needs with productive and socially effective policies - and the context of social legitimation on the other - which promotes the same opportunities for all. The first rationality could be said to be guided by a logic of pragmatism and social hierarchy, while the second privileges contractual and politically equitable solutions.

With the political and social changes that occurred when the dictatorial regime was overthrown in 1974, the Portuguese educational system was subjected to two kinds of pressures. One consisted of a movement in favour of a greater technical rationality in the fields of education and welfare. In other words, proponents of this view considered that the efficacy of the accumulation process could only be obtained if these two fields were more tightly and intimately connected to the requirements of a modernising economy. It is the market and the economy which defines the field, irrespective of the real social and political contexts and aspirations that define those same fields. Here, a technocratic policy that considers the student as a producer fails to politicise production relations, being insensitive to their particularistic character.

A second pressure on education favours the maximisation of equality in 'access and success', and considers the student as a citizen. Such pressure was expressed through the medium of the State. The latter's need for legitimation led, between 1974 and 1986, to the granting of new social rights, including the right to democratic access to education. Given the general and abstract character of this right, the financial burden of education has tended to increase during periods of economic crisis. Increasing youth unemployment, for instance, has forced the education system to become more flexible, and has delayed the operationalisation of selection mechanisms in order to enable students to stay on at school beyond the compulsary school-attending age. This means that for the Portuguese State, the need for social policies is greater as the resources to fulfill them diminish.

The growth in democracy and the acquisition of new rights led to an increase in demand for education. However, the fact that tardy expansion of mass schooling took place in a historical conjucture marked by crisis meant that the State increasingly found it difficult to maintain social harmony and to legitimise itself. It also had to

adopt a strong internal role, given that the delay in the fulfillment of cultural and social rights similar to those enjoyed in developed countries in the captalist centre was accompanied by a delay in the process of accumulation. However, a strong State presence does not necessarily signify society's support for its educational policies. It is precisely when such legitimation deficits cannot be avoided that the State tries to compensate for them by intensifying rhetorical measures that attempt to justify planned policies.

The historical evolution of mass schooling in Portugal has indeed been dominated by what Soysal and Strang (1989) refer to as the 'rhetorical construction of education'. It has been characterised by the early formulation of the principle of compulsory, universal and free school (1820), and by the tardiness of this accomplishment. Indeed, the Portuguese State has always been able to talk about - rather than to actually bring about - educational reform. In this way, the State tries to compensate for the decrease of goods, services and resources by expanding symbolic goods that allow it to control social expectations and aspirations. For this reason, it is crucial to analyse Portuguese educational policies through the legitimating discourse employed by the State, for this is nothing but a study of a technology that redistributes power. This discourse in fact, rather than describing prescribes and, while it is a symptom of the reality it is embedded in, it is also a way to make reality come about.

## The crisis of mass schooling

During the last two decades the educational system in Portugal has been marked by a number of important changes. These have altered the context of stability that had hitherto prevailed on account of the State's monopoly in the educational field and due to the somewhat ingenuous belief that the educational system is characterised by a continuity rather than a rupture with the past. But over the past twenty years, educational policies in Portugal had to deal with a double crisis: growing and aging. The growth/expansion crisis led to a legitimacy crisis, and the aging crisis gave rise to a crisis of hegemony.

We can speak of an expansion crisis because, as has already been mentioned, and in contrast with other European countries, the extension of compulsory schooling to nine years as well as the increase in schooling rates happened only recently in Portugal. It was only in 1990 that Portugal achieved 99% access in the first cycle, 70 % in the second cycle, and 55% in the third cycle. As late as 1987, Portugal had the lowest schooling rate among European countries.

Similarly, it was only in the late 80s that a policy of investments in building and educational resources ensured that the minimal requirements ensuring the regular functioning of schools were in place. Such developments were only possible thanks to funding from the European Union, and the distribution of, and access to resources was in any case marked by regional asymmetries.

The massification of schooling at all levels - what is being referred to here as the

expansion crisis - obviously required increasing investment in education. But if one had to consider the GNP average and the percentage of State budget allocation to education, one becomes aware of the extent to which Portugal's investment in education remains the lowest in Europe (4.1% in 1985 and 4.8% in 1990; 10.9% in 1985 and 11.3% in 1990). That is, while the Portuguese educational system requires an economic context of distributive expansion, it finds itself constrained by crisis and depression in investments. And this is why the crisis in expansion keeps delaying the fulfilment of the promise of equal opportunities for access. That also explains why there is a legitimation crisis preventing the school from being consensually accepted.

What we have termed the aging crisis is characterised by the obsolescence of ways of accessing knowledge and skills. This crisis has been based on two opposed points of view. On the one hand, the school curriculum and the organisation of pedagogic work are seen to be subtle, differentiating mechanisms. Among the most important of such mechanisms are those that, through processes of hidden and symbolic violence, impose codes and attitudes that undervalue the culture of the new social groups that now have access to the school.

On the other hand, there is a modernising discourse, which imputes the crisis to low levels of education and outdated curricula that fail to respond to the challenges imposed by the end of modernity. As a consequence of this view, it is suggested that education should be modernised and diversified to produce the knowledge and skills demanded by modern economies (OECD 1985). In this context, the creation of a techno-professional branch and the opening of professional schools reveals the extent to which the State finds it impossible to respond to the contradiction between canonical knowledge and functional knowledge within the ambit of a unified education structure. Concepts like 'efficiency', 'optimisation' and 'school quality' are bandied about as the idea of transforming the school into a business is increasingly seen as the one best way to catch up with Europe and the rest of the world, in both political and social terms. No alternatives are considered viable to this strategy, and hence autonomous political decision-making withers away given that choices from among options are already determined by the rational-scientific directives given by specialists from international agencies.

In this way, the wave of reform that marked education policy-making in the 80s was based on a rhetoric of modernisation and social efficiency, and was a powerful means of social selection despite the declared goal of equalisation of opportunities. Given that the State is unable to fulfil contradictory functions, the school becomes subject to a crisis of hegemony, leading the State itself and some social groups to investigate other means and routes to attain their goals. The fight against comprehensive education is but one aspect of this crisis.

Furthermore, the consolidation of mass schooling in Portugal has, due to its specific history and characteristics, given rise to a whole set of consequences which are explored below.

In the first place, democratisation of education has generated a mismatch between

people's expectations - fanned as these have been by increased opportunities for access - and the ability of the social and school system to respond to these expectations. This mismatch has generated a legitimation crisis, so that the school ends up promising more than it can in fact deliver (Shapiro 1984), and raises aspirations while at the same time dashing them through its selection mechanisms (Grácio 1986).

In the second place, increasing opportunities for access lead to increasing social and educational heterogeneity. This in turn gives rise to processes of differentiation in areas as diverse as curriculum, pedagogy, organisational set-ups and nature of the professional corps. It is true to say that neither the State nor teachers were prepared for such developments, with the result that schools found themselves experiencing an efficiency crisis. There was a decrease in the professional level of teachers, accompanied by a lowering of requirements for those who wanted to train to become teachers, and hence making the job more accessible to larger numbers of applicants.

In the third place, the massification of the school system highlighted the bifurcation between the penchant of modernisation for a liberal economic view of education - one, that is, which considers education as a producer of human resources and social status - and another view which justifies and legitimises the school in purely educational terms. The confrontation between the different expectations of the two camps - and the inability of the school to respond effectively to such expectations - is an important element in the constitution of the crisis of mass schooling.

In the fourth place, open access to education leads the school into a headlong confrontation with the paradox of a pedagogic society (Beillerot 1982). The latter values formation as a factor contributing to production, but devalues and fails to appreciate the extent to which the school provides an effective context for socialisation. Rather, alternative socialisation mechanisms are considered to compensate for the inadequacy of the school in this regard, as well as for its imputed inability to maintain a productive relationship with the world of work, and for its failure to fulfil the aspirations of an individual for status, obtained on the basis of meritocratic endeavour rather than inheritance or ascription.

In short, one could argue that the crisis of mass schooling is based on four types of contradictions:

• the social contradiction between the democratic function of schooling in its attempts to promote equal opportunities for all, and the stratification function that ensures the uneven appropriation of the educational system by those social groups better placed in the logic of capitalist accumulation.

• the structural contradiction between, on the one hand, the State's bureaucratic rationality - which is distributive, based on laws, and on the norms and formal rules that aim to assure the State's strength and legitimacy, and, on the other hand, an industrial and market rationality which is productive, outcomes oriented, and which aims to devolve the legitimation process by distributing the responsibility for results onto the local actors.

• the institutional contradiction that arises from the need of the school to

establish homogeneity so that it can legitimise its credentialling function, and from the need to promote differentiation in order to cater for the various social and cultural segments of the school population and to legitimise the educational functions of the institution. This contradiction is played out in the progressive curricular and institutional separation between canonical knowledge and functional, technical knowledge.

•    the organisational contradiction between the search for types of organic solidarity that expresses new cultural attitudes towards the State and the maintenance of forms of mechanical solidarity based upon the dynamics of the State. This contradiction leads the State into a confrontation within itself, where rational and normative models of management of educational systems are presented in a contradictory way. Thus, the former model tries to respond to questions related to rationalisation and resource optimisation; the latter tries to respond to consent, mobilisation and involvement of the educational actors' perspectives and problems.

## From a centralised to a de-centralised instrumental rationality

The dynamics of these contradictions have created a specific set of conditions, to which the State has responded in two main directions, changing the nature of its policy. It has first of all progressively replaced its distributive or allocative policies by productive policies (Offe 1975, 1985). Through this, the State intended to reduce its public expenditure. However, the opposite happened since *"when the State adopts a more active role, this provokes an enormous expansion of the bureaucracy, and renders the rationality criteria that had dominated the State's performance until then obsolete"* (Santos 1990:199).

The model adopted for the production and diffusion of reforms and changes in the Portuguese educational system seems to follow this pattern. There is first a recognition of the obsolescence of the old criteria of rationality, together with a tendency to homogenise practices inside the system from the inputs (rules, norms, and so on). Proposals for reforms come next, and these are informed by an instrumental rationality that puts a premium on prediction, and on decentralised control of the heterogeneities relating to outcomes (results, fulfilment of targeted goals, and so on). Consequently, technical instrumentality is displaced from the macro-structural space of the State to the local space of the decentralised structures of the administration and the social - organisational contexts of the schools. As a result of this, an instrumental spiral develops in which the promise of technical solutions increases the search for the State's services. In its turn, the State finds itself increasingly pressed to generate rational consent, and in order to achieve this adds new administrative controls (Ewert 1991:367).

A second way in which the State tries to respond to the contradictions enunciated earlier is by compensating for the reduction of goods, services and resources through the expansion of symbolic goods. One example of this type of symbolic production,

*34*

established in the Portuguese educational reforms, concerns the rhetoric which, on the one hand, assigns teachers the role of privileged agents of change, and on the other grants local actors and communities such as parents, local authorities and enterprises the role of 'electors' with the right to determine the educational projects of the school.

The first case deals with an arrangement, what we can refer to as 'State professionalism'. In this case, and contrary to other forms of professionalism, it is the State apparatus itself which promotes a direct connection between reform specialists and reform executives. The State, appealing to a sense of professional collegialism but avoiding interaction with autonomous professional organisations of teachers, attempts to secure loyalty. Here, the teachers are called to take part in the reform implementation phase when most of the decisions have already been made.

In the second case, the rhetoric of local community participation reflects an attempt to sustain educational consent through centrifugal negotiation strategies. The State is confronted with a financial crisis that constrains it to modify its investment in educational and social policies. But at the same time, the same crisis renders it impossible for the State to make radical cuts in its budget. In this situation, the State attempts to manage the educational service on the principles of the market, trying to turn the school into a business, as education Minister Roberto Carneiro avowed. Finding itself incapable of fulfilling its promise of provision of equal opportunities to all, the State seeks new ways of negotiating with its delegates (teachers) and its clients (parents, students), preferring centripetal models to political mechanisms of participation.

In this context, it could be argued that the need for decentralisation and autonomous policy-making is greater as the possibilities for participation in school decision-making actually conceded to the different interest groups are smaller. The organising principle is the one that states: in order for anyone to earn resources and power, they must first lose them.

The State's excess of strength weakens the mechanisms of integration, and thus the legitimacy pole is undermined by the strengthening of the centralisation pole. One pragmatic solution that appeals to the State confronted by such a problem is to systematically decentralise the educational system and to grant autonomy to the schools. But the State finds it difficult to achieve this at a national level, and hence it delegates the responsibility for this shift to the local level, hoping that domestic arrangements and unions can find a compromise. The State therefore looks for the strengthening of the legitimacy pole by dint of the centralisation pole.

Up to the middle of the 80s, the discourse employed by the State emphasised that democratisation involved the levelling of differences between schools, since these were considered to be differentiating mechanisms producing inequalities. Only a centralised State was thought to be capable of ensuring equality of opportunities. The civic logic was therefore clearly dominant.

Today, given the shift in context, the idea that democratisation is achieved through the integration of the school into a local and differentiated educational market is

gaining ground. The State, pointing to the urgent need to make the Portuguese educational system flexible, argues that there should be a compromise between the goal of equal opportunity for access on the one hand, and the demands of economic modernisation on the other. In this manner, the State proposes a new educational pact, what we can refer to as the civic-industrial agreement

## The phases of the State's educational discourse: establishing a typology

It is in the portrayal of this tense and contradictory context that four 'orientation logics' to mass schooling in Portugal suggest themselves. These are the civic logic, the domestic logic, the industrial logic and the market logic. These four logics can be verified in the analysis of educational and political discourse employed in Portugal over the last twenty years.

In the *civic logic*, justice is defined by conformity to the general interest. Reflecting the principle adopted by the State, the school becomes a public service and the denial of personal and local bonds is considered as a pre-condition for equality. The territorial right defines a space from one vertical administrative hierarchy, where the school appears as extraterritorial.

In the *domestic logic* there is a return to the nostalgic village and to its cultural past. Contrary to the civic logic, the domestic logic privileges face-to-face personal relationships and goes back to the management techniques and styles of the family and of primary groups. Here, the community principle takes precedence, and emphasis is placed on decentralisation and the development of a participative community. The citizen's status of formal equality is confronted with the demand for substantive equality. Furthermore, what is being referred to here as 'domestic logic' coincides historically with the idea of the school community which, in the Portuguese tradition means, above all, the mobilisation of a convergence of points of view and the consolidation of horizontal political obligations between citizens.

In the *industrial logic*, performance and efficiency are accorded top priority. Here, the school system is directed to mirror economic and employment structures, and this request is justified on the basis of the world-wide demand for higher levels of competence, and the requirements of local and national development. The shift in the orientation logic to mass schooling is sustained by geographic centralisation, with inter-connections established between diverse institutions, and with discursive practices highlighting the integration of the educational project with the general interest.

Finally, the market logic proposes that, given the context of scarcity of resources, schools should become enveloped in the new 'liberal competition' model. The proposal is based on the theory of free choice in an educational market, where each school is invited to demonstrate its effectiveness in achieving outcomes so that it can compete with rival institutions in a contest that, on the surface of it, is not subject to State intervention. But the decrease in State regulation is, in fact, only apparent. What

has changed is the rationality of distributive politics, which has been replaced by a productive rationality that decentralises investments, which must now be shared with local communities.

These four logics are the expression of the modernising project adopted in Portugal, and they permeate the educational field, regulating the practices and discourses of educational actors. In order for that regulatory role to be exercised successfully in the context of the transformation of a society to modernity, three fundamental principles are appealed to, namely the State principle, the community principle and the market principle.

*First phase (1974-1976): the educator State in an open school - 'education for citizenship, for all'*

The metaphor which structures this first phase is the organic metaphor, one that considers the school as a body, an organism or a living system. There is here a recognition that the school exists in an environment, on which it depends for the fulfilment of its different needs. There is also an understanding that the quality of interaction with that environment can make a difference to the effective functioning of the school, helping it manage the crisis in demographic growth. Community involvement transforms the learning institution from a fortress to an open school, a change that is facilitated by the pressure of social movements and citizens' expectations in relation to education.

The metaphor of the school as an organism also acknowledges that teachers and pupils are human beings with complex needs, and that school concerns cannot be dealt with as if they were mere technical issues. Rather, it is important for the formal organisation to be aware of, and responsive to, the needs of members of the 'body'.

The organic metaphor does not, however, fully acknowledge the existence of an informal organisation that parallels the formal educational system. Rather, faithful to orthodox functionalist theories, the approach which considers the school as an organism sets out to achieve a functional harmony of the educational system, which is here considered as a functional unit. Successive education ministers between 1974 and 1976 employed the rhetoric of the 'absence of a true educational system' in order to justify a politics of reconstruction. Such a discourse had the underlying belief that unity and homeostasis of social organisms is both possible and desirable, and as a consequence disorganisation, disagreements, and group interest conflicts that mark normal school life should be frowned upon. In this discourse, the school should be a 'genuine system'.

It is this perennial desire of going beyond teacher individualism, beyond classroom isolation, and beyond the fragmentation between systems of knowledge that has tended to justify the production of a group of rules, norms and principles, which give coherence to the anarchy that soon marked the educational institution. The route out of chaos, brought about by division and fragmentation, is here considered to be

*37*

compliance with collective obligations. The school should therefore have common aims, a collective personality, protected from individual initiatives.

Individuals will be perennially tempted to particularism, and therefore members of the collective have to constantly make reference to the (mythical) collective civil universe, as they seek to actualise its very existence. The dispositions and the organs constituted in the process of bringing this collectivity into life must be forcefully visible to the school. Such visibility is possible if and when the collectivity is circumscribed in space, marked by frontiers and rituals that proclaim its very existence.

*Second phase (1977-1979): the regulating State in a community school - education in the pedagogical society*

The community metaphor dominates political discourse between 1977 and 1979. During this period, the school acquired a public image of a conservative character, as if its 'open school' qualities were diminishing.

Organically, the schools work in divorced, disjointed units. In such a situation, the school is condemned to look for the construction of a collective unit at the structural level as much as at the symbolic one. It is here that the community metaphor comes into its own, enhancing the notions of good will, affection, conviviality and comfort, ensuring the regulation of staff in the meanwhile.

*Third phase (1980-1986): the (de)regulating State in a modern and effective school: education and the economy*

The enterprise metaphor - where the school becomes a business and business becomes a school - associates education with enterprise in order to either compare or contrast the outcomes-based nature that, in this view, should characterise learning institutions. The rhetoric of autonomy that follows from this metaphor has two implications for the governance of schools. The most visible one has been the demand for effectiveness which should, as far as possible, be measured and controlled via harmonised output indicators.

The other consequence has been the greater influence that techno-professional courses have achieved in the configuration of the educational system. In the tradition of the secondary school, the pupils are future citizens that need a non-specialised, general and global formation. But a new task is added to this ethos: the school should also educate in such a way as to be responsive both to the needs of the labour market as well as to the expectations of those pupils who are not prepared to pursue post-compulsory studies. Students are therefore considered not only as future citizens, but also as future productive units.

The demand for greater efficiency has an organisational impact, given the utilisation of performance indicators. These indicators were established by central

administration and planning offices, and referred to such items as the stability of a teaching body in a school, teachers' qualifications, transition rates per year and per cycle, and so on.

School administration now measured its performance using a new battery of tools: lists of indicators, inventories, evaluation grids, charts, schemes, 'organigrams' and inquests. These instruments signal the dominating influence of a technical rationality, where the effective school is, by definition, in the grips of the 'scientific method'.

The enterprise metaphor therefore stresses the operative and instrumental knowledge mode of technical rationality. Such an approach to knowledge implicitly denounces the tradition of the secondary school. Clearly too, the enterprise metaphor complements the discourse of modernisation: the transformation of the school is defined in terms of its ability to integrate more techno-professional courses in its curricular menu. Over and above these considerations, education policy-makers consider the adoption of technical rationality - with all that this implies - as a major criteria in providing funds and resources for schools. In the industrial conception of the education enterprise, the school should take the initiative, develop projects, run risks.

Finally, the enterprise metaphor is thought to be useful to help discriminate between what is functional, effective and professional on the one hand, and what is ineffective, infertile or unadaptable on the other. The users of the metaphor consider the organisation of a system in such a way that each individual has his or her function, his or her position, in a technically predictable universe. In this universe, dysfunction caused by unadaptable individuals is eliminated by the introduction of a system of meritocratic compensations for members of the teaching profession.

*Fourth phase (1987-1991): the (de)regulating State and the competitive school: the educational market.*

The image of the school as part of an education market has been reinforced by the move towards granting educational establishments autonomy and by decentralising systems of funding. However, the State's focus on the 'local' raises new questions. In the first instance, deregulatory measures accentuate hierarchies between schools, further emphasising differences between, for instance, rich and poor schools, or between academic and vocational schools. Secondly, deregulatory measures lead to a situation where it is the school itself that is directly responsible for producing inequalities in the field of education.

The school now has to market its own image, and this image and opinions about the school's performance become mutually dependent. But it is precisely this interdependent character that renders opinions about schools fragile and easily censurable. The construction of a school image cannot remain dependent on a small number of people, who constantly interact within the same group. In the educational market, the school has to choose a target public in order to project its image and to

mobilise that target in its favour. The school has to cast its advertising net wider, in order to inform, to make known, to attract attention, in sum, to sell a product.

In the mercantile metaphor there is always a reciprocity principle that celebrates good relationships. But these exceed by far the limits that mark the reserved, almost secretive traditional relationships with parents. It becomes therefore necessary for the school to amplify its voice. If the school wants to achieve the state of greatness it craves for so much, it has to renounce its reserved, private character. It is obliged to extend its field of influence and to use new enticements in order to appeal to and attract other clients. The school therefore becomes an enterprise that puts a price on its resources. Such a cost-benefit logic projects the view that schools with better resources offer better learning contexts, and that these better resources are a public sign of the school's success, since they both reflect and generate customer satisfaction.

## Conclusion

The discourse of educational policy-making in Portugal after the installation of democracy in 1974 had to achieve two objectives. First of all, the discourse had to promote schools as a vehicle for the enhancement of an egalitarian and democratic society. Secondly, the discourse required schools to contribute to the production of a stratified workforce for an hierarchical occupational structure. The contradictory demands for equality and stratification are not particular to the Portuguese case, and indeed advanced capitalist countries made similar demands on their own education systems in the period under consideration. However, in the Portuguese instance, the absence of structural autonomy gives specificity to the legitimating discourse employed by the state. In a semiperipheral country where the second wave of human rights is significantly backward in relation to the rest of Europe, the legitimation of the system - crucial if consensus is to be achieved - depends on a rhetoric that privileges citizen-ship rights and equality of opportunity, and on a discourse that is capable of incorporating the escalation in social expectations. In this case, tensions and strains in the systems of legitimation are producing new demands on schooling.

The integration and relation of questions of power and their effects on school reform in the 70s and in the 80s makes conceptually visible the rules by which certain types of phenomena and social relations are made into objects of reform. In this way, school reforms are considered to be the result not only of changing ideas regarding organisational practices or of a shift in political rhetoric, but rather more as the result of the unacknowledged values and interests that are embedded in the everyday 'speech' of schooling. The focus on the structured relations that pattern the events of schooling directs attention to the changing relations in educational governance, where macro and micro problems of the state come together. In this paper emphasis has been placed on the constructive role of language, posed in a broader conceptualisation of the problems of state management at the macro level, and with reference to specific issues at the micro level. Discourse, that is the rules and patterns of communication by means of

which the state governs in the name of social welfare, was analysed. We have seen how during the 70s and 80s the State adopted decentralising modes of governance, but at the same time employed centralising discourses and strategies in the educational field. In an ambivalent relation of this sort, there is no clear demarcation between state and civil institutions. The gains in power and resources on the part of the local state, local business people and local corporative interests are at the expense of teachers and the autonomy of the school. The multiple levels at which the educational agenda can be negotiated intend to produce an aura of equality in decision-making outside or alongside the civic mechanisms of participation.

A commonsensical approach to the similarities between Mediterranean countries would, on the basis of statistical indicators and traditional analytic categories employed in the social sciences, proclaim countries such as Portugal, Spain and Greece 'backward'. Within this view, the gap between central and peripheral countries could be closed through processes of modernisation. But these processes are defined in terms of the direction of reforms adopted in central countries, which must be imitated in order to overcome a state of 'backwardness' and to become more 'advanced'. In this sense, to be within Europe is to rank on the same statistical indicators of Europe.

The absence of comparative studies between semiperipheral countries contribute to the eccentricisation and exoticisation of their specificities, as well as to the misuse of theoretical perspectives generated within - and suitable to - central societies. Consequently, analyses of education systems in semiperipheral countries often adopt a deficit approach, where the unquestioned referent, namely schooling in advanced capitalist countries, assumes the status of the 'ideal'. For these and other reasons, analyses of the semiperiphery require an innovative theoretical approach. This implies structural investigation, particularly if we are to understand the central role of State action on the social construction of legitimate knowledge. A second direction of research is connected with the analysis of the discourse employed by actors at different levels, especially when this is viewed as the outcome of a complex interplay of competing ways of seeing and interpreting the world and the education.

**Rui Gomes** *is Assistant Professor of Sociology of Educational Organizations in the Faculty of Psychology and Educational Sciences at the University of Lisbon. His research interests focus both on Sociology of Educational Policy-making and Organisational Studies. He is author of* Culturas de Escola e Identidades dos Professores (School Cultures and Teachers' Identities, *Lisboa: Educa, 1993). Fax: (351-1) 7573624 Email <rui.gomes@fpce.ul.pt>*

## References

Beilloret, J. (1982) *La Société Pédagogique - Action Pédagogique et Controle Social.* Paris: PUF.
Correia, J. A., Stoleroff A. D., & Stoer, S. (1993) A ideologia da modernização no sistema

educativo em Portugal, *Cuadernos de Ciências Sociais*, Vol.12/13.

Dale, R. (1989) *The State and Education Policy.* London: Open University Press.

Ewert, G. D. (1991) Habermas and education: a comprehensive overview of the influence of Habermas in educational literature, *Review of Educational Research*, Vol.61(3), 345-378.

Giddens, A. (1979) *Central Problems in Social Theory: Action, Structure, and Contradiction in Social Analysis.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Gomes, Rui (1993) *Culturas de Escola e Identidades dos Professores.* Lisboa: Educa.

Gomes, Rui (1993a) L'intelligibilité de l'établissement scolaire: l'école comme négociation de cultures, In *Actes du Colloque Pour un Nouveau Bilan de la Sociologie de l'Éducation.* Paris: INRP.

Gomes, Rui (1993b) A crise do professorado e a criação de novos pólos de identidade, *Revista Portuguesa de Pedagogia*, Vol.27(2), 263-274.

Gomes, Rui (December, 1993c) Culturas de escola: identidades à procura de argumentos, *Revista de Educação,* Vol.3(2), 23-36.

Gomes, Rui (1993d) Em busca de uma identidade perdida: o estudo qualitativo das culturas de escola, *Sociologia - Problemas e Práticas,* Vol.14, 105-126.

Gomes, Rui (1994) O discurso educativo e o poder: ensaio analítico das retóricas educativas em Portugal, Paper presented at *II Congrès Català de Sociologia.* Girona.

Gracio, Sérgio (1986) *Política Educativa Como Tecnologia Social.* Lisboa: Livros Horizonte.

Hameline, D. (1985) Le praticien, l'expert et le militant. In J.P. Boutinet (ed.) *Du Discours à l'Action.* Paris: L'Harmatan.

Novoa, António (1992) A reforma educativa Portuguesa: questões passadas e presentes sobre a formaçãode professores. In A. Nóvoa & T. Popkewitz (eds.) *Reformas Educativas e Formação de Professores.* Lisboa: Educa.

Offe, C. (1975) The theory of the capitalist state and the problem of policy formation. In L. Lindberg et al. (eds.) *Stress and Contradiction in Modern Capitalism.* Lexington, Mass: Lexington Books.

Offe, C. (1985) *Disorganized Capitalism.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Santos, Boaventura S. (1985) On modes of production of law and social power, *International Journal of the Sociology of Law,* Vol.13.

Santos, Boaventura S. (1985) A crise e a reconstituição do estado em Portugal (1974-1984), *Análise Social,* Vol.87, 869-901 .

Santos, Boaventura S. (1990) *O Estado e a Sociedade em Portugal (1974-1988).* Porto: Edições Afrontamento.

Shapiro, S. (1984) Crisis of legitimation: schools, society and declining faith in education, *Interchange,* Vol.15(4), 26-39.

Soysal, Y. & Strang, D. (1989) Construction of the first mass education systems in nineteenth-century Europe, *Sociology of Education*, Vol.62, 277-288.

Stoer, S. & Araujo, H. (1992) *Escola e aprendizagem para o trabalho num país da (semi) periferia europeia.* Lisboa: Escher.

Wallerstein, I. (1984) *The Politics of the World-Economy.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

# BANKING ON KEY REFORMS FOR EDUCATIONAL
## DEVELOPMENT: A critique of the World Bank Review

KEITH WATSON

**Abstract** - *In the autumn of 1995 the World Bank produced an Education Review of the state of the world's educational development called 'Priorities and Strategies for Education.' In it the progress made since 1980, together with the ongoing problems are analysed and a number of key recommendations, or strategies for improvement are made. While claiming not to be a policy paper the Review is quite clearly aimed at policy makers in developing countries as well as Bank officials. It is couched in general terms, though there are specific references to developments in key regions of the World. The Mediteranean Region falls between two stools - Europe and the Middle East and North African Regions. It also suffers because there is little mention of small states and the Mediterranean has a number of these. Nevertheless, given the influence of the World Bank on helping to shape ideas and policies, this is an important paper for every region of the World. This paper, therefore, seeks to look at the rationale for the review, the main arguments and recommendations put forward and the concerns that are thrown up by these. It is probably more what is not in the review than what is that raises anxieties, but at the end of the day, because the Review is a banker's and an economist's document, those issues that concern social scientists and educationists are often the issues most frequently overlooked. Time alone will tell which approach is the right one.*

## Introduction

During the past three years the World Bank has produced two major papers on education, *Higher Education: Lessons from Experience* (World Bank 1993) and *Priorities and Strategies for Education* (World Bank 1995). A third paper on adult, continuing and non-formal education is promised for later in the 1990s. Both papers are written in a typical World Bank style of generalised statements based on widescale research findings with a few specific cases illustrated in boxes to highlight the arguments and which help to give the impression that the Bank has the answer to the educational problems facing the world. This paper will question whether that is so. Although officially described as a 'World Bank Review' as opposed to a policy paper, given that the document highlights six key areas for reform for future progress and given that the World Bank now accounts for over 25% of all bilateral and multilateral assistance to education, documents such as these have key influences on educational policy makers, especially in developing countries. It is therefore worth looking critically at what is proposed to see if the Bank's suggestions of the best way forward are realistic or if key aspects have been overlooked. Others have looked at the higher

education paper critically (Buchert & King 1994). There has been a special issue of *Norrag News* (King 1995) and there will be a special issue of the *International Journal of Educational Development* (Vol.16 no.2) devoted to examining the Bank's policy. This paper therefore is very much a personal critique, drawing upon others' perceptions and highlighting key areas of concern arising from World Bank thinking. It will examine the rationale for the Review, the process of its production, its main arguments and recommendations, and the concerns that are thrown up by these recommendations.

## Rationale for the Review

*Priorities and Strategies for Education* is the first overall review of education and development since 1980 (World Bank 1980). *"It synthesises the findings of the publications in the intervening years, adds a review of secondary education...and extends these results into the areas of sectional finance and management"* (p.xii). It is this last point which highlights that this is very much a banker's document and perspective on educational development even though it draws heavily on UNESCO's *World Education Report* of 1993. It took almost two years to produce from the point of decision to proceed in mid-1993 to its final production in 1995.

According to Burnett (1996), its principal author and principal economist in the Human Development Group in the Bank, there were six reasons why it was felt necessary to produce a new educational paper now:

1. The Board of the Bank was concerned because there had been no substantial review of education as a whole since 1980 although there had been numerous reviews of different sectors such as *Education in Sub-Saharan Africa* (1988), *Primary Education* (1990), *Vocational and Technical Education and Training* (1991) and *Higher Education* (1994).

2. Because Bank lending to education had risen from 4% in 1985 to 10% by the mid-1990s there was a concern to see whether that money was being wisely spent.

3. In terms of total external assistance to education, World Bank spending now accounts for over 25% or about $2 billion per annum.

4. Since the *Berg Report* (World Bank 1979) there had been a steadily increasing amount of research into the impact of education on economic growth, poverty reduction and good governance, especially in the successful economies of East Asia.

5. Given the massive changes in the global geopolitical and economic framework during recent years education is facing new challenges whether in the rich counties or the poor ones.

6. Although most OECD countries were adjusting their systems to these changes many Less Developed Countries were actually lagging further behind. As a result it was felt that there was some urgency in producing the Review. Therefore, given that there were time constraints, those responsible for producing the review decided to take a 'broad brush' approach and to concentrate on finance and management, poverty

reduction and human resource development outcomes. The target audience/ readership is quite clearly educational policy makers in developing countries, many of whom will find it hard to resist the prescriptions laid down by the Bank with its financial clout and its access to such a wide range of research data.

While many would find it hard to fault much of the Bank's analysis of the ongoing problems, some concerns should be expressed about how the document has finally emerged and why the six key strategies for reform were selected as opposed to others. It is to these issues that we now turn.

