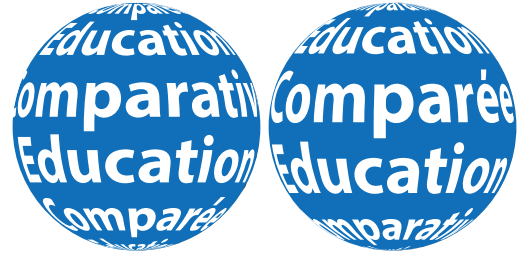# Global Comparative Education

Lore

Global Comparative Education

Journal of the World Council of Comparative Education Societies (WCCES)

Éducation Comparée Mondiale

Revue du Conseil Mondial des Associations d'Éducation Comparée

Educación Comparada Global

Revista del Consejo Mundial de Sociedades de Educación Comparada

Всеобщее Сравнительное Образование

Журнал Всемирного Совета Обществ Сравнительного Образования

全球比较教育

世界比较教育学会联合会会刊

التربية المقارنة العالمية

مجلة المجلس العالمي لمختلف مجتمعات التربية و التعليم المقارنين

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The *Global Comparative Education* is an open-access, peer-reviewed journal that aims to contribute to the comparative education literature by creating spaces to present critical analyses of the differences and commonalities within education worldwide (formal, informal, and non-formal), with an explicit focus on increasing and widening social justice globally, keeping in mind that for instance UNESCO to which WCCES is affiliated declared education a human right more than half a century ago. The Journal welcomes article submissions in the six UN languages: Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian, and Spanish.

The Journal seeks articles that are diverse in numerous aspects and perspectives including, but not limited to: theories, methodologies and methods, pedagogical practices/tools/resources, policies, and scope/nature of comparison (e.g., geographically, culturally, linguistically, economically, historically, and population (gender identity, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation)) and any other grounds of differentiaon as they relate to educational processes, especially with comparative perspectives. Special focus will be given to providing space for historically under-represented areas of comparative education and transfers of knowledge (e.g., Global South to Global North). *Global Comparative Education* is the official journal of the World Council of Comparative Education Societies (WCCES).

حول المجلة

ا التعليم المقارن العالمي هو مجلة مفتوحة الوصول إليها من قبل الأقران التي تهدف إلى المساهمة في أدب التعليم المقارن الرسمية (من خلال خلق مساحات لتقديم تحليلات نقدية للاختلافات و القواسم المشتركة في التعليم في جميع أنحاء العالم وغير الرسمية)، مع تركيز صريح على زيادة العدالة الاجتماعية وتوسيع نطاقها على الصعيد العالمي، مع الأخذ في المقارنين أعلنت أن التعليم التعليم و التربية مجتمعات لمختلف العالمي الاعتبار أن اليونسكو التي ينتمي اليها المجلس وترحب المجلة بالرسائل المقدمة باللغات الست للأمم المتحدة: العربية. حق من حقوق الإنسان منذ أكثر من نصف قرن الصينية، الانجليزية، الفرنسية، الروسية والإسبانية.

وتسعى المجلة إلى مقالات متنوعة في جوانب ووجهات نظر عديدة منها على سبيل المثال : النظريات والمنهجيات الموارد والسياسات والنطاقات / طبيعة المقارنة على سبيل المثال: / والأساليب والممارسات التربوية / الأدوات وأية أسس أخرى للتمايز)جغرافيا،وثقافيا ،لغويا ،اقتصاديا ، تاريخيا، وديمغرافيا (الهوية الجنسية، العرق، التوجه الجنسي وسينصب تركيز خاص على توفير حيز للمجالات .من حيث صلتها بالمناهج التعليمية، وخاصة مع المنظورات المقارنة التعليم المقارن) ذات التمثيل الناقص في مجال التعليم المقارن ونقل المعارف (مثل الجنوب العالمي إلى الشمال العالمي العالمي هو المجلة الرسمية للمجلس العالمي لجمعيات التربية التعليم المقارنين.

关于期刊

《全球比较教育》是一本公开、经过同行评论的杂志，目标是通过呈现对世界教（正式的、非正式的、和不正式的）异同点的批判分析，促进比较教育文献的发展。特别是由于比如 WCCES 附属其下的联合国教科文组织（UNESCO）在半个世纪之前就曾宣告过人权，所以本期刊尤其会着重分析日益严重、影响范围扩大的全球性社会公平问题。本杂志欢迎以下六种联合国语言提交的文章：阿拉伯语、中文、英语、法语、俄罗斯语、西班牙语。

本杂志寻求在诸多方面与视角多样化的文章，包括但不仅限于：理论、方法论、教学法的实践/工具/资源、政策、比较的视野/本质（比如，地理地、文化地、语言学地、经济地、历史地、人口地（性别身份、民族、人种、性取向），以及与教育过程，特别是比较教育视角之下的问题有关的其他差异之处。特别关注历史上被忽视地区的比

较教育和知识交换（比如，南方世界和北方世界）。《全球比较教育》是世界比较教育学会联合会的官方杂志。

A PROPOS DE LA REVUE

Éducation Comparée Mondiale est une revue accessible et évaluée par les pairs ayant pour but de contribuer à la littérature relative à l'éducation comparée en offrant des espaces pour présenter des analyses critiques des différences et des similitudes au sein de l'éducation (formelle, informelle et non formelle) dans le monde entier, en mettant un accent explicite sur le renforcement et l'élargissement de la justice sociale à l'échelle mondiale, tout en mettant l'accent sur le renforcement et l'élargissement de la justice sociale à l'échelle mondiale, et en gardant à l'esprit que, par exemple, l'UNESCO à laquelle WCCES est affilié, a déclaré l'éducation comme un droit de l'homme il y a plus d'un demi-siècle. La Revue accepte des articles présentés dans les six langues de l'ONU: l'arabe, le chinois, l'anglais, le français, le russe et l'espagnol.

La Revue recherche des articles variés dans de nombreux aspects et domaines, y compris, mais sans se limiter aux: théories, méthodologies et méthodes, pratiques / outils / ressources pédagogiques, politiques et la portée / la nature de la comparaison (par exemple, sur le plan géographique, culturel, linguistique, économique, historique, et démographique (identité de genre, race, origine ethnique, orientation sexuelle)) et tous autres sources/ problématiques/questions de différenciation en ce qui concerne les processus éducatifs, en particulier avec des perspectives comparatives. Une attention particulière est accordée aux régions historiquement sous-représentées en éducation comparée et aux transferts de connaissances (par exemple les pays du Sud et du Nord). Education Comparée Mondiale est la revue officielle du Conseil Mondial des Associations d'Éducation Comparée (CMEAC-WCCES).

О ЖУРНАЛЕ

Всемирное Сравнительное Образование - это рецензируемый журнал в свободном доступе, целью которого является вклад в литературу по теме сравнительного образования, путем предоставления критических анализов об общих и отличительных чертах в образовании в мировом масштабе (в форматах обязательного и дополнительного образования, а так же видов образования вне определенного образца), с акцентом на расширение и увеличение социальной справедливости в глобальном масштабе, имея в виду, что, например, ЮНЕСКО, к которой относится WCCES, объявила образование правом человека более полувека назад. Журнал приветствует публикации статей на шести языках ООН: арабском, китайском, английском, французском, русском и испанском.

Журнал ищет статьи, которые разнообразны по многим аспектам и взглядам, включая, но не ограничиваясь следующими темами: теории, методологии и методы; педагогические методики, инструменты и ресурсы; законопроекты; различные области и сферы для сравненительных анализов (например, географической-, культурной-, лингвистической-, экономической-, исторической направленности, а так же вопросы народонаселения, такие как гендерные и рассовые различия, этническая принадлежность, сексуальная ориентация), а также любые другие основания дифференциации, связанные с образовательными процессами, особенно со сравнительными перспективами. Особое внимание будет уделяться областям, исторически недопредставленным в сравнительном образовании и вопросам передачи

знаний (например, с Юга на Север в глобальном понимании). *Всемирное Сравнительное Образование является* официальным журналом Всемирного Совета Обществ Сравнительного Образования (WCCES).

SOBRE LA REVISTA

Educación Comparada Global es una revista de acceso abierto, de revisión por pares cuyo objetivo es contribuir a la literatura de la educación comparada mediante la creación de espacios para presentar análisis críticos de las diferencias y de los aspectos comunes dentro de la educación en todo el mundo (formal, informal, y no formal), con un enfoque explícito en incrementar y extender la justicia social globalmente, teniendo en consideración por ejemplo que para UNESCO, de quién el WCCES is afiliado, ha declarado a la educación como un bien social hace más de medio siglo. La revista da la bienvenida a la presentación de artículos en los seis idiomas de la ONU: Árabe, Chino, Inglés, Francés, Ruso y Español.

La revista busca artículos que sean diversos en numerosos aspectos y perspectivas, incluyendo pero no limitándose: teorías, metodologías y métodos, practicas/herramientas/recursos pedagógicos, políticas, y el alcance/la naturaleza de la comparación (p.ej., geográfica, cultural, lingüística, económica, histórica y de población (identidad de género, raza, origen étnico, orientación sexual)) y cualquier otro campo de diferenciación en relación a los campos educativos, especialmente con perspectiva comparada. Se prestará especial atención en proveer espacio para aquellas áreas históricamente sub representadas en educación comparada y en la transferencia de conocimientos (p. Ej., Sur Global hacia Norte Global). Educación Comparada Global es la Revista Oficial del Consejo Mundial de Sociedades de Educación Comparada (WCCES).

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Editorial

N'Dri Assié-Lumumba
Cornell University

It is with great pleasure to present to you the second issue, Vol 2 No 2, of our peer-reviewed *Global Comparative Education: Journal of the WCCES*. I would like to reiterate that the Journal publishes articles submitted in any of the six official languages of the United Nations: Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian, and Spanish and it appears twice in March and September annually.

It is worth recalling that the first issue (Vol 1 No 1) was released during the 52nd Executive Committee meeting and conference in Corte (Corsica, France), and the second issue (Vol 2 No 1) at the 53rd Executive Committee the first WCCES symposium and the first retreat in Johannesburg (South Africa). This third issue (Vol 2 No 2) is released while we are preparing the 54th Executive Committee meeting in conjunction with the second WCCES symposium on "Immigrants and Comparative Education: Call to Re/Engagement." Both will be held on January 14-15, 2019 and hosted by the UNESCO International Bureau of Education (IBE).

This issue comprises of four regular articles (three in English and one in French), one article on the profile of a comparative educator, and five book reviews.

I would like to acknowledge again all the contributors to this issue and express our gratitude to those who continue to devote considerable time toward the production of each issue, including this one: Eve Coxon, Aïcha Maherzi, Kanishka Bedi, and Greg Misiaszek and his team that produced the translation of the abstracts and helped format the layout. I wish to thank the members of the Advisory Board and the Editorial Committee. I would also like to thank many other colleagues who are not on the editorial committee, but enthusiastically served as reviewers.

I wish to express special thanks to James Jacob who, in addition to serving as associate editor assisting with the copyediting of the accepted contributions in English, continued to play a crucial role as the WCCES Historian by working on the Journal's regularly scheduled entry on profiles of notable comparative education scholars. For the profile in this issue, I would like to thank Mark Bray, a comparative education scholar who has played major roles, including as Director of the Comparative Education Research Centre (CERC), UNESCO Chair Professor in Comparative Education at the University of Hong Kong, past President of Comparative and International Education Society (CIES), and past Director of Comparative Education Society of Asia (CESA).

I am also pleased to announce that several colleagues have expressed interest in playing specific roles in support of the Journal. They will be listed soon, once we finalize their respective appointments process. However, we need more assistance with reviews, edits and/or translations in the different languages.

Finally, as the holiday season is upon us, I would like to take this opportunity to extend to the comparative education community and all our readers our best wishes for 2019.

La colonisation en Algérie: une répression systématisée et durable contre l'indigène, son éducation, sa culture et son identité

Aïcha Maherzi
Présidente, Mediterranean Society of Comparative Education

Notre contribution se focalise sur la question suivante: comment la colonisation en Algérie a mené de pair la répression à outrance de la population indigène et la destruction de leur éducation et de leur culture? En nous appuyant sur des témoignages de l'époque coloniale et sur des documents récents qui ont traité du sujet, nous tenterons d'analyser l'action coloniale qui s'était érigée dans ce pays en un véritable système organisé et programmé pour réprimer à tous les niveaux la population autochtone dont les noms patronymiques, la langue, l'enseignement et la culture furent les cibles constantes. L'occupation de l'Algérie s'est faite avec des violences rarement connues dans l'histoire des hommes. C'est tout ce système de répression délibérée, de volonté d'anéantissement de l'autre que nous tenterons d'analyser sur un plan historique, sachant que la tâche est monumentale et que nous ne ferons en vérité qu'entrevoir quelques traits des faits et méfaits coloniaux en Algérie. Concernant les méthodes de destruction des populations autochtones, de son éducation, de sa culture et de son identité, celle-ci était devenue un terrain d'expérimentation pour les autres colonies françaises. Nous tenterons de rendre compte de ce qu'a été donc ce système colonial dans sa réalité. Les indigènes furent pris au piège d'une véritable machine infernale qui les broyait. C'est donc de cette systématisation de la répression, de la destruction physique, morale, éducative, culturelle et identitaire qu'il sera question dans notre modeste analyse qui se terminera par une interrogation majeure: quelle histoire des peuples doit transmettre l'école aux générations qui lui sont confiées pour que l'expression « plus jamais çà » ne demeure pas un vœu pieux et pour que la paix ne sera pas pour le futur un vain mot?

Mots clefs: Colonisation, Indigène, Répression, Justification, Représentation, Disqualification, Dépossession, Dépersonnalisation, Destruction, Éducation, Culture, Identité, École, Science, Histoire.

تركز مساهمتنا على السؤال التالي: كيف أدى الاستعمار في الجزائر إلى القمع المفرط للسكان الأصليين وتدمير تعليمهم وثقافتهم؟ بناء على شهادات من فترة الاستعمار ووثائق حديثة تناولت الموضوع ، سنحاول تحليل آثار الاستعمار الذي حدث في هذا البلد بأسلوبه المنظم والمبرمج لقمع السكان الأصليين من خلال الأسماء واللغة والتعليم والثقافة. برز احتلال الجزائر من خلال العنف، الذي نادراً ما عُرف في تاريخ البشرية. سيتم تحليل هذا الأسلوب من القمع والإرادة المتعمدة لإبادة الآخر على أسس تاريخية - مع العلم أن المهمة هائلة وأننا لن نرى في الواقع سوى بعضا من الحقائق والآثار الاستعمارية في الجزائر. وفيما يتعلق بأساليب تدمير الشعوب الأصلية وتعليمهم وثقافتهم وهويتهم ، فقد أصبح هذا مجالاً لبحث آثار المستعمرات الفرنسية الأخرى. سنحاول تقديم تقرير عن واقع هذا النظام الاستعماري. كان السكان الأصليون محصورين في نظام مزعج قد سحقتهم. وهكذا، سيتم مناقشة هذا النظام من القمع البدني والمعنوي والتعليمي

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والثقافي وتدمير الهوية من خلال تحليلنا المتواضع، والذي سينتهي بسؤال رئيسي: ما هو التأريخ الشعبي الذي يجب أن ينقل التعليم إلى أجيال قادمة، بحيث أن مصطلح "أبدا مرة أخرى" لا يبقى فكرة أو أمنية، وأن السلام لن يكون باطلاً في المستقبل؟

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本文的贡献集中在以下问题：阿尔及利亚的殖民化如何过度压迫了当地土著居民以及严重破坏了他们的教育和文化？根据殖民时期的证词和近期有关该主题的文件，本文将试图通过结构化和程序化的方法，系统地分析建立于阿尔及利亚的殖民行动，这一系列殖民行动试图在各层面上持续地压制当地姓名、语言、教育和文化。这些以暴力占领阿尔及利亚的行为，在人类历史上却鲜为人知。本文将基于历史，分析这种蓄意压迫的制度和灭绝他人的意图尽管我们知道此项任务艰巨，而且我们实际上只能看到关于阿尔及利亚殖民史实的某一些的特征。对于如何破坏土著民的教育，文化和特征，已成为在其他法国殖民地的实验内容。我们将尝试呈现这一殖民体系的实际模样。土著居民被困在一个压碎他们的地狱机器中。因此，通过本文的适度分析，我们将呈现出这一系统性如何对于身体、道德、教育、文化和身份的各方面进行压迫与破坏。本文文末提出了一个重要的问题：教育应该将什么样的历史传承给后代，以便"再也不会""并不是一厢情愿的想法，而和平也将不会是对未来徒劳的话语？

Our contribution focuses on the following question: How did colonization in Algeria lead to the excessive repression of the Indigenous population and the destruction of their education and culture? Based on testimonies of the colonial period and recent documents that have dealt with the subject, I will try to analyze the colonial action that was erected in this country in a structured and programmed system to repress all the levels of the Indigenous population whose names, language, education and culture were the constant targets. The occupation of Algeria emerged from violence rarely known in the human history. This system of deliberate repression and the will to annihilate the other, will be analyzed based on the history - knowing that the task is immense and that we will only, in fact, see only some features of the facts and colonial misdeeds in Algeria. With regard to the methods of destruction of Indigenous peoples, their education, culture and identity, this had become a field of experimentation for the other French colonies. I will try to report what this colonial system has been actually. The Indigenous were trapped in a real infernal machine that crushed them. Thus, this systematization of repression, of physical, moral, educational, cultural and identity destruction will be discussed through our modest analysis, which will end with a major question: What history of peoples must transmit education to generations so that the term "never again" does not remain wishful thinking and that peace will not be a vain word for the future?

Наш вклад сосредоточен на следующем вопросе: каким образом колонизация в Алжире привела к чрезмерным репрессиям в отношении коренного населения и разрушению их образования и культуры? Основываясь на свидетельствах колониального периода и недавних документах, посвященных этому вопросу, мы попытаемся проанализировать колониальные действия, которые были предприняты в этой стране в рамках структурированной и программной системы, направленной на подавление всех уровней коренного населения, чьи имена, язык, образование и культура были постоянными целями. Оккупация Алжира возникла из-за насилия, редко известного в истории человечества. Эта система преднамеренных репрессий и воля к уничтожению других будут проанализированы на основе истории-зная, что задача огромна и что мы увидим лишь некоторые особенности фактов и колониальных злодеяний в Алжире. Что касается методов уничтожения коренных народов, их образования, культуры и самобытности, то это стало областью экспериментов для других французских колоний. Мы постараемся рассказать, какой была эта колониальная система на самом деле. Коренные жители оказались в ловушке настоящей адской машины, которая их раздавила. Таким образом, эта систематизация репрессий, физического, морального, образовательного, культурного и самоидентификационного уничтожения будет обсуждаться в рамках нашего скромного анализа, который завершится главным вопросом: какая история народов должна передавать

образование поколениям, чтобы термин "никогда больше" не оставался желательным и чтобы мир не был напрасным словом для будущего?

Nuestra contribución se centra en la siguiente pregunta: ¿Cómo llevó la colonización en Argelia a la represión excesiva de la población indígena y la destrucción de su educación y su cultura? Basada en testimonios del periodo colonial y en documentos recientes que han tratado este tema, vamos a intentar analizar la acción colonial que se erigió en este país en un programa sistemático y estructurado para reprimir todos los niveles de la población indígena cuyos nombres, lenguas, educación y cultura han sido los blancos constantes. La ocupación de Argelia surgió de una violencia rara vez vista en la historia de la humanidad. Este sistema de represión deliberada y la voluntad de exterminar al otro serán analizados en base a la historia, sabiendo que la tarea es inmensa y, de hecho, solamente podremos ver algunas características de los hechos y de las faltas coloniales en Argelia. Con respecto a los métodos de destrucción de los pueblos indígenas, su educación, cultura e identidad, éste ha sido un campo de experimentación para las otras colonias francesas. Intentaremos informar lo que este sistema colonial ha sido en realidad. Los indígenas quedaron atrapados en una verdadera máquina infernal que los aplastó. Por lo tanto, esta sistematización de la represión, la destrucción física, moral, educativa, cultural y de identidad se discutirá a través de nuestro modesto análisis, que terminará con una pregunta importante: ¿Qué historia de los pueblos debe transmitir la educación a las siguientes generaciones para que el término "nunca más" no sea una ilusión y que la paz no sea una palabra vana en el futuro?

"La conception assimilatrice de la colonisation…aboutit en fait à réserver les avantages métropolitains aux colons et à détruire la civilisation des colonisés. Le phénomène d'acculturation me paraît fondamental. Les coups portés à la civilisation musulmane qui constitue un bloc, ont été sans doute ressentis plus profondément que l'exploitation économique." C. A. Julien interviewé in *Jeune Afrique*: p.63 du 08-06-1974.

"Toutes les populations qui n'acceptent pas nos conditions doivent être rasées. Tout doit être pris, saccagé, sans distinction d'âge ni de sexe: l'herbe ne doit plus pousser où l'armée française a mis son pied…Voilà mon ami comment il faut faire la guerre aux Arabes: tuer tous les hommes jusqu'à l'âge de quinze ans, prendre les femmes et les enfants, en charger les bâtiments, les envoyer aux îles Marquise ou ailleurs. En un mot, anéantir tout ce qui ne rampera pas à nos pieds comme des chiens." Montagnac, L.-F. De, 1998. *Lettres d'un soldat*. Algérie (1835-1845). Ed. C. Destrimeau.

Introduction

Dès son arrivée en Algérie, la colonisation a mis en place un système de répression à outrance contre la population indigène, spoliant ses terres, massacrant ses tribus, interdisant sa libre circulation, détruisant son système d'enseignement, brûlant ses archives et ses bibliothèques (les soldats s'en servaient pour se chauffer et pour préparer leur repas) et transformant sa vie en véritable enfer. Parallèlement à une violence continue d'une rare intensité, elle s'est attelée à détruire son identité en s'attaquant à son éducation et à sa culture. C'est dans un objectif d'anéantissement total de l'autre qu'elle a œuvré ainsi durant cent trente-deux ans (de 1830 à 1962). Ce n'était pas une guerre ponctuelle mais un acharnement continu contre l'existence-même de cet autre. L'exterminer, a été non seulement envisagé mais mis en pratique pour une grande partie de la population. Des expéditions militaires tuaient en masse, hommes, femmes et enfants sans distinction, rasaient les villages, empoisonnaient les puits, brulaient les récoltes, poursuivaient les fuyards qui se réfugiaient dans les grottes dont on fermait les entrées avec des fagots de bois auxquels on mettait le feu. C'est ce que la colonisation appelait « des opérations de pacification » du pays. Au nom de la paix et du bien-être du colon, toutes les exactions étaient permises!

Notre contribution vise à revenir un peu sur ce système basé sur de multiples et récurrentes violences contre l'indigène algérien qui, dépouillé de ses biens et de ses terres les plus fertiles, rejeté de la sphère citoyenne, fut déclaré incapable de pensée, d'éducation et de culture. Son infériorisation va passer par la volonté tenace de l'effacement de son système d'éducation et de sa propre identité. Sa langue fut interdite d'enseignement et son éventuel accès à l'instruction

dans les établissements français, rencontra une résistance des colons qui avaient peur de l'effet de l'appropriation du savoir par les colonisés. Ils avaient peur de l'éducation car c'est de cette dernière que naît chez l'individu, le désir de se libérer du joug de la domination. L'éducation est la clef de la liberté et de la dignité. Le prix Nobel, Amartya Sen base ses travaux sur la liberté et l'éducation est traitée de façon secondaire dans ses écrits. Or, l'expérience de l'histoire de l'humanité, a démontré que c'est l'éducation qui précède la liberté et la prépare. Sans instruction, sans savoir, sans culture, l'homme est à la merci de la domination et de la misère. Le savoir libère celui qui le possède. L'éducation élève les peuples vers la dignité, le progres et la civilisation. La colonisation française a compris cela et s'est acharnée à détruire en profondeur les acquis éducatifs et culturels de l'indigène algérien. C'est surtout grâce à cela qu'elle a pu durer presqu'un siècle et demi en Algérie.

Le colon avait un problème de communication avec ses sujets auxquels la loi des travaux forcés s'appliquait. Ne voulant pas s'abaisser à apprendre la langue du dominé, il a pu « franciser » une petite partie de la population locale pour en faire l'intermédiaire entre lui et ses serviteurs. Des écoles primaires pour enfants indigènes - devant transmettre le minimum du programme qui était destiné aux enfants européens - ont pu voir le jour pour fermer aussitôt leurs portes, faute de budgets et surtout de volonté coloniale. Une farouche opposition argumentait en effet que la France en Algérie n'avait besoin que de bras à exploiter et non d'esprits qui réfléchiraient et qui à un moment ou un autre pourraient se retourner contre elle. De rares indigènes comme les enfants de Caïds et de petits « notables » conquis à sa cause, nommés ainsi pour mieux imposer sa loi et dominer la population sur place, eurent accès à l'école. La grande majorité de la population fut abandonnée à l'ignorance, à l'exploitation et à la répression continue. Les grandes famines firent le reste (celles de 1834, 1837, 1851, 1867, 1868, 1893 et autres).

Pour justifier la fermeture des écoles destinées aux enfants indigènes, la colonisation prétendait et affirmait que c'était la faute des parents algériens qui refusaient d'envoyer leur progéniture à l'école. N'importe comment, dans ce pays devenu terre désormais française, les lois de Jules Ferry (qui fut d'ailleurs lui-même, contrairement à ce que nous pourrions penser, un défenseur ardent de la colonisation) ne furent tout simplement pas appliquées pour les enfants de ceux qu'on appelait les Musulmans d'Algérie qui n'avaient de toute façon aucun statut. Leur progéniture n'était pas digne d'instruction. La France qui prétendait civiliser les peuples sauvages des terres qu'elle occupait, refusait l'instruction aux enfants indigènes.

Nous nous baserons sur des témoignages de la colonisation elle-même et sur quelques documents récents qui ont tenté de faire la lumière sur une histoire complexe, sensible, honteuse pour l'humanité, et qui soulève encore aujourd'hui des réactions à fleur de peau parce que l'histoire demeure somme toute tue, occultée et non encore totalement dévoilée. Les livres scolaires dans la France d'aujourd'hui, tentent de camoufler aux enfants ce que fut l'Algérie pour la France: une source d'enrichissement au détriment des Algériens qui subirent un système répressif durant 132 années.

Nous analyserons l'action répressive et continue sur le plan physique et moral, de l'indigène considéré dès le départ comme ignorant et inculte. Et comme la colonisation considérair que toute race dépourvue de civilisation « doit nécessairement disparaître » (1), il était appelé à mourir par les armes ou par la famine. Nous reviendrons sur les concepts qui ont été mis en pratique par la colonisation pour inférioriser l'indigène et l'opprimer. Nous verrons aussi comment la science est venue au secours de la colonisation pour justifier ces procédés de répression, de dépossession des biens de l'autre, de destruction de son identité et de tout ce qui pouvait constituer son humanité. En dernier lieu, nous traiterons de la question délicate de

l'éducation et de la culture avant la colonisation et durant son occupation de l'Algérie de 1830 à 1962.

I - Une destruction programmée

1 - Lorsque la répression à outrance devient une « nécessité »

Les actes barbares envers toute une population, reposaient sur des bases dites scientifiques qui prouvaient son infériorité et son appartenance à l'espèce animale. On ne peut pas traiter sur un même pied d'égalité, les civilisés que sont les Blancs et les « hordes d'anthropophages » qui existaient dans ce pays, dit Bodichon, un docteur respecté par ses clients colons auxquels il délivrait en même temps que des ordonnances, des livres de conseils pour exterminer les indigènes : « à quoi reconnait-on qu'une race humaine est vouée à la destruction par un décret de la Providence ? » pose-t-il la question à laquelle il répond en donnant des détails de l'infériorisation de cette dernière. Il affirmait, et il n'était pas le seul, que la civilisation y gagnerait si l'extinction de cette race devenait réalité. (2)

Les indigènes, devenus indésirables sur leur propre sol, étaient chassés et pourchassés comme des bêtes sauvages. Leur destruction faisait partie d'un mouvement de sélection normal dont le militaire français et le colon étaient chargés d'appliquer. C'était "un mal nécessaire" que de les faire disparaître. L'exemple des Indiens américains et celui de la place devenue libre après leur massacre, est évoqué par les théoriciens de la colonisation comme Tocqueville et autres. Ne devaient survivre que les races supérieures, fortes et civilisées. Il était du droit du Blanc, d'affamer et de tuer les indigènes, de les brûler, de les fusiller ou de les sabrer. C'était dans l'ordre normal et légitime des exactions coloniales.

Lorsqu'ils ne sont pas massacrés, ces indigènes étaient repoussés vers les terres les moins fertiles qu'ils tentaient tant bien que mal de cultiver. Ils devaient en plus payer un impôt sur les grains. Ils avaient également l'obligation de prendre en charge les agents du gouvernement qui les requéraient à tout moment pour accomplir des travaux de toute sorte. Leur existence se justifiait uniquement par leur asservissement total à la colonisation. Celle-ci leur niait d'emblée tout droit à une vie humaine digne, puisqu'ils ne sont de toute façon pas des êtres humains. Ils sont inférieurs aux citoyens français et à tous les Blancs en général. Alors même que leur pays fut déclaré terre française, ils ne pouvaient prétendre à aucun des droits français. Sujets de la France, ils ne jouissaient pas des droits individuels et politiques des Français.

Le sinistre *Code noir* de 1785 qui fut promulgué en plein siècle des Lumières, sous le règne Louis XIV, (proclamé lui-même « Le roi Soleil »), pour régler la vie des esclaves de la colonisation française, inspira le *Code de l'indigénat* qui fut créé au départ spécifiquement pour les autochtones algériens. Ce Code promulgué le 28 juin 1881, est une institutionnalisation des inégalités entre les citoyens français et leurs sujets algériens. Il imposait les travaux forcés pour ces derniers et le moindre écart de leur part était passible d'emprisonnement ou de déportation. A partir de 1887, il a servi comme modèle d'Apartheid pour le reste des colonies françaises (l'Indochine, l'Afrique de l'Ouest, la Nouvelle Calédonie, etc.).

C'est une montagne de lois racistes qui n'ont rien à envier à celles du *Code Noir*. Ce système d'inégalité totale et de répression injuste et légale, fut appliqué jusqu'en 1946 alors que les accords de Genève du 23/04/1938, avaient mis fin aux travaux forcés. Les lois internationales sont tout simplement ignorées et bafouées. L'intérêt de la France prime.

Régulièrement punis, les indigènes n'étaient pas jugés par un tribunal mais par un simple agent administratif qui pouvait comme bon lui semblait, les punir en prononçant un simple verdict qui les condamnait au mieux à la prison, au pire à la mort. Arrivait-il à un seul individu d'être soupçonné de désobéir un tant soit peu à une loi de ce Code? La sanction collective tombait tel un couperet: sans jugement aucun, sans tribunal ni état d'âme, toute la famille et toute la tribu étaient sanctionnées par une saisie de leurs biens, par l'emprisonnement de leurs membres, par un feu mis à leurs habitations ou par des exécutions sommaires collectives.

Toutes les méthodes de destruction et de massacre furent mises en pratique pour le moindre prétexte et très souvent d'ailleurs, sans aucun prétexte sinon celui d'extermination. Le général Bugeaud (1784-1849), héros national de la France d'alors, reconnu pour ses faits et méfaits, pour ses crimes de guerre de conquête, eut droit à des croix d'honneur et à une reconnaissance infinie de la patrie. Lui qui prônait l'extermination des indigènes et s'appliquait avec son armée à la réaliser! Ses actes inhumains et barbares, ses tueries gratuites et ses paroles de haine, étaient connus de tous et ne gênaient ni les colons qui s'en réjouissaient sur place ni la Métropole qui l'en récompensait généreusement ainsi que ses vaillants soldats. Revenant de leurs expéditions punitives, ces derniers ramenaient par exemple comme trophées, des colliers d'oreilles arrachées à leurs victimes. On mettait en concurrence ceux qui avaient le plus de « perles enfilées". La barbarie s'en donnait à cœur joie et l'héroisme de Bugeaud est dans tous les esprits des colons.

Que de légions d'honneur, que de croix de reconnaissances, que de cérémonies, que de remerciements de la part des pouvoirs successifs de l'État français accordés à ses militaires qui pratiquaient les pires des exactions sur des êtres humains que la déclaration des droits de l'homme de 1789 disait pourtant protéger! Aujourd'hui, ceux qu'elle choyait et récompensait pour leurs actes criminels, seraient traduits devant la Cour internationale de la Haye pour répondre de leurs crimes odieux contre l'humanité.

La population indigène comptait trois millions d'individus en 1830. Elle fut réduite en quinze ans, à deux millions. Un génocide non reconnu parce que ceux qu'on tuait à tour de bras et de canon, n'étaient pas considérés comme des êtres humains.

Tout en réprimant ces indigènes, la colonisation réalisait qu'elle avait besoin de leurs bras pour la production des biens agricoles. L'exploitation des terres fértiles requérait en effet la force de travail de ces indigènes qui seront soumis aux travaux forcés. On disait alors que si « l'Arabe n'existait pas, il fallait l'inventer. »

Ces pratiques barbares ne choquaient pas les Français surtout intellectuels, dignes descendants et héritiers du siècle de la raison et des Lumières. Louis Salins Molins a analysé avec beaucoup de clairvoyance et d'objectivité, comment cette raison fut outragée lors de ce même siécle, avec le *Code noir* sous le bras de philosophes considérés définitivement comme "lumineux" et illuminant avec leurs belles idées, la France et la terre entière! (3) Nous y reviendrons.

Comme pour l'esclavage, la principale raison qui prévalait à cette situation, était d'abord d'ordre économique. S'approprier les biens des races inférieures était l'objectif fondamental de la colonisation. La France avait besoin d'exploiter les terres de l'Algérie fertile dont l'abondance, notamment en blé exporté, lui valut dès l'époque romaine, le nom de « Grenier de l'Europe. » La convoitise était le mobile premier du rejet et de l'exclusion des authoctones et de leur massacre en masse récurrent. De par leur infériorité et de leur état sauvage, ils étaient indignes de posséder cette terre si riche.

Au début du XIX° siècle, la France subissait une crise économique et sociale grave dont elle n'arrivait pas s'en sortir. La conquête de l'Algérie fut une belle aubaine. Tocqueville, l'auteur de

De la Démocratie en Amérique, constatait que les problèmes sociaux de la France qui dormait « sur un volcan » avaient trouvé une solution dans la colonisation de l'Algérie. (4) Cela le fut effectivement puisque les pauvres, les misérables, les va-nus pieds - qu'un siècle auparavant Voltaire désignait par le terme de « canaille » - étaient affamés et malades. Ils n'avaient plus rien à perdre et leurs révoltes successives menaçaient de faire vaciller le pouvoir en place. Il fallait s'en débarrasser à défaut de les éliminer. L'Algérie fut malgré eux, leur destination privilégiée. Elle fit miraculeusement leur fortune et celle de la France entière.

Cet admirateur de la démocratie qu'il voulaitimportait en France, cet intellectuel de renom qu'est Tocqueville, travaillait en fait uniquement pour "l'entre soi" au détriment des autres. Il était heureux pour la France qui a trouvé une solution à l'importante crise qu'elle traversait. Il disait quebien vu que celle-ci et les problèmes financiers et sociaux de la France, pouvaient être résolus grâce à cette colonisation. Il ne se souciait guère des crimes qui sont commis par cette dernière. La fin justifait les moyens.

Tous ceux qui pouvaient menancer la France de l'intérieur, les « gueux », les misérables qui encombrants le pays, les bagnards, les exclus de la société française, les Alsaciens mécontents de leur sort d'alors, et tous ceux qu'on considérait indésirables, furent ramassés et expédiés dans des bateaux entiers vers le nouveau paradis nommée Algérie. Ils devenaient du jour au lendemain propriétaires terriens et maîtres des indigènes qu'ils se mirent très vite à réprimer, eux qui étaient si opprimés chez eux. Ils exploitèrent la force de leur travail, les poussant sous la menace de mort, à servir le développement de la colonie et la prospérité de la France. Les militaires étaient là pour les épauler, les sécuriser et les encourager à devenir les seigneurs des lieux au détriment des indigènes qu'ils massacraient en masse lors des insurrections et lorsqu'ils n'obéissaient pas aux lois des nouveaux venus.

2 - Des crimes contre l'humanité assumés

Mais il n'y avait pas que ce seul facteur socioéconomique qui jouait un rôle dans le comportement inhumain de la colonisation envers les indigènes. Celui du racisme déclaré et ouvertement assumé et celui de la haine de l'autre, étaient aussi importants que le premier facteur car il s'agissait de nettoyer l'Algérie de tout ce qui n'appartenait pas à la race supérieure des Européens. Les inégalités entre celle-ci et le reste des autres races, avaient été établies par des « scientifiques », admises et reprises allégrement par la colonisation qui s'en servait pour pratiquer toute sorte de dépassements en matière des droits de l'homme. Ainsi des lois injustes et sévères contre les races inférieures dont faisaient partie les indigènes d'Algérie, étaient permises et même encouragées. Le même Tocqueville, dira: « L'Européen est aux hommes des autres races, ce que l'homme lui-même est aux bêtes. »(5) Exactions, assassinats, razzias, tout était permis et admis comme nécessité absolue. De toute façon, les jeux étaient faits en Algérie. Point de retour en arrière quoiqu'ait coûté la conquête de cette terre. Le Ministre des Affaires étrangères, Guisot, lancera à ce propos à l'Assemblée nationale à Paris: « je dis qu'il n'y a pas à hésiter… vous l'avez conquise, vous la possédez, il faut que vous la gardiez, que vous la dominiez et que vous l'exploitiez » (6)

Il fallait une répression féroce à l'égard des indigènes qui étaient un obstacle à ce que la colonisation, appelait « la pacification ». Il fallait les assujettir en les privant du minimum vital. Il fallait s'attaquer à leurs moyens de subsistance, comme l'ont fait les Etats Unis avec les Noirs et les Indiens d'Amérique, recommandait Tocqueville, député alors à la même Assemblée nationale. (7) Il conseillait aussi de leur couper tout moyen de communiquer entre eux, d'empêcher leur commerce, de détruire leur ville, de leur rendre impossible toute production utile. Voilà un programme que l'armée française dont il défendait et excusait les actes, n'a pas

hésité à appliquer avec zèle. Selon lui, la législation s'appliquant aux Européens devait être différente de celle qu'on devait appliquer aux indigènes. Les règles ne pouvaient en aucun cas, être les mêmes puisqu'il s'agissait de deux races différentes, l'une supérieure et l'autre inférieure. A propos des méthodes de l'armée française « qui brûle les moissons, qui vide les silos…et qui s'empare des hommes sans armes, des femmes et des enfants » il dit: « ce sont là selon moi, *des nécessités fâcheuses*, (soulignés par nous) mais auxquelles tout peuple qui voudra faire la guerre aux Arabes sera obligé de se soumettre. » (8) On coupait les figuiers, les oliviers et même les cactus. Le sabre et la famine, étaient deux armes efficaces pour « pacifier » ce pays de sauvages!

Opprimer, liquider en masse hommes, femmes et enfants, affamer la population sur tout le territoire en lui arrachant ses terres, en brûlant son cheptel et ses potagers, devenaient des actes nécessaires et vivement recommandés. Une nécessité par laquelle devait passer l'armée française qui maintenait la terreur et la répression de façon continue. Cette barbarie était ouvertement excusée, encouragée et applaudie à Paris par des députés à l'Assemblée national, haut lieu des droits de l'homme!

L'Etat colonial avait droit de vie et de mort sur l'indigène. Internement administratif, responsabilité collective, saisie de ses biens, destruction de ses moyens de subsistance devaient l'affaiblir et le soumettre définitivement. Il s'agissait de préserver la colonisation. Tous les moyens étaient permis et leurs résultats loués par des intellectuels et des politiques de tout bord. Paris, capitale de Lumières et de la célèbre Révolution de 1789, promulguait des lois et donnait des conseils pour honorer son système de répression et broyer toute une population. L'indigène devait obéir ou périr.

II – Le coup le plus dur

1-la destruction délibérée de l'identité de l'indigène

Durant cent trente-deux ans, la population en Algérie était restée divisée en deux parties:

-*celle des Européens minoritaires* malgré la politique de peuplement menée par la France qui intégrait toutes sorte d'aventuriers venus des pays européens (des Espagnoles, des Italiens, des Maltais et autres). Tous devenant citoyens français à part entière parce qu'appartenant à la race des Blancs qui devait être privilégiée et dominatrice;

-*et celle des indigènes majoritaires*, inférioriés, appauvris et serviteurs habitant l'humiliation et l'indignité. Ils subissaient une politique d'asservissement que François Chervériat (9) compare à celle des serfs de l'époque féodale. Ils ne pouvaient ni circuler librement sur ce que fut leur propre terre, ni s'établir quelque part, ni accueillir un étranger dans leur foyer sans autorisation de l'occupant. Prisonniers dans leur pays, ils ne communiquaient que très peu entre eux et ne connaissaient que la misère et les ordres du colon.

Mais le coup le plus dur que la colonisation leur a infligé, c'est la création d'un État civil pour effacer leur identité. Une vaste entreprise de dénigrement de l'Autre et du refus de le reconnaître comme sujet/citoyen à part entière, avait été menée durant toute la colonisation. Une riche littérature officielle, de militaires, d'intellectuels, de particuliers, et de voyageurs à la recherche d'exotisme, traduisaient ainsi une volonté délibérée de lui faire inculquer son infériorité.

Laisser en vie ce qui restait de cette population indigène, ne signifiait pas pour autant l'arrêt des répressions, les assassinats individuels ou en masse, se continuèrent durant toute la durée de la

colonisation car l'indigène a été dès le départ considéré comme l'ennemi à abattre en toute circonstance et avec n'importe quel moyen. Sa présence était dangereuse pour la race supérieure. Les femmes blanches devaient être protégées de ce fléau qu'est l'Arabe. Elles ne devaient surtout pas se laisser approcher par ces barbares qui risquaient de contaminer la race pure des Occidentaux.

Cette façon d'agir et cette vision allaient avoir des effets non seulement sur les relations qui seront toujours conflictuelles entre colons et colonisés mais aussi sur l'avenir de la colonisation elle-même. Victime d'une humiliation séculaire, de représentations négatives, de dévalorisations constantes, de répressions récurrentes, l'indigène n'a eu de cesse en effet de s'insurger contre les conquérants. Il n'avait plus rien à perdre. « Mille cavaliers ne sauraient dépouiller un homme nu » disait Fromentin dans *Une année dans le Sahel*. (10) La France ne dormait en Algérie que d'un seul œil. Elle maintenait la répression même en temps de calme, craignant l'ennemi qu'elle n'a pas réussi à totalement exterminer.

Signalons que ses craintes étaient justifiées par le fait que les Algériens ne désespérèrent pas de chasser leurs bourreaux. Il est connu que lorsqu'on opprime un individu, un groupe, une communauté, une population, un effet de boomerang finit par se produire. La violence reçue est alors un jour ou l'autre renvoyée à son auteur premier car la haine appelle la haine et la violence ne peut produire que de la violence en retour. D'insurrection en insurrection, les indigènes finirent par se soulever pour de bon mais là n'est pas l'objet de notre analyse. Des écrits nombreux existent sur le sujet du soulèvement de 1954 en Algérie et de la guerre de sept ans qui s'en suivit et qui finit par vaincre les colonialisme.

2 - La constitution d'un État civil et ses implications

La constitution d'un État civil dès 1882 avait pour objectif apparent, le contrôle des indigènes mais la domination des terres faites et sa justification établie, l'instauration de cet État civil devait atteindre l'identité du moi de l'indigène dans sa profondeur. Certes, l'armée et les impôts allaient en être les principaux bénéficiaires, mais c'était surtout un grand coup porté à la personnalité de l'autochtone algérien.

Les bureaux arabes qui furent créés pour contrôler la population autochtone, étaient chargés aussi de l'enregistrement de ces derniers dans l'Etat civil. L'indigène, devait déclarer obligatoirement mariage, naissance, divorce et décès. Des sanctions pénales étaient prévues s'il ne s'y conformait pas. Ceux qu'on désignait par "les Musulmans d'Algérie" avaient déjà leurs noms patronymiques. Ils se retrouvèrent affublés pour la plupart d'un autre nom patrimonial. Les agents chargés de l'enregistrement de cet état civil, donnaient des noms d'animaux, des noms insultants, des sobriquets à des gens qui ne demandaient pas à être renommés. Ils devaient désormais s'entendre appeler « Kebch ou Mouton », « Ras al-Atrous ou Tête de bélier », « Boumaaza » ou le père de la chèvre », « Majrab » ou Teigneux », « Aayab ou Boiteux, » « Boukhnouna » ou Morveux », « Khamouj » ou Saleté, etc. (11)

La France, en créant cet État civil spécialement pour les indigènes, avait en vérité perfectionné les formes de leur aliénation. Ce ne sont pas uniquement leurs terres et leurs biens qui furent saisis. C'était leur propre moi qui fut atteint profondément. Dans son ouvrage: *Dépossession du monde* (1965 : 92), Jacques Berque analyse ce thème de la dépersonnalisation et de l'aliénation qui « rend compte d'autres aspects plus amers »(12) car l'asservissement s'incrustait dans l'âme même de l'individu qui finit à la longue par prendre l'habit que lui a préparé l'autre, qui rentre en quelque sorte dans le moule que lui a fabriqué son dominateur.

Ces noms injurieux, inventés de toute pièce par le colon, marquaient le sceau de la pire des aliénations. C'était une opération voulue d'une rupture avec le lignage habituel et une exclusion du champ de la parenté ascendante. C'était une coupure aussi avec l'appartenance au genre humain puisque l'inscription dans l'espèce animale est confirmée par l'enregistrement qui donnait désormais l'autorisation officielle de désigner l'autre comme un aniaml ou simplement comme une entité « puante, morveuse, sale et corrompue. »

L'État civil indigène, est celui de la stigmatisation, de l'esclavage, de l'humiliation et de la perversion. Il constituait un véritable coup de massue pour l'identité algérienne. L'estime de soi qui valorise en général l'individu, avait été en quelque sorte broyée. Son absence, crée des troubles psychiques que le psychiatre Franz Fanon a bien analysés et dénoncés dans son oeuvre. Comment un individu peut-il avoir une image positive de soi-même lorsqu'il a intériorisé ce que l'autre lui renvoie une image négative et dévoyée de sa propre identité, lorsque cet autre le voit et le désigne par un nom qui signifie par exemple: géniteur d'une chèvre (Bou Maaza) ou d'un bouc (Bou Atrous) ou au mieux d'une vache (Bou Bagra)?

Les Algériens contournèrent comme ils purent cet état de fait, celui de la dégradation et de l'indignité, en continuant à s'appeler entre eux par leurs noms d'origine et en ne déclarant souvent ni la naissance ni la mort de leur progéniture. Découverts dans leur désobéissance à la loi, ils étaient évidemment punis sévèrement.

Après l'indépendance, quasiment toute une génération s'était retrouvée sans date de naissance. Ils étaient tous « présumés » et on fixait leur venue au monde par rapport à un évènement important. Certains étaient ainsi rajeunies de quelques années, d'autres étaient vieillis. Les parents qui comprirent qu'il fallait désormais s'inscrire et inscrire leurs enfants dans l'État civil de leur pays libéré se repéraient à des moments marquants qu'ils avaient vécus: un tel serait né « « 'am ej-jerad » ou « l'année des sauterelles », un autre serait né « 'am ech-char » ou « l'année de la famine » et un autre est venu au monde « 'am al guirra » ou « l'an de la guerre. »

Ceux qui avaient demandé une inscription sur l'État civil algérien, s'étaient retrouvés pratiquement tous inscrits comme « présumés » de telle ou telle année, sachant que dans l'esprit collectif de ceux qui se souvenaient uniquement d'un évènement marquant lorsque leur enfant était né, le temps n'était pas celui du calendrier mais pouvait s'étendre sur plusieurs années à la fois. « «'am al guirra » ou « l'an de la guerre » par exemple, était d'une durée égale à celle de la deuxième guerre mondiale. Cette situation concernait une bonne partie de la population indigène n'était pas inscrite dans les registres de l'État civil instauré par la France. Ceux qui n'ont pas pu y échapper parce qu'ils n'ont pas pu se sauver des souks où on les ramassait dans des camions pour les amener devant les bureaux arabes se faire enregistrer de force, ont vu le piège se refermer sur eux et ils n'avaient le choix que de s'entendre appeler par le colon par une insulte, par un nom d'animal ou une simple injure. Une maman disait que sa fille était née "lorsque les fèves, avaient la grosseur d'un ongle!" Le flou et l'incertitude entouraient ainsi la date naissance des générations nées sous l'occupation.

L'enregistrement dans l'Etat civil spécifique aux indigènes, n'eut pas de succès auprès de ces derniers qui le fuyaient au risque de subir la foudre du colon dominateur. Clandestins sur leur propre territoire, ils évitaient au máximum d'avoir affaire à l'administration coloniale. Ceux qui ont été pris au piège de celle-ci, furent touchés au plus fort de leur perxonnalité. Leur situation n'a d'ailleurs pas fini d'être complexe même aujourd'hui car récupérer à tout point de vue leur identité, leur pose problème ainsi qu'à leurs enfants. Se faire appeler à l'école « Saleté » ne va pas de soi, surtout dans les cours de récréation où les éléèves ne pratiquent génralement pas la compréhension entre eux. Les tribunaux sont appelés au secours par certains concernés pour

changer ces appellations aberrantes, mais beaucoup abandonnent par habitude, par hébétitude et surtout par manque de moyens. Le nom en Islam étant très important et le prénom l'est également. Chaque musulman a le devoir de nommer sa progéniture de façon agréable et positive et le Coran dit au verset 11 de la sourate 49: « ne vous dénigrez pas et ne vous lancez pas mutuellement des sobriquets." Les sopbriquets et le dénigrement s'étaient pourtant institutionalisés pour les authoctones de l'Algérie française. L'image que le colon s'était faite d'eux, s'est concrétisée sur le terrain par un Etat civil méprisant et injurieux que l'Algérie indépendante devrait d'ailleurs réviser de façon officielle et génralisée avec l'accord des concernés, sans que ces citoyens soient obligés de débourser des sommes énormes aux avocats qu'ils solliciteraient.

Le plus grand mal du colonisé, disait Frantz Fanon, « est d'exister dans le regard du colon » (13) Regard qui atteignait son psychisme, ce qui le renvoyait souvent au silence et à une posture immobile que le même colon interprétait comme étant celle de la paresse et de la fainéantise "naturelles" disait-il, chez les Arabes. Fromentin, homme de lettres et artiste de renom, qui avait débarqué en Algérie dès la conquête française, ne donnait pas le même sens à ce phénomène qu'il avait remarqué et qu'il admirait parce qu'il considérait que c'était là une forme de résistance silencieuse qui se maintenait dans la durée. Dans *Regards croisés* (1992) nous avons expliqué la position anticolonialiste de cet artiste à une période où il était de bon temps de se proclamer anti Arabe et anti Islam et où ceux qui désapprouvaient les méthodes barbares de la colonisation, étaient considérés comme des traitres. Ils étaient en vérité, si peu nombreux car la frénésie colonialiste ne laissait pas de place à la raison et encoré moins à l'empathie.

L'action de dépersonnalisation est une agression caractérisée contre l'élément primordial qu'est l'identité de tout individu. Le nom patronymique est une donnée anthropologique fondamentale où ce dernier puise son énergie et où toute sa dynamique identitaire se joue. La coupure de l'Algérien de son lignage, l'effacement délibéré de son ascendance, le reniement par l'autre de ses racines, la contestation totale de son être, devaient remettre en question l'équilibre de sa personnalité et l'estime de soi. Une résistance par l'attachement à sa religion et à sa culture, était souterraine. Elle se maintenait vaille que vaille, de façon clandestine, dans les zaouias ou confréries, dans les écoles coraniques privées et dans les foyers où les enfants recevaient l'essentiel oralement de l'éducation islamique et des bribes de leur histoire.

N'importe comment, cette volonté d'anéantissement de l'être profond de l'indigène, a été longtemps « pourvoyeuse des hôpitaux psychiatriques » (14) C'est à ce titre que le psychiatre Frantz Fanon a procédé à la déconstruction de la psychiatrie coloniale qui était en vogue alors et qui portait le pompeux titre de « l'École d'Alger. » Elle continua à fonctionner avec les mêmes schémas racistes jusqu'aux années soixante-dix du siècle dernier où le colonisé fut déclaré comme congénitalement débile alors que c'était la colonisation elle-même qui était en cause. L'effroi colonial a causé des traumatismes inconmensurables et difficiles à réparer selon le même docteur qui adressa une lettre de démission du poste de directeur général de l'hôpital psychiatrique de Blida, au gouverneur général d'alors. C'était en pleine tourmente de la guerre d'Algérie. Il argumenta avec courage et humanité, que tant que l'oppression et la répression coloniales s'exercaient sur les indigènes, les efffets dévastateurs sur ces derniers ne peuvaient être soignés. La pathologie disparaîtraient avec celle de la colonisation elle-même. Il devint dès lors "un traitree et une *persona non grata*.

Pour Frantz Fanon, qui a tiré ses conclusions en se basant sur son son exercice de médecicin psychiatre et sur ses observations sur le terrain, les malades indigènes avaient perdu tout repère. Leurs troubles psychiques étaient dus à la colonisation elle-même, à son aveugle et durable

répression et à sa volonté continue d'effacer leur identité première. Dans sa lettre de démission de la direction de l'hôpital psychiatrique de Blida qui lui avait valu toutes les inimités coloniales, il affirmait que tant que la colonisation existait, tant que la répression continuait, parler de soins psyciatriques est un non sens et une aberration puisque la cause profonde des troubles était là, presente, tenace et bien ancrée dans l'esprit de cet indigène. La réhabilitation et la réappropriation de son moi, son équilibre psychique ne peuvent se réaliser que lorsque cette cause disparaîtra totalement. Ce qu'il a osé dénoncer, a été considéré comme un crime de lèse majesté. Il en paya les frais.

III - L'indigène « as-sujet-ti »

1-L'indigène disqualifier et dépossédé l'autre de sa qualité d'humain

Nous l'aurons compris, l'indigène ne pouvait durant la colonisation, prétendre à l'état d'un sujet indépendant, d'un individu équilibré, digne, responsable et libre. Il avait perdu non seulements ses biens et ses terres mais aussi son nom d'origine, sa langue et sa culture. Il n'était plus sujet, mais objet sur lequel on agissait.

Le sens du terme sujet est polysémique. Lorsqu'il s'agit de désigner un sujet à part entière, cela renvoie à une construction sociale et psychologique et non à un état figé. Il est intimement lié à l'identité de l'individu qui est elle-même un construit évolutif, un processus et non un attribut « congelé » définitivement. La langue française est déroutante pour un non-averti car un même mot peut signifier, selon le contexte, la chose et son contraire. Ce qui n'est pas le cas en langue árabe par exemple où le "fa'il" ou "sujet", demeure toujours "sujet", l'auteur incontesté d'une action donnée. Il y a d'autres termes pour désigner son état lorsqu'on exerce sur lui une quelconque action. Il devient alors "maf'oul bihi" (ou "objet sur lequel on agit"). En français, il n'y a pas cette diffférentiation terminologique et le mot « sujet » peut désigner les deux situations: tantôt celui qui agit et tantôt celui sur lequel on agit. Celui qui agit est un sujet supposé être libre. Celui sur lequel on agit est par contre dépendant et souvent soumis à l'autorité d'un tiers qui en a fait son objet.

La définition du Larousse affirme que le sujet est l'individu qui est capable de pensée et de conscience mais il y est ajouté que lorsqu'on dit qu'il est sujet de quelqu'un ou d'une autorité, cela signifie qu'il y est soumis. C'est l'exemple de la sujétion à un pouvoir, à une autorité, à un dominant. Il s'agit là de contrainte, d'assujettissement à une nécessité qui lui est extérieure. C'était le cas de l'Algérien colonisé qui de sujet et d'acteur à part entière dans le peil sens de la langue arabe, était devenu dans le contexte colonial, objet sur lequel on agissait librement sans prendre aucune considération sur son appartenance au genre humain.

Lorsqu'on dit: il est sujet de tel ou tel verbe d'action, on notera qu'il est acteur et qu'il est normal qu'il agisse. Le "il" porte ici l'entière responsabilité de son action; il est de ce fait considéré comme ayant des devoirs et des droits. Il est libre. Or, dans l'ordre des choses et des intérêts coloniaux, droits et devoirs citoyens, n'étaient pas accordés au "sujet" indigène parce que dernier était assujetti au pouvoir français et au bon vouloir du colon qui lui, demeurait sujet à part entière, dominant et dominateur.

L'expression « sujet colonial », réfère donc ici à un état d'assujettissement et de soumission au colonisateur.Les indigènes étaient des sujets de ces derniers et leur destin leur échappait, dépendant entièrement de son autorité qui en faisait de simples objets, des instruments à son

service, de simples bras, des bêtes de somme, excercés pour les travaux forcés. Telles étaient les représentations des « sujets » colons quant à leurs « sujets » indigènes.

Signalons que les représentations, ne sont pas la réalité de l'objet vu mais seulement l'image que nous nous faisons de la réalité de cet objet. Re-présenter un objet c'est le présenter à nouveau, c'est le re-produire non pas à l'identique mais à notre façon propre, c'est lui donner notre version de sa personne, c'est lui imposer notre cachet, celui de notre contexte, de notre idéologie et de notre manière de voir, de concevoir le monde. La France concevait le monde colonisé comme sa propriété privée et en faisait ce que bon lui semblait selon l'image qu'elle s'en était faite et qu'elle a forgée sur le terrain en s'aidant de son éducation et de ses "sciences". Elle le *re-gardait* selon la construction qu'elle s'en est faite et comme elle le voulait et non comme il était réellement.

Comme souligné, plus haut, ces représentations ne sont pas banales sur plan de l'action exercée sur le psychisme des individus devenus "sujets assujettis". Elleq lui sont néfastes au plus haut degré car ce dernier s'y voit et finit pas adhérer à l'image qu'on lui renvoie. C'est là l'explication du malheur de son existence dans le regard du colon.

2 - Re-garder l'objet indigène

Re-garder l'objet, c'est le garder à nouveau, c'est se l'approprier, c'est le re-présenter, lui donner son empreinte, c'est le colorer de son imagination, de ses convictions, de son idéologie, de ses pensées. Que reste-t-il alors de la réalité de l'objet lui-même? Une image! Une image dénaturée. (15) Dans les verbes re-présenter, re-produire, re-garder, la présence du préfixe « re » compromet en elle-même cette réalité car le sujet se rapporte à un objet par l'acte de la pensée elle-même où les choses se travaillent pour donner ensuite forme à l'image de cet objet qui a été donc a été re-vu, re-gardé, re-produit selon notre angle de vue. Il se donne en fin de compte à voir, tel qu'il n'est pas dans sa réalité première. C'est une falsification à son insu, de sa réalité.

Il faut ajouter à cela que tout « regard » posé sur un individu, une communauté, une population, est le produit non pas d'une seule personne mais en très grande partie, celui de la société dans laquelle vivent les différents individus, "re-gardeurs." Cela renvoie à l'idée de sens et de valeur que nous donnons aux choses et aux êtres humains et qui nous est inculquée de façon explicite ou implicite par notre éducation et notre contexte familial et social. Pour l'Algérie coloniale, c'était dans l'air du temps et dans l'ordre des choses de déconsidérer, de mépriser, de railler et d'exclusre ceux qui ne s'inscrivaient pas dans les critères de la « Blanchitude ou Whitness », cette construction sociale propre à l'Occident. (16)

C'était dans la normalité du regard occidental de déconsidérer l'altérité assujettie. Pour fêter le centenaire de la colonisation (1930), les Français de toutes les régions et de toute catégorie socioprofessionnelle, affluaient de partout pour visiter les pavillons où l'on exposait des êtres humains amenés des colonies pour distraire la galerie et leur montrer la gloire de leur pays. On y exhibait tels des animaux, outre les Noirs, des indigènes d'Algérie et d'ailleurs qu'on amenait avec leurs tentes et leurs misères, pour amuser le regard de ces spectateurs habitués depuis très longtemps au mépris de l'autre, à l'exotisme et aux curiosités coloniales. Les spectateurs ravis, regardaient et s'amusaient de ces spectacles qu'offraient ces "sujets," bizarres, étranges, sauvages, inférieurs à eux puisqu'ils ne leur ressemblaient pas. L'égo est flatté, hypertophié, il sombre dans l'aveuglement. Quoi de plus « naturel » que de se sentir supérieur à tout ce zoo O% l'autre est déshumanisé? L'image sur cet autre, se construit par ce que la société nous suggère et nous impose souvent malgré nous. Les risidus de cette image sont encore d'actualité. Qui a dit que nous avons radicalement changé quant à notre perception d'autrui?

Le regard que nous portons sur les objets ne relève donc pas seulement de notre ressort mais aussi et avant tout de celui de la société qui l'a forgé insidueusement en nous et des valeurs qu'elle nous a transmises et qui nous ont imprégnés l'intérieur. Il est vrai que nous sommes le produit de notre contexte. Mais ce regard n'est pas une fatalité. Un travail sérieux sur ce construit social, sur nous-mêmes est posible, faut-il encoré le vouloir.

Notre liberté s'inscrit dans ce dépassement-certes difficile mais réalisable - de ce que nous avons reçu comme préjugés, stéréotypes et clichés sur l'Autre que nous rejetons parce qu'il nous est différent. C'est la remise en question de ce que nous sommes et de ce que nous avons vécu comme expériences négatives pour l'altérité que nous pourrions découvrir qucelles-ci sont contraires aux valeurs humaines et surtout qu'elles peuvent facilement se retourner contre nous-mêmes. Il s'agit d'un travail d'un travail en profondeur sur mous-mêmes pour extirper définitivement de nos profondeurs, ce construit social, cette négation de l'autre. C'est un travail qui requiert clairvoyance, sens critique, exigence et volonté sans faille Et surtout beaucoup d'humanité. Ce sera l'œuvre d'abord de l'éducation d'où la nécessité d'une réforme globale des systèmes éducatifs qui doivent prendre en charge l'objectif principal du respect de la personne humaine, la non-violence par l'apprentissage de la différence de l'altérité qui est d'abord. Car l'autre est un "je" et ce n'est pas seulement un jeu de mots.

Beaucoup d'expressions désignent cette éducation à l'autre qui demeure malgré des efforts certains d'individus, d'associations, d'Ong, d'organisations internationales comme l'Unesco, l'Unecef, demeure un vœu pieux. L'éducation interculturelle, l'éducation à la paix, l'éducation comparée, l'éducation transversale, l'éducation internationale, l'éducation au vivre ensemble, visent toutes le même objectif: le respect d'autrui non pas dans ses agissements négatifs mais dans ses différences anthropologiques, culturelles et cultuelles. Celles-ci sont une richesse pour notre humanité en désarroi parce qu'elles ne sont pas intégrées comme apprentissage officiels dans les cursus scolaires et par conséquent, ignorées par les enfants qui reprocuisent ce que leurs aînés leur montrent comme refus de l'Autre. Ces enfants, doivent apprendre très tôt à respecter l'altérité qui fait partie d'eux-même et dire à la manière de Certeau « si tu m'es différent, tu m'enrichis. » (17)

C'est aussi dans cette reconstruction de nos représentations que nous pourrons réclamer notre humanité. Elle s'y réalise grâce à un regard qui saura qu'en dénaturant et en diminuant cet autre, c'est nous-mêmes que nous renions et rejetons. Dans toute son œuvre, le même Frantz Fanon cité plus haut, interrogeait à juste titre l'être humain en général en l'interpelant ainsi: « si tu ne réclames pas l'homme qui est en face de toi, comment veux-tu que je suppose que tu réclames l'homme qui est en toi ? »

Dans le cadre de la colonisation, il va de soi que c'était une époque où toute une société consentait et participait à renforcer les images négatives sur l'autre, cet indigène ou ce Nègre qu'elle côtoyait, dont elle s'était approprié les biens et la force du travail. Cet autre qu'elle a asservi par l'oppression parce qu'il ne lui renvoyait pas sa propre image et qu'il n'était pas dans cette « mêmeté » qu'explique Michel Foucault à propos de Don quichotte de Cervantes dans son ouvrage *Les mots et les choses*. « Mêmeté » qui s'inscrit dans l'errance et la folie et dont l'ego se rélétant dans une goutte d'eau, se croyait maître des océans.

III - Légitimation de l'infériorisation de l'autre par la science

1 – Les actes barbares de la colonisation trouvent leur justification

La colonisation s'est faite en plein XIX° siècle, celui du scientisme triomphant qui a établi entre autres « vérités » et à coups d'études « sérieuses » que l'humanité n'est pas une mais divisée en plusieurs classes inégales. Des classifications et des hiérarchisations des êtres humains s'élaborèrent en toute bonne conscience et « objectivité » par des pseu-do savants et académiciens pour ne pas dire par des charlatans dangereux. C'est l'ethnocentrisme dans toute sa gloire qui se justifiait par l'infériorisation de l'autre. C'est la montée des idéologies racistes qui avaient pris racine bien avant le XIX° siècle avec l'avènement de l'esclavagisme et qui y ont trouvé terrain favorable à leur pleine expression. Les siècles précédents ont vu en effet prospérer l'esclavage des « Nègres », exploitables à merci pour la production du cacao et de la canne à sucre. Ils étaient sanctionnés au moindre écart par des coups de cravache et/ou par la pendaison pure et simple au gré de l'humeur de leurs maîtres qui abusaient par ailleurs sexuellement de leurs femmes porteuses de leurs semences vouées plus tard aux travaux forcés et à l'esclavage.

Au XIXI° siècle, Ernest Renan, intellectuel français de renom, qui avait obtenu tous les honneurs de la part de sa mère patrie et dont l'anti sémitisme et l'islamophobie et le racisme étaient notoires, disait: « nous aspirons non pas à l'égalité, mais à la domination. Le pays de race étrangère devra redevenir un pays de serfs, de journaliers agricoles ou de travailleurs industriels. Il ne s'agit pas de supprimer les inégalités parmi les hommes, mais de les amplifier et d'en faire une loi. » Pour lui, la race supérieure, celle des maîtres et des soldats, « c'est la race européenne. » (18) C'est si clair et si tranché! C'est surtout surprenant de la part d'un philosophe chantre de la raison et des lumières!

Le racisme de ce XIX° siècle, suivait en toute logique et en toute bonne conscience son prédécesseur qui, comme signalé plus haut, avait innové en promulguant le fameux Code noir, qui bien ancré dans les esprits, autorisait toutes les dérives, honorait ses chantres et justifiait tous les actes inhumains commis par l'esclavagisme et la colonisation. Son aboutissement est la quasi extermination de plusieurs populations dont l'algérienne n'est pas des moindres.

Depuis 1830, l'Algérie se peuplait d'enfants blancs, « héritiers des Romains » comme l'affirmaient des écrivains colonialistes, des intellectuels et des politiciens parisiens. Enfants blancs qui devaient remplacer ceux des indigènes. Beaucoup prédisaient qu'à l'image des Indiens d'Amérique, ces derniers étaient appelés à disparaître totalement. Plus de dix millions est le nombre total des autochtones, passé de vie à trépas par la main de la France mère des droits des humains.

2 - Systématisation de la disqualification de l'autre.

Le verbe dis-qualifier signifie la dépossession d'un objet ou d'un individu, de sa qualité première qui le caractérisait et le valorisait. Concernant l'individu, il s'agit de celle qui fait de lui une personne à part entière. Une personne qui appartient à une histoire, à une culture, qui a dans son for intérieur, une estime de soi et qui se réfère donc à une identité individuelle et collective en construction sensée être toujours positive.

Disqualifier quelqu'un vise à lui renvoyer une image négative de lui-même, à le mépriser, à le dénigrer et à le rabaisser pour mieux le spolier de son identité, de ses biens, pour mieux l'exploiter ou simplement l'éliminer lorsque sa présence devient gênante.

Le verbe dé-posséder lui-même, lorsqu'il s'applique à quelqu'un, veut dire enlever à ce quelqu'un ses biens et/ou le priver de ses droits les plus élémentaires. C'est lui nier sa qualité de sujet humain, responsable et libre tout simplement. Cette dépossession fut le cas pour les indigènes algériens et pour tous ceux que les Français ont soumis à leur dictat colonial de par le monde.

Parmi les tares les plus condamnables chez l'indigène, son appartenance à la religion musulmane est la plus manifeste. La haine que le colon vouait à cette dernière n'est pas nouvelle. Depuis son avènement, celle-ci fut la cible de préjugés et de stéréotypes les plus extravagants. Elle est perçue par le colonialisme comme étant une barrière à « la pacification » de l'Algérie puisque l'indigène s'y accrochait pour résister à sa domination.

Tout ce qui constitue les caractéristiques à l'éducation, de la religión et de la culture de l'indigène, est rabaissé et mis en opposition aux valeurs élevées des spécificités de l'Européen défini d'abord comme Blanc et supérieur de par cette blancheur associée à l'intelligence, au savoir, au progrès et à la civilisation. Cette blancheur est surtout associée à la pureté de la race. Elle est surtout déterminante quant à la hiérarchisation des êtres humains. (19) Sur la base d'une simple donnée biologique, de la simple couleur de la peau, s'était écahafaudée et construite une idéologie des privilèges sociaux et autres. Encore aujourd'hui, la « blanchitude » revendique ses droits « naturels » sur tous ceux qui ne bénéficient pas génétiquement de la « Whitness. » Au debut du XXI° siècle, un laboratoire américain, "prouvé "scientifiquement" l'inférioriation des Noirs, en faisant une étude longitudinale sur deux groupes d'enfants orphelins, Blancs d'un côté et Noirs de l'autre, placées dans des familles de catégorie socioprofessionnelle à niveau égal. Devenant adultes, le premiers se sont intégrés facilement à la société alors que les seconds ont sombré dans la déviance et la délinquance. