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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 vigorous and varied educational traditions. There is a strong 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, Southern European and area studies, intercultural education, peace education, and migrant studies.

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RECENT TRENDS IN PORTUGUESE HIGHER EDUCATION: CLOSURE, USURPATION AND DIFFERENTIATION

MARIA MANUEL VIEIRA DA FONSECA

Abstract – *In Portugal, the demand for higher education intensified during the sixties and continued to increase during the following years in such a way that mechanisms of control over access have been imposed since 1976. The most important of these mechanisms has been the numerus clausus. Faced with the implacable verdict of the numerus clausus and with the exclusionary perspectives it generates, each social class began to produce a new range of educational strategies in response to the increasing competition for educational credentials. The aim of this paper is to capture and to interpret those practices of social differentiation, taking as the main theoretical references both the weberian concept of 'social closure' as developed by Frank Parkin (1979) and the concept of 'strategies of social reproduction' (Bourdieu, Boltanski and Saint-Martin 1978). By using the available statistical data on higher education – namely the figures published by the National Bureau of Statistics and by the Department of Statistics of the Ministry of Education, besides data included in some recent studies about university students – we intend to portray some of the strategies of exclusion and usurpation produced in this field which form, at present, an important part of the broader set of practices performed by social classes in their struggle for social positions.*

Introduction

The education arena is today without doubt one in which classes and various class fractions compete extremely vigorously, communicate intensely, and persistently develop practices aimed at defending or conquering a place in the social structure. The imposition of a minimum level of schooling, in force since the nineteenth century in the majority of Western countries, and the recent raising of the school-leaving age, which is the fruit of prolonged social struggles, has transformed the school career with a recognised qualification into an indispensable factor for social identity and recognised citizenship; it is regarded, in this respect, by many class theoreticians as one of the fundamental resources contributing to the social class structure in modern societies (see Bourdieu 1979; Giddens 1975; Parkin 1979; Touraine 1973 and Wright 1985).

It is necessary to examine this process in more detail. At the heart of class dynamics, 'strategies of reproduction' (Bourdieu, Boltanski and Saint-Martin 1978) can be observed, through which the members of different classes and class fractions who have capital strive, though not necessarily consciously, to maintain or improve their position in the social structure by maintaining or strengthening their capital. This is managed in a different way by each class and its fractions, given that there are differences in the family structure, or in other words, the amount and structure of the capital (economic, cultural, social and symbolic) held and to be transferred.

The strategies of reproduction do not only depend on constraints linked to built-in structures, or in other words, on the limiting effects of social class origin and belonging, but also on external structures, which are objective conditions arising from the state of the system of means of reproduction itself, as a result of the power relationships established between classes at any given moment. As can be gathered, neither of these two kinds of conditions are necessarily stable or unalterable, since they are highly unpredictable, depending on the unforeseen effects or consequences of actions provoked by social agents themselves within the mesh of interdependencies which unite them (Elias 1980).

Profound changes in the way family wealth has been transferred have taken place in Western societies in the last few decades.

On the one hand, the extension of schooling has been vitally important for the make-up of societies today, and it is an unquestionable part of socialisation, that is, of social production and reproduction, however much the process of establishing it has varied and however much resistance it has met at the social and local level. In all classes, the more or less lasting passage through the education system is seen today as an inevitable fate for their young members; it does not only take away part of the relative autonomy that the family previously retained in the selection and transfer of knowledge more in harmony with probable future status, but also gives increased status to cultural transmission, while it is a part of the currently dominant means of reproduction.

On the other hand, recent changes brought about in the economic structure have imposed new conditions on the development of the mechanisms of social transmission. There is now a great concentration of companies and businesses, brought about by a change in the nature of property, with the change from individual ownership to share ownership, an increase in the number of salaried directors linked to a significant increase in the size and range of the main companies together with their rationalisation and bureaucratisation, requiring more and more technical abilities whose authority is recognised by the education system. This has turned school qualifications, especially the higher ones, into commodities with an importance which cannot be ignored nowadays. It comes as

no surprise, in the presence of these new constraints, that the bourgeoisie and the petite bourgeoisie fractions better provided with economic capital have recognised the real or symbolic advantages in putting the traditional direct transfer of this capital (whether company, workshop, family business or funded property) to their successors together with the transmission of school qualifications. In these class fractions there is a tendency to convert part of the capital held, and bequeath cultural capital through a different kind of capital, that of schooling, which is more profitable or at least more legitimate, in the current state of social relationships, as a means of access to positions of power.

In their turn, the class fractions whose main or exclusive means of reproduction have been based on the transmission of cultural wealth, essentially by means of educational qualifications which, because they were quite rare, were valued more highly for their effectiveness in real or virtual access to powerful status, have seen this comparative advantage threatened by the recent intensification in the use of the education system on the part of people formerly unconnected with the education market. This unheard-of competition, created in the phenomenon of the 'education explosion' and 'mass education' has caused these fractions to extend the length of studies as a way of preserving previously held advantages, triggering, therefore, an increased struggle for qualifications in the educational market, particularly at the level of higher education, where the qualifications awarded still retain some social and symbolic power.

The analytic proposals of Frank Parkin (1979) seem particularly suitable for grasping and understanding the process of competition between classes in the higher education arena, besides Boudieu's proper theory of fields (1989). Parkin links the Weberian concept of 'social closure', defined as "*a process by which social collectivities seek to maximise advantages through the restriction of access to resources and opportunities to a limited circle of eligible members*" (see Parkin 1979:44), to the theory of classes in a stimulating way.

For him, the process of social closure takes place through collective strategies for action. These can be strategies of exclusion, when a given group intends to guarantee a privileged position at the cost of the marginalisation of another group. It is often this type of strategy which defines the dominant class relative to other classes and which in modern societies is based on two means of exclusion: property and credentials (see Parkin 1979:48-60). In fact, for Parkin, the development of this type of strategy in the specific context of bourgeois society causes constant and inevitable tensions, not just between classes, but also within the bourgeoisie itself. The reason for this is that on the one hand, the latter class is obliged to demand the democratisation of access to higher education in order to legitimise itself. But on the other hand, it is in the interest of that same class to limit access to ensure its monopoly over the professional sector and to reproduce itself.

Because of this, in modern capitalist societies, these strategies never take on a definite shape; on the contrary, the processes of exclusionary closure are always in a precarious position and subject to updating, given that there is resistance and reaction on the part of those excluded, of those dismissed to being outsiders or 'non-elect'. Precisely because these collective actions develop in the heart of social relationships, they cause responses that may take the shape of strategies of usurpation and which determine, in their turn, changes in the practices of those who do the excluding. Usurpation is therefore the attempt developed by those excluded to "*mobilise power against a dominant group legally defined and supported by the state*" (see Parkin 1979:85). As can be deduced, it tends to arise, above all, in the non-dominant classes.

However, it is not necessary for any of these strategies to belong exclusively to a given class. On the contrary, Parkin argues, these concepts allow us to grasp not only cross-processes between the various classes, but equally internal to each. This is in fact the sense of 'dual closure' which makes it possible to observe strategies of exclusion and usurpation within the same class simultaneously. Though the dominant is, according to Parkin's definition, the "*social group whose share of resources is primarily obtained by means of exclusion*" (see Parkin 1979:93), there is nothing to prevent mechanisms of exclusion and usurpation arising from the heart of groups supplied with resources in different amounts and of different quality, or even among groups who have specific cultural or social distinctions (religious, ethnic, gender, among others).

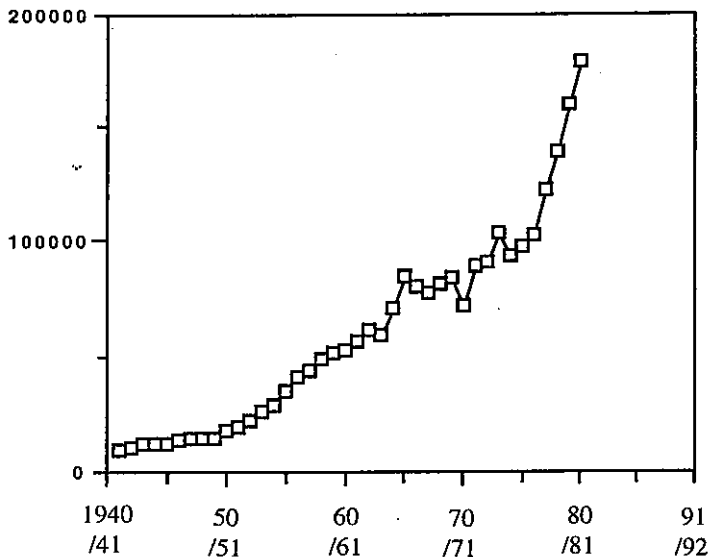
A demand without formal barriers

It can be confirmed that, in Portugal, the process of the explosion in education at the higher levels of the educational system was triggered off from the 1960s onwards, as can be observed in Graph 1.

The limitations on access to this level of education, which the statistics clearly show, were not due to any kind of institutional mechanisms for restricting the number of students, such as exist today in the form of *numerus clausus*. In fact, at that time, the only formal requirement for getting a place on a course in a university faculty or a further education college was to pass an entrance exam.

However, it would be naive to think that the formal unrestricted opening of university to everyone would be enough for it to be demanded automatically. Until the 1960s, innumerable constraints prevented young people from entering this educational level in larger numbers. Some of these obstacles have in fact been exhaustively documented in studies on the Portuguese university system (see Nunes 1968a, 1968b).

GRAPH 1: Students registered in higher education



Source: INE, Education Statistics (1940 to 1988)

Ministry of Education, Department of Higher Education, Higher Education – bachelor degree and other equivalent courses; students enrolled, academic years 1988/89 to 1991/92

Note: For the academic years of 1982/83 and from 1984/85 to 1987/88 the number of those registered is calculated by default, given that there were no data on students on some higher education courses in the Education Statistics for these years.

Firstly, the supply of higher education was concentrated in three single universities, and this, coupled with the almost complete non-existence of scholarship schemes and other state support, increased the costs of this educational investment enormously, and thus made it unlikely that the overwhelming majority of the population resident in areas some way from these centres would gain access to it.

Moreover, the curricular content and above all the teaching practices in force in higher education institutions were considered to be extremely traditional, elitist, and used explicit and implicit codes which were difficult to interpret for those who did not have any available educational reference or resource which they could mobilise in the social and regional milieu they were from. The exceptions, that is, the careers which deviated in relation to the modal educational career of the classes who were more deprived of these kinds of resources, were the culmination of patient work. This is because it was carried out under adverse circumstances, by internalising the norms and routines produced in the educational context, and which precisely because it was exceptional, demanded a total conversion to the codes of educational culture and the practices on which they rely, for which the price to pay was the devaluation of the cultural origins.

TABLE 1: Academic qualifications of the parents of students in higher education

Academic Years/ Qualifications	1952/53	1963/64	1991/92
No schooling	—	2.7%	2.5%
Primary school (1st-4th year)	32.3%	32.6%	22.8%
Secondary Education (5th-11th year)	25.7%	27.4%	19.2%
Intermediate course	11.7%	8.7%	8.1%
Higher education	30.3%	27.5%	18.1%
No answer	—	1.2%	27.1%

SOURCE: Machete, Rui (1969) *The social origin of Portuguese students*. In A.S. Nunes (ed.) *The University in Portuguese Life*. Lisboa: Office of Social Research (data from 1952/53).

CODES. 1967. *Position and Opinion of University Students – Inquiry carried out by the Department of the Catholic University Youth*. Lisboa. (data from 1963/64)

M.E., G.E.P. Data as yet unpublished on students registered in higher education in the academic year 1991/92.

NOTE: The data from 1952/53 and 1963/64 refer to the level of qualifications of the father of the students, whereas those from 1991/92 represent the highest academic qualification of the father or mother.

Self-selection, or in other words, self-denial of this educational path, which was in fact already confirmed in lower levels in the education system, was at the time an integral component of the modal career of classes and class fractions with few or no resources in guaranteed cultural capital, as is clear from Table 1. Whether at the beginning of the 1950s, or ten years later, the structure of the parents' cultural capital of university students remained nearly the same, showing a clear predominance of higher qualifications over the then minimum compulsory schooling, the four years of primary education (67.7% and 63.6% in 1952/53 and 1963/64 respectively). On the other hand, the families whose educational qualifications were too basic or non-existent were seriously penalised in the access of their children to this level of education.¹ It is from this that university itself can be held responsible for the strong social selectivity of the university population at the time (see Nunes 1968b).

It only remains necessary to add that Portuguese society still retained wholly rural and traditional characteristics, with the exception of the two main points of urban and tertiary development in the country, Lisbon and Oporto (see Nunes 1964). Here, the relative weight of classes and class fractions linked to the countryside was still important, and social reproduction still depended predominantly on property. These social categories favoured neither an extended investment in education, nor the widespread creation of aspirations which depended on the educational system for their practical realisation. It is no wonder that, because of this, the main users of the university, at least until the middle of the 1960s, were the essentially urban classes and class fractions which possessed reasonable economic or cultural capital, with few or remote connections with direct manual labour, and which were linked to professional areas looking for educationally-recognised qualifications. In this context, a university degree continued to be a commodity which very few of the Portuguese population had access to.

The first phase of mass access to higher education extended throughout the 1960s, and involved the inclusion of a group which had hardly had any representation at this level of education up to then: the female population. In fact, although female participation in higher education at the beginning of the 1960s was around 29.5% of the total enrolled, by the end of the decade, the percentage of female students had already increased to already nearly half (44.4%) of the actual number (see Peixoto 1989:184).

In the space of a decade, the real extension of the female educational 'field of possibilities' was consolidated, therefore spreading the idea of higher education as a possible destiny for girls as well. However, in reality only a specific subgroup was in condition to exploit this opportunity. In fact, it appears that those who first began to gain access to higher educational levels were the daughters of the same

class and class fractions of the male university population, or rather the fractions of the middle and lower middle classes owning more cultural capital, more familiar with knowledge and educational codes, and because of this, able to integrate more easily in the educational system.

An increasing female participation led to an intensification of the demand for higher education throughout the first years of the 1970s. The conditions which some years earlier had favoured the creation of an 'optimistic demand' for education in other countries (see Delcourt 1984:16-19), became present in Portugal (see Grácio 1986:117-138) in the mid-1960s and were particularly noticeable in the middle of the following decade.

The hope placed in the education system as a channel for social mobility by social groups excluded from economically or at least symbolically more valued positions seemed to increase. At the same time, there was a surge of development and modernisation in some sections of the Portuguese economy throughout the 1960s. As a result, the material living conditions of some ranks of the population improved significantly, generating increased resources in these families which could be used for investments in education. In addition, available employment in the secondary and tertiary sectors of work expanded considerably. Abilities authorised by an educational qualification determined the filling of these positions.

However, it is known that the promotion of opportunities for access to the education system does not in itself mean that an identical relationship with school is automatically established. For these reasons, it would be too hasty to argue that the education system was generally or widely valued positively by the whole country and all social groups. We must take into account the strong regional contrasts between impoverished rural areas, well away from the main cultural and university centres, and a coast dominated by two large urban areas where not only the most productive industries and the majority of jobs were to be found, but also the most extensive and diversified supply of culture and education in the country. These contrasts were still clearly present in the heart of Portuguese society at the beginning of the 1970s. Therefore it was more likely that it would be the classes who depended more on credential assets for their reproduction, namely the management and professional upper middle class and the technical lower middle class, who would put higher expectations on the education system, whether for maintaining the social positions they held, or for achieving upward social mobility.

Although the pressure of demand on the educational system was regionally and socially differentiated, it was in fact growing, though not necessarily accompanied by equivalent adjustments on the supply side. In general, higher education continued to present the same structure (geographical, physical, pedagogical) at the beginning of the 1970s that it had in previous decades.

Social aspirations and institutional obstacles

The widespread belief, caused by the institution of democracy in the country on 25th April 1974, that bolder aspirations could be realised, allied with a certain permissiveness then recorded in the assessment of secondary school final year students, suddenly placed an unheard of number of candidates at the doors of the university sector in the mid-1970s.

Indeed, the abrupt change in the balance of power set off by the April revolution enlarged the field of possibilities of groups who up to then were in situations of almost complete social exclusion. Aspirations and claims previously thought inconceivable now became legitimate and possible. New opportunities generated social struggle in a multiplicity of areas, forcing a change in the processes of 'social closure' prevailing until then, abetting the successive practices of 'usurpation' at what appeared sometimes to be a hallucinatory pace.

Obviously, the educational arena did not escape these kinds of struggles. From 1974 to 1976 new universities appeared (Aveiro, in 1974/75; Minho and Universidade Nova de Lisboa, in 1975/76; Azores and Evora, in 1976/77), created under pressure from groups with party and local interests. There were also intense struggles within vocational education for the conquest of social and symbolic privileges attributed to university qualifications, which culminated in the change in status of old vocational schools (Industrial and Commercial Institutes) to Further Education Colleges of Engineering (in 1974) and of Accountancy and Management (in 1976) respectively (see Lourtie 1989:234), now integrated into the recently-named 'Higher Education Polytechnic', set up in 1977 with financial backing from the World Bank (see Stoer 1982, chapter 3). It was, in fact, the integration of these new Institutes into higher education which contributed decisively to stimulate the number of actual students recorded in statistics (see Graph 1 above) and not, as a quick reading of these numbers might lead one to conclude, the simple result of a spectacular 'opening' of the universities.

Nevertheless, in the presence of the unstoppable siege targeted at university higher education, there was a trial run of a first limit on the number of candidates to the faculties of medicine and veterinary medicine in the academic year 1976/77. The 'perverse effects' (see Boudon 1989) then caused a run on courses considered to be alternatives, such as for example biology, chemistry and agronomy (see Pereira 1983:81). This undoubtedly contributed to the decision to apply the numerus clausus to all courses, restricting the entry to this level of education to the capacity for student intake set for each educational institution,² an extra year also having been added to secondary education (12th year). In this

context, education policy was clearly operating as a true 'social technology' (see Grácio 1986), with the aim of cooling off the expectations which it had played its part in creating.

The practices that had been established up to then were, at least initially, thrown into confusion by this sudden impediment to free access to a university course and the realisation of associated projects, especially since no credible alternatives were set up. Certainly, processes of closure tended to lead to sharp responses on the part of various social classes. There was deliberate redirecting of choices, totally relegated to luck and chance. Some invested excessively in obtaining educational excellence, while others became completely alienated or even gave up. There was demand for alternative routes for entry into the desired ranks but also impotent passive acceptance of institutional judgements. In this period everything was gambled in the educational arena, the success of the game obviously depending on the different resources and energy which the players had at their disposal for the challenge.

This institutional constraint was imposed just when the pace of growth that had characterised the employment market during the previous decade abruptly slowed down. This was attributable both to internal factors and to the international economic climate at the time. Even if the number of students was contained, it was nevertheless continually increasing and, because of this, contributing to add to the pool of newly qualified graduates coming annually onto the employment market. In this context, the university degree, less affected than other qualifications by market mechanisms, also came to be valued for the extra property which it seemed to offer: a guarantee against unemployment.

This being the case, demand for this qualification intensified, as it was even more tempting and totally indispensable for many of those who depended on this kind of capital for the maintenance or improvement of their position in the social structure. However, this potential increase in the rate of education led, in the context of an economic recession, to the production of a series of qualifications without any corresponding conversion into compatible social positions. Their equivalent value lasted only, in the final instance, for the time in which "*the relationship between the speed of distortion of the 'educational structure' and of the social structure*" (see Grácio 1986:126) was maintained. This is because, as Passeron points out, the "*(...) multiplying of qualifications does not develop at the same speed nor in the same sense as the development in the employment structure*". From this time onwards, a series of changes was set in motion; as qualifications created in the meantime lost their value, demand for these or for extra qualifications increased as a means of escaping this devaluation. This demand, however, in its turn caused 'inflation' of the very devaluation it was trying to escape (see Passeron 1979:44).

In the mid-1970s therefore, the growth of the demand for higher education can be considered to have been induced by expectations linked to the new objective and subjective conditions of promotion of access to the educational system generated after 1974. These expectations came to be recognised perfectly by a political power which exceeded itself, at the level of speeches, in incessant appeals to equality of educational opportunities, of which the most axiomatic example actually carried out was, perhaps, the unifying of secondary education.

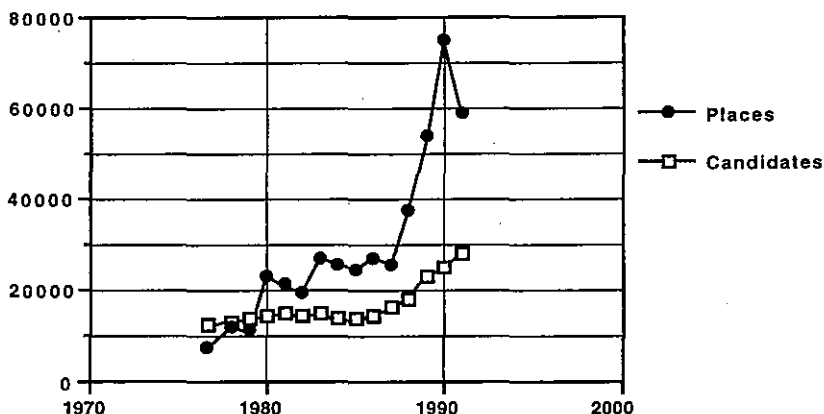
When these aspirations were suddenly opposed, both by the transformation of the structure of the economic arena, but also by the imposition of a strong obstacle to the entry to higher education, it is easy to understand the 'collective disillusionment' (see Bourdieu 1979:161) which then set in, and to predict the change from an 'optimistic' demand to a widespread 'disenchanted' demand (see Grácio 1986:139).

However, this disenchantment did not succeed in eliminating the general faith placed in the education system in terms of its role in defining the personal destinies of those who attended courses. In fact, the restrictions in access to it seemed to reinforce this faith, to the extent to which they increased investment in study as a guarantee of a qualification, increasingly considered as an indispensable passport for realising projects and aspirations.

Thus, from the moment at which the doors of higher education closed conditionally, that is from 1977/78 onwards, it can be noted that the distance between the hopes of getting a place and the opportunities for getting access to it continued increasing, at first erratically, and later, from 1979/80 onwards; in a spectacular way (see Graph 2).

The degree of disenchantment with which students demanded higher education was not confined to their expectation of being purely and simply excluded from it. From the outset, even for those who managed to overcome this disadvantage, nothing guaranteed access to a really desired course. This was a previously unheard-of phenomenon in the context of higher education and must have caused particularly dramatic consequences from the end of the 1970s until the mid-1980s when, finally, the process of setting-up of regional universities and above all the surge of private higher education created more related curricular spaces. As Graph 3 clearly shows, the proportion of candidates placed on courses of their first preference continually decreased throughout these years, which more or less irreversibly compromised the expectations and projects formulated by many of these young people and their respective families.

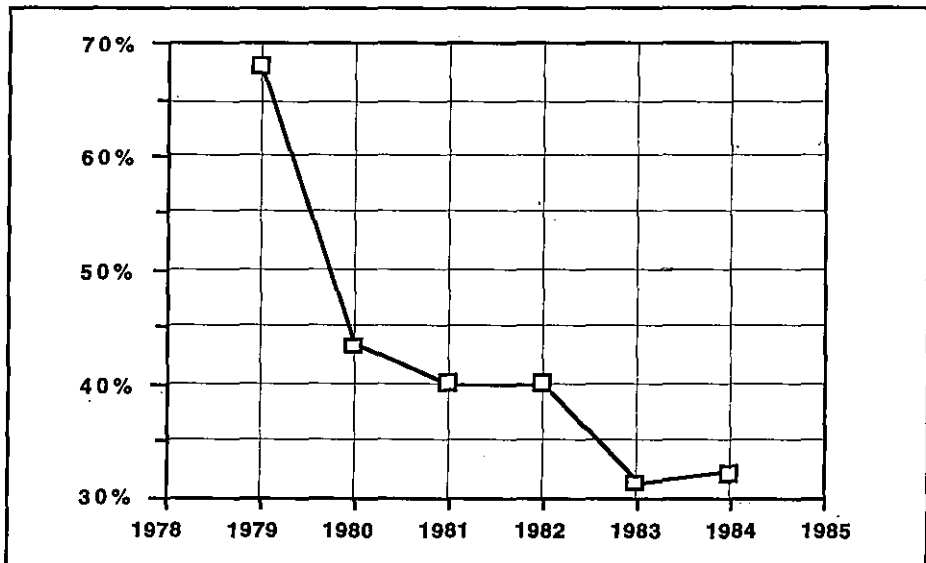
GRAPH 2: Development of the number of places and candidates for state higher education



SOURCE: Co-ordinating Office of Entry to Higher Education

But through the implacable judgement of the *numerus clausus* and the expectations of exclusion which it generated, a group of new social practices began to be employed in the university arena. This was an intelligent demonstration of strategies deployed by various social classes as a response to the more intense competition for qualifications and the limitation of access to them. Needless to say the more recent strategies in social practices of students are not identical, given that the 'habitus' which created them is different. In this way, different responses to the same institutional constraints may be generated by the 'categories of perception and of appreciation' (see Bourdieu 1979:158) with which students and their respective families evaluate school, and in particular, university, owing to the specific position which they occupy in the social space and of the kind of relationships traditionally maintained with the educational system.

GRAPH 3: Percentage development of candidates placed in higher education of their first choice



SOURCE: Leandro, Ema (1985) *Access to Higher Education – an Analysis of Statistical Data, vol.I, 1978/79 to 1984/85*, Lisbon: Ministry of Education – G.C.I.E.S.

The development of strategies for access

From the very beginning, extending noticeably until the mid-1980s, the strategies for access to higher education developed within an area that was almost exclusively dominated by three classic universities together with the new regional state educational alternatives, namely either universities or polytechnics. In this period, these were the limits of the arena in which the various competitors for the possession of a higher qualification faced each other.³

However, this arena was far from being an extended surface to which successive educational proposals of equivalent value could be added, as the main spokespersons of education policy intended to have us believe. On the contrary, it contained subtle internal hierarchies resulting from the processes of establishing and locating distinct spaces.

Although the new universities,⁴ with the exception of the Nova de Lisboa, suffer from being insular, inward-looking or peripheral, they can count on university status, which from the outset gives them credibility and symbolic power. However, the schools integrated into polytechnic education generally suffer extra disadvantages, through the fact that these latter offer a short-cycle education which is less varied, based on knowledge of a predominantly practical nature (see Resende and Vieira 1992), and having less relative independence because of this.

However, when they were created, these schools accepted the explicit objective of administering an *"essentially practical higher education, concerned with the training of qualified technical people at an upper intermediate level, with a proper status and a corresponding professional worth"*, as the preamble to the act/decrece which established them confirms (see Seruya 1983:84). Attractively packaged in highly complimentary arguments, and promising the final year secondary students the prospects of a *"high probability of acceptance on the employment market, both in the public and private sectors"*, the political speeches which justified their creation and accompanied their expansion were not however sufficient to do away with the *"structural ambiguity"* (see Grácio 1986:151) of this education, given the eminently practical nature of the education which is conferred, the intermediate and not higher status to which its qualifications led and, to this extent, hiding the symbolic devaluation to which it was irremediably linked within the arena.

For this reason, the perspectives offered by polytechnics are far from corresponding to either the social images that the majority of candidates for higher education have of this level of education, or the aspirations produced and consolidated by extended attendance at school. From this it should come as no surprise that this type of higher education was initially given a cool reception by the majority of students, who continued to demonstrate a clear preference for university courses, including courses offered by the new universities, as can be assessed by the comparative table of choices by first option of the various types of educational institution (see Table 2).

TABLE 2: First choice destinations of higher education candidates

Academic years	1979/80	1980/81	1981/82	1982/83	1983/84	1984/85
Type of institution						
New Universities	10.8%	12.5%	13.5%	17.1%	18.0%	19.6%
Traditional Universities	79.1%	74.7%	73.5%	70.6%	68.6%	67.6%
Non-integrated courses	4.7%	6.6%	6.3%	5.3%	5.8%	4.0%
Non-University Education	5.4%	6.2%	6.7%	7.0%	7.6%	8.8%
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

SOURCE: Leandro, Ema A.C.M. (1985) *Access to Higher Education – an Analysis of Statistical Data, vol.1, 1978/79 to 1984/85*, Lisbon: Ministry of Education, G.C.I.E.S.

In a context like this, in a period in which formal access to higher education was more difficult than ever before, everything points to the belief that those classes and class fractions which were more dependent on educational qualifications – whether for legitimising or for improving their position in the social structure – struggled without respite for the conquest of a place at university. In order to achieve this aim, they set about mobilising all the resources within their reach. There is no reason to doubt that, because new formal requirements for a place on a higher education course increasingly depended on the success obtained at secondary school, these families began to watch over the school career of their children more intensely, demanding extreme diligence in the final years of secondary school so that their children could successfully confront the obstacle of *numerus clausus*. Everything possible was done so as to guarantee access to the desired course; from the transfer to educational institutions known for awarding more 'generous' grades, to school preparation regularly backed-up by private tutoring given by professionals; from daily supervision of their children's studies, to the systematic instilling of an individualistic competitiveness with regards academic work.

But in their turn the list of choices is always limited by the 'field of possibilities' linked to the 'habitus' of class. In fact, no agent chooses courses and educational institutions indiscriminately from the total offered to him/her. Rather, these tend to select those opportunities which show more affinities with the properties and social aspirations of their own group. Of course, this process of 'choice' is frequently expressed as the result of a purely individual preference, and experienced as an 'innate vocation'.

Clearly the system of classification with which each agent proceeds to interpret and assess information on the social world is not static, but undergoes changes, adaptations, biases, in agreement the kind of individual trajectory taken (either in line with the modal class trajectory or on the contrary, deviant to it). This is equally subject to effects of incorporation due to structural changes which occur in the space of each social field in which agents operate. So, in view of the new constraints created in the higher education field, careers and options which were formerly non-existent or illegitimate, in the light of the criteria of classification related to the previous state of this field, came to be considered as possible, viable, or at least tolerable.

Such a process happened in the period under consideration, when the reinforcement of the importance accorded to the possession of a university degree, in the context of a strong restriction of access to higher education, determined the search for alternatives to the access routes that had traditionally been pursued. This was especially true of the better educated sub-groups of the middle classes and dominant classes.

Direct entry into the educational institution placed in first choice is therefore reserved to all those whose long, patient, methodical and strategically-directed school preparation guaranteed them the necessary excellence to attend the desired course. Taking into account the range and the quality of offers made in terms of space, it is supposed that these classes' preferences are for central university institutions namely Lisbon and Oporto.

However, the supply of these much sought-after places was less than the demand, and this entailed the exclusion of some candidates. Not all of these coveted places were taken exclusively by students with these class origins. Representatives of other classes had to be rewarded by the education system when these had followed a particularly brilliant educational career. Such is the logic inherent in the relative independence of the system, and for it to be otherwise would mean a loss of its legitimacy. In this case, the search for new responses to the institutional constraints became pressing, generating truly uncommon solutions.

The immediate abandoning of studies and the intensive investment in social capital as a means of access to active life seems to have been a probable way out

for the more recalcitrant cases. But the game on multiple university and polytechnic chessboards was perhaps the most innovative one played by these classes in order to overcome the prejudices caused by potential educational exclusion. This was based on the development of compensatory strategies which led to the permanent or temporary attendance of 'refuge schools' (see Bourdieu 1989:215) or 'establishments of recourse' (see Ballion 1986:731) which eventually permitted later access to the desired courses. Updated knowledge of the complex mechanisms of equivalence, transfers, closing dates and innumerable bureaucratic-institutional requirements, which some are of course much better able to dominate than others, constituted, in this case, the decisive factor for success in these attempts.

These mechanisms could be exploited by those excluded, by simple transfer from one institution to another in the same residential area. Here they registered for courses perceived to be similar to the ones they had aspired for but had been denied access to. This was the case of the medicine course in Lisbon. Students excluded from that option turned to other 'vocations', including veterinary medicine, chemistry, agronomy (see Pereira 1983:81) as well as biology (Vieira 1986:39), courses which experienced a sudden boom. Interestingly enough, other related options such as nursing were not sought after in a similar manner, being symbolically devalued and more distant from the 'maximum of possible concession' admitted by them.

But these mechanisms may also include resorting to geographical mobility, involving the development of strategies of usurpation of places normally directed to local populations. In this case it is a question of excess numbers not admitted to central universities being placed on similar courses in regional university education institutions. Throughout this whole period, or rather, from the end of the 1970s to the mid-1980s, the students coming from districts in which the two major cities (Lisbon and Oporto) of the country are situated, not only monopolised the majority of the places available in these, but literally invaded the places available in universities and colleges spread throughout other regions. In reality, it is as if both groups shared out well-defined areas of spatial influence (see Leandro 1985) between themselves.

It is very difficult to find a similar commitment to developing alternative solutions for entry to higher education in other classes or class fractions, given the capacity for manipulating information that these strategies involved, the amount of resources required (keeping in mind that, in Portugal, the number of scholarships on offer far from match demand), and the closeness to the system of education they presupposed. To the extent to which available resources were decreasing – particularly in the amount of economic and educational capital possessed – not only were the objective probabilities

of a long education generally more remote, but also, the means of access to this education were more restricted for those whose exceptional scholarly properties in relation to the modal school career led them to aspire to extended study.

Diversification in a restrictive context and the 'sense of place'

The dominant dynamic established in the different regional contexts between the various social classes and higher education in the years which followed the imposition of *numerus clausus* appears to have undergone profound changes from the middle of the 1980s onwards. It is from then on that the increase in regional polytechnic and university state education really took off, and above all, that institutional leaders became more receptive to the idea of expansion of the private higher education sector.

In fact, this type of education had been introduced at the beginning of the 1970s, but was clearly of minimal importance in view of the weight of state education, which incontestably dominated the panorama of higher education up to then. After 25th April 1974 when, given the sudden and drastic imposition of restricted entry, the majority of state higher education institutions experienced a political-pedagogical convulsion, the only private university in the country already in existence at that time gained a sudden importance. This was the Catholic University, set up under special conditions in 1971 (see U.C.P. 1986/87:2).

However, the real increase in private higher education came in the 1980s, when the political and ideological obstacles to the development of this type of education were largely eliminated. New universities in Lisbon and Oporto then sprang up, initiatives whose success led many others to gamble on the opening of nuclei and extensions in cities of small and medium size not covered by the state education network.

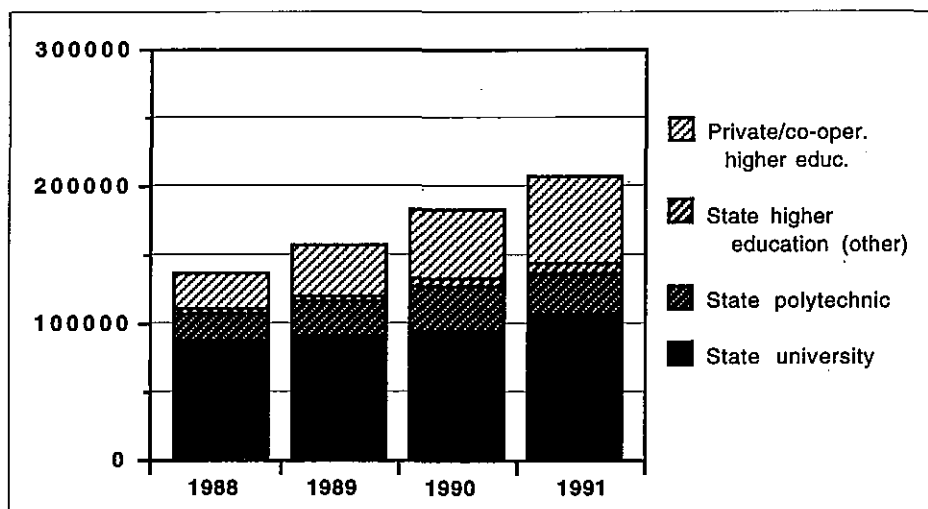
It can therefore be concluded that since the mid-1980s, the number of students registered in private and co-operative higher education has not stopped growing, which means that the total number of students in higher education has risen dramatically in the last few years (see Graph 4).

This whole set of structural changes in the higher education arena undoubtedly created new data for candidates and their respective families. These were therefore obliged to update their routinised strategies in response to new structures, opportunities and challenges.

Perhaps the most marked characteristic associated with these changes was the exponential growth of options offered at this level of education. The already

notable multiplication of qualifications introduced by the polytechnic now reached new heights with the proliferation of new options and credential titles, even if some of these were merely old courses with more appealing names.

GRAPH 4: Student numbers registered in various types of higher education

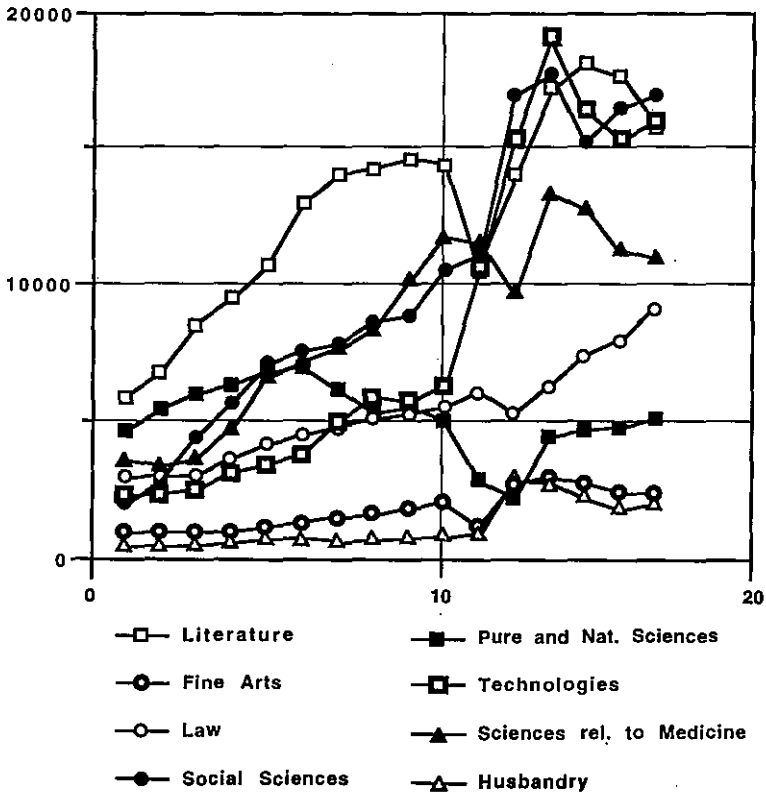


SOURCE: Ministry of Education, Department of Higher Education, Higher Education - bachelor degree and other equivalent courses; students enrolled, academic years 1988/89 to 1991/92

Now, if this enormous growth in alternatives increased the possibility of a greater number of candidates being able to realise their projects for extended study, there is no doubt that it also caused an increase in risks arising from errors in perception, or rather mistakes in the appreciation of school qualifications market. In this new context, the 'sense of place', or rather, the 'practical or educated knowledge about the fluctuations in the school qualifications market' (see Bourdieu 1979:185) has never been as important as it is now, being the indispensable rule for 'success in the education game. This is because with the proliferation of qualifications and graduates, a 'perverse effect' occurs, well

demonstrated by Passeron (1979). This writer argues that when there is increased access to educational qualifications, their quality changes, since their wider availability to previously excluded social classes causes them to maintain only formally the same properties that they had before they were appropriated by these classes. Therefore, since it becomes unreasonable to continue to lengthen courses indefinitely, the 'law of change of field' operates more and more. In other words while previously structuration depended on the number of years spent in study, now it depends on the placing of careers and qualifications in a hierarchical relationship to each other – what Merton would refer to as 'functional substitution'.

GRAPH 5: Students registered in higher education by main branches of teaching



SOURCE: I.N.E., Education Statistics, 1960 to 1980.

The intense demand for higher education initiated and continued throughout the 1960s and the 1970s has increased the number of active students and potential future graduates significantly. As Graph 5 shows, the pace and intensity of the demand in various subjects were not identical throughout this twenty-year period. Some areas registered a growing increase in the number of students even in the 1960s, as was the case of the humanities, medical sciences and social sciences; others experienced a sudden stimulus immediately after the beginning of the 1970s, as happened with technologies, husbandry, and law; still others, like fine arts or pure and natural sciences, experienced a certain stability or even a decrease.

As can be predicted, this increased access to qualifications to a wider base of social categories put the properties that these subjects possessed (and which they guaranteed their possessors in the previous state of affairs) at risk. It is therefore not surprising that this process of devaluation of qualifications linked to their relative inflation has caused great anxiety to institutional spokespersons from the related professional groups enjoying better recognised status and more firmly established privileges.

Interestingly, however, the strategies of exclusionary closure initiated by the 'body' of professional groups who felt more damaged by the unstoppable race for the qualifications that gave others access, only became apparent later, well after the upper limits of the increase in student numbers. This is because the setbacks suffered in their social status – due to the social claim practices initiated by the working class after 25th April (Gonçalves 1990) and the widening of a social and political dialogue which made access to higher education more democratic – had seriously weakened the capacity of the privileged social groups to go on the offensive, and in fact delayed their response.

It was only at the beginning of the 1980s that the Association of Doctors, for instance, wrote a report on the *numerus clausus* for the Faculties of Medicine, denouncing the 'unjustified waste of resources' and the 'anti-economic measures' which would lead the country into a situation of 'unbalanced training and too many doctors'. The argument was that professionals were, after a course of expensive training, being employed in areas incompatible with their true capabilities and skills, and where it was more appropriate to use technical staff with cheaper training (Martins 1980:8). With this dramatic appeal, the Association put all the onus for the consequences of the indiscriminate widening of places in Faculties of Medicine on the state. At the same time, however, it was subtly concealing what it was really worried about, that is, the social and economic devaluation of the status of medical professionals which the proliferation of degrees represented.

But the consequences of increased access on the value of higher qualifications is not limited to quantitative issues, that is, to the fact that they were no longer a

rare good. The great increase in the number of actual students, brought about at the cost of widening the social base for university intake, also meant a change in the social quality of the potential graduates, and to this extent, of the qualifications themselves. Indeed, a recent study based on a national sample of students presently in higher education and in relation to those in that sector in the early 1990s, notes an overall reduction in the educational capital of the origin of students.

Far from introducing a single hierarchy of knowledge (and respective publics) in an exclusive university space, the higher education arena currently seems to manifest various hierarchies which in some cases are superimposed, in others compete side by side, but that altogether undoubtedly create greater structural complexity. The challenge for potential candidates and their respective families to decipher these structures is consequently more difficult.

Some of the splits created after 1974 and which we have already referred to seem to have become even more entrenched over the past few years. One of these divides – perhaps the most critical in the higher education sector – opposes university education to polytechnic education. This confirms, up to a point, the opinions which had already been expressed when this more recent branch of higher education was created. In fact, polytechnic education is still today attended by a population that, on average, has obtained weaker educational results and which generally comes from a background with a lesser amount of economic and cultural capital (Cruz 1992:42).

Another of the sources of hierarchies established within the higher education arena is the 'spatial insertion' or geographical location, whereby institutions based in the traditional centres where higher education is established are opposed to those situated in other regions. Whether one refers to university or polytechnic education, the quantity and nature of courses offered in the three great traditional complexes (Lisbon, Oporto and Coimbra) is in general quite distinct from the other centres. Not only is there a greater number of courses than in other universities and institutes, but they also offer a representative range of all areas of knowledge.

But recently these dichotomies have been increased by an additional intervening element: the development of private higher education. Arising largely after the imposition of mechanisms for restricting entry to state higher education, the private sector intends to capture those who can potentially be excluded from state universities. As can be imagined, the logic which presides over the development of the two types of education is substantially different.

If state education has made a certain effort to democratise opportunities for access, guaranteeing offers in all the relevant areas of knowledge and trying to make them reach the less educationally favoured regions, the private universities

have an underlying predominantly economic logic ruled by monthly payments beyond the means of many candidates. Supply is concentrated in the main urban centres, where demand is generally guaranteed, and in subjects which not only require few administrative costs but also happen to be attractive at the time (see Resende & Vieira 1993). This is the case of degrees in economy/management, law, social sciences, humanities and mathematics, which make up the central nucleus of supply of the private sector. For this reason, private education is not able to satisfy all those excluded from state universities, which suggests that many of its potential users will be forced to revert to initially intended choices.

The educational and social characteristics or 'properties' of students attending private educational establishments, and private higher institutions particularly, suggest that these set-ups function as 'refuge schools'.

On the one hand, we have a situation where students in private education systematically possess more inherited cultural capital than students in state education, whether we refer to the university or polytechnic. In the sample referring to 1991/92, the percentage of students whose fathers possessed qualifications equal to or higher than 11 years of schooling is 38.8 per cent in state university against 46.7 percent in private universities. But though they may generally be beneficiaries from the point of view of the educational capital of origin, private higher education students nevertheless have school careers that are more often marked by failure than those of their colleagues in state university (see Table 3).

To sum up, we are therefore in the presence of a population a significant proportion of whom, having failed to attain excellence at school, are not eligible to attend state institutions. So, they turn to the private sector to guarantee a qualification which either legitimises the social position of origin or which represents the route to upward mobility.

TABLE 3: Rate of failure by type of education

UNIVERSITY			NON-UNIVERSITY		
Total	State	Private	Total	State	Private
32%	24.2%	41.3%	53.5%	53.1%	53.7%

SOURCE: Cruz, Manuel et al. (1992) *The PGA and the Students admitted to Higher Education*. Lisbon: Ministry of Education

NOTE: The 'rate of failure' is here understood to mean that there is at least one failure throughout the students' school career.

Through the structural characteristics shown, we can clearly see the movements which have taken place in the higher education arena under the effects of social struggles and the multiple 'senses of place'. There are those who, through their position in the social space, have been able to mobilise the resources necessary to constantly update or even anticipate the changes which take place in the education and economic arenas. They seem to have recognised the profound changes brought about in the space of positions of power – whether in the sense of more intense demand for legitimate qualifications to legitimise access, or whether in the 'diversification of the nuclei of education, corresponding to the diversification of positions' (see Bourdieu, Boltanski & Saint-Martin 1978:123) within this space) for some time – and have changed some of their previous educational and professional orientations in favour of new directions, educational institutions or areas of specialisation, considered to be more profitable in the current state of affairs.

On the one hand, the demand for an education which appears to supply the skills required by large modern companies has indisputably been established. I am here referring to the race for management and economy courses, where intense competition for access exists even though the quality of the innumerable courses on offer differs greatly. While students from families that are better educated with cultural and economic capital occupy the dominant spaces in the higher education sector, namely Lisbon and Oporto, they nevertheless further discriminate between different educational institutions, which employ two distinct strategies (see Table 4).

Whether in one area or another, the Faculty of Economic and Business Sciences at the Catholic University attracts students from better educational and professional family backgrounds. One has to keep in mind the circumstances which led to the sudden demand for this University after the April revolution, which brought in its wake so many struggles in favour of a democratic-popular definition of higher education, not necessarily the kind of definition the Catholic University adopted. It comes as no surprise, therefore, that this institution was so greatly sought after by those families whose position in the social hierarchy rendered them hostile to the new social accord.

The practices established at the Catholic University contrasted with those existing in state universities. Among these practices was a new form of recruitment based not only on the economic ability to pay higher fees but also on the attendance of a 'zero year' which functioned simultaneously as a space for social and educational selection and for social integration and 'anticipatory socialisation' for a future destiny as one of the 'elect'. Another differentiating practice was a teaching mode favouring emulation and individual competition than forms of collective work.

TABLE 4: Higher education institutions attended by students whose parents have superior percentages of qualifications at a higher level, and professional employment at the level of 'industrial and commercial entrepreneurs' and of 'senior executives and technicians/teachers' – Lisbon and Oporto.

LISBON Institution	%father "entre. w/fur.educ. + exec"	% mother
F. Of Economic & Bus.Sc.(C.U.)	48.34%	50.6%
F.Ed.Col. of Arts	38.98%	40.6%
F.Inst. of Business Communication	38.30%	58.8%
F.Ed. Col of Dental Medicine	36.56%	42.9%
F.Ed. Col. of Dance	36.36%	47.7%
Gregorian Inst. of Lisbon	36.36%	(36.2%)
Fac. of Architecture	34.84%	(31.1%)
F.Inst. of Dental Science	32.34%	(24.5%)
Fac. of Medical Sciences	31.83%	(35.4%)
F.Ed. Col. of Music	30.68%	(25.0%)
Fac. of Medicine	30.39%	(31.0%)
<hr/>		
OPORTO Institution	%father "entre. w/fur.educ. + exec"	% mother
F.Ed. Col. of Biotechnology	52.72%	47.2%
F. of Economics & Bus.Sc. (C.U.)	40.03%	47.8%
F.Ed. Col. of Bus. Studies	39.47%	55.2%
F.Ed. Inst. of Tax and Finance	34.92%	47.6%
Fac. of Architecture	33.00%	(37.7%)
Fac. of Law (C.U.)	32.63%	41.4%
F.Ed. Col. of Arts and Design	31.40%	43.0%

SOURCE: Ministry of Education, G.E.P., Data as yet unpublished for students registered in higher education in the academic year 1991/92.

NOTE: Data refer to almost all the student universe in higher education and was obtained through responses to a statistical bulletin which students have to fill in when they register. In spite of the high non-response rates for questions dealing with the social-professional category of the father (36.69%) and the academic qualifications of the father or the mother (28.74%), the wide coverage of higher education institutions are included here. The only exceptions are the Higher Institutes of Engineering of Lisbon and Oporto, the Faculty of Law of the Catholic University, in Lisbon and the Faculty of Sciences and Technology of the New University of Lisbon.

Finally, a third distinguishing practice was the valuing of those who were opposed to the radical ideas embraced by student and staff activists. Through these ways, this university continues to consolidate its position of academic rigour, and to distance itself from other institutions in the private university sector. But, above all, it produces graduates whose qualities and characteristics are all the more positively appreciated by potential employers, specifically the more dynamic (national or multinational) private companies (see Boltanski 1980: 76-82). So much so, that the above-mentioned skills and technical abilities certified by the educational qualification can be consistently aligned with the group of social properties that the graduates themselves owe to their social origin (physical attitude, 'presence', manners, 'general culture', good taste shown by innumerable signs) and which are, as is well-known, a significant element in the non-explicit criteria for business recruitment (see Boltanski 1980; Passeron 1970; Granfield & Koenig 1992).

Given the truly high concentration of students with an enviable family background – at least in terms of the amount of cultural and economic capital – in this faculty, we can confidently confirm that it is currently, in the higher education arena, a privileged space of production and reproduction of outstanding graduates. This does not reside so much in the simple transmission of technical skills indispensable to professional performance, but above all in the "*opportunity to cultivate relationships and to develop a collective elite identity*" (Granfield & Koenig 1992: 504), a process which is aided through intense daily socialisation between peers, promoting and consolidating common styles and behaviour. This socialisation is particularly valuable for the Economics and Business students who are only educationally – not socially – 'excellent', and less familiar with the subtle social codes which will determine the way they will be evaluated by large companies once they present themselves on the job market. They can thus benefit by learning how to decipher what had hitherto been for them inaccessible codes. The production of collective identity thus generated contributes, in its turn, to the confirmation of the image which economic agents and families already have of it.

However, the criteria for educational selection which, among others, determine access to the Business faculty, end up excluding many of the candidates who have identical family backgrounds, but whose weaker school results relegate them to other spaces. In this case, and taking into account the average school qualities currently shown by students in non-university private higher education (in which the three other educational institutions in the financial and business arena attended by students with high cultural and/or economic family capital are included), it is sensible to suppose that these choices may be refuge-alternatives for 'inheritors'. These are, above all, those originating from class fractions who hold more economic than cultural resources, with weak school results, and who

bet on courses having either more ambiguous names, or appealing to more specialised and innovative areas, and which are consequently less well-known in the field. These students use this ambiguity to consolidate some power within the arena, guaranteeing at the same time, with the qualification obtained, the necessary legitimacy for the access to positions which social destiny seems to reserve for them. In this case, and given the extremely strong concentration of children of businessmen, senior executives and technicians, we can reasonably assume that the symbolic profitability of the qualification obtained seems to depend more strongly on the strategies of exclusionary closure which these candidates (even though not in a deliberate way) develop in view of other candidates' intentions to acquire the same qualifications.

On the other hand, the symbolic power linked to education paths giving more direct access to liberal professions has been maintained. In medicine, for instance, students with better educational and economic resources have shifted their investment towards new specialisations in the health area, away from the traditional state faculties of medicine which had become open to democratic access. A case in point is dental medicine which is very attractive to the élite professional groups since there are few Universities that offer it, and therefore its rarity increases its market and social value when compared to other specialisations in the public health system. As Portwood and Fielding argue (1981:763-767), the acquisition and maintenance of privileges which certain professions or professional segments generally retain, relative to others, is a complex process involving multiple factors. One of these is precisely the set of social properties marking the clients who turn to these professions.

As regards law, it continues to exert some symbolic power between families endowed with a greater amount of cultural and economic capital.

We can safely confirm that, currently, these areas and these educational institutions are, as a group within the higher education arena, what Bourdieu, refers to as 'schools of power' (1989:1888). This is an apt definition of the situation, given the social qualities of the students who attend courses in these establishments, and the potential positions the latter give access to.

But it is not only in this type of school that students who come from families with better backgrounds are distributed. Other types of education, guaranteed by other educational institutions, also seem to be legitimate 'fields of possibilities' for students with an appreciable amount of educational and/or economic family capital at their disposal. This is the case with a group in education which, as Bourdieu would have pointed out, is homologous with the arena of intellectual and artistic power. I am referring to the fields of architecture and arts which, in Lisbon and Oporto, function in a way that is similar to the 'schools of power' described earlier.

Given the more 'dilettante' characteristics of the education given, and the greater uncertainty associated with the qualifications which these institutions award (with the exception, perhaps, of architecture), we can state that they are above all the result of choices made by females, whose future hope for a position within the dominant class space is not so much determined by professional success as that of males (see Vieira 1993).

However, as we have seen, the reinforcement of social struggles around the competition for credentials leads to a noticeably more intense use of the education system by a population with fewer resources, and above all, with a modest or no family educational tradition. These hold class positions close to the lower middle class, and even to the working class itself, and are specifically local. In this case, the social 'habitus' associated with the social position of the group signals a particular range of options. Students from lower middle and working class fractions, and therefore with limited education capital, choose from these options as they attempt to gain access to higher education. *Habitus* combines with 'effects of incorporation', due to interaction in social contexts outside the family, identification with reference groups, and the fairly lasting relationship with partners of social interaction (see Costa, Machado & Almeida 1990:197). It is this set of influences which crystallises orientations towards educational as well as social and career paths and trajectories.

These families are at a greater distance in relation to the education system and have much less recent information in relation to the educational qualifications market. Therefore, given these factors, it is easy to predict that 'errors' of perception are more likely to occur, leading many of these students to devalued choices. The long-term effects of these choices will be even more irreversible when there is less social capital which they can make available to compensate for these errors. Given the accelerated inflation of diplomas, the 'sense of place' is therefore decisive in the determination of social destinies. Bourdieu's concept of '*habitus hysteresis*' is useful here to explain how lack of discriminatory ability "*leads to the application to the new state of the qualifications market the categories of perception and of appreciation corresponding to a previous state of objective opportunities for assessment*" (Bourdieu 1979:158). In other words, these students develop hopes which, while justified in terms of educational discourse, could be dashed in the final stages of their social trajectories, particularly at the moment of entry into the market of labour.

These 'errors' are not limited to the choice of qualifications, many of which, in reality, are potentially devalued. They are, in this case, the new range of courses offered currently in polytechnic higher education, particularly the non-arts areas (teacher training and education sciences, nursing, social work, accountancy and administration), where one finds a concentration of students coming from families

who have traditionally been kept away from the education system. Indeed, a high percentage of them have parents who had completed only four years of schooling in all (see Ministry of Education 1992).

Indeed, 'errors' also have an effect on university education itself, where until recently, the fact that its qualifications were relatively rare guaranteed their holders a high profitability, which if not economic, was at least symbolic. In this case, 'disfocussing' of appreciation or 'taste' in educational choices, leads many of these students not only to the remote or recently devalued areas in the field of power – as is the case with humanities, for instance – but also to the educational institutions which once had retained monopoly on certain courses, and enjoyed prestige, but which today are rapidly passed over by candidates more familiar with the subtleties of education mechanisms.

The relative ignorance of these subtle differences – at least related to entry to the higher education sector – could raise hopes which cannot really be fulfilled. In this case, students are condemned to the condition of double '*déclassés*' in the sense that "*having abandoned their milieu of origin, they will not manage, or only rarely, to reach the social milieu which they aspire to*" (see Desauvay 1974:205). In this case, some practices of resistance or challenge led by some of these students still on their way to further education could bring some 'status inconsistency' linked to feelings of potential 'relative deprivation' (see Maravall 1972) in view of the expectations which they originally brought with them.

Conclusion

Portuguese higher education has become an important arena of class struggle and social differentiation, especially in the past two decades.

Until the mid-sixties, access to it was practically reserved to a restricted number of students whose cultural and economic capital of origin provided them with the adequate resources to successfully face a long school career and to cope with the rather traditional pedagogical practices and cultural codes which dominated Portuguese universities at that time. Credentials being one of the two means of exclusion in modern societies, the relative rarity of university degrees offered their holders obvious social advantages and privileges.

In the beginning of seventies, some important changes in the mechanisms of social transmission and social reproduction, together with the expansion of tertiary activities and the growth of an urban petite bourgeoisie, produced an increased demand for education, as a means of obtaining the amount of cultural capital necessary to improve or maintaining social positions.

The institution of democracy in Portugal, in 1974, fanned social aspirations and further intensified the demand for higher educational credentials. The imposition of *numerus clausus*, as an inevitable consequence, transformed higher education into an arena of class competition and a scene of processes of social closure. Threatened by the usurpation of university places by successful students coming from social classes or fractions previously excluded from a long schooling career, the upper and middle classes had to establish new strategies of social closure, such as precocious preparation to ensure university entrance, redirecting of choices, or even geographical mobility to guarantee a place, albeit in a local university.

The expansion of public polytechnic education and the emerging of private universities, had, by the mid-80s, created a new context for class competition within higher education. The diversification of alternatives not only increased the possibility of a larger number of candidates attending this educational level, but at the same time heightened the risks arising from errors in perception of this widened school qualifications market. Therefore, considering the subtle hierarchies established in the higher education field, the 'sense of place' has become, perhaps, the most important mark of social differentiation within this field.

Notes

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¹ In Portugal, these families were far from being rare. In fact, the census of 1960 showed that those from the working population having secondary or higher level degrees represented only 5% of this group.

² It seems to have been above all the unsustainable overfilling of educational institutions, whether in terms of spaces or in terms of excess of student numbers relative to teaching staff available, or rather, internal causes in the university arena itself which determined the introduction of this unpopular measure. It seems that at the time, the balance of power between the various social groups seriously penalised institutional whims of 'closure' entertained by some sectors of professional groups whose interests were now at stake. The internal struggles then provoked in the heart of representative bodies of more powerful groups did not seem to leave either the space or conditions for the development of mechanisms and processes of exclusion. It was necessary to wait some more years to see Associations, like those of Doctors and Engineers, proposing new exclusionary practices such as a reinforcement of the *numerus clausus* for Portuguese faculties of medicine (see Martins 1980) or the position adopted in 1988 by the Association of Engineers regarding the integration of Further Institutes of Engineering into Polytechnic Higher Education.

3 Certain sub-groups of the dominant class, however, have a wider range of possibilities for access to higher education at their disposal, by virtue of the fact that they hold sufficient economic and information resources for them to also be able to include attending a foreign university in their range of choices.

4 They are those of Aveiro, the Minho, the Azores, the Inland Beira, the Trás-os-Montes and Upper Douro and the Algarve, successively established between 1974/75, the date of the creation of the University of Aveiro, and 1983/84, the year in which the first courses of the University of the Algarve opened.

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CULTURAL MYOPIA: A CHALLENGE TO SPANISH EDUCATION

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Abstract – *This paper considers current thinking about intercultural attitudes in Spain. It attempts to demonstrate reasons why the Spanish approach to interculturalism, particularly in schools, has not been at the forefront of societal, governmental, or educational thinking. Until the 1980s Spain's emigration exceeded those entering the country. Today, trends have changed. Following a brief historical account of Spain's pluralistic cultural roots, contemporary views are debated concerning the impact of recent immigration, signalling the dangers of ignoring immigrants' needs and abilities within the community. It is argued by the writers that opportunities are being missed in education (and elsewhere) by the cultural myopia influencing Spanish schools and society. The increasing inspection, linguistically and culturally, is diminishing opportunities for the celebration of the wider cultural diversity that exists. This paper seeks to rouse those in education, whose predispositions lie in societal hierarchy and cultural introversion.*

Introduction

The unification of any country provides opportunities for both cultural enhancement and collision. Spain, through its assimilation of ancient kingdoms has created, for itself, a fusion of cultural and linguistic elements which, as in other states, embrace forces of a centripetal and centrifugal nature. Such forces motivate the evolution of original, native traditions, despite fervent resistance, to newly established cultural mores. Problems within the European Union frequently occur because of misunderstandings in member states, cultural traditions and a lack of commitment to listen or accept such differences. Celebrating diversity is not a universally accepted process. Hierarchical cultural positioning is preferred. As history demonstrates, it takes generations for imposed cultures to assimilate as an accepted part of native traditions.

In this century, despite the increase in immigration and emigration in many countries, there is still considerable impatience at the rate of assimilation. Fear, a colonial legacy, and cultural arrogance manifest themselves in a rejection of unfamiliar behaviour and beliefs. According to Esteve (1992:255), attempts to create artificial unity in Spain failed because realities concerned with pluricultural and plurilinguistic ideologies, on which the Spanish state is based, were largely

ignored. He does note, however, that recently each of the seventeen Spanish Autonomous Communities designed an educational policy in order to develop the immense educational value of their cultural, linguistic, geographical and economical uniqueness. Is this tokenism or a firm gesture of intercultural commitment?

To understand current attitudes of a country, in terms of accepting cultural diversity, it is necessary to appreciate its history of invasion and attack. This paper seeks to provide a brief history of Spain so that current attitudes towards the acceptance of other ethnic groups can be appreciated. It is argued that the current 'bolt-on' approach to cultural acquisition in Spain is not only unsatisfactory but could result in the events that plagued inner cities in the early eighties in the UK. Esteve (ibid:255) comments in a positive vein that both politicians and educationists have looked again at Spain's history and with great insight have sensed that, "far from being incompatible, the cultural pluralities could form not only the foundation stones, but also important structural elements of the figurative edifice of our modern State". There is then a conflict between the insights of writers and the policies of practitioners.

It is posited in this paper that educational reforms in Spain could make important contributions to increasing cultural awareness and equity. Such measures can only succeed with government back-up. De Vreede (1990:137) points out that "the problems that pluralistic education tries to resolve are, ultimately, political problems, and it is very doubtful if education can resolve them alone". Current moves to give more power to the autonomous regions in Spain are leading to an increasing motivation to enhance regional languages and the inherent traditions of each area. Those moving into such communities from outside, and even from within Spain, are impelled to learn local languages and customs (especially in schools). Such measures have created conflict between existing and incoming groups. This paper, then, seeks to present current attitudes towards an intercultural commitment in Spain, both in society as a whole and in schools, which may be seen as a microcosm and reflection of that society.

Retrospect

The occupation of Romans, Visigoths, and the Moors in Spain lasted several centuries leaving a fertile though, at times, conflicting culturalisation. Prior to the reign of Isabel I, Queen of Castille, and Fernando II, King of Aragón (1479-1515) Spain was signified by its disparate medieval kingdoms in which religious and traditional diversification existed comfortably together. Isabel and Fernando

attempted national unification of these ancient kingdoms: a process that was reflected in other European countries. The outcome of the unification in Spain was an expansion of the power of the throne and this imposed severe restrictions on language and cultural behaviour in the previous autonomous kingdoms. Because Isabel and Fernando were Castillian and Catholic, the country had to adopt both that language and the newly imposed state religion (Esteve; *ibid*).

Reglá (1963:269) maintains that the greatest social problems at this time emanated from the Jews and the Mudejars (Moorish Mohammedan subjects of the Crown) who pretended to adhere to the Catholic faith, but in private continued to practise their own faith. In 1492, on discovery of such disobedience, the Jews were exiled, while the same fate awaited the Mudejars of Granada in 1502. This launched the infamous 'Spanish Inquisition' which sought, by every means, to secure the unity of the Catholic church.

Diversity of tradition was abolished by decree. Despite such legislation, the citizens of the ancient Kingdoms struggled to preserve their traditions and identities, as well as their special laws. The arrival of Gypsies in Spain, in 1417, injected further cultural inputs into rooted Spanish traditions.

Isabel and Fernando sowed seeds of rebellion in their decrees, which were to have long-term implications for future monarchs. The entrenched spirit of diversity exploded into insurrection from the time of Carlos I (1520-1522). Wars against King Felipe V (1704-1717), and the Carlist Wars (1833-1840, 1846-1849, 1872-1876) are noted aspects of Spanish history. Such hostility lasted until this century (Esteve; *ibid*).

Between 1931 and 1936 the Second Republic encouraged the rebirth of the autonomous regions. The Civil War (1936-1939), and Franco's subsequent military dictatorship (1939-1975), reverted back to nationally unifying ideologies. Regionalisation was discouraged because of Franco's fear that subversion and rebellion would more likely take place within these areas if power was delegated.

In 1978, the Democratic Constitution formally acknowledged the Autonomous Communities. Despite attempts throughout history to suffocate regional identities, it was immediately clear that local languages and traditions had survived continuous threats throughout these centuries. Today, the notion of regionalisation is still a controversial issue. Some regions (The Basque Country, Galicia and Catalonia, for instance) welcome opportunities to develop indigenous customs and languages, while others are ambivalent in their attitudes. The current Socialist government in Spain, afraid of unpopularity, strives to satisfy all convictions: supporting, on the one hand, the unification of Spain, while encouraging measures which enhance the autonomic and specialist practices of certain regions. How this situation relates to recent immigrants settling in Spain will be examined later.

Intercultural awareness in Spain

Husén and Opper (1984) published the first book in Spain, concerning multicultural issues. At that time Spanish society did not respond. During the past twelve years, however, multi/intercultural thinking has developed, especially since the early nineties, with important innovations and programmes introduced in some areas. Books and articles have increasingly been published and the area of intercultural education has become a focus for intellectual debate.

It is a popular Spanish perception that there are as many foreign workers currently living in Spain as there are in France and Germany (Fernández Enguita, M., 1993). Statistics disclaim such reports. C.I.S. (1993) figures show that in 1992 there were four hundred thousand immigrants. Of that number half derive from European roots (E.C. countries in particular) and constitute 1.5% of the whole population. The greatest influx of immigrants (80%) to Spain occurred during the past ten to fifteen years. The remaining 20% arrived from Cuba in 1960 after Castro's revolution. The largest number of immigrants come from Morocco (54,000) and Britain (53,000). The rest come from Latin America, Portugal, other parts of Africa, Italy, or are refugees from countries in civil conflict, such as the former Yugoslavia. According to Izquierdo Escribano (1993) Madrid is currently the main destination for both legal and illegal immigrants. Between 1987 and 1991 the number of foreign workers tripled in the capital and in 1992 represented 5% of the work-force. Current figures (Amani, 1994) indicate that 180,000 immigrants live in the capital city of Spain. In Spain, those moving from one region to another, also have the status of immigrants. It is interesting to note that the number of those having left Spain to live in other countries is indeed greater than those entering the country. For example, 700,000 Spanish now live in France and Argentina.

Spanish society is concerned to have greater control over all immigrants. Izquierdo Escribano (1993) notes that 45% of Spanish people perceive immigrants as male workers, staying only for a limited period, without their families. Only 36% prefer a permanent immigration which would include families. A temporary immigration, then, is the chosen option by the majority of the Spanish people.

Izquierdo Escribano (*ibid*) claims that temporary immigration (as in Germany) tends to lead to a negative acceptance of different cultural values and a ghettoisation of the ethnic groups. The home country misses opportunities for exchange of ideas and experiences, while the visiting immigrants are marginalised. Such polarisation leads to negative impressions of the new society and can result in insecurity, aggression or withdrawal into self-inflicted ghettoisation. In short, a cross-cultural interchange and fertilisation fails to take place.

In Spain there are two distinct types of immigration: internal and external. In Catalonia, for instance, the arrival of more than two million immigrants between 1950 and 1975 (mainly from poor agricultural areas of Andalusia) created serious problems in housing, health and education (Jutglar 1968).

From the sixties a significant number of Moroccans began to arrive in Spain, particularly in Catalonia, to seek work (Lluch 1966). Such an influx was due mainly to the decision of the French government to close their borders to immigrants in 1967 and to the economic development of Spain, which appeared to provide more job opportunities. Until 1972, immigrants were mainly non-married men. It was not until 1986 that family groups began to arrive (Caritas 1987; Losada 1988). Official figures provided in 1986 showed that there were 293,208 immigrants living in Spain. Caritas (1987) contested this number, however, maintaining that the figure should be 720,000, with 73% (526,000) coming from developing countries. There were further claims that half of the number of immigrants are illegal. It would appear that none of these figures can be trusted, as La Serna (1989) questions certain statistical errors in Caritas' research and affirms that the figure is more likely to be 360,000. It is of course important to complement these figures with those depicting Spanish emigration. From 1962 to 1976 1,063,380 Spanish workers went to other parts of Europe (398,841 to Switzerland, 377,528 to Germany, 224,084 to France, 41,037 to The Netherlands and 13,283 to the UK) (Izquierdo Escribano, *ibid.*).

Perhaps more important are the perceived problems caused by immigrants. For instance, the increase in numbers of women and children in 1989 caused considerable ill-feeling in Catalonia. The general opinion was that they would not contribute anything to the economy, but increase the demand for additional resources to meet health, education and housing needs (El País, 1989:19).

As hinted above, one reaction to Franco's dictatorial ideologies has been the increase of support for regional languages; especially in Catalonia, Galicia and The Basque Country (Arnau & Boada 1975). The search after identity has led to an expansion of local cultural consciousness, at the expense of incoming cultures. Assimilationism is considered the pathway for new comers, with little regard for the celebration of cultural diversity in its broadest and most significant sense. The pursuit for linguistic independence is seen as "symbols of resistance to the authoritarian, centralist policies of the Madrid government" (Hoffman 1995). Nowadays in Catalonia, following the introduction of the 'Ley de Normalización Lingüística' (1983), the Catalan language must be used by students as a language-vehicle for learning. There is then, a bilingual element in Catalan education, rather reminiscent of Luxemburg and the French speaking area of Canada (Arnau, Comet, Serra & Vila 1992:74). Woolard (1989) states, "*The supposed imposition of one's language on others may be taken as an unwelcome*

claim to power, but the presumption or demonstration of greater multilingual proficiency can also be a display of superiority that discomfits the addressee".

Arnau and Boada (1975) undertook interesting research in Barcelona with a thousand children aged twelve years old, making reference to the census of 1965/66. The purpose of the research was to determine the composition of the different linguistic groups within the school population of Barcelona, to ascertain their cultural background and social class and thirdly to assess levels of bilingualism and knowledge of their second language. Conclusions, in short, manifested that those children emanating from Catalan-speaking groups derived from families economically more solid and of a higher social class, than those who spoke only Castillian (Spanish) or external languages. Those children deriving from monolingual families came from lower social groups. Arnau and Boada implied, because Catalan speakers hold power in the area, assimilationism dominated.

Despite the Spanish Constitution (27th December 1978) and the Ley de Extranjería (1985), the 'Human Fundamental Rights of Foreigners Association' (1987) published a document claiming that levels of racism in Spain were high and that Spanish people were considerably more racist than they realised. The survey showed that it was the negro-Africans and gypsies who suffered from the greatest prejudice. Philipinos and South Americans expressed little dissatisfaction. In Spain today there are about 500,000 gypsies. Despite arriving in Spain in 1417, they still have little social or political credibility. Public interest lies in their music and dance. Negro-Africans in Spain have recently been discovered to be living in pigsties, huts in woods and, despite complaining of mistreatment, have received little consideration (Cáritas Española 1987). In an industrial area of Barcelona six hundred Moroccans were in a similar position. Living conditions were appalling, yet little attention was given (Bandres 1994).

The distribution of immigrants to Spain is largely to six of the seventeen Spanish regions (The Canary Islands and Balearic Islands, Catalonia, Valencia, Andalusia and Madrid) which also houses 61.6% of the native population of Spain. Half of the immigrant population (52.8%) is concentrated in Madrid, Barcelona, Alicante and Malaga. There is a further distinction between places of settlement by immigrants from the First and Third world. The French, for instance, head for Catalonia, Valencia and Madrid, while Americans prefer Madrid and Andalusia. Italians make for Catalonia and Madrid, while those from Northern Europe (Danish, British, Swedish and Belgian, seeking retirement homes), are attracted by well-known tourist areas in Andalusia and The Canary and Balearic Islands. The Portuguese, on the other hand, show a little more imagination, and settle in Galicia, Castille-Leon, Madrid and the Basque Region (Contreras 1994).

Those from the developing world currently head for three different regions. Madrid, for instance, attracts the majority of groupings already noted, plus, 66% of Poles, 54% of Peruvians, 49% Venezuelans and Philipinos with the broader area of Catalonia popular with Columbians, Chileans, Chinese and Argentinians. The Canary Islands are particularly attractive to Indian immigrants. The majority of Moroccans (70%) settle in the three areas of Andalusia, Madrid and Catalonia (Contreras 1994).

One purpose of this paper is to take education as the driving force for promoting equity for those living and working in another country. Before such commitment can take place, there must be a general acceptance that minorities/immigrants have both the right to an equality of opportunity in their new country and that their culture and beliefs are of sufficient value to be recognised as an integral part of society's indigenous mores. Spain's attitude to the education of immigrants is similar to that of the UK in the 1970s and 1980s, when white parents withdrew their children from those schools which were increasing their ethnic mix.

As Pumares Fernández (1993) states: "*we can't close our eyes to the increase in immigration and to the social problems that immigration causes, because if we do so the problems will grow until they explode violently*". Pumares wants all political parties to achieve consensus from which a declaration of fundamental principles concerning the rights and obligations of immigrants will be established. This is the starting point for any country and will have considerable ramifications and encouragement for those working in schools. There is no specific law in Spain which deals with the rights of immigrant pupils in schools. The failure of governments to provide positive directions perpetuates inertia and prejudice.

A conflict exists in Spain, particularly in the autonomous regions. On the one hand, there is a current trend to consolidate the identities of the original communities (culturally and linguistically), while on the other, there is the increase of population through immigration and internal mobility (Arnau *et al*, op.cit.).

Although in Catalonia, Madrid and other areas of Spain some programmes of multicultural education have begun to be prepared, a general commitment to intercultural education does not exist as a national priority. This is despite the recommendations of The Solemn Declaration of Intent for Unity signed by Heads of State and Governments in Stuttgart in 1983 and the Maastrich Treaty (1993), which promoted greater ease of intercountry movement and equality of treatment and cultural respect.

In view of the above, the writers would like to encourage teachers, politicians and educationists to work together in overcoming constraints in policy-making and funding for relevant research. As Nieto (1992) states "*bilingual and*

multicultural programmes for all students have to be comprehensively defined, adequately and strongly supported”.

Current problems in education

Problems associated with the increasing numbers of pupils in certain areas of Spain, deriving from Third World backgrounds are well publicised (e.g. Carbonell and Parra, 1991a, 1991b; Sepa Bonaba, 1993). In the industrial areas of Barcelona, Vizcaya, Madrid and South Spain cultural diversity is well pronounced. Teachers in schools feel unprepared and inadequately trained to cope with such challenges. Because many immigrants dwell in slum areas of large cities, problems are not only cultural and linguistic, but also social (Bartolomé Pina 1995; Merino, Muñoz and Sánchez 1994; Vázquez 1994).

Provision in teacher education in Spain for the promotion of intercultural education is an *ad hoc* procedure. Research carried out in 1989 by Cueva and Tarrow, among third year students at the University of Barcelona, showed that students felt unprepared to teach in a multicultural setting. Rey (1986) contends that teacher training is the key to intercultural education. She believes that it is important to prepare teachers to understand pupils, their families and colleagues from all over the world through a respect for “*the diversity of languages, life styles, projects, behaviour and religions, to confront conflicts and resolve them in order to maintain the cultural enrichment of everybody*”. This view is supported in Spain by, for example, San Román (1992 1993) and Merino (1994) who claims that institutions have the potential to develop intercultural programmes and projects along with processes for positive orientation. However, if teachers are not involved, are perhaps insensitive to intercultural issues, are not credited with creative ideas or fail to receive appropriate training, any institutional policy/programme will fail. Merino contends that teachers are a key element in the change process.

An increasing number of teachers are gaining direct experience of different models of social behaviour within the society in which they operate. The experience of teachers in Spain, working on the outskirts of large cities, is mirrored in the majority of other European countries. The challenge of intercultural thinking is not only to encourage the acceptance of different cultures but also to promote, positively, the quintessential differences of each culture so that it is not only immigrant children who learn about the beliefs and social practices of others (Fermoso 1992).

The conflict between home and school languages, social mores, attitudes and behaviour create the need for teachers to understand the very essence of what

education is about. Initial teacher training, therefore, should encourage a continuing programme for the exploration of interculturalisation enhanced by a comprehensive and systematic support network to enable teachers to express fears and gain confidence (García Parejo 1994).

A restructuring of values is imperative if teachers are going to enforce anti-racist attitudes and practices. First it is a personal commitment on the part of the teacher. Opportunities must be provided for honest reflection and expression of personal beliefs: an openness to prejudice. Understanding the needs of both teachers and pupils (as individuals and as part of a community) is necessary. Esteve (ibid:262) claims that these needs are related to the diversity of pupil populations and depend upon a combination of four factors:

1. the presence of original minority groups;
2. the presence of small or large number of immigrant citizens of other territories who have established themselves permanently in the host country;
3. the presence of transient immigrants, temporary residents of the host society, with a strongly-felt distinctive identity deeply rooted in their original culture to which they hope to return;
4. a strengthening of awareness of distinctive identity in diverse groups resulting from divergent socialisation in different subcultures.

The problems in inner city schools are not limited to race or cultural diversity. Young people create their own traditions which are manifested in groups/gangs characterised by their distinct exclusivity (García Castaño 1995). Esteve (ibid) notes that as well as coping with original ethnic or cultural minorities and massive arrivals of immigrants, teachers in city secondary schools will come across members of the most varied urban tribes: rockers, punks, skin-heads, squatters, junkies, raptas, new romantics, etc. While conflict may occur between such groups there is a marked resemblance in the behaviour of such tribal, ethnic and social groupings in that they seek isolation for a number of reasons. In consequence, their language and behaviour excludes others, sometimes leading to violence.

The approach to pupil learning in Spain should be reexamined in the light of social changes. Too often teachers operate in the context of previous decades when social priorities and traditional values have changed (Actis, De Prada and Pereda 1995). Methodologies appropriate for today's young people should be revised so that they embrace cultural diversification and current social pressures on young people. Uniformity of educational policies and practices is unrealistic in that it is inflexible and offers inequitable opportunities to learn. Teachers should examine and rethink current demands in Spanish education. This will require an understanding of societal demands within the context of equality of opportunity. A change of attitudes and the acceptance that classrooms now contain children

with very disparate types of early primary socialisation is essential for the success of appropriate programmes for pupil learning. Teachers must be able to evaluate ethical issues in the light of equal opportunity motives, with an impartiality and insight that enables a versatility of skills and a listening ear (Díaz Aguado and Baraja 1993).

Schools are microcosms of society and education should give the lead to positive attitudes concerning cultural diversity. Through education, mass media interpretations of ethnic issues can be confronted and help to evaluate trends and general mass thinking. As Toffler (1990:295) states, "Today, our society is changing direction sharply from the idea of the 'mass society' and heading towards the 'mosaic society'".

For Esteve (ibid), linguistic anomalies and misunderstandings are central to creating intercultural tensions. Nieto (1992) also supports this statement, from a different perspective:

Given recent trends in immigration, the shrinking of our world, and the subsequent necessity to learn to communicate with large numbers of people, it is clear that a reconceptualization of the role of languages, other than English, within our schools and society in general has to take place.

For Nieto such a reconceptualization requires a positive redefinition of linguistic diversity, building on students' strengths, embracing their own language and culture in the educational process, actively seeking involvement of parents and the community, a greater understanding of bilingualism and the development of the awareness that students can benefit from linguistic diversity.

In every country teachers fall into gender or racial traps which can explode unintentionally, offending and undoing months of positive work. Racist expressions and images are still contained in many text books. As yet policies do not exist which might encourage scrutiny of books in Spanish schools for discriminatory or ambiguous comments (Buxarrais et al 1990).

Curriculum change, which embodies cultural diversity is essential. The introduction of Spain's National Curriculum in the *Ley de Ordenación General del Sistema Educativo* (LOGSE: 1990) has done little to encourage intercultural initiatives in schools. Despite the involvement of a broad base of people in discussing ideas for the new curriculum the completed document is criticised as being theoretical rather than practical. Izquierdo Escribano (ibid) believes that within the National Curriculum the only gesture towards intercultural education in schools is a recommendation for all those involved in education to respect diversity of traditions and to treat cultural differences in a cross-curricular way. Terms such as 'equal rights', 'tolerance', 'discrimination', 'peace', 'co-operation', 'solidarity among peoples' and 'respect' are included, but LOGSE fails to provide specific guidelines on how immigrant children should be educated.

Alkan (1990:114) promotes the idea of listing choices of curriculum and multicultural arguments as political objectives. He advocates that multicultural curriculum projects be relevant, practical and reinforced by specific operational programmes. For Alkan, pluralistic education should be signified by:

1. the choice of values, experiences and knowledge which form the curriculum;
2. the sequential organisation of curriculum development; and
3. the cultural transmission carried out by schools and colleges in their educational activities.

There is clearly a need to expand such vision to workable objectives from which teachers can produce practical schemes of work. In education, there is no time for luxuriating in balancing the outpourings of different philosophies. If change is to take place, if mind-sets are to be transformed, then teachers must be challenged by government directives, emanating from the vision of those most closely involved in the situation. A set of core values, established through consultation with those most concerned with intercultural work, is crucial. Commitment to, and interpretation of these core values into tangible practice is, however, most important. Jordán (1992 1994) claims that defining pluralism, within the context of education, should be seen as a positive and creative experience rather than a way of avoiding conflict and tension. Whatever measures are taken, little will be achieved without the support of ethnic groups, educationists and the government. Lessons learned in other countries show that moving towards intercultural thinking is a slow and painful process. It takes time and patience.

It is important to note that educational programmes for immigrant children do exist. García Castaño and Pulido Moyano (1993) highlight two, promoted by government departments, under the category of compensatory education: the MEC (the national Ministry of Education and Science) & DEGC (The Ministry of Education and Science, within the Catalanian region). One programme is directed towards Portuguese children, the other is designed to help immigrant students in Catalonia. The writers recommend the first for encouraging the participation of Portuguese institutions, while in the second, they commend the fact that a regional government has responded, at last, to particular ethnic needs.

Spain: The way forward

It is argued in this paper that intercultural development in Spain should take note of the fact that by concentrating on immigration issues alone more important matters, such as cultural interchange, will be lost. Furthermore, it is essential that

all immigrants should not be treated in the same way. They are individuals with diverse histories, experiences and hopes. While there will be certain groups with particular needs and problems, there is no necessity for a generic and negative categorisation of all immigrants. Positive support systems for groups with special needs and abilities (all too frequently defined as 'disabilities') should be set up in order to facilitate their better introduction (not assimilation or integration) into an unfamiliar society (Abad, Cucó and Izquierdo 1993).

Such thinking may be considered simplistic. The whole question of reconciling immigrants with their new home country is fraught with danger. The range of opinions and attitudes is virtually limitless and the positive acceptance of an unfamiliar culture into one's own context demands a sacrificing of the secure parameters within which one has always existed.

It should be possible to view the arrival of another culture as an opportunity to reflect on those factors in society which create a narrow vision or which leads to bigotry and rejection of certain groups. Diversity should result in an enhancement of cultural possibilities, not a blinkered defence of native customs. Positive discrimination is not an easy idea to accept. Antipathy towards those who are immigrants will not enrich the society but create negative forces which will limit the development of that country and produce more problems in the future (Woolard 1989).

There needs to be a commitment at both national and local levels, manifested in the supply of appropriate resources (human and financial) and systematic policies supported by government legislation. Immigrants need to be given responsibility for their own actions and opportunities for their voice to be heard, through the setting up of support centres and representation on committees (school, community, etc.). Issues related to education, which extend into the community, employment areas, access to information and opportunity for feedback, need to be initiated. Representation of immigrants in policy-making procedures is essential to create a sense of ownership and commitment. In areas of Spain, Catalonia, for instance, such measures are beginning to take place. As yet, however, such procedures are *ad hoc* and not formally acknowledged by the government.

Woolard's (1989:139) following metaphor is a useful description of current Catalanian practice,

An image that captures the situation of Catalonia (...) is that of the seam created by a sewing machine, joining two pieces of cloth and demarcating the boundary between them at the same time (...). But when we look closer, or if we are able to watch the machine as it constructs the seam, we know that this single boundary is in fact made up of two separate threads that cross each other and interlock, one fed through the mechanisms of the bobbin and one fed from the needle.

We are all familiar with the fact that change, especially in education, does not occur overnight. It takes a painful modification of behaviour, attitudes and beliefs and a confrontation of the fears and misconceptions established over generations. The continuing demand for greater autonomy by some regions of Spain is seen as creating problems with the preservation of their inherent culture. Other cultures, from within and outside Spain, are finding it hard to be accepted and to cope in certain regions, especially in relation to the language of the community. Woolard, referring to this matter, stresses that *"The language in which people actually talk with each other is a relevant sign of identity and a symbol of competing orientations and interests within Catalan society. It therefore becomes a major point of contention in the elaboration of new social policies by the Catalan government"*.

When change involves a transmogrification of cultural mores, embodying a long history and tradition, then systems for implementation can not be rushed. This is no excuse for inertia and there is much direct exchange that can take place prior to the production of goals and policies. The groundwork requires a breakdown of personal prejudice in a positive environment. Work should also begin through an examination of the school's curriculum, the books and resources used in order to determine to what extent negative images of other cultures are presented. This is a challenge facing all countries.

Within the close educational climate of the school the needs of pupils are paramount. Within Spain, over the past twenty years, priorities have centred on education for all. Now it is time to address the dilemmas facing teachers, as stated above. An adjustment of pedagogic ideology and practice is necessary. De Vreede (1990) claims it is essential that changes of attitude towards pluralistic education should involve a critical revision of all the curriculum.

Bartolomé Pina (1995) shows, in his research project, that in Spain perceptions of teachers, involved in multicultural education, have narrowly restricted perspectives towards cultural and ethnic diversity. Outcomes showed that the majority of teachers focused on areas of teaching effectiveness and language, rather than acknowledging the need to study more comprehensively, cultural differences.

The positive transformation of one child's attitude towards another can be seen as a microcosmic movement towards a global understanding of human rights. It is of course naive to consider that this is enough. The introduction of intercultural thinking demands a knowledge of conflict resolution (internal and external), of how to address prejudice and discrimination and ways of promoting the advantages of cultural reciprocity. Commitment from those wielding political power must secure change through legislation, embodying opportunities for the liberation of cultural expression and individual rights. Policy is important only

if it is translated into practice and is evaluated within the appropriate context. 'Education for all' means challenging current practice and attitudes with an openness of mind and a personal willingness to learn. It is somewhat ironic that in a system which, in ideal terms, should promote flexibility, creativity and adaptability to ensure a breadth of worthwhile learning experiences, national education is often guilty of cementing indecision, prejudice and rigidity into the minds of its recipients. Interculturalism is an evolutionary process and not a sudden conversion. The fire-breathing radical approach, while at times necessary to jettison action, often dislocates progress and creates fear. Enlightenment through intimacy of broader cultural experiences builds secure bridges which last.

Intercultural education means education for all children in all schools. Hesary and Hill (1989:3) encapsulate the feelings of the writers claiming that it is necessary *"to ensure that children develop, as they grow towards maturity, the capacity to recognise inequality, justice, racism, the common stereotypes, the prejudices and distorted, biased information ..."*.

If this paper has created a climate for a broader debate about the nature and purpose of multi/intercultural education in Spain, then it has achieved its primary objective.

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TEACHER EDUCATION IN CHANGE: AN INTELLECTUAL PRACTICE. ISSUES FOR ALBANIA

JENNY SAINSBURY LEACH

Abstract – *There is growing acknowledgement world wide that all teachers are entitled to high quality, up-to-date programmes of professional development and that the school as a site for such training is central to the endeavour. This paper suggests that the concept of the reflective practitioner (Schon 1987), which has provided a powerful and dominant model for teacher education for almost a decade, is insufficient as an informing principle given this new context of change and development. It is timely to draw on international debates and models of learning that cross cultures and contexts, and a pedagogy which takes account of the socially situated nature of the learning process. The article presents a case study of a recently developed in-service teacher education programme in Albania. It describes the planning and implementation of the project as well as the evaluation findings of the first pilot phase. The case study highlights three key areas that emerged in the programme's development: the iteration between theory and practice, the centrality of forums of inquiry and the need for transforming frameworks. It is argued that the reconceptualising of teacher education as a social practice provides a fruitful way forward for change and advancement in training. Six key issues for teacher development and research are proposed.*

Introduction

Teacher education is changing. There is growing acknowledgement world wide that all teachers are entitled to high quality, up-to-date programmes of professional development. One aspect of this international debate concerns the increased significance that schools should play in both pre and in-service training. Hargreaves (1995) has drawn attention to the new 'social geography' of teacher education as it rapidly becomes de-institutionalised and dispersed across a variety of schools and clusters – "*re-embedded in other sites and spaces*". Given this new global context Moon (1996:12) has argued that

"the school as a site for training is unambiguously central to the task of establishing new and more challenging expectations".

A new in service programme for Albanian teachers is used in this paper to raise questions about how "*more challenging expectations*" might be developed in

the light of this move towards school based models of teacher training. It will be argued that the concept of the 'reflective practitioner' which has become influential in teacher education, particularly in Britain and the United States, is only a partial framework for informing teacher development. Teacher education, it will be argued, must be an intellectually challenging process that moves beyond 'reflection'. It needs to draw on wider debates and conceptions of learning, including those which challenge the traditional dichotomy between theory and practice. The paper suggests that such debates should take account of the social nature of learning and the way relationships, communication and activity, as well as social and cultural context influence practice. The case study highlights these complex dimensions of culture and context, serving both to illustrate the key issues raised in the first part of this paper as well their implications for teacher development in general.

Part One: Moving beyond 'reflection'

Over the last decade experiential learning theory has come to provide a predominant model for teacher development in Britain and the United States. Schon's (1987) concept of the 'reflective practitioner' has been particularly influential in this respect establishing an epistemology of practice based on a process of interaction and reflection on the part of the teacher and serving as a model that broadly encompasses not only the 'novice' engaged in pre-service education but also the experienced teacher involved in an ongoing process of professional development. There is little doubt that the concept has accorded much needed status to the notion of professional 'knowledge in practice', particularly given the increased significance of schools in teacher development at all stages. As Gilroy (1993:125) has noted

"the 'reflective practitioner' is firmly esconsed in (teacher educators') technical vocabulary and it is only natural that those responsible for teacher education courses should be considering restructuring them so as to create teachers who can behave in the reflective manner now deemed a distinguishing feature of the teaching profession."

He echoes Calderhead's (1989) fear however, that the notion of reflection is becoming an empty slogan rather than a principle for teacher development.

As an account of learning, the concept of the 'reflective practitioner' demands close attention. In philosophical terms it presents a clear paradox: a person "cannot inquire about what he does not know, since he does not know about what

he is to inquire" (Plato 1964) . Or as McIntyre (1990:124-5) points out in relation to the novice teacher and classroom practice:

"the limitations of student teacher's perceptions, information-processing, understandings and awareness of alternatives are likely to restrict their learning about teaching as much as they restrict their teaching."

The concept of 'reflection in action' implicitly rests on a view of cognitive development which locates the learning process largely in the head of the individual. Such reflection accentuates the image of the solitary teacher working behind the closed doors of the classroom, reinforcing a common sense 'sink or swim' view of teacher development which says 'for the most part as a teacher you're on your own and the sooner you learn to cope with that the better'. This paper questions this individualistic perspective, since such a view ignores the distinguished body of research which has illuminated the social, cultural and communicative dimensions of learning and development discussed below.¹

Nevertheless, the concept of reflection has provided teachers with a welcome challenge to the technicist thrust of much contemporary educational policy. In addition, as Furlong and Maynard (1995:49) have closely argued, Schon's ideas have

"caught the spirit of the times; they legitimise the removal of the formal teaching of theory in teacher education courses (Furlong et al. 1994), and provide a rationale for the move to school-based teacher education... Schools must themselves become central to the training process, and teachers, who alone have access to the 'situated knowledge' that students must acquire, become seen as key people in the training process".

In this respect reflective practice, resting firmly on the Dewian tradition of 'reflective action', has become a central concept in the development of mentoring. And undoubtedly the process of reflection becomes more meaningful when a communicative dimension is acknowledged. Using Schon's work as a springboard, Furlong and Maynard (*ibid*) for example, have proposed a developmental model for school based experience in British schools, which integrates a process of interaction and reflection on the part of the learner with structured feedback from a teacher or 'mentor'. As students progress through stages of development from 'beginning' teaching to 'autonomous' teaching they argue, mentors need to share both their professional knowledge as well as engaging in systematic and planned intervention. They emphasise a distinction between *learning about teaching and learning to teach*; practical experience in

school supported by reflection on such practice, they contend, is paramount in teacher education:

"... in learning a practical activity like teaching, the processes involved are very different from learning in an intellectual sense" (ibid:192)

Analysing teacher education from a broader, European perspective, Moon (1996) has also noted the importance and complexity of the role of the mentor, given the new emphasis on school based teacher education:

"The mentor within the practicum provides the crucial link that mediates the beginning knowledge and skills of the teacher with practical experience in schools. In school focussed professional development programmes the role of more experienced teachers in assisting the professional growth of their less experienced colleagues is becoming increasingly acknowledged." (Moon 1996:12)

However he and his colleagues describe this school based developmental process as one which must have "intellectual foundation and challenge" (Banks *et al.* 1995).

It is clearly important to establish more systematically what the role of teachers acting as mentors should be, but the concept of 'reflection' is insufficient as an informing principle. Critiques by Calderhead (1989), MacIntyre (1990) and Gilroy (1993) have already been cited; Eraut (1995) and Bengtsson (1995)² provide others. The use of imprecise, generalised notions of reflective practice can also be misleading in mentoring contexts. Research by Burgess and Harris (1995) for example, has highlighted the way in which the notion of 'reflection', when conflated with the skill of counselling or 'empathy', emphasises the personal relationship between mentor and novice. This, as they point out, is often done at the expense of the systematic challenge and evaluation of novice teachers' progress and development. Other studies of mentoring have shown that whilst mentors tend to be confident in encouraging reflection on issues such as classroom management, rules, routines and pupil behaviour, analysis of pupil learning is frequently neglected. In searching for approaches to teacher development that will inform frameworks of professional support, a variety of models need to be explored, particularly those which encourage rigorous attention to be paid to the teaching and learning process itself.

Classroom practice in Britain and other parts of northern Europe, such as Denmark and Sweden has been increasingly influenced over the last few years by a theory of learning as social practice which has developed across a variety of disciplines such as socio linguistics, psychology and anthropology. This tradition

has shifted thinking away from a purely individual perspective, and focuses on situated knowledge developed in the context of shared learning. As a theory of intellectual development, it is well known, though by a variety of names and with a wide variety of interpretations: social constructivism; cultural psychology Crook (1991); socio historicism Chaiklin and Lave (1994). It has been used widely by researchers to explore aspects of the learning process (Edwards and Mercer 1987; Wood 1988; Gardner 1993) and has impacted on teacher education courses in Britain (National Writing Project 1989; NFER Partnership Teaching Project 1990; National Oracy Project 1989; OU PGCE Teaching in Secondary Schools 1994). In essence the theory proposes that human learning and cognitive development is culturally based, is a socially situated rather than individual process and importantly, is also a communicative process. This view of learning is rooted in the seminal work of the Soviet psychologist and semiotician Vygotsky (Wertsch 1985; Vygotsky 1978) whose ideas provide a rigorous theoretical basis for pedagogy and which consistently focus on the *potential* for the expansion of learning and understanding. Through discourse knowledge is continually not only constructed but transformed: thus when two or more people communicate there is a real possibility that by pooling their knowledge and experience they achieve a new level of understanding beyond that which either had before (Edwards & Mercer 1987).

It is puzzling that such a powerful theory of learning should be used to explore and illuminate classroom pedagogy and practice, whilst for the most part being ignored in the field of teacher development itself. By overlooking the insights this theory offers, we have failed to fully address the cognitive challenge of teacher development, continually preoccupied by an unhelpful dichotomy between theory and practice. The process of teaching and learning from this perspective has been powerfully described by Bruner as a 'forum' or 'dialogue' which includes but goes beyond reflection. It is a constant meeting of minds in which 'teachers' and 'learners' engage in a negotiation of shared meaning:

"The language of education, if it is to be an invitation to reflection and culture creating, cannot be the so-called uncontaminated language of fact and objectivity. It must express stance and counter-stance and in the process leave place for reflection, for metacognition. It is this that permits one to reach higher ground, this process of objectifying in language and image what one has thought and then turning around on it and reconsidering it" (Bruner 1986:129).

Such a process critically extends the role of teacher or more experienced peer in the learning process well beyond that of mere 'facilitator' or 'coach' – for the

quality of the cognitive support becomes a key dimension. Thus neo-Vygotskian approaches to learning are based on two important assumptions:

- that learning with assistance or instruction is normal, common and indeed an important feature of human mental development, and
- that the limits of a persons' learning or problem solving can be expanded when the right kind of cognitive support is provided (Mercer 1994).

These two assumptions inform Vygostky's well known concept of the 'zone of proximal development' which is fundamental to his accounts of childhood learning and development. This concept provides a fruitful descriptor of adult development too, an interactive system:

"within which people work on a problem which at least one of them could not, alone, work on effectively. Cognitive change takes place within this zone, where the zone is considered both in terms of an individual's developmental history and in terms of the support structure created by other people and cultural tools in the setting." (Newman, Griffin & Cole 1989:61)

The concept problematises the neat almost Piagetian stages of development from 'beginner' to 'autonomous' teacher proposed in much of the literature on teacher development. For the zone of proximal development is not an attribute of a person but the attribute of an event – a *particular situated pedagogical relationship*. The potential level of achievement is a measure of the strength of the cultural framework which supports that learning. (Mercer 1994) The quality of the supporting interventions of teachers and experienced peers, which Bruner (1978) termed 'scaffolding', is therefore a key factor.

Working in this tradition, Jean Lave's (1988; 1991) recent research has underlined the way in which cognitive change is an attribute of situated pedagogical relationships in particular settings and contexts. Learning, she argues, is an integral aspect of activity in and with the world at all times. That learning occurs is not problematic. But *what* is learned is always complexly problematic. Research with adult learners engaged in new learning situations has led her to describe a process of involvement in 'communities of practice' that is at first 'legitimately peripheral' but gradually increases in engagement and complexity. To become a full member 'requires access to a wide range of ongoing activity, old-timers, and other members of the community; and to information, resources and opportunities for participation in communities of practice'. Newcomers she contends can be prevented from this vital peripheral participation if they are not given "*productive access to activity in the community of practitioners*" or if the

meaning of such activities is not made 'transparent'. She challenges the notion that learning 'in practice' and learning 'in an intellectual' sense are different processes:

"Legitimate peripheral participation places the explanatory burden for issues such as 'understanding' and 'levels' of abstraction or conceptualisation not on one type of learning as opposed to another, but on the cultural practice in which the learning is taking place, on issues of access, and on the transparency of the cultural environment with respect to the meaning of what is being learned. Insofar as the notion of transparency, taken very broadly, is a way of organising activities that make their meaning visible, it opens an alternative approach to the traditional dichotomy between learning experientially and learning at a distance, between learning by doing and learning by abstraction." (Lave and Wenger 1991:104-5)

A theory of situated learning can significantly inform teacher development providing a rigour which the concept of reflection lacks. The intellectual foundation of such a theory offers a provocative framework for describing the process of teacher development - most obviously in mentoring contexts such as partnership teaching, joint observation and co enquiry into practice, but also in tutorial settings and peer discussion. The insights provided would also help in the analysis of activities which create 'transparency', contexts for example in which experienced teachers successfully enable pedagogic strategies and practice to become explicit to 'novice' teachers, moving them beyond 'procedural' knowledge to 'principled' understanding of the teaching process.

It has been argued elsewhere (Leach 1996) that support for professional development must take into account that knowledge is constantly created and transformed at the intersection of dialogue between people, their collective knowledge and experience, in particular settings and context. Such support should therefore be set in a framework which provides for a *range of opportunities of relationships and activities in a variety of settings*, which include *schools and classrooms*. This echoes Lave's emphasis on the necessity for the widest access to *"ongoing activity in communities of practice"*. Both the nature and quality of such opportunities are key if their meaning is to be 'transparent'. This is a shared endeavour and has important implications both for course construction and for development in mentor and tutor training. In arguing for learning contexts for teacher development that operate explicitly at the interface between theory and practice we are of course also describing model contexts for classroom practice: for we would maintain that support for professional development should fully mirror what is expected of the best practice in students' own schools and teaching contexts.

Part Two: Teacher development in change: a case study

Such perspectives on teacher development have implicitly informed the teacher education programme which is the focus of this case study. The setting is eastern Europe and the teachers involved are in the main working in Albanian schools. This context provides a singular window on the process of teacher development in a country where fundamental educational change is taking place against the background of fundamental society wide change. Those of us who have been minor partners in the development of this in-service programme, have the sense that we are witnesses, at times bewildered ones, to history in the making. As outsiders, we are ourselves engaged in 'legitimate peripheral participation' in the way that Lave describes. On the one hand we are struggling to understand and interpret our experience of the programme in practice without the knowledge which full membership of that 'community of practice' would provide. Yet in the process we gain insights into our own, more familiar 'communities of practice'. The programme serves well to illustrate the process of teacher development. It is new; it has been implemented in a country where in-service initiatives have been uncommon. Moreover, different observers have judged it to have achieved its main objectives in the initial pilot phase. The programme has "*met with a warm welcome by participating teachers*" as well as being "*supported by national and local district officials*" (Leach and Moon 1996). It has been detailed as "*a very successful project*" in a document recently commissioned by the Albanian Ministry of Education (University of the West of England 1996); yet another account describes the programme as "*one of the most innovative and relevant to the country's particular circumstances*" (Vachon 1996).

Observation of the programme, including classroom observation has clearly revealed the socially situated nature of the learning process. It has demonstrated the rich potential of this theory of learning not only to describe, but also to analyse the process of teacher development. I will begin by sketching the wider social and educational context, before turning to the specific teacher education project that is the object of this case study. The case study will illustrate the issues raised in part one of this paper. In developing three key themes (theory and practice, forums for enquiry and transforming frameworks), it will stress the importance of learning contexts for teacher development which

- operate explicitly at the interface between theory and practice
- take into account that knowledge is created and transformed at the intersection of dialogue between people and their collective knowledge and experience
- create 'transparency', enabling pedagogy and practice to move beyond the 'procedural' to 'principled' analyses of teaching and learning.

The Albanian context

'Sultan Murat sat astride his steed
And observed the prisoner bound hand and foot:
His advanced age, his wounds, his chains ...
'Albanian,' he inquired, 'Why do you fight

When you could live differently?'
'Because, padishah,' replied the prisoner,
'Everyone has a piece of the sky in his breast,
And in it flies a swallow,"

(Arapi, 1993)

"The system in Albania has been totalitarian. Everything was axiomatic. There was no debate. Teachers' opinions were controlled." (Geography teacher, Gjirokaster)

Shqipëria (Albania) remains one of Europe's least known yet wildly beautiful countries. The taint of cold war politics continues to influence the perceptions of many, conjuring up to outsiders the images of a hostile and forbidding country, hardly a description to fit the unspoiled Aegean coastline and the majestic mountains that form the spine of the ancient province of Illyria. Totalitarianism, however, over nearly fifty years has had a profound though not absolute impact. Enver Hoxha, and briefly his successor, retained absolute control in Albania until the fall of regimes in neighbouring countries. Despite this enforced isolation from the media and a political and economic repression unparalleled in Eastern Europe, news of Hungary's removal of its stretch of the Iron Curtain reached Albania at the end of the 1980s. Mass demonstrations in the capital Tirana in December 1990 were quickly followed by the freeing of political prisoners, the legalisation of opposition parties and free elections. Albania's broad reform agenda has however been severely hampered by its dismal economic position. The reforms of 1991, abruptly ended central planning, but with no alternative mechanism in place, virtual economic collapse followed. Production in agriculture, hitherto providing employment to half the country's labour force, fell by 35% and industrial output by more than 60%. By 1992 Albania had become critically dependent on foreign aid and private remittances from abroad (Bassler 1995). Thus whilst political change has propelled Albania into contact with the rest of Europe and the international community, after years of cultural isolation, it remains Europe's poorest country. Its grave economic situation has impeded the desperately needed restructuring of political and civil institutions as well as educational reform.

The impact of this period of upheaval coupled with the bleak economic context has been devastating for education. Priorities have been difficult to establish in educational terms when the needs are so varied and pressing, the problems so wide ranging. In 1994 reports showed that 60% of basic and secondary school classrooms needed repair or complete replacement, having seriously deteriorated during the interregnum which followed the demise of the communist system. Many schools, seen as symbols of an oppressive regime, had been vandalised, occupied or even burned to the ground. There is a severe shortage of basic textbooks and paper. There is no educational technology. Vital infrastructures such as roads and telecommunications remain fragile and unreliable. US\$9 million alone was borrowed by the Ministry of Education from overseas donors in 1994 for school rehabilitation projects attending to broken or missing windows and furniture, collapsing roofs and walls, non-functioning or non-existent sanitation facilities, and missing or broken heating equipment (Berryman 1994; Vachon 1996)

Against this background Albania struggles to preserve educational achievements that are remarkable for a country of its income level: almost 80% of the population is literate having completed at least four years of schooling. Nevertheless in a country where almost one in three of the population are of school age, recent declines in school enrolment testify to a potentially serious breakdown in the education system. Drop-out rates are increasing and only 45% of 14-17 year olds were enrolled in a 1992 survey. (Vachon 1996) This situation is most acute in remote areas. Multiple factors contribute to enrolment decline nationally: one issue is that of reengaging popular commitment to education which has traditionally been associated with a controlling and punitive regime. Many parents are reluctant to send their children to unsanitary, unheated facilities, especially in the bitter winter. In outlying districts particularly, some parents require their children's help with tending livestock or working the land. Another key issue is the need for curricular reform. Prior to 1991 educational policy was prescribed by a national education plan coordinated with the national economic plan; its administration was highly centralised. So too was the curriculum, with its 'red threads' of political doctrine particularly evident in philosophy, civics, history and geography. Albania's political and geographical isolation meant that educationalists were unable to keep abreast of modern developments in curriculum and pedagogy. Teacher educators thus face a long term need to create curricular frameworks that reflect current subject knowledge and the best pedagogical practice within the Albanian context.

Whilst all aspects of education, including the curriculum, are under review, a major priority for the Ministry of Education, is teacher education and retraining. Currently teacher training is not routine and no national assessment policy exists.

In the North and East of Albania the Ministry of Education faces difficulty in recruiting teachers; 64% of the population live in rural and mountainous districts and the quality of education provided is often poorer in these areas. Only 19% of teachers in rural areas for example have a high school qualification at senior primary level (10-14 years), the figure nationally is 30.6%. (Berryman 1994) An ambitious national policy has been formulated for the restructuring of teacher training in Albania, with the country's Pedagogical Institute and six universities playing a pivotal role in this aspect of educational planning. Key decisions have to be made against the urgently felt need to shift the focus of debate towards schools, towards the development of new knowledge in the context of classroom practice. How, for example will intending teachers gain experience of new ideas and real classrooms? What strategies are best used for in-service education? Should there be demonstration schools where innovative ideas can be piloted before introducing them 'system-wide'?; if so how can good practice spread beyond such schools and what incentive is there for teachers to seek out and use better practice? Where does the cascade model of in-service education fit in as it is currently delivered?; what of the 'formators' who have responsibility for such programmes, many of whom are associated with out dated approaches and thinking? A World Bank strategy report on educational development in Albania summarised the 'retraining challenge' facing the country thus:

"cascade training can behave like gossip, the message becoming increasingly distorted as it travels from person to person. More fundamentally, unless training combines new knowledge with its guided and corrected application (for, example in simulated classrooms), it will change teachers' verbal repertoire but not their practice. Thus the retraining challenge will be to design curricula that help trainees transfer what they know into what they do and to design school or district-level mechanisms that reinforce the new learning." (Berryman 1994:64).

The task in hand for educators in Albania, whether classroom teachers or policy makers is enormous.

The pilot programme

"Kualida has changed old concepts that were useless, it is the opening of a window that breaks the framework of the ex-regime. It is legitimatising a new system in a new educational setting – it is a programme for the future." (School Inspector, Girokastra district).

KUALIDA Education Development Project is a pilot project for the in service training of elementary teachers (Grades 5-8) in three districts of Albania: Elbasan, Skodra to the north and Gjirokastra (linked to Tepelena) in the south of the country, encompassing rural as well as town communities. The specific courses which have been piloted arose out of a feasibility study into the potential for using open learning in the Albanian context commissioned by the Albanian Education Development Project (AEDP) as part of the Ministry of Education's development strategy (Moon and Leach, 1995). In creating the Kualida programme, AEDP decided to adapt an open and distance teaching strategy using expertise from the Open University in Britain but basing the programme development wholly within Albania. The acronym KUALIDA, which approximates to the sound of the Albanian word for quality, derives from the linguistic written expression of Training (*KUALIFIKIMI*), Distance (*DISTANCE*) and Teachers (*ARSIMITAREVE*).

Impetus for the development of this three month programme arose from the urgent need for teacher retraining in Albania as described above. The course was designed for teachers of English, history, geography and French- curriculum areas that members of the Pedagogic Institute and teachers alike had identified as most in need of in-service programmes.³ The main focus of the written course materials, distributed to over eight hundred teachers, was methodological issues. In particular the programme was responding to a need to develop a wider range of individual and group teaching strategies in Albanian classrooms.

The 815 teachers involved in the pilot project were assigned in groups of twenty five to a subject specific *ëformator* (advisory teacher), responsible for three tutorials at the beginning, middle and towards the end of the programme. Formators were also responsible for visiting teachers in their classrooms and assessing their written notebooks according to agreed criteria. The course materials provided a common frame of reference both for teachers working together and visiting formators. Traditionally formators have attended schools without warning, but the programme team emphasised that visits to discuss course activities must be by invitation of the teacher concerned and in a context of professionals working together.

All formators involved in the project were given extensive face to face training: in open learning methodology, in the course materials and in 'tutorial' provision. They were also provided with written guidance, including notes on their role and on how tutorials were to be planned and run. In tutorials links were explored between school Activities and the course materials, a vital opportunity for discussing and analysing new practice outside the pressures of the classroom. Members of the programme team visited a proportion of tutorials, to evaluate and review the programme. The combination of country wide training, written guidance and tutorial monitoring, formed an important component of quality

assurance within the Kualida project and informed the evaluation of the first phase of the programme.

Key themes

"A lot of work needs to be done. New steps are always difficult" (History Formator, Skhodra District).

An intensive external evaluation of the project was carried out encompassing all the pilot districts (Moon & Leach 1996). The data which is drawn on here included: a questionnaire to the eight hundred teachers in the project (95% return); interviews with the director of education, formators and inspectors in the four pilot districts; meetings with teachers in three out of four of the pilot districts; observation of lessons in each district; teacher notebooks; tutor planning documents. Interviews and meetings were conducted in a mixture of English, French and Albanian with an Albanian interpreter available throughout. Three key themes emerged, which relate to the issues raised in the first part of this paper and which I will call: *theory and practice, forums for enquiry, and transforming frameworks.*

Theory and practice

"Under the old system, students came into class, sat down and stayed still. The teacher took attendance, checked homework, and recited or read the day's lesson. No questions. No independent thinking" (Science teacher, Shales).

The course is based around four short study texts "*Aspecte Te Mesimdhënie Gjuhe Frengë*" (*Angleze /Histori /Gjeografi*)⁴ (Musai et al. 1995) one for each subject area, designed round a common framework. There is a two part introduction: *C' duhet Te ndryshosh?* (Why Change?) and *Kualifikimi Ne Distance Nje Mundesi Per Te Ndryshuar* which introduces distance education as a Methodology. The first main section focuses on *Metodoljji* (methodologies) which are new to Albanian teachers generally, such as strategies for teaching and learning (e.g. problem solving, brainstorming, role play, group and pair work), the use of questioning and pupil assessment. The second section *Veprimtari* (Activities) provides teachers with exemplar material to be adapted to their own teaching contexts. Three 45 minute television programmes, filmed in Albanian classrooms, complement the study texts, illustrating some of these teaching approaches.

These materials are innovative in two respects in the Albanian context. The first is that they have been written by academics drawn from the pedagogic institute and university department in collaboration with practising teachers in each of the four subject areas. The second innovation is the way in which theory and practice are interlinked both within the study guide and in the programme as a whole.

The teachers had clearly taken the course extremely seriously. This was reflected in comments such as *"I worked for many hours to analyse the models"*; *"Kulaida has taken up a lot of teachers' time"*. 77% rated the course materials very useful or quite useful. 60% said it had been very useful or quite useful in helping to improve classroom practice. The critical iteration between 'theory' and 'practice' which we discussed in part one, was a constant theme during the interviews and the regularity with which all those involved in the project, from regional directors to classroom teachers, referred to this was quite unexpected. The phrase *"close to teachers"* was frequently used to underline recognition of the way the writing team's knowledge of real classrooms had informed the materials. Whilst the first month of the course allocates study hours solely to theory and tutorial time, from the second month onwards time for classroom based activities, runs parallel with time for text and tutorial study.

This approach had clearly had a major impact on the teachers in the project with 53% evaluating the classroom Activities as very or quite useful, 38% as useful. *"Kulaida is close to the teachers – the methodology is useful but the practical element invaluable"*; *"theoretically speaking the methods are contemporary and the teachers are keen, practically speaking the materials are helpful"*; *"the combination of text and practical activities is very successful"*.

To what can we attribute Albanian teachers' intense interest in and commitment to developing theoretical perspectives on classroom pedagogy? It may be in part a function of the fact that there is no access to text books, resources, media or information technology; teaching approaches are the only things at present open to change. Personal experience of being controlled - as teachers, as thinkers and as innovators must also be a critical factor; the metaphor of breaking free from an imposed template was repeated time and again. *"Kulaida breaks the framework of the ex-regime"*; *"Kulaida provides students with the opportunity to express independent thought and opinion..."*; *"...it enables students to think freely for themselves"*; *"...teachers have gained more freedom, they are not forced into a framework"*; *"...teachers feel more original."* Such commitment provides an interesting contrast with accounts of educational change in Eastern Germany. There many teachers do have easy access to resources and a plethora of new textbook are readily available. Nevertheless researchers found that

“Reforming teaching methods... is still on the back burner. This area is considered as a deeply personal affair and indeed it hinges on a teacher’s personality and style to a much higher degree than content. Schools are aware of a new message from staff development centres that the new state of the art pedagogy is student centred, but experimenting with new methods of instruction requires a personal involvement in reform which many teachers lack. In addition, not all things can be changed at the same time, and instructional methods are an area where nobody at this point interferes or exerts pressure”. (Weiler, Mintrop & Fuhrmann 1996:112)

Undoubtedly the programme itself has raised the level of dialogue and debate amongst Albanian teachers. The course materials, combined with carefully chosen classroom activities and a dynamic support framework has enabled the successful interweaving of theory and practice, helping to make the process more ‘transparent’ for many teachers involved in the project. Formators and inspectors frequently stressed how teachers had until this point been familiar with new methodologies but lacked confidence to transfer them into practice.

“Initially teachers thought that Kulaida was not new to them. It was familiar theoretically in many ways, but in the long run the teachers were keen because of the practical aspects of the texts”; “teachers are good at method but when it comes to application this is less easy”.

Forums for enquiry

“The system was designed to make the student fear the teacher, the teacher fear the school director, the director fear the school inspector, and the inspector fear the ministry.” (Science Teacher, Shales).

The second major theme that emerged strongly in the teacher evaluation centred on relationships and communication between individuals and groups. This included communication in the classroom: teachers spoke about a “*new atmosphere being created*”.

“The project provides helpful approaches for improving relationships between teachers and pupils”; “communication between teacher and students have been improved. It is a good experience for us.”

A more contentious area was relationships between the adults involved the programme. Teacher support for Kualida had been carefully considered by the project team at the planning stage and seen as crucial to the success of the pilot

programme. The decision to work within the existing regional networks of 'formators' was a calculated risk: we have already mentioned, for example, that some formators were identified with the controversial cascade model of training. The evaluation indicated that to a large degree the policy was proving successful. Overall tutorials were rated more highly than any other aspect of the programme, indicating the immense value of forums for encouraging debate and dialogue. 81% of teachers graded them as 'very useful' or 'quite useful'.

"The organisation of tutorials was good" commented a French teacher; "the organisation was important, they were not as authoritarian as before".

One formator noted

"we have also learned a lot from this project. Whatever happens in the future we have considered it useful for ourselves".

It was clear that practice had varied, in one region for example there was criticism that some formators were continuing to use out dated methods in tutorials. The external report noted *"a few (formators) appeared to use up valuable time on overly administrative concerns. Others assumed a very passive role for the teachers in contradiction to the way they were being enjoined in the materials to work with their classes"* (Leach & Moon 1996). But there was also open acknowledgement by many in the project of the complexity of the process of change for all concerned *"as teachers had difficulty in organising group work, so did the tutors. More training is needed"*.

Establishing school based support within the Kualida programme had also been seen as vital, but what form it should take had also posed a problem initially. No formal mentoring system currently exists in Albanian schools and whilst expertise in innovative classroom methods is being developed, support operates on an informal basis. It was decided to combine this informal approach with the work of formators. The programme therefore explicitly urged teachers to invite formators to visit classrooms, whilst also encouraging them to build on traditional practice by meeting with colleagues from neighbouring schools and visiting each others' classrooms. Many formators proved to have been active in visiting teachers in their schools, discussing and giving feedback on lessons; this had been welcomed. Some kept detailed notebooks which indicated the seriousness with which this process was undertaken and the scope for further development work in observation and co-analysis of practice. Some teachers had worked particularly closely with their formator and as a result are emerging as confident leaders within schools: a mentoring structure with its own unique dynamic is clearly emerging. However additional forums of school based support were in evidence; this was

perhaps the most fascinating and unexpected feature of the programme. In some of the classrooms we visited there were as many as twelve adults in the room observing a lesson: pupils and teacher alike seemed used to the low murmur of discussion as subject specialists from neighbouring schools discussed together in pairs or threes. This communal approach to analysing practice seemed to have embedded itself into the project and was frequently referred to in the evaluation process:

"There was great interest in the project for teachers in other subject areas, for example the Albanian language. Teachers asked us about the methodologies – model lessons were given in school for groups of teachers to watch and discuss." "Many seminars have been held and the work of teachers watched." "Many model lessons have been observed." "We have arranged open classes in both the elementary and secondary schools".

The use of the word 'model' in this context carried the connotation of 'exemplar' or 'pattern', a model lesson illustrating new knowledge 'in practice' but at the same time being open to discussion.

That vigorous debate about new approaches to teaching and learning is taking place is evident. Discussion has also been fuelled by the screening of the Kualida television programmes on mainstream television: a large percentage of Albanian homes have television, for whilst the Hoxha regime jammed foreign broadcasts it recognised TV as the ideal way to get his image into every living room. The establishment of new video centres in each of the regions creates a further context in which teachers can work together. 'Forums for enquiry' are thus very much alive, be they tutorials, the discussion of project television programmes at home, school based meetings or classroom teaching, observation and co-analysis. The pattern such forums are taking are not only consonant with the culture in which they are being developed, they also illustrate that centrality of relationships and dialogue for effective learning in practice as indicated in part one of this paper.

Transforming frameworks

The transformation of both pedagogical understanding and teachers' classroom activities are profoundly open ended processes as Albanian teachers engage with new approaches to teaching and learning for the first time in their professional lives. How such approaches, in individual schools and classrooms, will develop in the longer term is as yet unclear. One of the concerns of the evaluation was that all those involved in the project should recognise the

importance of valuing the best of the older, traditional classroom methods alongside the new. The evaluation noted

"In a few instances we found tutors and teachers talking about the Kualida 'method' and setting it in juxtaposition to more traditional approaches. (Kualida) is about process and methods rather than 'a' method.⁵ We suspect that the zeal of some tutors may have contributed to this and some adjustment in tutor briefings in the future may be appropriate" (Leach & Moon 1996).

The report underlined the need for all successful methods to be valued. In Britain we have certainly much to learn for example, from the high standards and fluency achieved in second language learning amongst young people in Albania.

It was suggested in the earlier part of this paper that a socially situated theory of learning illuminates the process of teacher development and that the nature of teacher or 'old timer' support can constrain or expand the cognitive potential of learners. Vygostky's 'zone of proximal development' and Bruner's concept of 'scaffolding' were described as pertinent transforming frameworks. The importance of such frameworks in the Albanian setting cannot be underestimated; frameworks which are only fully brought into existence through talk, debate and dialogue. The carefully designed classroom Activities of Kualida, allied with exemplars of real classrooms on the television programmes provided clear models that enabled teachers in the programme to try out new approaches.

"teachers would like more models";

"teachers now have models to refer to and the activities showed them what they needed to plan and prepare for"

"this was the first stage which sensitised people to this approach"

However it was clear that even these well designed tasks were insufficient without the debate, dialogue and structured support provided in the forums of inquiry we have described:

"Tutors worked in two ways: seminars and concrete work in each school with groups, small groups and individuals."

"every month we have involved a well prepared teacher to give a seminar on methods."

"In tutorials there was a great need to discuss/debate/other different models."

Transforming frameworks had clearly provided the careful 'scaffolding' consonant with the useful definition provided by Maybin, Mercer and Stierer (1992) as "*help which will enable a learner to accomplish a task which they would not have been able to quite manage on their own*" enabling a "*greater level of independent competence*".

Engestrom (1987) has suggested that where people learn to do things they have not done before zones of proximal development are collective rather than individual phenomena and the "*new is a collective invention in the face of felt dilemmas and contradictions that impede ongoing activity and impel movement and change*" (Chaiklin & Lave 1993:13). Mercer (1994) has rejected such a theory but proposes the development of a concept related to the ZPD which might shift the focus from individuals working on their own, concentrating instead on the 'synergy' of a learning group and how it might function together as a 'community of enquiry':

"In practical educational terms, we might then be able to identify the strengths and weaknesses of the joint learning process, and suggest directions in which the community could most fruitfully be expected to encourage and advance" (Mercer 1994:104).

The development of such a concept would seem to be particularly fruitful for teacher development in a variety of contexts. At the very least it provides an appropriate metaphor for the potentially radical change that has been described in this case study.

Although his notion of the 'reflective practitioner' has been celebrated, Schon's own work is an illustration of the broader, socially situated model of professional development we have described. The glimpse of Quist's architectural studio, which provides the setting for 'reflection in action', is "*a space in which students spend much of their working lives, at times talking together*" as well as... "*engaged in parallel pursuit of the common design task*" (Schon 1987:44). Architect Quist's introduction of the design process details the high quality, in depth cognitive intervention of an expert, as well as the careful scaffolding of novice Petra's, understanding. As novice and teacher talk and sketch Quist "*gives Petra reasons for her intuitions*" and "*makes a basic design principle explicit*". Schon is at pains to draw attention to the domains of specialist language used, demonstrating as he does so the constant iteration between theory and practice, knowing and doing. He concludes *Educating The Reflective Practitioner* by describing "*an experiment in collective inquiry*" involving wide and dynamic forums for "*intellectual debate about teaching*" which include participants sitting in on each others' courses as well as directing small groups.

Teacher development is a process in which understanding can be both created and transformed. Six key issues arise from this study. Teacher education should:

- *Provide model learning environments*

Teaching and learning should fully mirror that which is expected of the best practice in the classroom. This has critical implications for the provision and development of tutor and mentor training. As we have seen in the Kualida programme for example, formators are encouraged to use their tutorials as models for classroom pedagogy. Indeed this aspect of the programme is seen as so crucial to the success of the programme that it is a major focus for stage two of the project.

- *Be consonant with the culture in which it is developed, yet should be open to different models and debates which cross national and cultural boundaries*

This has critical implications, for example, in the training of mature students and those from ethnic minority cultures. Teacher education too often assumes knowledge about classroom culture and practice that is puzzling to the older student or to someone adjusting to a distinctively differing educational culture. Knowledge of linguistic conventions or the complexities of classroom planning for example, may well need the kind of careful and explicit scaffolding that Quist affords his novices.

- *Encourage teaching communities to develop a variety of forums for inquiry. These should be developmental and exploratory providing experience of a wide variety of teaching and learning opportunities*

Successful innovations, for example in electronic communication and mentoring (such as partnership teaching, joint observations and co-analysis of practice) should be documented and debated at an international level. The experience of collaborative group observation and discussion of classrooms in the Albanian programme is clearly one example, experiments in video conferencing between students and mentors in areas where the technology is well developed provides another. Detailed descriptions of successful and varied forums of enquiry would enable us to see and analyse key learning processes.

- *Challenge traditional dichotomies such as the distinction between the transmission of knowledge and learner centred approaches, theory and practice, teacher and learner.*

This has implications both for course design and the nature of learner support, both in initial and in-service contexts as the discussion of the Kualida programme has shown.

- *Recognise the centrality of the quality of the communication process*

Research should describe the use of 'transforming frameworks'. We should seek to analyse in-depth contexts in which experienced teachers successfully enable pedagogic strategies and practice to become explicit to "novice" teachers, moving them beyond "procedural" knowledge to "principled" understanding of the teaching process.

- *Have a firm base in schools and classrooms; it should be seen as an ongoing process across initial, induction and ongoing phases of teacher development*

Supported study or training such as Kualida is a vital aspect of teacher development. However, if teacher education is about real change in classrooms and schools, such training needs to inform practice in an ongoing way, embracing both novice and experienced teacher. This paper has suggested that the nature and quality of the forums for enquiry supporting teacher development are central to the endeavour. For in whatever context, teacher education needs to be rooted in a theory of learning as a social practice: the school is the key 'site' in this practice for change.

Notes

I would like to acknowledge the discussions held with my colleague Professor Bob Moon which have centrally informed this paper, as well as the inspiring work of Zana Lita, Albanian Education Development Project, Dr. Bardyl Musai, Project Director and the course writers and teachers involved in the Kualida programme.

¹ It is important to distinguish here the everyday use of the term 'reflective practitioner' by teacher educators from the rich work of Schon (1987) in which this concept is embedded and which is referred to in part 2 of this paper.

² Bengetsson terms this 'anglo saxon pedagogy'

³ In phase 2 of the Kualida project (1996-7), the materials will be developed in other curriculum areas, beginning with civics and the Albanian language.

⁴ Aspects of Teaching in French/English/History/Geography

⁵ "*Aspects of teaching in...*" was deliberately chosen as a title to emphasise that the course introduces only *some* teaching approaches. In Kualida Phase 2 (1996-7), the existing course will be developed nationally, and new materials developed in the four subject areas.

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PRIMARY TEACHERS' PERCEPTIONS OF POLICY FOR CURRICULUM REFORM IN CYPRUS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO MATHEMATICS

LEONIDAS KYRIAKIDES

Abstract – *This paper reports and analyses findings from an investigation into Cypriot teachers' perceptions of national policy for curriculum reform in primary schools, with special reference to teaching and assessment in Mathematics. Questionnaires were sent to a 10% sample of Cypriot teachers randomly selected from the total population (n=257). A response rate of 70% was obtained and statistical analysis was carried out by SPSS-X. There were four main findings. First, in respect of curricular purposes, pupils' abilities to resolve investigations and to gain mathematical knowledge were considered to have equal importance while ability to talk about Mathematics was judged to be the least important. Second, formative purposes of assessment were accorded most importance, and summative purposes least importance. Third, teachers approved of active pedagogy. Fourth, they conceptualised assessment as a natural part of teaching but paradoxically favoured formally structured techniques of assessment. Implications for the implementation of curriculum policy are discussed.*

Introduction

The failure of much curriculum innovation has been attributed to the neglect by innovators of teachers' perceptions (Fullan 1991, Nisbet 1973). This has implications for policies of curriculum reform in most industrialised societies. In Cyprus, primary education is under the authority of the Ministry of Education which is responsible for educational policy making, the administration of education and the enforcement of educational laws. Primary schools provide for a six year compulsory schooling for children from 5 to 11. The primary curriculum is prescribed by the Ministry of Education and there is also a statutory time allocation for each subject. In addition, there is a regulation about the minimum and maximum class size. Moreover, children of the same age have to be placed together in the same class. When necessary mixed age grouping is provided. A reform programme common to all primary year groups was introduced in 1992; this reform was mainly concerned content, pedagogy and assessment. A centre-periphery model of change (Schon 1971) was used.

The central government, through inter-departmental committees, drew up syllabuses, curricula, and planning guides, which were distributed to schools. In this context, the purpose of my research was to investigate teachers' perceptions of the reform programme, and to examine the extent to which the perceptions matched the objectives of the reforms. It was decided to take one subject, Mathematics, as an illustration of the reforms, and to investigate teachers' perceptions in detail in this subject. Mathematics was chosen because it is a core subject and relatively culturally free (Phillips 1986). It was therefore possible to compare perceptions of teaching Mathematics held by teachers in different countries.

Methods of data collection and sampling

A randomly selected 10% sample of the whole group of Cypriot primary teachers was surveyed by a questionnaire, so as to establish a representative picture of the perceptions of primary teachers in Cyprus. The content of the questionnaire was derived from analysis of curriculum policy in Cyprus (Ministry of Education 1981, 1992a, 1992b). There were five broad areas of teachers' perceptions:

- a) The purposes of teaching Mathematics
- b) The purposes which assessment should serve
- c) The relative importance attached to different teaching methods
- d) Techniques of assessment.
- e) Ways of improving assessment

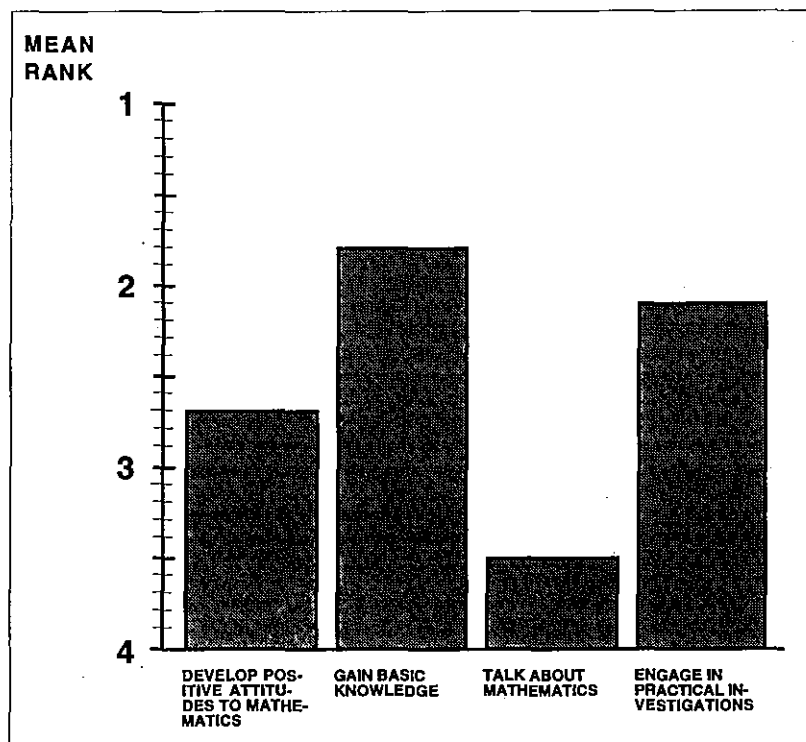
Of the 380 Cypriot teachers approached 286 responded, a response rate of 73%. The response rate implies that the findings do not lack validity for general application to their population (Entwistle and Nisbet 1972). Semi-structured interviews with 20 teachers who responded to the questionnaire were also conducted in order to test the validity of the questionnaire findings by matching the qualitative data derived from interview with each teacher against the quantitative data gathered by his/her individual questionnaire. A measure of match was derived by comparing most of the responses to the questionnaire with the interview data gathered by this study. Although this measure does not necessarily imply that its validity is high since it is possible that they are both invalid, the use of both questionnaire and interview methods provides a basis for triangulation of data.

Findings from the questionnaire

Purposes of teaching Mathematics

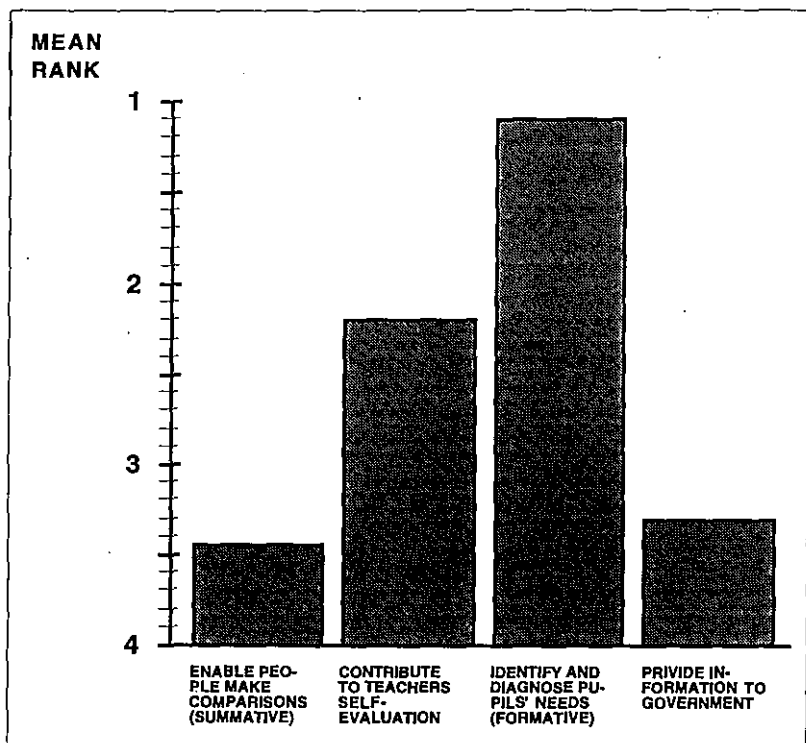
Graph 1 shows the mean rank of the perceived importance of each of four purposes of teaching Mathematics. Kendall's Coefficient of Concordance was calculated to show the degree of consensus about curriculum purposes in this ranking. A significant level of agreement amongst Cypriot teachers was revealed ($W1=0.31$, $Z=2.19$, $V1=3.99$, $V2=714$, $p<.005$). Thus, Cypriot teachers gave high priority to purposes concerned with gaining Mathematical knowledge

GRAPH 1: Cypriot teachers' perceptions about the purposes of Mathematics



{Mean Rank (M.R.) = 1.8} and solving investigative tasks (M.R.=2.09). These two purposes were considered of roughly equal importance since their mean ranks are close to each other. The purpose which was ranked as the third most important concerned the development of positive attitudes to Mathematics (M.R.=2.71) whereas the one focused on pupils ability to talk about Mathematics was seen as the least important (M.R.=3.40).

GRAPH 2: Cypriot teachers' perceptions about the purposes of assessment



Purposes of Assessment

Graph 2 deals with perceptions of the purposes of assessment and the statistical procedure used for its creation is similar to Figure 1. Kendall's coefficient of concordance ($W=0.74$, $Z=6.23$, $V1=3.99$, $V2=714$, $p<0.005$) shows that teachers agreed among themselves in their ranking of the relative importance of the purposes of assessment. The following observations arise from Figure 2. Formative assessment was considered as the most important by almost all the teachers. The next most important purpose of assessment was the teachers' self-evaluation, which has a mean rank close to 2.00 and 80% of teachers considered it as the second most important purpose. Since teachers' self-evaluation and formative assessment have direct feedback into the teachers' own teaching, it can be inferred that Cypriot teachers considered assessment as a means of providing information to help them make decisions about their teaching. It is also of interest to emphasise the low rating given to summative purposes of assessment and to the use of this for national monitoring. Their mean ranks are close to 3.50 which means that they are clearly differentiated from the other two purposes. As far as the summative purpose is concerned, almost all the teachers (95%) saw it as either the least or the second least important purpose. Similarly, 87% saw national monitoring as the least or the second least important purpose.

Methods of teaching and assessment in Mathematics

The figures in Table 1 are based on the information derived from teachers' response to items of the questionnaire concerned with the implementation of policy on Mathematics pedagogy and assessment. The results are given as percentages of teachers agreeing and disagreeing with ways of teaching and assessment in Mathematics. Medians and modes are also given.

Mathematics Pedagogy

Two observations concerned with perceptions of Mathematics pedagogy arise from Table 1. First, the great majority of Cypriot teachers (more than 65%) agreed with the following aspects of Mathematics pedagogy:

- 1) Children should talk about Mathematics and present the results of their activities to their classmates
- 2) Mathematics should be taught mainly through practical investigations
- 3) Practical activities are appropriate for children irrespective of their age or ability
- 4) There is a fixed sequence of Mathematical topics for children to follow.

TABLE 1: Percentages of Cypriot teachers who agree and those who disagree with the following methods of teaching and assessment in Mathematics, and their medians, and modes.

No	Methods of teaching and assessment	% Cypriot teachers who		Median	Mode
		Disagree	Agree		
A)	Mathematics Pedagogy				
1)	Fixed sequence of topics	14.8	76.0	4.00***	4.00
2)	Practical activities as appropriate for Key Stage 1 pupils (5-8 years old) as for Key stage 2 (9-11)	9.7	77.9	4.00	5.00
3)	Practical activities as appropriate for high attaining pupils as for low	17.9	68.5	4.00	4.00
4)	Needs for talk in each activity	4.4	86.9	4.00	4.00
5)	Fixed time for teaching Mathematics	55.8	20.5	2.00	2.00
6)	Mathematics should be taught mainly through investigations	17.5	65.0	4.00	4.00
B)	Issues of Assessment Policy				
1)	Assessment as natural part of teaching	0.5	98.4	5.00	5.00
2)	Assessment on the basis of product rather than process	52.7	25.7	2.00	2.00
3)	Assessment of pupils' attitudes	23.2	54.7	4.00	4.00
4)	Assessment of child's ability to apply Mathematics in unfamiliar situations	10.9	78.3	4.00	4.00

* = This group of teachers either disagree or absolutely disagree

** = This group of teachers either agree or absolutely agree

*** = 1: I absolutely disagree; 2: I disagree; 3: I do not know/I cannot say; 4: I agree; 5: I absolutely agree

Second, the item concerned with the need of having a fixed time for teaching Mathematics was rejected by more than half of Cypriot teachers and both its median and mode is 2.00. Although it could be asserted that the majority of Cypriot teachers disagreed with this item, the fact that the percentage of teachers who neither agreed nor disagreed with it is almost equal to 25% and those who agreed are equal to 20% shows that there was a variation among teachers' opinions. Thus, rejection of a fixed time for teaching Mathematics cannot be seen as a representative opinion of the whole group of Cypriot teachers.

Assessment Policy

The second part of Table 1 is concerned with issues of assessment policy in Mathematics. The great majority (more than 75%) of Cypriot teachers considered assessment as a natural part of teaching and supported assessment of pupils' ability to apply Mathematics in unfamiliar situations. However, items B.2 and B.3 displayed different patterns. Item B.3 was accepted by half of Cypriot teachers but rejected by a quarter of them. On the other hand, Item B.2 was rejected by half of Cypriot teachers but accepted by a quarter of them. Thus, it cannot be claimed that Cypriot teachers, as a group, rejected the idea that assessment should be based on pupils' outcomes rather than process or that they agreed with assessment of pupils' attitudes to Mathematics.

We can observe that for most of the items of Table 1 (7 out of 10) there was a very substantial agreement among Cypriot teachers. Moreover, significant relationships among teachers' perceptions of these seven items were identified by calculating the Pearson correlation coefficient. Thus, teachers' responses to these items are interrelated. On this basis, it can be claimed that Cypriot teachers had a coherent view in support of active pedagogy.

Techniques of Assessment (Appropriateness and Ease)

Teachers were asked to rank twice eight techniques of assessment in Mathematics according to their appropriateness and their ease. The mean ranks and the Kendall Coefficient of Concordance are presented in Table 2. Moreover, columns 4 and 6 show the 'absolute rank' of the mean ranks which is constructed by ordering the mean ranks. (The 'absolute ranks' are used only for display purposes, and their representation does not necessarily imply an ordering of the perceived appropriateness and ease of these eight techniques.) It emerges clearly from the coefficients presented in this table that Cypriot teachers agreed among themselves in their ranking of the relative appropriateness of each technique and

also agreed among themselves in their ranking of the relative ease of each technique. However, the mean ranks tend to cluster close to each other, with small differences between them showing that no one method was regarded as clearly the most or least appropriate or most or least easy.

Nevertheless, the mean ranks suggest that techniques of assessment can be classified into the following groups according to their perceived appropriateness. Structured observation and interview were considered as the most appropriate methods. The oral question-and-answer is the method considered as the next most appropriate. Methods in the middle are the extended written questions, multiple choice questions and direct written questions which have mean ranks very close to 4.5. Finally, unstructured observation was seen as the least appropriate technique and sentence completion as the next least appropriate.

We can now analyse further the features of the third column by exploring the figures at the bottom part of the table. This part has the eight methods collapsed into two categories, namely oral and written techniques. The category of written techniques represents an average of the methods which have to do with a written test and the oral category represents the rest of the techniques. The Kendall Coefficient of Concordance shows a statistically significant agreement among teachers' ranking of the relative appropriateness of these two categories. However, although three of the oral methods were considered as the three most appropriate techniques, unstructured observation was considered as the least appropriate technique. This raises a question about whether the oral category is a coherent one on Cypriot teachers' perceptions. It can be argued that the three oral techniques which were considered as the most appropriate are those which are more formally structured.

The distribution of the mean ranks of ease of application of these techniques is also shown in this table. The first four mean ranks are clearly differentiated from each other. Thus, oral question-and-answer was considered as the most easy technique and unstructured observation as the next most easy. Methods in the middle are the direct written question and the sentence completion. Finally, the mean ranks of interview and extended written question are relatively large and can be considered as the least easy techniques.

The Kendall Coefficient of Concordance presented at the bottom part of table 2 shows a statistically significant agreement ($p < .05$) among Cypriot teachers' ranking of the relative ease of oral and written techniques. The small value of Z can be explored by looking at the 'absolute ranks' of the 'oral' techniques which were 1, 2, 6, and 8. This seems to suggest that the second category consisted of the most easy and the least easy techniques. Although tentatively we can ignore this significant difference, if we link this finding with that concerning the

TABLE 2: Mean ranks and 'absolute' ranks of assessment techniques according to preceptions of appropriateness and ease

No.	Assessment Techniques	Appropriateness		Ease	
		Mean Rank	Mean Rank	Mean Rank	Mean Rank
1	Multiple choice and matching questions	4.44*	5	5.09**	5
2	Unstructured Observation	6.05	8	3.31	2
3	Sentence Completion	5.34	7	4.22	4
4	Oral question-and-answer	4.01	3	2.38	1
5	Extended written question	4.41	4	5.87	7
6	Structured Observation	3.29	1	5.28	6
7	Interview	3.52	2	5.98	8
8	Direct written question	4.46	6	3.87	3
	Coefficients:	W=0.18 - X ² =218.20 df=7 p<.01		W=0.27 - X ² =323.19 df=7 p<.01	
	Combinations				
1	Oral ***	1.35	1	1.42	1
2	Written ****	1.65	2	1.59	2
	Coefficients:	W=0.10 - Z=1.353 V ₁ =0.99 - V ₂ =174 p<.01		W=0.04 - Z=0.843 V ₁ =0.99 - V ₂ =167 p<.05	

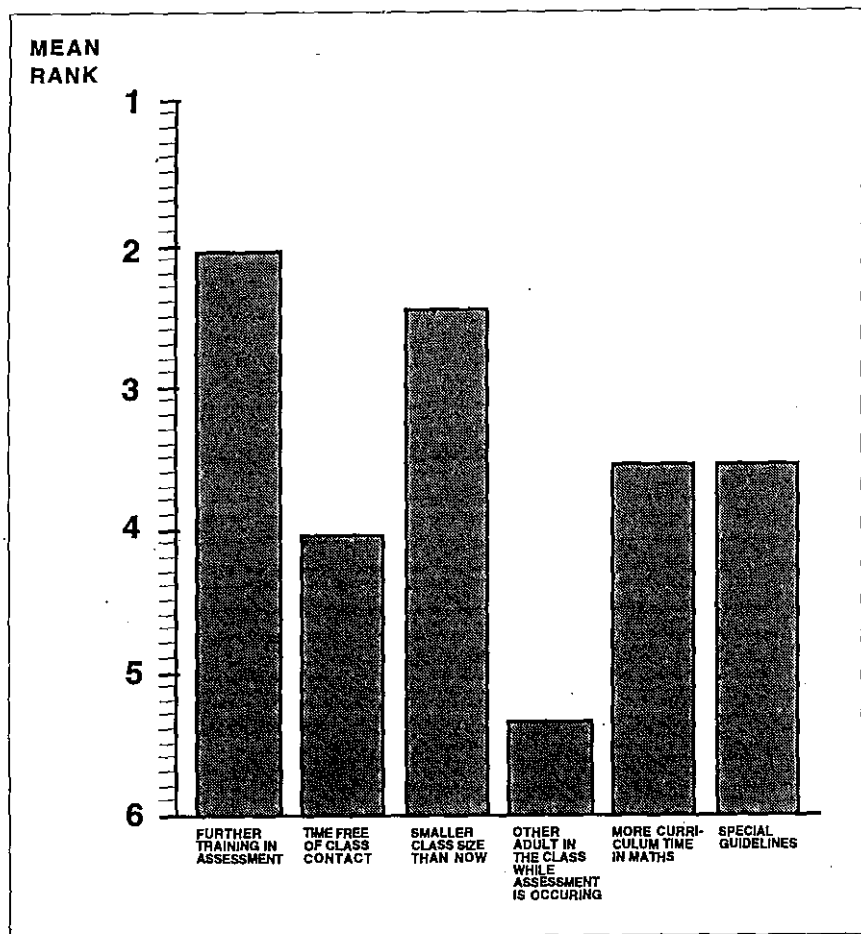
* 1 = Most Appropriate 8 = Least Appropriate

** 1 = Most Easy 8 = Least Easy

*** Oral techniques = Combination of techniques 2-4-6-7

**** Written techniques = Combination of techniques 1-3-5-8

GRAPH 3: Cypriot teachers' perceptions about the ways of improving assessment in Mathematics



'absolute ranks' of the appropriateness of 'oral' techniques we can claim that this category was not a coherent one in Cypriot teachers' perceptions.

The last, and probably the most important finding, has to do with the well-known dilemma that what is easily measured is of dubious educational value. Interview and structured observation were considered as the most appropriate but the least easy techniques. Likewise, the direct written question and the unstructured observation were regarded as one of the most easy but least appropriate. However, oral question-and-answer was seen as the third most appropriate and as the most easy method. It can be argued that, with one exception, there is a negative correlation between the appropriateness and ease of techniques of assessment.

Perceptions about ways of improving assessment

Graph 3 provides information about teachers' perceptions of methods of improving assessment. Kendall's coefficient of concordance shows that Cypriot teachers agreed among themselves in their ranking of the relative importance of the six ways of improving assessment ($W=.40$, $Z=2.37$, $V_1=4.99$, $V_2=888$ and $p<.005$). It emerges from Graph 3 that the most important ways of improving assessment were further training in techniques of assessment and smaller class size, whereas the least important was the existence of another adult in the classroom. The other way which is differentiated from all the other ways of improving assessment is the one concerning time free of class contact which was seen as the second least important way.

Discussion: Implications of teacher's perceptions for curriculum reform policy in Cyprus

The evidence presented above can be discussed in terms of its implications for the implementation of curriculum reform in Cyprus. An exploration of the implications of the findings for curriculum theory will be also attempted.

Purposes of teaching Mathematics

Howson (1989, p.18) believes that "clear objectives are needed but to be effective they must be objectives accepted by teachers", a view that is the basic focus of my research. It is clear from the questionnaire responses that Cypriot teachers' perceptions of the purposes of Mathematics generally conform to the

purposes emphasised in the current curriculum reform in Cyprus. They supported the purposes relating to investigative tasks and promoting mathematical knowledge and thinking identified in both the previous and the New Curriculum (Ministry of Education 1981 and 1992a).

However, the New Curriculum proposed that one purpose was the development of pupils' ability to talk about Mathematics. Doubts about whether this should be seen as a purpose can be raised in so far as the role of language in teaching Mathematics can be seen as a teaching method that may help pupils to see Mathematics as a language (Pimm 1981) and as a part of our culture (Bishop 1989). Nevertheless, a low priority was given by Cypriot teachers to the role of pupils' language in teaching Mathematics which might be explained by the fact that teacher training had not focused upon the role of talk in teaching Mathematics. Moreover, the New Curriculum did not make explicit the implications of this purpose for teaching whereas implications of the other two purposes for teaching methods were provided. To achieve this new purpose both ITT and INSET, in addition to concentrating on the importance of the language in the teaching of Mathematics, should also provide teachers with more specific ways to apply language in classroom settings.

Mathematics pedagogy

Cypriot teachers had a coherent view about active pedagogy, emphasising the value of practical activities, investigative tasks and discussion and their responses to these items showed high inter-correlation. Although teaching methods are not directly subject to government policy, there is an implicit pedagogy in the curricular formulation in Cyprus. This may be characterised as an activity-based approach to the teaching of Mathematics. Thus, both the 1981 and the new curriculum of Cyprus directed teachers to provide opportunities for pupils to participate in practical and investigative tasks (Ministry of Education 1992a). The fact that active learning is supported by the New Curriculum can be attributed to the strong influence of Piaget and the Cockcroft Report upon curriculum policy in Cyprus (Kyriakides 1994).

But despite the fact that a Cypriot teacher concerned to obtain promotion must prove to her inspector that she is able to implement the active pedagogy (Baron 1970), this ideology has not widely influenced curriculum practice of primary Mathematics in Cyprus. Further research is needed to explore this gap between curriculum theory and practice. However, barriers to the implementation of this pedagogy do not lie in teachers' perceptions of teaching Mathematics. The interview data revealed that although Cypriot teachers hold strong ideas favouring

active pedagogy and invest much of their self-identity in it, compromise with beliefs was commonly pragmatic. Cypriot teachers, in recognising the discrepancy between active pedagogy and practical realities, attributed it to the pressure of time arising from an overloaded curriculum. They considered the content of the New Curriculum in Mathematics as difficult for their pupils to understand and the requirements of the curriculum policy as unmanageable. Thus, the overloaded curriculum in Cyprus may be a significant barrier to the implementation of active pedagogy.

It can be also claimed, paradoxically, that barriers to the implementation of policy on curriculum reform in Mathematics may lie in the high degree of central control at school level, through national textbooks, a fixed sequence of topics and a defined length of curriculum time (Shuard 1984) which cause a mismatch between the ideology promoted in curriculum policy and the administration of the system. And although teachers' perceptions about the purposes of Mathematics were similar to the purposes outlined in curriculum policy, the fact that this control did not promote flexible classroom strategies limited the policy's effectiveness.

Assessment policy

Assessment policy in Cyprus is not clearly defined. For the first time in the history of curriculum development in Cyprus, a debate among the officials of the Ministry of Education, the inspectors, the teachers and their trade union was under way in 1990. The dispute was mainly between inspectors and teachers and concerns primarily the extra work involved, and government's requirement to introduce a common form of record keeping. It is therefore important to identify implications of teachers' perceptions for assessment policy in Cyprus.

Cypriot teachers perceived formative purposes of assessment as more important than the summative. This is in line with the argument of Torrance (1986) that "summative assessment is unlikely to prove helpful to teachers who are faced with the day-to-day reality of formative assessment". Broadfoot (1986) argues that the curriculum policies of countries other than the UK promote a move from summative to formative assessment since they have realised the failure of summative assessment. Cypriot teachers would welcome the development of an assessment system which promoted the formative purposes of assessment, but would be less inclined to support one emphasising summative purposes. Thus, the debate may not be restricted to workload but raises fundamental issues of educational ideology. This is particularly true since the Director of Primary Education announced the government's intention to introduce a reporting system where teachers would be required to assess pupils' overall achievement in each

subject at the end of each academic year (Leontiou 1993). This raises doubts about the policy commitment to formative assessment.

Although Cypriot policy documents argued that assessment should be seen as a natural part of teaching, the practical implications of such conception of assessment are not made explicit. This conception may simply reflect the inspectors' acceptance of the objectives model (Kyriakides 1994). However, Cypriot teachers considered assessment as a natural part of teaching. A correlation between their perceptions about methods of assessment and purposes of teaching Mathematics has been also identified. The interview data illustrate implications of this conception of assessment for teaching and specific links between methods of teaching and assessment Mathematics. It can be claimed that Cypriot policy makers should attempt to explore links between purposes, teaching activities and assessment in order to develop an assessment policy based on the consideration of assessment as a natural part of teaching. Thus, analysis of the evidence of teachers' perceptions about assessment implies that the debate about assessment policy in Cyprus should be focused on how it can be linked to the policy on teaching Mathematics in order to provide information to teachers about teaching Mathematics, taking into account their effort to implement the active pedagogy. A coherent assessment and curriculum policy should be developed for teacher development, irrespective of other purposes such as national monitoring. For example, in-service training might be used to focus on problem setting as applied to Mathematics to illustrate the practical form that formative assessment would take.

Two significant implications emerged from the data on Cypriot teachers' perceptions about the appropriateness and ease of the eight techniques of assessment. First, Cypriot teachers considered as more appropriate the techniques which operate under controlled conditions. This might reflect the highly centralised educational system of Cyprus and especially a perceived need to have 'tangible proof' to show to parents and inspectors. With the term tangible proof teachers meant information gathered from assessment which can be easily understood by parents and inspectors since numbers can be used to represent pupils' attainment. However, the appropriateness of the techniques of assessment should be judged on the kind of information they make available to teachers. Thus, inspectors should encourage teachers to use techniques which can help them diagnose pupils' needs irrespective of whether they are under controlled conditions.

However, the Ministry of Education (1992b) intends simply to publish a series of written tests, but not to provide anything related to interview or structured observation which are considered as appropriate techniques by Cypriot teachers. Information derived from written tests do not clearly reveal the mathematical

concept which is involved with a pupil's wrong response (Schwarzenberger 1988). Thus, if assessment policy emphasises only written tests, it would neither find ideological support among teachers nor improve assessment practice, but it would provide the government with another way to control curriculum practice.

Second, there was an inverse relationship between assessment techniques seen as most appropriate and those seen as most easy. Teachers regarded interview and structured observation as the most appropriate techniques but as the least easy. Logically this argues for in-service training on how teachers can use oral techniques for their assessment in Mathematics, as much as it argues for using only written tests. This would be welcomed by Cypriot teachers since training on techniques of assessment was considered as the most important way of improving assessment. It can be also claimed that in-service training should give high priority to structured observation and interview which were seen as the most appropriate but least easy techniques. Thus, INSET focused on the use of interview and structured observation may be a more effective way of improving assessment rather than the publication of more policy documents which are rarely consulted. This provides significant implications for educational policy in Cyprus which has not systematically used INSET to bring about change and has not been directed at the implementation of the current curriculum reform at the school level. The practice therefore goes against the evidence that innovations need both external and local support to succeed (Crandal et al. 1986, Turnbull 1985).

Finally, it can be claimed that this study reveals that a new model of curriculum change that focuses on teachers' perceptions should be developed, since the transformation of curriculum reform into practice depends partly on their perceptions. What is needed is to identify and build upon teachers' perceptions and encourage them to promote curriculum development at the school level and at the same time to welcome support from the centre. As Calderhead (1987) argues:

"though research on teachers' thinking does not provide us with a comprehensive theoretical framework for thinking about teaching, it does provide us with a number of insights that have implications for how we approach various educational tasks in the case of curriculum development, research points out how unrealistic it is to conceive of innovation as a set of pre-formulated ideas or principles to be implemented by teachers. Innovative ideas are interpreted and reinterpreted by teachers over a period of time and translated into practice" (p.17)

Thus, research dealing with teachers' perceptions and the factors which are able to influence them will contribute to the development of such a model and the further evaluation of recent curriculum reform in Cyprus.

Notes

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LANGUAGE-IN-EDUCATION POLICY AND PLANNING: THE CASE OF LEBANON

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Abstract – *Recent changes in Lebanon's educational legislation indicate a shift away from using the national language, Arabic, as a medium of instruction in favour of other foreign languages, namely English, French, and German. The latest decree that was passed in 1994 stipulated that these foreign languages can be used as instructional languages in all cycles, including the pre-school and elementary levels. The issue of language-in-education in Lebanon is an old one, dating back to the arrival of foreign missionaries during the second half of the 17th century. Since then several policies and decisions have been made by the colonial powers and the successive Lebanese governments. This paper reviews these policies and decisions in the light of the country's political history with special emphasis on their impact on students and communities at the socio-economic, educational and political levels. The paper maintains that the policies made by the French during their mandate over Lebanon (1920-1943) favoured the Christian Catholic and Maronite communities. Meanwhile, the policies adopted by the successive Lebanese governments in the era of independence (1943-1975) were largely improvised and more of responses to emotions triggered by independence. Consequently, several socio-economic and educational incentives determined the spread of foreign languages, especially English, in contemporary Lebanon. This widened the gaps among the classes that make up Lebanese society and contributed to the distribution of quality education along sectarian and socio-economic lines.*

Introduction

The question of what language to adopt as a medium of instruction, when applied to societies like Lebanon whose native language, Arabic, is a recognised world language with a long history and tradition, sounds rhetorical. Most people would naturally assume that the mother tongue is the logical choice as it is an expression and reflection of the cultural and thought patterns of its speakers, resonating with the citizens' inner being and constituting a symbol of their identity. However, in places like Lebanon where national identity has been questioned, the issue assumes religious, socio-economic, educational and political overtones.

The issue of linguistic allegiance in general, and that of the choice of the medium of instruction in particular, has been a main cause of deep-rooted conflicts in Lebanon. Decisions and policies regarding the use of one language or another in education, whether they are made by colonial powers, public officials, or by those in charge of private educational institutions, have had a direct bearing on the educational opportunities and future of several generations. Such decisions and policies have also had an impact on the individual and communal sense of identity and belongingness, on the principles and practices of political, social, and psychological unity of the citizenry, and on the perceptions of equality and justice, especially as perceived by the disadvantaged. The problem in Lebanon is not that controversial decisions have been taken, but rather that the needed decisions either have not been taken or, when taken, have not been implemented properly, if at all. The fragile political and social structures of Lebanon and the need to maintain harmony and to avoid violence have been blamed for the policy of inaction. But as the Lebanese enter a new phase of national accord after the Taif agreement in 1989, they are finding that they have to confront their past and try to carve a new future where vagueness and grey areas in principles, policies, and actions have to be reduced drastically or to disappear altogether.

This paper deals with the impact of language policies on students and communities in Lebanon, with special emphasis on policies pertinent to the choice of the medium of instruction. These policies are examined in the light of the country's political history, highlighting their impact on students and communities at the socio-economic and educational levels.

Prior to World War I

The multilingual and multicultural tradition of Lebanon is as old as Lebanon itself as a result of its strategic geographical location as a commercial crossroads between East and West. The relative independence, self-rule, and freedom of the Lebanese, even under the Ottoman Empire (1516 - 1918), helped make Lebanon the gateway of the West to the Middle East. Linguistic plurality, though not in the organized sense, has been a cherished tradition in the history of Lebanon. This is manifested by the presence of many foreign languages, especially French and English, and the keen interest of the Lebanese in learning these languages.

The roots of the current diversity and the seeds of the linguistic conflicts dividing the Lebanese can be traced back to the middle of the 17th century when ties were established between the various Lebanese religious communities and the West. Following the establishment of these ties, missionaries came to Lebanon and found that the most convenient way for them to propagate their ideas was

through education. They established schools which, in addition to providing basic education, opened windows of foreign languages and cultures to the Lebanese and attempted to 'civilise' and 'modernise' the population along western patterns (Jabbour 1992).

The French Jesuit missionaries were the first to arrive and open schools in Lebanon. They began their efforts as early as 1636 and managed to develop intimate relations with the Christian Maronites who had already acknowledged the authority of the Church in Rome. These missionaries first established the Antura College following which they opened several small schools that emphasised the study of reading, writing, arithmetic and liturgy with occasional instruction in Latin and French. However, with the beginning of the second third of the 19th century, the Jesuit missionaries started organising their schools along modern lines. For instance, they modernised the Antura college in 1834 and established the Catholic Seminary in 1855. This Seminary then became the nucleus of Saint Joseph University that was established in 1875 and continued to the present as a strong cultural link between France and Lebanon.

On the other hand, the French lay missionaries began their efforts in 1909 having felt that the Jesuits were not representing "*the true spirit of modern France*" (Matthew & Akrawi 1949, p.459). Consequently, they opened two schools for boys and girls in Beirut as well as established other similar schools in the various Syrian cities of Damascus, Aleppo and Tarsus.

Along similar lines, the American missionaries started their work in 1822 and managed to open several schools within a short period of time. In 1831, they transferred the American Press from Malta to Beirut and thus began to print books in geography, algebra, biology, and religion. After the troubles of 1860, the American missionaries intensified their efforts as they established the Syrian Protestant college in 1866 in addition to 132 other schools that existed in various Lebanese cities and villages around the turn of the 19th century (Matthew & Akrawi 1949).

In like manner, the British-Syrian Mission began its work in 1860 and managed to open 40 schools in southern Lebanon and Damascus prior to World War I. Meanwhile, the various Lebanese religious communities namely, the Maronites, the Greek Orthodox, the Greek Catholics and the Moslem Charitable Purpose Association started organising their own schools. Thus, on the eve of World War I, there were 100 private Christian but only 3 private Islamic schools (Jabbour 1992). Most of the Christian schools adopted French as a medium of instruction. Meanwhile, the Islamic schools focused their efforts on the Moslem population and emphasised Arabic; whereas, the American schools appear to have followed a less sectarian policy and initially adopted Arabic as an instructional language. In fact, the Syrian Protestant College used Arabic for teaching medicine

during the first 10 years following its foundation in 1886, but later shifted to English (El-Zein 1991). This attracted the Sunni Moslem and Christian Greek Orthodox elites aspiring to climb the socio-economic ladder through education.

Consequently, prior to World War I foreign languages spread mainly along sectarian lines with the Catholics and Maronites learning French, the Moslems Arabic, and the Moslem and Greek Orthodox elites English. This linked religion to education and planted the seeds of educational and socio-economic inequalities among the various sects of the Lebanese society. However, the spread of foreign languages improved the literacy rate in Lebanon relative to the neighbouring Arab countries as the Jesuit University and the Syrian Protestant College attracted knowledge seekers from the whole Méditerranean region.

The French Mandate (1920 -1943)

The end of World War I marked the end of the Ottoman rule; however, it also brought Lebanon under the French mandate in accordance with the Sykes-Pico Agreement in 1916. Quite naturally, the French government played a direct role in the educational legislation and practices in the country. Upon their arrival, the French, who were aware of the importance of education in acculturation, did not directly interfere with the work of existing schools. However, in 1924 they sponsored a new system of public education which included a ministry of public instruction, a system of administrative procedures, and regulations for primary schools and teacher training. They also specified Arabic and French as official languages whereby French was to be used as the medium for teaching mathematics, physics, chemistry and social sciences at all levels of education. Later on, in 1926, the French sponsored a new constitution. Article 11 of this constitution established the following educational measures:

- French was recognised as one of the two official languages in Lebanon - which placed it on a par with Arabic;
- All schools, both public and private, were required to include instruction in the French Language;
- Content area subjects (mathematics, physics, chemistry, and social sciences) were to be taught in French;
- The French government would provide French instructors for private schools, if necessary.

In addition, a system of official public examinations modelled on the French system was authorised. Students would be promoted from one class to the next on

the basis of these examinations, which were also stipulated as a requirement for entering the civil service and professional sectors. Likewise, Parts I and II of the French Baccalaureate, which saw students through the upper secondary schools, were officially recognised as equivalent to the Lebanese Baccalaureate (Kurani 1949).

These legislative measures led to the spread of French as an instructional language at the expense of other languages. Furthermore, the French authorities encouraged all kinds of missionary activities. Although the Jesuits still had the largest number of schools in Lebanon, several other missionaries such as the Lazarists, Capucins, Franciscan, Christian Brothers, and the *Frères Maristes* also opened schools all over the country. Likewise, the nuns of *Les Filles de la Charité*, *Les Dames de Nazareth*, *Les Soeurs de la Charité*, *Les Soeurs de Besanson*, and the Franciscan Nuns of Mary had their schools in various Lebanese villages.

All of these schools were accountable not to the Lebanese Government but rather to the '*Haut Commissariat Français*'. They usually charged fees and some of them were intended to serve the learning needs of poor students. The teachers were both French and Lebanese and included monks and nuns. The programs of study were identical to those of the French *Brevet* and Baccalaureate certificates, but were modified to include Arabic language, history and geography. The French language was emphasised as a medium of instruction and great attention was given to ensure equal standards to those of the French schools. Instruction in French was started in kindergarten and students were subject to the French primary and baccalaureate examinations. These examination systems favoured the French language whereby a high level of proficiency in this language ensured success irrespective of achieving a comparable proficiency level in Arabic. Consequently, these schools were accused of promoting French at the expense of the native language, Arabic, and these accusations were underscored as some schools imposed French as the obligatory language of work and play. Furthermore, the majority of students in the French schools were Christians, which resulted in educational inequalities in favour of the Catholic and Maronite communities. For instance, during the academic year of 1942-1943, the year of Lebanese independence, the French schools enrolled 39,513 students distributed as follows: 34,758 Christians, 2,507 Moslems, 1,544 Jews, 631 Druze, and 73 other (Matthew & Akrawi 1949:461).

On the other hand, the British and American missionary schools had to adapt their programmes to emphasise French rather than English in order to enable their graduates to enter the civil service. In fact, the number of English schools dwindled to only 26 in 1945-1946, and these institutions enrolled 1,902 students (Matthew & Akrawi 1949:481). These schools naturally wanted to teach English, but opted to teach French starting at grade 1 and to introduce English at

grade 4. Likewise, some newly established German and Italian schools as well as public schools followed the French pattern. However, there existed wide gaps in the quality of instruction between the French schools and the remaining schools which followed their pattern, and this resulted in further educational inequalities in favor of the Christian Catholics and Maronites who managed to receive quality education.

The imposition of French as a requirement for entering the civil service led to its spread as a language for schooling. French naturally became much in demand in that context, though there does not seem to have been a revival of French on a large scale basis across Lebanon. Rather, Arabic remained the mother tongue widely used in almost all ceremonial, societal, and communicative functions. Likewise, English persisted as an instructional language and managed to gain grounds in the independence era and in contemporary Lebanon as we shall see below.

The Independence era (1943-1975)

Lebanon achieved independence from France in 1943, and thus faced the problem of developing a sense of national solidarity among its youth. It attempted to do so through organising its school system by amending article 11 of the 1926 constitution. In 1946, decree #6968 legislated that all school subjects be taught in Arabic. English was also introduced as another option as a foreign language on a par with French. Further to this decree, another decree #7000 legislated that the teaching of Arabic language become obligatory in all schools, national and foreign. All foreign schools were required to use the official Lebanese curricula but were allowed to follow the instructional methods of their choice. Likewise, decree #7004 stated that candidates for the official examinations at the end of the intermediate and secondary classes (corresponding to the end of 9th and 12th grade respectively) could take the examinations for science and mathematics in a foreign language (French or English) or in Arabic.

In 1950, decree #7000 was amended to exempt foreign schools from teaching Arabic; however, private Lebanese schools were still required to do so. Foreign schools were also allowed to add to the official Lebanese curriculum if they so wished and they were given the right to grant their own certificates.

In 1968, decree #9099 stated that the four cycles (Pre-school, Elementary, Intermediate, Secondary) should *in principle* use Arabic as the medium of instruction for all subjects except foreign languages and literature. It also added that English/French could be used as the medium of instruction for mathematics,

science, and old languages. Later on, the Educational Conference on Proposed Curricula recommended in 1974 the use of Arabic exclusively for teaching all subjects in all cycles.

A reading into these decrees reveals (1) a trend to strengthen the role of Arabic in the Lebanese schools, (2) a tendency to enforce the adoption of the national curricula by all schools operating in Lebanon, be they local or foreign, private, or public, and (3) an attempt to organise foreign community schools in a manner that goes along with their practices anywhere else.

However, decrees #6968 and #7000 seem to have been emotional and improvised in nature and did not take into consideration the realities of the job market. They also did not seem to have sufficiently considered the socio-economic and educational incentives of knowing foreign languages. It turned out that these policies were dissociated from planning as no serious attempts were made to simplify Arabic and institute it as an official medium of instruction, so that these decrees seemed to be mere expressions of national pride triggered by independence. In addition, the phrasing of the decree # 9099 took away its power by stating that Arabic, in principle, should be the language of instruction at the primary level, while the decree re-introduced English and French as instructional languages at the intermediate and secondary levels.

Consequently, Arabic did not spread as a medium of instruction on a large scale basis, despite policies proclaimed nation-wide. As was the case in many other Arab countries following independence, the established policies were hasty and did not result from careful planning (Smock & Smock 1975). The zeal for independent national identity made the policy makers overlook the fact that foreign languages (French and English) were deeply rooted in the Lebanese educational system. Consequently, these foreign languages remained dominant as instructional languages as many private schools ignored decree #6968 and continued to use French and English in teaching mathematics and science even at the elementary level (Eido 1984). The successive national governments appear to have remained silent, which helped to develop an attitude that classical Arabic was difficult to learn and to utilise as a medium of instruction.

The difficulties involved in utilising classical Arabic as an instructional language were acknowledged by the Arabic Language Society (ALS) which called for the simplification of Arabic grammar, morphology and syntax as well as for the promotion of classical Arabic in educational centres and mass media (Saleh 1982). However, as indicated earlier, there were no serious attempts to reform and manipulate Arabic in order to facilitate its use in order to serve the educational and ideological tendencies of the Lebanese community. Furthermore, there were other obstacles facing the adoption of Arabic as a medium of instruction, such as lack of qualified teachers, scarcity, if not absence, of teacher

training programmes, limited reference materials, and conflict between the various dialects of spoken and classical Arabic (Shaaban 1993).

Beside the difficulties involved in using Arabic as a medium of instruction and lack of action on the part of the successive Lebanese governments to address those difficulties, there were economic incentives which contributed to the spread of foreign languages as instructional languages, particularly English. The Lebanese people started to feel the importance of English as the language of science and technology shortly after the end of World War II and the growing international influence of the United States of America. Furthermore, the discovery of oil in the Arabian Gulf and Saudi Arabia motivated the Lebanese to learn English as the language of international business. Consequently, English began to take precedence over French and this partly explains the current phenomenon of introducing English as a foreign language in the French-oriented schools.

The demand for English was also reflected in the practices of the Centre For Education Research and Development (CERD) which was established by the Lebanese government in 1971 as a unit within the Ministry of Education that was entrusted with the responsibilities of introducing educational planning, revising curricula, compiling textbooks and defining requirements and objectives for official examinations. The Centre started its efforts by developing a curriculum for the English language along the lines of current methodologies. Meanwhile, the Centre simply translated a series of science books into Arabic to be used in the Islamic schools of southern Lebanon. Thus, it appeared that on the eve of the Civil War (1975), English was gaining ground as a medium of instruction in Lebanon's schools at the expense of other languages, including French.

The Civil War (1975-1989)

The Civil War broke out in 1975 and continued unabated until 1989. This eclipsed all legislation, created a chaotic educational situation, rendered the running of official examinations impossible, and deepened the old hostilities, cultural and otherwise. This period was also marked by a remarkable increase in the number of private schools that spread all over the country, mainly for commercial purposes. Most of these private schools adapted their practices to their own ideologies and interests without inspection from the Ministry of Education. Furthermore, the war had a tremendous negative impact on education where standards declined sharply as a result of the lack of discipline, loss of instructional time, destruction of school facilities and loss of qualified faculty.

During the war years the use of foreign languages – especially English – as the media of instruction continued to rise. Most of the private schools that were

established during this period adopted English as an instructional language, even in the elementary cycle, and irrespective of their ideological or religious orientations. Furthermore, four new English-medium universities were established mostly in typical French-oriented regions and along sectarian lines: Notre Dame University (Maronite and Catholic), Balamand University (Greek Orthodox), Al Manar (Sunni Moslem), and The Lebanese American University (Protestant). In addition, English was introduced as a compulsory foreign language at the University level in St. Joseph and the Holy Spirit University, especially for science subjects where students need to consult references written mainly in English. This contributed to further educational inequalities among the classes of the Lebanese society as it resulted in an elitist educational system which opened the doors of quality education and future life chances for those who could afford to attend expensive private schools with strong English programmes (Mosa 1991).

Despite expansion in the quantity of schools to cover all the Lebanese territory, there were wide gaps in the teacher qualifications and instructional programmes of the various schools. Yet, all students have been required to go through the same national examination system, and this closed off access to quality education for a large percentage of students from the lower socio-economic classes, the majority of whom fail the official as well as entrance examinations to the English-medium universities.

The present situation

In 1989, the Lebanese Parliament agreed to a new constitution that is better known as the Taif Accord. This accord put an end to the Civil War and laid the foundations for the modern Lebanese state as it settled the issues of national identity and belongingness that has divided the Lebanese throughout their modern history.

On the educational scene, two major objectives were established and were later formulated in the *Plan for Educational Reform* (1994) and *The New Framework For Education in Lebanon* (1995) as follows:

"To form a citizen... Who is committed to the Arabic language as an official national language and able to use it efficiently and effectively in all domains... [and] who is proficient in at least one foreign language for the activation of openness to international cultures to enrich and be enriched by them" (CERD, 1995:36).

Thus far, these two principles have not changed much in the current affairs in the schools of Lebanon, except for the adoption in public schools of the principle

of introducing a third language in the intermediate cycle. However, despite lip service paid to the cause of Arabic, the trend to strengthen foreign languages, especially English, has continued and was underscored by decree #5589, which was passed in 1994. This decree stipulated that any of the foreign languages (English, French, German) may be used as an instructional language in all of Lebanon's schools whether foreign, private or public at the pre-school and elementary levels.

A careful reading of decree #5589 indicates a reversal of the trend to strengthen Arabic as a medium of instruction in Lebanon that prevailed, on paper, in the era of independence (1943-1975) and of the Taif constitution of 1989. Furthermore, plans are now very well underway to modernise the Lebanese educational system, revise curricula, and train foreign language teachers on a large scale basis. This indicates that foreign languages, especially English, are likely to continue to spread in contemporary Lebanon irrespective of the political and socio-economic changes that may occur in the country.

Conclusion

This paper has reviewed the language-in-education policies in the light of Lebanon's political history. The review revealed that (1) the importation of French, and later its imposition as a medium of instruction during the French mandate (1921-1943), led to inequitable education in favour of the Catholic and Maronite communities, (2) the promotion of Arabic as an official language and subsequently as a medium of instruction in the era of independence after 1943 was dissociated from planning and, as a result, was ineffective, and (3) the spread of English as an instructional language in contemporary Lebanon has been directed by economic considerations. It should also be noted that despite the spread of French and English as instructional languages, the strength of both languages remains limited to the context of education, and are not widely used for ceremonial, societal and communicative functions.

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NATIONAL DENIAL, SPLITTING, AND NARCISSISM – GROUP DEFENCE MECHANISMS OF TEACHERS AND STUDENTS IN PALESTINE IN RESPONSE TO THE HOLOCAUST

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Abstract – *Using a combination of historical and psychoanalytical tools, this article explores the national defence mechanisms used by the education system of the Yishuv, the Jewish community in pre-independence Israel, in response to the Holocaust (1943-1948). The article also explores the significance of these responses, as well as their contemporary implications. Three personal defence mechanisms will be identified for the purpose of analysing the reactions of the Israelis as a national group. 'Denial' as a whole is generally associated with the defence of various systems, with 'splitting' and 'narcissism' being two facets of excessive nationalism. The article concludes with contemporary applications of national defence mechanisms and their possible educational uses: community emphasis, educational periodisation, and, above all, recognition of the need to consider national defence mechanisms when planning educational responses to national crises. It is proposed that the educational model presented has wider applications, beyond the case of Israel and the Holocaust.*

Introduction

The purpose of this article is to identify several national defence mechanisms used by the education system of the Yishuv, the Jewish community in pre-independence Israel, in response to the Holocaust in 1943-1948, and to explore their significance and contemporary application.¹ This article is part of a broader research by the author on the education system of the Hebrew Labor Movement in the three decades preceding the establishment of the State of Israel and the early independence years (1921-1953).² In a previous study (Dror 1989), the educational response of the Labor Movement schools to the Holocaust in 1943-1948 was examined in view of the primary and secondary source material that the author had found and used in the aforementioned study. It is the author's assumption that the Labour Movement and its education system were largely representative of the entire Yishuv. This article, based on some of the earlier findings, focuses on the psychoanalytical-educational model of defence mechanisms as an initial response to the Holocaust, specifically with reference to

the way educators in the Yishuv, and those who trained them, dealt with the Holocaust in the first few years of their awareness of it.

The current article probes the issue with the help of an important document only recently discovered in the personal archive of Petachia Lev-Tov, a veteran educator:³ a booklet published for the National Pedagogical Conference, held in Tel Aviv in December 1994, containing poems and articles on *The Present Holocaust in Our Children's Education – In Our Children's Words* (Education Center, 1944). Although not found in various archives or libraries, the booklet was known to exist, having been cited several times in the publications lists of the Education Center, which falls under the auspices of the Histadrut (General Federation of Jewish Labour in Palestine/Eretz Israel). This source material allows us to examine the subject from the perspective of students, something which could not have been done in the previous research.

The Labour Movement established its own education system in 1921, shortly after the beginning of the British Mandate in Palestine in 1918, and disbanded it – along with other politically affiliated educational systems in Israel – in 1953, five years after the state was established. During this lengthy tenure, it was the educational arm of the Jewish labor movement in the cities and villages of the Yishuv. These schools became part of the establishment in the 1930s and, in 1939, were officially incorporated into the Jewish Education Department, which the British recognized as responsible for this area of endeavor. By the 1940s, the Labour Movement system accounted for one-fourth of Jewish education in Palestine (Reshef 1980; Dror 1994).

The horrors of the Holocaust became known to the Yishuv in November 1942 (Porat 1986, p.62). From then until 1948, when the State of Israel was established, the Jewish people experienced tempestuous events, including the end of World War II in Europe and the War of Independence in Israel. Research on the years between these two wars – between the Holocaust and the Jewish national resurrection – acknowledges the historical importance of the educational response of the Yishuv to the Holocaust but has not yet examined it.

Perusal of earlier and more recent findings indicates that certain types of national defence mechanisms were invoked in response to the Holocaust and, perhaps, to other national crises in subsequent periods. The present article does not elaborate on the response to the Holocaust, for this is treated in the case history. Nor does it delve into the issue of mechanisms of defence. To justify the international study of the Holocaust, we quote in brief some psychoanalysts – and first of all Volkan, noted for his comparative studies in *The Psychodynamics of International Relations* (Volkan 1990). Two years before this book appeared, at an international psychoanalytic conference on the meaning of the Holocaust for those not directly affected, Volkan presented a paper at the end of which he noted

“the inability to mourn seen as a group process. The sociopolitical dilemma that Israelis face today may be examined from a specific psychological viewpoint that connects it with the effects of the Holocaust... The Holocaust cannot be mourned; human nature forbids it... An individual in a state of established pathological bereavement – and, by extension, a group in such a state – makes continuing efforts to adjust to ambiguity by using various defence mechanisms... I appreciated the unbelievable burden the Holocaust inflicted on the Jewish people – and, perhaps, on humanity as a whole” (Volkan 1988:34-36).

Defence mechanisms were mentioned by both Freuds – Sigmund and Anna – and were defined in 1985 as *“Actions or beliefs that a person utilises to escape experiencing painful emotions, such as anxiety or guilt”* (Barner-Barry 1985, p.306). Denial as a whole is generally associated with the defense of various systems, splitting and narcissism being two facets of excessive nationalism as a defence mechanism. These three principal defence mechanisms will be applied in a national context. Among Israeli psychoanalysts are several, notably Moses and Falk, who concern themselves with the effect of the Holocaust not only on the survivors but also on Israeli society as a whole, as part of a developing interest in the application of psychanalytical defence mechanisms of the individual to national groups. This article will focus, within the broad field of psychoanalytic literature, on attempts to extrapolate from the individual to the national group. Moses comments about this fruitful but problematic technique, which became established in the 1980s, as early as his summary of articles by Israelis in *Americans in Psychological Bases of War* (Winnik, Moses & Ostow 1973), published as a reaction to the Six-Day War:

I am aware that I here extrapolate from the individual to the group as though they were alike, and that this has its danger and limitations. This is a problem which has been brought to our attention by several contributors to this volume – Neubauer, Rosenberger, Jaffe, Noy, Atkin, and Gumbel... As psychoanalysts, we deal with individuals rather than with groups. Yet... many of us extend our professional interest to group phenomena... It is conceivable that we might transfer... efforts to the group, the community, the nation, the state (Winnik et al. 48; 256-257).

The focus on the psychoanalysis of the nation is particularly appropriate with reference to Israel. Moses surveyed the influences of the Holocaust on Israel, and mentions *“the loss of security in the interpersonal world”* among the survivors and their children, particularly in new and strange circumstances. In addition, he discusses the effect on Israeli society as a whole: the denial and avoidance of this

field until the early 1960s (the Eichmann trial); guilt feelings of the survivors and of Israeli society as a whole; disregard for the feelings of survivors in Israeli society, which considers praiseworthy the subordination of the individual to the common good; the first and second generation in Israel who perceived European Jewry during the Holocaust to have been "*led like lambs to the slaughter*", which in turn led to the "*Massada complex*" and the slogan "*Never Again!*" The term "*Holocaust syndrome*" is commonly used, and there is a tendency to use linguistic terms connected with the Holocaust to describe present reality: current enemies are described, by an unconscious compulsion to repetition, as the latter day personification of the Nazis of the Holocaust (Moses 1984:53-69).

In the group-national psychoanalytical analysis of the Israeli reaction to the Holocaust, we shall concentrate on the defence mechanisms of the Yishuv in the years 1943-1948. The focus on educational responses to national crises is another unique feature of this article, to be supported by a psychoanalytical analysis of the experience of the Yishuv in the 40s.

We now examine this thesis, broached by one of the most eminent international experts in the field, as it relates to our case history. Between 1943 and 1948, the patterns of coping with the Holocaust trauma changed and became more moderate. On the assumption that we are dealing with a national process that may resemble an individual's personal coping with death, a comparison should be drawn between the initial shock and the subsequent response. This article does not discuss every educational response of the Holocaust but elaborates on the beginnings of such treatment. It also discusses the national dimensions of the educational response to the Holocaust and various community aspects that were added over time, associated with place of residence, school, and family.

We shall begin with the psychoanalytical analysis of reactions to the Holocaust that are central to this article, and conclude with contemporary applications of national defence mechanisms. We mention in the summary possible educational uses of the group defence mechanisms: community emphasis, educational periodisation, and, above all, recognition of the need to consider defence mechanisms of nations when planning educational responses to national crises. We end with an argument for the generalisability of the proposed educational model.

Denial (including escape)

Denial (including escape) as a defence mechanism (Dorpat 1985; Mahl 1971:155) was an intrinsic part of the response of the Labour Movement education system to the Holocaust. On the one hand, the subject was avoided in favour

of general educational problems that predated the Holocaust; on the other hand, educators argued that the information coming in was not sufficiently clear, which made it easier to deny. Although no decision to avoid the Holocaust in preference to general matters was ever made, this was the *de facto* result, especially in view of the paucity and vagueness of the information at hand. The absence of a decision to subject the Holocaust to an educational discussion was tantamount to a decision to deal only with general problems that pertained only indirectly to the Holocaust. This is not meant as a negative value judgment but as an attestation that denial and escape were essential defence mechanisms in the individual and national grieving process in the years immediately following the Holocaust. Klein and Kogan (1989:302) state that denial and the secondary defence mechanisms that went with it were also essential: an ostensibly moderate, healthy, and adaptive way of dealing with the Holocaust had been achieved only by massive denial of the emotional impact of this period on the individual as well as the group.

The Yishuv's collective escape mechanism from the Holocaust was manifested in the concern shown by the Labour education system, in various fora, with basic educational issues as substitutes for concern with the Holocaust. Even before the Holocaust, this system vacillated about basic ethical and content problems in matters of Judaism and the Diaspora: should emphasis be placed on Judaism and Zionism or on socialism and other general theories? What branch of history, Jewish or general, should be central? Should Zionism be presented as authentic Judaism, divorced from the Diaspora and negating it, or as part of a continuous Jewish destiny that includes the Diaspora? Should individual elements within the socialist movement be stressed, or the unity of the working class, the Yishuv, and the nation as a whole?

Basic didactic and curricular dilemmas erupted at this time. Should emphasis be placed on Jewish humanism and broad education, or on the sciences and vocational training? Should historical content be taught in order to deal with current events and develop ethical standards, or for its own sake? Should attention be paid less to frameworks (social education and modern didactics) and more to content? Should relations among youth movements, and between the school and the youth movements, be strengthened? Every component of this education system faced the same dilemmas, although with differences in form, specific quality, and nuance.

Even a year or two after the end of 1942, when they already knew about the Holocaust and the mammoth issues involved in resisting the Nazis and their collaborators, Labour Movement educators preferred to confront these basic dilemmas. An escape mechanism was invoked in avoiding the direct dilemmas presented by the Holocaust (for example, rebellion versus perishing in the manner of "*lambs to the slaughter*"). The Holocaust dilemmas were complex and, during

the 1940s, blurred by the paucity of clear information. Additional reasons for this escape mechanism were guilt feelings concerning the relatively scanty assistance that the Yishuv rendered to Diaspora Jews and the traditional enjoinder against judging others without having shared their experiences.

Evidence of this escape mechanism arises in a collection of children's writings gathered for a 1944 conference under the heading, *The Present Holocaust in our Children's Education*. The Holocaust is mentioned in general terms only: "*The evil Hitler is sending the poor Diaspora children into the forests*"; "*Thousands are being slaughtered in the Diaspora*"; "*In the dense German forests / are thousands of orphaned children.*" The few dilemmas deriving directly from the Holocaust in this publication are depicted in slogans: "*The defenders of the ghetto are fighting bravely without weapons, empty-handed... They are preserving Jewish dignity... We children can do nothing and our parents cannot do much, but there are people who can save the victims and do not want to...*"; "*Why are men, women, and children, being led like lambs to the slaughter?*"; "*Once again Jews are being buried by the scores, murdered because of their Jewishness... How long will the nations of the world remain silent?*"

In contrast, other basic dilemmas such as national unity and Yishuv-Diaspora relations are given pronounced attention: "*To the children and adults who have come to us from far away... here life will be good for you, you will forget all your troubles and sufferings in the Diaspora*"; "*The Diaspora children have a dream / that they have suddenly come to the Land of Israel.*" "*We are waiting for our many brothers / Joyously shall we welcome them, joyously shall we rescue them*" (Dror 1989).

National denial of the Holocaust in the early 1940s was manifested in the disregard for, or feeble involvement with, the subject of unbearable pain. To prove that this mechanism was invoked, one must first consider the small quantity of available source material and ponder the quantity that is missing. The numerous sources reviewed for this study include the remarks of both teachers and teachers of teachers, all the protocols and journals of Labour Movement educational institutions, the journals of Labour-affiliated kibbutz and moshav movements, and notes taken at lectures and responses to them at conferences and seminars held under the auspices of Labour Movement educators – including printed material prepared for these occasions and speeches of Labour Movement educational leaders.⁴

The review shows a lack of curricula, textbooks, and anthologies for the period under discussion. Lacking their own material, teachers used textbooks from the General Zionist education system, which was more centralist-liberal in outlook. Even curricula published by the Labour Movement educational establishment at that time, such as those in the Kavim (1937; 1948/

a) series, do not mention the Holocaust. Ruth Firer elaborates on this point, noting that

"Jewish history textbooks up to 1948 had chapters devoted to a description of the Holocaust... The war period and the large number of fragmented eyewitness reports delayed the appearance of chapters on the Holocaust until the early 1950s" (Firer 1989:74).

During the last two years of the war and the three years following it, one would not expect textbooks and curricula to deal with the shock of the Holocaust, because the full magnitude of the Holocaust was not known at that time. Books, textbooks, and curricula generally appear a long time after the events they are concerned with have taken place, and the Holocaust was no exception. This is the main explanation for the absence of curricula and textbooks in the period at issue.

Further evidence of a denial mechanism in dealing with the Holocaust is the infrequent mention of this subject by teachers and educators in their publications and at conferences. Although the Yishuv was first informed of the plight of European Jewry in September 1942, the magnitude and the methodical nature of the Holocaust were not known until the middle of November of that year. In November, Yitzhak Tabenkin, leader of the United Kibbutz Movement, published a hard-hitting article on the subject (entitled "The School and the War") in a collection of conference speeches (Tabenkin et al. 1942). Not until April 1943 did responses appear in the moshav movement journal, along with a few lines in the kindergarten teachers' journal on the absorption of Holocaust refugees' children (Barash et al. 1943). At this time, in May 1943, the Labour Movement pedagogical committee, on the initiative and under the pressure of senior inspector Moshe Beagle (Avigal), declared that *"the time has come to call a special pedagogical conference to discuss questions connected with emergency situations and war"* (Pedagogical Committee 1943a). The summary of the discussion included a decision to devote a biennial conference to this question. In July 1943, Avigal published a wide-ranging educational article about the Holocaust in the journal *Urim* (Avigal 1943). His major arguments were essentially those of most Labour Movement educators. In the summer of 1943, less than a year after the magnitude of the Holocaust became known, Zvi Zohar, a leader of the Ha-kibbutz Ha-artzi movement, published an article on the effects of the war in general and on education in the Diaspora in particular, with no specific reference to the Holocaust (Zohar 1943).

In late 1943 and early 1944, a year after the Yishuv discovered the magnitude of the Holocaust and six months after the pedagogical committee held its discussion, Labour Movement educators held two general conferences that dealt with the Holocaust (General Council 1943; Pedagogical Conference 1943).

Written material for educators' use was published both before and after the conferences. Another conference, one organised by kindergarten teachers on the theme "The Present Holocaust in Our Work," took place in April 1944. Several speakers there asserted the desirability of protecting children from knowledge of the Holocaust. From then until 1948, the response to the Holocaust was even less pronounced than before. The 1945 Holocaust anthology *Even Mi-qir Tiz'aq* ("A Stone Cries Out from the Wall") contains poems and short stories about the Holocaust that liken this event to the expulsion of Jewry from Spain in 1492 (Mordecai & Hanani 1945). At conferences in 1947-1948, when the War of Independence had begun but before statehood was declared, the Holocaust was linked to "*educational problems of our times*," i.e., the time of war in Palestine (Moran 1983, pp.206-214).

Beyond the meagre number of articles and references in conference protocols and subsequent publications, the official Labour Movement educational literature subjected the Holocaust to nothing more than brief, perfunctory discussion. Avigal's centrality and firm stance stand out against the apprehensions of all other Labour educational leaders. The most obvious example of the denial defence mechanism was the tardy educational response to the Holocaust and the small number of people involved in it.

Because the denial mechanism is so central, the psychoanalytical literature categorises it in various ways. In group-national manifestations of denial, Weisman's (1972) construct of first-, second-, and third-order denial may be invoked. So may Shlomo Breznitz's (1983) seven-category structure, including the first category, denial of information, and the seventh, denial of personal relevance. However, the most relevant definition of denial in our case, particularly in discussion of educational activities for children, seems to be the classic one: denial by means of words, fantasies, or actions (Dorpat 1985). Labour educators invoked words and fantasies of Jewish heroism as a way to deny or in an effort to obliterate the incomprehensible threat of the Holocaust. To deny the demise of members of individuals' families, and of the Jews in Europe as a people, the educational activities undertaken identified specifically with the survivors and endeavoured to help them. Words, fantasies, and activities actually performed by children were acts of denial that treated Jews as heroes in both the Diaspora and the Yishuv, whether they survived the Holocaust or helped its victims. In reality, however, revolt, heroism, and rescue affected very few relative to the millions who had been slaughtered.

During the war, schools in the Yishuv did much to demonstrate their connection with the Diaspora, and these activities eventually included mention of the Holocaust. Even at the beginning of the war, kindergartens and schools held assemblies to help assimilate Diaspora children who had come to Palestine;

pupils sent letters and holiday gifts to Yishuv soldiers who served at the front and planted trees in their name. In 1943, when information about the Holocaust came to light, the 'Teheran Children'⁵ arrived, and the soldiers had become involved with the remaining refugees; these activities gathered momentum and helped to create a living link with the Diaspora. These endeavours were given high-profile attention at conferences and in various education journals. In an anthology presented at the aforementioned conference on "The Present Holocaust in Our Children's Education", children mention, among other things,

"Our Jewish soldiers sailing away... to free thousands of people from Nazi slavery"; "To our soldiers in the field we send a blessing... Let the remnants of the refugees be saved..." (The Present Holocaust in Our Children's Education, 1944).

In late 1942, some schools marked the Holocaust catastrophe with ceremonies, strikes, public petitions, and even community-wide days of mourning. The emphasis, however, was much more on the survivors than on the multitudes who perished. When the Yishuv-wide Rescue Project was organised in late 1942, children were mobilised for fundraising in the Diaspora. In *The Present Holocaust in our Children's Education* (1944), sixth-grade children tell about "*the activity of our refugee committee in Kibbutz Yagur,*" including special work assignments with the proceeds dedicated to the refugee children's fund, and "*saving and reduction of our allowances so the money can be sent to the refugee children; every child who celebrates his birthday gives up his parents' presents and the money goes into the fund.*" Children prepared hand-made gifts for young refugees who would come to Palestine. Sixth-grade children in Degania made similar efforts, and those in eighth grade embarked on three relief projects: planting potatoes for hungry children, warm clothes and other necessities for refugee children from Poland who had reached Teheran, and gifts for soldiers. Kindergartens emphasised Diaspora and Holocaust themes in drawing and class discussion, retelling of stories of courage, and the children's creative play (*Activities In The Kindergarten*, 1943). In schools, information about the Diaspora, including its economic situation, culture, community structure, and institutions, was given prominence in literature and history lessons (Porat 1986; Education Center, 1944:12,16,25).

Nonformal activities in Labour Movement education also became more intense shortly after the first reports about the magnitude of the Holocaust. Principally, they involved strengthening relations with the Diaspora and the Yishuv soldiers and practical assistance to refugees. The Yishuv expressed its escape from direct confrontation with the Holocaust in a ceremonial fashion because it was unprepared and unable to deal meaningfully with the dilemmas that

facéd Jewry in general and itself in particular. The nonformal framework includes activities viewed as preparations for a possible Holocaust in the Yishuv: calisthenics and hikes by students in the higher grades under the heading of *hagam* (a Hebrew acronym for “expanded physical training”). These activities, like those mentioned above, focused on the Yishuv and its problems and placed no special emphasis on the Holocaust itself (Porat 1986:77-101; 74-101; 117-173).

The discussion of denial may be summed up in the words of Rafael Moses, who dealt with this mechanism as manifested in Israel and its attitudes toward the Holocaust. While acknowledging that Israel is a special case, Moses concludes that, “firmly believe that the use of the mechanism of denial in political process is ubiquitous. In each nation and in each society, denial takes on a form, a garb, that is specific to those circumstances that elicit denial” (Moses 1989:293).

Splitting between Diaspora and Yishuv

“Splitting of the ego may result from either repression or denial” (Dorpat 1985:63-64; Kohut 1971). Splitting as a post-Holocaust defence mechanism is manifested in sharp differentiation between the Diaspora and Palestine and the rejection of the Diaspora – itself an older Zionist splitting mechanism – with certain ameliorating modifications. The Diaspora is part of the Jewish nation in Palestine, especially after the Holocaust, but deserves repudiation because the Holocaust proves beyond doubt that ‘we’ – the Palestine-born (*sabras*) and the Zionist immigrants – are superior to Diaspora Jews. The Diaspora should be remembered and memorialised, but its negation is expressed even more strongly by its association with deliverance and the imperative of absorbing the survivors by the Yishuv.

As part of the national radicalisation, all those who spoke and wrote about the Holocaust from an educational point of view (discussed later) revised their attitude toward the Diaspora and sublimated their negation by converting it and by linking the Diaspora with salvation. They now stressed the Diaspora, its link with *aliya* (Jewish immigration to Palestine/Israel), and its assimilation in Palestine – after years of negating the Diaspora as an educational principle that stressed the need for settlement in Palestine. Moshe Talmi of Kefar Yehezkel described this well at the General Council (1943):

“Our children were given the impression that a nobler tribe was growing here and that in the Diaspora one finds a world of middlemen and shopkeepers... We turned this into a powerful creative fulcrum, but we exaggerated to the point of expressing an inhuman attitude to the Diaspora. We have to correct this... to unfold the tremendous balance sheet of Diaspora creativity.”

Shmuel Golan, of the Kibbutz Ha'artzi movement, explained "*the profound contradiction between our renewal of life in Palestine and... the scenes of Diaspora life... Just the same, we must now make the foreign and negative Diaspora more attractive to the child*" (Pedagogical Conference, 1943). In 1943, Yitzhak Tabenkin, an affiliate of the more activist and nationalist United Kibbutz Movement, again mentioned "*the ingathering of the exiles*", the absorption of tens of thousands of orphans and other exiles in a "*settlement process*" (Educator's Conference, 1943:6,15).

The splitting mechanism in repudiating the Diaspora is recognisable, for instance, in statements by agricultural settlers who had been wont to accent the difference between the Diaspora and Palestine. Moshe Avigal and Ya'akov Halperin (Y. Niv) of Tel Aviv spoke of studying the Diaspora as opposed to studying and even loving Palestine, for such would help the Yishuv absorb refugees. The concepts they stressed included "*the many forms of kiddush hashem (martyrdom in sanctification of God's name) [especially] in the ghettos*" (Avigal 1944, p.6; Halperin 1944). In late 1943, the Labour Movement Pedagogical Committee asked several senior educators to give lectures in its local branches on "Diaspora Jewry and Our Education" in preparation for the 1944 conference (Pedagogical Committee, 1943b). At the kindergarten teachers' conference, *aliya* and the Diaspora were paired in order to sublimate the negation of the latter: "[to] create the right attitude toward aliya and the Diaspora – we have linked the slogans 'Open your children's hearts to the Jewish remnants' and 'Your children shall return to their country' (Jeremiah 31:17)" (*The Present Holocaust And Our Work*, 1944). In 1945, the aforementioned school reader *A Stone Cries Out from the Wall* included creative writing from the Diaspora with the writings of Hebrew authors who had settled in Palestine (Mordecai & Hanani 1945).

The splitting mechanism with regard to the Diaspora was also expressed pointedly in children's writings collected for the pedagogical conference in 1944: "*When I lie down to sleep, I think of the Diaspora children... When will the children be returned to their country?*"; "*To my brother in the Diaspora... be strong! Hold on until salvation comes!... Together we shall live a life of liberty and peace here in our country, the Land of Israel!*"; "*Listen to me, young man! Your destiny is linked to ours by ties unbreakable... The hope, the hope of the nation, depends upon you, your comrades, and your hundreds of brothers*".

One of the children in this collection mentions the positive side of the Diaspora in remarks about the Holocaust which has forced Jews to come to Palestine, combining all the elements of splitting in repudiation of the Diaspora:

"Even now in Europe the Jewish flame, which has never been extinguished, burns with all its majesty and glory... and its light is touching

and illuminating all the dispersed Jews all over the world. This flame has spread Torah and knowledge throughout the Diaspora, and now – even though only a mere ember of this great flame remains, flickering and dying and burning again, it is never totally extinguished, just like the waning rays of light on the horizon after sunset, yesterday's refugees and the auguries of tomorrow's light... Behold, the great Mediterranean Sea spreads out before me... Who knows, perhaps at this very moment hundreds of desolate Jewish refugees are being borne by its waves, rowing to a safe shore... My brothers, my people in distress, do not despair: prepare for the approaching light of dawn" (Education Center 1944).

National narcissism or excessive nationalism

Barner-Barry (1985, p.307) defines narcissism as an individual trait with group ramifications: *"an abnormally high interest or investment in the self or one's self regard"* (also Mack 1983:54, 61-63). The emphasis on nationality, heroism, and education for war was most marked in the speeches and writings of Labour Movement educators after the Holocaust became known. In 1944, in speeches to the General Council and at the pedagogical conference, Avigal expressed the radicalisation of the Yishuv in dilemmas over content and ideology in Labour Movement education by referring to the "proportions of Jewishness and Europeanism":

"It is our duty to build a sound structure of Jewishness in our children's hearts before we begin to embellish [this structure] with foreign ornaments... Perhaps we can use the idea of a chosen people to educate this generation and give it a stronger sense of self-pride, which will also make them better able to withstand danger to the country in time of need" (Avigal 1944).

The pedagogical conference of 1944 was devoted to the sixtieth birthday of the historian of the Diaspora, Ben Zion Dinberg (Dinur). Moshe Talmi of Kefar Yehezkel suggested at the conference, and on other occasions (Pedagogical Committee, 1944a; 1944b; 1944c; 1945) that Jewish studies – Bible, *aggada* (Talmudic legends), and the daily and festival prayerbooks – "be strengthened". The pedagogical committee held many discussions on the matter and even heard a proposal to this effect, later published in the journal *Urim* (Talmi et al. 1945/6) by Dr. Max Solieli (Menachem Soloveitchik), the head of the Education Department of the National Council and one of the leaders of the radical, liberal-centre party in the World Zionist Organisation. In 1946, the committees proposed that Jewish studies be reinforced (Pedagogical Committee 1946).

The emphasis on nationalism from 1942-1944 on was accompanied by routine references to courage and strength, Jewish superiority, and the need to educate for war. Tabenkin began the public debate with his article "The School and the War" in November 1942:

"Education in the spirit of militarism for the Yishuv, for every one of us, should begin in kindergarten, not only at school – even in the infant's home. Oppressed nations can overpower [evil]; the image of David, of Saul, [and] characters from the Bible educate for martial excellence, the importance of courage, and the fraternity of arms" (Tabenkin et al. 1942).

Tabenkin expressed the same attitude at the pedagogical conference (1943):

"Can the Jewish people educate its sons for war – to the inability to withstand these wars?... Is defence unethical?... The dream of pacifism has been destroyed..." (Educator's Conference 1943:1-16).

Educators Haim Shifroni and Ya'akov Salant, members of Kibbutz 'Ein Harod like Tabenkin, supported his ideas (Tabenkin et al. 1942). David Barash of Kefar Yehoshua, writing in his movement's publication *Telamim*, expressed support for "education for struggle – with all of one's physical and mental strength, for Jewish independence", and believed that "Massada (and not Yavne)⁶ is becoming the focal experience of our youth... [T]he blood of Massada is, first and foremost, our blood". (Barash et al. 1943).

These ideas of the rural settlement leaders, led by Tabenkin, aroused little opposition on the Left. Shmuel Golan (Pedagogical Conference, 1943) and Menahem Gerson (General Council, 1943), leading educators in the Hakibbutz Ha-artzi movement, opposed 'socionational isolationism' because "The time has not yet come to deny ourselves European culture", especially since Tabenkin himself had spoken in favor of an 'international world'. Throughout the Labour Movement, only a few leaders from *moshavim*, loyal to the pacifistic approach of A. D. Gordon, argued against the danger of education for war and urged "education for peace" (Barash et al. 1943).

National-war radicalisation also expressed itself beyond the settlement movements. Ya'akov Halperin (Niv), one of the leaders in Labour education, believed in "Love thy neighbour" on the one hand and in "An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth" on the other: "devotion to our honor and self-sacrifice in our own defence" (Halperin 1943; Niv 1956:89).

It took until 1944 for a review to appear of the booklet *The History of Defence in Israel*, written by Ya'akov Cana'ani (1940) and published by the Education Center of the Histadrut. The review stresses "events [in which] Jews fought,

weapon in hand, the story of our people's defence in the Diaspora... as holy". Missing from the booklet is *"the story of the courage of the tribes of Israel against the Arabs"* (Zeidman & Ben Yehuda 1943).

Avigal also stated explicitly that

"One... also needs to know how to fight... among the [other] noble goals of education one should add the goal needed to attain all the other goals: education for courage... both for survival and for the war to build a new (Jewish-Hebrew) world" (Avigal 1944:2-4).

At the 1944 pedagogical conference, Yehuda Polani claimed that *"The courage of the struggle should be portrayed as miraculous – be it death in the sanctification of God's name or be it self-defence"*. Leah Talmi asserted, *"We have nothing to hide about Joshua's conquest. Quite the contrary – we should illuminate all the heroism in the Bible"*. A participant named Rodnitzky summed up: *"We should reveal hitherto concealed events in Judaism [and] show the children that we are superior, nobler than other nations"* (Pedagogical Conference 1943).

The children's writings collected for this pedagogical conference show many expressions of national-war radicalisation in response to the Holocaust. Several examples follow: *"We, we the children, we remember / our soldiers fighting... for the homeland; the festival of Hanukka will encourage us to fight with redoubled courage, until we too defeat our enemies as the Maccabis did"*. *"Our soldiers, fight night and day / save the Jewish refugees. . . do not rest, Hebrew soldiers! Be like the heroic Maccabis"*. Another fine example connects Jewish history with the Holocaust and the struggle of the Yishuv against the British and unifies all three. *"Shouldn't we regard the Hasmonaean rebellion, the stand at Massada, the Warsaw Ghetto uprising, the resistance against the [British] authorities at Hulda, and the more aggressive resistance at Ramat Hakovesh, as a continuous strand of Jewish valour? Everyone who hates us has always had one aim: to oppress us, this small nation that strives to be its own master and attain freedom and liberty"* (Education Center 1944).

Tabenkin's and Avigal's statements were included in the booklet published for the National Conference of Kindergarten Teachers at Passover 1944 (*The Present Holocaust*, 1944), as were many descriptions by kindergarten children that were added to the schoolchildren's writings. The modern Jewish soldiers were repeatedly likened to the Maccabis; poems, stories, and letters emphasised the link between these soldiers and earlier Jewish heroism. Children's war games and courage were described in great detail. Summing up, the publication explained that the children should not be left with a feeling of helplessness; the young generation should be taught to know and feel that, because the Yishuv was so

small, no miracles would occur and that succour from outside or from the heavens should not be expected (*The Present Holocaust* 1944:52).

The protocols of the lectures and discussions at the kindergarten teachers' conference are replete with quotations from Tabenkin's attitude and similar expressions in support of heroism. Several examples follow:

"We should sow love and respect for our heroes in the hearts of our children – admiration for the anonymous hero... respect for women, the heroic mother... [Let us] place the image of the hero at a distance... describe his exalted superhuman qualities... [Let us tell] stories that educate for devotion and patriotism... formation of character... love of nation, and national pride."

The slogans of the conference were similar:

"The Maccabis and today's unknown soldier are part of one continuous chain. The heroism of our defenders will be an example for the lives of our children. We shall sow admiration for the unknown soldier in the hearts of our children: he will be like a Maccabi and the heroism of the Diaspora will live in our hearts forever" (*The Present Holocaust* 1944).

Emphasis on national heroism and education for war are two of the most conspicuous reactions to the Holocaust, each combining denial, splitting, and additional basic defence mechanisms: reaction formation ("a change in the impulse one is experiencing that distorts it") and projection ("Something internal to the individual... experienced as being lodged in some other person or object") (Barner-Barry 1985:307).

The negative qualities of fear and helplessness were transformed into heroism in the Yishuv and projected onto the Diaspora Jew. National heroism and education for war, as previously described, reflected, in essence, the fear and helplessness of the Jewish community, which engaged in reaction formation to the extent of cultivating excessive heroic nationalism. The splitting mechanism and denial of the Diaspora projected this fear and helplessness on the Diaspora Jews. Here it is proper to use the term 'primitive defences', which Muir (1982) invokes to denote the three mechanisms previously discussed – denial, splitting, and projective identification – that Laing (1967) includes among the 'transpersonal defences'.

Emphasising national unity at the expense of the individual qualities of the classes and currents within it is an additional aspect of the aforementioned defense mechanism. National narcissism and denial of internal differences, problems, and tensions in the Yishuv did not come to an end after the Holocaust but emerged in

differences of opinion in the sources already quoted. Subordinating the youth movements to the schools, as demanded at the time, was another manifestation of these defence mechanisms, contrary as such a step was to the divided nature of the educational establishment at the time.

The mechanism of unification – the stressing of national unity at the expense of the integrity of the nation's separate parts – stands out clearly in quotations from children's writing that illuminate the splitting mechanism in the sublimation of negation of the Diaspora. The Labour Movement educators had another aspect to keep in mind, that of Palestine in its political sense, i.e., the need to transcend narrow party considerations within the movement and throughout the Yishuv. The Holocaust cemented the long-desired unity of class and nation and gave it nearly universal consensus, as expressed in a speech by Avigal (1945):

"In our children's education, it is incumbent upon us now to emphasise, accent, and deepen the feeling of solidarity, mutual responsibility, and common destiny of all parts of the nation with its many different classes and streams. This is a call not for uniformity in education. . . but for unity of the nation."

Avigal specifically demanded a "real peace covenant between the Mapai (United Labor Party) factions", a truce – if not a merger – between Mapai and the leftist Hashomer Hatzair movement, and "unification of all youth movements in the Histadrut". Beyond the withdrawal into conservative education, emphasis was placed on a unification of educational elements in the proposal to merge the spiritual influence of school and youth movements: "[Within] the sphere of youth movements and school... [we should] move quickly to unite all the Histadrut youth movements... and strengthen the links between school and youth movement" (Avigal, 1945:213-260). All voices in the Labour education system agreed that the combination of the schools and the Histadrut youth movements was highly desirable: unification of all the Histadrut youth movements on the one hand, and their integration into the formal education system on the other.

Other speakers agreed with these demands and repeated their remarks on other public occasions. The left wing, however, expressed doubts about this issue, as about others, and held its political and ideological ground. Despite the broad consensus at the level of principle, the national-unification mechanism triggered by the Holocaust remained in the realm of short-lived declarations. Another aspect of the growing national narcissism stressed the uniqueness and superiority of the Jewish cultural heritage. From the standpoint of didactics and curricula, Labour education stood out even before the Holocaust for the equilibrium it sought between practical matters (especially in the study of science) and a broad liberal-arts education, particularly in the upper grades. One obvious dilemma in the

latter part of the curriculum was how to strike a balance between objectivity and education for relevant ethical conclusions through selected subject matter. The Holocaust resolved this dilemma by tilting education in the direction of Jewish humanism and relevant ethics. Just as nationalism and education for war typified the radicalisation of content and ethics, so, from the standpoint of didactics and curricula, did this radicalisation come into clearer focus in the propensity to deal only with relevant ethical subject matter in Jewish humanism. It was Avigal, as before, who led the public discussion of this issue. Here we see the beginnings of his ideas and the responses they elicited. His colleagues in the Labour education leadership, along with professional educators, accepted his proposal in greater part. *"On the subject of the balance between science and the humanities in our education,"* Avigal said at various conferences in 1943,

"I myself believe... we shall return to the original Jewish approach, which assumes that humanism - principally Jewish humanism - lies at the very basis of education and transforms science and other practical studies into servants that realize its noble ethical goals" (Pedagogical Conference 1943; General Council 1943).

Avigal did not challenge the necessity of science and practical education but believed that the proportions should be recalculated after the Holocaust, *"at the time when life is... tempestuous, in flux, and undergoing complete transformation"*.

Avigal and his colleagues recommended most of the changes in the ratio of exact sciences to Jewish humanistic studies in view of a clearly narcissistic preference for Judaism and its values over the exact sciences of the gentiles. The purpose was to strengthen the national consciousness of the children of the Chosen People. Avigal favored the choice of selected Jewish-humanistic subject matter, mostly historical, in order to draw conclusions about current events. *"Are we not obliged to choose the chapters from the history of each period and social situation that are suitable as a guide and example for current times?... This is so for economics and political geography, Bible studies, and literature."* He emphasised the quality of acquired knowledge for the purposes of *"ethical education"*, *"inspiration"*, and the *"development of spiritual powers and the creation of a worldview based upon ethics"*. Avigal's emphasis on ethics and current events was connected with the *"engagement of the spirit and cooperation between the educator's emotions and desires... and [those of] the student"*. Ideological studies were supposed to address themselves to the individual but without indoctrination (Avigal 1945).

Avigal's pragmatic and selective approach toward the humanities had its critics - especially among people of the Left and those, like Tabenkin, who

considered science and practical studies essential to prepare students for a life of pioneering self-actualisation. Most of the speakers and writers, however, agreed with Avigal, although they bickered about the priorities. Halperin (1943:35), for example, wrote about *"the absolute need to step up humanistic education at this time"*, and Shifroni (1944:21) – a science teacher – demanded a curriculum that would illuminate *"all discoveries reflecting the lives of the Jewish masses from the new Yiddish literature, revolutionary and pioneering literature, and the literature of the Jewish underground and its heroes"*. Avigal's selective approach was elaborated in *A Stone Cries Out From the Wall* (Mordecai & Hanani 1945), in which, as noted above, the Holocaust was likened to the expulsion from Spain. Scores of other historical events and heroes can be found in all the source material reviewed.

The demand for the formal study of subjects with Jewish content (in schools and in the youth movements under their authority) for the drawing of appropriate value lessons is not only a national-narcissistic defense mechanism, it includes two other mechanisms, namely 'intellectualisation' and 'rationalisation'. The first can be considered to be a subsystem of isolation. In this regard, Mahl (1971:183) notes that intellectualisation is *"An exaggerated emphasis on thought... is another frequent form of isolation. We all attempt to minimize our emotions when we try to think logically about a practical or intellectual problem. The isolator carries this process to an extreme for defensive purposes"*. 'Rationalisation' places an emphasis on values learned rather than on feelings. Both mechanisms are connected not only with nationalist narcissism but with denial as well: *"According to Haan... intellectualisation... denies the logically indicated connecting relationships among things... [and] rationalisation denies the reality of a chain of causal events"* (Dorpat 1985:17; Hann 1977).

Contemporary applications of national defence mechanisms

What I have attempted to do in this article thus far is to draw on the history of education to provide additional evidence that defence mechanisms exist in relation to nations in general, and in relation to Israel as regards the Holocaust in particular. This is an addition to the psychoanalytic analysis of responses to the Holocaust which dealt principally with Holocaust survivors. In a survey article Kren (1989) mentions the works of Anna Freud, Bruno Bettelheim, Victor Frankl, Yael Danieli and others whose concern is with the ineradicable imprint of the Holocaust on those who survived, and on their own therapeutic methods. He mentions the new concern with the effect of the Holocaust on the children of survivors, and the fact that *"only in a limited way has the experience of treating survivors a modification of established psychiatric theory"* (p.16).

Discussion of defence mechanisms with reference to groups and nations, as well as to individuals, appears in the psychoanalytic literature as early as the 1970s. The evidence added and analysed in this article follows trends in this field in the 1980s. Myers mentions that

"A prominent concept emerging in Kohut's 'psychology of self' is that of narcissism [and] Hitler as a narcissistic personality... It is a simple historical fact that Hitler was the Holocaust's primary cause, whereas from a larger psychological vantage point it was rather a society amounting to a kind of group self" (Myers 1988:314-316).

Myers cites psychological and other sources that deal with narcissism, denial, and other group or national defense mechanisms, all of them relating to the German nation beyond Hitler himself during the Nazi period. A considerable body of research addresses itself to group or national defence mechanisms from a Jewish-Israeli perspective. R. Moses made the following points in 1984:

"Psychological mechanisms, which we know well in the individual from our psychoanalytic observations, can be ascertained to exist in a group [although] there are considerable methodological problems... We have amassed a great deal of knowledge of group processes from a variety of settings beyond what happens intrapsychically within the individual... If we clinicians are cautious enough in approaching the [methodological] problem, our contribution should not and will not, I think, be dismissed out of hand" (Moses 1984:66).

In 1991, after the Gulf War, Moses made the following observation:

"We draw an analogy [with reference to pathological narcissism and excessive nationalism] from those of the individual... because of methodological difficulties [in bridging between a concept developed in relation to the individual and its application with respect to a group] we may lose all we have learned in decades. This knowledge must apply to a certain extent to the group as it does to the individual" (Moses et al. 1991:1).

R. Moses and A. Falk (among other Israelis) elaborate on the case of Israel and its response to the Holocaust as a conspicuous example of the existence of group defense mechanisms. Falk presented his hypothesis at the Twenty-Third Scholarly Conference of the Israel Association of Psychologists in 1991, and again in an article (Falk 1993):

"[My] hypothesis... is that the Jews have not been able to mourn their terrible historical losses and injuries. Instead, the unconscious defensive processes of denial, projection, externalization, and splitting have operated collectively. The Israeli Jews have not properly mourned their collective losses, above all the six million Jews massacred by the Nazis in the Holocaust, as well as the thousands of soldiers killed in their wars with the Arabs" (Falk 1991).

Analysis of the case history we presented confirms the existence of the group defence mechanisms mentioned by Falk. In 1983, John Mack discussed the issue of 'Nationalism and the Self' in the *Psychohistory Review*, which devoted a double issue to 'Psychohistorical Studies on Science and Nationalism'. There Mack mentions the Israeli suspicion of a possible 'final solution' to the Israeli-Arab problem and notes the radical Jewish nationalism that may take shape in response to this ongoing problem, principally because of the psychological residue of the Holocaust (Mack 1983:54, 61-63). The historical research reported in this article proves that such residues do, in fact, exist.

The psychoanalytic approach of Moses, Falk, Mack, and others toward the Holocaust and its effects on Israeli society in conflict with the surrounding Arab peoples is part of the general analysis of international relations by means of psychoanalytic instruments. This method of inquiry finds comprehensive expression in a book edited by Volkan and his colleagues, entitled *The Psychodynamics of International Relations* (1990). Psychoanalytic studies on national and international issues may be educationally useful in times of national crisis. We shall now indicate two additional directions of such usefulness – educational uses and generalisability – returning to the example of how the Yishuv and Israel dealt educationally with the Holocaust.

The educational uses of national defence mechanisms – periodisation and community emphasis

The educational uses of national defence mechanisms become particularly clear over a long stretch of time, as has been shown in the historical overview presented earlier. Several educational conferences took place in 1947-1948, the critical time shortly before and at the beginning of the War of Independence. At these conferences, Avigal and others linked the Holocaust with the crucial events in the Yishuv at that time. The educational dilemmas triggered by the Holocaust in 1943-1945 resurfaced in the context of the War of Independence. The educators still did not address themselves to the Holocaust itself but, having learned about

the Holocaust four or five years previously, presented the issues in a more balanced and moderate way.

In 1947, Avigal prescribed more extensive Jewish studies as a solution to the problem of "*Nazism, Fascism [and the impotence of Socialism]*", but this time more moderately than before. Gentile European humanism should still be soft-pedaled, he said, but this should be done according to "*a view of man and the world as reflected by Judaism... in order to fashion a unique brand of general humanism structured from our special point of view.*"

Of all people, it was Avigal – who in 1944 had believed in reconfiguring the curriculum to the detriment of science and practical subjects – who demanded in 1947 "*the broadening and strengthening of agricultural and technical education, [these being] necessary practical tools in realizing the vision of building the land and society of resurrected Israel... [along with] enhanced physical training*" (Avigal 1947; 1957).

Avigal's colleagues – who in 1944 had opposed any de-emphasis of didactics and social education – took the same position at the conferences in 1947. Ya'akov Halperin (1947) stressed "*the eternal values of Judaism*" side by side with "*the new scientific pedagogy*" and "*the institutions of children's society managed by the children themselves.*" Yehuda Ehrlich (1948) accentuated the "*discovery of the light in Judaism*" together with "*the organized social life of the children based upon mutual assistance and consideration of others*", and so on. As Moses (1989:66) says,

"The use of the denial mechanism by Israelis is also evident with respect to the Holocaust. Although the bare facts had certainly become public knowledge by 1945, it took much longer for them to sink in, to be accepted, and to be integrated into the Israeli psyche. This denial extended to the recognition of psychological reactions to the Holocaust, descriptions of which did not appear in the professional literature until the late 1950s or the early 1960s – a time interval of fifteen years."

This process of educational response to the Holocaust requires detailed periodisation. Our findings point to three distinct periods even in the 1940s: the initial shock (from the end of 1942 to 1944), lack of response (1945-1946), and the beginning of proportion in the educational response to the Holocaust (1947-1948). Ruth Firer, in her research on the articulation of the Holocaust in anthologies, textbooks, and research literature between 1948 and 1988, points to two periods and suggests a subdivision:

"The period of Holocaust shock: 1945-1961, and the period of insight: 1961-1988. Between 1963 and 1973, the Eichmann trial took place and both

the Six-Day War and the Yom Kippur War broke out. During this time, the Israeli public consciousness of the Holocaust underwent a change that was manifested in textbooks from the 1970s onwards" (Firer 1989:147).

Continuing with the proposed educational periodisation for the 1940s, we suggest that it is also possible to enumerate the periods after the establishment of the state – before and after the Eichmann trial – in a way that correlates them with Israel's wars. This educational periodisation is associated with the existence, balance, and moderation of national defence mechanisms.

This may be viewed as corresponding to the personal processes of coping with death and struggling with crises (Kaiser-Streams 1984), taken from psychology and the behavioural sciences and utilised for educational purposes. Such a periodisation may also be broadened and used as a procedural model for the examination of educational treatment of periods of national crisis in general (Wass 1982).

The national emphasis is very strong in all the mechanisms that typified the beginnings of the response to the Holocaust. Only after the Eichmann trial in the 1960s (as indicated in Firer's study) did the transition from educational activity at the national level to that at the local and family levels begin; this took place as part of the process described in detail above. The beginning of the process was characterised by displacement to the Diaspora and excessive nationalism. After the period of shock and the national silence that lasted until the 1960s, educational activities focused on the level of local communities and individuals and their families. Formal and nonformal educational activities focused with greater intensity on the individual and the Holocaust, the local and school community, and, principally, the family community. It suffices to review briefly the ways in which the Holocaust was memorialised in the 1980s: numerous individual and group testimonies; seminars for youth and teachers at Holocaust commemorative centres that focused on presenting evidence, dealing with ethical dilemmas, and family contexts; youth missions to Poland and the sites of the extermination camps; and curricula and enrichment material that stressed the currency and the personal and family relationship between today's youth and the Holocaust. The author has elsewhere discussed in detail this community model of social education as moral education in the Labour Movement education system; the findings there are also applicable to the educational response to the Holocaust (Dror 1993; 1994).

Scholarly research has hardly dealt with educational and curricular responses to serious national crises, let alone the Holocaust (Dror 1994:xiv, 83-94). It is impossible to equate the Holocaust with any other national crisis, yet it seems that the Jewish people has an approximation of this trauma in the form of Israel's wars, as the aforementioned sources in the psychoanalytic literature illustrate.

The Six-Day War and the Yom Kippur War are accepted in many Israeli circles as demarcations of periods. They influenced curricula with an increase or decrease in favourable attitudes toward Jewish rural settlement and other matters. Ben-Peretz (1976) examined the implications of the Yom Kippur War for curricular planning in Israel by setting forth a planning process: from diagnosing national weaknesses to defining the consequent needs of the learners and proposing a detailed curriculum. Schremer (1983) set forth a "*pedagogical and curricular strategy*" for educational confrontation with current events arising from Israel's war in Lebanon, meant for use in Jewish education in the Diaspora. The model proposed in this article is meant to augment the curricular proposals. It illustrates the need to identify the national defence mechanisms of both teachers and students in order to find educational solutions to the dilemmas that surface in severe national crises. Our accomplishment here, at the very least, is in our reference to the initial period and the factors of process (time) and community. Our intention is neither to judge the Yishuv educators of the 1940s nor to determine which defence mechanisms are unsuitable or immature and which deserve to be called mature, as the term is used in the psychological literature with reference to personal defence mechanisms. This article identifies the defence mechanisms that Yishuv educators and their students used immediately after the Holocaust, on the assumption that some of these mechanisms and/or others will be used in other severe national crises. They should be taken into consideration in planning an educational response using the terminology of psychoanalysis.

The generalisability of the proposed educational model

The generalisability of the proposed model is based on an analysis of reactions to the Holocaust among Jews in Palestine from the middle to the late 1940s. It points to the need to consider the possibility of generalising from this particular case, in historical, psychological, and theological research on the Holocaust, to other national settings.

The proposed use of the educational model (and mainly the periodisation) is compatible with the general tendency in the literature to advance, following Fred Katz, to the third universal existentialist phase of reference to the Holocaust. This phase follows the silence and denial of the 1940s and the study and attempts to explain and memorialise that marked the period from 1950 to 1980.

"The Third Phase is still in a state of emergence. We do not know yet its total configuration... One starting point is that knowledge of the horrors of the Holocaust has not prevented additional genocidal actions from occurring

in many parts of the world. And, in confronting these horrors, the Third Phase includes a Holocaust-inspired sense of shared grief for the suffering of others. This points the way to a universalism, a moving beyond the earlier, very understandable, inward-looking orientation toward the Holocaust... The Third Phase requires moving onto a new universalism through which knowledge gained from the Holocaust may yet contribute some sanity and hope for the future" (Katz 1989:1183-1186).

Chaim Schatzker numbers the 'existential approach' as the third phase in the impact of the Holocaust on Israeli society and education, following the first phase of 'demonization' and 'psychological repression' and the second, instrumental phase, in which the Holocaust is explained as human and social behavior, however deviant. Schatzker notes the Israeli educational focus on the national plane on one hand and its international significance on the other:

"The 'existential' approach criticized the former 'instrumental' approach as being too one-sided, disciplinary, abstract, universal and sophisticated, thus missing the very core of the Holocaust, i.e. the existential struggle of Jews caught up in an inhuman, dehumanizing situation, facing persecution, the conditions of the Ghetto and the machinery of death... Is it perhaps the hidden hope of political and religious extremists to strengthen their arguments through identification with the Holocaust? Or is it just one more revelation of a world wide phenomenon, i.e. turning the Holocaust into a symbol of the 'condition humaine' of our time, characterized by the Vietnam War, Biafra, Cambodia, the energy crisis, unsolved economic and social problems...?" (Schatzker 1989:974).

Comparably with our educational model, E. M. Pattison performs a similar ideological-cultural analysis. His inquiry is followed by conclusions that compare psychoanalytic and moral approaches in general, and attitudes toward the Holocaust in particular, and find them universal:

"If psychoanalysis is to be a moral science, it must affirm the presence of objectively evil acts of man. Only then, can psychoanalysis affirm the evil of the Holocaust... A psychodynamic description of the moral process in man must account for the capacity to choose good or evil... The Holocaust is no isolated aberration of human behaviour. Genocide has occurred before and will occur again if we do not maintain vigilance. History teaches us that normal persons commit atrocities... We might well consider restoring the concepts of sin, evil, and moral process to our psychoanalytic lexicon as major components of human behavior that are uniquely human attributes..."

From this perspective psychoanalytic theory can address the Holocaust as the sinful saga that it is" (Pattison 1984:88-89).

Like historians, theologians, and others, researchers who discuss educational tools in dealing with the Holocaust relate to its universal significance. We consider this important because, throughout the historical analysis, it has been shown that most of the educational and historical reactions have international and even current aspects. Yitzchak Mais, in his analysis of curricula, exhibits, museums, archives, and projects, draws conclusions with respect to exhibits that apply to the other media as well:

"The basic goal of all Holocaust exhibitions is to heighten awareness, educate about the Holocaust, and most importantly stimulate questions and issues that will remain with the visitors and hopefully be incorporated into their understanding of the world they live in" (Maiz 1989:1780).

At the end of their probing analysis of four major Holocaust curricula in the United States, Mary Glynn and Gisela Bock reach the following conclusion:

"Our investigation will not give comfort to those Jews who see the Holocaust exclusively from within the perspective of Jewish history... The curricula studied had a measurable, positive impact on those very values which undergird American society" (Glynn et al 1982:131-132).

A similar conclusion on the general human values to adduce from the Holocaust is reached by Luba Krogman-Gurdus, who discusses Holocaust research in the United States:

"A similar method [to that of "Facing History and Ourselves", a program used in Brookline, Massachusetts], instituted by Arieh Carmon of Israel... appealed strongly to teachers in California. It rests on three basic assumptions: the ambiguity and the contradictions in our complicated world must be overcome; the individual should adopt values and grasp their personal consequences; willingness to teach values with familiar and relevant material... The fact that most educators are convinced that the lessons of the Holocaust are universal is a valuable teaching tool... It sensitizes the students to human suffering and makes them more aware of dangers and evils that threaten their own society. They recognize the need to bring the most conspicuous message of the Holocaust to students of all nations and religions... [Holocaust curricula taught in the United

States] tend to avoid historiography and conventional teaching plans and favor the socio-ethical aspect... [They] shift the emphasis from subject to learner and from historical facts to personal evaluation" (Gurdus 1984: 261-262).

We, too, have tried to depart from the 1940s case history in keeping with the trend toward normalisation, universalism, and the ethical message of the Holocaust for all people, particularly in the educational domain. It is no coincidence that the main phenomena mentioned in this article are evident among various peoples, not only Jews in Palestine at the end of the British Mandate period. Not only in the immediate aftermath of the Holocaust but to this very day, guilt feelings, escapism, repudiation of the Diaspora and splitting, narcissism, and excessive nationalism are universal types of human behavior that transcend the specific time and place that this article discusses. To a greater or a lesser extent, these defense mechanisms characterised all Holocaust survivors, all Jews at that time, and, for that matter, gentiles who did not extend a helping hand to the Jews and other slaughtered peoples, i.e., the Germans and some of the Nazis and their children. Only the repudiation of the Diaspora is specifically Zionist. Splitting, in contrast, is a common intergenerational mechanism in Germany, especially between the Nazis and their children. Present-day cases of genocide, too, display these mechanisms. It is no coincidence that historians and political scientists, psychologists and theologians, cite the Holocaust of European Jewry with reference to national calamities of our own day. Therefore, national defence mechanisms provide a suitable universal model of socio-educational response to national crises such as genocide events. The message of this model in terms of education and values is by necessity one of relatively primitive mechanisms functioning as a primary response, along with a subsequent attempt to replace them with more constructive mechanisms (the time dimension) that shift the emphasis from the nation to the individual and his or her community.

The national defence-mechanism model, expressed by both teachers and students, is also part of the history of education and may serve education policymakers as a tool in future national crises. The use of current historical knowledge for the future has been accepted in this field in recent years (Silver 1990). With respect to the case study and the response toward the Holocaust in particular, no judgment about the Yishuv's initial educational response to the Holocaust can be passed today. It is essential from the universal point of view to recognise the process of educational response to the trauma of the Holocaust when it began, at the height of the Yishuv period, and how it continues in Israel and among the Jewish people to this day.

Notes

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² The research draws on primary and secondary sources from collections in the below mentioned archives:

KMA – HaKibbutz HaMeuhad Archives, Yad Tabenkin, Efal;

LA – Labor Archives in the Lavon Institute, Tel Aviv;

YJEA – Yellin Jewish Educational Archives (in the School of Education, Tel Aviv University).

³ Personal collection of Petachia Lev-Tov, YJEA 5.200/2131.

⁴ All protocols of the institutions of the Labour Movement school system, throughout its years of activity, are kept in the Education Center collection of the Labor Archives, Tel Aviv (LA, Division IV 215). Included and reviewed during the years under discussion are institutions of the Histadrut Education Centre (Secretariat, Board of Directors, Assembly, Council, and special meetings); the Education Centre institutes that represented teachers and workers (secretariats, central committee, conference/general meetings); and the institutions shared by the Histadrut establishment and labour representatives, i.e., the Pedagogical Committee and the official publishing house, Urim.

⁵ The 'Teheran Children' are hundreds of Jewish refugee children, mostly from Poland, who reached Palestine via the Soviet Union, Iran, and India.

⁶ Massada was the site of the Jews' valorous last stand in the Great Rebellion against the Romans, which ended with the collective suicide of the rebels. Yavne was the seat of the Talmudic academy that symbolised the Jews' spiritual resurrection; it was saved from destruction by a compromise with the Romans after the Great Rebellion.

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EVALUATION OF SCIENCE LABORATORIES IN PALESTINIAN SCHOOLS

KHAWLA SHAKHSHIR SABRI

Abstract – *This study sets out to assess the general situation and practices of the science laboratory activities in the Palestinian secondary and preparatory schools. The article is based on data collected from a select sample of University students who responded to a questionnaire devised by the author. The survey included questions about the use of laboratory activities in the teaching of sciences, as well as about the kind of equipment used and the nature of experiments carried out. The survey shows that the majority (80%) of Palestinian students are exposed to at least one or more science experiment during their period of school study. Less than one third of participants write reports for laboratory activities or receive oral and written feedback for the experiments from the teacher. Furthermore, the survey revealed that there are no significant differences between the experiences of public and private school students concerning the majority (90%) of the science experiments and equipment listed in the questionnaire. On the other hand, important differences do exist when it comes to the conditions of the science laboratory in the two school sectors in Palestine.*

Introduction

The use of science laboratories in secondary and university education, both as an independent model of instruction as well as a teaching tool, has received much attention internationally in the last three decades. Studies have investigated various aspects of teaching in and through science laboratory activities, and have focused on issues such as main objectives, optimal conditions and environment, the technical procedures of using the laboratory in teaching science, methods of student evaluation, the writing of laboratory reports, as well as the assessment of the time-, cost- and learning-effectiveness of the laboratory as a mode for the teaching of science as compared to other modes. Among these studies, one can highlight that carried out by Bound et al. (1980), for instance, which concluded that the most important objective of science laboratory courses is to train scientists in practical work and to develop observational skills. Wilson and Stensvold (1991) and Stensvold and Wilson (1993), on their part, summarised the aims of laboratory instruction in terms of its value in prompting scientific thinking, providing first hand experience, developing practical competence within a safe working

environment, and facilitating the skill of the application of facts to new situations. Additionally, the authors consider the laboratory practical examinations as a sure test of student achievement in the goals just specified. In another important study, Keys (1995) suggested that the writing of laboratory reports helps learners develop the ability to reason scientifically and to progress from the observation of data to a warranted conclusion, especially if this exercise is carried out in the context of collaborative discussions. Focusing on learner perspectives, Metcalf and Wilson (1994) reported that that students tend to perceive laboratory activities in a positive light, considering them to be valuable and worthwhile.

Some research on the use of laboratories in school science teaching has set out to evaluate the efficiency and environment of laboratory activities in general through the use of standard forms and criteria. Other studies, such as that carried out by Fraser et al. (1995) have evaluated the effectiveness of the laboratory as a teaching model in comparison with other instructional methods, as expressed by students' achievements. In this regard, the superiority of the laboratory model is practically uncontested, as a review of the literature shows. Thus, Babikian (1971) found that expository and laboratory methods are significantly more effective than the discovery method for teaching science concepts to eighth grade students. This trend also appears to hold true in Arab schools where it was shown by Zitoon and Al-Zaubi (1986) that the laboratory method was more effective in comparison with the traditional method of teaching in developing the skills of scientific thinking in Jordanian secondary science stream students. Similar findings were reported by Leonard (1983) with reference to biology courses.

Other studies probematise the presumed value of laboratories in the teaching of science. Hofstein and Lunetta (1982), and Lunetta, Hofstein and Giddings (1981) for instance, conclude that laboratory instruction may play an important part in the achievement of some, but not all the stated goals of science education. This is in part due to the fact that generally teachers fail to incorporate laboratory goals within their evaluation system. A further aspect of critical research has focused on the obstacles of using the laboratory in teaching science. For example, Zitoon (1988) identified 22 obstacles which preclude the use of laboratories, among these being crowded laboratory classes, and lack of adequate facilities and financial resources. Keulen et al. (1995) have indicated that textbooks and traditional curricula may lead to the inefficient teaching of laboratory courses. Furthermore, the effectiveness of laboratory teaching may depend on the grouping of students on the basis of their formal reasoning ability (Lawrenz & Munch 1984).

This article sets out to consider a number of the issues just raised with reference to science education in Palestine. Before moving to that substantive

area of inquiry, it is important to provide some background information about the state of general and science education in Palestine, and particularly in the West Bank.

Education in the West Bank

There are three different educational systems in the West Bank. The public (Government) schools constitute about 75% of the student population, including all non-refugee students in the elementary and the preparatory stages, as well as all refugee and non-refugee secondary students. The schools (elementary and preparatory) operated by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) for Palestinian refugees account for approximately 15% of the West Bank student population. The private sector caters for 10% of the number of students in the West Bank. Females constitute approximately 48% of the student population.

The educational system includes 12 grades, with preschool education remaining outside the realm of the official educational system. Grades 1-9 are compulsory. They are referred to as the 'basic cycle' and include 85% of the total student population. Secondary schools (grades 10-12) cater for 15% of the student population. There are 17 vocational schools and centers. The average number of students per class ranges from 32 to 34 students (Shakhshir-Sabri 1996). School enrollment statistics for the West Bank in 1994 show that the total number of students was 350,131 students distributed amongst 1,390 schools and 10,302 classrooms. This student population was served by 11,290 teachers, 6,069 of whom were female (PCBS, 1995).

Science education in the West Bank

Science courses are taught in all grades with the number of weekly lessons being 4 out of 28 in the elementary grades, and 4 out of 29 in the preparatory grades. At the secondary level, students opt either for a literary or a science stream. The curriculum for the science stream includes courses in Biology, Chemistry, and Physics and account for approximately one third of the 32 weekly lessons. In comparison, the literary stream curriculum includes only three weekly lessons in general science (Shakhshir-Sabri 1996).

Laboratory work in Palestinian schools is considered an extracurricular activity, and is available in about one third of the establishments, mainly public and private schools in cities. Schools with no laboratories have little science equipment and occasionally conduct experiments in the classrooms. Some studies

reported that there is a lack of laboratories in the majority of Palestinian schools, and only 35% of Palestinian secondary schools (nearly 286 schools) have standard laboratories (UNESCO 1990, p.16; Shaheen 1987, p.61). Ahlawat, Billeh & Al-Dajeh (1993) reported that 36% of Palestinian students never carried out science experiments and 10% of students never observed an experiment in their schools. We also know that teachers in the Palestinian public school system perceive the lack of laboratories as a greater problem than do private and UNRWA school teachers (Sabri-Shakhshir 1995). However, none of the above studies has appraised the science school laboratories situation in detail, so that there is no data on the types of experiments conducted, and on other related aspects concerning the use of the laboratory as a model of instruction for science teaching.

The research reported here makes a useful contribution to the literature therefore, and is timely given the recent events in the Middle East, with the Palestinian National Authority acquiring responsibility for the administration of the educational system in both the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. The newly established Ministry of Education within the Palestinian National Authority is currently reevaluating the entire educational system in order to create a new set-up which will be more responsive to Palestinian identity and aspirations. In this respect, this study could be considered as an activity within the global evaluation of the educational system within Palestine. Specifically it considers the science laboratory as an instructional model, as well as the conditions of science laboratories in Palestinian schools in general and in public and private schools in particular. The study therefore has the following goals:

- To disclose the state of affairs in science laboratories, as these are perceived by Palestinian students, and including information about how experiments are conducted, reports are written, and work evaluated and graded in both public and private schools;
- To identify and rank-order the science laboratory equipment that is most in use in Palestinian schools in general, and to disaggregate the data on the basis of type of school, i.e. whether private or public institutions;
- To identify and rank-order the most common laboratory experiments in Palestinian schools in general, and again to see whether there are differences between private and public schools;
- To determine the differences between the experience of private and public school students in the science laboratories.

Hypotheses

A number of hypotheses were examined in this study. First, it was hypothesised that no significant differences exist between the science laboratory

experiences of public and private school students, and in the nature of science experiments conducted in the two sectors. It was also hypothesised that there are no significant differences in the science laboratory equipment found in public and private schools.

Methodology

Developing the instrument

Data were collected by means of a four-section survey instrument developed by the author for the purpose. A first section gathers general information about the participant and the type of school (s)he is enrolled in. It should be mentioned here that UNRWA schools were excluded from the study because they do not serve the secondary population of students. Section two consists of eight questions designed to tap information about laboratories in Palestinian schools, and specifically investigate the organisation of the laboratory, student participation in conducting experiments, and the writing and grading of reports. Section three inquires about the type of equipment used in the school laboratories. Questions in this section were formulated after a thorough examination of the science textbooks used in the target schools, and an appraisal of the extra-curricular science activities assigned there. An initial list of 25 items was shown to a sample of science teachers. These were asked to critique the schedule and to suggest modifications to it. Based on the teachers' comments, a final list of the most basic items needed for the science curriculum (general science, physics, chemistry, and biology) was made. The fourth and final section of the questionnaire consists of a list of 15 experiments divided equally amongst the three subjects of chemistry, physics, and biology. This list was drawn up on the basis of the opinions and recommendations of a sample of 30 science teachers, and with reference to the official textbooks and syllabi in use in schools.

Population and sample

All secondary school science stream graduates ($N =$ approximately 3000) in the West Bank constituted the population from which the sample for this study was drawn. A random sample of 120 freshmen students representing all districts of the West Bank and enrolled in laboratory courses at Birzeit university in 1995 made up the sample. A total of 40 students was chosen from each laboratory groups of physics, biology and chemistry. 80 of the students came from public schools while the other 40 graduated from private schools.

Procedure

The questionnaire was distributed to the selected students during their laboratory classes. Students generally took about 20 minutes to address all the items. 18 questionnaires were discarded due to errors, and this left 102 valid returned responses from 68 students who attended public schools and 34 students who attended private schools. Responses were calculated and tabulated according to rank and percentage of the total number of participants. Responses to the items on sections three and four were tabulated according to percentages of the total and for each type of school. Chi-squares were calculated for the contingency tables to determine significance level.

Results

Conditions and practices in the laboratories

All respondents stated that laboratory equipment existed in their schools, although only 41% said that this equipment was located in standard laboratory rooms divided into sections for chemistry, biology and physics. While 80% of the students have observed one or more science experiments in their schools, only 45% participated in conducting them and 38% performed the experiments alone under the supervision of the teacher. 35% of the respondents wrote a laboratory report, of whom 31% received oral or written feedback and 27% received grades.

A closer examination of the results reveals that private schools are better off than public ones given, that half of the students in the former establishments stated that their schools had standard laboratory rooms divided into sections for the different sciences. This was only true for 37% of students from public schools. 91% of the private school students had observed laboratory experiments and 51% had conducted one compared with 80% and 38% respectively for the public school students. Similar advantages were noted for private school students compared with public school students regarding writing, evaluating and grading, as can be seen in Table 1.

Equipment used

Table 2 depicts the laboratory equipment that is most used. It shows that the microscope, test tube, compass, beaker, and spring balance were identified by 90% or more of the respondents as available in the schools they had attended. The rank of equipment identified by public school students differs from that of the private school students, and this difference emerges clearly in Table 3. Although

TABLE NO. 1: Conditions of school science laboratories as reported by Palestinian students

Statements Related to Science Laboratories	Total %	Public %	Private %
Is there science lab equipment in your school?	100%	100%	100%
Is there a standard lab room divided into sections (chemistry, physics, biology) in your school?	41%	37%	50%
Did you observe a science experiment in your school?	80%	75%	91%
Did you participate with your teacher in preparing any science experiments?	45%	40%	54%
Did you conduct a science experiment by yourself?	38%	31%	51%
Did your lab teacher ask you to write an experiment report you made or observed?	35%	28%	50%
Did the teacher give written or oral feedback on your lab report?	31%	23%	47%
Did the teacher give a grade on your lab report ?	27%	20%	41%

the top and bottom five items were ranked similarly by both groups, some items received different rankings. For example, while the barometer was identified by 50% of public students, it was identified by only 29% of private school students. Similar findings were observed for the sphygmomanometer (37% for public, 58% for private), and dissecting instruments (43% for public, 77% for private).

TABLE NO 2: Rank of the listed science laboratory equipment used by students during their secondary studies in Palestinian schools

Name of the Equipment		Identified by Students	
1	Ammeter	69%	9
2	Voltmeter	64%	12
3	Barometer	43%	17
4	Thermometer	78%	7
5	Resonating forks	53%	13
6	Micrometer	45%	15
7	Sphygmomanometer	44%	16
8	Centrifuge	24%	20
9	Dissecting Tools: Scalpel, Tweezers	48%	14
10	Verifier	36%	18
11	Compass	96%	3
12	Microscope	100%	1
13	Analytical Balance	69%	9
14	Spring Balance	90%	5
15	Burette	69%	9
16	Pipette	70%	8
17	Beaker	95%	4
18	Test Tube	99%	2
19	Crucible	35%	19
20	Bunsen Burner	81%	6

TABLE NO 3: Rank of listed science laboratory equipment as identified by students during their studies according to type of school

Science Laboratory Equipment		Public		Private	
		Ratios	Ranks	Ratios	Ranks
1	Ammeter	63%	9	61%	12
2	Voltmeter	58%	12	55%	15
3	Barometer	50%	14	29%	18
4	Thermometer	78%	6	74%	10
5	Resonating forks	52%	13	58%	13
6	Micrometer	48%	15	38%	17
7	Sphygmomanometer	37%	18	58%	13
8	Centrifugal machine	27%	20	20%	20
9	Dissecting tools-scalpel, tweezers	43%	16	77%	8
10	Venire	40%	17	39%	16
11	Compass	100%	1	93%	5
12	Microscope	100%	1	97%	1
13	Analytical balance	65%	8	68%	11
14	Spring balance	87%	5	94%	2
15	Burette	62%	10	77%	8
16	Pipette	60%	11	87%	6
17	Beaker	88%	4	94%	2
18	Test tube	98%	3	94%	2
19	Crucible	33%	19	26%	19
20	Bunsen burner	72%	7	81%	7

Most commonly-conducted experiments

Table 4 shows that the most commonly performed science experiments in secondary schools are those on lenses (concave and convex), the reaction of sodium with water, forming images in straight and concave mirrors, closed and open electric circuits, and sound experiments. These experiments were mentioned by at least two-thirds of the students. Experiments on changing potassium chromate to potassium dichromate, dissecting animals, studying the model of the human ear, the reaction of hydrochloric acid with silver nitrate, checking for carbohydrates in potato and bread, and mechanical experiments were mentioned by 24% – 54% of the students.

Examination of the data (See Table 5) also revealed that of the five most commonly-conducted experiments, four were in physics (54%-81%), one in chemistry (24%-81%), and none in biology (36%-60%). This variance could be explained by the fact that physics experiments are easier and less costly to run compared with the counterparts in chemistry and biology. For example to run a sound experiment is easier than dissecting a frog. There does not appear to be any differences in the most and least ranked experiments between private and public schools; indeed, there was total congruence between the two groups. Public schools, however, conducted experiments on forming images in straight and concave mirrors and mechanical machines more than the private schools. Experiments such as acid-base titration, changing potassium chromate to potassium dichromate, the reaction of sodium with water, dissecting animals, and the reaction of hydrochloric acid with silver nitrate were performed with greater frequency in the private schools.

Experiences of public and private school students

As can be seen from Table 6, public and private school students perceived the conditions of their secondary school science laboratories differently. There is a significant difference in the experiences in science laboratories between public and private students concerning the following conditions of school science laboratories:

- The standard lab room divided into sections (chemistry, physics, biology).
- Making a science experiment by the student himself/herself.
- The lab teacher asking students to write an experiment report.
- The teacher giving written or oral feedback on students' lab report.

TABLE NO. 4: Rank of the listed science laboratory experiments as used by the students throughout their studies in schools

No.	Science Laboratory Experiments	Ratios	Ranks
1	Electrolysis of water	63%	7
2	Acid base titration	64%	6
3	The reaction of hydrochloric acid with silver nitrate	51%	12
4	Chemical equilibrium: changing potassium chromate to potassium dichromate and vice versa	24%	15
5	The reaction of a piece of sodium with water	81%	1
6	Dissecting an animal like a frog or a rabbit	36%	14
7	Preparing a slide of onion peel and seeing it under the microscope	57%	9
8	To check for carbohydrates in potato and bread	54%	10
9	Study of the model of a human ear	51%	12
10	Experiments on osmosis phenomena and osmosis pressure	60%	8
11	Experiments on the closed and open electric circuit	68%	4
12	Experiments on convex and concave lenses	81%	1
13	Experiments on forming images in straight and convex mirrors	74%	3
14	Sound experiments using the resonating (tuning) fork	67%	5
15	Mechanical machines like Pulley, Lever, Crane & Nutcracker	54%	10

TABLE NO 5: Rank of listed science laboratory experiments as identified by the students throughout their studies in schools based on type of school

Science Laboratory Experiments		Public		Private	
		Ratio	Ranks	Ratio	Ranks
1	Electrolysis of water	63%	6	58%	9
2	Acid base titration	57%	7	77%	2
3	The reaction of hydrochloric acid with silver nitrate	43%	12	61%	7
4	Chemical equilibrium: changing potassium chromate to potassium dichromate & vice-versa	18%	15	32%	15
5	The reaction of a piece of sodium with water	65%	4	81%	1
6	Dissecting an animal like a frog or a rabbit	27%	14	55%	13
7	Preparing a slide of onion peel and seeing it under the microscope	53%	11	58%	9
8	To check for carbohydrates in potato and bread	43%	12	58%	9
9	Study of the human ear through the use of a model	57%	7	65%	5
10	Experiments on osmosis phenomena and osmosis pressure	55%	10	58%	9
11	Experiments on the closed and open electric circuit	65%	4	61%	7
12	Experiments on convex and concave lenses	75%	1	74%	3
13	Experiments on forming images in straight and concave mirrors	75%	1	65%	5
14	Sound experiments using the resonating (tuning) fork	67%	3	68%	4
15	Mechanical machines like Pulley, Lever, Crane & Nutcracker	57%	7	45%	14

TABLE NO. 6: Comparison between Public and Private school students' perception of the conditions of science laboratories

Statements related to Science Laboratories	Chi-square	Significance
Is there science lab equipment in your school ?	1.64	No Significance (n. s.)
Is there a standard lab room divided into sections (for chemistry, physics, biology) in your school?	3.76	.05
Did you observe a science experiment in your school ?	1.61	n.s.
Did you participate with your teacher in preparing any science experiments ?	3.54	n.s.
Did you conduct a science experiment by yourself ?	4.15	.04
Did your lab teacher ask you to write a report on an experiment you made or observed ?	6.69	.01
Did the teacher give written or oral feedback on your lab report ?	4.82	.02
Did the teacher give a grade on your lab report ?	3.54	n.s.

Accordingly, the stated null hypotheses have been rejected for the above listed conditions of science laboratories in the Palestinian school, which means that the above conditions of science laboratories in private schools are better than in public schools. On the other hand, the null hypotheses concerning other listed statements have been retained.

Table 7 compares public and private secondary schools in terms of available equipment. It shows clearly that very little difference could be detected between the two groups; dissecting tools and pipettes being the only two pieces of laboratory equipment achieving statistical significance between the two groups. Accordingly the stated null hypotheses regarding the 18 items of the laboratory equipment have been retained.

TABLE NO 7: Comparison between students' experience of listed science laboratory equipment in Palestinian Private and Public Schools

Equipment List		Chi-square	Significance
1	Ammeter	.02	n.s.
2	Voltmeter	.02	n.s.
3	Barometer	3.34	n.s.
4	Thermometer	24	n.s.
5	Resonating	.32	n.s.
6	Micrometer	.72	n.s.
7	Sphygmomanometer	2.86	n.s.
8	Centrifugal machine	.42	n.s.
9	Dissecting tools: Scalpel, Tweezers	10.43	.001
10	Verifier	.02	n.s.
11	Compass	3.25	n.s.
12	Microscope	2.01	n.s.
13	Analytical balance	.09	n.s.
14	Spring balance	1.27	n.s.
15	Burette	2.21	n.s.
16	Pipette	9.11	.002
17	Beaker	1.27	n.s.
18	Test Tube	.11	n.s.
19	Crucible	.37	n.s.
20	Bunsen Burner	.64	n.s.

TABLE NO 8: Test of significant difference between the Palestinian Public and Private students' experience concerning the listed science laboratory experiments

	Science Laboratory Experiments	Chi-square	Significance
1	Electrolysis of water	.19	n.s.
2	Acid base titration	4.11	.04
3	The reaction of hydrochloric acid with silver nitrate	3.31	n.s.
4	Chemical equilibrium: changing potassium chromate to potassium dichromate & vice versa	2.81	n.s.
5	The reaction of a piece of sodium with water	2.75	n.s.
6	Dissecting an animal like a frog or a rabbit	8.48	.003
7	Preparing a slide of onion peel and seeing it under the microscope	.32	n.s.
8	To check for carbohydrates in potato and bread	2.37	n.s.
9	Study of the human ear through the use of a model	.33	n.s.
10	Experiments on osmosis phenomena and osmosis pressure	.18	n.s.
11	Experiments on the closed and open electric circuit	.08	n.s.
12	Experiments on convex and concave lenses	.03	n.s.
13	Experiments on forming images in straight and concave mirrors	.62	n.s.
14	Sound experiments using the resonating (tuning) fork	.02	n.s.
15	Mechanical machines like Pulley, Lever, Crane & Nutcracker	1.6	n.s.

Similar findings were noted regarding the differences between the two groups in the experiments they conduct. This is reflected in Table 8, which shows that the dissection of animals and acid-base titration experiments were the only items showing statistically significant differences. There is no significant difference between the experience of private and public students concerning the majority of the listed experiments. Accordingly the stated null hypotheses regarding the other 13 items of the laboratory experiments have been retained.

Summary and conclusions

The purpose of this study was to explore and evaluate science laboratory activities in Palestinian schools, on the basis of the experiences and perceptions of freshmen Palestinian university students. The selected participants were asked to identify listed science laboratory practices, equipment and experiments, based on their experience in schools.

The study revealed the following conclusions:

- The majority (80%) of Palestinian students were exposed to at least one or more science experiments during her/his secondary education.
- Less than one third of the participants wrote reports for laboratory activities or received oral and written feedback from their teachers on their achievement.
- Less than one half (41%) of the participants stated that their schools had a standard laboratory room.
- The science laboratory situation in private schools is better than in public schools in terms of the number of observed experiments, participation in the experiments, writing of laboratory report, and evaluation and grading of the report.
- Experiments appear to be most often conducted in Physics, and least often conducted in Biology.
- The majority of the public school students identified 11 of the experiments listed in the questionnaire, while the majority of private school students identified 13.
- The maximum percentage of listed experiments identified by students was 81%, and the minimum was 24%.
- There were more private than public school students who reported that they had observed or participated in science laboratory experiments.

- There is no significant difference between the experience of public and private school students concerning the majority (90%) of the listed experiments and equipment.
- There is a significant difference between the experience of public and private school students concerning half of the conditions of the science school laboratory in the Palestinian schools.

It is assumed that the above findings are of interest to scholars of comparative science education, and of particular relevance to Palestine as it sets about the challenging task of reforming its educational system. It is clear, for instance, that special attention should be given to the opening of science laboratory rooms in all secondary schools, to the reorganisation of the present laboratory rooms, to the formulation of instructions related to the evaluation process in the laboratory class, and to the adequate coverage of practical, observational and theoretical as well as of cognitive, psychomotor and affective domains. The evaluation process should include the appropriate method of writing laboratory reports, teachers' feedback and grades, and the laboratory activities to be adopted in order to improve the laboratory as an instruction model for the teaching of science.

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A GLOBAL DIMENSION VIA THE TEACHING OF THE 'ANCIENT WORLD': Theoretical concepts and an empirical approach from Greek primary textbooks

ANTHONY HOURDAKIS

Abstract – *The present study aims to investigate the extent to which a global dimension is communicated to students via the teaching of 'Ancient World' in the different subjects of the Greek primary textbooks, namely language, social studies, science and religion. In this paper, the 'Ancient World' refers to both the traditional Graeco/Roman civilisation and to the non-Graeco/Roman one. A content analysis of Greek primary textbooks shows that the presentation of the 'Ancient World' serves to promote an ethnocentric/nationalistic orientation. The absence of references to other ancient civilisations is therefore in contrast to current emphases on the development of global and multicultural curricula.*

Introduction

The principle guiding this study is that the promotion of international understanding and the development of a supranational identity are of utmost importance in the contemporary world, particularly in the context of an integrating Europe (Featherstone 1990; Featherstone, Lash & Robertson 1995; Bekemans 1994; Bell 1995; Massialas, Flouris, Hourdakis & Calogiannakis 1996; Kazamias, Flouris, Hourdakis, Calogiannakis, Massialas & Xanthopoulos 1995).¹ Such a principle, once accepted, has implications for all the subjects taught at school, including the knowledge and attitudes about ancient civilisations that are communicated across the curriculum, in Greece as well as in other countries. (Yurko 1994; Adler & Lindhart 1981; Proceedings of the Conference of the National Council for History Education 1993; Downey & Levstik 1991; Gifford 1988; Slater 1996; Rogers 1993; Aristotelian University of Thessaloniki 1995).

A consideration of the Ancient World from a global rather than from an ethno- or Euro-centric perspective represents an important departure in modern education. There is no longer a division between 'Western' civilisation on one hand, and 'non-Western' on the other. Rather, the past of all humanity is treated equitably (Stavrianos 1975). The study of the Ancient World therefore encompasses several dimensions. It includes the regional, but goes beyond that to consider inter-regional, global and planetary issues. In the study of history, for instance, there is a choice between focusing on humankind's past as a whole or

focusing on the component parts of that past. In the case of global ancient history the intentional choice is to focus on the whole past. Naturally this approach is very difficult and challenging, but the effort to promote a global perspective is essential, given the inter-related nature of the modern world. An emphasis on the global dimension need not play down or denigrate the importance of local and national history, nor need it discourage the study of history through a focus of its component parts. The point is that the modern citizen must go beyond that to consider the world he or she lives in more organically, and in global terms (Engle 1971:438-439).

This paper attempts to investigate the degree to which the study of the 'Ancient World', as presented in Greek primary school textbooks, promotes an understanding of ancient global – as against purely national – history and culture. Furthermore, it will explore how other ancient civilisations and peoples are presented in comparison with the classical Greek world.

The study will therefore first consider how the Ancient World is conceptualised; it will then examine how a global dimension can be promoted through the study of the 'Ancient World' via a focus on the Graeco/Roman and non-Graeco/Roman civilisations. It will finally consider the representations of the 'Ancient World' in Greek primary textbooks, concluding with a discussion of the implications of all this for the educational enterprise in Greece.

The conceptualisation of the 'Ancient World'

According to several sources (*inter alia* Stavrianos 1975; Starr 1974; Unesco 1963; Cambridge Ancient History 1923-1939; Grousset & Leonard 1956) the term 'Ancient World' includes the following:

- Ancient civilisations of Eurasia: (Mesopotamia, Egypt, Crete, Indus, Shang)
- Classical civilisations of Eurasia: (Graeco/Roman civilisation, Indian civilisation, Chinese civilisation)
- Non-Eurasian world and civilisations: (Africa, Americas, Australia)

A global and universal approach to ancient civilisation considers Humankind as a whole, and as the worthwhile unit of historical study. Ancient global history is concerned with the study of the origin of the cosmos, including all people; with ecology or people's occupations and utilisation of nature; with culture or the development of diverse ways of life; with the study of religious, social and political institutions which people the world over have developed to provide for their needs; and ultimately, it is concerned with the study of the development, change, or collapse of civilisations (Engle 1971:439).

During the long millennia before the European discoveries, the various branches of the human race interacted one with the other. As a result, our world, in relation to our developing communication and technological facilities, has become 'spaceship earth', a 'global village' (Stavrianos 1975:4). During certain historical periods and in particular geographical areas, ancient civilisations influenced one another, interacting with each other so that the terms 'global' and 'globality' became increasingly meaningful. Indeed, one could claim that the key to human 'progress' has been accessibility, so that those with the most opportunity to interact with other people have been the most likely to forge ahead. By contrast, those who were isolated received neither stimulus nor threat of assimilation or elimination; they could therefore remain relatively unchanged through the millennia. Such, then, was the understandable diversity of human cultures from the ancient civilisations of Eurasia to the empires as well as food-gathering peoples in Africa, Americas and Australia (Stavrianos 1975:5-7).

Since the European Enlightenment in the eighteenth century, the unit of analysis in several disciplines has been the 'nation-state' rather than 'humankind' as a whole. In recent years however, the interest in global/universal history and culture has been growing largely in response to the global dimensions of contemporary events. It is recognised that a wider angle of vision is needed since new technologies and communications connect the entire planet, and rapid socio-economic expansion and mass-media envelop the entire globe. Global history and culture are essential for the understanding of a world that, despite the striking inequalities between 'North' and 'South', has nevertheless become 'one', both in everyday life and in human thought (Stavrianos 1975:3). As Barraclough (1955:18) has argued, "*universal history is more than the sum of its parts; it cannot be divided and subdivided without being denaturalised, much as water, separated into its chemical components, ceases to be water and becomes hydrogen and oxygen*".

But the panorama of the 'Ancient World' also contributes another essential element to promotion of the idea of globality: global ancient history is perhaps one of the best ways to understand and accept the inevitable differences that can distinguish the one from the other, as well as to contribute to their mutual understanding, facilitating communication and solidarity (Grousset & Leonard 1956:xxi). Such an approach to 'globality' via studies of ancient civilisations raises a number of important themes, such as continuous interaction and subsidiarity, cross-fertilisation, cultural accessibility and dissemination, the understanding of diversity, human communication, intellectual richness, human progress and motivation. It highlights the pluriformity, multiplicity and hybridity of cultures. It also raises issues linked to predominance, assimilation or elimination, similarities and dissimilarities, stimulation and contradiction,

complexity and tradition, isolation and centralisation, cultural compatibility, regional and inter-regional interaction, harmony and conflict (Bekemans 1994). The methodological approach of globality through the study of the 'Ancient World' therefore feeds into and links up with current developments in such areas as multicultural, cultural/cross-cultural, and post-colonial studies.

A global dimension in education through the study of the 'Ancient World'

According to the conceptualisation outlined above, the study of the 'Ancient World' constitutes a good foundation for the development of a global dimension in education. In the context of the present study, ancient civilisation is considered from two perspectives, the Graeco/Roman one and the non-Graeco/Roman. It is to the first that we now turn.

Globality via the Graeco/Roman world

A focus on Graeco/Roman civilisation leads us to consider ancient Greek and Roman *paideia* as a foundation of humanism (*Homo Graeco-Romanus*). That civilisation has in fact been a source of inspiration for innumerable philosophers and scholars throughout history. In antiquity, the idea of *humanitas* was based on literary, philosophical and aesthetic education; as such, it was related to the Greek *paideia*, so that knowledge and education were considered to be connected with philanthropic, friendly social relations. In ancient Rome, *humanitas* was related to stoic teaching on the cosmos and to stoic ethics. The Graeco/Roman element constituted the intellectual medium through which Christianity evolved. It also determined the dialectical rhythm of Christianity, a historical rhythm that, according to Jaeger (1962:85) accounts for the inexhaustible interest in the subject. Two important factors determined the linkage between the new religious movement with the ancient World: first, it was the association of Christianity with Neoplatonism; secondly, it was the adoption by Christians of the scale of social values defined in Graeco/Roman *paideia* (Weltin 1987; Laistner 1978; Chadwick 1985). The influence of the Graeco/Roman world was so strong that it is nowadays considered to be a fundamental source of Western culture, and its study illuminates values of utmost importance which contemporary societies try to promote via education, curriculum and textbooks (Ornstein & Levine 1993: 82ff). These values are rooted in particular concepts of justice, equality, freedom, democracy, human rights, mutual understanding, solidarity, peace, and so on. They could be said to promote 'globality', constituting a basis on which people

can construct worthwhile lives, and providing the kind of education that can help to shape good citizens. Such values, it could also be claimed, serve humankind's search for truth (Butts 1988; Sullivan 1988). The qualities of an educated and cultured person were derived mainly from an emphasis on life practice, i.e. *theoria-praxis-chresis* (theory-practice-use).

The Graeco/Roman tradition thus focuses on moral, intellectual and socio-political behaviour, on the ideal of moral freedom, on the elements of natural right, the requirements of a good *vita contemplativa* and *vita activa*, on the creation of the whole of humanity, on 'kataskevi tou viou' (the construction of life). In other words, Graeco/Roman humanism, which in this study is considered to be one important aspect of globality, develops human faculties and prepares the human being to become 'really human'. *Homo Graeco-Romanus* becomes *Homo universalis*. This formal universality (globality) is quoted by Cicero in his *De Officiis* when he wrote: "*Homo sum; humani nil a me alienum puto*", meaning "*I am a man, and nothing that is proper to man [sic] is foreign to me*" (Capkova 1992:85ff). The approach to learning that characterises this humanistic *paideia* promises a cultural coherence that individuals need and seek but cannot find on their own. The traditional humanistic understanding of learning focuses on a concern for the whole person in relation to others, to institutions, to cultural understandings, to the past and the future. The conception of life as a whole is very strong and it is the business of the humanities based on the Graeco/Roman model to provide the resources and the intellectual abilities to form such an encompassing conception. From this point of view, Graeco/Roman civilisation sweeps through historical periods and geographical borders, crystallising the 'Ancient World' for most Western societies. In other words, Graeco/Roman civilisation represents 'globality' to the extent that many countries and cultures have adopted its ideas and values, accepting their universality and globality (Jaeger 1968-1974; Silverman 1973; Vourveris 1973; Hight 1988; Georgoulis 1989:484b-489a; Grumet 1989:490b; Markantonis 1989:482b-484a).

The belief in the 'global' and 'universal' nature of the Graeco/Roman tradition has endured up to recent times. In Australian schools for instance, classical studies had a high prestige and exerted a significant influence from about 1830 to about 1950. In the early 19th century the classical curriculum included Latin, Greek and some mathematics, and had a high profile in several countries. New approaches in the teaching of the classics developed in England in the 1880s, and these were widely adopted, encouraging a humanist emphasis in Latin and Greek curricula. By the beginning of the 20th century the main socio-educational functions for the study of Latin could be said to have been the transmission of a humanistic culture. The prime benefit seen in the study of Latin and Greek shifted from the mental

discipline acquired through grammar to the values and culture deriving from classical literature and ancient history (Barcan 1992).

In Poland, the classical grammar school appeared at the end of the eighteenth century. The learning of Greek and Latin was obligatory and most of the curriculum content was devoted to Roman and Greek classics. Of course, in the beginning of the twentieth century, in Poland as in Western Europe, classical studies, including ancient history, increasingly became a remnant and reminder of the past (Chmielowski 1992; Majorek 1992).

The classical studies promoting Graeco/Roman humanism in Hungarian schools transmitted different values and attitudes in the different periods of Hungarian history, so that between the 18th and the 20th century, there was a shift from a concern with language to one mainly interested in '*kulturgeschichte*'. The rebirth of Latin culture in Hungary in the last decade of our century is not an element of a conservative mass movement but it reflects the emergence of market competition and pluralism in schooling (Nagy 1992). In Victorian and Edwardian England, Latin and Greek dominated the curriculum of public schools, generally taking more than half of the available classroom time. The Greek model served as a platform on which England's own progress could be shaped, so that one could say that in this country, Athens, Sparta and Homeric Greece enjoyed a Golden Age between the years 1840 and 1918 (Tozer 1992).

More recently, projects in several different countries attempted to define humanism on the basis of the classical tradition. In the United States for instance, Oehler's (1973) study of secondary schools humanities programmes showed how students were able to clarify their personal values, develop their creative potential and to adopt global values and beliefs through the study of the cultural identity of Western civilisation (Grumet 1989:491a). An even more recent example of the use of the Graeco/Roman tradition is the integrated topic approach used in a project in a special school in England, where the story of Theseus and the Minotaur was adopted to develop the creative writing skills of 12 and 13-year-old children with health-and stress related disorders (Morrison 1992:68-70).

Another example of the impact of the classical tradition on modern educational programmes is that of the curriculum guide sponsored by the National Endowment for the Humanities in Washington, which was designed to provide teachers of English, social studies, and Latin with the necessary background and investigative methods for teaching Roman culture through Roman literature. In this area, educational material was developed in order to revitalise the teaching of Roman history, which was itself to serve as a model for teaching about ancient history in general. Furthermore, the curriculum guide put out by the New York City Board of Education included teaching strategies for 12 sub-themes, inviting students to focus on such units as: 'The influence of Ancient Greece on Western Civilisation'

and 'The dissemination of classical culture throughout the Roman Empire' (*Global History: A Curriculum Guide*. Second Semester. Theme III: *The Emergence of the Modern World*. Student Worksheets 1981).

On the same line of thinking one can find the curriculum resources produced by the Office of Curriculum and Instruction in Philadelphia, with the intention of helping students to become more aware of the significance of Latin, Greek and other subjects for America's classical heritage, and to enrich the regular curriculum in classical languages in elementary and secondary schools. Background information, suggestions and instructional activities are also provided in this pack so that the teacher can more effectively interrelate Latin and Greek with history, law, literature, art, architecture and other disciplines. The resource material thus deals with themes such as the classical heritage in the discovery of America; the classical influence in colonial education; the relationship that notable figures in American history (such as Benjamin Franklin, James Logan, Benjamin Rush, and Thomas Jefferson) had with the classics; revolutionary patriots in the Roman and American republics; the influence of the classics of the Graeco/Roman world on American government; the Greek and Roman heritage in the American legal system, on 20th century American literature, and on American art and architecture (*The Classical Heritage in America: A Curriculum Resource* 1976).

Finally, one could mention the "ROM Kit" developed by the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM) which provides teachers with materials that can be used to revitalise the teaching of Roman history and ancient history in general (Shore 1982: 26-30; Lloyd 1990).

Globality via the non-Graeco/Roman world

A focus on the non-Graeco/Roman world includes an all-embracing, truly global sweep of ancient history over and above the 'classical' heritage that is officially celebrated in the 'West'. This global vision of ancient civilisation considers the entire globe rather than a particular country or a geographical area, and is open to all ancient cultures which have influenced humanity's past and present (Stavrianos 1975). The non-Graeco/Roman model is perceived as a source of Western and Eastern, Southern and North cultures and it is considered to promote humanistic values which are rooted in such concepts as justice, equality, freedom, democracy, peace, and so on.

This *ecumenical humanism* (Markantonis 1989:483b-484a) represents a worthy model for people to imitate and a kind of education that can help to shape good world citizens as well. The non Graeco/Roman model, illustrating the whole human past, is more attuned to the criteria of global relevance and cultural

pluralism (McNeill 1988:129sq.; Slater 1996:46) providing as it does for the study of all ancient cultures. According to these criteria emphasis is given not only to the Greek city-states and the Roman Empire but also to the study of, for instance, the Maurya Dynasty (15th century BC) in India, and of the Olmec Civilisation that has influenced Zaratoc and Mayan Civilisation. Students can be invited to compare the mythology of Sumerians, Egyptians, Babylonians and Greeks with the mythology of the people of China. Such an approach to the ancient world brings us closer to multicultural studies, international relations and the very concept of 'globality' (Gifford 1988:82-89; Slater 1996:46; Antonouris 1996:253; Hourdakis 1996:8). The writing of history within this approach would mean that researchers transcend geographical, political, religious and ethnic boundaries to consider their project more globally (Slater 1996:107sq.; Rogers 1993:113-124). Students would be familiar not only with ancient Europe, but with Asia, Africa, Australia and Americas as well. The alternative to this global approach is not only ignorance, but also prejudice and myth. We are disadvantaged if we do not know anything or almost anything of the ancient history and culture of the rest of the world (Slater 1996:47; *The National Curriculum* 1995:14 sq.; Alston 1988:3).

A global approach to world civilisation helps students understand better the cultural and national identities and roots of the present. It encourages an *ecumenical* understanding, leading to deeper and more critically perceptive awareness of one's own cultural location, since this is contrasted with the different traditions and beliefs of other cultures. Within this model for considering the 'Ancient World', educators need to develop curricular material that facilitate multicultural perspectives and attitudes among students. In this regard, the work of the Council of Europe should be noted, since it falls very much within the scope of a non-Graeco/Roman and global approach to civilisation (Slater 1996:29). The Council of Europe has in fact organised seminars and workshops to promote this approach, and has come up with recommendations regarding the development of textbooks, the eradication of bias and prejudice, and the re-evaluation of history and social studies writing.

There are a number of examples that could be referred to in this context, and which promote what is here being referred to as a non-Graeco/Roman and global approach to ancient civilisation. The Manitoba (Canada) curriculum guide for social studies, for instance, suggests teaching strategies and learning activities for students in four units: prehistoric and early prehistoric times, ancient civilisations, life in early modern Europe and life in the modern world. The first two units include the Nile and Mesopotamia River Valleys, ancient Greece and Rome, the Mayan, Incan and Aztec civilisations, and ancient African, Indian and Chinese civilisations (*Social Studies: Grade 8* 1986).

Similarly, the guide for classroom use adopted with sixth graders in California, entitled *Global history and Geography: Ancient Civilisations: Course Models for the History-Social Science Framework*, includes units which focus on early humankind and the development of human societies, the beginnings of civilisation in the Near East and Africa-Mesopotamia, Egypt and Kush, the foundations of Western ideas, and the early civilisations of India and China (Hanson & Brooks 1993).

African Americans: Multicultural Studies for grades 3 and 4 (Maher & Selwyn 1991) is another good illustration of a global approach to the study of civilisation, focusing as it does on African American History and Culture (e.g. African geography, origins of the human race, African mythology, the glory of the two ancient African civilisations of Egypt and Mali, the slave trade and slavery, the civil rights movements, African American personalities-historical and contemporary figures). In the same area, J. O'Neil (1991:24-27) seeks to underline the contributions of African Americans, Asians, Hispanics, American Indians, Pacific Islanders and European Americans to world cultures.

The secondary level anthropology textbook on *The Emergence of Civilisation and Case Studies in the Emergence of Civilisation* emphasises the comparison of the patterns of culture change that resulted in complex societies in different areas around the world, such as Egypt, Mesopotamia, India, China, and Middle America. A handbook, prepared through the Anthropology Curriculum Study Project in Chicago, Illinois, is designed to accompany the above textbook on the Emergence of Civilisation, written in 1964 (Ellison 1964; D.O'Neil 1964).

The study of F.J. Yurco (1994:32-37) describes ways in which educators can gain additional knowledge for teaching ancient history without distorting or misinterpreting the cultural aspects of the events. It also discusses the use of ancient history, particularly Asian and African history, as a means of teaching democracy and social justice. This work is related to the context of multicultural education through a focus on non-Western civilisation.

Another project in this area concerns the curriculum guide on 'cultures of the non-Western World', that presents nine units for the study of world cultures in the ninth grade. The project promotes the idea that culture is a human universal phenomenon and that it is in a constant state of flux, since cultural interaction leads to cultural advancement. The nine units cover an orientation to world cultures, ancient Egypt, the Moslem world, Africa, India, South-East Asia, China and Japan (*Cultures of the Non-Western World: Grade 9. Instructional Guide* 1979).

A number of researchers have promoted a global approach to the study of the ancient world by focusing on international relations, communication and global education. In this context, one can mention S.J.Trachtenberg's (1994) recent book on *Speaking his Mind. Five Years of Commentaries on Higher Education*, and

L.C. Wolken's (1983) *Japan: the Modernisation of an Ancient Culture and Resource Materials on the Middle East* (1991) for use in elementary and middle schools. A project that deserves to be noted, despite the fact that it has been strongly criticised, is that of Bernal (1987, 1991) who tried to view Graeco/Roman history from an Africanocentric perspective, referring to 'Black Athena', 'Black Aristotle', 'Black Socrates', and so on.

It would be useful at this stage to summarise the main points that characterise the two contrasting approaches to 'globality':

- Graeco/Roman globality connects with a conventional and formal aspect of humanism; on the contrary, the non-Graeco/Roman model is informed by what can be referred to as a modern and informal aspect of humanistic education.
- The Graeco/Roman approach is inspired by a type of humanism which prevails in 'Western' societies, and history is written from the point of view of Western civilisation. In contrast, the non-Graeco/Roman approach is inspired by an ecumenical humanism, one which includes the West and the East, the North and the South in its account of the 'Ancient World'.
- The Graeco-Roman model has a rather restricted reach, in terms of both the sources it draws from, and in terms of the geographical and cultural boundaries that circumscribe it. The non-Graeco/Roman model transcends Europe, is open to all ancient cultures, and is not constrained by geographical or cultural boundaries and prejudices.
- The non-Graeco/Roman approach to civilisation encourages individuals to think beyond particular cases, cultures, institutions and civilisations, and to focus instead on the general, common and global characteristics of all societies.
- In the Graeco/Roman model, the teaching of Greek and Roman history serves as a model for teaching about ancient history in general and as a means for teaching and learning universal values such as democracy, justice, freedom, and so on. In the non-Graeco/Roman model, the teaching of universal values is still present, but it is informed by an approach that is less ethno- or Eurocentric. The West therefore meets the East, South, and the North, and students are encouraged to compare a wide variety of ways of life of the past and present not only from Europe, but from Africa, Asia, Australia and Americas as well.
- Finally, the non-Graeco/Roman approach to globality seems to be more in tune with the contemporary paradigms and scientific discourses that mark the field of writing, teaching and learning of history and social studies.

It would be true to say that currently, the non-Graeco/Roman model in the

promotion of a global dimension in education is increasingly gaining in currency. This is as much due to a shift in theoretical paradigms as to the activities undertaken by influential educational organisations. The Council of Europe's activities on history in schools is a case in point. There have been numerous conferences as well as bilateral meetings and workshops organised on the subject, with the first dating back to 1953 at Calw in the Black Forest – which focused on 'The European Idea in History Teaching' – and the most recent being held in 1994 at Graz ('The Reform of History Teaching in Schools in European Countries in Democratic Transition') and at Paris ('The Learning of History in Europe'). The Council of Europe has adopted a framework which considers history as a necessary basis for all the humanities, and since 1953 has highlighted the centrality of history in the school curriculum, and raised questions regarding not only the subject's status, but also its aims and function, the problem of bias and prejudice in the representation of events, and the need to maintain a balance between local, national, European and global history.² The Council of Europe's Council for Cultural Co-operation (CDCC) has also organised a series of seminars for teachers in order to develop knowledge on how different parts of the world – particularly Africa, Asia, Canada, Brazil, China, Japan, Latin America, United States – were presented in European classrooms (Bahree 1986; Gunner 1984; DECS/EGT [85]15; DECS/EGT [85]75; Slater 1996:46-48; Goodwin 1996:157).

It would also be relevant to refer to the work of the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research, which has promoted the study of the content in European history and social studies textbooks of different countries, providing recommendations on how to remove misunderstandings and misleading emphases (Slater 1996:27-28, 47; Fritzsche 1992:174-181). Analogous work has been carried out by the Unit for Textbook Research in Thessaloniki³ where one of the key aims is the development of a less ethnocentric approach in history and in other subjects. A similar inspiration underlies the activities of key educational associations. In 1995 for instance, the 39th Annual Meeting of the Comparative and International Education Society (CIES) focused on 'Education and Globalisation'. In 1996, the American Educational Research Association (AERA) organised a focus group entitled 'Research for Education in a Democratic Society', and several scholars presented papers on issues that have been raised in this article, looking particularly at the role of history and social studies textbooks in developing global citizenship.

Over and above the large scale efforts of educational organisations and associations, one could also refer to the emergent paradigm in the writing and teaching of history and social studies curricula and textbooks, as this is reflected in the work of an increasing number of scholars and educationists.⁴

The 'Ancient World' in Greek primary school textbooks

Contextualisation

Within this framework, and given the different projects referred to above, the present author thought it appropriate to consider the way the Ancient World is portrayed in primary textbooks in Greece. Before the results of that study are presented schematically below, it is useful to provide some background information relevant to the focus of this article.

It is important to point out, for instance, that Greek textbooks are controlled by the Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, and the same textbook for each subject is distributed by the Ministry all over Greece. Textbooks are written by experts under the supervision of the national Pedagogical Institute, and in each case they follow the curricular prescriptions of the Ministry of Education. The publication of textbooks is supervised by the Textbook Publishing Company, a self-governing organisation which is responsible for the production and free dissemination of educational material.

It is also important to point out some of the more central dimensions of curriculum production in Greece. Thus, as is the case in several other countries, one of the declared main goals of the Greek primary curriculum is to help students appreciate the Greek cultural heritage, become familiar with national, religious, cultural and aesthetic values, and fulfil their duties as citizens towards their own country and the whole planet (Unesco 1986; International Bureau of Education 1986; Unesco 1988; Eurydice 1994; Flouris 1992:206-236). In this curriculum goal, the concept of national identity and its contribution to the European and world identity are emphasised. Indeed, in the syllabi for the various subjects one finds both national and international elements with an emphasis being placed on the first dimension. In the case of history, for instance, the goals for the national Greek curriculum are set out as follows: *"Students have to: become acquainted with the historical life of the Greek nation and their particular country..., understand the historical continuity of the nation and its contribution to the development of civilisation..., develop the sentiments of love towards their motherland and of democratic values..., obtain a general view of the most important facts from global history, those connected with the Greek or which played a decisive role for the destiny of the world, appreciate the creative actions as well as the mistakes of their ancestors, so that they become capable of participating in the greater community of nations"*, (History for Grade 4, Teacher's Guide 1994:181sqq).

Research methodology

There is a dearth of information about the extent to which the Greek curriculum actually promotes an understanding of and respect for people who belong to other nations, religions, social and cultural groups. In this regard, therefore, Greece is lagging behind some of the other countries referred to earlier, where more research has been done on the global dimension in education. In this study, the focus is on the extent to which the portrayal of the 'Ancient World' in Greek textbooks contributes to the idea of globalisation, and encourages the transcendence of national boundaries. The key questions asked are the following:

- How is the 'Ancient World' presented in Greek primary textbooks and which are the main themes?
- Is the focus on the 'Ancient World' related to a multicultural/cross-cultural or global approach? Which aspect of globality predominates, the Graeco/Roman or the non- Graeco/Roman one?
- How is the world cultural heritage presented and how many citations referring to global concerns and issues are there in these books?
- How does the teaching of the 'Ancient World' seek to develop national identity and prepare students for European and world citizenship?
- What kind of knowledge, attitudes, values and behaviours are proposed via the teaching of the 'Ancient World' in the Greek primary textbooks?

In addressing these questions, the author undertook a content analysis of all the textbooks used to teach all the relevant subjects at all levels of the primary school sector in Greece, as follows:

- *Language* (3 textbooks from the 1st grade, 4 from the 2nd grade, 5 from the 3rd grade, 4 from the 4th grade, 5 from the 5th grade, 4 from the 6th grade)
- *Social Studies* (1 textbook from the 1st grade, 2 from the 2nd grade, 4 from the 3rd grade, 4 from the 4th grade, 3 from the 5th grade, 3 from the 6th grade)
- *Sciences* (2 textbooks from the 1st grade, 2 from the 2nd grade, 2 from the 3rd grade, 2 from the 4th grade, 5 from the 5th grade, 5 from the 6th grade)
- *Religion* (2 textbooks from the 3rd grade, 1 from the 4th grade, 1 from the 5th grade, 2 from the 6th grade).⁵

In all, 66 textbooks were analysed, and the data constitutes the corpus for the present investigation. The steps followed in the study included the choice of a working hypothesis, the identification of appropriate and relevant texts (in this case, all primary level textbooks) and the identification of the relevant pages in

TABLE 1: 'Ancient World' (Graeco/Roman) in Greek Primary Textbooks (%)

grd	A - B			C - D			E - F			T o t a l		
	<i>p.tb</i>	<i>p.a</i> <i>w</i>	%	<i>p.tb</i>	<i>p.a</i> <i>w</i>	%	<i>p.tb</i>	<i>p.a</i> <i>w</i>	%	<i>p.tb</i>	<i>p.a</i> <i>w</i>	%
L.	971	5	0.5	117 4	129	10.9	142 9	110	7.6	357 4	244	6.8
S.S.	429	17	3.9	109 0	481	44.1	985	79	8.0	250 4	577	23.0
Sc.	638	0	0	541	1	0.18	130 7	16	1.2	248 6	17	0.6
R.	-	-	-	293	0	0	513	2	0.3	806	2	0.2
Tot.	203 8	22	1 .07	309 8	611	19.7	423 4	207	4.88	937 0	840	8.9

TABLE 2: Other Ancient Civilizations in Greek Primary Textbooks (%)

grd	A - B			C - D			E - F			T o t a l		
	<i>p.tb</i>	<i>p.a</i> <i>w</i>	%	<i>p.tb</i>	<i>p.a</i> <i>w</i>	%	<i>p.tb</i>	<i>p.a</i> <i>w</i>	%	<i>p.tb</i>	<i>p.a</i> <i>w</i>	%
L.	971	0	0	117 4	11	0.9	142 9	23	1.6	357 4	34	0.9
S.S.	429	2	0.4	109 0	62	5.6	985	3	0.3	250 4	67	2.6
Sc.	638	0	0	541	0	0	130 7	0	0	248 6	0	0
R.	-	-	-	293	0	0	513	0	0	806	0	0
Tot.	203 8	2	0.09	309 8	73	2.3	423 4	69	1.6	937 0	101	1 .07

Abbreviations of the Table

tg.st: teaching subjects

grd: grades

p: page(s)

tb: textbook(s)

aw: 'Ancient World'

L: Language

SS: Social Sciences

Sc: Sciences

R: Religion

TABLE 3: *Graeco/Roman World and other Ancient Civilizations in Greek Social Studies Textbook (%)*

grds	p./%	Histor.	Geogr.	Civics	Envir.	Total
a-b	<i>tb.</i>	-	-	-	429	429
	<i>g-r.</i>	-	-	-	17	17
	%	-	-	-	3.96	3.96
	<i>o.cv</i>	-	-	-	2	2
	%	-	-	-	0.46	0.46
c-d	<i>tb.</i>	498	-	-	592	1090
	<i>g-r.</i>	431	-	-	50	481
	%	86.5	-	-	8.4	44.1
	<i>o.cv</i>	59	-	-	3	62
	%	11.8	-	-	0.5	5.6
e-f	<i>tb.</i>	574	186	225	.*	985
	<i>g-r.</i>	65	6	8	.*	79
	%	11.3	3.2	3.5	.*	8.0
	<i>o.cv</i>	0	3	0	.*	3
	%	0	1.6	0	.*	0.3
tot.	<i>tb.</i>	1072	186	225	1021	2504
	<i>g-r.</i>	496	6	8	67	577
	%	46.2	3.2	3.5	6.56	23.0
	<i>o.cv</i>	59	3	0	5	67
	%	5.5	1.6	0	0.48	2.6

* for the grades e-f, some environmental issues are included in the textbooks of Physics

Abbreviations of the Table

grds: grades
 p: page(s)
 tb: textbook(s)
 g-r: Graeco-Roman
 o.cv: other ancient civilizations

these texts, according to the focus of the study and the two categories (Graeco/Roman and non-Graeco/Roman civilisation) through which the presentation of the 'Ancient World' was made. Each category was considered in terms of the following principles: homogeneity, completion, exhaustiveness, and objectivity. The textbooks provided other organising categories, based on the heading of units, as follows: economic (commerce, travels, colonies, etc.), social (everyday life), political (city-state, wars, constitutions, political personalities, etc.), religious (ancient myths, heroes, gods, symbols, festivals, ceremonies), and cultural life (civilisations, ancestors, monuments, arts, personalities, archaeological sites, education, language, athleticism, etc.) (Massialas & Zevin 1969). A percentage measurement device was then adopted and applied to the textbooks in order to establish the frequency of occurrence of particular elements (Berelson 1952, d' Unrug 1974, Bardin 1977, Beringer 1978:221sq). Conclusions were inferred from the resulting measurement, and the tabulation of the results – which included the number and the percentage of the identified pages of the examined textbooks per grade and discipline – was calculated (cf. Tables 1,2, and 3).

Results

The investigation revealed that in Greek elementary school textbooks, the portrayal of the 'Ancient World' is mainly limited to Minoan and Mycenaean civilisation and to classical Greece (5th-4th centuries). Reference to the rest of the ancient civilisations of Mesopotamia, Egypt, India, China, Africa, Americas, Australia was almost totally absent. The presentation of the 'Ancient World' therefore has a strong nationalistic/ethnocentric orientation, and unlike curricular developments in several other countries, fails to develop a global dimension. In other words, the 'Ancient World' in Greek elementary textbooks is limited to the Graeco/Roman civilisation, continuing the predominance of traditional classical studies which can be traced back to the 15th century.⁶

Greek primary school textbooks emphasise the *Homo Graeco-Romanus*, focusing on various aspects of his life in the following order: cultural life, religious life, political life, economic life, and finally his social life. The 66 textbooks analysed dedicate 840 pages to the 'Ancient World'. This represents 8.9% of the 9370 pages that make up the total number of pages of the different textbooks. In contrast, only 101 pages (or 1.07%) refer to non-Graeco/Roman civilisations (cf. Table 1 and 2).

The Graeco/Roman model of the 'Ancient World' is mainly presented in the third and fourth grade of the Social Studies Greek primary school textbooks (44.1%; cf. Table 1) and is especially present in History textbooks (86.5%;

cf. Table 3). There is a focus on the prehistoric age, Creto-Mycenaean civilisation, and classical Greece. On the contrary, the portrayal of the other ancient civilisations in the third and fourth grades is very limited: 5.6% in Social Studies textbooks, and 11.8% in History textbooks (cf. Tables 2 and 3). The predominance of the Graeco/Roman civilisation is also evident in language textbooks. This is true for the third and fourth grade (10.9%) and for the fifth and sixth grade (7.6%) as can be seen clearly in Table 1. References to the other ancient civilisations are also very limited: 0.9% for third and fourth grade, and 1.6% for the fifth and sixth grade 1.6% (cf. Table 2).

The environmental studies textbook, on the contrary, does promote the understanding and respect of people who belong to other nations, religions, social and cultural groups. It highlights the degree of interdependence among human beings, but nevertheless represents the Graeco/Roman model as dominant (6.56%) in the first, second, third and fourth grades, while other ancient civilisations are almost excluded (0.48%) as Table 3 shows.

The traditional values reflected in the Greek primary school stem mainly from the classical Graeco/Roman concept of the 'Ancient World' and the Orthodox Christian tradition. The analysis of the primary school textbooks shows that the ancient Hellenic tradition predominates, particularly in Social Studies textbooks. Reflecting the declared goals of the Ministry of Education, textbooks promote an admiration towards the Hellenic civilisation. Other ancient civilisations and cultures are either excluded from consideration, or are relegated to a position of secondary importance (Kazamias & Massialas 1965; Massialas & Flouris 1994).

To sum up, therefore, Greek primary textbooks generally promote a Graeco/Roman dimension in the teaching of the 'Ancient World', to the extent that it is presented:

- as a general exemplar for teaching ancient history,
- as a cultural factor which influenced all Western Civilisation and was disseminated throughout Roman Empire and Christianity,
- as the only or main way of preparing students to participate in the changing world through the study of ancient Greece and Rome,
- as an element of utmost importance worthy to be perceived in regard the non-Graeco-Roman model
- as a vehicle to teach moral, social, political and universal values,
- as the most representative and consequently the most accepted model of humanism and of *studia humanitatis*,
- as a medium which promotes ethnocentric and Eurocentric orientations.

Discussion

The general position of the paper is that the 'Ancient World' should be seen as a whole, and should include a non-Graeco/Roman dimension besides the traditional focus on the ancient civilisation of Greece and Rome. A global and inclusive perspective on human history and culture helps us perceive the degree of interaction amongst all peoples at all times. If we accept the fact that a common 'Ancient World' history can be shared by all humankind, then this raises a set of pedagogical challenges. In the first place, one has to see how such a broad conception of the 'Ancient World', one encompassing all civilisations, could be encapsulated in a curriculum for classroom use. A second challenge refers to the issue of whether children have the ability to grasp such a broad perspective, despite the proof that we have that they are capable of understanding historical time concepts and spatiotemporal relations (Downey & Levstik 1991:401).

Such challenges are important, but they are not insurmountable, given what is at stake. The traditional division of the globe into continents may be perhaps useful for geography, but has little meaning for human history. The study of ancient history and civilisations can provide a global dimension which promotes human understanding, solidarity and co-operation among people. Ancient history, as a part of global history, is perhaps one of the best ways to conceive and understand the concept of the 'otherness' and its differentiation. The 'Ancient World', with its global sweep, shows the formation of the different world situations and underlines the continuity of human societies and the dynamic interaction between the similar and the different, the particular and the global, the national and the international.

Global ancient history and consequently the introduction of a non-Graeco/Roman dimension is distinguishable from local, national and Eurocentric history by the broader scope of its inquiry and by its efforts to draw generalisations. In the case of global ancient history the intentional choice is to centre on the whole system. The effort to acquire a global conception is considered both essential and worthwhile if there is to be any hope of learning from history. Such learning depends on the existence of generalisations which serve as the necessary connections between the past, the present and the future (Engle 1971:438-439).

Even in its emphasis on the Graeco/Roman dimension, the 'Ancient World' portrayed in Greek textbooks does not promote international understanding and world communication; its purpose seems to be overwhelmingly that of providing knowledge about the historical and cultural life of the Greek race and about the excellence of Greek civilisation. In other words, Graeco/Roman civilisation serves as a model for the teaching and learning of all history. As a result, the dimensions of cultural interaction, cross-cultural orientation, and cultural

diversity are practically ignored in the context of Greek primary level textbooks, to the detriment of the goals of education for global citizenship and multiculturalism. One could therefore say that the fact that Greece is a member of the European Union has not had a strong impact on the primary education curriculum, since we find little reference to the diversity of ancient civilisations and cultures, topics and issues that should feature in the Greek classroom. This goes against the official declarations of the European Union, which proposes that the unification and communication of the European people should be based on the recognition of Europe's broad cultural heritage. More specifically, the *Green Paper on the European Dimension in Education* (1993) emphasises the importance of every national identity, as well as of the cultural and national differences of the member-states, and warns against the dangers of chauvinism and xenophobia in the process of developing a common European educational process.

Similarly, the Socrates Programme of the European Union emphasises the value of the cultural heritage of the member states, and argues for the strengthening of a European over and above a national identity in students. It is in transcending purely nationalistic concerns that students develop a sense of their European and world identity, so that schools can help prepare them to take part in the economic and social development of the Union, making them aware of the advantages and challenges which it represents, improving their knowledge of the Union and the member-states and becoming aware of the significance of the co-operation of the member states with other countries of Europe and the world (*Official Journal of the European Communities*, NoC 244/51, 31-8-1994; *Socrates* (94/C,244/05) article 10).

The concerns of global ancient history and non-Graeco/Roman civilisation encourage the search for viable alternatives outside the role of the nation-state paradigm and they pay attention to those phenomena which function outside the strict boundaries of national political systems. Such phenomena include the cross-national regulation of influence, the common cultural and religious heritage, and the world-wide interchange in different fields. Unfortunately however, history is still taught in very fragmented and compartmentalised parcels and with a decidedly Western bias. Nevertheless, we have recently seen the development of area studies, which have started to break down the barriers separating nationalistic accounts of history. As a result, school textbooks in some countries are including more materials on non-Western civilisations and some global history courses include also units on global social problems such as war and peace, economic and social development, population and environmental control (Engle 1971:449-450; Goodwin 1996:157; Slater 1996:46-48).

This study has made a case for such developments to have an impact on the Greek primary curriculum and Greek primary school textbooks, and reflects research carried out by Flouris (1992) among others, showing the extent to which Greece has failed to develop a sufficiently multicultural and global dimension. Such an ethnocentric orientation in curricula and textbooks is not unique to Greece, and is indeed present in several European countries (Schleicher & Kazma 1992) but this simply shows the urgency with which one must address the challenges posed by the concept of globality in the preparation of educational material for tomorrow's citizens.

Notes

¹ Cf. concurrently the theme of the 17th Comparative Education Society in Europe (CESB) Conference, Athens, October 13-14, 1996: *'Education and the Structuring of the European Space: Centre-Periphery, North-South, Identity-Otherness'*.

² The Council of Europe has also organised exhibitions on European culture (the first being held in Brussels in 1955, the most recent in Vienna in 1996) which, while not directly linked to history teaching, have important implications for it. (EXP/CULT [53]33; CC-ED HIST [95]3, Charriere 1991(CC-ED/HIST [93]1); Harkness 1994 (CC-ED/HIST [94]28); Low-Beer 1994 (CC-ED/HIST [95]2); Harkness 1993 (CC-ED/HIST [94]); Aldebert, Bender, Grusa et al. 1992; Slater 1996:25sq., 49; Goodwin 1996:155sq).

³ Cf. for example, its collective volume on the *'Textbooks of Balkan Countries'*, 1995.

⁴ Among these scholars one can mention Hofman (1972) Strain & Berninger (1977) Frezza (1982) Li-Wen (1987) Alston (1988) Gifford (1988) McNeill (1988) Ravitch (1988) Sullivan (1988) Wiley (1988) Lemmon (1990) Aldebert *et al* (1992) Slater (1996).

⁵ The majority of the textbooks for each teaching subject per grade have more than one volume. Religion is taught from the 3rd grade.

⁶ Some examples from history textbooks are indicative:

– *"Greeks created an admirable and glorious civilisation which influenced the whole of humanity..."*, from the History textbook of the fourth grade entitled *In Ancient Times* (1994:265).

– *"Romans studied Greek philosophers, translated into Latin the Greek writers and put up Greek tragedies and comedies in their theatres... Romans were very much influenced by the Greek style of life and imitated Greeks; they adopted their religious, political and social ideas"*, from the History textbook of the fifth grade entitled *In the Byzantine Era* (1994:16).

– *"People used to communicate with each other... Greeks with Egyptians and Mesopotamians..."*, from the History textbook of the third grade entitled *In the Very Early Years* (1994:32).

– *"Every day life in other ancient people: Egypt and Mesopotamia"*, from the History textbook of the third grade (1994:83-85).

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RESEARCH REPORT

CULTURAL EXCHANGE BETWEEN FRENCH AND NORTH AFRICAN PARENTS IN TWO INTERACTIVE CONTEXTS

ELISABETH REGNAULT

Abstract – *The purpose of this article is to present a conceptual framework illustrating the dynamic of intercultural attitudes between indigeneous French and North African immigrant parents living in the same 'banlieu', a suburban underprivileged neighbourhood. Both these sets of cultural actors participate in meetings organised by community workers who lead remedial teaching sessions with the purpose of assisting children with their homework after school hours. The hypothesis being pursued is fairly straightforward: During one's socialisation, a specific idea of 'the other' – as a native of a different culture – is progressively constructed. This idea is then confronted with the perception of the other in one's day-to-day life and encounters in the same neighbourhood. Consequently, and specifically in this context of neighbourhood, the sense of identity can be threatened and tested because 'native' and 'immigrant' occupy the same space, and will therefore be obliged to reconsider their prior, generalised constructs of each other's cultural traits. Defence mechanisms such as introjection and projection come into play as the persons select 'facts' taken from reality to protect themselves and strengthen their cultural prejudices. Thus, while a psychological balance is possible, existing prejudices can change or be reinforced in the context of personal encounters. In these situations, positive attitudes are more likely to develop because parents gather together in an harmonious space, where they are considered collectively by community workers as parents, irrespective of their ethnic background.*

Introduction

This article draws on semi-structured, in-depth interviews with indigeneous French and North African immigrant parents whose children attend remedial classes after school hours. It sets out to understand the social construction of identity, as this develops first in the context of 'neighbourhood' – where perception of the 'other' is marked by one's own personal history, prejudice and

the dynamics of reciprocal exclusion – and then in the context of encounters where the ethnic background of ‘native’ and ‘immigrant’ alike is subordinated to a goal pursued by both groups alike: the educational success of their own children.

The research on which this short report is based draws on a post-graduate study undertaken in the locality of Empalot in France. Empalot has a high number of French ‘native’ people and ‘immigrants’ who come from a working class background. Many of the children in this *banlieu* also come from single parent households. The area is characterised by poor quality housing and high unemployment. A few buildings are particularly looked down upon by the majority of the residents of Empalot. These are high-rise, eight to twelve storey constructions with flats having only four or five rooms each.

Within this neighbourhood, community workers have introduced programmes of remedial teaching for children, and these meetings also involve the parents of the students not doing well at school. There are formal sessions with parents, with discussions on themes related to the programme of instruction that is followed by the children. However, parents, monitors, children and community workers also gather together for informal functions, such end-of-the-year social events with plays for children, cakes, drinking and dance (Regnault 1988).

The data

Data were collected through a number of qualitative research strategies, including the construction of a series of case studies based on in-depth interviews and participant observation (Regnault 1994). The sample of interviewees was chosen from a list of parents of children involved in remedial teaching who regularly participate in parent meetings. 10 French parents and 10 North African parents were interviewed four times over a period of twelve months, with interviews being held after meetings in which these parents had taken part. Apart from these 80 interviews, the parents’ interaction during the formal and informal meetings described above was also observed.

The North African parents come from Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia, are generally working class, and, like many ‘native’ French citizens from the same class location, inhabit suburban districts. The specific aspects of the linguistic, religious and historical backgrounds of the three Maghreb countries have not been differentiated as variables in the survey. Rather, what is highlighted is the fact that they share the same subordinate status in French society.

The conceptual framework

A psycho-sociological framework was used to illuminate the data gathered. The concept of attitude construction used in this study is therefore based primarily

on the theoretical writings of Moscovici (1976), who proposed two processes to define how attitudes develop. The first process is that of 'objectification', whereby, during socialisation, mainstream cultural values emanant from society, parental values and one's own personality influence one's way of being and acting, and of perceiving and defining 'the other' as belonging to a culture different from one's own. Furthermore, it is assumed that the relationship between French and North African people depends also on the status of the two cultures in the receiving society. Indeed, French culture is a majority one and North African culture is a minority one with regard to the specific historical relationships which exist between these two civilisations.

The second process proposed by Moscovici (1976) is that of 'anchorage'. In a specific interactive context, when one meets another person, the ideas developed and objectified during early socialisation are necessarily and rudely confronted by the real time perception of 'the other' as one goes about one's living in the same neighbourhood. When something new happens, instead of changing attitudes, one may selectively exploit certain facts taken from the observed reality to strengthen one's cultural prejudices. Thus, one protects oneself from a socio-cultural reality, which is both complex and threatening, since it is composed of situations which suggest a fundamental confrontation of the fixed, objectified cultural construct of the other. Two broad outcomes are possible here: the attitude can be reinforced or else it is obliged to change.

Observed data

Joëlle¹, a 'native' French woman, internalises the status of her culture in the receiving society and therefore develops a superiority complex. She is convinced that she is rightful because she is French and that North African people fall into a lower social bracket because they are strangers, even if her own economic status is equivalent to theirs (Guillaumin 1972).

She works as a housemaid in a hospital. She lives in Empalot-Daste near the low-status buildings, in a little flat with two rooms. She underscores the fact that she is *une vraie française*, and reproaches North African people who consider themselves likewise. She comments:

"North African people have got a national card which grants them permission to live in France. But that does not make them exactly French. I tell them: 'No, you aren't French, you belong to this race (...). A condition of being French is to be born in this country, to have the same way of life as French people'."

Aziz, a North African man, also internalises the status of his culture in the receiving society and therefore develops an inferiority complex. He however projects this negative self-image onto other people belonging to the same community. In this way, he valorises himself positively and cleanses himself from the cultural prejudices concerning North African people in the host society, France. He thus distinguishes himself from his community and tries to align himself with the majority culture. For these reasons, he prefers placing his children in a school where there are only a few North African children.

Bagley (1995) presents the findings of a study carried out by the British Government, investigating the implications of re-structuring state schooling. In this study, parents received a self-completion questionnaire which asked them to specify their first-preference secondary school and the reasons for this preference. The quantitative findings on 'race' and choice suggest that the 'ethnic/racial make-up' of a school is more likely to influence white parental preferences in the case of schools having a student complement with a majority of white children. Aziz develops the same attitudes as native people who exhibit a clear preference in favour of a school with a majority of native, French children.

Aziz works as a bricklayer and lives in a private building on the outskirts of Empalot. He refuses to live in Empalot and accepts the dominant prejudices without criticising them. He exhibits a specific identity strategy which is termed 'projected negative identity' (after Camilleri 1990). Consistent with this, Aziz notices that:

"North Africans will never change in the host society because they keep the same way of life as in the native country. They disturb customers in a pub because they discuss loudly and the clients are fed up with seeing so many North African men in that place. The consequence is that the bar attendant does not want to serve these people any more."

The idea of 'the other' which emerges from a different culture depends also on the specific, cultural perception of space, time and body (Hall 1971, 1984). Subjects can project their own cultural perception on the shared space and judge the manner in which this space is occupied and this time is lived and distributed by the other person. Given the different cultural points of departure, the utilisation of space and time of the subordinate culture does not – indeed cannot – tally with that of the host culture. The attitude of the minority culture is thus summarily condemned.

Annie, a housemaid, lives in a place called Empalot-Poudrerie, which 'enjoys' the same low social standing as Empalot-Daste. Annie feels that 'these immigrants' are omnipresent, and that they are more numerous than the French, 'native' people. She therefore feels culturally victimised, and experiences these

feelings with such an intensity that her condition verges on the paranoid. That sense of anxiety extends to the sphere of language, since she, like most French people, does not understand the Arabic language, and therefore considers that North Africans are at an advantage because they know French as well as Arabic. She believes that North Africans criticise the French people, using Arabic so that the French do not understand what they are saying. She projects her own perception of space, time and body on the locality she shares with immigrants, the 'shared space', to the extent that she does not want to see North Africans passing in front of her flat, especially if these are children. She also detests smelling North African cooking:

"When the Moroccans, the Algerians, pass in front of my flat at anytime, with their children, I just can't stand it. If the Moroccans, the Algerians, open their kitchen window so that I can smell their cooking, I can't stand that either... Those persons come to France to steal our money to send it to their country. They come here to fleece us."

In a similar manner, Joëlle feels culturally victimised because she notices that North African families are more numerous than 'native' French families. She also feels bad because during the meeting with community workers, North African parents try to give the impression that they do not understand French. She however thinks that this is a strategy on their part, and that community workers should be on their guard. In this case, the perception of 'the other' in the context of parental meetings reinforces and strengthens her cultural prejudices:

"They understand what we say perfectly, we French people. They also understand the French language well. They know how to manage in any situation."

Djamila is an unemployed North African; she lives in the high-rise, run-down blocks at Empalot-Daste. She feels rejected and condemned when she speaks in front of French persons during a meeting with parents and community workers. Djamila expresses this by saying that other parents give her "dirty looks", because she has difficulties in speaking French fluently and correctly.

The experiences of Joëlle and Djamila help us understand the extent to which communication between persons can be regulated by cultural prejudice. Clearly, such a bias keeps citizens from acting as equal members in the host society (Perotti 1986). In the two interactive contexts of the neighbourhood and the parents' meetings, the sense of identity is threatened. Identity (Mead 1934), the 'I', tries to create a psychological balance between one's notion of self-esteem and the onslaught of negative ideas. In fact, the internalisation of such 'prescribed identities' – what Camilleri (1984) refers to as *identités prescrites* – is similarly

projected spatially on specific buildings where North African people live. The purpose here is to assign a value and higher social respectability to one's living place, in order to protect oneself from the complex and threatening reality. Benayoun et al. (1987) argue that the image of one's own living space depends on the construction of the space of 'the other' as negative, unbecoming. Joëlle creates a psychological balance in the following manner:

"Empalot is considered as a dirty, squalid area. There are a majority of North African people living here. They are placed in large blocks of flats. In my building, there is no North African. I'm privileged."

She feels culturally victimised by the uncomfortable closeness of the buildings where some North African families live. She is afraid not of cultural difference, but rather of undifferentiation, that is of the possibility of not being sufficiently differentiated from North African neighbours. This constitutes what Lorreyte (1989) calls '*risque d'indifférenciation*'. She consequently decides to leave this area and settle elsewhere.

In a survey concerning multicultural neighbourhoods in Toulouse, St Raymond (1985) suggested that spatial prejudice is the mirror image of racial bias. The perception of shared space and of 'the other' who comes from a different culture proceed from categorisation and generalisation. According to different historical periods, one can always come across a process of ghettoisation in the perception of observers and citizens with 'prescribed identities'. We thus get notions of 'the Jewish Quarter', or 'the Arab Quarter', even when these neighbourhoods are, in fact, very heterogeneous. Saadi's (1982) studies of inter-ethnic relationships in the area of *La Goutte d'Or* in Paris is a good illustration of this use and construction of space. Saadi observes how, for instance, residents of some buildings refuse to socialise with – or even get to know about – neighbours on other floors in the same block. Such decisions are made on the basis of ethnicity, so that 'foreign' residents constitute a social barometer, signalling the level of social standing of a floor, or of a block.

However, in the process of inter-cultural encounters, attitudes are open not only to reinforcement but also to change. Djamilia, for instance, first observed that during the initial parent meetings she attended, someone gave her "*dirty looks*" because she had difficulties in speaking French correctly. After attending a series of meetings, however, she reported that she had grown confident in the use of French, and she no longer feels a victim of cultural violence:

"I feel well now, I have taken on the habit of speaking out. Before, I felt ashamed. I couldn't speak French properly. I had got the impression that everybody looked at me every time I spoke."

Annie took part in a number of informal meetings organised by the community workers. Little by little, she was observed changing her cultural ideas concerning North Africans. She has reported that she no longer feels victimised and that she was not disturbed by the number of persons of Maghreb origin attending the parents' meetings. Moreover, her interaction with North African women has steadily increased since the initial meetings, when she practically did not communicate with them at all. In this regard she said:

"It is easier for me to meet North Africans in a parents' meeting than as neighbours. We are together in group, we don't pay attention... We are happy to be together discussing the similar problems of our children. I have noticed the presence of many Algerians, but they have decided to communicate with us. Maybe, I have the habit now. During this meeting, Arabic women spoke their own language but they didn't speak ill of French people, in Arabic."

Analysis

The data seem to suggest that the likelihood of attitudinal change depends on the nature of the interactive situation. Change is more likely to occur in meetings where inter-cultural debate and discussion cannot be excluded, rather than in the context of casual neighbourhood life. This is because, in the latter, persons are more liable to exploit the facts selected from reality to strengthen (rather than question) their ascribed prejudices. The changing attitudes can be seen as a result of the influence of the specific group dynamics introduced by the community workers during these meetings. Mucchielli (1989) proposes that the two major functions here consist of:

- *focusing upon the task*: the persons share a common objective, that of helping their children become successful at school through remedial education. In fact, they have 'a superordinate goal' (Sherif et al. 1961). This present research suggests that the realisation of common goals reduces hostility and hatred between the two groups of children; and

- *focusing on the relationships* between group members: individuals get used to meetings with the same persons. The mistrust, experienced by parents during the first meetings which they attended, disappears gradually as more meetings are held. Annie and Djamila both observed how they have got into the habit of being and mixing with others. Consequently, the persons located in different cultures are considered in a positive way. People thus gradually eliminate this sensation of being threatened. Communication facilitates, and is in turn facilitated by, this thaw of inter-cultural prejudice.

Such group dynamics lead native French and North African parents to develop high levels of self-confidence and, therefore, to change their cultural prejudices owing to a better appreciation of each other. Such an interactive situation which induces such a change in attitude is specific because parents gather together in an harmonious space where they are considered by community workers as parents, irrespective of racial or residential background.

Nicole works as a housemaid in a hospital. Like Joëlle, she lives in a private flat at Empalot-Daste, near the high-rise, run-down block of flats. She says:

"The North African children have got specific problems because the parents, especially the father, impose the choice of career on their children. They consider that their children must be assisted more than those of the native French. Moreover, the behaviour of women is likely to be the same as the behaviour of native, French women."

Djamila lives at Empalot-Daste, within the block of flats of low social regard. She asks:

"If we were to return to North Africa now with our children, what will they do at school? In Morocco, it is important to know the Arabic language to follow courses and it is difficult for my children. The French school system is better for them."

It appears that the North African parents are very much concerned with the academic success of their children and they are keen to encourage them to learn the French language. As these children become more acclimatised to the French way of life, the reality which fuels inter-cultural prejudice is bound to change.

Concluding comments

This study explores how identity is 'threatened' because French and North African subjects are both sociologically victimised by the negative image associated with the residential suburb of Empalot. This image, unconsciously internalised, is objectified and projected onto specific buildings where North African families tend to live. Recourse is made to defence mechanisms such as introjection and projection so as to prevent anxiety and to bolster an individual's relative social standing.

Nevertheless, ambiguity seems sensible. In fact, Annie is more positive when she refers to interaction during parental meetings than when she discusses her relationships in the context of the neighbourhood. It is in the context of parental meetings that Annie – and others like her – transcends prejudice in order to develop a different intercultural attitude, one which exhibits more openness

and tolerates a mutual recognition of each other's reality beyond the negative stereotype.

One could posit that such an openness could be extended from parental meetings to other spheres of life. However, it is not sufficient to create opportunities for intercultural encounters in the context of the school. One must also look to the neighbourhood, where negative constructs of 'the other' are produced and reinforced. It is for this reason that over and above intercultural encounters, one must also consider the reconceptualisation and reorganisation of space in suburban, underprivileged neighbourhoods. Among other things, housing must be rehabilitated and employment opportunities must be provided if the structural problems which fuel inter-cultural difference and prejudice in the first place are to be effectively addressed.

¹ All names are fictitious.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Extended Review

Religion and Education: Islamic and Christian Approaches, edited by Syed Ali Ashraf and Paul H. Hirst. Cambridge: The Islamic Academy, 1994.

Religion and Education: Islamic and Christian Approaches is a compilation of papers presented in a series of public lectures and seminars on religion and education at the University of Cambridge between 1983 and 1989. Five of the authors are themselves academics at that institution, four of them in education and also Christian. Other authors include a Muslim social scientist in the U.S.A., a Muslim academic in earth sciences in Saudi Arabia, a Christian academic in English in England, a Christian academic in education in Northern Ireland, a Muslim academic in religious studies in England, a Christian minister in England, and a Muslim who is an education inspector in England. Thus, nine of the authors are academics, and five of them are educationalists. All share an impassioned interest in advocating religious education; all share a rejection of secular education; and all share a desire to **replace** the existing public, secular education with public religious education.

Syed Ali Ashraf, Paul H. Hirst, and Anwar Ibrahim provide the context for the papers in the Foreword, Preface, Introduction, Conclusion, and Appendix. These add immensely to the collection of papers, not only for novice readers in the field but also for people interested in education. The contrast of religious versus secularist tradition in education and some of the history of the debate within various Christian and Muslim communities about this are just two examples of this context which is useful to all readers.

Though advocates of secular public education will likely reject much of what these authors posit, I suspect that many will also agree with some of the criticisms made, not only of current education but of modernity itself. Thus, I will begin this review with what I think most readers will find useful. First of all, there is the reminder that until the early 20th century, religious institutions were the main providers of education, the holy book was the basis of the curriculum, and teachers either held religious office or were themselves deeply religious persons. This was so in the West as it was in most other parts of the world. In cases where the state assumed responsibility for education, this did not change the fact that the values underlying the curriculum and held by the teachers were religious ones.

With the increasing development and influence of science on the social sciences in the West, the hegemony of religious values was replaced with the hegemony of “value-free knowledge”. Positivism and its relatives in academia permeated education and religious-based values were rejected as “unscientific”, “irrelevant”, and even “backward” in modern society. The general devaluing of spirituality and rise of unfettered materialism are decried by all the authors. Criticism of the “no limits to growth” and “keeping up with the Joneses” is increasingly appealing to secular educationalists, though decline in spirituality perhaps less so.

Nevertheless, alienation and anomie in modern society, particularly amongst youth, is a common theme in education and social science. Many in the North American aboriginal communities have rediscovered the importance of spirituality and are using it as a basis for healing. They provide an example of the importance of spirituality and the necessity of its expression in modern society. This example, however, is not provided in the readings, which focus solely on Christian and Muslim communities, primarily in England.

Along with and related to the rise of materialism and decline of spirituality is the loss of community and rise of self-centered individualism. The authors all lament this development and believe it is related to the rise of secularism and the demise of religious tradition. They assert that a religious-based educational system would not be humanistic, that is, it would be not human-centered. Rather, education would be God-centered. It would not promote individualism but a sense of belonging to a community. Morality and truth would be God-based; they would be eternal, universal and absolute, not situation-based, particularistic, temporal, and relative. Some of this debate exists between the so-called “modernists” and “post-modernists”, though both sides are usually argued within a secularist world-view.

I suspect that most readers will agree with the following statement found on page 221:

We were especially alive to the subtle ways in which materialistic and selfish attitudes can undermine a morally sensitive and spiritual appreciation of life, and how the responsibilities and obligations of a common citizenship can be forgotten in the pursuit of personal advancement of private gain. Compassion can too easily be sacrificed on the altar of efficiency.

Somewhat related to the problem of materialism and individualism in modern societies, Syed Ali Ashraf (page 115) asserts that “...neither the capitalist, interest-controlled economic system nor the rigid regimentation of the Marxist economy and political system can be acceptable to a Muslim.” Neither the laissez-faire free

[sic] market system of capitalism nor the centralized, bureaucratic Marxist [sic] system are acceptable as a basis for ordering society because their core values are antithetic to religious values. While I do not contest this assertion, I find it somewhat disconcerting to remember that capitalism was, in fact, initially founded upon Protestant Christian values. Perhaps the problem is that people, not God, were running the system, but I am not sure how we can get around this problem when discussing the organization of human societies.

Another point made by the authors with which many readers may agree is that much of what has been put forth as "secular" and "modern" is really Western. In fact, much of it is Anglo-Saxon and Protestant. Rather than being an unbiased, universal modernity, modernity is a new form of imperialism oppressing other cultural world-views. This is found to be problematic, especially given the multicultural make-up of Britain, and one could certainly add of Canada and the U.S.A.

On a global level, this is also problematic in terms of development paradigms, though the authors do not address this *per se*. Mention is made, however, of the contribution made, for example, by Edward Said's *Orientalism*, to unveiling negative Western stereotypes of non-Western societies and of religions other than Christianity. Unfair and destructive negative stereotypes of Islam in particular are addressed. I dare say that if the situation were reversed, that is if Christians were being negatively portrayed by Muslims, there would be a broader-based and louder outcry against such discrimination than what we witness today. In terms of multiculturalism and freedom of religion, this is an issue of considerable concern, especially to educators. Some of the readings provide readers with food for thought on this matter.

Other beliefs posited by the authors with which most readers would agree include the notions that human beings possess free will, have the capacity for both evil and good, that self-control and self-discipline are essential components of education, and that what is valuable in a society's history and cultural tradition should be passed on to younger generations. It is not, however, the common ground between advocates of secular versus religious education which is problematic. Thus, I will turn my attention to those points on which agreement is not likely to occur. Ultimately, creating a public system of education which accommodates all people in any particular society is not possible unless and until these disagreements are overcome. These are the issues, therefore, which require the most work in terms of both theory and practice.

The authors reject the secularist basis of studying *about* religions from a sceptical or agnostic view rather than from *within* a religious view of faith. They also challenge the exclusion of religion from the study of all other social institutions and of society in general. They argue that much is lost to the

development of individuals and to society. This is part of their criticism of the privileging of science in education, as in modern society. It is also the basis of their criticism of science undermining religion with its conceptualization of truth and knowledge as limited, relative, and human-centered.

While it is generally true that religious values are devalued or overlooked in much social science, there are some notable examples of religion being considered as a significant factor. The phenomenon of mass social movements closely linked to "liberation theology", particularly in Latin America, is an example. There is a very large body of social science research which focuses on the importance of religion in Latin America, particularly on the potential for religion to be a basis for progressive social change. Even an atheist like Margaret Randall acknowledges this in her writings about the Sandinista Revolution in Nicaragua.

Ilyas Ba-Yunus (p 124-125) points out that Muslims have been able to institutionalize religious values, citing the example of the Khurshid Ahmad's Policy Institute in Pakistan convincing the Government of Pakistan to establish the *Zakaah*.⁴ The campaign for interest-free banking in many Muslim countries is another example.⁵ With regard to education, Ba-Yunus provides the example of Al-Azhar University in Cairo, the oldest existing university in the world, and still the center of Islamic learning. Until the mid-1970's, Islam was the only subject of study at Al-Azhar. Several new faculties were opened during this period, including medicine, science, and commerce. This was done in a serious attempt to overcome the dichotomization of religion and other subjects, and to heed the militant Muslim insistence that the secular must be "Islamized."

Ilyas Ba-Yunus suggests on page 119 that references to "nature" in the educational system are unacceptable and must be replaced by "God". This, I suspect, would be strongly opposed by the majority of the population in Britain, as it would in Canada and the U.S.A. Probably only fundamentalist Christians would support such a move, but they are the minority of Christians. I would further add that there would also be significant opposition to this by Muslims in many Muslim countries, even if there is some support for it. This is a good example of how much the authors underestimate opposition to their proposals, not only from educationalists and academics, but also from the general public. The authors have stated throughout the book that they acknowledge the fact that most individuals in public decision-making positions are secularists and the goal of the authors and those they represent is to change this. Beyond presenting their arguments, however, the authors give no indication as to **how** this change will come about. I hope it will not be through bloodshed, as it has been in Iran, Algeria, Egypt, Afghanistan, and elsewhere.

What the authors propose is nothing short of the transformation of the educational system from being secular to being religious-based. Citing the

alienation of religious people from the current secular educational system as one reason for the change, they have no answer to the problem of non-religious persons being alienated from a religious educational system.

I see nothing liberating in this. Criticizing the educational system for being intolerant of religion(s), they now would be intolerant of those who do not share their values. I have witnessed the religious, ethnic and cultural ethnocentrism in Canada as well as in Egypt of some religious educational institutions in hiring only teachers from their particular group and restricting enrollment to students only from their particular group. While this may be acceptable in a private educational system, it would not be in a public system.

At least within a secular educational system, one is supposed to be tolerant of different views. Criticism of such intolerance is common in education today. Thus, establishing the belief in one absolute truth as revealed by God as the basis for a public educational system does not give much room for diversity even within one culture, much less in a multicultural society.

Given the numerous protracted wars waging around the world today, and the fact that most warring groups claim to have "God" on their side, it seems somewhat naive to me that the authors assert the belief that there are common core beliefs to all religions upon which a religious public system of education could be established. In fact, I have always been somewhat appalled that Protestants and Roman Catholics in Britain as well as in Canada and the U.S.A. commonly refer to each other as being members of a **different religion!** What would they say about Muslims, Jews, and believers in other religions? Finally, this also ignores the fact that in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, believers are considered **The** [only] children of God, with believers in other religions consigned to second class status in the eyes of God. In fact, both Judaism and Islam has endogenous, sexist rules restricting marriage to non-believers. Considering the conceptualization of "pagans" as "beyond the pale" and "off limits" for intercourse (verbal and otherwise) by most Christians and Muslims, I find it somewhat strange that the authors would state on page 231:

Awareness that there exists in the world different racial groups within one humankind. We should, therefore, understand each other and live in harmony, respecting the different and differing customs, values, beliefs and languages of the main cultures of the world and of our own country...Development not only of tolerance and concern for the rights and beliefs of others, but a commitment to practical engagement on their behalf on the basis of the awareness that in the eyes of God all have equal rights and are entitled to justice and compassion.

This is not just a minor point. The books mentions that some of the seminars given at Cambridge University involved participation by Sikhs, Buddhists, Hindus, Jews, along with Christians and Muslims. Besides stating that these are the six "recognized" religions in Britain, Syed Ali Ashraf (p xii) also asserts that:

Unity lies in the concept of One Unique Supreme and Transcendental Reality which is the Deity or God in Judaism, Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, and Sikhism and the Transcendental Reality in Buddhism, in the concept of the presence of a Spirit in each individual which is endowed with eternal values in potentiality and in the recognition of some form of Divine guidance.

Given the centrality of monotheism, at least to Judaism, Christianity and Islam, I can't imagine their pious believers accepting "pagans" with "polytheist" or "pantheist" conceptualizations of "God" into their fold as equals. This would certainly leave out most religions indigenous to the Western Hemisphere and much of the Third World as well. With the relatively recent re-emphasis on spirituality rooted in indigenous religions by aboriginal people in the Western Hemisphere, this could be a serious problem.

Another thing which troubled me as I read these papers is the conceptualization of reason. The authors juxtapose reason and faith, reason and affect. In doing so, they fall into the false dichotomization of concepts so typical of modernity and which has more recently been seriously challenged by post-modernists. I would counter that even some of the ancient Greek philosophers, great Islamic philosophers, and Jesus Christ himself have not fallen into this trap of the false dichotomy. Ibn-Siinaa, for instance, said that reason must be used not only to improve human life but also to prove the existence of God. Ibn Baajj'a said that Islamic philosophy seeks to gain by reason the truth already revealed in the *Qur'aan* by faith. Islamic philosophers point out that the stress on law in Islam can be traced back to the works of Plato.

Setting reason and the rational against faith and emotion is not only a false dichotomy, it is a very destructive one for human beings. It is used by patriarchal religions and societies as a basis for subordinating and discriminating against women. Men are conceptualized as rational, being governed by reason, and women as irrational, governed by emotions which preclude reason. Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, at least in their literal interpretation, conceptualize gender as biological and essentialist, that "masculinity" and "femininity" are mutually exclusive and innate. Indeed, sexism is inherent in fundamentalist forms of Christianity and Islam and problematic even in their most "progressive" forms. Women are blamed for sin and equated with the Devil in both Christianity and Islam. Therefore, women are controlled and restricted by men to maintain God's

order. Even in English-speaking countries, women were men's property, not persons, in law until 1929.

None of this is discussed in the criticism of reason in the readings, yet it is central to it. The authors take a very narrow look at the privileging of reason in modernity; and in both equating affect with faith and valuing faith over reason, they obfuscate the equating of affect with women and the Devil in their own religious traditions. This is a tradition which is central to fundamentalist branches of Christianity and Islam and which has been particularly contentious in societies dominated by religion. Having stated the belief that the essential nature of humans is set and eternal, unchanging (p 179), there is no possibility of women shedding their innate evilness and inferiority in order to be equal human beings with men, or for tolerance, open-mindedness, harmony, and respect for others and difference. Therefore, I am very dubious of the tolerance the authors say they support, especially of the assertion that "...all have equal rights and are entitled to justice and compassion" (p 231) and that we should "...shun all stereotypes, be they of race, nation, gender, or religion." (p231-232) It also makes me wonder what the authors have in mind when they state that students "...should learn how to apply religious norms to the products of the imagination and discriminate between **correct and false emotive responses**" (p234 emphasis added).

Given that there is no written Constitution and no Charter of Rights and Freedoms or other similar written legal guarantee of human rights beyond laws passed by Parliament in Britain, common law, and the possibility of a strong rule of construction by some judges, the guarantee of freedom of religion or freedom of conscience is much more precarious than in the U.S.A. and Canada. Britain does not have a history of tolerance of religious dissent from the state religion and, indeed, despite claims by the authors that Britain is a secular state, there is a long and bloody history of association between the state and religion in Britain. Lack of religious freedom and domination by a state-sanctioned religion is the case in most countries and would be true in practice even if not strictly in law in most Third World countries. This is an important factor when discussing religious values in state education.

In terms of curriculum, teacher training and certification, and student evaluation, these are controlled by the central/federal/state/national government, not local communities. Therefore, they would be much more difficult for religious minority groups to influence. The centralized nature of education and the lack of constitutional guarantees for religious freedom and/or their enforcement in most countries are serious obstacles to the establishment of a public educational system based on religious values common to all people in almost any society.

The authors are vague about what their ideal educational system would actually be like in terms of structure. While they do mention the possibility of

Muslims and Christians cooperating in running a school together, and that a teacher does not necessarily have to be a member of a particular religion – but must be religious – to teach, I have difficulty imagining a Christian fundamentalist being allowed to teach Muslim children religion or a Muslim being allowed to teach Christian children religion, even in Britain. The authors give no indication that this has actually occurred, and I know of no cases where it has occurred.

So the question remains, do the authors propose one curriculum based on “common religious values” for all students with no differences amongst schools, a system of denominational schools with somewhat differing curriculum for each, or some other possibility? Can you, in fact, have a non-sectarian religious school system? They also do not address the education of teachers, and perhaps the “re-education” of practising teachers who do not fit their ideological model. What role would religious leaders and clerics have in the educational system? This is also not seriously addressed in the readings.

Finally, my last point is that of the difference between religion as dogma and religion as philosophy. While it is not addressed in the readings, I believe it to be crucial to any discussion about religion and education. Philosophy has been defined as the love of wisdom, an attempt to be rational, to use reason, to find truth. Religion has often been defined as dogma, a non-rational understanding of truth based on revelation and faith. Debated by the ancient Greeks, Muslims during the Golden Age of Islam, and Christians, there is disagreement amongst religious scholars about whether reason can and should be used to prove the truth of religious revelation as well as whether there should be a separation of the sacred and the secular.

Related to these points is the debate about whether the holy books of various religions are meant to be read and believed literally or metaphorically. Are they really the words of God spoken through a prophet or are they writings of persons who were divinely inspired? Furthermore, there is the question about who has the correct interpretation of the religious message. On one extreme are those who believe that the holy book is the literal word of God and must be adhered to strictly, and usually that dogma must be accepted on blind faith by “the masses” because they are incapable of understanding religious philosophy. At the other extreme are those who believe that the holy book should be interpreted metaphorically and that ordinary people are not only capable but obliged to accept responsibility for their interpretation. The authors do not address these issues in *Religion and Education: Islamic and Christian Approaches*.

While these concerns cannot be adequately dealt with here, it is important to keep them in mind when discussing the role of religion in education. How religion is conceptualized, in fact, how God is conceptualized, is extremely important.

Everything else is premised upon those conceptualizations. While I believe it is an important endeavor to pursue these discussions, I also believe that we are a long way from coming to any kind of agreement, particularly amongst different religions.

Endnotes

1 One could argue that the U.S.A. is an exception to this, with its legal separation of church and state; however, one could also argue that what passes for secular is, in fact, Protestant Christianity. This debate, however interesting, lies beyond the scope of this review.

2 Though an increasing number of academics argue that all knowledge is value-laden and never "value-free", much social science still purports to be "scientific", "value-free", "objective", and "unbiased". Though many credit this to the development of post-modernism, much of the criticism of "value-free" knowledge can be found in the European classical works of the 19th century.

3 The best-known source of this is Max Weber's *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*.

4 *Zakaah* is a tax for the benefit of the poor. Muslims are expected to give 1/40 of their gross income to the poor. This has traditionally been given to the poor living near the donor and known to him/her. It has also been done traditionally during the 'Iid Feast following the month of fasting, *Ramadan*. Militant Muslims, however, are demanding that the state take on the responsibility for collecting and distributing this tax. For militant or fundamentalist Muslims, the state should be a theocracy. A parallel concept exists in Christianity, the tithing of 10% of gross income which Christians are supposed to contribute to their local church; however, it is voluntary and there is no religious requirement that it be state-controlled or mandatory.

5 The Rayyaan scandal in Egypt during the late 1980's comes to mind here. Promoted as an "Islamically correct" investment company, they promised interest-free loans and investments but 30% return to investors. Ultimately, all the investors lost all the money they invested, involving so many millions of pounds that the Egyptian government had to get involved in prosecuting the promoters. Perhaps this is a bad example to give, but I know many sincere Muslims who lost their life savings in this fiasco and who tell me that they know of no genuine Islamic interest-free banking institutions.

6 The authors point out that in Muslim countries, it is usually not difficult to obtain religious-based education for children in primary and secondary schools, whether private or public; however, much of the post-secondary educational system is more secular than religious. This is because most post-secondary education was established by European colonial powers and/or the curriculum and textbooks are Western-based. Thus, not only is this level of education more secular, it is usually necessary for the students to be able to at least read a European language, since most Third World countries have not translated existing textbooks into the local languages nor have they written their own textbooks.

This has been a serious issue in Egypt for some time, particularly in the medical faculties, where a growing proportion of professors and students are demanding that classes be taught in Arabic and that texts be written in Arabic, rather than in English. Many Egyptian medical professors want their students to know more about the great contributions made to medicine by Arab and other Muslim physicians in the past and would like to break the intellectual dependency they feel has been forced upon them by the British. Thus, they wish to make medical education more reflective of and relevant to their religion and their history, not merely a clone of Western medicine. They do not want to be cast as inferior to Western practitioners, and wish to emphasize their contribution to medical knowledge.

7 For instance, in the "Appendix"(p 219), Syed Ali Ashraf states:

The purpose is not to form a syncretic religious approach, but to indicate that whatever the

doctrinal differences among religions, there are in nearly all religions, common beliefs regarding human nature, God, and a framework of eternal values. Religious groups should stand together so that the complete destruction of these values does not take place in the process of social change.

8. ʿAbd al-Muhsin Mahfouz's novel, *Children of Gabalawi* comes to mind here as a good example of the intolerance of literary satire by religious groups and societies of this very point. The book was banned in Egypt since its initial publication, and remains banned today despite Mahfouz having received the Nobel Prize for Literature for just such social satire.

9. Though this point is outside the focus of this review, it is worth noting that in Islam, Islam is asserted to be the last and most perfect religion; that there will be no more prophets, no more religions. Muhammad is believed to be the last messenger of God. Furthermore, in Islam, the *Old* and the *New Testaments*, the *Torah* and the *Bible*, are considered Holy Books, the Word of God. Thus, in Islam, Muslim men are free to marry Jewish and Christian women. Muslim women, however, can only marry Muslim men. All Muslims are prohibited from marrying others, referred to as *kaafir*, the English equivalent being "pagans". I wonder how anyone could proceed from this to stating that all persons hold common beliefs upon which a public religious educational system could be established.

10. I would assume that "pagans" are not considered one of the "...main cultures of the world..." (p 231). See Endnote 9.

11. Ibn Sinaa, a Persian Islamic philosopher and scientist, wrote a medical encyclopedia and spent much of his life using reason to prove the existence of God. He wanted to reconcile reason and faith. Rather than using philosophy and science to reconcile the worldly and the metaphysical, many scholars in the golden age of Islamic civilization used philosophy and medicine. The Muslim scholars not only read the writings of the ancient Greeks, they translated them and reintroduced them into European societies.

Indeed, Aristotle believed that nothing in the universe moves without something to move it, that the assumed unmoved mover is God, and that God is law. The neo-Platonic School of Greek philosophy believed that the Divine spark permeates the universe. These ideas are also found in both Christianity and Islam.

Ibn Baajj'a (d. 1138), a Spanish Muslim philosopher referred to as Avenpace in Europe, believed that a religion of revelation as confirmed by reason is superior to religion gotten by reason alone. This was a common belief in Islamic philosophy at that time. However, some Islamic philosophers, such as the Persian al-Raazii (865-923), believed that it was wrong to try to reconcile reason and faith.

12. The struggle between reason and desire within each person is referred to as "the great *jihad*" (holy war) by Muhammad, the prophet of Islam, according to Fatma A. Sabbah (1984:112, *Woman in the Muslim Unconscious*), and much more important than the "small jihads" amongst people. The power struggle between reason and desire is also represented in the struggle between the sacred and the earthly, between male and female, between human and animal, between God and the Devil, between good and evil. Man's strength is measured by his capacity to vanquish himself [the evil within], not others. Women are seen as the main manifestation of all evil temptations, so man must neutralize this threat by subordinating and controlling women.

These beliefs existed long before Muhammad and Islam; they were present in the teachings of Socrates, who believed that the essence of women is lust. This belief was widespread in ancient Greece after the rise of patriarchy; indeed, the ancient patriarchal Greek society can be characterized as misogynist.

The dominance of such misogynist ideas in most societies globally today is being challenged by emancipatory social movements and ideologies, some of which are religious-based. Nevertheless, within established institutionalized religions, the emancipatory voice for women is still silenced. The struggle against patriarchy is a very old one but we are still far from victory. It would be an enormous leap forward to have religion as an ally.

13. Although beyond the scope of this paper, the legal guarantees of human and civil rights, particularly in this case the freedom of religion and conscience, become important factors in any

discussion of religion and education. In the U.S.A. and Canada there are formal, written constitutions and entrenched civil rights such as the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. In such cases, Parliament and Congress cannot pass laws which violate them; judges can strike down such laws as unconstitutional. This is much more precarious and difficult to do in Britain.

There is a radical tradition in the British judiciary wherein judges may override an act of Parliament if they believe it conflicts with the unwritten constitution which judges themselves have effectively constructed based on common law. British judges have traditionally held freedom of conscience in high esteem. Nevertheless, the radical position contradicts Parliamentary sovereignty; thus, the strong rule of construction is a more practical position, though still minority position. Using this, judges can argue that an act of Parliament which seems to trample on fundamental rights was actually not intended to do so and so will interpret the act even when the interpretation rendered was not intended by Parliament. Even using this approach, however, judges are bound by their constitutional role as defined by orthodox notions of Parliamentary sovereignty.

British law is further complicated now by their membership in the European Union. Rulings of the European Court of Justice have had profound effects on English jurisprudence, especially in cases involving fundamental human rights. These rights are guaranteed by the Treaty of Rome. U.K. citizens unable to get satisfaction in British courts have the right to argue their cases before the European Court of Justice — so long as their case is covered by an EU Directive or Regulation. This presents great difficulty for the notion of Parliamentary sovereignty in Britain, and more hope for the protection of fundamental human rights. (I would like to thank Jasmine El-Nahhas for pointing out these details and their significance).

14 Ibn Rushd (1126-1198 AD), referred to as Averroes in Europe, was one of the greatest Islamic philosophers, belonging to the Malakite School of Islamic jurisprudence in Spain. He advocated One Truth and tried to reconcile law and philosophy, the sacred and the worldly, insisting on a metaphorical interpretation of the *Qur'aan*. Furthermore, he believed that theologians should remain in close contact with the masses, that religion is important to the state and must be explained by philosophy and reason to the masses on its truthfulness. All of these ideas went against the tide at that time. (See his book, *Fahaafut al-Fahaafut, the Incoherency of the Incoherent*). Ibn Baajji'a (See Endnote 11), on the other hand, believed that the masses were incapable of understanding philosophy and so must accept dogma on blind faith. He believed that philosophy is incapable of governing the state and the masses.

This debate occurred while Europe was engulfed in the Middle Ages, often referred to as the Dark Ages of Christianity because such questioning of dogma usually resulted in being tortured to death. The debate within Islam was not only lost but effectively smothered, throwing Islam into the religious Dark Ages from which Christianity has since emerged. Today, any suggestion that the *Qur'aan* should be read metaphorically and any questioning of Islamic dogma would likely be met with death threats sanctioned by *fatwa*. The fate of Salmon Rusldi and Taslima Nasriin are recent examples. So much for religious freedom and tolerance! This has been referred to by Naguib Mahfouz and others in the English-language version of *Al-Ahram*, the government-controlled newspaper in Egypt, as the smothering of the flame of the Enlightenment in Egyptian civil society.

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Rachel Tokatli (ed.), *Lifelong Learning in Israel*, The Ministry of Education and Culture, Adult Education Division, Jerusalem, 1989, 256 pp.

This book explores the wide variety of educational programmes in Israel. The vantage point from which both the editor and the contributors approach adult education is that of practice. The writers are personally involved in the various programmes (as initiators or teachers) and provide a collection of case studies based on their own roles within these programmes. These activities encompass everything including basic literacy, 'second chance' (pre-academic) programmes and popular education. The book provides a comprehensive account of the educational activities for diverse ethnic groups, veteran and recent immigrants, Ethiopians and Israeli Arabs. It also illuminates on adult education programmes within the Kibbutz Movement, the Labour Movement and the Israeli Army, stressing the unique functions of adult education within these frameworks.

The book is divided into three sections: the first is devoted to discussing values and their significance in adult education programmes; the second section deals with literacy and basic education mainly in the Tehila project which is a major literacy programme in Israel. Tehila in Hebrew means "glory" and is also the acronym for Special Educational Programme for the Adult Learner. Tokatli, the Editor, who was the Head of the programme since its inception, describes vividly the challenges in developing and maintaining the project. The third section explores special programmes in popular education. Each chapter is forwarded by a general introduction to the specific topic which also situates the writer within the programme. The section on values consists of two chapters: the first discusses the nature of lifelong learning in Judaism by tracing historically the roots of learning in both past and contemporary Jewish traditions.

The second chapter debates "the right to educate adults." While other writers do touch on some of the theoretical issues, this chapter presents a general perspective which problematises the ethical aspects involved in educating adults. According to Cohen, the writer, adult education involves the transmission of knowledge and values: "We assume, and perhaps rightly so, that the new values and cultural patterns, as well as the knowledge and skills acquired by adult learners, will help them lead more fulfilling lives and enjoy greater control of the world around them" (p. 35).

He points to the need to "recognise" and "respect" the adult learner's values and norms. However, he argues that "as educators we have a **duty** to present to the adult learner the values, norms and beliefs which we consider true and most appropriate for the time and place in which we live" (pp. 37 - 38). While Cohen

is rightly aware of the existing class differences between adult learners and their teachers, which create an unbalanced learning situation, the question is whether this understanding leads to the imposition of ideas and beliefs related to the dominant culture. In other words, to what extent does knowledge construction within the classroom account for the learner's everyday life experiences and is a product of the learner's input? This issue becomes even more significant in Israeli society since, as an immigrant society, Israel struggled with the absorption of Jews coming from developing countries (Orientals or Mizrachim) with very limited formal education. Hence, ethnicity was constituted as a stratifying factor in Israeli society and, therefore, the absorption process was perceived as a national goal. This led to the adoption of two main principles: "Ingathering of the Exiles" and "Absorption of Immigrants." The former represented the notion of a Melting Pot on the common basis of belonging to the Jewish people, while the "Absorption of Immigrants" policy was conceived as a complete re-education of the newcomer (Cohen, 1985: 324).

A review of the diverse programmes regarding the functions of adult education suggests a general expectation on behalf of the learner to adapt and acquire the norms and culture of the existing society in order to integrate fully (see Preface, p.7; Tokatli, p. 119). This is particularly illustrated in a chapter on Hebrew for immigrant teachers (Polani, p. 241) where it is argued that "hankalat ha-lashon" (literally, 'bequeathal of the language') implies far more than the transmission of necessary linguistic skills and connotes the ties among past, present and future generations. Hankhalat ha-lashon implies a full cultural, social and economic absorption process whose objective is a sense of involvement and belonging and the eradication of the distinction between 'we' and 'them' (ibid). The Israeli Army has developed educational programmes which can be seen as yet another example: these programmes are designed first, to help soldiers from disadvantaged backgrounds to function better during their service in the army, since discharge can block social and economic integration (p. 210). In addition to that, 'second chance' programmes are designed to benefit soldiers by advancing their level of education, so that they can "function as productive citizens" (p. 213). In this respect, the writer claims, we can see the army "as an instrument of the state for solving social problems" (p.206).

Thus, adult education, in its various manifestations, can be seen as a mechanism which reinforces social integration through acculturation. The general approach seems to be in line with the traditional 'top-to-bottom' model of knowledge transmission, where the learner is a passive recipient of prescribed educational materials (Mayo, 1991). Yet, several writers emphasize that there is an attempt to adapt the curriculum to the world of adult learners, their experiences and interests (Rosen, p. 79; Guttmann, p. 85). Generally, the Editor indicates that

“In writing and adapting learning material... the guidelines were methodological, educational, and disciplinary considerations on the one hand, and relevance to the students’ world – their joys, worries, fears and hopes, on the other” (Tokatli, p. 49). Still, what is missing is a discussion of the ways in which the learners’ world is incorporated within the studies, *how* the fears, hopes and events from adult learners’ lives are woven in the curriculum. Furthermore, it is important to understand the extent to which the learning process is transformed as a result of students’ contributions.

The only example that demonstrates a more dialogical, participatory approach is provided by Adorian who writes about teaching holidays and describes how it is worked in class: “students are given the opportunity to participate by telling their personal stories. They thus become active partners in structuring the lesson” (p.98). Apart from this, there is no reference in the book to processes through which learners can incorporate their world in the studies. We learn that students in the Tehila programme take part in outreach programmes for new students and organise social events (p.53), but these are extra curricular activities. It has been argued by adult education theorists that “critical education has to integrate the students and the teachers into a mutual creation and re-creation of knowledge” (Shor & Freire, 1987, p. 8). Motivating students to learn through a discussion of their authentic experiences may lead to a critical reflection on the learners’ social reality. It could constitute an attempt at transforming this reality. One way of doing this would be the creation of meaningful texts out of the learners’ recorded conversations, which is a feature of modern adult literacy programmes (see Mayo, 1991, p.27). A chapter, focusing solely on Arab learners’ reflections on their circumstances in the “pre and post” Tehila programme (p. 113), illustrates how Tehila helped them realise their social situation, and may serve as the beginning of a transformative learning process.

A significant aspect of the book is the space offered by various writers to learners’ voices and reactions with regard to the learning programmes in which they participate. By integrating students’ views, the reader gains valuable insight as to the impact of the learning process on the adult learners’ lives. Thus, we learn of images of darkness and light used to describe the learners’ feelings towards the written word. But, more importantly, we see how learning and knowing affects their lives, when they can take part in synagogue services and actively participate in reading parts of the Haggadah, during Passover night, which “represents a radical transformation for most women who, for years have been completely passive in the process of reading and explaining the Haggadah’ (p.103). Another case in point can be seen in computer learning which was greeted by some educators with skepticism but proved to be vital to adult learners who felt a sense of belonging to a new era, the twentieth century: “I brag at home that I’m learning

with the computer" (p. 93). A related finding, which again comes through students' reactions, concerns student participation in the classroom. As the writer argues, adult learners frequently avoid answering the teacher's questions. At the computer, however, they became most enthusiastic and active (p. 86-87). Hence, learners' reflections seem to be essential in the assessment of educational programmes and in understanding their significance for adult learners' lives.

While student voices are critical to the understanding of adult education programmes and their impact on the learning process, it is also important to delineate a general profile of the adult learner in Israel. The reader could infer that most of the learners are women of Asian-African origin but the book does not provide percentage rates of the learners' level of education when entering Tehila. Neither does it indicate the rates of students continuing to higher levels in the project nor dropout rates. It would have been helpful to have more information on literacy rates among Israeli Jews and Arabs, data which specifically relates to learners in the Tehila programme. Such information could lead to the development of a comparative view concerning the literacy situation in Israel and other countries.

Finally, the editor's use of the afterword should be noted. Instead of summarising previous chapters, Tokali uses the space for reviewing other adult education settings which were not discussed throughout the book. This addition provides further insights into the variety of educational programmes designed for adults in Israel.

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Joseph Giordmaina (ed.), *Systems of Knowledge: A Guide. Book 1 – Antiquity and Early Middle Ages, Middle Ages and Renaissance*, Malta, Malta University Publishers, 1995.

This textbook is the result of the co-operative and evaluative efforts of a group of teachers described in the book's foreword as having 'expertise of both the difficulties and rewards of stimulating teenagers to perceive the connection between spheres of knowledge and the values of existence'. It caters for a long-felt need in Maltese higher secondary education, and it signals important and ground-breaking curricular developments in the teaching and examination of the subject 'Systems of Knowledge', which is a pre-requisite to University studies in Malta.

'Systems of Knowledge' was introduced a few years ago with the aim of encouraging students to become critical and reflective thinkers – to ensure, in the words of one of its chief architects, 'that at the post-secondary and pre-tertiary phase, there would not be a total divide between science and arts studies and that there would be scope for creative, critical and operative thinking'. The Guide aims to achieve these ends by introducing students to a number of sequentially presented key concepts taken from different stages in the history of Western civilisation, with particular focus on intellectual, artistic and technological developments in the Mediterranean regions of the European continent. The book under review constitutes the first of a projected two-volume series. It caters for the first of the course's intended two-year division, and covers the period from Antiquity to the Renaissance. The projected second volume is described in the editor's preface as 'covering Module Modern and Contemporary'.

The book projects itself as no more and no less than a guide, meant, as the editor insists, 'to help teachers to identify text and to focus on certain areas of a vast spectrum of ideas'. It is the result of a radical re-evaluation of the course's structure, undertaken in the light of concerns over perceived limitations in, and misconceptions about, its purpose and objectives. The guide suggests that the lessons of those experiences have been well learned and evaluated. It comes across as a potentially very rewarding tool for teaching and learning, structured according to soundly developed pedagogical principles of organisation. It introduces the topics on which it focusses accessibly and imaginatively, is generously illustrated and user-friendly in format, and it also offers a range of astutely selected and sequenced colour reproductions of significant works of art which should further stimulate reflective analysis and discussion.

Each of the guide's chapters opens with an introductory overview of the contexts within which the guide's contributors have chosen to locate key concepts

and ideas. Some of these contextualising sections are more detailed and informative than others, but this should not raise major problems if teachers and students approach them critically and in the spirit in which they have been written - i.e. as guides to further discussion and research. Each chapter also reproduces selected texts, intended to encourage the further exploration of highlighted ideas. Not all the selected texts are likely to achieve this end, but they do provide a wide range of perspectives and include often stimulating excerpts both from academic studies as well as from primary sources. The latter are quite diverse, and include, to take a few random examples, a selection of Horace's odes, an abridged version of Aristophanes' *The Acharnian*, an excerpt from Macchiavelli's *The Prince*, and examples of Da Vinci's anatomical studies, juxtaposed against his spirited upbraiding of those 'who think that it is better to watch an anatomical demonstration than to look at these drawings'.

The guide (quite logically) presents the primary texts in translation, but it does not draw attention to this fact, nor is there any indication as to whose translations have been used. The act of translation raises challenging questions of interpretation in its own right, not least in terms of how historical renditions like those presented here relate to the experiences and systems of knowledge which they retrace and reconstruct. In a course leading to an examination which students are expected to write about complex ideas in both English and Maltese, this could be turned into a rich area of exploration.

One of the guide's chief aims is to show how the ideas it describes were influenced by the contexts in which they were forged. Given this focus, it could usefully have devoted more systematic attention to the implications of its own boundaries, and to the fact that its orientations are exclusively Eurocentric. However impressive, stimulating or influential they may be, the ways of seeing and the artistic and conceptual achievements presented here are no more and no less than examples of local knowledge. More could have been made of the fact that other cultural, artistic, intellectual and technological traditions were developed in non-European contexts, and that some of the most stimulating developments in art and thought often resulted from contact between different cultural traditions. The obverse is also true, in that destructive conflicts and the subjugation or even extinction of alternate cultures have often resulted from the misguided belief that any one system of knowledge or set of cultural values is somehow more 'basic', more absolute or more universal than others.

This is not a quibble over the topics which have been selected for inclusion. The lack of a more systematic acknowledgement of cross-cultural concerns is an omission whose implications are given an unfortunate twist in the book's blurb, which asserts that 'the programme of studies Systems of Knowledge encourages students to reflect on the basics of human knowledge'. The blurb also (and quite

unselfconsciously, it seems) speaks of inviting students 'to reflect critically and creatively on the products of man [sic] throughout history'. These universalising claims are as unnecessary as they are misleading.

The guide's real focus is (appropriately) on the influential and formative ideas, values and achievements of different groups and individuals who lived in the Mediterranean region over a number of centuries. It does no more and no less than explore some of the interconnections between the region's peculiar 'political, socio-economic, ethical and cultural environments' and the ways of seeing, knowing and being which have both grown out of them and also influenced their further development. That the guide manages to explore these interconnections in such a pedagogically innovative fashion is an impressive achievement.

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**Abdelkader Djeflat, *Technologie et Système Educatif en Algérie.*
Co-édition Unesco Cread – Médina, 1993**

In Algeria, the word Technology seems like a magic incantation people chant in order to conjure up better days for the country, if only, as they say, its transfer was possible. However, the present book reviewed is in no way into this kind of mental state. It deals with the incursion (one cannot speak of a systematic use) of technology into the educational system, which spells problems because of some known social, economic, cultural and political characteristics of the country, which do not always facilitate the somehow natural encounter between both processes.

Professor Djeflat's book offers an interesting and idiosyncratic insight into the systems of education and training, so much talked about and criticised but rarely dissected in a professional way. More often than not the studies about these systems tend to be more polemical, highly critical, but rarely argumentative. Today, it is trendy to lampoon the government (*démocratie oblige!*) through low-key articles in the so-called daily independent newspapers. There is a fashionable way to cultivate the sensational, to the detriment of non-partisan if not scholarly, or scientific approach to problem-setting. Djeflat avoids giving in to easy and counter-productive discourse. He has undertaken and succeeded in unveiling the mechanisms behind the two processes with the most objective concern possible. Djeflat is well-placed to carry out this analysis: he teaches at the Institute of Economic Sciences at the University of Oran in Algeria, co-ordinates the Maghtech Network, is associate-professor at Lille 2 in France, and visiting professor at the *Institut de Développement et de Planification* (IDEP), under the aegis of the United Nations, in Dakar, Senegal.

The book sets out to identify the problem-areas generated, in particular in education, by the policy of heavy industrialisation which started in the early 1970s. The result of this encounter, with the help of the reigning educational idea of that decade – i.e. Polytechnical Curriculum Theory – led to the launching of the Foundation School in the early 1980s, which meant a very strong scientific, technical and ideological bias in the school curricula: a major shift in educational philosophy. The main problematic of the book, which revolves round the relationship between the sector of production and that of the education system, tackles the thorny problem of two worlds which collide: one heading for the future, the other not yet ready to take a clearer direction. The main question posed concerns the relationship between the system of training and the requirements of jobs for school-leavers with a scientific profile. To illustrate his points, the author uses, as a case-study, the situation of the sector of petrochemistry.

In his book, the author undertakes to unveil the mechanisms behind Algeria's technological policy in the sector of petrochemicals and the place of training in this policy. While tackling the problem of innovation, Djeflat tries to identify the types of impact such innovation had on the competencies needed, hence the role devoted to education, but also education planning. One of his aims is to show the everlasting inadequacies between the requirements of petrochemistry and the educational system as well as that of training, each one seeming to work at different levels and speeds.

Among his main statements, the writer hypothesises that the country's technological policy has difficulties meeting the requirements of the overall growth despite the decision-makers' pious wishes (one cannot talk about a systematic approach to the building of the country's future). He also underlines the fact that the creation of the sector of production, of a system of training which is autonomous from the school system (which is understandable, the formal educational system being unable to provide the adequate wo/man power), separate from the school system, has not had but positive results. The near failure of the technological policy of the country seems to reside also in the quasi total absence of R&D and technological innovation, even in strategic sectors like petroleum. Another area of tension described by the author is the vague relationship between the basic training given in the formal educational system and the specified one provided in training centres. This does not come as a surprise: each cycle of the school itself seems to be working in total isolation (one possible cause of its failure), let alone in collaboration with the outside world. This shows how long-term objectives in the school system are ignored, therefore disabling all the more the latter in its utopian fight to meet the specific demands of certain economic sectors which are vital for the country's growth.

Methodology-wise, Djeflat has worked at both macro and micro levels. In the first and larger domain he has succeeded in describing the technological policy of the country, and its place in the system of national education. A closer analysis focuses attention first on R&D and technological dissemination in the whole of the petrochemical complex, and then at the level of the plant, to study the use of the imported technological tool. Another important part of the whole puzzle is the lack of synchrony between the formal system of education and the requirements of employment in one of Algeria's key sectors. In the face of such a question, the writer makes an interesting remark: one cannot say whether there is correspondence between training and employment; one should talk about complementary systems (education and training), each one playing either a cultural/educational/political or economic/strategic role. This, of course, does not allow any optimistic perspective for the country's economic and educational fate.

The other not so blatant point is that thanks to training, the educational system has created new training programmes and profiles. Unfortunately, one must add that these programmes and profiles still rely heavily on the training abroad, which boils down to the everlasting question of dependence on foreign expertise, something that the government is theoretically anxious to avoid.

The level of analysis developed in this book is undeniable. The links between education in general and employment are made clear. The obstacles to balanced growth are identified and the inadequacies underlined. The worrying thing is that such a book will be of some import only to university researchers or curious readers; decision-makers will likely forget to ponder over such an uncompromising analysis. The only point of criticism one can put forward is the use of some not always reliable source of statistics on which certain points of the argument are based. This of course poses the problem of validity. But one knows how difficult it is for researchers to find one hundred percent reliable data in countries where basic pieces of information are at best a secret. The other point one can put forward is more of a *desideratum*: the very important variable, namely trainers, has not been dealt with fully. For many a researcher, the systems of training and education have failed basically because of those in charge of training: lack of experts, lack of pre- and in-service training, absence of motivation, lack of professionalism.

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NETWORKING

EURO-MEDITERRANEAN JOINT TEACHERS' AND TRAINERS' DEVELOPMENT TEAMS: AN OPEN PROPOSAL

DOV WINER

Proposal

In accord with the objectives of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership Policy we propose joint Euro-Mediterranean telematised teams for the development of computer mediated communications-based courses of studies. The development teams will be composed of teacher educators or in-service trainers from the different countries of the area. A collaborative approach requiring essential input from all partners to the joint final product will guide the establishment and working procedures of the different teams. Communications tools supporting joint work of these teams will be selected following an appropriate technology orientation. Appropriate technologies like email (store and forward, online/offline), mail and file servers, email based working groups and virtual seminars allow full participation of developers established in countries where the telecommunications infrastructure still needs to be enhanced. The content of the CMC modules/courses of studies to be developed by the joint teams will focus on subject matters of mutual interest for Euro-Mediterranean countries, e.g.: translation and adaptation of existing modules to local needs; methodologies for introducing teachers to the use of the network in current educational practice; 'water' as an interdisciplinary focus of studies; a comparative approach to different sources of the common cultural heritage; training trainers in drug-prevention programs; and an historical approach to Mathematics (stressing the Arab contribution).

Background

The European Union in cooperation with its Mediterranean partners has established the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership Policy. The main objectives of the policy include the creation of an area of shared prosperity, and to promote a partnership in social, cultural and human affairs. The note from the Italian Presidency (5958/96 Scientific and technological cooperation between the EU

and MTC) emphasises that cultural cohesion is a basis for fruitful scientific and technological cooperation. It points to the need to promote initiatives which increase the mutual understanding and acceptance between the different cultural approaches in the Mediterranean basin. The intensification of relations (exchanges of persons, knowledge and information) is essential for this. The use of telematic instruments, such as Internet, are pointed out as useful for this purpose. The necessary information society related infrastructures have to be developed, and among them those able to support projects related to tele-training.

The lines of action suggested in the note include capacity building, joint research and technology transfer. For capacity building, stress is put on the appropriate infrastructural context. Networking and information society technologies will help to increase efficiency, provided that the necessary infrastructures are put in place. The socio-cultural context is emphasised for the intelligent transfer of technology and knowledge.

The following proposal aims at implementing these policy guidelines through the establishment of telematics-based development teams composed by teacher educators or in-service trainers.

The challenge

Many approaches to course development, distribution, and technology transfer may be adapted for specific technical/technological subject matters or highly structured knowledge areas. Approaches, implementing sophisticated multimedia or broadband broadcasting devices are limiting in the participation space allocated for professionals in whose countries sophisticated telecommunications and computing technologies are still being developed.

The creation of space for full participation may require an alternative/complementary approach. Settings should be created where developers from countries of the area meet and jointly participate in the process of knowledge building and course development. Such an approach would recognise the societal basis for knowledge creation, legitimisation and distribution; it requires close collaboration between the partners from different cultural backgrounds. Each of the partners should be allocated some essential components towards completion of the end product. An additional requirement of such an alternative approach is that the working base for the development team and the end product should be the use of appropriate technologies. Such an approach would also be appropriate for less highly structured, or less technological subject matters. The end products, telematised modules and courses of study should permit their use by wide circles of learners, teachers and trainers.

A collaborative approach

Electronic communication enables teachers to form new working relationships with educators throughout the world. Teachers may join other teachers to work in teams to help solve real problems, to share cultural perspectives, and to learn from one another. This type of cooperative learning can change the life of teachers and with it their methods for educating students. Teachers working on educational networks consistently rank their own learning as the most important benefit of the program. Riel (1990) describes the following phases in setting up a collaborative framework for teachers:

(1) Forming the learning circle: a topic is selected and members of the group meet electronically exchanging introductions and general information. (2) Project planning: the group task is defined and planned and different roles allocated. (3) Accomplishing the task: members work closely with their local and distant peers accomplishing their agreed task. (4) Publication. (5) Sharing and evaluating publications.

The professional development benefits obtained by teachers who participated were:

(1) Acquisition of knowledge (2) The development of new instructional strategies (3) The development of self-esteem (4) The development of professional and personal relationships.

This model, originally applied to joint cooperative projects of teachers and students, is suggested as providing the basic scheme for the establishment and work of joint Euro-Mediterranean teacher educators and in-service trainers development teams.

Sheryl Burgstahler, reviewing electronic communities projects, points to the following elements that may affect their success or failure: (1) Organisation of the Work Group (2) Task Organisation (3) Response Opportunities (4) Response Obligations (5) Coordination and Evaluation. She adds that it is essential to assign responsibility to the participants (Brugstahler & Swift 1996). A genuine collaborative approach is the best way to obtain the best conditions leading to the success of this initiative.

Appropriate technologies

One of the outstanding principles of the UNDP Sustainable Development Networking Programme is that of appropriate technology. This principle states that computer and networking technologies should be adequate in relationship to the existing infrastructures and available human resources of the countries involved in the projects.

In the Mediterranean basin there is wide disparity in the quality and extension of telecommunications infrastructures available in different countries. Upgrading these structures is a major challenge to be accomplished in the next coming years. These infrastructures determine which telematics technologies may be appropriate for joint collaborative work between participants from different countries.

Two broad classes of telematics technologies should be distinguished. On the one hand there are those technologies requiring effective broadband communication and continuous online interaction between the user and a central computer and the applications supported in such environment: heavy graphics and telematised multimedia; WWW servers accessed through graphics supporting browsers; interactive video networked applications.

On the other hand we have those technologies that do not need a continuous online channel (online/offline modes of operation); its applications can be accessed using lower capacity channels; are able to operate with lower quality phone lines. Online/offline, store/forward, electronic mail systems are at the core of these technologies. Fortunately they are able to support one-to-one and one to many communication systems; they allow for asynchronous computer conferencing; the maintenance of mailing archives; search and retrieval of information from files archives and more. They are perfectly well adapted to support the computer mediated communications needed for the creation, maintenance and supporting environment of virtual working groups.

This set of technologies are the best adapted for the creation of a common ground for the involvement on an equal footing of all the Mediterranean basin countries.

Following a necessary survey of standing conditions a basic connectivity and training kit will be developed. It will be able to shorten the process of introducing teacher educators or in-service trainers to the network: create a connection and use email, email conferencing, news, and files retrieval. These are the basic skills needed for their professional expression in the framework of the development working groups.

Development teams at the Mofet Institute and the National Teachers' Colleges Network

The Mofet Institute is the central R & D Institution of the Teachers' Colleges in Israel. In cooperation with the Tomorrow 98 (MAHAR 98) program for scientific and technological education in Israel, it has established the National Teachers' Colleges Network in Israel. The network, part of the global Internet, will eventually serve some 6,000 teachers educators in the colleges and about 40,000 students. Already 20 of the largest 35 Colleges have been connected to the network.

An important tool in the work of the Mofet Institute is the establishment of curriculum development teams. These peer teams have as their primary objectives the improvement of curricula and the preparation of learning materials for training teaching personnel in all basic areas. The culminating goal, taking place over a period of two years, is the completion of a curricular module; or a series of modules which are then published and made available to teacher trainers. These include: a theoretical component, a full array of didactic features, recommendations concerning methodology and suggestions for student activities. More than 30 development teams were active in the academic year 1995-96.

The concept of a development team was adapted to the needs of a telematised learning environment when the National Teachers Colleges Network was planned and established. A development team for the network composed of 26 experienced teachers of teachers was established. In their initial year the team focused on the development of teaching materials and methodologies for network use. In their second year several telematised teams were established dealing with: Pedagogical Orientation and Support for inservice training of new teachers; Pedagogical orientation to would-be teachers supporting secondary students; Mathematics in the elementary school; English as a second language; the Bible; Water as the focus of an interdisciplinary curriculum; Literature (Poetry); and Theoretical and pragmatic considerations in the introduction of Computer Mediated Communications projects in schools.

The experience accumulated with these development teams lay at the root of the present open proposal. As part of the preparations for this proposal implementation a survey is now being initiated in the MACAM98 network to identify teachers educators willing to take part in joint development teams to be established with Euro-Mediterranean partners.

An open-ended approach

Several contacts were made in the following frameworks: the Interned 96 Conference in Barcelona (January); the ERCIM preparatory workshop in Sophia-Antipolis - Research and Information Technologies; the NETTUNO preparatory workshop in Brussels - Technical Innovation on Education and Training. There is a readiness for cooperation and it leads me to believe that the above approach may succeed in a broad Euro-Mediterranean framework.

Projects originating from Italy, France, Spain, Greece, Turkey, Cyprus, Lebanon, Egypt, Tunisia, Morocco, Malta, and Algeria were presented at these meetings and some of them may eventually find a common denominator. We

already received several expressions of active interest in the establishment of joint development teams. Continuing contacts will be made in these different countries, in order to further define promising areas and projects for the establishment of joint development teams.

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CONFERENCE ANNOUNCEMENTS

MED-COOP

The European Commission (DG XXIII) is supporting a joint project by CICOPA (the Worker Cooperative arm of the International Cooperative Alliance) and CECOP (the European Committee of Worker Cooperatives) for the creation of MED-COOP. This is a network of worker cooperative enterprises and organisations in the Mediterranean region, set up in order to facilitate exchanges, learn from mutual experiences and promote a better understanding of European Union policies and programmes relevant to worker coops in the region. The final seminar of MED-COOP will be held in Malta on the 13th and 14th of December 1996. The working languages of the Seminar will be English, French and Arabic. Officials from worker cooperative societies and representatives from their regional or national bodies are invited to participate in this seminar. Up to two persons per country will be accepted. Participants will be expected to pay their travel and accommodation expenses. Those expressing an interest may contact the local seminar organiser for details: Dr Godfrey Baldacchino, MED-COOP Seminar Malta, Malta Board of Cooperatives, Parliamentary Secretariat for Human Resources, Education Block Floriana – MALTA. Tel: (356)220115; 2385881; Fax:(356)237105, E-mail: <gbal@cis.um.edu.mt>

'Educational Policy, Social Justice and Change'

An International Sociology of Education Conference organised at the Rutland Hotel, Sheffield, England, between the 3rd and the 5th January 1997. Further information from Val Stokes, Division of Education, University of Sheffield, 388 Glossop Road, Sheffield S10 2JA, U.K.

'Education, Democracy, and Development at the Turn of the Century'

Comparative and International Education Society (CIES) 41st Annual Meeting, Mexico City, Mexico, March 19-23, 1997. Conference site: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM). Further information from Octavio Pescador, c/o Carlos Torres, UCLA Latin American Center, 10343 Bunche Hall, Los Angeles, CA 90095-1447. Tel. (310)825-4571; Fax. (310)206-6859; E-mail: <OPESCADO@UCLA.EDU>

'Pedagogy of the Oppressed'

Conference to be held between April 17 and 19, 1997, in Omaha, Nebraska. Papers and presentations on all aspects of emancipatory education, including

power relations in the learning environment, systems of structural privilege and oppression, and subversive challenge. The conference will be multidisciplinary, welcoming research from academic fields such as education, philosophy and religion, ethnic studies, international studies, gay and lesbian studies, sociology, theatre, performing arts, fine arts, literature, history, counselling, economics, public administration, social work, criminal justice, health care, and gerontology. Contact person: Mary Macchietto, College of Continuing Studies, University of Nebraska at Omaha, Omaha, Nebraska 68182. Tel. (402) 595-2355; E-mail <mmacchietto@unomaha.edu>

'Education of Ethnic Minorities, Unity and Diversity'

May 9-12 1997, at the University of Crete, Rethymno, Crete, Greece, organised by the World Association for Educational Research (WAER), under the auspices of the Hellenic National Commission for UNESCO. Further information can be obtained from Triaena Congress, 24 Harilao Trikoupis Street, Athens 106 79, Greece. Tel. +301-3609511; Fax. +301-36079621 E-mail <Triaena1@compulink.gr>

'Multiculturalism and Minority Groups: From Theory to Practice'

June 24-26, 1997, at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. For additional information contact Elite Olashtain, The NCJW Research Institute for Innovation in Education, School of Education, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Jerusalem, 91905 Israel. Tel. 02-882015/881295; Fax.: 02-882174/881286. E-mail: <mselecto@pluto.mscc.huji.il>

'The University and Partnership for Development'

June 23-25, 1997, at the University College of Dublin, Dublin, Republic of Ireland, organised by the Universities Association for Continuing Education Annual Conference. Contact person: Yvonne McKenna, Email address: <yvonne.mckenna@riarthoir.ucd.ie>

'Dancing on the Edge: A Century of Psychology'

5th European Congress of Psychology, July 6th-11th, 1997, in Dublin, Ireland. Further information from: The Congress Secretariat, 5th European Congress of Psychology, 96 Haddington Road, Dublin 4, Ireland. Tel.: +353-1-6685442; Fax.: +351-1-6685226.

'Adult Learning: the Key to the 21st Century'

The Fifth International UNESCO Conference on Adult Education, to be held in

Hamburg from July 14th-18th, 1997. For information about the conference, contact: UNESCO, ED/BAS/LIT, 7 place de Fontenoy, 75352, Paris, 07-SP-France. Tel. (+33 1)45681139; Fax. (+33 1)40659405; E-mail <e.taylor@unesco.org; Home page: <http://www.education.unesco.org/edunews/confintea>>

'Inclusive Schooling and Communities'

An international conference organised by the Institute of Child Development of the University of Malta together with the University of Padova, Italy, to be held at the New Dolmen Hotel, Malta, July 23-27 1997. Official languages will be English, French and Arabic. Further information from Institute of Child Development, University of Malta, Msida MSD06, Malta. Email address: <child1@cis.um.edu.mt>

'Faiths and Education: Historical and Comparative Perspectives'

International standing conference for the History of Education, to be held at the National University of Ireland, Maynooth, Ireland, 3-6 September 1996. Further information from Mrs Lily Fahy, Education Department, National University Maynooth, Co. Kildare, Ireland. Phone and Fax: +353.1.6289498.

'The implications of Migration Flows on Educational Practices and the Training of Educators'

22nd Annual ATEE (Association for Teacher Education in Europe) Conference, Macerata, Italy, September 1st-5th 1997. Further information from: Dr Barbara Pojaghi, ATEE 1997 Conference, Dipartimento di Filosofia e Scienze Umane, Università degli Studi, Via Garibaldi 30, I-62100, Macerata, Italy. Tel. +39.733.258310; Fax.: +39.733.235339.

'Education and Geopolitical Change'

The fifth biennial Oxford International Conference on Education and Development, 11-15 September 1997, New College, Oxford, U.K. Deadline for submissions of papers: 31 October 1996. Enquiries to be directed to Philippa Orme, Elsevier Science Ltd, The Boulevard, Langford Lane, Kidlington, Oxford OX5 1GB, U.K. Tel. +44(0) 1865 843691; Fax. +44(0) 1865 843958; E-mail: <p.orme@elsevier.co.uk>

'Education, Equity, and Transformation'

The Tenth World Congress of the World Council of Comparative Education Societies (WCCES) will be held at the University of Cape Town and the

University of Western Cape in Cape Town, South Africa, between the 12th and 17th July, 1998. For more information contact Anne-Marie Berg or Crain Sodien, c/o Sally Elliot Post-Graduate Conference Division, School of Medicine, University of Cape Town, Observatory 7700, Cape Town, South Africa. Tel. (27-21) 406-6911 or 406-6381 or 406-6407; Fax. (27-21) 448-6263; E-mail <sally@medicine.uct.ac.za.>

ABSTRACTS

RECENT TRENDS IN PORTUGUESE HIGHER EDUCATION: CLOSURE, USURPATION AND DIFFERENTIATION

MARIA MANUEL VIEIRA DA FONSECA

Au Portugal, la demande pour l'éducation supérieure s'est intensifiée pendant les années 60 et a continué à augmenter pendant les années suivantes de telle façon que des mécanismes de contrôle sur l'accès ont été imposés depuis 1976. Le plus important de ces mécanismes est le *numerus clausus*. Confrontée à l'implacable verdict du *numerus clausus* et aux perspectives d'exclusion qu'il génère, chaque classe sociale a commencé à produire en réponse à la compétition croissante pour les diplômes scolaires.

Le but de cet article est de relever et d'interpréter ces pratiques de différenciation sociale, en prenant comme références théoriques principales à la fois le concept weberien développé par Frank Parkin (1979) et le concept de 'stratégies de reproduction sociale' (Bourdieu, Boltanski et Saint Martin 1978). En utilisant les données statistiques disponibles sur l'éducation supérieure – en particulier celles qui ont été publiées par l'Institut National des Statistiques et par le Ministère de l'Education, en plus des données incluses dans des études récentes sur les étudiants universitaires – nous avons l'intention de délimiter quelques unes des stratégies d'exclusion et d'usurpation produites dans ce domaine qui forment actuellement une part importante de la plus vaste série de pratiques adoptées par les classes sociales dans leur lutte pour les positions sociales.

Em Portugal, a procura do ensino superior intensificou-se a partir da década de 60 e continuou a aumentar nos anos seguintes de tal forma que acabaram por ser impostos mecanismos de controle do acesso, dos quais se destaca o *numerus clausus*. Perante o veredito implacável do *numerus clausus* e as perspectivas de exclusão por ele geradas, cada classe social começou a produzir um novo conjunto de práticas educativas como resposta à crescente concorrência pelos títulos escolares. Com este artigo, pretende-se captar e interpretar estas práticas de distinção social tomando como principais referências teóricas o conceito weberiano de 'fechamento social' desenvolvido por Frank Parkin (1979) e o conceito de 'estratégias de reprodução' (Bourdieu, Boltanski e Saint-Martin,

1978). Com o auxílio dos dados estatísticos disponíveis sobre o ensino superior – em particular os dados publicados pelo Instituto Nacional de Estatística e pelo Ministério da Educação, para além de alguma informação estatística incluída em alguns dos mais recentes estudos sobre os estudantes do ensino superior – pretende-se assim delimitar algumas das estratégias de exclusão e de usurpação produzidas neste campo e que constituem, actualmente, uma dimensão importante do conjunto mais vasto de práticas desenvolvidas pelas classes sociais nas suas lutas em torno das posições sociais.

ازداد الاهتمام بالتعليم العالي في البرتغال بشكل ملحوظ خلال الستينات وفي السنوات التالية، الامر الذي أدى، منذ عام ١٩٧٦، الى فرض اليات المراقبة على عملية الالتحاق بالجامعات. وكانت أهم هذه الليات نظام "العدد المغلق". هذا وتجاه صرامة هذا النظام وما يترتب عليه من حرمان الطلبة من الالتحاق بالمعاهد العالية، جاءت كل طبقة اجتماعية بمجموعة من الاستراتيجيات التربوية استجابة للمنافسة المتزايدة في الحصول على الشهادات التعليمية. ويهدف هذا البحث الى تفسير هذه الممارسات من التمييز الاجتماعي، معتمدا في ذلك مفهوم "ويبير" حول "الاغلاق الاجتماعي" كما طوره فرانك باركين (١٩٧٩) ومفهوم "استراتيجيات التناسل الاجتماعي" (بورديه وبولتانسكي وسانت مارتين ١٩٧٨) مراجعه النظرية الرئيسية. واستنادا الى المعلومات الاحصائية المتوفرة والمتعلقة بالتعليم العالي - أي الارقام المنشورة من المكتب الوطني للاحصائيات ودائرة الاحصائيات لوزارة التعليم، بالاضافة الى معلومات اخرى منشورة في بعض البحوث الحديثة حول الطلبة الجامعيين، فاننا ننوي سرد بعض استراتيجيات الاستثناء والاستيلاء الجارية في هذا المجال والتي تعتبر حاليا جزءا هاما من مجموعة أوسع من الممارسات التي تتبناها الطبقات الاجتماعية في نضالها للحصول على المناصب الاجتماعية.

CULTURAL MYOPIA: A CHALLENGE TO SPANISH EDUCATION

BRYAN J. COWAN
SERVANDO PÉREZ-DOMÍNGUEZ

Cet article examine la pensée actuelle à propos des attitudes interculturelles en Espagne. Il cherche à démontrer les raisons pour lesquelles l'approche espagnole vers l'interculturalisme, particulièrement dans les écoles, n'a pas été une priorité de la pensée sociale, gouvernementale ou éducative. Jusque dans les années 1980, l'émigration en Espagne était plus forte que l'immigration. De nos jours, la tendance a changé. Après une brève analyse des racines culturelles pluralistes de l'Espagne, l'article examine la vision actuelle sur l'impact de l'immigration récente, faisant remarquer les dangers causés par l'ignorance des besoins et des capacités des immigrants dans la communauté. Les auteurs soutiennent que des occasions sont perdues en éducation (et ailleurs) à cause de la 'myopie culturelle' qui influence les écoles espagnoles et la société en général. La grandissante introspection linguistique et culturelle réduit les opportunités offertes par la plus ample diversité culturelle existante. Cet article cherche à promouvoir des voies alternatives par lesquelles on peut s'opposer à l'injustice, l'inégalité, au racisme, aux stéréotypes et aux préjugés cachés et manifestes à travers un processus éducatif plus créatif.

Este artículo examina el pensamiento actual sobre las actitudes interculturales en España. Intenta demostrar las razones por las que el acercamiento español hacia el interculturalismo, particularmente en las escuelas, no ha sido prioridad del pensamiento social, gubernamental o educativo. Hasta los años 80, la emigración superaba a la inmigración. Hoy en día, las tendencias han cambiado. D..... da un breve análisis de las raíces culturales plurales de España, se debate la visión actual sobre el impacto de la reciente inmigración, señalando los peligros de ignorar las necesidades y las capacidades de los inmigrantes dentro de la comunidad. Quienes escriben defienden el hecho de que, en la educación (y en otros ámbitos) se están perdiendo oportunidades a consecuencia de la 'miopía cultural' que está influyendo en las escuelas españolas y en la sociedad en general. La reciente introspección, lingüística y cultural, está haciendo que disminuyan las oportunidades de la más amplia diversidad cultural existente. Este trabajo trata de promover vías/alternativas a través de las cuales la injusticia, la desigualdad, el racismo, los estereotipos, así como los prejuicios (tanto los manifiestos como los ocultos) puedan ser encauzados positivamente a través de un proceso educativo más creativo.

يأخذ البحث بعين الاعتبار التفكير السائد حول المواقف المتعددة الثقافات في إسبانيا. ويحاول البحث أن يدلل على الأسباب وراء عدم بروز السياسة الإسبانية حول تعدد الثقافات، وخاصة في المدارس، في طبيعة التفكير الاجتماعي والحكومي أو التربوي. وكانت الهجرة الإسبانية حتى الثمانينات تفوق موجة الوافدين إلى البلاد، أما اليوم فتغيرت الاتجاهات. وبعد سرد تاريخي وجيز لجذور إسبانيا المتعددة الثقافات، تتم مناقشة الآراء المعاصرة فيما يخص أثر الهجرة الحديثة والاضطراب المترتبة على تجاهل حاجات وقدرات المهاجرين ضمن المجتمع. ويناقش محررو البحث ما تفوت من فرص في المجال التربوي (بل وفي مجالات أخرى) بسبب قصر البصر الثقافي الذي يؤثر على المدارس والمجتمع الإسباني. إن التفحص اللغوي والثقافي المتزايد يؤدي إلى تساؤل فرص التنوع الثقافي الأوسع السائد حالياً. ويتقدم البحث بسبل من شأنها أن تعالج الظلم وعدم المساواة والعنصرية والمقولة والتحيز الخفي والعلني وذلك بواسطة عملية تربوية أكثر إبداعاً.

TEACHER EDUCATION IN CHANGE: AN INTELLECTUAL PRACTICE. ISSUES FOR ALBANIA

JENNY SAINSBURY LEACH

Dans le monde entier, on reconnaît de plus en plus fréquemment que les enseignants ont droit à des programmes de formation professionnelle modernes et de grande qualité; on reconnaît aussi que le fait que cette formation prend place au sein de l'établissement scolaire est primordial. Cet article suggère que le concept qui a fourni un modèle puissant et dominant pour la formation des enseignants depuis près de dix ans, celui du 'praticien réflexif' (Schon 1987), ne constitue plus un principe significatif si l'on considère le contexte nouveau de changement et de développement. Le moment est opportun pour tirer profit des débats internationaux et des modèles d'apprentissage qui traversent cultures et contextes, et d'une pédagogie qui tient compte de la nature sociale du processus

d'apprentissage. L'article présente une étude de cas d'un programme de formation continue des enseignants récemment développée en Albanie. On y décrit la planification et la mise en place du projet ainsi que les résultats de l'évaluation de la phase-pilote. L'étude de cas met en lumière les trois secteurs principaux qui se sont dégagés au cours du développement du programme: la réitération des idées entre théorie et pratique, la position centrale des 'forums d'investigation' et le besoin de 'structures transformables'. On soutient que reconceptualiser la formation des enseignants et la considérer comme une pratique sociale constitue une manière productive de faire changer et avancer la formation. On propose six idées principales pour la formation des enseignants et la recherche.

Dihet ne te gjithë botën se të gjithë mesuesit gezojnë të drejtën për të ndjekur programe bashkëkohore dhe të një cilësie të lartë për zhvillimin profesional të tyre dhe se shkolla, si vendi ku krijohet ky kualifikim, luajnë rolin kryesor. Në këtë shkrim u shpreh për diskutim çështjen se koncepti i praktikantit reflektues, i cili ka qenë edhe një model i fuqishëm dhe dominant për sistemin e përgatitjes së mesuesve për gati një dekadë, është i pamjaftueshëm si parim informues duke patur parasysh kontekstin e ndryshmeve dhe zhvillimeve. Ka ardhur koha që të kemi parasysh debatet nderkombëtare dhe modele më të gjera të të nxenit që prekin kulturën dhe kontekste të ndryshme dhe që marrin parasysh natyrën sociale të procesit të mesuarit. Artikulli paraqet studimin lidhur me një program në shërbim të kualifikimit të mesuesve në Shqipëri, në të cilin përshkruhet planifikimi dhe zbatimi i projektit si dhe vlerësimi i arritjeve në fazën e parë të tij. Ky studim nxjerr në pah tre fusha kyçe që janë evidentuar gjatë zhvillimit të programit. Nevoja për lidhjen midis teorisë dhe praktikës, forumet ku diskutohen pyetjet që kanë mesuesit lidhur me metodologjinë, dhe nevoja për të ndryshuar kornizat. Është i diskutueshëm koncepti i praktikantit reflektiv për trajtuar sistemin e përgatitjes së mesuesve me një diapazon më të gjërë, si një praktikë shoqërore. Popozohen gjashtë çështje kyçe për zhvillimin profesional të mesuesve dhe punën studimore shkencore.

ثمة اعتراف عالمي بحق المدرسين للحصول على أحدث وأرقى برامج التكوين المهني وبأهمية المدرسة كموقع مركزي لمثل هذا التكوين. ويقترح البحث أن مفهوم "الممارس المتروي" (شون ١٩٨٧) الذي استخدم كنموذج قوي وسائد لتكوين المدرس خلال السنوات العشر الماضية لم يعد كافياً كمبدأ مفيد نظراً لما طرأ من تغييرات وتطورات حديثة. وحان الوقت للاستعانة بالمناقشات الدولية وبنماذج

التعليم التي تخترق الثقافات والمواقف بل اللجوء الى بيداغوجيا التي تأخذ بعين الاعتبار البعد الاجتماعي لعملية التعليم. ويقدم البحث دراسة حول برنامج تم تطويره حديثا لتكوين المدرسين في البانيا. ويشرح هذا البحث التخطيط وراء البرنامج وتطبيقه كما يحلل النتائج للمرحلة التجريبية الاولى. وتسلط الدراسة الضوء على ثلاثة مجالات التي برزت في تنمية البرنامج: تكرار الفكرات حول النظرية والتطبيق، ومركزية ندوات الاستطلاع والحاجة الى اطارات قابلة للتحويل. وتؤكد الدراسة ان اعادة النظر في تكوين المدرسين واعتباره اجراء اجتماعيا ماهي الا وسيلة مثمرة للسير قدما من أجل التحويل والتقدم في التكوين. وتُقدِّمُ ست قضايا رئيسية حول تكوين المدرسين وحول البحث.

PRIMARY TEACHERS' PERCEPTIONS OF POLICY FOR CURRICULUM REFORM IN CYPRUS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO MATHEMATICS

LEONIDAS KYRIAKIDES

Cet article relate et analyse les découvertes faites à partir d'une enquête sur les perceptions qu'ont les instituteurs cypristes de la politique nationale à propos de la réforme de programmes dans les écoles primaires, avec une référence spéciale à l'enseignement et l'évaluation des Mathématiques. Des questionnaires ont été envoyés à un échantillon de 10% d'instituteurs cypristes sélectionnés au hasard parmi la population totale (n=257). Un taux de réponses de 70% a été obtenu, et l'analyse statistique a été réalisée par SPSS-X. Les 4 constatations principales sont les suivantes. Tout d'abord, en ce qui concerne les buts des programmes, les capacités des élèves à résoudre des problèmes et à acquérir des connaissances mathématiques sont considérées d'égale importance, tandis que la capacité de parler des Mathématiques a été jugée de moindre importance. Deuxièmement, la plus grande importance a été accordée aux buts formatifs de l'évaluation. Troisièmement, la pédagogie active a reçu l'approbation des enseignants. Quatrièmement, ils ont conceptualisé l'évaluation comme partie intégrante de l'enseignement mais ils ont paradoxalement préféré des techniques d'évaluation structurées de façon formelle. Les implications pour la mise en oeuvre de la politique du curriculum font l'objet d'une discussion.

Στο άρθρο αυτό παρουσιάζονται αποτελέσματα έρευνας που αποσκοπούσε στον εντοπισμό των αντιλήψεων των Κυπρίων δασκάλων για τη διδασκαλία και την αξιολόγηση στα Μαθηματικά. Η ανάλυση της εκπαιδευτικής πολιτικής της Κύπρου στη διδασκαλία και αξιολόγηση στα Μαθηματικά αποτέλεσε τη βάση για τον καταρτισμό ερωτηματολογίου, που στάλθηκε σε τυχαίο δείγμα Κυπρίων δασκάλων ($n=257$). Το ποσοστό ανταπόκρισης ήταν ιδιαίτερα ψηλό (70%). Η ανάλυση των δεδομένων έγινε με τη βοήθεια του στατιστικού προγράμματος SPSS. Για έλεγχο της εγκυρότητας της έρευνας διεξήχθησαν προσωπικές συνεντεύξεις με 20 δασκάλους. Τα αποτελέσματα της έρευνας συνοψίζονται στα πιο κάτω:

Οι Κύπριοι δάσκαλοι θεώρησαν ως σημαντικότερους σκοπούς της διδασκαλίας των Μαθηματικών αυτούς που σχετίζονται με α) την ανάπτυξη της ικανότητας των παιδιών να λύουν προβλήματα και β) την κατάκτηση μαθηματικών εννοιών. Ο σκοπός που σχετίζεται με τη θεώρηση των Μαθηματικών ως μέσο επικοινωνίας θεωρήθηκε ως ο λιγότερο σημαντικός. Πιστεύουν, επίσης, πως η διδασκαλία των Μαθηματικών πρέπει να στηρίζεται σε πρακτικές και διερευνητικές δραστηριότητες. Οι δάσκαλοι υποστηρίζουν τη χρήση των πληροφοριών που παρέχει η αξιολόγηση για εντοπισμό των διδακτικών αναγκών των μαθητών και για αυτο-αξιολόγηση του δασκάλου. Ο σκοπός της αξιολόγησης που σχετίζεται με τη σύγκριση των μαθητών μιας τάξης θεωρήθηκε ως ο λιγότερο σημαντικός. Παρόλο που οι δάσκαλοι θεωρούν την αξιολόγηση ως αναπόσπαστο μέρος της διδασκαλίας πιστεύουν ότι οι καταλληλότερες τεχνικές αξιολόγησης είναι αυτές που λαμβάνουν χώρα κάτω από συγκεκριμένες συνθήκες και μπορούν πιο εύκολα να τις ελέγξουν. Φάνηκε, ακόμα, ότι οι τεχνικές που θεωρήθηκαν ως οι πιο κατάλληλες είναι αυτές που θεωρήθηκαν και ως οι πιο δύσκολες. Έτσι, υποστηρίχτηκε ότι η επιμόρφωση γύρω από τις διάφορες τεχνικές αξιολόγησης θα συμβάλει στη βελτίωση της αξιολόγησης.

Στο τελευταίο μέρος του άρθρου αυτού, παρουσιάζονται εισηγήσεις που προκύπτουν από τα αποτελέσματα της έρευνας και οι οποίες αφορούν την ανάπτυξη της εκπαιδευτικής πολιτικής στη διδασκαλία και αξιολόγηση στα Μαθηματικά, με τρόπο που να εναρμονίζεται με τις αντιλήψεις των δασκάλων, τις απόψεις σύγχρονων παιδαγωγών και τα πορίσματα πρόσφατων ερευνών.

بحال البحث نتائج استطلاع حول ادراك المدرسين القبارصة للسياسة الوطنية المتعلقة باصلاح المنهج الدراسي للمدارس الابتدائية وبخاصة تعليم وتقييم مادة الرياضيات. وأرسلت استبانة لـ ١٠٪ من المدرسين القبارصة الذين تم اختيارهم بطريقة اعتباطية من مجموع المدرسين (العدد: ٢٥٧). وكانت نسبة الاجابة ٧٠٪ وتم التحليل الاحصائي بواسطة برنامج SPSS-X. وبرزت الاستنتاجات الرئيسية الاربعة التالية: اولاً : فيما يتعلق بأهداف المنهج الدراسي تركزت الاهمية على قدرة الطلبة على حل الاستقصاءات وعلى كسب معرفة رياضية على حد سواء ، بينما اعتبرت القدرة على التحدث حول مادة الرياضيات اقل أهمية. وثانياً: خصصت أهمية كبرى للاهداف التكوينية للتقييم ، بينما خصصت أهمية أدنى للاهداف التلخيصية. وثالثاً: وافق المدرسون على البيداغوجيا الفعالة ورابعاً: تصوّروا التقييم كجزء طبيعي من التدريس ، مع أنهم فضّلوا أساليب شكلية للتقييم، الامر الذي قد يعتبر تناقضاً ظاهرياً. كما يناقش البحث مضمون تطبيق السياسة حول المنهج الدراسي.

LANGUAGE-IN-EDUCATION POLICY AND PLANNING: THE CASE OF LEBANON

GHAZI M. GHATT
KASSIM A. SHABAAN

Des changement récents dans la législation sur l'éducation au Liban indiquent une tendance à abandonner la langue nationale arabe, en tant que moyen d'instruction en faveur d'autres langues étrangères, à savoir l'anglais, le français et l'allemand. Le dernier décret qui fut passé en 1994 stipule que ces langues étrangères peuvent être utilisées comme langue d'instruction dans tous les cycles, y compris aux niveaux maternelle et élémentaire. Le débat sur la langue d'enseignement au Liban est ancien, puisqu'il remonte à la deuxième moitié du 17ème siècle avec l'arrivée des missionnaires étrangers. Depuis lors, plusieurs politiques et décisions ont été formulées par les puissances coloniales et gouvernements libanais successifs. Cet article passe en revue l'histoire politiques et décisions à la lumière de l'histoire politique du pays avec un accent particulier mis sur leur impact sure les élèves et

les communautés aux niveaux socio-économique, éducatif et politique. L'article soutient que les politiques formulées par les français pendant leur mandat au Liban (1920-1943) ont favorisé les communautés chrétiennes catholique et maronite. Tandis que les politiques adoptées par les gouvernements libanais successifs de l'ère de l'indépendance (1943-1975) ont été largement improvisées et plus de réponses aux émotions déclenchées par l'indépendance. Par conséquent, plusieurs stimulations socio-économiques et éducatifs ont déterminé la propagation des langues étrangères, particulièrement de l'anglais, dans le Liban contemporain. Cela a élargi le fossé entre les classes qui constituent la société libanaise et a contribué à la distribution d'une éducation de qualité selon des critères sectaire et socio-économique.

تشير التعديلات الاخيرة في تشريعات لبنان التربوية الى اتجاه لتعزيز اللغات الاجنبية ك لغات تعليم على حساب اللغة العربية. فالمرسوم رقم ٥٥٨٩ تاريخ ١٩٩٤ اجاز استعمال الانكليزية والفرنسية والالمانية ك لغات تعليم في مرحلتي الروضة والابتدائي . والواقع أن مسألة لغة التعليم في لبنان هي مسألة قديمة تعود بجذورها الى وصول الارساليات الاجنبية الى لبنان في منتصف القرن السابع عشر.

هذه الدراسة هي مراجعة تحليلية للسياسات اللغوية في ضوء تاريخ لبنان السياسي مع التركيز على تأثير هذه السياسات على الطلاب والجماعات على المستويات الاجتماعية - الاقتصادية، والتربوية والسياسية. تبين هذه الدراسة أن السياسات التي اعتمدها الفرنسيون خلال فترة الانتداب (١٩٢٠ - ١٩٤٣) كانت لمصلحة المسيحيين والموارنة تحديدا. بينما كانت السياسات التي انتهجتها الحكومات اللبنانية المتعاقبة في مرحلة الاستقلال مرتجلة وبعيدة التطبيق. وقد أدى ذلك الى انتشار اللغات الاجنبية وخاصة الفرنسية والانكليزية ك لغات تعليم بما زاد من حدة الفروقات الاجتماعية - الاقتصادية والتعليمية بين الفئات المختلفة التي تكون الشعب اللبناني.

NATIONAL DENIAL, SPLITTING, AND NARCISSISM – Group defense mechanisms of teachers and students in Palestine in response to the Holocaust.

YUVAL DROR

Cet article combine l'histoire et la psychanalyse pour explorer les mécanismes de défense nationaux utilisés par le système éducatif du Yishuv, la communauté juive de l'Israël d'avant l'indépendance, en réponse à l'Holocauste (1943-1948). Cet article explore aussi la signification de ces réponses, ainsi que leurs implications contemporaines. Trois mécanismes de défense personnels seront identifiés afin d'analyser les réactions des Israéliens en tant que groupe national. Le 'refus' dans son ensemble est généralement associé à la défense de divers systèmes, la 'séparation' et le 'narcissisme' étant deux facettes d'un nationalisme excessif. En conclusion, l'article présente les applications contemporaines de mécanismes de défense nationaux et leurs utilisations éducatives possibles: insistance sur la communauté, périodisation scolaire et, par dessus tout, reconnaissance du besoin de prendre en considération les mécanismes de défense nationaux en organisant des réponses éducatives aux crises nationales. En conclusion, l'article suggère que le modèle éducatif proposé ait des applications plus larges, au delà du cas d'Israël et de l'Holocauste.

המאמר המוצג להלן עוסק בהיטב החברתי-חינוכי של השואה ומשתמש בתרבות של כלים היסטוריים ופסיכואנליטיים: 'מנגנוני ההגנה הלאומיים'. בהם השתמשה מערכת החינוך של הישוב היהודי בטרם המדינה בתגובתה כלפי השואה בשנים 1948-1943, משמעותם ויישומיהם בהווה. שלושה מנגנוני הגנה אישיים מיושמים במאמר למטרת ניתוח התגובות הקבוצתיות של הישראלים: 'הכחשה' מזוהה בדרך כלל עם ההגנה של מערכות מגוונות; 'פיצול' ו'רקיסיזם' הם שתי פנים של לאומיות מוגזמת - הנוטה ללאומנות - כמנגנון הגנה. המאמר מסתכם ביישומים עכשוויים של מנגנוני הגנה לאומיים ושימושיהם החינוכיים האפשריים: דגש קהילתי, תהליכיות (פריודיזציה) חינוכית, ומעל הכל - הכרה בצורך לקחת בחשבון מנגנוני הגנה לאומיים כשמתכננים תגובה חינוכית למשבר לאומי. המאמר מסתיים באוניברסליות של המודל המוצע, מעבר לישראל ולשואה.

يستخدم هذا البحث أدوات تاريخية ونفسانية لدراسة اليات الدفاع القومي التي تبناها النظام التربوي في الـ " يشوف " أي في المجتمع اليهودي قبل استقلال إسرائيل استجابة لمذبحة اليهود على أيدي النازيين عام ١٩٤٣ - ١٩٤٨. كما يدرس البحث أهمية هذه الاستجابات بالاضافة الى ما تحمله من متضمنات معاصرة. ويسلط البحث الضوء على ثلاثة اليات من الدفاع الشخصي وذلك بغية تحليل ردة فعل الاسرائيليين كمجموعة قومية. ويرتبط الانكار بشكل عام بالدفاع عن العديد من الانظمة و ظاهرتا "الشق" و "حب الذات" ما هما الا وجهان من القومية المفرطة. ويختتم البحث بالتطبيقات المعاصرة لاليات الدفاع القومي واستعمالها التربوي الممكن: كالتأكيد الجماعي وتنظيم التربية في مراحل وخاصة الاعتراف بضرورة أخذ اليات الدفاع القومي بعين الاعتبار في عملية تخطيط الاستجابات التربوية للازمات الوطنية. وفي الختام يقترح البحث أن للنموذج التربوي المقترح المزيد من الاستعمالات التي تتخطى الوضع في إسرائيل والمذبحة الجماعية.

EVALUATION OF SCIENCE LABORATORIES IN PALESTINIAN SCHOOLS

KHAWLA SHAKHSHIR SABRI

Cette étude a pour but d'évaluer la situation générale et les pratiques des activités en laboratoire de sciences dans les écoles secondaires et préparatoires palestiniennes. Cet article s'appuie sur les données recueillies à partir d'un échantillon d'étudiants universitaires qui ont répondu à un questionnaire produit par l'auteur. L'enquête comprenait des questions sur l'utilité des activités de laboratoire dans l'enseignement d'équipement utilisé et la nature des expériences faites. L'enquête montre que la majorité (80%) des élèves sont exposés à au moins une ou plusieurs expériences scientifiques pendant le temps passé à l'école. Moins d'un tiers des participants rédige un compte rendu sur les activités de laboratoire

ou obtient des commentaires du professeur. Par ailleurs, l'enquête a révélé qu'il n'y a pas de différences significatives entre les expériences des élèves des secteurs public et privé en ce qui concerne la majorité (90%) des expériences de sciences et des équipements mentionnés dans le questionnaire. D'un autre côté, des différences importantes existent quand il s'agit des conditions des laboratoires de sciences dans les deux secteurs scolaires palestiniens.

تهدف هذه الدراسة الى تقييم وضع مختبرات العلوم في المدارس الفلسطينية، وذلك بناء على خبرات و آراء طلبة الجامعات. وتم ذلك باستخدام إستبانة خاصة تم تطويرها لغرض البحث من قبل الباحثة. وضمت الاستبانة أسئلة تتعلق بخبراتهم وتجربتهم بخصوص نشاط المختبرات والاجهزة والتجارب العملية التي شهدوها خلال فترة دراستهم في المدارس. حيث تم تحليل البيانات التي تم جمعها بعد تبويبها وترتيبها، بالإضافة الى عمل التحليل الاحصائي باستخدام Chi-Square وذلك لاختبار الفروض الخاصة بالفروق بين خبرات وتجارب طلبة المدارس الحكومية والخاصة في مختبرات العلوم في المدارس الفلسطينية.

وفد أوضحت نتائج الدراسة بأن ٨٠٪ من الطلبة شاهدوا أو شاركوا في عمل تجربة مختبر علمية واحدة أو أكثر خلال دراستهم، بينما شارك فقط ٣٠٪ منهم في كتابة تقارير عن تجاربهم التي أجروها في مختبرات العلوم أو تسلموا تقييم شفوي أو كتابي عنها. كما وخلصت الدراسة الى أنه لا يوجد فروق ذات دلالة إحصائية بين خبرات و معارف طلبة المدارس الحكومية والخاصة فيما يتعلق بمعظم (٩٠٪) التجارب والاجهزة الواردة في الدراسة، بينما توجد فروق ذات دلالة إحصائية بين طلبة المدارس الحكومية والخاصة فيما يتعلق ببعض ظروف نشاطاتهم في مختبرات العلوم المدرسية خلال فترة دراستهم.

A GLOBAL VIA THE TEACHING OF THE 'ANCIENT WORLD': Theoretical Concepts and an Empirical Approach from Greek Primary Textbooks

ANTHONY HOURDAKIS

Cette étude a pour but l'investigation d'un autre aspect du sens de globalité via l'enseignement de l'Antiquité dans les différents matières des manuels scolaires de l'éducation primaire grecque: la langue, les études sociales, la science et la religion. Dans cet article, l'Antiquité est envisagée à partir de deux perspectives: la dimension traditionnelle gréco-romaine et la dimension moderne non gréco-romaine qui, concurremment, deviennent deux aspects principaux de la globalité. D'après la bibliographie, plusieurs exemples peuvent être identifiés pour chacun d'eux. Les résultats de l'analyse du contenu de tous les manuels scolaires du secteur primaire grec montrent qu la présentation de l'Antiquité suit le modèle traditionnel gréco-romain de globalité et est au service d'une orientation plus ethnocentrique/nationaliste. L'absence de références aux autres civilisations et peuples anciens dans les manuels du primaire grec vaut la peine d'être remarquée.

Η παρούσα μελέτη προσπαθεί να διερευνήσει μια άλλη πτυχή της έννοιας της οικουμενικότητας μέσα από τη διδασκαλία του "Αρχαίου Κόσμου" στα βιβλία της Γλώσσας, των Κοινωνικών Σπουδών και των Θρησκευτικών του Ελληνικού Δημοτικού Σχολείου.

Η θεώρηση του "Αρχαίου Κόσμου" στην εργασία αυτή γίνεται μέσα από δύο οπτικές, την παραδοσιακή Ελληνο-Ρωμαϊκή διάσταση και τη σύγχρονη μη Ελληνο-Ρωμαϊκή. Οι διαστάσεις αυτές παράλληλα αποτελούν και δύο βασικές όψεις της έννοιας της οικουμενικότητας για την προσέγγιση του "Αρχαίου Κόσμου". Σύμφωνα με τη διεθνή βιβλιογραφία πολλά παραδείγματα αποδίδονται τόσο στη μια όσο και στην άλλη όψη της οικουμενικότητας αυτής.

Τα αποτελέσματα από την ανάλυση περιεχομένου και των 66 σχολικών εγχειριδίων του δημοτικού σχολείου δείχνουν ότι το μοντέλο της οικουμενικότητας που προβάλλεται είναι αυτό της Ελληνο-Ρωμαϊκής διάστασης και ότι το μοντέλο αυτό εξυπηρετεί μια περισσότερο εθνοκεντρική προοπτική. Η απουσία αναφορών σε άλλους αρχαίους λαούς και πολιτισμούς στα σχολικά εγχειρίδια του Ελληνικού Δημοτικού Σχολείου είναι πολύ χαρακτηριστική και βρίσκεται σε αντίθεση με την ανάπτυξη ενός οικουμενικού και πολυπολιτισμικού αναλυτικού προγράμματος.

يهدف هذا البحث إلى دراسة جانب من شعور الشمولية الذي يبلغه التعليم حول "العالم القديم" للطلبة في مختلف المواد الدراسية للكتب المدرسية الابتدائية اليونانية - أي اللغة والدراسات الاجتماعية والعلم والدين. أما عبارة "العالم القديم" في هذا البحث فتشير إلى كل من الحضارة اليونانية - الرومانية التقليدية وإلى الحضارة غير اليونانية - الرومانية. ويتضح من خلال تحليل مواد الكتب المدرسية أن تقديم "العالم القديم" يؤدي إلى إبراز اتجاه مركّز على العرقية والوطنية. هذا وعدم الإشارة إلى حضارات قديمة أخرى يناهض التأكيد الحالي على تنمية مناهج دراسية شاملة ومتعددة الثقافات.

CULTURAL EXCHANGE BETWEEN FRENCH AND NORTH AFRICAN PARENTS IN TWO INTERACTIVE CONTEXTS

ELISABETH REGNAULT

L'objectif de cet article est de présenter une dynamique interculturelle entre des parents français et maghrébins vivant dans le même quartier et participant à des réunions mises en place par des travailleurs sociaux et dont l'objet est le soutien scolaire. Les données ont été recueillies à partir d'entretiens semi-directifs auprès des parents français et maghrébins qui participaient régulièrement aux réunions sur le soutien scolaire. La problématique est la suivante: lorsque des sujets appartiennent à des cultures différentes et occupent un même espace de vie, il se développe alors chez chacun d'eux des représentations marquées autant par leur histoire personnelle que par la perception réelle des situations ainsi que des mécanismes d'exclusion réciproque. C'est dans un contexte de grande proximité spatiale (habitat dans les grands ensembles) que les sujets se sentent menacés dans leur équilibre identitaire et mettent en place des mécanismes de défense tels que l'introjection et la projection. Les représentations sociales vont, par ailleurs, puiser dans le réel les éléments permettant aux sujets de se protéger de la présence d'autrui et de renforcer ainsi leur stéréotypes. Mais dans le contexte des réunions, les préjugés peuvent se transformer. L'analyse des données montre que les

stéréotype se modifient davantage dans des moments de rencontre collective (réunions et fêtes de fin d'année) que dans les relations de voisinage de quartier. L'hypothèse interprétative est que la participation des parents a un effet positif dans les représentations réciproques car ils se sentent valorisés en tant que parents dans un endroit structuré et structurant autour d'un objet commun: la scolarité.

يهدف هذا البحث الى تقديم اطار مفاهيمي للقوى المحركة وراء المواقف الثقافية التي يتخذها الاباء والامهات الفرنسيون المحليون والمهاجرون من شمال افريقيا الذين يسكنون في نفس الحارة في ضاحية محرومة. وتشترك كل من هتين المجموعتين الثقافيتين في لقاءات ينظمها المسؤولون عن الشؤون الاجتماعية الذين يقدمون دروسا اصلاحية لمساعدة التلاميذ في تحضير واجبات البيت بعد اوقات المدرسة. ويتابع البحث افتراضا مباشرا الا وهو أنه خلال عملية الاختلاط الاجتماعي يكون كل طرف تدريجيا فكرة معينة حول الطرف الاخر - كونه مواطن من ثقافة مختلفة. ثم تواجه هذه الفكرة بالانطباع حول الطرف الاخر الناتج عن الحياة اليومية وعن الاحتكاك في نفس الحارة. ونتيجة لذلك وفي اطار الحارة بالذات يمكن لشعور الانتماء أن يهدد بل ويفحص اذ أن العنصر "المحلي" و العنصر "المهاجر" مقيمان في نفس المكان ولذلك يجب عليهما أن يعيدا النظر فيما كونهما سابقا من فكرة تعميمية حول السمات الثقافية لبعضهما البعض. وهنا تظهر اليات الدفاع كالتعاطف مع قضايا الطرف الاخر أو القاء الذنب عليه، ويختار المرء "حقائق" مأخوذة من الحقيقة للدفاع عن نفسه وتعزيز تحيزات الثقافية. ولذا فبينما يمكن العثور على توازن نفسي، يمكن كذلك تغيير أو تعزيز التحيزات السائدة في اطار اللقاءات الشخصية. وفي هذه الحالات، من المحتمل أن نشاهد تنمية مواقف ايجابية لان الاباء والامهات يجتمعوا في مكان متناسق حيث يُعتبروا جميعا كآباء و أمهات من طرف العاملين الاجتماعيين، مهما كانت خلفيتهم العرقية.