## The process of producing the Review

Apart from the work undertaken by Jones (1992) we know little about the internal workings of the World Bank nor how policy is arrived at although Burnett (1996) does give some indication of the process. We know that internal discussions and consultations take place and that much is made of the research commissioned by the Bank. We know that there are consultations with other large multilateral agencies such as UNDP, UNESCO, and IIEP. We also know that a policy paper or review will go through several internal drafts and be subject to internal criticism and scrutiny to ensure that the analysis and recommendations are in accord with official Bank policy. We also know that there is a process of external consultation at different levels with governments, aid agencies and academics. Some changes to the draft document resulted from discussions held in London in December 1994 with a number of British academics and organized by the British Council.[1] It could be argued that this provides a kind of legitimacy for the policy document when it is published. It is certainly a softening up process and forewarns both customers, especially LDC governments, and other donor agencies about what World Bank thinking is likely to be.

Following external discussions, adjustments and modifications take place within the Bank itself so that the recommendations that emerge fit current thinking amongst senior Bank and Board officials. It is interesting to note that much background information about the place of higher education in the socio-economic development of a country was cut out of the final version of the policy paper on higher education (World Bank 1993).[2]

Since the early 1980s 'access to', the 'efficiency' and 'effectiveness' of school systems have been terms that have been bandied about. Since the *World Conference on Education for All* (WCEFA) held in Jomtien, Thailand in 1990 there has been a growing emphasis on basic education, i.e. primary education plus lower secondary school, finance, managerial efficiency, accountability and, above all, on measurable outcomes of the school system such as are currently causing so much discussion in England and Wales, as a means of checking on educational standards. In other words investment in education should have some definite economic benefits.

## The Bank's analysis and recommendations

The basic argument of the Review is that education is essential for economic growth, especially because of changing technology and the frequency of job changes, because these call for adaptability of skills and the acquisition of new knowledge. Education can help to reduce poverty by developing a literate labour force which will in turn increase productivity. By educating women there will be a decrease in fertility and an improvement in healthcare. In spite of the enormous growth in enrolments during the past fifteen years and the growth in staying on rates into lower secondary level, except in Sub-Saharan Africa, there are still many problems of equity, access and reform in too many parts of the world.

Because of population growth the number of children not in school will rise from 129 million in 1990 to 162 million in 2015. Because of dropouts and wastage, adult illiteracy, especially amongst women, is likely to increase. There are still large numbers of poor, linguistic and ethnic minorities, women and nomadic groups who are not enrolled; quality is often poor; present systems of financing education are often inadequate for the growing expansion that is both necessary and inevitable. There is concern that many countries cannot afford to expand their expenditure on public education because of declining terms of trade or balance of payments problems. It is argued that spending on higher education in many countries is excessive - in Africa on average it is forty four times that spent per pupil at primary level (p.4) yet universal primary education has not been achieved, let alone basic education. This argument follows that put forward in *Higher Education:Learning from Experience* (1993). It is argued that funding at basic education favours the poor but that public spending as a whole, i.e at secondary and tertiary levels, favours the affluent (p.4). Therefore public funding should be concentrated at the primary level. Efforts should be made to ensure that it is efficiently spent and private finance should be encouraged at secondary and tertiary levels. This could be in the form of privately funded institutions, private funds to supplement publicly funded institutions or through fees in both the public and private sectors. Using examples from East Asia the Review argues that this is the only realistic way forward because it allows for greater flexibility, it provides useful competition for the state sector and, besides, those who gain most from progressing through the system should be prepared to make some contribution for these benefits. Scholarships should be made available for the poor and a graduate tax should be introduced to recoup money provided in loans, even though the record on loan repayments from around the world is far from encouraging.

Because of inefficiencies in government bureaucracies and because of excessive control over the curriculum in so many countries it is argued that standards would be raised if governments would set clear and measurable targets and if wherever possible or necessary, the initial language or mother tongue could be used as the language of instruction. As the Review says, *"Curricula and syllabi should be closely tied to performance standards and measures of outcome"* (p.7). It is also argued that

standards would be improved if teachers have a good grasp of their subject, if the school year can be extended, if the instructional time can be made more flexible in order to take into account differing seasons, religious festivals, household chores and the like, if there are basic necessities such as chalk, blackboards and textbooks, and if homework could be set regularly. Above all it is felt that there should be greater institutional autonomy. Headteachers, parents and school governors should be given greater power to run their own institutions because this would lead to greater accountability and because it would involve the local community in ensuring that good standards are achieved. *"School based leadership ensures an effective climate for learning"* (p.8). That some of these assertions are open to question is immaterial.

Finally it is argued that the education system should concentrate on general education, basic literacy, numeracy, language skills, science and communication skills as if these are something different from language. Vocational and technical education which the Bank pushed in so many countries for over twenty years (Watson 1993) should now be left to private providers, employers or specialised institutions. As the Review clearly points out *"Vocational and technical skills are best imparted in the workplace, following general education. The private sector should be directly involved in the provision, financing and governance of vocational schooling".* There is no acknowledgement that in the past the Bank had got this particular policy wrong. If some of the new ideas are proved wrong in the future, will there be any acknowledgement either?

To overcome the ongoing problems facing education in many countries, therefore, the Review proposes six key strategies for reform. These are
1. Governments should give a higher priority to education and within that sector they should establish their own priorities - in conjunction, of course with the Bank.
2. There should be greater concern for learning and for labour market outcomes. In other words governments should set curricula targets and should set up effective means for measuring these.
3. Public funding should be concentrated on primary and basic education, there should be greater parental contributions for higher education.
4. There should be greater concern for equity within the education system. Not only should there be attempts to provide adequate numbers of schools but attention should be paid to ensuring that girls, rural poor, ethnic and linguistic minorities and the handicapped should have equality of access. If necessary scholarships should be made available.
5. There should be greater family involvement in school governance and parents should be allowed to exercise choice.
6. Greater emphasis should be placed on institutional autonomy and the local management of schools. This will lead to greater accountability to parents and the local community.

While agreeing with much of what the Review has analysed and proposed there are a number of quite legitimate concerns about the Review. The remainder of this paper

will address some of these.

## Areas of concern

*The assumptions on which the Review is based*

Being international and global in their approach World Bank documents, unless they are specifically concerned with one particular country or region, tend to generalise and make assertions that are not necessarily universally applicable. They will use a few examples of particular contexts to make generalised assumptions. As Parkyn (1976) once reminded members of the British Comparative Education Society, one cannot legitimately do this. Moreover while the Review does acknowledge what every comparativist knows, namely that education systems and assumptions are culture specific, nevertheless there are some very bold assertions made in this document as if they were universals. Comment has already been made of the vocational and technical education issue yet, as Lauglo (1995) has pointed out, there are many examples of successful vocational education and there are many other examples of statements which need to be qualified.

There is an assumption that formal schooling is beneficial for all groups but is it always so for nomadic peoples or for hill tribes for whom it may destroy their ways of life? There is an assumption that formal schooling is important for literacy development but is this always so? Rogers (1992) would argue that where different literacies are used formal schooling can actually weaken a child's grasp on the most important literacy needed for daily living, that of the local community.

While the 1980 paper raised a number of questions about education's role in socio-economic development and acknowledged a genre of radical, though not always Marxist or neo-Marxist, research that argued that formal schooling was not always beneficial because it alienated many young people from their cultural and social environment, especially in rural areas; because it raised unrealistic expectations and led to rural-urban migration; because it maintained the social and political *status quo*; because it sought to legitimise social injustice because of its selective function; and because so often the curricula and syllabuses sought to ignore religious, linguistic or ethnic pluralism - the present Review does not even recognise that there is a genre of social and philosophical research literature in the field of education and development which shows that the justification for education is often far more subtle and complex than merely using labour market and economic arguments.

Moreover the place of nonformal, community education and adult education is almost entirely ignored, or at least shelved, until another policy paper or review. Yet for many millions of people this is probably the only education that they are likely to get. Even if they have gone to primary school and completed the cycle but not gone on to lower secondary level there is every possibility that they can be given considerable help in employment flexibility through nonformal provision.

The point is that the research base upon which *Priorities and Strategies* relies is predominantly post 1980 and econometric in perspective. It is largely concerned with finance, economic returns, human resource development, efficiency, effectiveness, costings, private funding and the like. It therefore reveals a rather narrow and restricted perception of the purpose of education, and schooling in particular. There is little recognition that schools are not simply black boxes that can be quantified in terms of numbers of pupils, teachers, rooms and textbooks, each of which has a price tag. Schools are living organisations, full of humanity, involved in a learning/teaching process, but also involved in social, psychological and emotional interactions between teacher and teacher, teacher and pupil, teachers and parents and the community. It is as if the richness of human interaction has been reduced to economic statistics.

The trouble is that, as Samoff (1993) has shown in the context of World Bank thinking on Africa, the research base is largely restricted to that produced by World Bank staff or commissioned by the Bank. The result is a self fulfilling prophecy. Research data supports the policy that the Bank wishes to pursue because that research has already helped to shape that policy. Of the several hundred research papers cited in *Priorities and Strategies* only a handful are from the very rich UK and Australian and Asian research base. Contrary views are therefore not considered or recognised. Indeed so influential is the Bank over other donor agencies that when the British Overseas Development Agency produced its *Aid to Education* in the 1990s (ODA 1995) almost all the references were from the World Bank. The excuse was that this was what would impress ministers! Ironically the protests over this issue from British academics led the ODA to publish a series of research documents that it commissioned from British scholars (e.g. Lewin 1993).

Inevitably therefore particular assumptions are made about formal education being largely concerned with providing skilled labour for the employment market. Efficiency and effectiveness of formal schooling are therefore measured in terms of how many of those who enter the system complete it; how many dropout; what the costs are to the society and the community, and how many find gainful employment in the labour market.

## *Weakness of rates of return analysis*

One problem is that the Bank is obsessed with Rates of Return analysis of Education systems (ROREs). It has used incomparable data from different parts of the world, some of which were collected as long as fifteen to twenty years ago and which as Bennell (1995,1996) has shown in several recent papers, especially with regard to Africa, are not only inconclusive but they are also highly questionable.

This is a very serious allegation because Bank thinking about which levels of education should receive the most public funding is based on RORE analysis. Three of the six key recommendations of the Review - higher priorities for education; greater public investment in primary education and greater private finance for higher

education; and greater attention to educational outcomes - are all based on ROREs.

Being a bank it is perhaps inevitable that it sees investment in education in terms of returns. After all in 1994 it disbursed $2 billion which accounted for 25% of all bilateral and multilateral assistance to education.

Investment in education is notoriously long term and problematic. It is therefore important to identify those areas that are likely to have a socioeconomic impact. This also accounts for the emphasis on 'labour market outcomes'. RORE, according to Bennell (1996), is used over thirty times in the Review to justify the assertions on policy directives such as this statement: *"economic analysis of education - in particular, rate of return analysis - is a diagnostic tool with which to start the process of setting priorities and considering alternative ways of achieving objectives within a sectoral approach."* At its best, however, RORE is a very imprecise means of economic measurement.

The assumption is based on the work of Psacharopoulos (1994) that ROREs to education, especially primary education, are universally 'very high' but Bennell (op.cit.) argues (a) that there are enormous national variables; (b) that much of the data used by Psacharopoulos is now very dated; and (c) that in any case it is very difficult to acquire accurate data from many advanced countries let alone most LDCs. Hence the research methodology of much of the Bank's approach is highly questionable.

That said there are some fundamental weaknesses with RORE as a mechanism for policy making anyway. Firstly it relies on data from the past to predict likely future earnings, but given the enormous variations in the labour market because of new technologies future earnings have become almost impossible to predict. Moreover, as with all economic theories, it assumes that individuals will behave in a predictable and rational manner. One cannot assume that. Besides in many developing countries only a few people enter the modern wage employment sector. It is very difficult therefore to measure in any meaningful way what income is being earned. This is particularly true in the urban slums and the rural areas.

Because many more people in nearly every country now have more education than say in the early 1980s it is very difficult to argue that ROREs to primary education are necessarily far higher than to other levels. Nevertheless this argument is used (p.65) to justify reducing levels of public funding to higher education. Bennell (1995,1996) challenges this argument, suggesting that the evidence provides contrary findings and would suggest that the highest ROREs in at least 18 countries actually come from upper secondary level. In fact Bennell suggests that the Review misuses RORE data, even if of dubious value, to justify its policy of support for primary education and lower secondary education and its withdrawal of support for vocational education which has been apparent for some years.

Perhaps the biggest indictment of ROREs comes from Heyneman (1995), himself a World Bank staff worker. He says that

> *the bulk of the economics research has been superfluous to making educational decisions. It has overemphasised rates of return to expansion by level, and under-emphasised the economics of educational quality, new*

*subjects, target groups, teaching methods, and system reforms. It has virtually ignored the dependency of one part of the education system on other parts, for example the essential contribution made by secondary and higher education to the quality of basic education. When dealing with vocational education the economics literature has followed a traditional misspecification now three decades old (pp. 559-560).*

He believes that economists of education, including those in the World Bank, have too often asked the wrong questions; have failed to recognise that each level of education is interdependent with the others and it is therefore very difficult to isolate one sector from any other. Moreover, although the evidence that higher education advantages students from middle and upper middle income brackets, there is no evidence to justify why governments should not subsidise higher education heavily unless the real reason is that they need to invest money into other sectors and can only do this by depriving another sector. He feels that the economic arguments regarding education overlook what most educators know, namely that outcomes depend as much on student motivation as they do on variables such as textbooks and other teaching resources.

To be fair the Review does recognise some of the weaknesses of ROREs. *"They can be misleading, when, for instance, labour markets are heavily regulated and earnings do not reflect marginal productivity"* (p.22). However it then goes on to use ROREs to argue the case for investment in primary education as opposed to other sectors!

## Quality and curriculum content

Although the Review stresses the need for improving the quality of education one could be forgiven if what is meant by quality improvement is really greater financial efficiency over the use of public funds rather than the quality of what is learnt. By stressing the economic aspects of formal education as the provision of labour for the workplace the Review is in danger of overlooking some of the goals of the education system which educationists and politicians are often concerned with: good citizens, well balanced members of society and so on.

The Bank believes that the curriculum should emphasise basic literacy, numeracy, science and 'communication skills', whatever these may be! In *Improving the Quality of Primary Education* (1990) the stress was on 'higher order thinking'. If by the latter is meant the ability to think for themselves, to know where to find information, to think logically then there are no problems. Unfortunately one does not sense that much thinking has gone into the content of the curriculum in many developing country primary schools. If, as is widely acknowledged (Ilon 1993; Kennedy 1993; Reich 1991; Watson 1995) the impact of the globalisation of the economy and changes in technology are having, and will continue to have, a profound impact on employment patterns, are schools adequately preparing pupils for the changed

scenario of limited or changing employment, or even for no employment, especially in rural areas because even here there will be rising unemployment because of mechanisation of agriculture?

At present the working conditions in too many schools, especially in developing countries, are inadequate or non-existent. Classrooms are overcrowded, roofs leak. Textbooks and other basic resources are inadequate or not available. Increasing class sizes might be a more efficient use of economic resources but it leads to difficulties both for the teacher and the pupils with the result that teaching is didactic and learning is passive rather than interactive.

Moreover if societies are changing economically and technologically they are also changing politically. The disintegration of the former USSR, parts of Eastern Europe and many states in Africa, and the beginnings of multi-party democracy, require active preparation for citizenship and political understanding if the worst excesses of dictatorship are not to re-emerge and if people are to feel that they have a stake in society. Pupils need to be able to develop skills which they can use for self-employment in case no other work is available. Above all they need to be encouraged to think reflectively on a wide range of issues, not least moral and ethical ones, especially given that most societies are multilingual/religious and ethnic; and that if social cohesion is important then it must begin in the schools. Economic and social changes and market forces as a key determinant of educational provision are likely to exacerbate social tensions rather than diminish them. It is not without significance that the East Asian societies, so warmly endorsed by the Bank as models to follow, have all placed moral education as a central part of the curriculum. Seemingly this important aspect of the curriculum has not been considered by the authors of the Review yet it is probably more important in the late twentieth century than ever before. Perhaps it is that the education issues that are perceived by educationists and social scientists to be important are going to be very different from those analysed by bankers and economists (Lauglo 1995), yet there seems to be no reason why the different perspectives cannot be reconciled.

To improve the quality of provision, to make the best use of the curriculum and textbooks and to ensure that pupils are regarded as something infinitely more valuable than future labour market fodder, requires sensitivity from teachers and improved teacher preparation, whether through preservice training or through INSET. One is reminded of the views expressed in a Commonwealth conference on teacher education held some years ago when it was pointed out that *"for the teacher to assume an effective role in the broad context of educational development he (sic) must have professional self-confidence and responsibility based on a solid competence established through an enlightened and forward looking programme of teacher education"* (Commonwealth Secretariat 1974:29). Surprisingly the importance of the teacher in the education process is largely ignored. Perhaps this is because the Review fails to draw upon any of the research undertaken on teacher education and teacher effectiveness. Indeed the assumption is that they should teach towards specific curriculum objectives, measured and assessed. Unfortunately this can act as a major constraint on creative teaching.

## Skills training and vocational education

Another omission is that while the Review talks about certain basic educational skills, such as those outlined above, it largely ignores vocational and technical education, arguing that formal education and hence investment in it have a profound impact on socio-economic development. It is surprising that, given that the Bank was spending $600 million per annum on technical education and diversified schooling in the early 1980s so little is made of it in this paper. It could be argued that it gets so little mention because the Bank had already produced a policy paper in 1991, but to dismiss vocational education in the following manner is incredible: *"Vocational and technical skills are best imparted in the workplace, following general education. The private sector should be directly involved in the provision, financing, and governance of vocational schooling"* (p.80). It is the arrogance and boldness of this assertion and the manner with which the issue is dismissed and the hostility shown to VOCED that are so striking. Given the influence that the Bank had on so many countries to expand their vocational schooling during the 1970s and 1980s thereby distorting their educational budgets and economies, at least some kind of apology might have been in order (Watson 1993).

The real reasons for being so dismissive would appear to be the following:

1.  The work of Psacharopoulos (1987), indicated that investment in VOCED at secondary school level was very expensive and the social ROREs to investment at this level were lower than at general secondary level. Bennell (1995) has challenged these figures in his general critique of ROREs.
2.  Lauglo (1995) has gone even further by suggesting that by emphasising the cost of VOCED, based on Psacharopoulos' work, the Bank has been unduly dismissive of much good work being undertaken in different societies in the field of vocational and technical education. Although the Review pays lip-service to the unique needs, requirements and problems of different states, as well as to the diversity of socio-economic realities, these are largely overlooked in bland generalised statements.
3.  Because VOCED has generally proved to be expensive it is far easier for the Bank to suggest that private employers should take on this role themselves: it excuses the Bank from becoming too heavily involved in that costly area again. Besides it is more difficult to measure the outcomes of vocational schools than it is with a more prescribed school curriculum which can be measured through assessment and test scores. Schools can also be more accurately checked and held to account.

Many of the alternatives advocated - on the job training and privatised provision - have a very mixed track record, and while LDCs - and the Bank - have suffered adversely from ill-thought out and expensive programmes, several OECD countries are now seeking to combine a broad vocational training with general education. The development of NVQs in England and Wales is a good example. The Review does acknowledge this up to a point: *"Countries cannot quickly reduce the size of such*

*large vocational secondary programmes, but the programmes should increasingly be made more general and linked to the development of attitudes and general skills, rather than specific skills, necessary for work."* One is left with a feeling of inconsistency and ambiguity in the Bank's position.

## *Equity*

Recognition is rightly given to the need for greater emphasis to be placed on equity in educational provision to ensure that girls, ethnic and linguistic minorities and those in rural areas get opportunities for schooling. There is even consideration given to those with physical and other disabilities, for whom provision globally is very uneven. However while recognition is made that market forces and parental choice alone are insufficient mechanisms to make provision possible and available and that governments have a crucial role to play, there is little recognition made of the particular problems facing multilingual and multiethnic states. The same could be said about small states such as Cyprus or Malta or Fiji, Lesotho or Swaziland. While it is laudably recognised that there should be bilingual provision wherever possible, the cost implications are largely ignored. Many countries which are multilingual and/or multiethnic are also very poor. The dilemmas facing policy makers are too easily overlooked by donor agencies, educational planners and economists in the policy recommendations (Watson 1994). The social and ethnic tensions that arise if government is weakened or if political and global economic changes undermine particular states can be seen in situations as diverse as Russia, Bosnia-Herzogovina, Burundi, Rwanda and Sierra Leone. *As for refugees thrown up as a result of these* conflicts the Review has this to say: *"Particularly troublesome is the growing number of refugee children in Africa; many of them have no government to take the responsibility for providing them with schooling"* (p.119). Particularly troublesome! There are over 25 million individuals who are refugees throughout the world. Surely this has now become such a global problem that it no longer only concerns a few countries but has become an issue of social, political and economic concern that the Bank should begin to turn its attention to in order to see how best it can help?

## *Finance and the involvement of the private sector*

For some years it has been widely recognised that the ability of many governments to finance their education systems is severely limited and few would quibble with the Review's analysis of cash shortages. Increasing demand, escalating costs, reduced income, especially in many of the poorest countries, constrained by IMF and World Bank policies on structural adjustment and low, or inefficient tax bases, have meant that many governments worldwide are looking for alternative sources of funding for their education systems (Bray & Lillis 1988; Watson 1991). The argument of the Bank

put forward with vigour in recent years, has been to press for the private sector to become more openly involved, either in collaboration with the public sector, by privatising certain key aspects of the system such as maintenance or textbook provision, by encouraging private institutions at secondary and especially at tertiary levels, or by charging fees at both these levels. These views were most clearly articulated in the review of higher education (World Bank 1993). They have been questioned in a series of papers challenging Bank policy (Buchert & King 1994).

The success of private institutions in East and Southeast Asia and Latin America, and the longstanding use of loans and/or graduate taxes in several industrialised countries clearly appeal to the Bank (pp.107-8). However even the Review recognises that loans have been notoriously difficult to recoup because of administrative inefficiency and while Sweden has a 30% loss rate Kenya has a staggering 103% loss rate (p.108). If there is such unreliability how can the Review so strongly advocate this approach? By encouraging fee paying as a contribution at least for secondary and tertiary levels the Bank is actually favouring the better off. Regardless of the rhetoric about targetting the poor, means testing and providing scholarships for certain groups in the name of equity and poverty alleviation, this approach is only feasible in rich countries, small states or those states which have efficient administrative infrastructures. In many of the poorest countries, especially in SSA but also in large countries like Brazil, Egypt and India, such are the inadequate lines of communication and responsibility that the likelihood of recouping loans or of providing free education to those most in need becomes both insuperable and also open to corruption. Besides how do officials means test rural farmers whose income is largely derived from subsistence production, which in turn is affected by the vagaries of the weather?

To be fair many industrialised countries have been cutting back on defence expenditure, expensive bureaucracies and state owned industries, but the evidence from poorer countries is that these are political decisions that governments are reluctant to take. Making the chief beneficiaries of education pay for it is decidedly unpopular and in many cases politically impossible because of the power of the middle classes. Even to move down this route necessitates a change in thinking on the part of governments, bureaucrats and populace alike. It needs courage to face up to the public backlash. But above all it needs a substantial private sector in the first place. It is difficult to transfer the successful policies of East Asia and Latin America to much of Africa and many parts of the Indian sub-continent where the concepts of markets, supply and demand, as opposed to state planning, die hard.

Two other strategies or key reforms advocated are those of 'household involvement' in school governance and the decentralisation of administrative planning, finance and control to the institutional level, what has increasingly been defined as decentralisation, though as many observers have pointed out decentralisation takes many different forms (Lauglo 1995; Lauglo & Maclean 1985; McGinn 1996).

*Household involvement and choice* [3]

There are three main strands to the Bank's arguments: (1) that parents and communities should be more closely involved in school governance; (2) that parental choice should be expanded; and (3) that although risks are involved in this strategy they can be eased by judicious government intervention, through public subsidies for poorer families and through public information about schools' quality and performance.

There is little quibble about the principle of parental and community participation in school governance but it needs to be pointed out that in spite of legislation in the UK (1980, 1986 (No.2) and 1988 Education Acts) to encourage and make provision for parental representation on governing bodies it has not been easy to find parents willing to stand, let alone vote, especially in working class areas of the cities. The picture in middle class areas has been different but nevertheless mixed. How much more likely is there to be a similar situation in poor urban and rural areas of so many LDCs where the concept of elections in a non political sense is uncommon and where the machinery for undertaking such elections is not readily available? However, where parents are involved in the running of schools as in PNG, New Zealand, the USA and Canada they are likely to take a greater interest in what is happening in schools and are often willing to be involved in fund raising. There are now many examples of parental/community partnerships. After all education should be a partnership between professionals and parents (e.g. HMSO 1977) but there is no guarantee that educational quality and standards will be raised as a result. Participation provides for both *rights* and *responsibilities.*

The issue of *choice*, however, is fundamentally different. It is based on a premise of individual rights. It is associated with the belief of the New Right that parental choice will lead to schools becoming marketable commodities and that because of competition academic standards will rise (e.g. Carl 1994; Chubb & Moe 1990). The evidence for this is inconclusive, certainly from research in the UK. Parents choose schools for a variety of reasons. Academic excellence and quality are only two of them (see Bowe et al. 1994; West 1992; Woods 1992). At least the Bank paper acknowledges this (p.124) but nevertheless the authors cite the OECD (1994) as justification for choice and competition - *"The dynamic of competing for pupils typically enhances some school characteristics associated with effectiveness, such as strong leadership and sense of mission."*

The Bank recognises that three factors are important for choice to be effective (p.122):
- more than one school should be available;
- each institution should have distinguishing features;
- each institution should have a considerable degree of autonomy.

However one senses that the argument is ill thought through for a number of reasons.

1. It is based on affluent Western concepts, rooted in urban settings, which wish to see the State's role in education diminish. As Carl (1994:297) points out, however, far from reducing state intervention, choice in the USA and England/Wales has actually increased it, albeit in different guises.

2. It is a smokescreen for extending private education, especially at higher education level, and *Priorities and Strategies* (pp.122-3) merely picks up the arguments put forward in the policy paper on higher education (World Bank 1994). In fact choice only truly works where finance is directly involved, either because of the private sector or because funding follows pupils in the public sector as is the case in England/ Wales and where physical space can accommodate expansion.

3. In practice, therefore, parental choice benefits the well to do affluent, articulate or professional classes. As a result it leads to differentiated education with good schools for certain groups and poor schools for others. As Ilon (1994) has argued this is a problem that is being accentuated by globalisation and structural adjustment. Should the Bank be advocating this or should it be emphasising ways of providing EFA?

4. Parental choice makes it very difficult for administrators or school principals to plan their numbers accurately more than one year ahead. If a school's popularity falls and parents remove their children, that can also have negative implications.

5. Choice rarely applies in rural areas unless there are nearby viable private alternatives. In many of the poorer areas of Africa and the Indian sub-Continent parents are lucky if there is any school available, let alone having a choice. Even in large urban areas - and the growth predictions of some of these are horrendous - the logistics of getting children to school B rather than A are simply unrealistic unless the family is affluent, there is very expensive school bus provision or children spend a very long time in getting to and from school.

6. Parents do not necessarily make choices about schools on rational grounds, even given league tables of examination results and other data. Bowe *et al.* (1994) have highlighted the problems of parents' evenings and the mass of data provided by schools seeking to market themselves which require even erudite parents to show remarkable analytical and political skills. Moreover, marketing schools through brochures, advertisements and so on is not a cheap option and is aimed at literate parents. As a result, for many of the poorer groups in society, choice is simply not an option.

The notion of parental choice, the thinking behind it and the realistic implications for most families have been exercising a number of academics and researchers in the USA and the UK in recent years. Their findings are almost unanimous. Choice is a political smokescreen, devised by governments to benefit certain social groups. The greater the autonomy of institutions, which is an essential ingredient of the choice syndrome, the more likely is it to lead to the break up of any coherent national system of education. Is this what the Bank is advocating or does it recognise the limitations of the concept?

That said, many people do believe that they have a right to choose the best school for their children. This is particularly true in countries where there is a plurality of

religious belief or linguistic or ethnic groups. In such situations, especially where religious freedom is regarded as important such as the USA, UK, Netherlands, Austria and Belgium the freedom to choose particular schools with a particular religious ethos should not be denied. Many would say it should be encouraged. But such freedoms can be costly and many LDCs lack the financial flexibility to make such varied provision. In those situations private schools have a crucial role to play.

While the World Bank may be proposing an ideal the realities on the ground in many countries negate the ideal and the 'risks' are considerable. The advocacy of choice and competition as a panacea for raising educational standards needs to be treated with caution. Far better that governments and other public authorities addressed seriously their responsibility to increase investment and to eliminate waste.

## *Local autonomy*

In line with Bank thinking over the past few years the Review advocates greater decentralisation and decision making to school level. It recognises that this is not the same as local financial management and the ability to raise taxes locally nor is it delegated responsibility from central government, but it is argued that headteachers should be allowed greater autonomy over the use of staff, timetabling, the language of instruction, classroom practices and the use of funding from the authorities. The authors of the Review believe that it would lead to greater accountability and flexibility. However the validity of these claims has been challenged by several researchers (e.g. Lauglo 1995 and McGinn 1996). Local managerial control might lead to greater local corruption and interference. Without additional training for headteachers, about which there is no mention, although the Commonwealth Secretariat has been sponsoring training for African headteachers for the past few years, it is difficult to see how effectiveness and efficiency will be increased. Moreover if the real reasons for school failures are because of administrative failures at the centre it is hard to see how these proposals will lead to greater improvements except perhaps in a few cases.

## The Bank's influence over other agencies

Perhaps one final concern is related to the World Bank's influence over governments and other aid agencies. The Bank's views are only one perspective on education but their ability to shape the educational agenda is considerable and it is quite clear from the Review that the Bank has sufficient confidence in its diagnosis of the issues and of its power over individual governments that it can make the following statements:

> *"Bank programmes will encourage governments to give a higher priority to education and educational reform, particularly as economic reform takes hold as a permanent process...", "Bank supported projects will pay greater*

*attention to equity....will focus more intently on institutional development"....*
*"Basic education will continue to receive the highest priority"(p.15).*

Towards the end of the Review it is stated that the Bank will *"adopt an even more explicit sector wide policy focus in order to support changes in educational finance and management"* (p.153). In other words it will more than ever use financial leverage to exert influence over individual governments regardless of statements to the effect that it wants to work in 'partnership' with local governments and that it will cooperate in 'developing a policy framework'.

The Bank is more assertive than ever before. It has a clear agenda. It is prepared to exert political and economic conditionalities as a prerequisite for new loans. We have already seen other donor agencies falling into line with the Bank over lending for primary education. The British government's *Aid to Education in the 1990s* (ODA 1995) provides a good example of this. Will other agencies cooperate and fall into line or will there be tensions because of differing philosophies and conflicts of interest? That remains to be seen.

If by the turn of the century educational administration has been strengthened in many countries, the infrastructure has been improved, and quality has been raised thanks to World, Bank support in individual countries, there will be general satisfaction. If, however, the problems that remain are still acute and the social problems are on the increase, then the educationists might begin to demand a greater voice in policy making in order to restore a more humane understanding of the debate. At the moment, however, they are largely on the sidelines. It is the economists who are still in the ascendancy.

## Notes

[1] The author was one of those present at these discussions which were amicable and fruitful. As a result of points raised changes were made to the final version of the Review.

[2] This emerged at a meeting held at Edinburgh University in May 1993 in which one of the main authors of the *Higher Education Policy Paper* was a major contributor.

[3] This section of the paper appeared in a similar form under the heading 'Choice in Education - What Choice? A comment on the World Bank's proposals for Household Involvement in Education'. *NORRAG News* 18, edited by Kenneth King, November 1995, pp.52-55.

**Keith Watson** *is Professor of Education at the University of Reading, and editor of the* International Journal of Educational Development. *Address for correspondence: University of Reading, Faculty of Education and Community Studies, Bulmershe College, Earley, Reading RG 6 IHY, U.K. Tel: (01734) 318866; Fax: (01734) 352080. Email<emswatjk@reading.ac.uk>*

## References

Bennell, P. (1995) *Using and Abusing Rates of Return: A Critique of the World Bank's 1995*

*Education Sector Review.* Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, Working Paper No. 22.

Bennell, P. (1996) Using and abusing rates of return: A critique of the World Bank's 1995 Education Sector Review, *International Journal of Educational Development,* Vol.16(2), (forthcoming).

Bowe, R. Ball, S.J. & Gewirtz, S. (1994) Parental choice, consumption and social theory: the operation of micro markets in education, *British Journal of Educational Studies*, Vol.42, 38-52.

Bray, M. & Lillis, K. (1988) (eds) *Community Financing of Education: Issues and Policy Implications in Less Developed Countries.*

Buchert, L & Kung, K. (1994) *Learning from Experience: Policy and Practice in Aid to Higher Education.* The Hague: Centre for the Study of Education in Developing Countries.

Burnett, N. (1996) 'Priorities and Strategies for Education: a World Bank Review' : the process and the key messages, *International Journal of Educational Development*, Vol.16(2), (forthcoming).

Carl, J. (1994) Parental choice as national policy in England and the United States, *Comparative Education Review*, Vol.38(2), 294-322.

Chubb, J. & Moe, T. (1990) *Politics, Markets and America's Schools.* Washington, DC: Brookings Institution.

Jones, P.W. (1992) *World Bank Financing of Education: Learning, Teaching and Development.* London: Routledge.

Heyneman, S.P. (1995) Economics of education: disappointments and potential, *Prospects*, Vol. 25, 559-383.

Ilon, L. (1994) Structural adjustment and education: adapting to a growing global market, *International Journal of Educational Development*, Vol.14(2), 35-108.

Ilon, L. (1995) Confronting the bully: regional educational trend in a global economy. Paper presented at the Oxford Conference on International Education Development 'Globalisation and Learning', New College, Oxford, 9-11 September 1995 (mimeo).

Commonwealth Secretariat (1874) *Teacher Education in a Changing Society.* London.

Kennedy, P. (1993) *Preparing for the Twenty First Century.* New York: Harper Collins.

King, K. (1995) Consulting and advising in international education and training: The new politics of the public and the private, *NORRAG News*, No.18, November.

Lauglo, J. (1993) *Vocational Training: Analysis of Policy and Modes. Case Studies of Sweden, Germany and Japan.* Paris: International Institute of Educational Planning.

Lauglo, J. (1995) Forms of decentralisation and their implications for education, *Comparative Education,* Vol.31(1), 5-29.

Lauglo, J. (1996) Banking on education and the uses of research, *International Journal of Educational Development,* Vol.16(2) (forthcoming).

Lauglo, J. & Maclean, M. (1985) (eds) *The Control of Education.* London: Heinemann.

Lewin, K. (1993) *Education and Development: The Issues and the Evidence.* London: Overseas Development Administration.

McGinn, N. (1996) Not decentralisation but integration. In K. Watson, S. Modgil & C. Modgil (eds) *Educational Dilemmas: Debate and Diversity: The Control of Education*, Vol.3 London: Cassell (forthcoming).

Overseas Development Administration (1995) *Aid to Education in 1993 and Beyond* (2nd edn.). London: ODA.

Parkyn, G.W. (1976) The particular and the general: towards a synthesis, *Compare*, Vol.5 (3), 20-26.

Pscharopoulos, G. (1987) To vocationalise or not to vocationalize? That is the curriculum question, *International Review of Education*, Vol.33(2), 187-21.

Pscharopoulos G. (1994) Returns to investment in education: a global update, *World Development,* Vol.22 (9) 1325-43.

Reich, R.B. (1991) *The World Bank of Nations.* New York: Vintage.

Rogers, A. (1992) *Adults Learning for Development.* London: Cassell.

Samoff, J. (1993) The reconstruction of schooling in Africa, *Comparative Education Review*, Vol.37(2), 181-222.

UNESCO (1993) *World Education Report 1993.* Paris: UNESCO.

Watson, K. (1991) Alternative funding of education systems: some lessons from third world experiments, *Oxford Studies in Comparative Education*, Vol.1, 113-146.

Watson, K. (1994a) Technical and vocational education in developing countries: western paradigms and comparative methodology, *Comparative Education*, Vol.30(2), 85-97.

Watson, K. (1994b) Caught between Scylla and Charybdis: linguistic and educational dilemmas facing policy makers in pluralist states, *International Journal of Educational Development*, Vol.14(3), 321-337.

Watson, K. (1995) Educational provision for the 21st century: who or what is shaping the agenda and influencing developments? *Proceedings of the Southern African Comparative and History of Education Society,* Gabarone (forthcoming).

West, A. (1992) Factors affecting choice of school for middle class parents: implications for marketing, *Educational Management and Administration*, Vol.20(4), 212-22.

Woods, P. (1992) Empowerment through choice? Towards an understanding of parental choice and school responsiveness, *Educational Management and Administration*, Vol.20 (4), 204-211.

World Bank (1989) *Accelerated Developing in Sub-Saharan Africa and an Agenda for Action* (Berg Report). Washington, DC.

World Bank (1988) *Education in Sub-Saharan Africa: Policies for Adjustment, Revitalization and Expansion.* Washington, DC.

World Bank (1990) *Primary Education.* Washington, DC: A World Bank Policy Paper.

World Bank (1991) *Vocational and Technical Education and Training.* Washington, D.C: A World Bank Policy Paper.

World Bank (1994) *Higher Education: The Lessons of Experience.* Washington, DC.

World Bank (1995) *Priorities and Strategies for Education.* Washington DC: A World Bank Review.

Blank Page

# TEACHING LANGUAGES IN A CULTURALLY DIVERSE ENVIRONMENT: THE CASE OF ISRAEL.

DEVORAH KALEKIN-FISHMAN

> *"Every text is more than language*
> *because every language is more than*
> *a language."*

**Abstract** - *The basis for the present paper is the perception that (a) the importance of teaching languages derives from an image of language as the most striking indicator of culture; and (b) in this context the word 'environment' is a synonym for a political entity, probably a 'state'. Every state has a unique historical and cultural configuration which justifies the ways in which language teaching is inserted into the educational system. In this paper, I discuss the backdrop for aspects of language-teaching in Israeli schooling. The data that I present relate to a specific problem: the difficulties that beset members of groups with different cultural origins when they communicate in the 'same' language. The obstacles place a particular interpretation on proficiency and place politics at the center of the problematic of language teaching and learning.*

## Introductory remarks

*T*he topic of this paper, 'Teaching languages in a culturally diverse environment', sounds deceptively innocuous, although it has theoretical, political, and moral implications. Language teaching can be viewed theoretically, as an emblem of the post-modern condition, and empirically, as the spearhead of politics in education. Morally, language-teaching has to confront all the ambiguities of the Tower of Babel.

Were there space to deal with the issues at length, I would like to explain my understanding of every word in the title, and position each concept in an appropriate theoretical framework. In the scope of the present paper, however, it will suffice to establish that (a) the importance of teaching languages derives from a widely-held conception of language as the most significant indicator of culture; (b) in this context the word 'environment' is a synonym for a political entity, probably a 'state', each of which evidences a unique historical configuration; and (c) neither the political frame nor the efficiency of the teaching assures a thoroughly gratifying outcome. The title of the paper then turns into one that is rather forbidding: 'The difficulty of teaching languages successfully in educational organisations to all the groups born into distinct (language)-cultures who participate in the same (territorial) state'. Specifically, I will be dealing with the case of the State of Israel.

First, I will point out some of the general questions that touch on language teaching. Then I will describe briefly how language-teaching is carried out in Israeli

schools. Finally, I will cite evidence of how difficult it is for members of different cultural groups in Israel to share a language.

The topic of language teaching is embedded theoretically in some salient general sociological questions.

A state educational system and the organisation of teaching, above all the organisation of language teaching, bridges the macro-micro chasm that sociologists agonise over. On the macro-level, broad political questions of power have an impact on all aspects of language-teaching. The selection of the languages taught reflects levels of domination and group-empowerment in a state's social structure. On the intermediate (meso) level, the ways in which a group uses its language, or languages, reflect the reach of ethnicity in the state, and the level of a sub-group's self-sufficiency. The conceptions that infuse this level of social functioning relate to demands for language performance and thus to the degree to which languages contribute to pluralism or integration/assimilation. On the micro-level, the teaching of languages is connected to the provision of life-chances, the opening of avenues of opportunity for individuals.

The practice of language teaching reflects processes in the polity and the economy which enter into dimensions of daily living through the mechanisms of personality formation. Thus organisational factors affect the essentials of group and personal identity. Language teaching and learning link up with the realistic capacity for self actualisation that individuals develop, and, with people's awareness of how to realise one's full potential. Since language on different levels is the key to human development, systemic, even systematic, failures in language-teaching are a measure of effective deprivation.

There are also issues germane to the field of education. When we look specifically at systems of schooling, we realize that the political considerations regarding language-teaching mark the entire project. Language-teaching is implicated in details of organisation, administration, pedagogy, instruction, and human relations that are at the heart of imparting and acquiring an education.

There are roots in the organisation of schooling: the distribution of pupils among the schools (levels, numbers of classes, educational goals of particular schools). Fundamental, too, is the conception of what facilities are necessary, how teacher preparation is defined, and consequently, how many teachers are available for a given language. Reaching a consensus on the rationale for allocating time to language teaching in the curriculum and in the daily schedule is a complex task. In this connection it is interesting to note what school subjects 'compete' with language-teaching, which languages are considered, and how the competition is played out.

In different areas of the world there are diverse types of solutions (Reid & Reich 1995). In the United States, debate has for long raged over the institutionalisation of bilingualism. In some countries of Europe - Holland and Scandinavia, for example - and in the Melanesian and Polynesian states of the South Pacific, the languages of distinct ethnic groups are supported by the national school system. In others, as, for

example, in Britain, there may at best be minimal attention to the languages of minority groups, and a knowledge of what are defined as ethnic languages is palpably ignored, left to the initiative of home and family (Reid & Reich 1995).

I have mentioned issues that are likely to be raised in every educational system; but each society deserves attention as a historically unique phenomenon. I will continue by focusing on my own country, Israel, where language is perennially an item on the national agenda.

## The centrality of language in the state of Israel

In Israel, the educational system is organised so as to support a number of languages in accordance with official policy. There are laws which establish three official languages in the State. Moreover, the educational policy regarding the teaching of languages voices a consensus on the political significance of language use.

As in the nation-states heralded in 19th century Europe (Hobsbawm 1993), the foundations of the modern state of Israel have historically been identified with the revival and modernization of the Biblical tongue. It is especially suitable today, fifty years after the liberation of the German concentration camps, to remind ourselves that the revival of the language was not only an excuse for state-building. It was conceptualised as a condition for national physical survival. In the official ideology, there is a recognition that the language is crucial for well-being, influencing psychic balance or imbalance in the individual. Because of the onomatopoeia between the terms, people have frequently been exhorted to 'speak Hebrew' and 'be healthy'! Enhancing the applicability of Hebrew to different areas of living is an on-going State enterprise and there is an Academy of the Hebrew Language which has a mandate to extend vocabulary as needs arise, and to ratify (or condemn) prevailing usage.

The effort has in fact been crowned with outstanding success. In Israel, Hebrew has evolved as the *lingua franca*. For Jewish citizens and immigrants from over one hundred countries round the world, gaining a command of Hebrew has the aura of moral duty (Lo Bianco 1995). For Israel's non-Jewish citizens, it is a highly practical skill. Government policy has turned Hebrew into the language of instruction of most institutions of higher learning - universities, technical colleges, teachers colleges. It is the tongue of most institutions for vocational training; it is the language of government bureaucracy. If only to be assured of realising one's rights in regard, for example, to tax assessments and legal process, every citizen does well to be able to communicate in Hebrew.

Among the non-Jewish Israelis, Arabic is spoken in the home and cultivated as a national tongue. Because in the Arab world there are many different dialects of spoken Arabic, some of which are mutually incomprehensible, gaining mastery of literary Arabic is essential. Expertise in literary Arabic is the measure of a group's (and of a person's) 'high culture', for this written version serves as a medium of communication between Israeli Arabs and the rest of the Arab world.

But neither Arabic nor Hebrew guarantees that Israelis of whichever ethnic origin will be able to make useful connections with the first world! There is no doubt in people's minds or in the regulations of the Ministry of Education, that English, the 'international language' *par excellence*, is the key to entrance into the political, economic and academic worlds, the trans-national communities that count.

For a combination of sociological, political, and practical reasons, therefore, the teaching and learning of Hebrew, Arabic, and English are a central consideration in the Israeli state school system. Their distribution and teaching is regulated via the centralised administration of schooling.

## The practice of language teaching in the school system

Since the first laws for compulsory free education were passed (1949, 1953), the performance of all aspects of education has been provided for and monitored by the 'centre', i.e., by officials of the Ministry of Education and Culture in Jerusalem. Administrative arrangements are similar for all the state schools, and the overwhelming majority (ca. 93%) of the schools in the educational system are indeed state-schools. The Ministry laid down the guidelines for the bureaucratic structure. School teachers and principals are employed by the Ministry; the Ministry has a decisive voice in determining the conditions of teachers' work. They allocate funds for teaching hours, and settle - or strongly recommend - how those funds are to be distributed among the school subjects. Syllabi have regularly been prepared by Ministry-appointed inspectors whose opinions are defined as authoritative. Textbooks are approved by committees composed of inspectors and their appointees. Communication with local schools is carried out by means of the monthly circular letter of the Ministry's Director-General. All of these are derived from particular conceptions of the places of the three most important languages. Most of the arrangements - with minor variations - are still in place today (Israel 1994).

### *Organisation*

Languages are the basis for organising schooling. The state school system comprises schools for Jewish children in which Hebrew is the language of instruction and schools for children who come from Arab homes, where Arabic is the language of instruction. There is no legal exclusion from either of these streams on the basis of language of origin, but constraints of geography and religion as well as mother tongue effectively lead to segregation. In both sections of the system, a kindergarten education is obligatory at the age of five; elementary school comprises the next six or eight years of the pupil's career, and this is followed by six or four years of secondary school, (depending on decisions in the locality) for a total of 13 years of formal schooling.

## Curriculum

Continuing the tradition established by the British mandatory government (1918-1947), the ministry-approved curriculum allows for the teaching of the three official languages: Hebrew, Arabic, and English, with different allocation of hours to each of the languages according to sector. There is salient asymmetry between the chief languages of the country - Hebrew and Arabic. All the children in schools where Arabic is the language of instruction begin their study of Hebrew in the third grade. They are exposed to Hebrew in ancient and modern literature and get a thorough grounding in the 'mechanics' of the Hebrew language. Children in the schools where Hebrew is the language of instruction are now required to study Arabic for two years beginning in the seventh grade. The Arabic they study, however, is the (spoken) Palestinian dialect. The advanced study of literary Arabic, the language of intellectual life and high culture, is still an elective.

The English language, however, is a required subject for all. In the schools where Hebrew is the language of instruction students begin the study of English in the fourth grade, i.e. at the age of nine or ten. English is studied for 4 or 5 hours per week, until the last year of secondary school (year 12). In the schools where Arabic is the language of instruction, pupils begin their study of English in the sixth grade (age 11-12) and continue, as in the Hebrew-speaking schools, until the last year of secondary school.

In sum, for the Hebrew-speaking sector, the required language instruction during the years of primary and secondary schooling is 12 years of studying the Hebrew language, nine years of studying the English language, and two years of studying the Palestinian dialect of spoken Arabic. For the Arabic-speaking sector, the corresponding requirements are 12 years of studying Arabic, 6 years of studying English, and 10 years of studying Hebrew. As noted above, studies in the overwhelming majority of institutions of tertiary education is conducted in Hebrew.

## Pedagogical issues

What with the built-in division between Hebrew and Arabic on the one hand, and the ways in which diversity is evidenced in the language/languages of each group on the other, language teaching in Israel is a weighty challenge. Each of the languages taxes learners in a different way, and hence presents different problems to the teachers. First of all, the teaching of the mother tongues is problematic. In the case of Arabic, the problem derives from the gaps between the spoken and written languages. Despite the many spoken dialects, Arabic is still called 'one' language. Linguists recognise that these dialects are as different from one another as the acknowledged separate languages of Scandinavia (Ornan 1995). The very different approach to the subdivisions of Arabic apparently stems from the on-going politics for a pan-Arabist

identity. There is a practical price to pay in terms of learning achievements. For Arab children in the first grade of elementary school, learning to read is also in effect learning a new language.

In the case of the Hebrew language, the problems are posed by the diversity of the school population. Although most of the school children are native-born, many of them come from immigrant households. The family origins affect the nature of children's language proficiency. Furthermore, when there are waves of immigration - the Russian Jews after the fall of the Soviet Union, for example, and the Ethiopian Jews in the wake of the famine in Africa - the new immigrant children have to adjust to a strange language in their schooling while coping at the same time with a bizarre new world. Responsibility for the curricula of the mother tongues is entirely in the hands of the Ministry of Education and developments are for the most part left to the teachers, who receive minimal guidance and supervision.

For students in Hebrew-speaking and Arabic-speaking schools alike, the study of English is problematic. The sounds are peculiar for a palate accustomed to gutturals. Reading presents serious problems. The letters are stylised strangely, vowels are conveyed through full-fledged letters, and words are formed in the wrong direction (left to right instead of the familiar right to left of both mother tongues). But the question of whether English should be taught and learned is never raised. Like mathematics and Bible study (sic!), English is one of the few school subjects immune to opposition. This is demonstrated by the Establishment investment in person-hours, salary and research and development.

The largest, most active staff of inspectors and counsellors in the Ministry of Education work with teachers of English. Specialist teachers in the field of TEFL can command excellent salaries and there is a lively market of teachers interested in moon-lighting. There is a great deal of zealous research about topics related to language teaching. Numerous courses for inservice teachers convey the findings of local and foreign research with the aim of making the language classroom the locus of up-to-date knowledge and honed skills. There are intensive debates about methods and techniques. Issues of how to ensure that pupils learn English are reviewed untiringly in different forums. Pedagogical approaches are perseveringly based on comprehensive information. By a strange turn, the advances in the teaching of English are often a source of counsel for teachers of the mother tongues (see *ELT Journal; Trends*).

When all is said and done, however, the investment in personnel and in research and development does not deal with all the important questions. First of all, the extraordinary emphasis on the educational preeminence of three languages, namely Hebrew, English and Arabic, obscures the fact that the Israeli school system ignores scores of languages which are second nature to many in the population. Except for a smattering of schools associated with the *Alliance Israelite Française* in which French is taught, no other languages are studied systematically in primary or secondary schools. Thus, the home languages of immigrants have, to date, been completely ignored by the educational establishment.[1]

Second, despite the great effort put into the exploration of more and better modes of imparting a knowledge of languages, the life-blood of the matter is ignored. Supervisors and teachers weight their pedagogy to consider the structure and mechanics of language rather than on the sense of the materials. The emphasis is almost exclusively on 'ways and means' rather than on content in context. One example is the perpetual battle for promoting and improving reading in the various languages. There is widespread interest among educationists in the *process* of reading; effort is invested in understanding underlying mechanisms of cognition (Feitelson 1988; Gibson 1975). Although teachers recognise that what they are talking about includes a tacit knowledge of cultural forms and their meanings, they ignore what presents itself as a logical conclusion.

On the surface, this is justified by studies which show that what is reckoned as success in language-learning is often high when the content of the reading passages is related to the pupils' own culture, and failure is far more common when content relates to another culture. In his field experiments with Arab students studying English, for example, Abu-Rabiya (1993) found that the kind of content (rather than the level of the language) determined not a little the degree to which pupils were willing to read in a second language (English). The kind of content also correlated with the degree to which their reading could be described as successful. His findings agree with research on the achievements of Jewish students studying Arabic.

The studies referred to seem to show that children learn linguistic technicalities better when 'content' is kept close to home. From a socio-linguistic point of view, however, the findings noted are an anomaly. There are, after all, many things in a language that extend beyond lists of words and sets of phrases for dictation, memorising, and restating content. I am making the far-ranging claim that the varieties of registers in a language; its peculiarities of idiom; its embeddedness in socially constructed acts and activities, all lead to the conclusion that language and culture are inseparable. Cultural factors have to be a central concern when language 'skills' are imparted, therefore, and disregarding culture must be considered a failure.

This is the heart of the matter. It is difficult to accept the common-sensical notion that a language can indeed be learned in depth when it is delivered as a bundle of forms and structures tied to a cultural ground in which the particular language is alien. There is, therefore, a question whether or not English can be taught effectively to Israeli children with the help of materials that are all related to the Israeli experience. This implies that we must at least raise serious doubts as to whether Arab children can achieve complete command of their second language when they are taught Hebrew through descriptions of cultural patterns that they can relate to easily in Arabic. It is to this point that the data below will relate.

The technically oriented language curriculum may be a useful means for smoothing the way toward computerised translation. But such a conception of language presupposes a catalogue of human experience homogenised beyond recognition. Apart from its probable pedagogical inadequacy, it constitutes a giant

step toward the erosion of what is unique and interesting in every language and in all the diverse cultures of the world.

Finally, it is important to recognise that the cultural orientation is ideologised and embedded in political relations. This, too, affects the possibility of achieving success in the language classroom. While the language teacher concentrates on techniques and technicalities, under the uniform surface of the classroom, children's motivation *and* cognitive processes are in fact related to ideology. This set of overall ideas and values is rarely formulated explicitly, but is nonetheless a part of the school curriculum, inherent to the deployment of symbolic force, and to the way children learn (D'Andrade 1987; Goldstein & Rayner 1994). Throughout the 47 years since the founding of Israel, Jewish children have been taught to know that we are a country surrounded by enemies. The Arabic language is the tongue of hostile neighbours, and studying Arabic was often interpreted as an insidious partisan trap. For Arab children - an educationally segregated minority in what is defined as a Jewish (albeit democratic) state - the Hebrew language is the tongue of the not always friendly majority of the population and its representatives in the Knesset (the Israeli Parliament). In short, there is, in my mind, no question but that it is a mistake to assume that difficulties in language learning can be isolated from socio-cultural factors, or from the way learners and their parents construe and live their lives.[2]

## Interaction as 'tests' of language competence

I would like to go on to illustrate the weakness of examination scores as indicators of the degree to which language teaching is marked by success by describing interaction between students whose mother tongues differ (Kalekin-Fishman 1992; Zaretsky, Ismir & Kalekin-Fishman 1994). These instances are striking because they show bluntly how, despite the many years of devoted and skilled teaching sanctioned by research, and despite the fact that the proficiency of all the students involved was officially beyond reproach, the difficulties of finding a common tongue refuse to go away.

The illustrations are all taken from protocols of weekend meetings in which Arab and Jewish students preparing themselves for teaching took part in a program designed to heighten their awareness of how instruction can serve education for democracy. Minutes of all the group's meetings were recorded by two experienced researchers (an Arab and a Jew), and the examples I will mention were culled from their notes. The weekends supplemented weekly workshops at the University and activities in which mixed teams of Arab and Jewish students observed classes in schools, drew up plans for lessons dealing with democracy and pluralism, and taught as a team in either Hebrew-speaking or Arabic-speaking post-primary schools.

At the University of Haifa where the project was carried out, Jews and Arabs study in the same classrooms, eat in the same cafeterias, and undergo the same kinds of initiation rituals into the academe. Rarely, however, do they form close friendships.

The project that we conducted was actually an uncommon opportunity to work with one another and to talk about things that were personally meaningful. At the time of the project, all the participants (including the Arab students) were in the third year of their studies at the University where all the studies are conducted in Hebrew. There was no reason not to assume that in informal meetings Jews and Arabs would understand one another easily. When we look at the protocols, however, we find that quite often this was not the case.

There are many examples. The cases I will cite relate to the grasp people from the different groups had of important concepts, the differential approaches to friendly exchanges (phatic communication), as well as to the differentiated evaluation of oral history. Each case illustrates a different dimension of what it means to know a language.

*Two concepts - 'higher education'; 'identity':* An interesting difference was the diverse grasp of the meaning of higher education. For the Jewish students, studying at the University meant self-actualisation, realising one's personal potential; while for the Arab students a higher education had social and political significance. To them it meant primarily 'a chance to serve my people'.

A similar bias led the members of each ethnic group to understand the term 'identity' differently. At a workshop session where the group leaders asked participants to describe their 'identities,' the Jews described themselves in terms of personality traits. They attributed to themselves qualities such as kindness, consideration, helpfulness, friendliness, curiosity, intelligence, and so on. The Arab students, on the other hand, described themselves in terms of affiliations: kinship, religion, ethnicity, and politics. This divergence led to mutual reproach. The Jews were accused of arrogance and snobbishness; they in turn charged the Arabs with stereotypical thinking.

*Everyday communication:* Misunderstandings grew out of superficially slight circumstances as well. After a night spent in a kibbutz guest house, an Arab woman greeted her Jewish colleague with a smiling and energetic 'Good morning' in Hebrew. In response, the Jewish student nodded. The Arab student interpreted this as an insulting evasion, while the Jewish woman insisted that she just 'couldn't' converse before her coffee and had meant the response to be very friendly. The bitterness did not disappear immediately, showing that the 'same' words and non-verbal responses have different meanings to people who grow up in different cultures.

*Evaluating oral history:* A most distressing event was caused by the differential evaluations of oral history according to language. This was a misunderstanding in which language and politics interpenetrated. The incident exploded during an evening of 'showing something from our way of life that I love'. By chance, both a Jewish student and an Arab student chose to play recordings of folk songs. The Jewish student explained that she loved the song she wanted to play because her grandmother sang it to her often when she reminisced about the family's life in Europe before the holocaust. The Arab student played the song she had brought and told the class that

this was a song her mother often sang. It was a song that she had sung in her childhood 'before we were cast out of our village by the Jews'. The statement caused a furore among the Jewish students. They argued that they had never 'read about people being banished from their villages in history textbooks at school', and therefore it just was not true. Hurt, the Arab student said, 'you believe your grandmother, why shouldn't I believe my mother?' There was no countermanding this simple statement, but each group remained isolated in their sadness.

## Summing up

In their discussions of *Minority Languages and Dominant Culture,* Kalantzis, Cope and Slade (1989) consider at length different modes of instituting language teaching in different countries, analysing the promise and the risks that attend bilingualism. They recommend exploring the uses of home languages and majority languages for communication 'to the extent that they are needed'. To this end, they outline suggestions for teaching languages that will help children of immigrants and children of minority groups develop a balanced proficiency in both the languages required in their daily lives. Their recommendations, progressive as they are, seem to take it for granted that the dominant culture and the language of the majority can indeed be learned thoroughly if only the correct didactic manipulations are undertaken, and matched with suitable modes of assessment.

The case of Israel leads to a further conclusion. Even though the Arab students who were accepted to the University had certainly proved their proficiency in Hebrew, there are significant and often painful misunderstandings when they interact with Jewish peers for whom Hebrew is the native tongue.

The difficulties that arise in ordinary interaction support the claim that the topic of proficiency is far beyond the issue of testing for proficiency because, as a recent journal article put it, 'language is always more than a language'. We may adapt our teaching of every language to the culture of the learners; but in the final analysis success in learning a language is tested in *intergroup* interaction and depends on the structures of intergroup relations.

The examples of differential understandings I have chronicled here, among many others, can all be connected with the stressed political and economic context of the middle East. As this context changes, people will meet in more varied situations and develop the mutuality that comes of actually sharing meaningful experiences, creating cultures related to many areas of living. The necessary collaboration will provide opportunities for change in how members of each ethnic group construe meanings, conceptualise what it means to chat amicably, and empathise memory.

I have pointed to these misunderstandings as evidence that success in language-learning depends only partially on teachers' professionalism and expertise. It is intimately related to the degree to which social structures enable and facilitate mutualities based on respect and honour. As the year 2000 approaches, it is perhaps not wildly

illogical to claim that peace in the Middle East is a necessary condition for ensuring success in teaching Hebrew to Arabs, and Arabic to Jews.

## Notes

*Revised version of a paper read at the Global Cultural Diversity Conference, 26-28 April 1995, Sydney, Australia.*

[1] The Director-General of the Ministry of Education has published a notice that in the school year 1995-96, there will be an opportunity for secondary school students to choose Russian as a subject for matriculation. As an afterthought, the children who have immigrated from Ethiopia will be enabled to matriculate in Amharic. If carried out, these steps will mark a revolution in the conception that has guided educational policy. They have been suggested because of pressure by immigrants from the former USSR. Since the large immigration of Jews from Ethiopia took place in parallel, Amharic has also 'sneaked in' as an accepted subject. The announcement is now contested by the Inspector responsible for the teaching of Arabic as a second language and it is not clear whether the plan will, after all, be implemented (*Ha'aretz*, June 15, 1995).

[2] Gellner (1983) expresses the dim view that the globalisation of the economy may have the effect of homogenising languages in the sense that the varieties of 'thought styles' would give way to narrow technical differences in vocabulary and morphology.

------

**Devorah Kalekin-Fishman** *heads Studies in the Foundations of Education, and is the Chair of the Committee on Pluralism in Education at the University of Haifa. Her main research interests are in teaching as a profession, sociology of knowledge, and schools and the law. Contact address: School of Education, University of Haifa, Mount Carmel, Haifa 31999, Israel. Tel: 972-4 8240898; Fax: 972-4-8240911; Email<Kalekin @construct Haifa.ac.il>*

## References

Abu-Rabiya, S. (1993) *Attitudes and Cultural Background and Their Relationship to Reading Comprehension in L2.* University of Toronto, Canada: Unpublished doctoral dissertation.

D'Andrade, R. (1987) A folk model of the mind. In D. Holland & N. Quinn (eds) *Cultural Models in Language and Thought.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Feitelson, D. (1988) *Facts and Fads in Beginning Reading.* Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Gellner, E. (1983) *Nations and Nationalism.* London: Basil Blackwell.

Gibson, E.J. (1975) *The Psychology of Reading.* Cambridge Mass: MIT Press.

Goldstein, J. & Rayner, J. (1994) The politics of identity in late modern society, *Theory and Society*, 23, 367-384.

Ha'aretz, Newspaper (June 15,1995) (Hebrew).

Hobsbawm, E.J. (1993) *Nations and Nationalism since 1780.* Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Israel, The Central Bureau of Statistics (1994) *Statistical Yearbook.* Jerusalem: Government Printer.

Israel, Ministry of Education and Culture, *English Language Teaching Journal*, Inspectorate of TEFL.

Kalantzis, M., Cope, B., & Slade, D. (1989) *Minority Languages and Dominant Culture.*

London: Routledge.

Kalekin-Fishman, D. (1992) *Implementation of the Project : Involvement in the Community as the Basis For a Course of Study in Pre-service Teacher-training on Education for Democracy and Jewish-Arab Co-existence in a Multicultural Society (1989-1992).* Haifa: University of Haifa, School of Education.

Lo Bianco, J. (1995) Pluralistic nations, pluralistic language policies? Paper delivered at the Global Cultural Diversity Conference. Sydney, Australia (April 26-28).

Ornan, U. (1995) Language and dialect, *Ha' aretz*, February 10 (Hebrew).

Reid, E. & Reich, H. (eds) (1995) Language policies in multilingual societies, Special Issue of *The European Journal of Intercultural Studies,* Vol.5 (3).

*Trends,* an annual devoted to research and practice in teacher training for Teaching English as a Foreign Language. Published by Contact: the Association of Teacher Eductors for TEFL, Supported by the British Council.

Zaretsky-Toledno, E., Ismir, N. & Kalekin-Fishman, D. (1994) *On the Road to Co-existence.* Haifa: University of Haifa (Hebrew and Arabic).

# WOMEN IN THE MOROCCAN ACADEMIC FIELD: RESPECTABILITY AND POWER

M'HAMMED SABOUR

**Abstract** - *This paper aims at outlining the power and academic respectability that women have in Moroccan academia. The data, which privilege the perceptions that these academics have of themselves, were collected by means of a questionnaire distributed to 49 female professors, associate professors, assistant professors, assistants and researchers from three universities in Morocco. 12 of these women were also interviewed. Due to historical and cultural factors Arab women have entered the academic field only relatively recently, that is between three to four decades ago. There has lately been a very significant increase in the proportion of women in academia, and in some sectors more than 30% of University teaching staff are women. However, due to traditional and social constraints, these academics are not satisfied with their position and status. In this regard, the Moroccan academic field can be still considered to be dominated by men. This domination is crystallised in the way appointments to posts of responsibility are made, in the decision-making process at the administration level which, in most cases, favours men and in the attitude men have towards the academic abilities and achievements of women. In this respect, in spite of their scientific and cultural capital, many Moroccan women academics consider that the status and the recognition accorded to them leave much to be desired.*

## Introduction

> "... women could never become just a sign and nothing more,
> since even in a man's world she is still a person, and since in so
> far as she is defined as a sign she must be recognised as a
> generator of signs..." (Lévi-Strauss 1969).

> "Academic institutions, with their layers of authority and
> administration, represent the basic hierarchical, totalitarian
> model used throughout human history to concentrate and
> maintain power" (Ryan & Sackerey 1984).

One of the most important things academics strive for is that their intellectual and scientific work achieves a certain degree of respectability. While this respectability may not be the main purpose for their activity, it is nevertheless one of its driving forces. In fact, sustained and recognised intellectual activity makes academic existence more enjoyable and comfortable (Wilson 1942:171). Moreover,

respectability consolidates the individual's position and status in the academic field.

Respectability can be crystallised in the regard, honour, authority and power a person enjoys inside and/or outside the academic field. Due to the relative economic and political uncertainty which prevails in Arab academia, it is self-evident that the academic, as possessor of scientific and intellectual capital and competence, will work to obtain, reinforce and increase his or her degree of respectability. As is the case with any value possessing symbolic and material properties, respectability embodies a pyramid-shaped hierarchy which varies significantly in its importance, dimension and prestige. In this regard respectability can be divided into at least four scales, as follows (see Fig.1):

(i) Employment in the state market (university) constitutes the first step on the ladder of respectability, that is being accepted as a *fonctionnaire* (state civil servant). In the Arab world, because of the weakness of the private sector, the state market represents for many of the highly educated the most important field for investing his or her knowledge. Moreover, institutions of higher learning are financed, managed and controlled by the State (e.g. Morocco). The integration takes place in the form of recruitment on the basis of examination or diploma.

(ii) The second level represents a combination of *"delegated power related to a given field and branch of science"* (Sabour 1988:117). At this level the academic gains some sort of relative intellectual *influence* and *authority* in his or her area (Barnes 1988:74-75).

(iii) The third level refers to the ability of the academic to defend his or her position in the academic field; having accumulated sufficient known and recognised intellectual capital in the form of power; he or she is able *"to defend himself or herself, or more exactly, to control the means of intellectual dissuasion"* (Sabour 1988:118-119).

(iv) Finally, the fourth level represents a situation where the individual has achieved intellectual eminence. This is based upon the status and recognition gained in the academic field. Holding power at this level can provide the academic with a sort of *immunity* (Sabour 1988:120). A position of immunity through scientific achievement is considered, however, to be very rare.

But what device or devices does the academic use or activate in order to obtain or reinforce his or her respectability? As far as the Arab academic community is concerned, we can enumerate four factors which are determinant and of greatest significance (see Fig.2):

(a) The first device for acquiring a certain level of respectability that is concomitant with power is probably scientific and intellectual scholarship. The individual's intellectual and educational capital is measured in titles, diplomas and publications. The accuracy of this device is also evaluated by the quality, quantity and diversity of this work.

(b) The second device the academic can use in gaining respectability is the forging of alliances based on class or political commitment. But, by virtue of the unpolitical characteristics of the Arab academic field, this device remains fragile and relatively

*76*
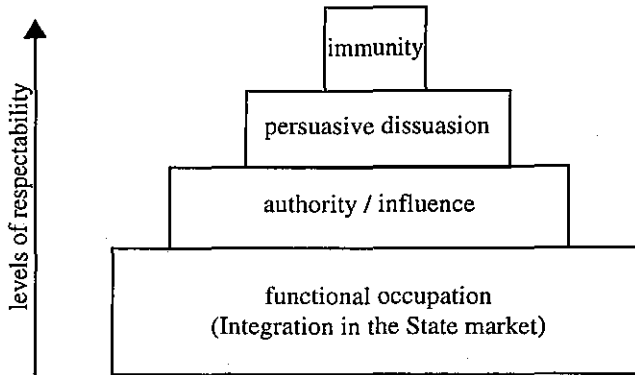
*Fig. 1*   Scale of respectability.

inefficient. It can be successfully used only when the academic is supporting and endorsing the predominant political paradigm. Pro-establishment alliances may, in this case, have a significant influence on academic career advancement and facilitate access to higher and influential spheres.

(c) The third device is related to the use of administrative or intellocratic[1] functions (faculty councils, university committees, board of educational planning, posts of head of department, deanship or rectorship, etc.). In the Arab academic world, administrators and bureaucrats possess great centralised power decision-making power and control (see *The International Encyclopedia of Higher Education* 1977:2895-2903) and in contrast to academics they can enjoy all kinds of material benefits and advantages.[2] For this reason high academic administrative jobs and posts are not only the centre of gravity in the university's activity but are also the centre of attraction and covetousness in the competition between power seekers and those lacking respectability (Sabour 1990).

(d) In addition to this device there is what can be called the 'social channel'. This involves a network of social relations in which the family, clan, tribe, friends, acquaintants, and other similar types of groups constitute important basic elements. These relations may involve pull, clientism, favouritism and nepotism. If the academic has a large and solid network, he or she possesses what Bourdieu (1980) refers to as *social capital*.[3] Such a network of relations and acquaintances is very valuable in the social and academic field, for it can give access to stipends, travel grants, publishing opportunities, career promotions and so on (see Eisenstadt & Roniger 1984; Barrow 1989; Garrett 1989). In such a context, newcomers and 'unknowns' who are deprived of social capital may be the most disadvantaged.

One needs to ask whether such devices enabling acquisition of the highest level on the scale of respectability are activated separately, simultaneously or in a complementary manner. Needless to say, the more devices the individual can use or activate the larger his or her degree of power and respectability. But what kind of power and authority do women have in the Arab academic field? In other words, what

degree of respectability do they enjoy in academia? The aim of this paper is primarily to assess how Moroccan academic women evaluate their position, status and power in academia, to determine how they evaluate their respectability, as well as to identify the devices they use in gaining access to such status.
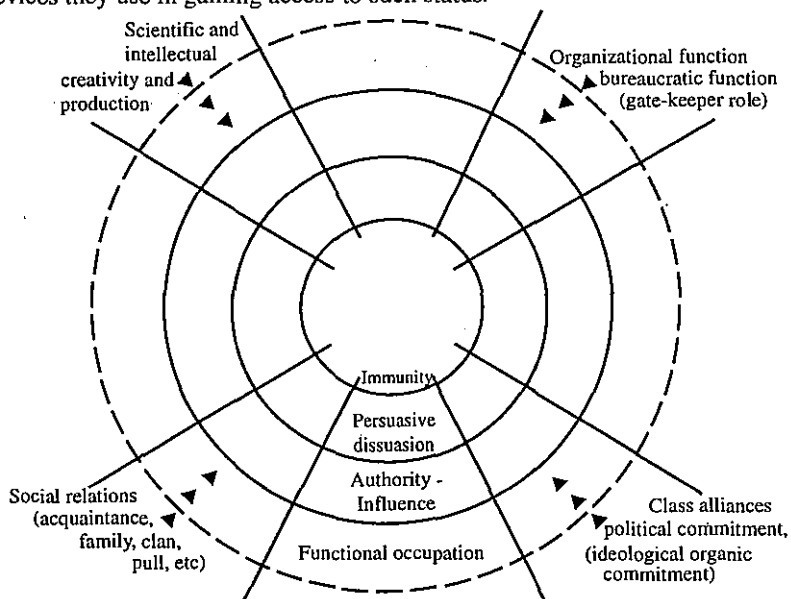


*Fig. 2* Devices for getting respectability.

## Methodology

While in this paper the focus is on women academics, the data reported constitute part of a larger research-project regarding "Intelligentsia and Development in the Arab Countries". The latter study involved 640 members of the intelligentsia from four Arab countries, namely Egypt, Syria, the United Arab Emirates and Morocco. A total of 49 women teachers (professors, associate and assistant professors, assistants and researchers) from three Moroccan universities provided the material for the present analysis (see Table 1). All 49 completed a questionnaire, and 12 were interviewed. All the data were collected between 1988 and 1990, and participants were selected through snow-ball sampling. The age of the academics ranged between 25 and 51 years, with the mean-age being 33.6 years. The fields of activity of the majority of the participants' parents (father) were teaching, administration and involvement in the private sector. It seems, therefore that, women academics come from a family context that is in contact with the 'modern' realm of activity (business, education, language, dwelling., etc.). Moreover, highly educated women are often socially and geographically from urban areas.

| Academic Positions | Social Sciences/ Humanities | Natural Sciences/ Medicine |
|---|---|---|
| | N | N |
| Professors | 4 | 3 |
| Asst. professors | 5 | 4 |
| Lecturers | 8 | 3 |
| Assistants/Researchers | 13 | 9 |
| Total | 30 | 19 |

*Table 1.* Distribution, Academic Positions and Fields of Activity of the participants.

## The Moroccan academic

Morocco has had a long and ancient academic tradition. The mosque university *Al-Qarawiyyine* was founded early in the 9th century, and numerous colleges (*madaris*, plural for *madrasa*) developed later on and are brilliant examples of scholarship. In addition to this so-called 'traditional' education, a European educational system was introduced by France and Spain during the period of colonisation. Once independence was achieved in the 1950s, Morocco undertook the task of modernising and universalising its educational system in response to the aspiration of nation-building. The need for education has tremendously increased university enrolment (Sabour 1985), and females have entered this sector in significant numbers (see Table 2). Even if, for social and cultural reasons, the female university population has remained relatively low, it has nevertheless reached an unprecedented level in the history of the country. For example, more than 40% of university students in some disciplines are female (*Annuaire Statistique du Maroc* 1992:288). So, thanks to increased access to formal education, women have been able to acquire scientific knowledge and intellectual capital, something that has put them on a relatively 'equal footing' with men and provided them with an equal opportunity to enter the academic field (see Table 3).

Moroccan academic institutions are similar to their European counterparts in many respects. But this similarity is more structural and administrative than qualitative and functional. As has already been noted, the hierarchy of organisation, the process of decision-making and academic policy-making is under the strict centralised control and supervision of the State (Souali and Merrouni 1981). Therefore, the autonomy of

Table 2. Number of undergraduate and postgraduate students in different Moroccan universities (Academic year 1988-1989)

| | Moroccan | | Foreigners | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | Female | Total | Female | Total | Female |
| *Université Mohammed V (Rabat)*............... | **31.213** | **12.436** | **709** | **168** | **31.922** | **12.604** |
| Faculté de Médecine et de pharmacie....... | 3.156 | 971 | 99 | 28 | 3.255 | 999 |
| Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines.... | 6.298 | 3.284 | 139 | 52 | 6.437 | 3.336 |
| Fac. des sci. jurid. économ. et sociales...... | 8.294 | 3.216 | 316 | 55 | 8.610 | 3.271 |
| Faculté des sciences............................ | 6.188 | 2.408 | 99 | 17 | 6.287 | 2.425 |
| Ecole Mohammadia d'Ingégnieurs............ | 502 | 59 | 10 | 1 | 512 | 60 |
| Faculté des sciences de l'éducation........... | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Faculté de médecine dentaire.................... | 480 | 196 | 24 | 12 | 504 | 208 |
| Faculte des lettres (Kénitra)..................... | 2.782 | 1.313 | 18 | 3 | 2.800 | 1.316 |
| Faculté des sciences (Kénitra)................... | 3.435 | 968 | 4 | - | 3.439 | 968 |
| Ecole supérieure du Roi Fahd de la traduction | 78 | 21 | - | - | 78 | 21 |
| *Université Mohammed B. Abdellah (Fès)*... | **41.034** | **15.119** | **605** | **49** | **41.639** | **15.168** |
| Faculté de lettres et sciences humaines...... | 9.581 | 4.228 | 73 | 7 | 9.654 | 4.235 |
| Faculté des sciences............................ | 6.687 | 2.056 | 44 | 5 | 6.731 | 2.061 |
| Fac. des sc. jurid. économ. et sociales....... | 6.208 | 1.855 | 444 | 30 | 6.652 | 1.885 |
| Faculté des let. et sc. humaines (Tétouan). | 4.253 | 2.004 | 14 | 6 | 4.267 | 2.010 |
| Faculté des let. et. sc. humaines (Meknès). | 5.267 | 2.523 | 14 | - | 5.281 | 2.523 |
| Faculté des sciences (Tétouan).................. | 3.279 | 1.134 | 12 | - | 3.291 | 1.134 |
| Faculté des sciences (Meknès).................. | 5.574 | 1.294 | 3 | 1 | 5.577 | 1.295 |
| Ecole supérieure de technologie (Fès)........ | 185 | 25 | 1 | - | 86 | 25 |
| *Université Quaraouyine (Fès)*..................... | **6.921** | **2.285** | **97** | **3** | **7.018** | **2.288** |
| Faculté Charia (Fès),................................. | 3.840 | 1.200 | 80 | 3 | 3.920 | 1.203 |
| Faculté Charia (Agadir)............................. | 834 | 135 | 2 | - | 836 | 135 |
| Faculté Ossoul Eddine (Tétouan).............. | 1.176 | 413 | 3 | - | 1.179 | 413 |
| Faculté Allogha Arabia (Marrakech)........ | 1.071 | 537 | 12 | - | 1.083 | 537 |
| *Université Mohammed 1 er. (Oudja)*............ | **16.464** | **5.838** | **255** | **11** | **16.719** | **5.849** |
| Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines..... | 5.855 | 2.921 | 31 | 2 | 5.916 | 2.923 |
| Fac. des sci. jurid. économ. et sociales....... | 5.009 | 1.579 | 206 | 7 | 5.215 | 1.586 |
| Faculté des sciences.................................. | 5.570 | 1.338 | 18 | 2 | 5.588 | 1.340 |
| *Université Cadi Ayad (Marrakech)*.............. | **32.798** | **10.170** | **381** | **19** | **33.179** | **10.189** |
| Faculté de lettres et sciences humaines...... | 6.571 | 2.902 | 47 | 4 | 6.618 | 2.906 |
| Fac. des sc. jurid. économ. et sociales........ | 6.288 | 1.850 | 262 | 10 | 6.550 | 1.860 |
| Faculté des sciences.................................. | 9.697 | 2.636 | 65 | 4 | 9.762 | 2.640 |
| Faculté des sciences (Agadir).................... | 3.998 | 693 | 2 | - | 4.000 | 693 |
| Faculté des let. et. sc. humaines (Agadir).. | 4.160 | 1.226 | 5 | 1 | 4.165 | 1.227 |
| Centre des Etudes littéraires (Beni Mellal). | 2.084 | 863 | - | - | 2.084 | 863 |
| *University Hassan II (Casablanca)*.............. | **42.375** | **17.210** | **542** | **86** | **42.917** | **17.296** |
| Faculté de sc. jurid.économ. et sociales..... | 9.534 | 3.677 | 235 | 25 | 9.769 | 3.702 |
| Faculté de médecine et de pharmacie........ | 2.594 | 881 | 163 | 33 | 2.757 | 914 |
| Faculté de médicine dentaire.................... | 471 | 214 | 24 | 6 | 495 | 220 |
| Faculté des sciences I................................ | 4.467 | 1.634 | 34 | 9 | 4.501 | 1.643 |
| Faculté des sciences II.............................. | 5.773 | 2.102 | 8 | 2 | 5.781 | 2.104 |
| Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines I.. | 4.175 | 2.226 | 40 | 9 | 4.215 | 2.235 |
| Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines II. | 3.530 | 1.908 | 20 | 1 | 3.550 | 1.909 |
| Faculte des lettres et sciences humaines III | 2.279 | 1.157 | 11 | - | 2.290 | 1.157 |
| Faculté des lettres (El-Jadida)................... | 3.861 | 1.823 | 5 | 1 | 3.866 | 1.824 |
| Faculté des sciences (El-Jadida)............... | 5.289 | 1.514 | - | - | 5.289 | 1.514 |
| Ecole supérieure de technologie................. | 177 | 34 | 1 | - | 178 | 34 |
| Ecole n. sup. d' élect. et de Mécanique.......... | 225 | 40 | 1 | - | 226 | 40 |
| *Total*..................... | *170.805* | *63.058* | *2.589* | *336* | *173.394* | *63.394* |

Source : Ministère de l'Education Nationale

*Table 3.* Teaching staff in different Moroccan universities
(Academic year 1988-1989)

(Involved in Research)

|  | Professors | Asst. Prof. | Lecturers | Assistants Researchers | Total | Teaching Staff (Not involved in Research) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Université Med V* | | | | | | |
| Total...................................... | 318 | 298 | 1.045 | 161 | 1.822 | 213 |
| Females........................... | 36 | 52 | 307 | 43 | 438 | 106 |
| Foreigners...................... | 16 | 12 | 35 | 9 | 72 | 8 |
| *Université Hassan II* | | | | | | |
| Total...................................... | 85 | 163 | 891 | 137 | 1.276 | 220 |
| Females........................... | 13 | 29 | 214 | 33 | 289 | 73 |
| Foreigners...................... | 7 | 5 | 29 | 2 | 43 | 15 |
| *Université Med B.. Abd* | | | | | | |
| Total...................................... | 58 | 103 | 797 | 50 | 1.008 | 167 |
| Females........................... | 7 | 6 | 134 | 10 | 157 | 61 |
| Foreigners...................... | 2. | 8 | 14 | - | 24 | 13 |
| *Université Quaraouyine* | | | | | | |
| Total...................................... | 3 | 7 | 34 | 12 | 56 | 28 |
| Females........................... | 1 | - | - | - | 1 | 2 |
| Foreigners...................... | 1 | - | - | - | 1 | - |
| *Université Cadi Ayad* | | | | | | |
| Total...................................... | 31 | 73 | 567 | 32 | 703 | 121 |
| Females........................... | 2 | 4 | 99 | 9 | 114 | 30. |
| Foreigners...................... | 3 | 2 | 7 | 1 | 13 | 5 |
| *Université Med 1* | | | | | | |
| Total...................................... | 9 | 37 | 256 | 17 | 319 | 20 |
| Females........................... | 1 | 3 | 19 | 1 | 24 | 5 |
| Foreigners...................... | 2 | - | 6 | - | 8 | - |
| *In All Universities* | | | | | | |
| *Total......................................* | *504* | *681* | *3.590* | *409* | *5.184* | *769* |
| *Females...........................* | *60* | *94* | *773* | *96* | *1.023* | *277* |
| *Foreigners......................* | *31* | *27* | *91* | *12* | *161* | *41* |

Source: Ministère de l'Education Nationale

the Moroccan academic field is very relative and nominal. Moreover, by its rules, stakes, activities and specificities, it is a part of the whole realm of society. In other words, all the rules, structures and symbols which exist in the society it is embedded in are reflected in it. This can be exemplified in the way power is acquired, divided, purchased and delegated. The woman academic is well aware of this (see Fig.3).

*"... Having or not having power in academia is not the main question for women. The question is what this power can provide and how it is accepted and respected...*

Question: *Don't you think that having some degree of power is a good achievement in itself in this society...? Power may bring some advantages... it is better than being powerless...!*

Answer: *... in order to be significant this power must be endorsed by social and*

*political factors outside the academic domain... without this endorsement it is a
very dependent and limited power..." (Literature professor)*

In your present occupation or profession do you feel that:

(a) You have a
    stable situation ▶

(b) You have a position
    that provides you
    with a relative but
    limited authority and
    importance ▶

(c) ·You have enough
    authority to influence
    significantly any
    decision relevant to your ▶
    domain of activity

(d) You have a position that
    enables you to bargain with
    anyone on the same footing ▶
    and make him respect your
    point of view even if he
    has a different opinion.

(e) You have a position that
    enables you to impose your ▶
    perception of things which
    is highly respected and
    taken as an example

*Fig.3*  Gender and the degree of respectability.
*This profile shows clearly that women academics consider that they have less authority and power
in academia in comparison with their male counterparts.*

Power in Arab academia is very structured and hierarchical. The entrance of women
into this field must  be seen in the light of this structure and hierarchy. The field is,
practically from the outset, male-dominated. In other words, the Arab academia is -
through its aims, division of power, and process of decision-making - an almost
entirely man-moulded, man-minded and man-oriented institution and place.

## Academic women in the bureaucratic field

As newcomers to the field and because of the patriarchal cultural environment,

women trying to find and establish a position find themselves confronted with many difficulties. They need, as has been contended by Graham (1973:170), to struggle against the prevailing 'cultural stereotypes'. These cultural stereotypes constitute obstacles for women in the administrative and bureaucratic sphere if they intend to use them as a device for career advancement and fulfilment. This becomes quite clear in the following evaluations of the academic field (see Fig.4):

*"When I was elected to many councils and committees I thought that I could make the woman's voice heard. But later on, I realised that regardless what I say, only the men's views and decisions are taken into account. In fact, it is not surprising that the absolute majority of these councils and committees are male-dominated..." (Biology professor).*

*"on many occasions when I see how the debate is directed and how the correctness of male opinions is taken for granted, I feel that I am just a part of the decor of the meeting room...maybe my presence is needed to demonstrate some sort of democracy but it is also to justify their (male) superiority" (Spanish language assistant).*

This culturally-related difficulty is visible in the process of decision-making. It is often thought that women provide more efficient contributions when they are subordinate to men in administrative positions (Graham 1973:173). In this respect, men have adopted an attitude and an expectation concerning the role women 'deserve' and the position they can be placed in (see Acar 1990:129-143).

*"... bureaucracy is a domain which involves all kinds of powers and authorities...If you are integrated into it, whatever your position, they (men) expect you to look at things in their way and behave or decide accordingly...If you deviate from this expectation, they consider you to be ignorant of bureaucratic procedures or looking for trouble...After all this, a woman starts to think that her judgement is worthless" (Physics researcher).*

Bureaucracy and administration are spheres of the public domain. Women have had access to these domains for more than two decades but, with a few exceptions, such access has been limited to subordinate posts and functions. Women who, thanks to their academic capital and expertise, have been able to attain higher posts and increased responsibilities in the bureaucratic and administrative hierarchy within the university, are outnumbered by men. In other words, such women constitute a minority who are obliged to accept the hegemony and rule of the majority despite their disagreement and dissatisfaction with the latter's policy and philosophy. This means that women who can use the device of academic capital and expertise in order to obtain power are only those who possess - and are capable of activating - other forms of capital, such as 'symbolic' (bright name and fame)[4] and 'social relations' capital.

## Social relations and social capital

Social relations and ties have always played a major role in Arab society (Joseph

How much *Social Status* and *Prestige* does a person with a similar level of higher education to yours enjoy in your country, among different groups of people? Is it low, medium or high?



|   | Low | | | | High |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|   | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

(a) Among common people ▶

(b) Among family members and relatives ▶

Female academics
N=49

(c) Among state civil servants and officials ▶

Male academics
N=62

(d) Among the intelligentsia in your country ▶

(e) Among the intelligentsia in the arab countries ▶

(f) Among the intelligentsia in the Third World ▶

(g) Among the intelligentsia in Europe and North America ▶
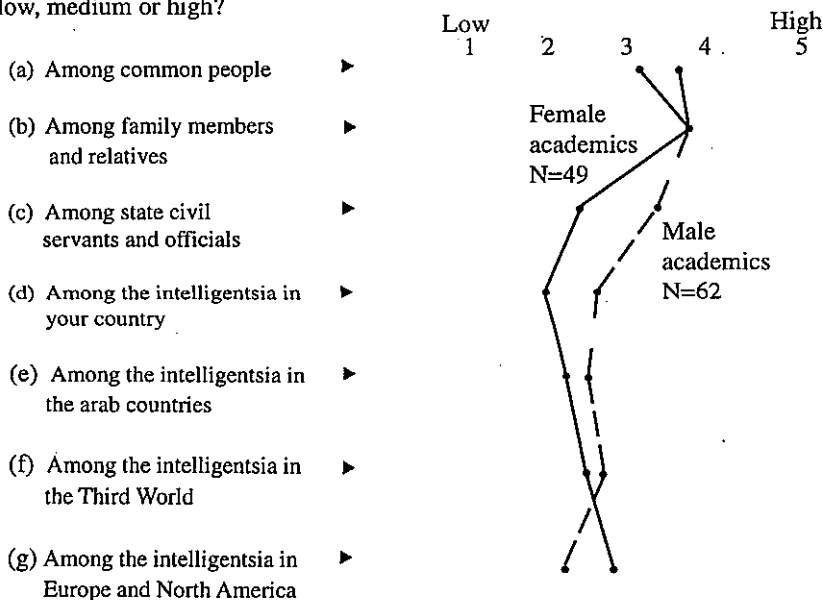
*Fig.4* Status and prestige of the academics as they evaluate it themselves.
*In this profile it becomes evident that women academics consider that their status and prestige is weaker among their country's intelligentsia than among foreign intelligentsia. This attitude may explain the manifest or hidden conflict of gender where women feel that the intelligentsia and the bureaucracy does not hold them sufficiently in esteem.*

1977; El Khayat-Bennai undated) and in most Mediterranean countries (Boissevain 1974). These relations and ties differ in importance according to class origin and the family's symbolic power, wealth and functional position. These sources of influence can be seen at work in the academic field (Sabour 1993). In the case of Moroccan universities, social capital has a significant impact on women in academia (Dialmy, undated), for though it may not provide high respectability, it does, however, provide some sort of protection. Analysis of the data shows clearly that the majority of the respondents are from the middle and upper classes (economic capital), and from families possessing relatively good cultural capital (see Table 4).[5] This reflects the class backgrounds of the female University student population in general. A wise use of these different forms of capital could lead to the acquisition of influence and advantages.

| Father's status | Participants N: 49 | |
|---|---|---|
| | N | % |
| Upper class | 15 | 30.6 |
| Middle class | 22 | 44.9 |
| Lower class | 12 | 24.50 |
| Total | 49 | 100.0 |

*Table 4.* Social class origins of the participants

*Due to many factors, the delimitation of social classes in Moroccan society is very difficult. The division followed here has mainly taken into account the economic and social status of the father. According to this criterion, the majority of the participants are from the middle and upper class, and this reflects the findings of another study (Salmi 1985) which confirms the fact that most female post-graduates come, indeed, from middle or upper class backgrounds.*

Some of the participants actually came from backgrounds deprived of capital. But these were exceptions, and such women were both aware and proud of their achievement against all odds:

*"According to many I am an exception to the exception... I have realized the unthinkable in reaching this position. Coming from a poor and illiterate family, I am the first 'highly educated' person in the family and in our village... and the only one of my group who entered my school in the 1950s..." (Professor, Lycée principal).*

Other participants cautiously declared that their social origin had had a relative impact on their academic life:

*"... my social background was important in enhancing my academic success but it was not the most determinant factor... I had to work hard and rely on my personal ability..." (Chemistry professor).*

Another group of participants recognised rather less ambiguously the importance of social and familial ties:

*"Indeed, my familial and social origin did significantly help my educational success and career... This origin, of which I am proud, gives me the feeling of looking self-confidently forward..." (Social Sciences researcher).*

In other words,

*"...family background, good friends and acquaintances ... are a precious thing to have in this society... it can facilitate certain academic activities ... it may even help in attaining some goals that you cannot reach otherwise..." (Sociolinguistics lecturer).*

What is the best way for an educated person like you to protect, reinforce and improve his/her social position? Please tick two of the following items which best represent what you think. He/she must therefore:

(a) / 21.2% / Be from an influential and famous family

(b) / 19.3% / Have acquaintances in the state apparatus and official circles

(c) / 2.5% / Be a member of a political party

(d) / 4.5% / Be a member of a professional or scientific association

(e) / 26.0% / Be industrious and enterprising

(f) / 17.7% / Have creative ability and intellectual productivity

(g) / 6.4% / Conform to the orders and instructions of his/her superiors

(h) / 1.8% / Be motivated by nationalist drives in his/her function

(i) / 0.6% / Others

*Table 5.* Devices for obtaining a position in the academic field and in society.

*This table shows that women academics rely strongly on their own scientific achievement and work for obtaining a status in the academic field. However they also seem to consider social capital as equally important for this purpose. By the same token the identification with - and the membership in - political parties or professional associations do not gain significant endorsement.*

But even when knowledge, power and competence are obtained - after studies abroad or through one's familial and social relations - this does not always ensure acceptance by the main players in the academic arena, especially if a woman uses this knowledge to question the predominant values in her society (see Table 5). As one interviewee pointed out:

*"The comprehension and assistance of my family was determinant in getting a chance to study abroad. Being educated at an American university is a tremendous achievement for a woman like me who comes from a society that has restricted woman's existence, career and free choice for centuries ...there is always someone seeking to find a way to underestimate you...You can easily find a so-called 'authenticity advocator' to stigmatize you as a culturally-alienated and intellectual outsider if you base your arguments on Western schools of thought..." (Education professor).*

It is for reasons such as these that the work of Professor Fatima Mernissi on the status of women in Morocco, though acclaimed internationally, has failed to gain the recognition it deserves in her own country (Charak 1990). Mernissi is criticised for her use of a 'Western feminist' approach in the study of Moroccan women, and for her

attempt to 'demythify' patriarchal Islamic law and rules. By activating her intellectual competence on solid grounds, Mernissi has constructed a strong *scientific dissuasion* which has apparently irritated some of her male colleagues. It is important to note that Mernissi has, in many of her writings, effectively distanced herself from Western feminist views. Moreover, in her analysis of the status of women in the light of Islamic tradition, she has attacked the ahistorical interpretation of her Islamist critics by turning their own sayings and arguments against them (Mernissi 1973, 1987). Because of her social background, educational training and social commitment Mernissi has been labelled a petty-bourgeois, culturally alienated and 'desacralising' intellectual (see Charak 1990). In fact, Mernissi, as an eminent scholar and academic, could be considered to be intellectually 'deviant' because she refuses to submit to the hegemonic paradigm of thinking established by a patriarchal society. Her creative 'deviance' and challenge has stimulated a multidimensional discourse about the status of women in modern Moroccan society. Because of its tone, Mernissi's discourse has broken down the boundaries between the intellectual and ideological realms. Such processes lead us to consider the field of ideology and politics.

## Political allegiances and alliances as a device to attain respectability

The male has reserved for himself the management of all affairs in the key public spheres of Arab society. This dominant role is played out in decision-making processes, economic planning, legislation and political practice, to mention just a few of the more important areas. Here, women are conspicuous by their absence, and this is particularly true with reference to the political field (Nelson 1984:214-215). This invisibility is often not voluntarily chosen, but is imposed. It is either forced onto women intentionally - through the promulgation of strict rules and prohibitions - or it is imposed tacitly - through the lack of educational opportunities, and through socialisation and conscientisation practices (Tessler and O'barr 1983:138-139). Given this situation, the utilisation of political devices to attain a degree of respectability seems, at least for the time being, less probable and feasible. This is particularly true for Morocco where, despite the existence of the parliamentary system for the past three decades, women are still almost excluded from this domain,[6] in contrast to Syria and Egypt, for instance, where women have gained seats in parliament. Such an absence from the political field is surprising given that women have penetrated almost all other spheres of Moroccan society.

The reasons for this state of affairs are, according to academic women, varied. Some participants claimed that it is society, through its rules and values, that is responsible for excluding women from politics:

*"The general view of society is not ready to admit women into the political field. The reasons are to be found in the culture, traditions and the family education..." (Sociology lecturer).*

Others argue that the cause lies rather more with the political 'habitus' internalised

through socialisation and education (see Lindsay 1980:27):

> *"It is possible that women are not yet ready to use the political device in the struggle to improve their position. Socialisation and education have certainly played a determinant role in weakening the interest of women in politics. It will take a long time before Moroccan women become active in the political arena..." (Anthropology researcher).*

Others emphasise the lack of trust and chauvinism of male politicians,

> *"The political parties in this country don't seem to be ready to engage women in their ideological struggle, through political discourse, elections...Maybe, they think that the public will not take them seriously. Therefore, they don't like to take this risk..." (Psychology associate professor).*

Politics is also considered to be a risky business, controlled by men in the context of a culture where there is no deeply-rooted female politicisation:

> *"Politics is seen as a tricky and serious business reserved for men. The Moroccan woman is expected to keep out of it. In fact, the hegemony of man in the political field makes it somewhat risky for woman to enter it, especially when she uses her position to question the policy created and managed by him..." (Social Sciences professor).*

In this same perspective Mernissi (1990) contends that as far as women's activism is concerned, the political field in Arab (Moroccan) society is littered with mines and traps, especially when the person is opposing the prevailing paradigm (Akharbach & Rerhaye 1992). The unpredictable risks existing in this field are due not only to the dominance of men but also to the lack of political professionalism and an informed public. In this situation, women's discourse can easily be manipulated and misrepresented. Men still control the political mechanism; this fact allows them to distort the messages, thoughts and intentions that women attempt to convey through political activism and struggle. This is why Mernissi contends that while waiting for a better and more favourable time to get their message across, women should be involved in an intellectual struggle in which their ideas and thoughts can be disseminated through the mass media (books, reviews, films, newspapers and so on). In other words, the attainment of status and recognition on the part of educated women rests on their ability to use the field of science and intellect. By so doing, they will not only improve their own position, but they will also express the interests - and defend the status - of all women, constituting as these do half of a society's population. Mernissi's view is shared by many of the interviewees involved in the present study:

> *"The only effective and sole weapon a woman has for struggling for her rights and better status is to acquire a large amount of educational and cultural capital. Her power resides in her ability to use this capital to defend her cause and propagate her ideas in the largest sphere possible..." (Mass Media lecturer).*

And,

> *"If an academic diploma and intellectual achievement cannot open the 'royal*

road' to honour and glory they can, at least, secure a position of respect and dignity for women. Therefore, I think that more women must be given access to higher learning..." (Dentistry professor).

The utilisation of the device of political involvement as a path to respectability is, therefore, considered to be a formidable and risky affair for women. Furthermore, women can find the process of integration in academia a very difficult and demanding task, not only because of the educational and academic challenge this represents, but even more so because of the cultural and socio-psychological factors at stake. In fact, in addition to her involvement in academic activity, the Moroccan woman is expected to play the role of mother, housewife, and so on. In this sense, the familial situation may be a factor that hinders the academic aspirations of some academics, or serves as an explanation for their weak motivation in this regard:

" In addition to my teaching, which takes a lot of my time, I also have familial obligations. In other words, my teaching and my family take a lot of my time and energy. So, I do not have enough time to publish or to do scholarly work. But, I do not regret this too much. I think I can enjoy my life without them. In fact, I would not like to be an eternal student burdened with eternal stress: presenting papers to people and worrying about what they say and what things will be liked ... teaching is enough for me ..." (Linguistics assistant professor).

Others deplore the fact that their intellectual motivation is undermined by the attitude and lack of support evinced by their husbands:

"Highly educated or not, in the view of some husbands you are mainly and above all a wife. This means that your academic value is the last thing to consider when it's a question of defending your position in the family..." (Medical researcher).

Such an attitude can also be encountered on the campus:

" In spite of your educational and academic achievement some colleagues (men) still look at you as a helpless creature whose contribution to the world of knowledge is not important...You rarely get any positive feedback and encouragement from them..." (Geography assistant professor).

In this situation a woman may find herself confronted with a complex dilemma. As a member of a minority in academia, and being under the control and dominance of men, a woman's entrance into the academic field is, explicitly or implicitly, conditioned by the demand for conformity with the prevailing situation. She is expected to find her place in the institution without openly questioning the existing rules or disturbing the prevailing balance of power. As a newcomer striving to construct an academic identity and image, the woman can, in principle, and thanks to her capital and expertise, gain power, authority and respectability. However, due to the factors previously noted, her position seems to be subordinated and characterised by *conditional* and *conditioned* requirements. It is conditional in that she is tacitly or openly pressured to play the same role as the man, to demonstrate her intellectual ability and plausibility. But her position is conditioned by the fact that there is a set of

rules, structures and stereotypes which regulate her activity and academic existence. Patterson (1973:314) argues that *"the woman who enters the male-dominated spheres of academe or the professions, for example, will be defined as deviant; she is not what we think she should be".* In these circumstances, adds Patterson, she develops compensatory strategies for minimising her 'deviance': in order to be accepted she acts like a man or conforms to the *"expectations of the feminine role"* (p.315).

## Conclusion

In their search for recognition and better status, women discover that intellectual and academic achievement are crucial but not the most determinant devices. They have to struggle on three other fronts: the socio-cultural (attitudes, tradition, gender role, stereotypes, etc.), the private (household, motherhood, division of labour), and the economic (salary, financing of academic activity, daycare).

If we take into account the limited material possibilities that academic facilities offer in Morocco in terms of library, research, equipment, financial support for research, then we realise the extent to which academic achievement is also determined by the cultural and economic capital women possess. In other words, those academic women who emerge from culturally and economically deprived backgrounds face enormous problems in carrying out their academic activity.

The origin and position in the social structure have, therefore, a significant impact because they condition the academic existence of women on campus and at home. Delamont (1989) argues that intellectual and academic achievement alone do not bring esteem, honours and visibility. She contends that for a woman scholar *"to make her own work rhetorically weighty for others in the field ... it is probably less a question of publishing more, or even through doing 'better' research, but of personal contacts, friendships, visits, conferences, seminars..."* (p.260). But Moroccan women academics find this a difficult route to travel. As suggested earlier, family duties over and above economic factors restrain their freedom of movement. They find themselves 'chained' to their familial obligations. In fact, while women often adjust their academic careers to family needs (and sometimes their husbands' work), the man, in most cases, adapts the family's life course to his career and work requirements. In this sense, many of those Moroccan academics who publish more, take part in various conferences and have international contacts are mainly single, divorced or have enough economic resources to sustain their activities. Finally, while Moroccan women academics have greater opportunities and possibilities than ever before to improve their status, gain recognition and attain visibility, they are not always able to activate all the devices (intellectual, social, administrative and political) autonomously and efficiently. Therefore, while women have experienced significant advances in terms of authority, power and immunity, their overall achievement of respect in the Moroccan academic field remains fragile.

# Notes

[1] The 'intellocratic function' refers to that situation where the individual in question is by training an academic and scholar but is mainly involved in bureaucratic or administrative work.

[2] Those who occupy high administrative and bureaucratic positions often gain different material advantages, including lodgings, cars, trips, authoritative prerogatives, and so on.

[3] 'Social capital' refers to potential resources mobilised through a network of social relations by means of inter-acquaintance and/or inter-recognition. It consists of a set of mobiliseable relations which can provide support, protection, assistance or better chances for promotion.

[4] 'Symbolic culture' represents aspects of prestige, reputation, fame, celebrity, talent and so on which, once established and recognised by others, enable its owner to obtain credit, esteem and honour.

[5] Broadly speaking, 'cultural capital' consists of the ownership of cultural goods (e.g., books, instruments, and so on). The term also has an institutionalised aspect which consists of the possession of educational title (e.g. academic diploma) and recognised ability (e.g. knowledge of languages). In addition, cultural capital includes a dimension which is to be found in the disposition of the organism in incorporating the previously mentioned forms of capitals as characteristics of his or her behaviour and personality (e.g. bodily movement, manners, life-style, and so on).

In Morocco the illiteracy of women is still very high, and stands at over 65% (Salmi 1985). It is worth noting that almost half of the participants involved in this project had educated mothers. This is of course linked to class origins and helps to explain the successful career paths of the participants. In fact, it seems that daughters with educated mothers are more likely to continue their studies than those whose mothers are not (Sabour 1988).

[6] During the last Moroccan parliamentary election (1994) two females - both of whom were academics - were elected for the first time in country's history.

**M'hammed Sabour** *is associate professor in the Department of Sociology, at the University of Joensuu, Finland. His contact address is PO Box 111, SF-80101 Joensuu, Finland. Tel. (358)73 1511; Fax. (358)73 151 2714; Email<Sabour@joyl.joensuu.Fi>*

# References

Acar, Feride (1990) Role and career patterns: A cross-cultural study of Turkish and Jordan university teachers. In Suzanne Stiver Lie & Virginia E. O'leary (eds) *Storming the Tower, Women in the Academic World.* London: Kogan Page.

Akharbach, L. & Rerhaye, N. (1992) *Femmes et Politique.* Casabalanca: Editions le Fennec.

*Annuaire Statistique du Maroc* (1992) Rabat, Morocco.

Baina, Abdelkader (1981) *Le Système de l'Enseignement au Maroc.* Casablanca: Editions Maghrébines.

Barnes, Barry (1988) *The Nature of Power.* Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Barrow, Logie (1989) The environment of fellowship around 1900. In Roy Porter & Sylvana Tomaselli (eds), *The Dialectics of Friendship.* London: Routledge Press.

Boissevain, J. (1974) *Friends of Friends: Networks, Manipulators and Coalitions.* London: Basil Blackwell.

Bourdieu, Pierre (1988) *Homo Academicus.* New York: Polity Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre (1980) Le capital social, *Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales*, Vol. 31, (2-3), Paris.

Charak, Ahmed (1990) *Feminist Discourse in Morocco.* Afriquia-Charq, Casablanca. (Arabic)

Delamont, Sara (1989) *Knowledgeable Women,* London: Routledge Press.

Dialmy, Abdelsamad (n.d.) The academic woman in Fes and her social origin: an empirical study. In Tahar Labib (ed.) *Arab Intelligentsia.* Tunis: Al-Dar Al-Arabiya Lil-kitab, 269-305 (Arabic).

El Khayat-Bennai, Ghita (n.d.) *Le Monde Arabe au Féminin.* Casablanca: Eddif.

Eisenstadt, S.N. & Roniger, L. (1984) *Patrons and Friends, Interpersonal Relations and the Structure of Trust in Society.* London: Cambridge University Press.

Garrett, Stephanie (1989) *Friendship and the Social Order.* In Roy Porter & Sylvana Tomaselli (eds) *Dialectics of Friendship.* London: Routledge Press.

Graham, Particia Albjerg (1973) Status transitions of women students, faculty, and administrators. In Alice S. Rossi & Ann Calderwood (eds) *Academic Women on the Move.* New York: Russell Sage Foundations.

Joseph, Suad (1977) Family as security and bondage: a political strategy of the Lebanese working class. In Nicholas S. Hopkins & Saad Eddin Ibrahim (eds) *Arab Society: Social Science Perspectives.* Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press.

Knowles, Asa A. (1977) *The International Encyclopedia of Higher Education.* London: Jossey-Bass Publishers.

Lindsay, Beverly (1980) *Comparative Perspectives of Third World Women.* New York: Praeger.

Lévi-Strauss, Claude (1969) *The Elementary Structures of Kinship.* London.

Mernissi, Fatima (1975) *Beyond the Veil: Male/Female Dynamics in a Modern Muslim Society,* New York: Schenkman.

Mernissi, Fatima (1987) *Le Harem Politique.* Paris: Albin Michel.

Mernissi, Fatima (1990) *Women and Media* (Mimeo), Helsinki.

Nelson, Cynthia (1984) Islamic tradition and women's education in Egypt. In S. Acker, J. Megarry, S. Nisbet & E. Hoyle (eds) *World Yearbook of Education 1984* (Women and Education). London: Kogan Page.

Ryan, Jake & Sackrey, Charles (1984) *Strangers in Paradise.* Boston: South End Press.

Sabour, M'hammed (1985) *The Cultural Identification and Alienation of the Arab Intelligentsia: an Empirical Study of the Moroccan Educated.* Joensuu: University of Joensuu Publications.

Sabour, M'hammed (1988) *Homo Academicus Arabicus.* Joensuu: University of Joensuu Publications. No 11.

Sabour, M'hammed (1990) The status and ontolology of arab intellectuals: the academic group, *The International Journal of Contemporary Sociology,* Vol. 28(3-4), 221-232.

Sabour, M'hammed (1993) La lutte pour le pouvoir et la respectabilité dans le champ universitaire arabe, *Revue Internationale des Sciences Sociales,* Vol.135, 123-136. Paris: UNESCO.

Salmi, Jamil (1985) *Crise de l'Enseignement et Reproduction Sociale au Maroc.* Casablanca: Editions Maghribines.

Souali, Mohamed & Merrouni, Mekki (1981) *Question de l'Enseignement au Maroc.* Publication of Bulletin Economique et Social du Maroc, Rabat.

Tessler, Mark & O'barr, Jean (1983) *Gender and Participants Citizenship: Evidence from Tunisia.* In Tawfic E. Farah (ed.) *Political Behaviour in the Arab State.* Colorado: Westview Press.

Wilson, Logan (1942) *The Academic Man.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

# THE RATING OF EDUCATIONAL AIMS BY GREEK AND ENGLISH STUDENT-TEACHERS

ELIAS MATSAGOURAS
(with STEWART RIDING)

**Abstract** - *60 Greek and 60 English Primary teacher-training students rated 25 educational aims on a five-point scale under three conditions: (a) representing their estimates of the priorities of their own former Primary teachers; (b) representing what they took to be the views of their present lecturers; and (c) indicating their own intentions for their teaching career. The result showed the two sets of students to have taken up very similar stances in nearly all respects and to be further united in the belief that they had moved a long way from prevailing ideologies of their own schooldays. The findings are discussed in relation to the patterns of Primary Schooling and Teacher Education in both countries.*

## Introduction

*C* omparative research has been accused of attending too much to structural features of education systems and neglecting the teachers that make these systems work. Teachers are not like other system components. Not only are they the most immediate cause of learning, the 'point of delivery' of the whole educational enterprise; they operate on the basis of reciprocal relationships with children and this makes them uniquely important. This uniqueness has led scholars like Broadfoot and Garrett to argue strongly for more recognition of the idiographic aspects of teachers in comparative studies, and in particular for attention to be paid to their intentions. Maddock (1983) argues very persuasively that systems and structures can be radically misunderstood without due attention to 'influential ideologies' which can so readily be dismissed through impatience with the subjectivity and imprecision of such notions. Further references will be made to Broadfoot's work, in particular to the BRISTAIX study (Broadfoot et al. 1987). The present study is on a smaller scale, involves no interviewing or follow-up of the results, but does attempt to sample a wider range of teacher, or at least student-teacher, intentions. It employs a measuring instrument which is subject-friendly, simple to use and modify, and potentially appropriate to any aggregation of teachers.

The nature of educational aims and their relation to educational reality are well known to be problematic but there is no doubt that to a large extent the educational experience of pupils is determined by the goals, purposes or intended outcomes of their teachers. Aims appear prominently in documents as diverse as teachers' lesson plans and government policy statements; they may be general and long-term or short-term and specific (when they are conventionally termed 'objectives'); they may be

associated with particular curriculum subjects or they may transcend them; they may be cognitive, affective or psychomotor, distinctions made familiar by Bloom and his colleagues (Bloom 1956); they may be humanistic or instrumental; they may, of course, be implicit rather than explicit, unquestioningly assumed rather than advertised in writing and in rhetoric. Very obviously, statements about aims can generate endless controversy for the simple reason that there are so many of them and never nearly enough time to attend to them all.

This investigation, focusing as it does on the stage of professional training, attempts to identify some elements of the educational and cultural experience of student-teachers as serious candidates for further study while suggesting others may have been over-valued.

## Background to the study

The opportunity for a cross-cultural and relatively unstereotyped approach to the question of how teachers begin in their professional training days to form conceptions of their role arose from an ERASMUS programme between Athens University and Bath College of Higher Education. This provided a context for discussing some fascinating comparisons between Greek and English students and practices. Obviously, both sets of students had been subjected to a vast number of aim-inculcating influences that they themselves would want to exert as teachers.

For the benefit of readers familiar with neither, or only with one, the structure and curricula of the Greek and English Education systems will be outlined. This can only be a bare outline; as has been emphasised, the focus of the study is on less tangible considerations. The word 'English' serves as a reminder that in the U.K. Scotland has a quite different system, and even Wales has some individual features. The Greek and English systems are introduced as they would be likely to have been experienced by the subjects of the study. (A negligible number of the English subjects had been educated in Scottish or private schools. A considerable number of Greek subjects had been to private schools. However Greek private schools follow exactly the same national curriculum as state schools and in other ways are under centralised control).

## Greek Dimotika Skolia (5½-12)

The pattern of Greek schools and their curriculum date back to the early days of Greek Independence. There have been wide-reaching reforms in 1929, 1976 and 1985. The whole system is highly centralised and tightly controlled. In these and other respects it resembles those of the rest of Europe much more than it resembles England's, where as is well known, there has been (and still is) an extraordinary amount of decentralisation and teacher autonomy. In Greece, as elsewhere, the curriculum is centrally prescribed and controlled and is the same country-wide. So are the text-books from which it must be taught. Teachers are in theory free to choose the

methods of delivery but in practice this freedom is costrained by resource limitations. There has, in consequence, been much more consistency from region to region and from year to year than in England. There has also been more stability, although the system has come under considerable criticism from Greek teachers and teacher-educators for neglecting individual differences, restricting the development of resource-based learning, limiting teachers' involvement in curricular debate, and fostering a narrow academic elitism to an extent that has retarded the country's development. Linked with these complaints are intensely felt imputations of under-funding. A very clear and readable account in English can be found in Massialas et al. (1988), which also sets out the 1985 reforms addressing some of the above dissatisfactions.

Compared to their English counterparts Greek students would have spent more time and effort in acquiring knowledge from teachers and books and had considerable less experience of active learning. There would have been little attention to display of children's work or visual aids. Science work, for instance, would have been almost entirely book-based without opportunities for experiments. Content knowledge would have been stressed together with a lot of actual learning-by-rote in some areas. Resources of all kinds would have seemed strikingly sparse to an English observer. Outcomes, of course, would have varied very greatly, recalling Aristotle's dictum about the injustice of treating unequals equally. Grading would have been based on coursework and oral tests.

Unlike France, where religious teaching is excluded, and to a much greater extent than in England, the children would have been made very strongly aware of the teaching of the state church. The Department of Government corresponding to the English Department for Education (until recently the Department of Education and Science) is actually the Ministry of Education and Religion. Most teachers would have taken this involvement seriously. They would also, unlike French teachers (Broadfoot et al. 1987) have accepted without question their assigned role of fostering moral and spiritual development. In many cased too, despite their pedagogic formality, they would have impressed observers from other countries as warm and demonstrative. They would have enjoyed a good deal of parental support and respect in the community.

As well as defining a corpus of knowledge, understanding and skills appropriate for the 6 to 12 year-olds of the country, the Greek Primary curriculum also seeks very explicitly to convey a strong sense of national identity to an extent which is distinctly unfashionable in England and which is not approached in the U.K. National Curriculum material in English and the Humanities.

## Greek Gymnasia / Lykia

Many of the characteristics of the Dimotika, even to the lack of practical science, would have been true of this 12-18 stage of schooling. The Greek respondents would have experienced a more demanding version of a similar subject-based curriculum,

and of course much less of a change of teaching style on entering secondary school than would the English students. They would also have experienced much more stress on assessment.

## Initial teacher education at Athens university

As in England, Greek ITE courses last for four years and end for most students in a qualification which is both a degree and a professional qualification.

Entrance is extremely competitive: the selection of students is on the basis of a country-wide examination and, because of the under-provision of University education in Greece, those successful would correspond academically to those entering 'first-choice' universities in the UK.

As in Bath, curriculum subjects are studied both 'at the students' own level' and in relation to the curriculum of the *Dimotika.* Apart from the Science laboratories there is little in the way of specialist teaching rooms with displays of books, videos, artefacts, work from local schools etc. as is seen in England. The overall level of resourcing is much below that taken for granted in English ITE circles. Seminars and tutorials operate as in England but a large amount of teaching goes on in mass lectures, even for topics where a workshop approach would be far more appropriate. Unlike Bath prominence is given to the 'Education disciplines' i.e. Philosophy, Psychology, Sociology and History of Education.

In Athens students seldom have the experience of teaching a class individually for any appreciable time. For 40 full days in Years 3 and 4 they work in schools in groups of four to a class - but mainly as observers. This observation is very carefully structured and guided by tutors and includes personal empirical investigation of teaching and learning methods based on the *Dilemmas of Teaching* (Berlak & Berlak 1981). This corresponds to the inculcation of the 'Reflective Teacher' stance at Bath and forms the basis both for discussion and a major written assignment in teaching method. The absence of the traditional 'Teaching Practice' would strike most people familiar with the English pattern as indeed it strikes the author, as a regrettably inadequate preparation.

## English primary schools (5-11)

The most obvious and significant fact about English Primary schooling is its variety. This makes the task of providing a readable summary hazardous in the extreme. The English system is one of the most decentralised in the world and was even more so in the Primary school years of the respondents. Not only do the hundred or more Local Education Authorities (LEAs) have wide autonomy in relation to central government, the individual schools cherish their own considerable autonomy vis-à-vis the governing LEA.

Of course there are factors promoting some conformity; the examination system

operating in Secondary education is an obvious example. However, until the imposition of a National Curriculum by central government from 1990 Primary school headteachers were largely free to determine the curriculum for their individual schools. This was the major characteristic of English Primary Schools during the entire period of schooling for most respondents.

The English students, then, would have had no experience as children of anything resembling the present National Curriculum. Their experience would, in fact, have been very varied and, to anticipate an important point, opportunities for sharing this varied experience with each other are deliberately built into their professional course at Bath. Most students, as children, would certainly have seen great variety between different teachers in the same school. For many the formal-informal, traditional-progressive distinction would have become well-recognised, though only a minority would have been consistently taught in accordance with either extreme. Most, however, would have had at school considerably more opportunities than their contemporaries in most other countries for active learning of various kinds and to have been correspondingly less dependent on 'didactic' teaching and prescribed textbooks. In comparison with most other countries, their classrooms and schools would have been well resourced for active learning. Assessment patterns would have been so various as to defy summarising.

It is important to note that this situation can be and probably has beeen exaggerated unwarrantably. Though an assessment is difficult for a foreigner, my reading and observations incline me to the view of Pollard (1985) and other writters who assert that it really is variety, much more than progressivism as such, that has characterised English Primary Schooling; and that even while the Plowden Report (CACE 1967) was encouraging and endorsing innovative teaching, a large amount of the teaching actually going on was nothing of the kind.

To a much greater degree than in some countries, France for example, English teachers would have regarded themselves as in principle sharing responsibility with their parents for the children's personal, social and moral development and most would have taken this seriously in practice. The pluralistic nature of British society, however, makes it hazardous to generalise about the ethical foundations of this practice. Some teachers would identify themselves as distinctively and explicity Christian. Only a very small number would claim any other religious allegiance or other well-articulated value-system such as Marxism. The public consensus might be typified as a some-what relativistic liberal humanism with a Christian historical influence.

*English secondary schools (11-18)*

Most English respondents spent their secondary years in Comprehensive Schools. These would have been much better equipped and their classrooms better resourced than all but the private sector schools in Greece. The most dependable difference between pre- and post-11 schooling would have been separation of the subjects of the

curriculum. Partly because of examination considerations, partly because English secondary teachers are commonly holders of single-subject degrees, partly because the ideology of progressivism is traditionally much more associated with Primary ITE, the English sample would have experienced overall a pedagogy much more formal than in their Primary (or equivalent) schooldays. In their sixth and seventh Secondary years their curriculum would for the most part have narrowed down to the three subjects of their examinations for entrance to Higher Education, the GCE Advanced ('A') Level.

## *English ITE*

Bath College of Higher Education is fairly typical of the Colleges and Institutes of Higher Education where Primary ITE has a high profile. It has a pedagogical standpoint which is progressive but not radically innovatory. The examination profile of entrants would in general be much lower than at Athens, where something like six out of seven well-qualified applicants are turned down. The rhetoric of formal/informal, traditional/progressive pedagogy is quite commonly used. Broadfoot et al (1987) notes the pervasiveness of this among English teachers. Students adopt this rhetoric, even though the dominant feature of their collective Primary schooling was not so much progressivism as a great and perhaps bewildering mixture, since, as stated above, they very often share their experience of schools in discussion and are encouraged to see them as strung out along the traditional/progressive continuum.

For the first two years students study 'at their own level' - i.e. not related to primary curriculum. In years three and four all the work is related to the Primary curriculum and Education. Only small elements of the Education 'disciplines' appear, (e.g. some Cognitive Psychology in relation to constructivist approaches to Primary Science). More stress is laid on the approach associated with terms such as 'reflective teaching', 'reflective practitioner', 'reflection-in-action' and 'action research'. Several good accounts are availbale such as Fish (1989) and Calderhead (1987). It asserts that teachers develop their own personal 'theories' about their work, no matter what academic theorising was presented to them as students - therefore, the best course is to help them develop *better* personal theories than to foist on them those of other people, no matter how academically prestigious.

A very striking and important difference is that in the Bath course students have to spend well over 100 full days in school with a gradual shift first from simple observing to participant-observing then to assuming almost complete responsibility for a class. In this, as in the curriculum work, students are constantly pressed to be reflective and evaluative but the formal inculcation of critical thinking 'skills' sometimes associated with this pedagogic trend is not a feature.

Bath students too have much more experience of practical work within the curriculum courses and of opportunities for individual tutorial guidance, both from their tutors and from the teachers with whom they work in schools. Most of the

teaching is organised in groups of seminar size, often adopting a workshop format, and conducted in rooms specially resourced for the curricular area for that session - with appropriate reference material, videotapes, computer programmes, displays of children's work from local schools and so on. Mass lectures, common in Athens, are very rare.

## Objects of the study

Four groups of questions suggested themselves. The first related to 'progressive' pedagogy and the clear differences in the form of initial teacher education: could one expect that Bath students, given their level of resourcing, their comparative wealth of 'hands on' experience in active-learning situations, their constantly being encouraged to regard this as 'good Primary practice', would want to replicate this pattern as professionals? Conversely, could one expect that the Athens students, after a knowledge-based education in school and a forms-of-knowledge pattern of teacher-training, would be more likely to see their future selves as 'formal teachers', as transmitters rather than facilitators, catalysts, stimulators and interpreters? Alternatively, could it be (to take a more optimistic stance) that the greater theoretical content in Greek schools and ITE might equip them with the understanding and analytical powers to play the part of Socratic midwife more convincingly, to be more aware of learning styles and processes, to be more inventive in devising teaching strategies than their Engligh counterparts? Or, a third alternative, might one just find, like Garrett and Sanchez Jimenez (1992) in their comparison of Spanish and English views of problem-solving, a remakable agreement given the differences in education systems?

The second group related to the comparisons that might emerge from the ways in which social/personal/ethical issues are typically treated in the two countries. Having a child-centred pedagogy implies a concern for the whole child. It is understandable, therefore, that the BRISTAIX study should find that English teachers, in relation to their French counterparts, should *"...have far more ambitious goals. In particular .... a long term perspective, a responsibility for seeing that children acquire certain permanent abilities and characteristics which will have an effect on the kind of adult they become. They emphasise... development of the child's personality".* (Broadfoot et al. 1987:292). However, for all that the Greek curriculum is knowledge-based and generally taught very formally, the importance of school education for personal development is not only strongly promoted in official rhetoric, it is actually, as has been noted, taken very seriously by the generality of teachers. Are English future teachers likely to be more 'caring' (in the widest sense of the term), more personalistic than their Greek counterparts?

Thirdly, what of the  differences that exist, and the difference in attitude that prevails in the two countries, in relation to the conveying of a sense of national identity. Does this have noticeable consequences for future teachers?

Finally, if differences did appear to be indicated in these respects, I hoped the tripartite presentation of the items might offer some indications as to whether these seemed more likely to diminish in the next generation or to remain as enduring features of our educational, cultural and historical identities. Are Greek and English attitudes, where different, set on a course of convergence?

## Research methodology

The questionnaire was designed to produce some reasonably differentiated information about the areas of interest and to require no more time to complete than our students would readily agree to give. It consists of a number of statements expressing educational aims relating to Primary children, each aim followed by a five-point rating scale. The list of statements was presented three times over to each subject. The first time (i.e. 'Condition 1') subjects were asked to make the ratings according to the importance they recalled each aim's having had in their own Primary schooling. The second time ('Condition 2') they gave the rating they perceived each aim as scoring to the staff responsible for their professional training as teachers. For 'Condition 3' they rated each aim *in propria persona.*

Some account of the development of the questionnaire may be helpful for readers interested in using it or varying it for use with other groups or nationalities of students or teachers. In pilot studies conducted at Athens and Bath, variations in the number and content of the items, the wording of the instructions and the number of points in the rating-scale were tried out. Relatively few problems were encountered except with the last of these. Both sets of students took the investigation quite seriously but tended to 'bunch' the responses at the top rather than use the full scale, which initially was seven-point. This tendency was very resistant to dissuasion, particularly in the third condition, although various ways were tried in the wording of the instructions. A five-point scale had been considered too coarse but it seemed to lead to quicker completion of the questionnaire and less overall distortion, though it was very obvious that the scale mid-point was not the psychological mid-point. It was found that the more prescriptive and detailed the instructions were the more their efficacy seemed to diminish as the questionnaire items, 75 in effect, were proceeded with. Setting a limit on the number of permissible high ratings was considered but proved impracticable in view of the extra 'thinking-time' - increasing the tendecy to rush the questionnaire or even to hand it in incomplete. In the event the five-point scale with uncomplicated instructions produced and encouraging willingness to complete the questionnaire and, as will be seen, only a minute proportion of items was unattempted.

## Selection of questionnaire items

The feedback from the pilot studies led to some general criteria: 1. that all items should as far as possible be seen by students as understandable and relevant in content,

and that the style should not be unduly 'textbookish'; 2. that the total number of responses should not demand more time than one could expect for ready co-operation on a voluntary basis (for this 15 minutes seemed reasonable); 3. above all that the irreducible range of interpretations attaching to each item should be no greater between the two groups than within them.

A large number of items were collected by my Bath colleague and me and translated jointly from one language to the other. Despite the importance of criteria 1 and 3 above, it proved straightforward to find a form of words for each item that we both found satisfactory and with which both sets of subjects seemed happy to work.

The preliminary list of items was reduced to 25; this number seemed about right for the time envisaged in criterion 2 above. The ones chosen seemed suitable for exploring potentially significant comparisons.

Since I knew we should be questioning a large sample I declined the time-consuming exercise of randomising the order of items across respondents and conditions, contenting myself with a single sequence which should not give any undue impression of items deliberately placed in categories.

## Procedure

The items were printed three times over in a booklet, each set preceded by a page with the instructions for conditions 1, 2 and 3. The first page also carried the general instructions.

They were given out in an ordinary teaching session or lecture which had by previous arrangement been scheduled to finish 15 minutes before the usual time. Volunteers were not asked for, rather the booklets were given out to those present and these were invited to take part. They were told that those who did not wish to, and those who had to leave early, were quite free to go but the impression was conveyed that most were expected to stay and that the experience would be found interesting. In each session a few students left at this point but the majority stayed. Reassurance was given about the confidentiality of the responses but in most sessions in both countries there were some students who said that the scripts should in principle be anonymous and this point was more or less conceded; though some respondents were quite happy to affix their names and did so.

Students then worked through the booklets in silence where they were sitting and left them with the lecturer in charge of the session when finished. Two in Bath were given in with the whole of the third section omitted, presumably from tiredness or boredom, and these were discarded, as were two others whose authors very obviously had misread the instructions and reversed the order of the number on the scale.

## Subjects

The respondents were students in their fourth year or late in their third year at the

**English Version of Questionnaire:**

1. To develop the ability to write with accurate spelling, punctuation and grammar.                                                                                      1 2 3 4 5
2. To learn acceptable ways of settling disagreements and differences with other children.
                                                                                                         1 2 3 4 5
3. To develop an understanding of and appropriate attitudes towards healthy eating, personal hygiene, exercise &c.                                                        1 2 3 4 5
4. To develop attitudes of respect and, where appropriate, obedience towards teachers, parents, community leaders, older people in general &c.             1 2 3 4 5
5. To develop understanding of and concern for the environment.              1 2 3 4 5
6. To take pleasure in physical activities and skills in P.E., Games. Dance &c    1 2 3 4 5
7. To experience the excitement of expressing themselves creatively in writing. 1 2 3 4 5
8. To develop attitudes of increasing unselfishness so as to be able to relate to others and to empathise.                                                                         1 2 3 4 5
9. To understand that the family is where most people find their greatest fulfilment and to develop the attitudes appropriate to family life.                1 2 3 4 5
10. To discover and to solve problems by practical activities with the methods used by scientists in answering questions about the world.                       1 2 3 4 5
11. To recognise that much of life is competitive and to respond to the challenges and opportunities that go with this.                                                        1 2 3 4 5
12. To begin to develop the patterns of thinking that will later fit them to take on the responsibilities of citizens in a democratic country.                 1 2 3 4 5
13. To develop positive self-concepts from the teacher's encouragement, praise, display of work &c.                                                                               1 2 3 4 5
14. To develop the attitudes and skills involved in identifying and evaluating evidence that will later help them to reach informed views on controversial issues.       1 2 3 4 5
15. To become proficient in the basic knowledge and skills of numeracy necassary for success in science, maths &c. as taught in secondary schools.       1 2 3 4 5
16. To begin to develop a coherent set of beliefs and values which will guide their conduct, attitudes, relationships &c. throughout life.                             1 2 3 4 5
17. To avoid taking on prejudiced ideas about people from other countries, backgrounds &c.                                                                                      1 2 3 4 5
18. To take pride in the special importance their language has had in world history and world literature.                                                                       1 2 3 4 5
19. To understand that their country's future is closely bound up with the EEC and in fact with all the countries of the world.                                         1 2 3 4 5
20. To love books and to be in the habit of reading for recreation, for finding out, for developing their knowledge of themselves &c.                          1 2 3 4 5
21. To have some understanding of the basic beliefs of major world religions.    1 2 3 4 5
22. To develop a concern for the principle of fairness and to be sensitive to the needs of disabled and disadvantaged people.                                            1 2 3 4 5
23. To enjoy learning and to develop the desire to go on learning with increasing independence out of and after school.                                            1 2 3 4 5
24. To develop the realisation that many of the benefits of life as we know it have been made possible by the achievements of great people in our country's history.      1 2 3 4 5
25. To be able to take part in discussion in such a way as to learn from others and to help others to learn.                                                                    1 2 3 4 5

two insitutions. Pilot studies had shown no difference attributable to year of course and no distinction is made in the presentation of the results.

## Statistical treatment

Through an expedient of which statistical purists will disapprove, means were derived from the ratings (see Table 1) as though the data were parametric, and occasionally these means are referred to in the discussion. The probabilities, however, were computed from appropriate non-parametric tests of significance, Wilcoxin's being used for comparisons of ratings made *within* national groups, i.e. directly between Conditions 1: 2: 3: and the Mann-Whitney for the occasions where I refer to significant differences *between* the Greek and English students.

## Results

Table 1 - All responses under all conditions expressed as means (N=60).
Columns 3 and 6 - 'Gk S' and 'Eng S' - represent the students' *own* ratings of the respective aims (Condition 3). The other columns are the ratings they *ascribed* to their former Primary teachers - 'T' - and their present ITE lecturers - 'L' (Conditions 1 and 2 of the experiment).
In the great majority of cases in this wide range of items there is an identity of educational aspirations between the Bath and Athens students despite their very different cultural and institutional experience.

*Students' own rating compared with those ascribed to their former teachers - i.e. 'Condition 3' with 'Condition 1'*

There was an identical tendency for both sets of students to see themselves as much more commited across most of the range of items than their own former teachers, this 'aspirational shift' (for want of a better phrase) was, on average, somewhat more than a complete step on the 5-point scale.

*Students's own ratings compared with those ascribed to their ITE lectures - i.e. 'Condition 3' with 'Condition 2'*

There is a similar but not identical tendency for the students of both countries to see their lecturers as occupying a position on this scale of commitment intermediate between themselves and their erstwhile teachers, but nearer to themselves. There is more variation here from item to item but the differences between conditions 3 and 2 are on average less than a half a step on the scale - 0.42 for the Bath students and 0.35 for the Athenians.

| Item | Gk T | Gk L | Gk S | Eng T | Eng L | Eng S |
|------|------|------|------|-------|-------|-------|
| 1 Acc. Writing | 3.9 | 3.6 | 4.1 | 3.8 | 3.1 | 3.9 |
| 2 Resolve Disp | 2.4 | 4.2 | 4.3 | 2.7 | 3.7 | 4.1 |
| 3 Health | 2.0 | 3.2 | 3.9 | 2.5 | 3.4 | 4.0 |
| 4 Respect | 4.2 | 3.1 | 3.8 | 3.7 | 3.1 | 3.8 |
| 5 Environment | 2.5 | 4.0 | 4.4 | 2.3 | 3.7 | 4.4 |
| 6 PE | 2.5 | 3.5 | 4.3 | 2.8 | 4.1 | 4.2 |
| 7 Creat. Writ | 2.3 | 3.9 | 4.3 | 2.8 | 3.8 | 4.1 |
| 8 Unselfish | 2.2 | 4.0 | 4.2 | 2.8 | 3.3 | 4.1 |
| 9 Family | 2.9 | 3.4 | 3.6 | 2.6 | 2.6 | 3.1 |
| 10 Sci Discov | 2.3 | 3.9 | 3.7 | 2.2 | 3.9 | 3.9 |
| 11 Competition | 3.0 | 3.3 | 3.5 | 2.8 | 2.9 | 3.2 |
| 12 Citizenship | 2.5 | 3.6 | 3.9 | 2.6 | 3.3 | 3.5 |
| 13 Self Concept | 3.1 | 4.6 | 4.7 | 2.9 | 3.9 | 4.4 |
| 14 Evidence | 2.3 | 4.0 | 4.2 | 2.3 | 3.7 | 3.8 |
| 15 Numeracy | 4.1 | 3.5 | 3.9 | 3.8 | 3.8 | 4.2 |
| 16 Values | 3.1 | 4.0 | 4.1 | 3.1 | 3.5 | 4.0 |
| 17 Anti Prejud | 2.9 | 4.2 | 4.3 | 2.6 | 4.3 | 4.5 |
| 18 Own Lang | 3.5 | 3.9 | 4.2 | 2.5 | 3.1 | 3.3 |
| 19 EEC | 2.1 | 3.3 | 3.7 | 1.7 | 2.5 | 3.1 |
| 20 Books | 3.3 | 4.0 | 4.5 | 3.3 | 3.8 | 4.4 |
| 21 World Relig | 2.4 | 2.7 | 3.4 | 1.7 | 4.1 | 4.2 |
| 22 Equal Opp | 2.7 | 4.3 | 4.5 | 2.3 | 3.8 | 4.4 |
| 23 Continuing | 2.7 | 4.1 | 4.4 | 3.0 | 3.6 | 4.3 |
| 24 Nat Heroes | 3.4 | 3.0 | 3.3 | 2.9 | 2.7 | 3.1 |
| 25 Co-op learn | 2.7 | 3.9 | 4.4 | 2.5 | 4.0 | 4.3 |

*Table 1:* Bath and Athens students' own (i.e. 'Condition 3') ratings
*A cursory inspection of Table1 is sufficient to see the main trends*

These indications of enthusiasm on the part of the next generation of teachers, while highly gratifying to their tutors, may of course be more prosaically attributed to youthful exuberance untempered by continued experience of the 'real world', or to simple lack of discrimination in using the higher values of the rating scale. However, though something of the sort was expected, its sheer extent came as a surprise, at least before the pilot studies. Similarly with the convergence of Greek and English students; this was predicted but its closeness was not.

From these 'across the board' trends we come to the thematic content. In the introduction a number of potential national differences were suggested, not just in curriculum and procedure, but in the way teachers come to conceive their role. Of course differences are usually easier to spot than similarities in any sort of comparison and the danger of over-polarisation is always acute. Nowhere is this more prevalent than in the so-called traditional-progressive continuum. However, some associated

features can be cautiously isolated and a number of these are reflected in the responses.

## Section 1: Aims related to 'progressivism'

*Learner responsibility*

A principal characteristic in the traditional-progressive collocation is that of learner-responsibility. This has been given great prominence by progressives. In keeping with this children are encouraged to take responsibility for their own learning, are given opportunities, confidence, motivation and skills so to do, instead of being expected passively to receive inert knowledge or closely to follow teacher-inculcated procedures with little occasion for expressive possibilities. Such aims, I hoped, would be closely associated with the interpretations students gave to items 7, 10, 13, 14, 20, 23, 25 (see questionnaire above). Since the number of unanswered items was minute, each shape may be taken to represent the mean derived from 60 respondents. No $N$ is less than 58.


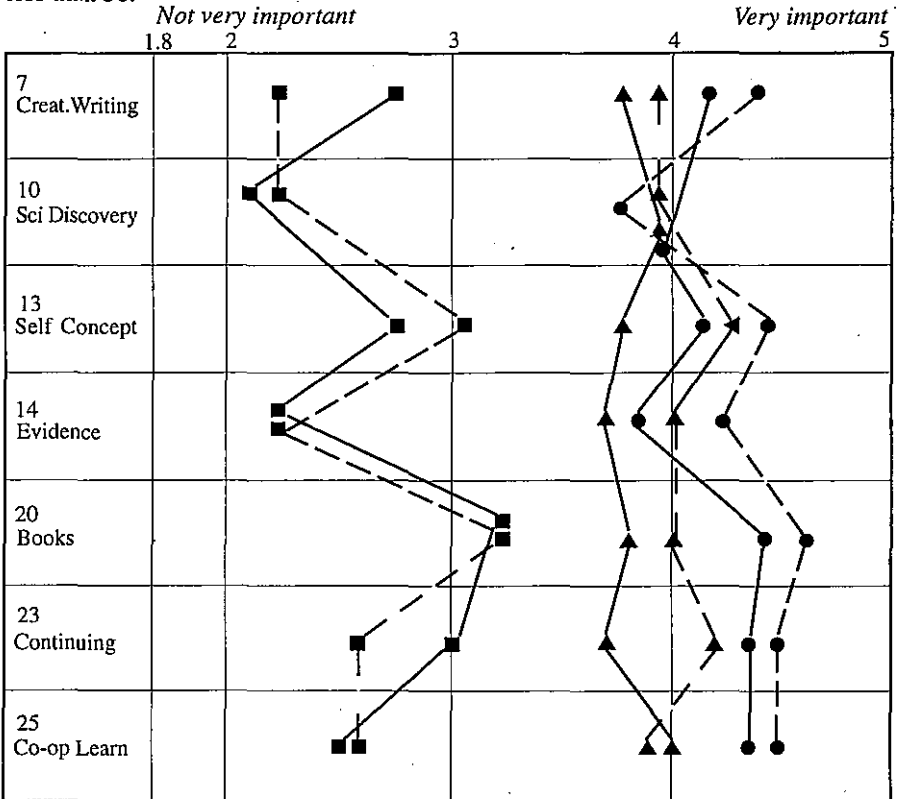
Fig.1.

Fig. 1* shows the mean responses for both nationalities under the three conditions. The similarity between the Greek and English students' stated priorities is very obvious. Equally obvious is the shift from the priorities ascribed to teachers; the differences here are all greater than one complete step on the scale. The greatest difference is 1.8 in the English sample (Item 25) and 2.0 among the Athenians (Item 7). The statistical analysis showed massive confidence levels with the $p$ values even for the lower differences approaching vanishing point.

It has been emphasised that very much more time and money are spent on the practicalities of realising these objectives at Bath than at Athens where there is far less opportunity not only for working with children but also for 'workshop'-type active, co-operative, resource-based learning. However, the values assigned to lecturers seem to show (I make this point with due institutional modesty!) that lecturers at Athens, despite their operating in a much more formal and 'academic' context, are perceived by their students as no less effective than the Bath lecturers (as perceived by their students) in promoting a child-centred, active and co-operative pedagogy.

*Assessment*

Another frequently encountered feature of the traditional-progressive continuum is the place given to assessment. Academic gains which are easily demonstrable and measurable have been traditionally valued but are liable to be given less prominence in contexts where discovery, co-operative learning, child-centred and creative work are the order of the day. The next two items (Number 1 and 15, see questionnaire above) to be considered are from different subjects areas but have this coherence.
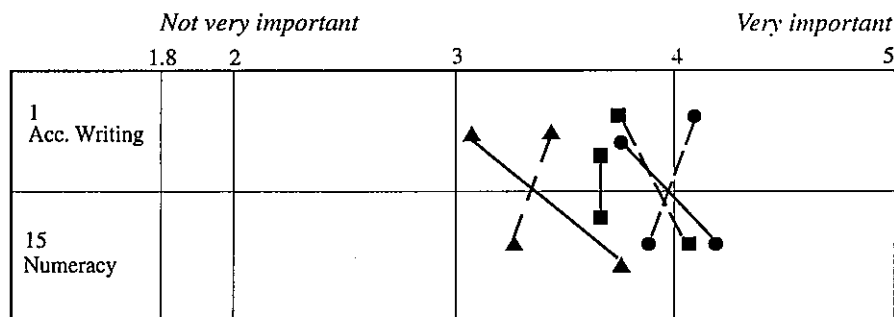


*Fig. 2.*

The results here are less clear-cut. It can be seen from Fig. 2 that English and Greek students equally give high priority to basic numeracy and the 'transcriptional' skills of writing and in so doing both groups are very close to the perceived priorities of their own former teachers. The only national differences lie in the perceived priorities of lecturers. Greek students see a tendency for their tutors to be less concerned than they about both objectives ($p=$ .001, .003); English students seem to view the tendency in a similar light in relation to Numeracy and they are even more ambitious than their lecturers in the case of Writing ($p=$ .001). Though these aims are often represented as antithetical to those in the previous group no obvious difficulty in reconciling the supposed clash of ideology appeared in the sample.

## Competitiveness

A third sub-grouping related to progressivism is the single item 11, the only item directly addressing the issue of competitiveness. It has, of course, been quite closely linked with 'traditional' pedagogy in both countries. It is necessarily connected with assessability of learning just considered and is, for teachers, if not for student-teachers, hard to reconcile, conceptually and in the classroom, with the co-operative ethos considered in the first sub-section.
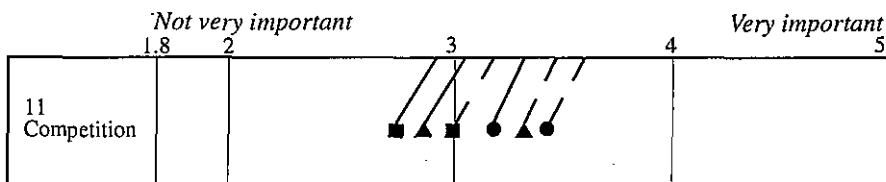


*Fig. 3.*

In relation to all foregoing items this is chiefly remarkable for the smallness of the variation within as well as between the national groups. Though explicitly individualistic all six means are close to those for item 4. Moreover, though implicitly anti-progressive it does not present any contrast to the results for item 25; the shift is much smaller but it is in the same direction. It seems from this that student-teachers in Greece and England are, if not confused, quite pragmatic, prepared to go to great lengths to promote co-operation while recognising and making provision for the competitive tendencies which abound in both countries!

## Section 2: Social and interpersonal aims

This section is concerned with the communication, through both the official and the 'hidden' curricula, of personal values. Teachers in different settings explicitly and implicitly reveal differing conceptions of their professional responsibilities. In relation to the conclusions of the BRISTAIX study previously noted, my English colleague and I felt sure that the English and Greek experience would be much more

similar than either would be to the French. This was supported from what our students seemed to be asserting.

The findings will be presented in four sub-sections and again the distinctions made may seem arbitrary.

## Peer-related values

The first group consists of four items which seem quite general and straightforwardly linked by their relation to values of the kind that are promoted not only in various parts of the curriculum but also communicated informally in both classrooms and playground situations (see items 2, 8, 7 and 22 in the Questionnaire above).
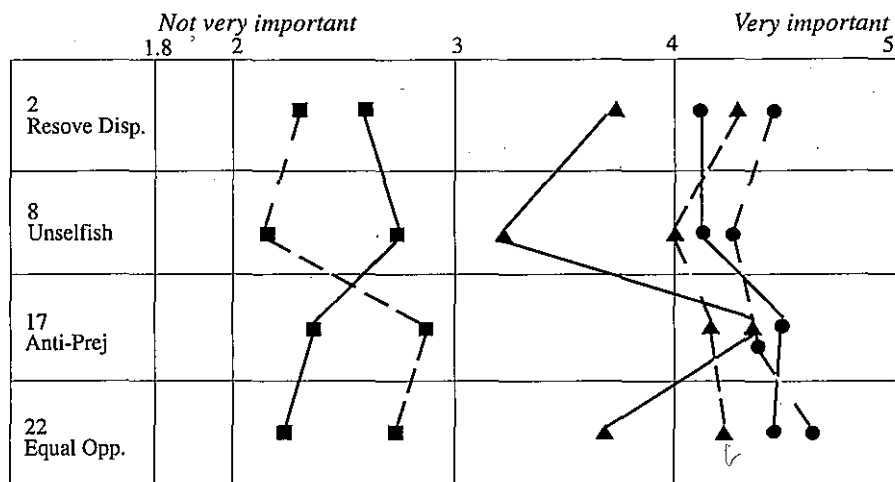


*Fig. 4.*

Here again the pattern of similarities and differences is extremely striking. There is almost perfect correspondence between Greek and English students in their own priorities. Moreover they both rate their own teachers as comparatively lukewarm in all these respects. They are similar overall in tending to rate their lecturers as more committed than their teachers but it can be seen that the Greek students view their lecturers as equalling their own concern whereas the English students do this only in the case of item 17. With the other three items the differences ascribed by the English students are all highly significant ($p = .0008, .0001, .0001$).

## Institutional values

The next two items (Numbers 4 and 9 in Questionnaire above) might well have

been included with the previous four but I was prepared to see them treated somewhat differently by the respondents since they seem more institutional and less peer-related in character.



*Fig. 5.*

In relation to item 4, Greek and English students show an identical level of concern and also perceive an identical level of concern (though significantly lower than their own) on the part of their lecturers ($p$= .0004 Greek, .0001 English). Bath students take their own te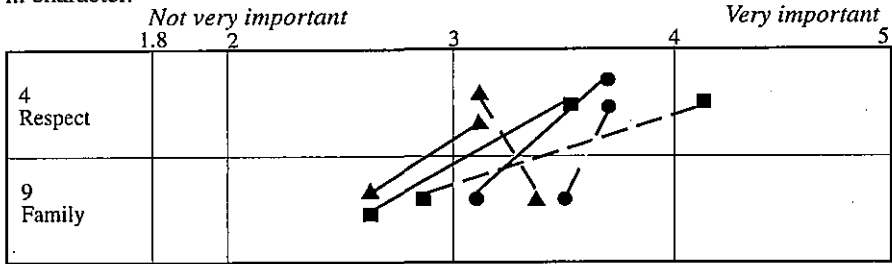achers' concern to have been equal to their own whereas the Greek students seem not to profess a concern equal to that of their teachers ($p$= .004).

Item 9 produced more of a surprise. Family cohesiveness is widely regarded as one of the most consequential differences between the countries, immediately apparent at all levels and in all patterns of social organisation. The huge difference in crime rate between the two countries, for instance, is conventionally attributed to this. The mean difference of 0.5 between English and Greek students ($p$= .005) is certainly not negligible but appreciably less than expected. 3.6 is actually one of the lowest mean values from the Greek sample. Even more of a surprise was the low score ascribed to Greek teachers. The difference between the scores ascribed to the two sets of lecturers was broadly in line with expectations but here again a larger difference would have occasioned no surprise.

## Miscellaneous

Items 3 and 5 (see Questionnaire above) in this section are linked through being 'fashionable'·- frequently the subject of media attention - and having a conceptual
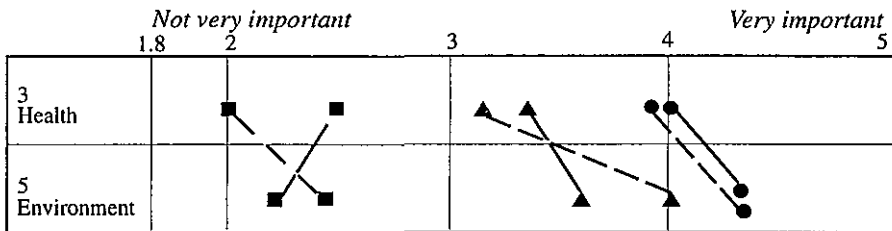


*Fig. 6.*

relation in that themes of care, forethought, avoidance of greed, subordination of short-term to long-term satisfactions, and so on, strongly attach to both.

As expected, the pattern of responses shows remarkable similarity, with both student groups seeing themselves as massively more concerned than their teachers, and with their lecturers accorded in itermediate position. Even the smallest difference, that between the Greek students' ratings ascribed to lecturers for item 5, nudges the 1% level of significance ($p$= .011) while all the other differences are very highly significant with $p$ values below .0001. The whole issue of topicality and media coverage in relation to educational goal-setting is yet another candidate for further comparative study. It might be supposed to have been influential in the according of very high ratings on item 17, for instance, but it is not so easy to see a place for it in relation to the equally high ratings given to item 13, since no corresponding surge of publicity relating to self-esteem is known to have arisen in Greece or England since the time when our respondents were at Primary school.

The final two items (Numbers 12 and 16, see Questionnaire above) were thought to be linked, perhaps rather tenuously, by being especially tentative and vague in character.
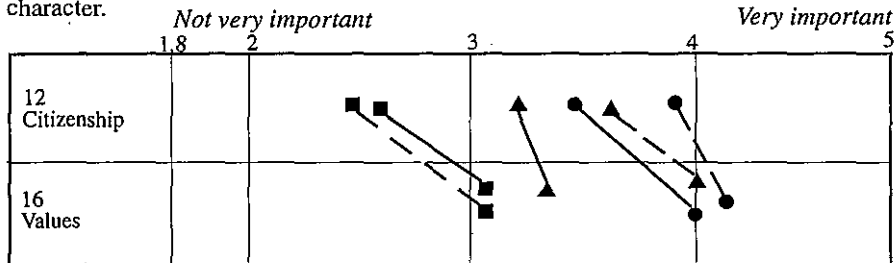


*Fig. 7.*

In Item 12 a huge shift is apparent, more so with the Athens students, whose difference from their Bath counterparts is not far from significance at the 1% level ($p$= .013). In Item 16 another within-group shift is also obvious. There is no difference between Greek and English students in their own scores but the Greek lecturers are credited with a greater commitment than the English. ($p$= .001) These differences may reflect curricular aspects of the two institutions but seem much more likely to have some other basis. This is another question which the data are insufficient to answer.

## Section 3: Aims related to national consciousness

The issue of nationalism emerged as a topic for comparison in the early stages of planning for this study and is the reason for the inclusion of items Number 18, 19 and 24 (see Questionnaire above). As can easily be seen the intention was to place nationalism in a social and historical context in a way that deliberately avoids its being placed in opposition to the theme of equal opportunities. Even so it was expected that

a large difference would be found between Greeks and English, since among English students in general nationalism is not fashionable and manifestations of embarrassment about their country's colonial past are very commonly encountered. In Greece, by contrast, the decisive conflicts of the last two centuries are almost universally associated with the wresting of freedom from an alien and oppressive enemy, and celebrated as such at all levels of society.
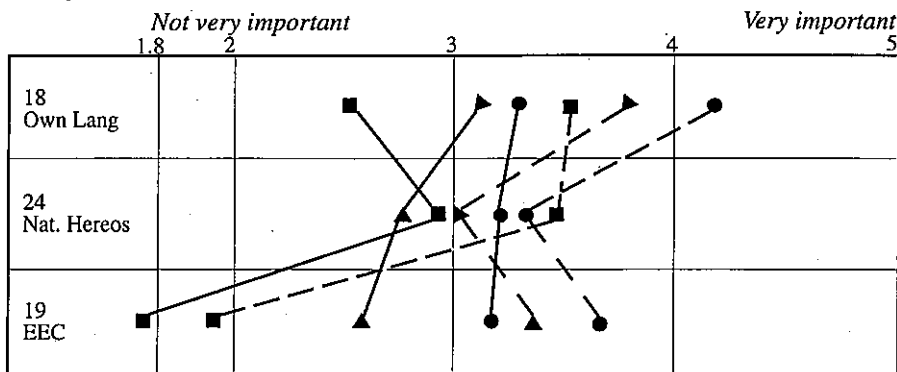


*Fig. 8.*

In fact this expectation was fulfilled far more decisively in Item 18 than in 24, the reverse of what might be thought. In relation to the 'Great Personages' theme only the perceived difference between Greek and British teachers is significant at the 1% level ($p = .011$) though the difference between the two sets of lecturers approximates only to the 5% level of confidence ($p = .051$). In the Language item all three differences across nationality are very highly significant ($p$ .0001).

The findings are highly interesting. As indicated above the place of the '1821' and later struggles is apparent to any spectator of the modern Greek scene. English equivalents to the hereos of 1821, Alfred the Great, perhaps, are much more remote in time, much less celebrated in books, films, festivals and in school. A large number of the 'great and the good' are presented to the attention of children in English schools and in books like the Ladybird series; but perhaps their very number and the variety of their achievements prevent a clear focus. It remains to be explained why the expected ardour has cooled so much among the Greeks!

In the case of language my more modest expectations of a difference were over-fulfilled. Here it had been assumed that despite the widespread enthusiasm among Greeks for learning other languages, their consciousness of their own tongue's 3,000 year history and enduring influence, its richness and flexibility, would ensure their viewing it with pride and enthusiasm. The enthusiasm among UK teachers, lecturers and students for English with its rich literature and world language status would, so it was suggested to me, be tempered with some degree of guilt related to English inadequacy in foreign languages and to the imputation of English linguistic

imperialism - a very common theme in both initial and in-service teacher education. In Bath, as in all such institutions in the country, very much attention is directed to the needs of pupils whose mother tongue is not English whereas in Greece a corresponding situation hardly exists. Greek lecturers would not normally think of sensitising their students to problems experienced by the inconsiderable number of children who turn up at school ignorant of Greek; whereas in England this occurrence is very common (the number of mother tongues spoken by schoolchildren is in excess of 180 in the London area alone!). In consequence students are made very sharply aware of the damaging educational effects of cultural and linguistic ethnocentrism. This sensitivity was expected to be aroused by the wording of item 18. However, such a line of explanation, even if adequate to account for the 0.9 difference between the student means, offers no help in accounting for the ascription by the Bath students of a mean value *lower* by 0.8 to their former teachers. One would have expected it to be higher. The same trend on the part of the Athens students is similarly puzzling. As with other puzzles encountered along the way I can only note that this is a case for further investigation with a more discriminating battery of test items.

In the case of item 19 it was expected that responses would be influenced even more by extra-academic influences. The differences between the Greek and English scores under all three conditions were expected, and in fact all three between-group differences are significant ($p=$ .04, .0004, .0008). My expectation was based on the more internationalist outlook of Greeks in general, stemming from their perception of their country's being small with some much larger and not over-friendly neighbours. The pattern of progression across the three conditions, very clear in both nationalities, was also what I expected to find. The overall lower figures from the English respondents support the conclusion that their high rating in the case of Item 21 is related to within-course factors.

It is probably unnecessary to point out that this item was ineptly worded, conflating internationalism with support for the EEC! Part of the interest was due to the Bath-Athens link's having stemmed from an EEC-funded ERASMUS programme; but plainly I should have separated the two components. Responses to the item as worded cannot avoid being prone to rapid shifts in consequence of sudden events, for instance to any pronouncement by a prominent EEC figure which occasioned delight or distress in either member country.

## Section 4: Specific curriculum course-related items

The remaining couple of items, namely 6 and 21 (see Questionnaire above) were chosen in the hope that they would provide some measure of influences stemming from the different curricular experiences of the students. Both subjects receive great emphasis in the Bath course and very little in Athens and a corresponding difference in student values was predicted.
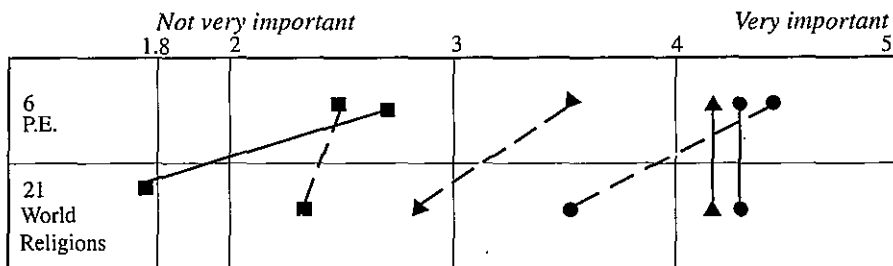
Fig. 9.

This was amply fulfilled in the case of Item 21 but emphatically contradicted in respect of Item 6. Here it is interesting to see that the Bath students rate their lecturers as sharing their high commitment whereas the Athens students, while no less enthusiastic, see their lecturers as only intermediate between themselves and their former teachers.

With World Religions Greek students were less committed than the English ($p <$ .0001). However, as with PE, Bath students see their lecturers as equally committed, whereas there is a very significant difference ($p= .0001$) between the Athens students' own feelings and those they ascribe to their lecturers. Again further investigation would be needed to determine whether these findings are experimental artefacts or attributable to some curricular or extra-curricular source of attitude change.

## Conclusions

1. Student-teachers at Athens and Bath are similarly enthusiastic, optimistic and forward looking. They have, Greeks and English, developed a very wide conception of the teacher's role within and outside the school curriculum. This confirms and extends to Greece Broadfoot's (1987) findings: *"It is the whole child-social, personal and academic - for which the English teacher is trying to provide."*

2. There is equally strong support for Broadfoot's findings about the pedagogical 'progressivism' of her sample of English teachers, a respect in which they differed markedly from the French. In what she says about the English Broadfoot could be speaking for the new crop of Greek teachers as well. There is also support for the apprehensive note she sounds in this regard: *"who (the typical English teacher) sets herself the unachievable goal of an individualised pedagogy in a class of over 30 children and has no clear idea of the limits of her responsibility."*

3. Results from both nationalities indicate that student-teachers are also more influenced by their lecturers than the latter sometimes suppose, especially when the influence is exerted in the direction of the optimism and idealism of the kinds just noted.

*113*

4. At the level of methodology, the three-phase questionnaire used here produced results which appear worthwhile and dependable, as well as quickly and easily gathered.

5. Along with the most numerous, clear-cut, and significant findings, those relating to cross-national similarities, some interesting differences emerged.

## Recommendations

In relation to each of the five general conclusions, taken in turn, some recommendations may tentatively be suggested.

1. In both countries the 'concern for the whole child' is too widely and firmly established for change, beyond redefinitions of responsibilities, to be at all likely. I think that this task of defining responsibility is a social and political matter and ought not to be left, by default, to the teaching profession. The difficulty, obviously, is not that teachers lack dedication: it is entirely the opposite. These results support the opinion, expressed now more and more frequently, that teachers are apt to take on more burdens of care than in the long term they can reasonably bear. This is a more urgent problem in England, with its very high rate of family breakdown.

2. 'Individualised pedagogy' and all this term implies is not just a matter of classroom organisation and teaching methods; it is strongly related to teacher ideology. The present study underlines a fact which educational policy makers must take more into account. In England, where freedom to be traditional or innovatory has prevailed for three decades, it seems that this ideology has adapted to the degree of standardisation brought about by the National Curriculum, which, though to some extent opposed and resented, has been shown to permit much of the progressive ethos in Primary practice there. In Greece, where this standardisation has always existed, a greater gap exists between teacher aspiration and classroom reality, a much greater gap if this study does not misrepresent matters. The tensions resulting from this will, at least in the long term, need to be resolved. The Greek Ministry of Education does not have the benefits, nor the problems, arising from the local checks and balances found in England. However, just as in the UK, it has to operate in a political arena - in effect a finely balanced two-party democracy - in which teachers have Unions to articulate their opinions and parental wishes have to be heeded. Centralised as the system is, it cannot move too far beyond nor too far behind the perceived consensus and - it goes without saying - is as powerless as the Department of Education in England to police what goes on in individual classrooms.

3. It is always pleasant when empirical research produces findings favourable to one's own profession! I hope that fellow teacher-educators reading this paper will be encouraged, and that readers with influence on policy-making will bear in mind our potential contribution.

4. This study compares just two national patterns. Even at the preliminary level of data-gathering which it represents I should like to see findings from other countries

which, *in ways other than merely institutional,* have to take account of each other in an increasingly inter-conscious world. The development of our questionnaire was described in some detail above in the belief that it is a valuable research tool, and in the hope that it will be translated into other languages, extended, and used. The focus here has been on teachers in the stage of their professional preparation. A comparison of the findings with ones derived from the questionnaire responses of established teachers is an obvious topic for further research.

5. The differences that emerged between the two groups pose problems which a quite different research design will be needed to answer. The tantalising and paradoxical results in the area of Nationalism and Mother-tongue teaching are a particular challenge. In this the kind of in-depth follow-up employed in studies like the BRISTAIX would be indispensable.

**Elias Matsagouras** *is a professor in the Department of Primary Education in the University of Athens with a special responsibility for teaching and learning methods. Between this and his own teaching in Primary schools he has gained higher degrees in Canada, been Visiting Scholar at George Washington University in the USA, and Educational Counsellor at the Greek Embassy in Washington. He has published very extensively in Greece on both theoretical and classroom-related topics. Address for correspondence: University of Athens, Pedagogiko Tmima, Ippokratous 33, Athens, Greece. Fax: (351) 3605355; Email<ematsag@atlas.uoa.gr>*

# References

Berlak, H. & Berlak, A. (1981) *Dilemmas of Schooling.* London: Methuen.

Bloom, Benjamin et al. (1956) *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives.* NY Longmans.

Broadfoot, Patricia et al. (1987) Teachers' conceptions of their professional responsability: some international comparisons, *Comparative Education,* Vol.23, 287-301.

Calderhead, James (1987) (ed.) *Exploring Teachers' Thinking.* London: Cassell.

Central Advisory Council for Education (CACE) (1967) *Children and their Primary Schools* (The Plowden Report). London: HMSO.

Fish, Della (1989) *Learning through Practice in Initial Teacher Traning.* London: Kogan Page.

Garrett, Roger & Sanchez Jimenez, J.M. (1992) A comparison of Spanish and English teachers' views of problem-solving, *Comparative Education,* Vol.28, 269-280.

Maddock, John (1983) The comparative study of secondary education systems: lessons to be learned, *Comparative Education,* Vol.19, 245-254.

Massialas, Byron et al (1988) Greece. *World Encyclopaedia of Education* Vol.1, 479-507.

Pollard, Andrew (1985) *The Social World of the Primary School.* London: Holt.

Blank Page

# COMMENTS

## POUR UN DIALOGUE CULTUREL RENOVE
### (Mémoire sélective et systèmes éducatifs)

PAUL BALTA

*Z* one de confrontation, la Méditerranée a toujours été aussi un carrefour d'échanges où commerce, culture et conflits se sont conjugués. Certes, elle n'a jamais constitué un ensemble culturel homogène mais le flambeau de la civilisation n'a cessé d'être transmis d'une rive à l'autre et les brassages y ont été intenses. En outre pendant plus de deux millénaires elle a été le centre de l'univers connu. Berceau de trois religions monothéistes révélées, elle a généré la judaïté qui a rayonné dans le monde à travers la diaspora, la romanité qui se prolonge jusqu'à l'Amérique latine, le monde grec orthodoxe qui inclut la Russie, l'islam qui s'étend jusqu'à l'Insulinde, les principes de la démocratie et des droits de l'homme qui prétendent à l'universalité.

Paradoxalement, on peut affirmer que chacune des rives - est, sud et nord - en préservant l'héritage qu'elle a reçu des autres contribue à sauvegarder son propre partimoine et à assurer ce que j'ai appelé, dans *La Méditerranée Réinventée* (1992), *"l'avenir du passé"*. Dans le même temps, si nous voulons instaurer un dialogue culturel rénové il nous faut réinventer la lecture du passé lointain et proche. Ainsi nous édifierons un avenir commun. Or, étrangement, les manuels scolaires et nombre de livres d'histoire retiennent, en général, plus volontiers les conflits que les échanges pacifiques. Chacun des peuples riverains pratique la mémoire sélective et met l'accent sur son apport en ignorant, le plus souvent, celui des autres.

Alors que les satellites et l'informatique ont aboli les distances physiques - mais pas les distances mentales - on constate combien l'image de l'Autre dépend encore du contenu des systèmes éducatifs, élément primordial de la société civile dont la Déclaration de Barcelone (1995) a fait, et c'est là un acte fondateur, un des piliers de la coopération et du partenariat. Corriger et moderniser les manuels scolaires est donc une tâche urgente à entreprendre pour influencer les thèmes des programmes audiovisuels si nous ne voulons pas que les clichés non seulement perdurent mais encore gagnent du terrain.

Nous devons voir loin et être ambitieux car l'expérience nous a amplement montré combien les destins des riverains ont été liés pour le meilleur et pour le pire. Souhaitons donc que soit mise en chantier - avec le concours de l'UNESCO et de l'ALECSO - une Histoire de la Méditerranée dont les regards croisés mettraient l'accent sur ce que nous avons en commun - et qui est considérable - sans ignorer pour autant ce qui nous divise. En attendant, car c'est là un projet de longue haleine, il faudrait que les universités des cités méditerranéennes - et aussi celles des capitales du nord - se dotent de chaires consacrées au Bassin dans sa globalité. Il nous faut enfin multiplier les réseaux de coopération afin que Ulysse et Sindbad, symboles qui parlent à nos imaginaires, apprennent à naviguer ensemble afin que *mare nostrum* (qui fut un cri de guerre des

Romains!) devienne, au troisième millénaire, *mater nostra*.

---

**Paul Balta**, *né en Alexandrie, familier de la Méditerranée, spécialiste du monde arabe et musulman, ancien journaliste au* Monde, *éditorialiste à* El País *(Madrid), est depuis 1988 directeur du Centre d'études de l'Orient Contemporain (Paris III). Il a dirigé* La Méditerranée Réinventée: Réalités et Espoirs de la Coopération *(La Découverte/ Fondation René Seydoux, Paris, 1992), et a publié, avec Claudine Rulleau* Le Grand Maghreb: Des Indépendances à l'an 2000 *(La Découverte, Paris, 1990). Adresse pour toute correspondance: 7 Avenue de la Favorite, F.94350 Villiers sur Marne. Tel. (1)49306222.*

# LA MÉDITERRANÉE ET L'EUROPE

PREDRAG MATVEJEVIC

*L*'image qu'offre la Méditerranée à la fin de notre siècle est loin d'être rassurante. Sa côte nord marque un retard par rapport au nord de l'Europe, la côte sud par rapport à celle du nord. L'ensemble du bassin méditerranéen a peine à se lier au continent, tant au nord qu'au sud ou au Levant. Peut-on d'ailleurs considérer la Méditerranée comme un ensemble sans tenir compte des fractures qui la divisent, des conflits qui la déchirent: Palestine, Liban, Chypre, Maghreb, ex-Yougoslavie? Notre mer semble vouée au destin d'un monde *ex.*

L'Union européenne s'accomplit sans références à la Méditerranée: une Europe coupée du 'berceau de l'Europe'. Comme si une personne pouvait se former privée de son enfance ou de son adolescence! Les explications que l'on donne, banales ou répétitives, arrivent rarement à convaincre ceux auxquelles elles sont adressées. Les grilles du nord, à travers lesquelles on observe le présent ou l'avenir méditerranéens, concordent mal avec celles du sud. La côte septentrionale de la Mer Intérieure a une autre perception de son entournage et une conscience différente de celle de la côte qui lui fait face. Les rives méditerranéennes ne semblent avoir en commun, de nos jours, que leur insatisfaction.

Les décisions concernant le sort de la Méditerranée sont généralement prises en dehors de la Méditerranée même, ou bien sans elle: d'où naissent tantôt des frustrations, tantôt des fantasmes. Les jubilations devant le spectacle de notre mer sont de plus en plus retenues ou passagères. Les nostalgies s'expriment à travers les arts et les lettres. Les fractures l'emportent sur les convergences. Un pessimisme historique s'annonce depuis longtemps à l'horizon. Quoi qu'il en soit, les consciences méditerranéennes s'alarment et, de temps à autre, s'organisent. Leurs exigences ont suscité, au cours des dernières décennies, plusieurs plans ou programmes: les Chartes d'Athènes et de Marseille, les Conventions de Barcelone et de Gênes, le Plan de l'Action pour la Méditerranée (PAM) et le 'Plan Bleu' de Sophia-Antipolis, projetant l'avenir de la Méditerranée 'à l'horizon de l'an 2025', les déclarations de Naples, Malte, Tunis, Split, Palme et ainsi de suite. Ces efforts, louables et généreux dans leurs intentions, stimulés ou soutenus par des centaines de commissions gouvernementales ou institutions internationales, n'ont abouti qu'à des résultats limités. Cette sorte de discours prospectif est en voie de perdre toute crédibilité. Les Etats qui ont façade sur mer ne possèdent, la plupart du temps, que des rudiments d'une politique maritime. Ils arrivent rarement à faire concerter quelques prises de position particulières, qui tiennent lieu d'une politique commune.

La Méditerranée existe comme un état de choses, elle n'est pas un projet. Sa côte nord apparaît occasionnellement, par acquis de conscience, dans des projets européens. Après l'expérience du colonialisme, la côte sud reste réservée envers des idées ou des

*119*

politiques méditerranéennes. Les deux rives ont bien plus d'importance sur les cartes d'état-major que sur celle que déplient les économistes.

Tout a été sur cette 'mer première' devenue un 'détroit maritime', sur son unité et sa division, son homogénéité et sa disparité: elle n'est pas 'une réalité en soi' ni une 'constante', l'ensemble méditerranéen est composé de plusieurs sous-ensembles, etc. Percevoir la Méditerranée à partir de son seul passé reste une habitude tenace. Des conceptions historiques ou politiques se substituent aux conceptions sociales ou culturelles sans parvenir à s'harmoniser ou à coïncider. Les catégories de civilisations ou les matrices d'évolution au nord et au sud de notre mer ne se laissent pas réduire à des dénominateurs communs. Les approches tentées depuis la Méditerranée et celles venues d'ailleurs s'excluent ou s'opposent les unes aux autres. La 'partie des mythes' a souffert des mythologies qu'elle a elle-même engendrées ou que les autres ont nourries. Cet espace riche d'histoire a été victime de toutes sortes d'historicismes. La tendance à confondre la représentation de la réalité avec cette réalité même se perpétue. *L'identité de l'être*, en s'amplifiant, éclipse ou repousse une *identité du faire* mal définie. La rétrospective continue, en maints endroits, à l'emporter sur la perspective. Ainsi la pensée reste-t-elle prisonnière de 'constantes', déjà mentionnées, même lorsqu'elle parvient à se dégager des stéréotypes.

La Méditerranée a affronté la modernité avec du retard. Elle n'a pas vécu la laïcité sur tous ses bords. Pour procéder à un examen critique de ces faits, ou de ces apparences, il faut au préalable déblayer le chemin ou, pour employer un terme plus maritime, se délester d'un ballast encombrant. Chacune des côtes connaît ses propres contradictions, qui se reflètent sur le reste du bassin ou sur d'autres espaces, parfois lointains. La réalisation d'une *convivance* (ce terme me semble plus approprié que celui de *convivialité*) au sein des territoires multiethniques ou plurinationaux, où se croisent et s'entre-mêlent des cultures variées et des religions diverses, connaît sous nos yeux un cruel échec. Est-ce un hasard si précisément dans des carrefours, tels que le Liban ou la Bosnie-Herzégovine, deux guerres aussi implacables que persistantes se poursuivent. Je ne peux ne pas m'arrêter, avec une douloureuse perplexité, et changer pour l'instant mon propos.

J'ai reçu d'Ivo Andric, peu de temps après son prix Nobel, un de ses romans traduit en italien, avec une dédicace écrite dans la même langue, contenant une citation de Leonardo: *'Da Oriente a Occidente in ogni punto è divisione'*. Cette idée m'a surpris: quand et comment le peintre qui l'avait formulée a-t-il pu faire une observation ou une expérience semblables? Je ne le sais pas encore. J'ai souvent pensé à cette brève citation lors de mes périples méditerranéens, en écrivant le Bréviaire Méditerranéen (1993). J'ai pu me rendre compte, plus tard, à quel point elle s'applique au destin de l'ex-Yougoslavie et aux divisions qui l'ont déchirée: frontière entre Orient et Occident, ligne de partage entre les empires oriental et occidental, lieu du schisme chrétien, faille entre la catholicité latine et l'orthodoxie byzantine, entre la chrétienté et l'islam. Premier pays du tiers-monde en Europe ou encore premier pays européen dans le tiers-monde, il est difficile de dire si ce pays était plutôt l'un que l'autre. D'autres fractures

s'y ajoutent: vestiges des empires supranationaux, habsbourgeois et ottoman, restes des nouveaux Etats découpés au gré des accords internationaux et des programmes nationaux, héritage de deux guerres mondiales et d'une guerre froide, idées de la nation du XIXe siècle et idéologies du XXe, directions tangentes ou transversales Est-Ouest et Nord-Sud, vicissitudes des relations entre l'Europe de l'Est et celle de l'Ouest, divergences entre les pays développés et ceux en voie de développement. Autant de 'divisions', qui se confrontent sur cette partie de la presqu'île balkanique, avec une intensité qui rappelle par moment les tragédies antiques. La Méditerranée connaît bien d'autres conflits, sur la côte même, entre la côte et l'arrière-pays.

Le Sahara (ce mot signifie 'terre pauvre') fait avancer son sable et envahit d'un siècle à l'autre, kilomètre par kilomètre, la terre environnante. En maint lieu il ne reste qu'une lisière cultivable, entre mer et désert. Ce territoire est de plus en plus peuplé. Ses habitants sont, en majeure partie, jeunes, alors que ceux de la côte nord ont vieilli. Les hégémonies méditerranéennes s'exerçaient à tour de rôle, les anciens Etats cédant devant les nouveaux. Les tensions qui se créent le long de la côte suscitent les inquiétudes du sud. Si l'arriération fait naître l'intolérance, l'abandon y contribue. Une déchirante alternative divise les esprits, tant au Maghreb qu'au Machrek: *moderniser l'islam ou islamiser la modernité.* Ces deux démarches ne semblent pas aller de pair: l'une contredit l'autre. Ainsi s'aggravent les relations entre le monde arabe et la Méditerranée, mais aussi au sein des nations arabes mêmes, entre les projets unitaires et les politiques particulières. La culture y est elle-même trop déchirée pour influencer les inconscients collectifs et les présenter en termes de conscience. A un véritable dialogue avec ce monde se substituent de simples négociations.

Il est utile de jeter un regard au dehors des limites de notre bassin pour éviter de répéter ce qui est déjà constaté. La Mer Noire, notre voisine, est liée à la Méditerranée et à certains de ses mythes: ancienne mer d'aventure et d'énigme, argonautes et leur quête de la Toison d'or, sacrifice d'Iphigénie. L'Ukraine reste auprès de cette mer comme une grande plaine continentale, aussi féconde que mal exploitée, à laquelle l'histoire n'a pas permis de trouver une vocation maritime. La Russie a dû se tourner vers d'autres mers, au nord, et y chercher sa fortune. Elle réclame de nos jours des issues ou des corridors sur la côte de l'Euxin et de la Mer intérieure. La Mer Noire est devenue, pour la plupart de ses riverains, un golfe dans un golfe. Là se profilent aussi des fractures à l'Est.

Appelée naguère 'Golfe de Venise' et fière de porter ce nom glorieux, l'Adriatique est aujourd'hui réduite à un statut de golfe secondaire. Ses ports sont de moins en moins prospères, l'eau en est altérée, les poissons eux-mêmes s'y font de plus en plus rares. Arrêtons là notre périple: le reste semble être silence.

Il ne sert apparemment à rien de répéter, avec résignation ou exaspération, les atteintes que continue à subir notre mer, mais rien ne nous autorise toutefois à les ignorer: dégradation de l'environnement, pollutions, entreprises sauvages, mouvements démographiques mal maîtrisés, corruption au sens propre et au sens figuré, manque d'ordre et défaut de discipline, localismes, régionalismes, bien d'autres 'ismes' encore.

La Méditerranée n'est cependant pas seule responsable d'un tel état de choses. Ses meilleures traditions - qui se proposaient d'associer l'art et l'art de vivre - s'y opposaient en vain. Les notions de solidarité et d'échange, de cohésion et de collaboration, doivent être soumises à un examen critique tant au sein de la Méditerranée qu'en dehors de ses frontières.

*La Méditerranée existe-t-elle autrement que dans notre imaginaire*, se demande-t-on au Sud comme au Nord, à l'Est comme à l'Ouest, au Levant comme au Ponent. Et pourtant il existe 'un être dans le monde méditerranéen', sinon un mode d'être unique, en dépit des scissions et des conflits que vit ou subit cette partie de notre monde commun. Certains voient, au commencement et à la fin, les rives de la Méditerranée, d'autres envisagent ses façades. Il y a là parfois non seulement deux visions ou deux approches, mais aussi deux sensibilités et deux vocabulaires différents. La fracture qui en procède est parfois plus profonde que les autres: elle entraîne d'autres fractures, rhétoriques, stylistiques, imaginaires, alternatives qui se nourrissent du mythe ou de la réalité, de la misère ou d'une certaine fierté.

Ce grand amphithéâtre a joué trop de temps, il faut bien le reconnaître, le même répertoire: au point que les gestes de ses acteurs sont souvent connus ou prévisibles. Son génie a pourtant su, à toute époque, réaffirmer sa créativité, renouveler sa fabulation, à nulle autre pareille. Il nous faut repenser en ce moment les notions périmées de périphérie et de centre, les anciennes relations des distances et des proximités, les significations des coupures et des enclaves, les aspects des symétries face aux asymétries. Certains concepts euclidiens de la géométrie demandent à être redéfinis ou dépassés. Les formes de rhétorique et de narration, de politique et même de dialectique, inventions de l'esprit méditerranéen, ont trop longtemps servi et semblent usées. C'est une raison de plus pour ne pas se laisser complètement dominer par ce pessimisme historique que j'ai indiqué au départ, qui ressemble probablement à l'angoisse retenue des grands navigateurs du passé se dirigeant vers des rivages inconnus.

Pourra-t-on arrêter ou empêcher de nouvelles "divisions, en chaque point, de l'Orient à l'Occident"? Quand et comment? Ce sont des questions qui restent ouvertes. C'est dire l'urgence qu'il y a de les poser et d'y réfléchir à un moment décisif de l'histoire de l'Europe et de la transformation des relations à l'échelle de notre monde.

**Predrag Matvejević** *est écrivain ex-yougoslave et croate, professeur au Dipartimento di Studi Slavi e dell'Europa Centro-Orientale, Università degli Studi di Roma 'La Sapienza'. Il est President du Comité International de la Fondation* Laboratorio Mediterraneo *de Naple. Fayard a publié de lui* Epistolaire de l'Autre Europe *et* Bréviaire Méditerranéen *(Prix du meilleur livre étranger 1993). Adresse pour toute correspondance: DI.S.S.EU.C.O., Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, Via Nomentana, 118 - 00161 Roma, Italia. Tel. e Fax. (39)6.49917250.*

# SOUTHERN EUROPE, MEDITERRANEAN EUROPE... MEDITERRANEO

MARCO TODESCHINI

## Must we always say 'Long live Europe!' wherever we go? But which Europe?

*T*here were not many to point out to the Euro-enthusiasts, at the end of the summer of 1989, that Europe had not begun in Brussels and was certainly not limited to the Brussels neighbourhood. Among the 'elementary' knowledge (what we could refer to as foundational elements of our culture) that all of us obtained at the primary school, is the perception - indeed, quite an 'elementary' one, as we have referred to it - that Europe is a part of the world that ranges from the Atlantic ocean to the Ural mountains, and from the Arctic to the Mediterranean. The vortex of events that took place over the summer and autumn of the bicentenary celebrations of the French Revolution finally reinvigorated the memory of a larger Europe; not only that, but the reference to 'our common home' - an image evoked not only by Mitterrand but by Gorbachev as well (before, that is, being removed from the scene by unfortunate internal and international political forces) - became one of the phrases uttered most fervently by the supporters of the new continental patriotism (even though one has to also point out that in the meantime, and after 1990, that phrase began to slowly lose favour until it finally practically disappeared).

Is it, then, a case of 'all's well that ends well'? Far from it. Rather, there are many reasons for us to feel preoccupied. Samuel Johnson's insight, over two centuries ago, that "*patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel*" is right on the mark. Naturally and quite rightly, any process of integration that takes us beyond the shadow of our own parochialism is to be welcomed; the only hope for survival of our species, prone as it is to destruction and self-annihilation, is to work towards a global form of government that facilitates the rule of reason and justice. But if the logic of alliances, unions, leagues and entities consists in finding more strength to defend privileges that have already been acquired, the solution is certainly not in the dismantling of frontiers: rather, within that logic, such frontiers should be strengthened in order to keep out those who do not yet enjoy the same privileges.

How can anybody who is critical of, and concerned about parochial patriotism in the name of neighbourhood, village, sport club or region be shortsighted - or foolhardy - enough to accept that same patriotism on the national level, where the cry is 'Right or wrong, my country!'? To my mind, it is not such a bad thing that the tri-coloured flag of Italy is only waved at sports events; but it is worrying to see that, in response to the fanatical and a-historical flag-waving of shortsighted northerners, southerners have rediscovered bourbonic ensigns. It is ingenuous, to say the least, to think that a

continental patriotism (which now circulates uncritically under the guise of 'European dimension') is an effective way of going beyond the rhetoric of intolerant nationalism, which has caused and will continue to cause so much suffering.

The process of European integration is, in point of fact, ridden with contradictions and difficulties, a fact that finds expression through the use of phrases which, for those who stop to think about them, cannot but seem rather strange and unusual....phrases such as 'belong to', 'become part of', 'leave', 'take (or miss) the train (or bus) of' - Europe as if that southernmost Italian city, Caltanisetta, did not belong to the same continent in the same way as does Sheffield, or Durres, or Burgas, or Costanza. Phrases such as these have a rather insidious and implicit referent, namely that what might eventually be taken to be a 'European' identity or style is located in the centre of Europe, the francogermanic or Benelux area, or perhaps the British or, since 1995, the nordic-scandinavian regions. In other words, the referent for 'Europe' is mainly - or even only - the well-to-do nations, the rich, or erstwhile-rich countries; a process which finds a historical echo in the political unification of Italy ·during the so-called *Risorgimento* when the Piedmontese centralist model (which had been adopted uncritically from neighbouring France) was imposed on all the peninsula and surrounding islands, a centralism which merged with the already obtuse bourbonic bureaucratism which had long taken root in the South as part and parcel of the hispanic inheritance. But just as the unification of Italy did not, thankfully, submerge the identities of many and diverse Italies, with each of these remaining vitally alive due to their own specific cultures, so too thinking of Europe - and working so that it comes about - does not necessarily have to mean the imposed homogenisation of the existing models of national identity.

## Who's afraid of multiple Europes?

The events of the recent years - culminating in that memorable date, 1989 - have more or less done away with the construction of Europe on an 'East' and 'West' axis, a construction that has been with us for over forty years now. Instead, we now have the idea of a central Europe which, under the more esoteric name of *Mitteleuropa*, has played such an important historical and cultural role on the continent. Not many are aware of the fact that there is an active and strong association, the Nordic Council, which brings together countries and governments, even if some of these are not members of the European Union. The members of this Council are Sweden, member states of the EU plus Norway and Iceland, whose histories intertwine and whose relationships are marked by exchange at all levels and in all matters. It is not so difficult (if rather optimistic, one must admit) to imagine that the Balkanic region will once more regain identity, weight and importance in international affairs due to the relative homogeneity of the area, much in the same way that proximity and similarity have given birth to regions such as the *Alpe-Adria* (what is referred to as *Triveneto*, namely the Italian regions Veneto, Trentino-Alto Adige, Friuli-Venezia Giulia in addition to

Stiria, Carinzia and Slovenia when the latter still formed part of the then still federated Republic of Yugoslavia).

It would appear contradictory - though in fact it is not - that a process of supranational integration is accompanied by the awakening of regional cultures and a desire for autonomy. Spain provides us with a good illustration of this parallel process, where all its constitutive regions, including those that do not have a special status, are now called *autonomias*. One must, however, be aware of the fact that the concept 'region' has multiple and different meanings, and can refer to a segment of a national territory but could also refer to an area which goes beyond state boundaries, including segments belonging to different states (as is the case of the *Alpe-Adria* region), or even whole national entities (such as in the case of *Mitteleuropa*, the Nordic area, and the Balkanic area, as we have just seen).

Which criteria should one adopt in order to define a regional area? It is quite obvious that there is not a single criterion, or even a single set of criteria that can be privileged over others, even if the multiplicity of criteria might possibly lead us to an organic synthesis of sorts. Could language define a region? Most certainly. Could areas that have shared more or less lengthy periods of common history be defined as regions? Again, certainly. And what about areas that are homogenous in terms of their geographical and physical relief? Climactic areas, continents, maritime-oceanic zones could be considered to have a regional identity. Why not? It is not difficult, however, to see that the different criteria outlined above influence each other in a reciprocal and interactive manner, in such a way that culture and language evoke the criterion of history, history evokes economy, and economy evokes geography.

## A continental and terrestrial unity, or a maritime unity?

It is in this context that one can see how history gives the lie to that most commonly accepted and apparently obvious assumption, namely that land (that so-called *terraferma*) unites while water divides. Today, from Milan you can obviously choose among several ways to reach Frankfurt on land, even riding a bicycle if you want, while swimming to reach Cagliari would hardly be possible. But for many centuries it was much easier to move about via waterways rather than roads, even when the destination was within a country's own boundaries. The *Duomo* of Milan reminds us of this: standing right in the middle of an alluvial plain, it was built in marble that was quarried in the north of the Lake *Maggiore*, and which arrived within half a mile of the worksite on barges navigating inland waterways. To transport that marble on the roads of the 14th century would not only have been difficult, but impossible.

We can nevertheless use two criteria which could help us identify regional areas in a credible if not definitive manner, areas marked by objective convergences even though at the present moment there is no evidence of collaborative and cooperative activity. I am here referring to the criteria of economics and history. In this sense, there can be absolutely no doubt that there are resemblances and convergences, if not perhaps

homogeneity, among the countries that make up the south of Europe. Despite centuries of (maritime) contacts with the British isles, Portugal evinces more elements of analogy, similarity, and closeness (despite a greater physical distance) with Cyprus than with Denmark, even though Cyprus is not yet a member of the European Community and the other is.

One could in fact perhaps speak of the civilisation (or culture) of the olive, the olive tree and of olive oil.

## The Mediterranean basin: a landlocked sea

Portugal, however, is to be found beyond the straits of Gibraltar; there is no doubt that the pillars of Hercules delimit an area that is marked by intense relationships, exchange, conflicts, solidarity, dominations, invasions, cultural influences, and so on. This is the Mediterranean, that entity that is 'in the midst of land'. Within the Mediterranean area - that area which several reasons lead us to consider as a whole, as one basin which, if not homogenous, is at least marked by a convergence of factors - we can still find today traces and influences of ties in the commercial, military, cultural and economic fields which, at least in part, structured the region over the centuries: Venice, with its republican empire stretching towards the Levant upto Candia (Crete) and the Dodecaneso (the 'twelve islands' facing Anatolia); Catalonia with its naval mercantile domination of the western segment of the basin (upto and including Sardinia); the Arabs with their control over all North Africa, and their movement across the southwest and up the Iberian peninsula, Sicily and what remained of the *Magna Grecia*, a movement which would have changed the face of Europe (and in the process perhaps avoided some of the wars of religion, though perhaps, who knows, gave rise to others) had they not been stopped at the battle of Poitiers.

All this signals profound cultural influences, leaving traces that the march of history has not been able to remove, such as the *grecanico* of Salento, the *catalan* of Alghero, the Italian of Rhodes, the French, Greek and Italian of Alexandria.

Why, one could ask, do the Romanian potteries have the same striking motif in the decoration of the multicoloured cockerel as we find in *Santo Stefano di Camastra*, on the Sicilian coast on the limits between the provinces of Messina and Palermo? And what about the *Via degli Schioppettieri* in the centre of historical Palermo, a stone's throw away from *Quattro Canti*, which has nothing to do at all with the production of small firearms (what in Italian are called *schioppi*) and which instead refers to a very specific site (Albania) on the eastern coast of the Adriatic which, in the local dialect is called *Shqipëri*. One could go on like this for a long time, even if it is just to mention impressions, which remind us of literary works that express this multiplicity and at the same time these convergences in a much more satisfying manner. *Kira Kiralina* by Panait Istrati comes to mind, as does *Cortile a Cleopatra* by Fausta Cialente (who then went on to write about the world, so remote although facing the same sea), and *Le Quattro Sorelle Wieselberger*, the books of the Durrell brothers, and those by Nikos

Kazantsakis, Leonardo Sciascia, or Tahar Ben Jelloun.

## Legacies, common histories, and family quarrels of the Mediterranean

Culture... language... economic exchange... tourism... migrations... religions ...conflicts ... *metissage*... mediation... multilingualism... pollution... fishing... custody... prevention... development... archaeology... history...
...Each of these words can be the starting point of a whole list of themes, problems, and questions which could give rise to a great number of initiatives.

## Information and documentation

This rather spontaneous listing of words and concepts associated with the Mediterranean leads me immediately to think of the value of carrying out a 'review of the literature'. I mean two things by this. First, I am here referring to a literal meaning of the word 'review', that is the systematic and comprehensive outlining of a bibliography of works that help us understand better what we mean by concepts such as 'Southern Europe', 'Mediterranean Europe', or 'Mediterranean basin'. But I am also referring to something rather more broad in scope and certainly more dynamic, that is a library/documentation centre which could start off modestly as a sort of directory (a sort of *Yellow Pages of the Mediterranean!*) and, according to its ability to generate and attract funds, to expand into a systematic and organised centre for the collection of documents of all sorts, and to place these at the disposal of students, scholars, administrators and so on.

There is, of course, already a model to point at and to emulate. The Paris-based *Institut du Monde Arabe* is a centre which collects and conserves documents, promotes and stimulates culture for the totality of the arab-islamic area, including those regions which do not fall within the geographic reach of the arabic or islamic basin, but which have nonetheless been influenced by that culture due to migratory waves (such as central Europe, France and Belgium). All the Mediterranean basin is of course linked to the Institute's project, given its historical past.

It is possible that similar Institutes or Centres with a similar vocation exist in the Iberian peninsula and in Britain. It should be possible, and indeed necessary - given that Islam is now the religion with the second largest number of adherents in the country - that Italy sets up a similar documentation centre. For Islam is not only a religion (that is a theology on the basis of which is constructed a set of moral beliefs), but also a philosophy and a civic and social culture. It is therefore necessary to know it well in order to facilitate a climate of peaceful coexistence.

That knowledge should not be fragmentary or simplistic, and therefore having carried out the collection of information that makes up the directory I referred to earlier, it is important that the objective ought then to be the communication and

diffusion of this cultural understanding to the population at large. An emphasis ought to be placed on languages, and it is significant and worrying that Arabic and other languages common in the Islamic area are notable by their absence in Italian universities. And the focus on languages should then lead to a consideration of culture in its widest sense, of religions, and so on. One could imagine the production of pedagogic material - be this in traditional, electronic or multimedia format - that could be placed at the disposition of schools, cultural centres, associations, unions, and so on.

Given that euroenthusiasts have come up with so many initiatives on 'European education', 'education for Europe', 'European dimension in education' and other such projects, it would be useful to stimulate analogous developments but with a different geographical axis. Why not a 'Mediterranean dimension in education' referring not to the axis Paris-Prague but rather that of Lisbon-Jerusalem, for instance, or Tangiers-Salonica? Aspects of the 1995 Euro-Mediterranean Association Agreements, the Spanish and now Italian presidency of the EU, the European Union's MedCampus initiatives, the present *Mediterranean Journal of Educational Studies* and the Mediterranean Education Programme it forms part of, all this and more could take us one step closer to the kinds of projects that I have outlined above.

**Marco Todeschini** *is a lecturer at the Facoltà de Lettere e Filosofia, Università degli Studi of Milano. He is the editor of the ATEE* European Journal of Teacher Education, *and has a special interest in comparative education. Contact address: Istituto di Pedagogia, Università degli Studi, Via Festa del Perdono 7, I-20122 MILANO, Italy. Tel. (+39) 2 58352926; Fax. (+39) 58302124; Email <mett@unimi.it>*

# BOOK REVIEWS

Special issue of the CEDEJ journal, *Egypte/Monde Arabe*, Nos. 8-9 (1994), *L'Education en Egypte*. Iman Farag, guest editor. ISSN 0752-4412, 100FF,-.

This special issue of *Egypte/Monde Arabe* provides us with a fascinating insight into some aspects of the historical development of education in Egypt, outlining issues and challenges that have had to be tackled in the past, and which still confront the contemporary educational policy-maker. The collection of articles (all in French) - where the guest editor Iman Farag, who is a member of the editorial team of the Egyptian-based journal, is present not only as an author, but also as a translator (from Arabic) of several of the pieces published - does not claim to be comprehensive. It does, however, successfully show the interdisciplinary nature of the study of education, to the extent that a reflection on Egypt's educational system is, in fact, a reflection on Egyptian society as a whole. The articles are also organically linked in the sense that they are all an answer to the question: 'Which debates and struggles have marked the history of education in Egypt?', and all are interpretive pieces which attempt to make connections between different historical and social processes.

The main contributions are grouped under two categories, i.e. 'Actors' and 'Processes'. Iman Farag justifies this organisation of material in his useful editorial introduction, where he outlines the dichotomies and debates that have characterised the Egyptian educational field, namely: imitating foreign educational models vs. developing an indigenous one; focusing on the education of an élite vs. catering for education of the masses; privileging religious vs. secular education; remaining loyal to tradition vs. embracing modernity. Farag ably connects the Egyptian experience with that of the rest of the Maghreb and Machrek, as well as with other Arab countries, pointing out how the more central education becomes in the view of a people, the more severe do the struggles over it become. In this sense, education is caught between the past, present and future - it is always caught in the grips of reform - or hope of reform - but as a field it shows us clearly the limits of reform.

Four articles feature in the first category, 'Actors', the referent here being institutions, individuals, and social groups that have marked the educational field in Egypt. Hassan Muhammad Hassan presents a critical overview of the 'Cultural choices and educational orientations in Egypt between 1923 and 1952'. The dates are significant ones in Egypt's history, the first marking the year when the country obtained its liberal constitution, the second indicating the start of the Revolution which brought the period of liberalism to an 'end'. The article is important because it highlights the way questions regarding education are intertwined with those of national identity. Hassan therefore traces the way various movements reacted to British presence in Egypt and, on the basis of economic, cultural, political and

religious interests fought in favour of specific versions of education which served to either 'inscribe' Egypt in a pan-Arabic, Muslim context or which instead insisted that Egypt had its own, very particular identity. Hassan focuses in some detail on four key movements active in this period, marked as it was both by colonial intervention and by a rising sense of national identity. An Islamic movement, inspired mainly by the *salafite* tradition, wanted education to be viewed in terms of *jâmi'a islâmiyya* (Islamic league) or of *râbita charqiyya* (eastern league). Another current of thought opposed this direction, emphasising Egypt's link to the west by focusing on its essentially Mediterranean character. Between these two poles lay another current of thought, one which highlighted the specificity of the Egyptian character, appealing to geographical (the Nile) or historical (pharaonic) categories in order to celebrate the local and the national. A fourth movement sought to privilege the economic and cultural relationship between nation on the one hand, and a larger Arab world on the other. Hassan teases out the implications of these different approaches for the educational project of the country, outlining in some detail the various options that these movements gave rise to.

The article by Muhammad Abu-l-As'ad focuses on another group of actors, Egyptian teachers. He locates the group within a context of a century of trade unionism, and provides a historico-ideological account of a movement that was born in 1891. The author portrays the socio-professional group of teachers as being a 'residue' of administrative structures, by virtue of the fact that they are mainly in the employ of the state. Additionally, in Egypt there is a practice that the leadership of the teachers' union is not subject to democratic elections, but is assumed automatically by the Minister of Education. Because of this, teachers find themselves at the interstices of the relationship between state and society, and have historically been mobilised for different, often conflicting ends. For instance, at the turn of the century teachers were considered to be the cream of the modernising group, the avant-garde 'troops' representing 'progress' because of their adherence to, and communication of modern and secular ideas. Today, on the other hand, there is an increasingly high profile of islamic teachers. The relationship between the teaching body and the state therefore renders the professional status of teachers paradoxical.

Iman Farag focuses on Isma'îl al-Qabbâni and the intelligence testing movement in Egypt, using this episode as a case-study of the way 'pedagogy' has been constructed as a field and a discipline. Farag highlights an important theme in the education systems of developing countries, namely the production and circulation of educational theories and practices, and what ultimately amounts to a (problematic) transfer of knowledge from the 'North' to the 'South'. The author considers the themes of adoption vs. adaptation of such theories and practices, and how these processes give rise to local experts, local 'fields' of education, and local power structures through strategies of inclusion and exclusion. A similar theme is pursued by Pascal Crozet in his focus on science education in Egypt between 1834 and 1902. Crozet looks at the way an indigenous scientific tradition was constructed on the basis of both inherited and

imported scientific knowledge. He considers the *muhandiskhâne* - a polytechnic school for engineers - which played a key role in developing a tradition of adaptation rather than outright adoption of imported knowledge, and whose privileging of translation to Arabic suggested a space for the meeting of new and inherited knowledge, through the use of vocabulary from an older linguistic substructure. In this heavily referenced and annotated text, Crozet presents us with a fascinating study of a specific curricular history which has both internal and external referents, in the sense that the definition of the sciences depended on a struggle with other subjects already established in Egypt, and on a struggle with western and Islamic ways of perceiving *techne*.

Four other articles make up the 'Processes' section of the journal. All four contributions draw on statistical information in order to throw light on a number of important themes concerning educational policy-making. Nader Fergany, for instance, considers the education of women in Egypt, and how despite national rhetoric on investment in human capital, women are still disadvantaged when it comes to access to elementary education facilities. Fergany notes that there has been major progress in health services in Egypt over the past thirty years, but access to education is still marked by gender and regional imbalances. Data collected in 1988, for instance, suggests that while the rate of children (6-11 years of age) in education in the greater Cairo region is 95%, that for the villages and farmlands in the higher plateau region is 65% and 57% respectively for girls. In the latter region, however, 89% of the boys are at school. While Fergany remains critical of the efforts in ensuring opportunity for access to (primary) education, Philippe Fargues highlights rather more the success in the diffusion of educational instruction, at least to the extent that this is reflected in different Egyptian census exercises. Taking as a base censuses from 1947 to 1986, Fargues notes the particular dilemmas, characteristics and challenges of the Egyptian case, focusing, like Fergany, on the education of women and contextualising the data by comparing them with that reported in other Arab countries and developing societies more generally. In his analysis of educational diffusion over space and time in Egypt, Fargues draws attention to major advances between generations born in 1880 and 1970, for instance. His conclusion is that while there might have been other periods where knowledge made great advances among the population at large in Egypt, it could have never been on the same scale and to the same extent as that achieved by the movement for mass education in the modern period.

Nadia Zibani's contribution examines another aspect of mass schooling, namely the phenomenon of child labour and its relationship to compulsory school attendance. Zibani's article is interesting not only because it presents new data about the common phenomenon of work undertaken by school-age children, but also because she contests some of the accepted negative stereotypes associated with the phenomenon. Zibani looks at the evolution of child labour in Egypt over a century through the use of statistics, pointing out that labour and schooling are not necessarily mutually exclusive activities. Indeed, the data show clearly that there is a sizable group of children who both work and attend school. This phenomenon has to be placed in the

Egyptian context where in many areas schools operate two and sometimes even three shifts daily in order to be able to reach more children. There is therefore ample time for these pupils to be involved in work. Zibani raises a very challenging question towards the end of her article. She notes that the Ministry of Education has declared that it wishes to install a full day of schooling for all by 1997. How will this apparently positive and progressive measure affect educational attendance, if pupils will now have to choose between work and school?

Finally, Frédéric Abecassis considers the phenomenon of foreign schools in Egypt between the years 1921 and 1951. His historical analysis therefore uses the same parameters adopted by Hassan in the first article featured in the journal, and highlights the extent to which education took shape in the crucible of the formation of national identity and the emergence of the Egyptian nation-state. Abecassis chronicles the reduction of foreign schools towards the end of the first part of the century, a process that paralleled the extension of public Egyptian education. As with the rest of the authors discussed thus far, Abecassis focuses on the political struggles involved in the definition of legitimate education, noting that while there was a stigmatisation of foreign schools, given the nationalist reading of the tasks for education, many could not escape the contradiction that these same foreign schools reproduced national élites.

The journal has two other contributions related to education in Egypt. One is by Hammid Ammar, a veteran professor of education at the University of 'Ayn Chams, who is well known in the Anglo-Saxon world for his celebrated book *Growing up in an Egyptian Village*. Here Iman Farag translates excerpts from Ammar's *Fi bina' al-insân al-'arabi* ('On the Construction of the Arab', 1988), which among other themes considers pedagogy in the Arab tradition (then and now) utilising anecdotal, life-history material. A final contribution by Farag himself is a series of very revealing reflections on the challenges that present themselves in the contemporary field of education in Egypt. Farag painstakingly analyses articles in the press in order to critically comment on such themes as the reform of the *baccalauréat*, the length of the school day, current reforms, the rise of liberalisation and privatisation in education and the development of school 'markets' at all levels, the link between schooling and fundamentalism, and so on.

There are other contributions in this journal which fall outside the focus of the special issue, and 200 plus other pages providing information about current political, cultural and economic events in Egypt. All in all, a wealth of data, critique and analysis which present the reader with insights into a complex, vibrant society.

*Ronald G. Sultana*
*University of Malta.*

**Panayotis K. Persianis,** *H ekpaidefsi tis Kiprou mprosta stin proklisi tis Evropis (Cyprus Education in view of the European Challenge).* **Nicosia, Cyprus, 122 pp, 1996, ISBN 9963-8116-0-4.**

This book is a significant contribution which provides us with an interdisciplinary (historical, philosophical, political, cultural and educational) account of the past, present and future developments of Greek-Cypriot education at various levels of schooling. Taking into account the complex and fast changing historical and political contexts of Cyprus, the author succeeds in presenting a thorough and critical understanding of the aims and functions of Greek-Cypriot education. Relying on the new EU guidelines and expectations of educational standards in the member states, the author takes the opportunity to examine the present situation of the Greek-Cypriot educational system and provide suggestions for the purpose of renovation and redirection.

The eight sections of the book can be read as autonomous papers covering a range of issues (epistemological traditions, Greek-centred education, adult education, technological and vocational education, social education etc.). I will present these sections as chapters, although they are not referred to as such in the book. The author's main efforts focus on: a) analysing and understanding the current educational status of Cyprus based on the historical and political factors which shaped it and b) criticisms and proposals for future development in view of Cyprus' possible accession to the EU.

In the first chapter, the author presents the epistemological traditions in Cyprus, as these were basically forwarded by mainland Greece through staff and curricula. He claims that dominant traditions, namely a respect for knowledge as something fixed and stable, uniformity and individualistic learning, are incompatible with the educational guidelines proposed by EU treaties and programmes (flexibility, adaptability, autonomy of institutions and renovating ability). A great emphasis is placed on the significance of the establishment, in 1993, of the University of Cyprus as a site responsible for research and the production of new knowledge as well as for connecting education to the country's economic development.

The second chapter points out that an adequate understanding of the development of Greek-Cypriot education during the last one hundred years has been based on the theory of contradiction between nationalistic ideology (ethnocentrism, preservation of tradition) and realistic ideology (fulfilment of new practical needs of the country). As the author makes clear in this chapter, this contradiction has been going on for more than one hundred years because of the close links between politics and education. The author seems critical of the adoption of the Greek mainland's educational perspectives because of the subsequent establishment of ethnocentric as opposed to international views. He provides some justification for the adoption of such perspectives in view of the political and historical particularities of the country.

Chapter three tests six hypothesis regarding the issue of Adult and Continuing education in Cyprus. The next chapter presents a detailed analysis of the ideas which have been taken on board and which characterise Greek-Cypriot education policy.

The author argues that there is an acceptance of theoretical ideas, explicated by experts, without the necessary examination of their application and effectiveness, given the specific problems of education.

In Chapter Five, the author introduces a historical analysis of the philosophy and aims of Greek-Cypriot education emphasising their self-perpetuating rather than reforming character throughout the years. The chapter which follows presents the findings of a Pan-Cypriot research project looking at aspects of social education as these were viewed by teachers and head teachers in primary schools. Those findings are then related to the current social and educational structure of Greek-Cypriot society. Greater autonomy for schools is called for in Chapter Seven. It is suggested that the enrichment of curricula and methods according to society's general and economic needs will be beneficial to the quality and effectiveness of school education. The last chapter provides us with historical evidence to indicate the reasons for the prejudice against Technical-Vocational education.

What makes this book an interesting and significant analytical tool, in the case of Greek-Cypriot education, is the fact that the author does not confine himself to a factual or historical analysis of the issues. This claim is based on three important aspects: a) the illuminating investigation of the politics of education in the case of Greek-Cypriot education (more analytically in chapters two and five), b) references to inherited beliefs and shared ideas which led to specific education policy making in Cyprus (more analytically in chapters one and four) and c) focus on current dilemmas faced by the Greek-Cypriots in view of the European challenge (more analytically in Chapters Three and Seven). The dilemma 'ethnocentrism or realism', encountered by the Greek-Cypriots, has been perceived as a contradiction between 'higher' and 'lower' aspirations as pointed out also by other scholars (see Papadakis 1994). The author suggests that Cyprus' possible inclusion in the EU is something the Greek-Cypriot people desire, because of the urgency of practical needs and since the Treaty of Maastricht is not perceived as a threat to the maintenance of their ethnic identity.

Although I understand that this might lie outside the scope of the book, I believe that a more interesting perspective would have been to provide a comparative analysis involving the Turkish-Cypriot education system, since the book leans heavily on the Greek-Cypriot side (except for Chapter Six). Given its structure as a collection of autonomous papers, the limited repetition of facts and claims appears justified. The most important criticism to be made, however, concerns the author's presentation of EU educational standards as constituting an already unified, predefined and given context to which Cyprus has to adapt. The struggle of the Mediterranean countries as active and dynamic negotiators of education policy, given the 'European challenge', is thus neglected.

On the whole, I find the author's first effort to analyse the political and historical complexities of Greek-Cypriot education successful, while the second effort, to discuss the possible inclusion of Cyprus in the EU, as requiring further critical reflection and a more dynamic perspective. Despite the limitations mentioned, the

book contains an in-depth and interdisciplinary analysis which allows me to recommend it to anyone who would like to have a clear view of the issues, complexities and potential of Greek-Cypriot education.

## References

Papadakis, I. (1994), *Perceptions of History and Collective Identity: A Study of Contemporary Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot Nationalism*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Cambridge.

*Sofia Avgitidou,*
*Aristotle University, Greece*

Blank Page

# A new Network and Journal for Educators in the Mediterranean: The Mediterranean Education Programme

The **North/South dimension** has effectively replaced the East/West axis in the *social sciences after the 1989 revolution*. The *'South', including the* Mediterranean, has, as a result, increasingly become the focus of the attention of researchers and academics from many fields. European Union policies regarding the Mediterranean, for instance, confirm the increasing recognition of the significance of the region for economic, cultural, political and security reasons.

Given this changing context, the *Comparative Education Programme* at the University of Malta has launched a new set of initiatives in order to facilitate the development of collaborative work between education scholars in the Mediterranean region. The initiatives consist of:

• A refereed *Journal*, published twice a year, reporting educational research carried out in Mediterranean countries, as well as related to the Diaspora of Mediterranean people world-wide. The main language medium of the *Mediterranean Journal of Educational Studies* is English, and each article carries translations of the abstract in French, Arabic, and the mother tongue of the author.

• A *Directory of Mediterranean Education Scholars*, with information about research interests and expertise in order to facilitate networking and collaborative projects and activities.

• A *Mediterranean Education Documentation Centre*, stocking and distributing research studies related to education in Mediterranean countries.

• A *Mediterranean Academy for Research in Education*, promoting collabora-tive research on education in the Mediterranean, and facilitating in-depth discus-sions regarding educational development in the region, particularly through the annual Selmun Seminar.

These initiatives provide a unique space for intelligent, informed and culturally sensitive dialogue at a time when greater understanding of the cultural, political and economic situation in the different countries of the Mediterranean is of international concern.

*Organisations and educators wishing to establish contact with the Mediterranean Education Programme and to receive more detailed information should write to: M.E.P. Director, Dr Ronald G. Sultana,* **Faculty of Education, University of Malta, Msida MSD06, Malta. Tel.+(356)32902936; Fax.+(356)336450; Email <gsul@unimt.mt>**

# La *MER*

## (Mediterranean Education Network/*Réseau Méditerranéen de l'Education*)

Dear Colleague,

I am currently putting together an Inventory of experts working in the field of education in the Mediterranean region. This Inventory, which is one of the activities of the *Mediterranean Education Programme*, will be published internationally and will be useful for networking purposes as well as for providing information to international organisations interested in making contact with individuals for consultation purposes. I invite you therefore to fill in this form, and to send it to undersigned. Thank you.

Cher Collègue,

*Je suis en train de dresser un Inventaire d'experts dans les sciences de l'éducation dans la région Méditerranéenne. L'Inventaire, qui représente une des activités du Program de l'Education en Méditerranée, sera diffuse et va mettre en route un réseau important de communication entre nous et avec des organismes interationaux qui pourront avoir besoin de notre expertise. Je vous invite donc à remplir ce formulaire, et à me l'envoyer immédiatement. Je vous remercie.*

Ronald G. Sultana, Director, *Mediterranean Education Programme*, University of Malta, Msida MSD06, MALTA. Tel.(356)32902936; Fax. (356) 336450

1. Full name *(Nom)*.............................................................. 2. Tel. & Fax. ........................................
3. Professional title....................4. Date of birth............ 5. Languages.......................................
   *(Titre)*                          *(Date de naissance)*      *(Langues)*
6. **University and Professional qualifications, and country in which these were obtained**
   *(Qualifications universitaires et professionelles, et pays d'obtention)*
   ....................................................................................................................................................
   ....................................................................................................................................................
7. Current specialisations and teaching/research interests...........................................................
   *(Spécialisations actuelles et intérêts de recherche et d'enseignement)*........................................
   ....................................................................................................................................................
   ....................................................................................................................................................
8. Main dissertation/thesis topic/title.............................................................................................
   *(Titre/s du/des dissertation/s ou thèse/s principale/s)*...............................................................
9. Positions of responsibility at the University/Institute..................................................................
   *(Positions de responsabilité à l'Université/Institut)*Address.....................................................
   ....................................................................................................................................................
10. List names of 4 main courses you teach........................................................................................
    *(Les titres des 4 cours principaux que vous donnez)*...................................................................
    ....................................................................................................................................................
    ....................................................................................................................................................
    ....................................................................................................................................................
11. List 5 main publications *(5 publications principales)*.................................................................
    ....................................................................................................................................................
    ....................................................................................................................................................
    ....................................................................................................................................................

# THE SELMUN SEMINAR
An activity of the
## Mediterranean Academy for Research in Education

## Objectives of the *Selmun Seminar*:

The annual **Selmun Seminar** represents one of the key activities of the *Mediterranean Education Programme*. It aims to create a distinctive and distinguished forum by bringing together education scholars of international repute, as representatives of each Mediterranean country. The scholars will present state-of-the-art reviews of educational development in their respective systems, and will propose and pursue collaborative educational research projects on topics judged to be of regional concern. The **Selmun Seminar** will therefore contribute directly to the strengthening of the links between countries of the South, facilitating mutual understanding, co-operation, and the transfer of knowledge.

## The *Selmun Seminar:*

The annual Seminar is held in the conference hall of an 18th century château built by the Knights of the Order of St John in Malta. Accomodation is provided in the adjacent Maritim Selmun Palace, a luxury Hotel overlooking the sea. The Seminar is normally constituted by executive members of the Mediterranean Academy for Research in Education, together with one other representative from each Mediterranean country. The emphasis is on the presentation of high quality papers around a particular theme, and on intensive discussion and debate. Scholars wishing to participate in the **Selmun Seminar** are invited to send for an application form; selection of Selmun Seminar Fellows is made on the basis of an abstract of the paper to be presented. Flight fares are normally met by the participants, and a number of fellowships are available to cover accomodation costs.

## Applications for the 1996 and 1997 *Selmun Seminar* event:

Further details about, as well as application forms for both the 1996 and 1997 **Selmun Seminar** event can be obtained from:
The Director,
*Mediterranean Education Programme,*
**University of Malta,**
**Msida MSD 06 - Malta.**

Blank Page

# CONFERENCE ANNOUNCEMENTS

**'Teacher Education: Stability, Evolution and Revolution'**
2nd International Conference organised by the MOFET Institute (Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport of Israel), June 30-July 4, 1996. Venue: Zinman College, Israel. Conference Secretariat: Zinman College, Wingate Institute, Netanya 42902, Israel. Tel. +972 9639222; Fax +972 9650960; Email <lidor@wincol. macam98.ac.il>

**'Tradition, Modernity & Postmodernity in Education'**
9th World Congress of Comparative Education organised for the World Council of Comparative Education Societies by the Australian and New Zealand Comparative and International Education Society (ANZIES), 1-6 July, 1996. Venue: University of Sydney, Australia. Conference Secretariat: Professional Development Centre, Faculty of Education, Building A36, University of Sydney NSW 2006, Australia. Fax: 61(2) 660 5072. Email <wcces96@mackie.edfac.usyd.edu.au> World Wide Web Home Page: http://www.usyd.edu.au/su/wccomped.

**ECER 96, Annual Conference of the European Educational Research Association**
25-28 September,1996. Venue: Seville, Spain. Programme chair: Professor Nijs Lagerweij, Department of Education, Utrecht University, Heidelberglaan 2, NL 3584 CS, Utrecht, Netherlands. Tel.(31) 30 534940; Fax.(31) 30 532352. Email <LAGERWEI@FSW.RUU.NL>

**'Guidance and Counselling for the 21st Century'**
Organised by the International Association for Educational and Vocational Guidance (IAEVG), July 8-12, 1996. Venue: University College, Dublin, Ireland. Conference Secretariat: IAEVG, Department of Psychology, University College Dublin, Belfield, Dublin 4.

**'Multiple Intelligences'.**
Organised by the Faculty of Education, Sport and Leisure of the University of Brighton, U.K., July 24-27, 1996. Venue: Cavendish Hotel, Eastbourne, U.K. Conference Secretariat: Mary Davies, School of In-Service and Professional Development, University of Brighton, Alfriston House, Falmer, Brighton BN1 9PH, U.K.

**2nd FORMED '96: 'Many Voices, One Sea: Interculturality and Education-Perspectives in Research within the Mediterranean Area'.**
Organised by the Community of Mediterranean Universities (CUM), September 26-28, 1996. Venue: Bari, Italy. Conference Secretariat: CUM, c/o Istituto de Medicina di Lavoro, Policlinio - Piazza Giulio Cesare, 70124 Bari, Italy. Tel. +39.80.278336; Fax. +39.80.278203.

**'Curriculum Development: Civic Education in Central and Eastern Europe'**
Organised by UNESCO and the Austrian Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs, October 11-15, 1996. Venue: Vienna, Austria. Conference Management: M. Robert Harauer, Institut für vergleischende Bildungs - und Hochschulforschung Porzellangasse 2/2/41, A-10090 Wien, Austria. Tel. +43.1.319.48500; Fax: +43.1.319.485010.

**'Education and the Strucuturing of the European Space: Centre-Periphery, North-South, Identity-Otherness'**
17th Comparative Education Society in Europe (CESE) Conference, October 13-18, 1996. Venue: Athens, Greece. Conference Secretariat: Easy Travel, 19, Anagnostopoulou Street, GR-106 73 Athens, Greece. Tel. +30.1.3609.442; Fax. +30.1.3625.572. Email <easy@netor.gr>

**'Education is Partnership: Research Conference and Forum for Researchers, Parents, and Pupils'**
Organised by ERNAPE (European Research Network about Parents in Education) and EPA (European Parents' Association), November 21-24, 1996. Venue: Copenhagen, Denmark. Conference Secretariat: 'Education is Partnership', H.C. Andersens Boulevard 40, DK-1553 Copenhagen V, Denmark. Tel. +45.3315.0428; Fax. +45.3315.0482. Email <skole_samfund@fc.sbds.dk>

# ABSTRACTS

## THE CIRCULATION OF EUROPEAN EDUCATIONAL THEORIES AND PRACTICES: THE ALGERIAN EXPERIENCE

MOHAMED MILIANI

Cet article se propose d'explorer le développement historique de la politique éducative dans l'Algérie moderne. Il soutient la thèse que malgré l'indépendance politique formelle du pays, et malgré les tentatives des autorités pour célébrer l'identité nationale, l'Algérie est encore caractérisée par l'adoption des théories, politiques et pratiques éducatives européennes, bien que celles ci ne correspondent pas aux réalités et besoins indigènes. L'article s'interroge sur les tensions entre le fondamentalisme d'un côté, et l'occidentalisation de l'autre, soutenant que ni l'une ni l'autre de ces propositions ne répond à la question de l'identité algérienne et du développement d'un système éducatif efficace qui reflète cette identité.

خـلاصـة – تحاول هذه المقالة تقصى التطور التاريخي لتوفير التعليم في الجزائر الحديثة. وتؤكد أنه بالرغم من استقلال البلاد السياسي الرسمي ، و بالرغم من محاولات السلطات الإحتفال بالهوية الجزائرية ، فان الجـزائر لاتزال تتسم بالتبنى الكامل للنظريات ، و السياسات، و الممارسات التعليمية الأوربية. وتناقش الرسالة التوترات بين الاصولية من جهة وبين التغريب من جهة أخرى ، لتتخلص إلى أن كلا الوضعين يفشلان في الاجابة على مسألة الهوية الجزائرية و مسألة تطوير نظام تعليمي فعال يعكس تلك الهوية.

## IS THERE A SEMIPERIPHERAL TYPE OF SCHOOLING?
### State, Social Movements and Education in Spain, 1970-1994

XAVIER BONAL
XAVIER RAMBLA

Cet article applique la théorie de la société semipériphérique développée par le sociologue portugais Boaventura de Sousa Santos au système éducatif espagnol. La

*143*

thèse de l'article soutient que les caractéristiques des sociétés semipériphériques peuvent être observées dans le système éducatif espagnol. La deuxième partie de l'étude passe en revue les changements éducatifs les plus récents à la lumière de la théorie de Santos. L'article conclut en signalant que ce type d'analyse peut modifier l'extension automatique de théories qui se réfèrent aux pays centraux.

Este artículo aplica la teoría de la sociedad semiperiférica desarrolloda por el sociólogo portugués Boaventura de Sousa Santos al sistema educativo español. La tesis del artículo argumenta que las características de las sociedades semiperiféricas pueden ser observadas en el sistema educativo español. La segunda parte del trabajo revisa los cambios educativos más recientes a la luz de la teoría de Santos. El artículo concluye señalando que este tipo de análisis puede modificar la extensión automática de teorías referidas a los países centrales.

خلاصة – تطبـق هـذه، الورقـة نظريـة سـانتـوس فـي شبـه المحيطيـة على نظام التعليم الأسبانى . والتبرير النظرى لهذا يستند على أن الملامح الرئيسيـة للمجتمعات شبـه المحيطيـة يمكن أن تتضح من النظام التعليمى الأسباني. ويستـعـرض الجـزء الثـانى من الورقـة أهم فـتـرات التغييرات التعليمية الحديثة داخل هذا الإطار النظرى .

## THE REFORM OF MASS SCHOOLING IN PORTUGAL (1974-1991)

RUI GOMES

Ce texte parle de la crise de l'école de masse dans un pays de la semipériphérie. Il s'appuie sur un cadre théorique qui met en relief et analyse le champ de la réthorique de l'éducation afin de révéler les caractéristiques spécifiques des réformes du système éducatif portugais des années 70 et 80. L'article se termine en soutenant que l'analyse des systèmes éducatifs méditerranéens a besoin d'être placée dans un contexte théorique plus adéquat construit à partir d'études comparatives.

Este texto discute a crise da escola de massas num país semiperiférico. Os pressupostos teóricos revelam as características específicas das reformas dos anos 70 e 80 no sistema educativo português, enfatizando a análise a partir do conceito de discurso. A segunda parte do texto faz um ensaio de tipologia das retóricas educativas em Portugal. Concluimos argumentando que a análise dos sistemas educativos mediterrânicos necessita da construção de um quadro teórico mais adequado a partir de estudos comparativos.

*144*

خلاصة – تناقش هذه المقالة أزمة التعليم الجماهيري في بلد شبه محيطي. وهى تعتمد على إطار نظرى يبرز ويحلّل ميدان الخطاب التعليمي من أجل إظهار الخصائص المحددة لاصلاح النظام التعليمي في البرتغال في السبعينيات و الثمانينيات. وتخلص المقالة إلى أن تحليل نظم التعليم في منطقة البحر المتوسط يحتاج إلى أن يوضع في السياق النظرى المناسب المبنى على الدراسات المقارنة.

# BANKING ON KEY REFORMS FOR EDUCATIONAL
## DEVELOPMENT: A critique of the World Bank Review

KEITH WATSON

A l'automne 1995, la Banque Mondiale a produit une Revue d'Education sur l'état du développement de l'éducation dans le monde appelée *Priorités et Stratégies pour l'Education.* Le progrés fait depuis 1980 ains que les problèmes continus y sont analysés et un nombre de recommandations clés ou de stratégies sont envisagées en vue d'une amélioration. Bien qu'elle soutienne ne pas être un document politique, cette revue s'adress sans nul doute à ceux qui sont en charge de la politque de l'éducation des pays en voie de développement ainsi qu'aux hauts fonctionnaires des banques. Elle est formulée en termes généraux, bien qu'elle contienne des références spécifiques aux développements dans des régions clés du monde. Vu l'influence de la Banque Mondiale dans le façonnement des idées et dans la politique, c'est un document important pour toutes les régions du monde, y compris la Méditerranée. Cet article s'efforce donc de considérer la raison d'être de la revue, les arguments principaux et les recommandations avancées, ainsi que les préoccupations qui en ressortent. C'est probablement plus ce qui ne figure pas dans la revue que ce qui y figure qui soulève des inquiétudes, mais tout compte fait, cette revue s'addressant à des banquiers et d'économistes, les questions concernant les chercheurs en sciences sociales et les éducateurs sont celle qui sont le plus fréquemment passées sous silence. Seul l'avenir dira quelle approche est la bonne.

خلاصة – في خريف سنة ١٩٩٥ أصدر البنك الدولي مطبوعة حول وضع التطور التعليمي الدولى تحت عنوان: أولويات واستراتيجيات التعليم. وفي هذه المطبوعة تم تحليل التقدم الذى أحرز منذ سنة ١٩٨٠ وكذلك المشاكل

القائمة ، وتمت الإشارة كذلك إلى عدد من التوصيات أو الاستراتجيات لتحسين الوضع. وبينما تدعى المطبوعة بأنها لاتمثل سياسة عمل إلا أنها موجهة بكل وضوح إلى صناع السياسة في البلدان النامية و كذلك إلى مسؤلى البنك الدولى. والمطبوعة تستخدم عبارات عامة و إن كانت بها إشارات محددة إلى التطورات في عدد من المناطق المهمة في العالم. وأخْذاً في الاعتبار نفوذ البنك الدولي في مجال بلورة الأفكار والسياسات فان هذه الورقة مهمة لكل منطقة في العالم بما في ذلك منطقة البحر المتوسط. وهذه الورقة تحاول أن تنظر في المنطق وآراء تلك المطبوعة و أهم ما تقدمه من آراء و توصيات و الهموم التى تثيرها هذه الأشياء. وربما يكون مالم تثره المطبوعة و ليس ما أثارته هو الباعث على القلق. و لكن في النهاية بما أن المطبوعة هى وثيقة المصرفيين و الاقتصاديين فان القضايا التي تشغل بال علماء الإجتماع و رجال التربية هى قضايا كثيراً ما يجرى إغفالها. و الزمن وحده هو الذى سيقرر أي الوجهتين هى الوجهة الصحيحة.

# TEACHING LANGUAGES IN A CULTURALLY DIVERSE ENVIRONMENT: THE CASE OF ISRAEL.

DEVORAH KALEKIN-FISHMAN

La base de cet article est la perception que (a) l'importance de l'enseignement des langues vient de l'image que la langue est l'indicateur le plus frappant de la culture, et (b) dans ce contexte, le mot 'environnement' est un synonyme pour une entité politique, probablement un 'état'. Chaque état a une configuration historique et culturelle unique qui justifie les façons dont l'enseignement de la langue est inserré dans le système éducatif. Dans cet article, je discute l'arrière-plan des aspects de l'enseignement des langues dans l'éducation israélienne. Les données que je présente se rapportent à un problème spécifique: les difficultés qui assaillent les membres de groupes aux différentes

origines culturelles quand ils communiquent dans la 'même' langue. Ces obstacles placent une interprétation particulière sur la compétence et placent la politique au centre de la problématique de l'enseignement et de l'apprentissage d'une langue.

הנחות יסוד של המאמר המובא להלן הן כי (א) שפות הן הסממן הבולט של תרבויות, ומכאן חשיבותה העליונה של הוראה טובה, ו(ב) כאשר מדובר ב'סביבה' הכוונה לישות פוליטית, לרוב למדינה. כל מדינה שורה בהקשר היסטורי ותרבותי, אשר מסביר כיצד הוחלט על שיבוץ הוראת שפות במערכת החינוך. בעבודה זאת, אני דנה בהיבטים של הוראה זו בבתי ספר בישראל וברקע לטיפול הדידקטי בהם של הוראת השפות עברית, ערבית, ואנגלית. הנתונים המוצגים שופכים אור על בעיה ספציפית: הקשיים המתעוררים כאשר חברי קבוצה בנות תרבויות שונות לומדות לתקשר ב'אותה' שפה. האינטרקציה בשפה המשותפת כביכול נתקלת במכשולים אשר להם איננו מודעים בדרך כלל. חשיפת המכשולים מאפשרת לנו לפרש את הקומפטנטיות, או יכולת הביטוי, בשפה נתונה בצורה מורכבת, ומסגירה עד כמה שאלות של הוראתן ולמידתן של שפות מעוגנות בתהליכים פוליטיים.

خــلاصـة – إن أساس هذه الورقة يكمن في منظور أن (أ) أهمـيـة تعليم اللغات ترتكز على تصـور لللغـة على أنها أوضح مـؤشـر على الثـقـافـة و (ب) في هذا السـيـاق تستعمل كلمة "بيئة" كمـرادف للكيان السياسي و ربما الدولة. فكل دولة لها تركيبتها التـاريخيـة و الثقافيـة الخاصة التى تبرر الطرق التى تم بها إدخال تعليم اللغة في النظام التـعليـمي. وفي هذه الورقة أناقش خلفيـة جـوانب تعليم اللغـات في المدارس الإسـرائيليـة. و المعلومـات التى أقدمها تتعلق بمشكلة معينة: الصعوبات التى تواجـه أفراد الجمـاعـات التى تنتمى إلى أصول ثقافيـة مـختلفة عندما يستعملون لغة واحدة للاتصال. والعقبات تضع تفسيراً مـعينا للكفاءة اللغويـة و تضع السياسة في المركز من مشاكل تعليم اللغات و تعلمها.

# WOMEN IN THE MOROCCAN ACADEMIC FIELD: RESPECTABILITY AND POWER

M'HAMMED SABOUR

Le but de cette étude est d'analyser comment les femmes évaluent leur pouvoir et leur respectabilité dans le champ universitaire maroccain. 49 enseignantes universitaires (professeurs, maîtres de conférences, assistantes et chercheurs) de trois universités marrocaines avaient rempli un questionnaire et 12 parmi elles avaient répondu à un interview. Pour des raisons culturelles et historiques, l'entrée de la femme arabe dans le champ académique est très récente, de trois à quatre décennies. La proportion des femmes dans le champ universitaire a augmenté dernièrement d'une manière significative; dans quelques domaines elle a atteint plus de 30% du corps enseignant (53% des professeurs dans la section de Biologie à l'Université Mohammed V sont de sexe féminin). Mais en raison des contraintes sociales et des traditions culturelles les femmes universitaires marocaines ne sembles pas satisfaites de leur situation et statut. En effet, le champ académique est encore dominé par les hommes. Cette domination est cristallisée dans la manière les nominations aux postes de responsabilité sont faites et dans le processus de prise de décision au niveau administratif qui favorise souvent les hommes, et dans l'attitude que les hommes ont envers les compétences et les accomplissements intellectuels des femmes. A cet égard, malgré leur capital scientifique et culturel, plusiers femmes universitaires marocaines considèrent que leur statut et la reconnaissance reservée à leur savoir laissent beaucoup à désirer.

خلاصة – هدف هذه الدراسة هو تحليل كيف تقوم النساء النساء الأكديميات قوتهن ومحترميتهن في الحقل الجامعي المغربي. ٤٩ استاذة جامعية (استاذة مساعدة ، محاضرة ومساعدة) من ثلاث جامعات مغربية شاركن في هذه الدراسة بملء استمارات ، و١٢ منهن أجبن على استجواب .

لأسباب ثقافية وتاريخية لم تدخل المرأة العربية الحقل الأكاديمي إلا منذ ثلاثة أو أربعة عقود. نسبة النساء الاكاديميات في الحقل الجامعي إزدادت بطريقة مهمة مؤخراً. في بعض المجالات لقد وصلت إلى أكثر من ٣٠٪ (٥٣٪ من الاساتذة في قسم علم الأحياء (البيولوجيا) في جامعة محمد الخامس هن نساءاً) من هيئة المعلمين.

لكن بسبب الضغوطات الاجتماعية والعوائد الثقافية
النساء الأكديميات المغربيات لسن راضيات على وضعهن و
حُضْوَتهن. الحقل الجامعي فعلاً مازال تحت هيمنة الرجال.
هذه الهـيـمـنة هي مُـتـبلورة في الطريقة التي يتم بها
التعيين في المناصب الهامة، في طريقة أخذ القرارات على
المستوى الإداري و الذي يفضل الرجال، وفي موقف
الرجال من القُدرة والانجازات الفكرية للنساء الاكاديميات.
في هذا الصدد ، بالرغم من الرساميل الثقافية و العلمية ،
عدد كبيـر من النساء الأكاديميات المغربيات يعتبرن بأن
وضعهن والاعتبار المُخصص لمعرفتهن مازال بعيداً عن
المستوى المرغوب فيه.

# THE RATING OF EDUCATIONAL AIMS BY GREEK AND ENGLISH STUDENT-TEACHERS

ELIAS MATSAGOURAS
(with STEWART RIDING)

60 étudiants grecs et 60 étudiants anglais de la pedagogie primaire ont évalué 25 visées d'enseignement selon une règle divisée en cinq sous trois conditions: 1. en rerésentant leurs évaluations des priorités de leurs propres instituteurs; 2. en représentant ce qu'ils jugeaient l'avis de leurs tuteurs actuels; 3. en montrant leurs propres intentions pour leur carrière de l'enseignement. Les résultats ont indiqué que les deux groupes d'étudiants avaient un avis semblable dans presque tous les égards et qu'ils croyaient tous avoir fait un grand avancement des ideologies de leur vie scolaire. Les recherches sont discutées par rapport aux modèles de l'enseignement primaire et l'instruction des professeurs dans tous les deux pays.

Σκοπός της έρευνας είναι να μελετήσει τις εκπαιδευτικές προτεραιότητες της πρωτοβάθμιας εκπαιδευσης του Ελληνικού και Αγγλικού σχολικού συστήματος. Προς τούτο ζητησε από 60 Ελληνες και Βρετανούς φοιτητές Παιδαγωγικού τμηματος να αποτιμησουν, με τη βοηθεια πεντάβαθμης κλιμακας, το βαθμό προτεραιότητας 25 εκπαιδευτικών σκοπών από τρεις διαφορετικές οπτικές γωνιες: (α) από την οπτικη γωια των δασκάλων

που ειχαν ως μαθητές δημοτικού σχολειου, (β) από την οπτική γωνια του πανεπιστημιακού προγραμματός που παρακολουθούν και (γ) από την οπτική γωνία που οι ιδιοι ως αυριανοί δασκαλοι βλέπουν και κατατάσσουν αξιολογικά τις προτεραιοτητες της εκπαιδευσης. Τα δεδομένα που προέκυψαν συγκρίνονται και σχολιάζονται οι όμοιότητες και διαφορές τοσο των τριων οπτικών οσο και των δυο σχολικών συστημάτων.

**خلاصة** – قام ٦٠ طالبا يونانيا و ٨٠ طالبا بريطانيا من الطلبة المتدربين على التعليم الإبتدائي بتقييم ٢٥ هدفاً تعليميا على أساس درجة من ٥ نقاط تحت ثلاثة شروط: (١) تمثيل تقديراتهم لأولويات مدرسيهم هم السابقين في المرحلة الإبتدائية . (٢) تمثيل ما يرونه هم وجهة نظر أساتذتهم الحاليين . (٣) الإشارة إلى مقاصدهم انفسهم بالنسبة لعملهم كمدرسين. وأظهرت النتائج أن صنفين من الطلبة قد اتخذوا مواقف متشابهة في جميع الجوانب تقريباً وأن آراؤهم ازدادت تقارباً في عقيدتهم بأنهم ابتعدوا كثيراً عن الايديولوجيات التى كانت سائدة أيام كانوا طلبة. وتناقش هذه النتائج بالعلاقة مع نماذج التعليم الإبتدائى و ثقافة المدرّس في البلدين.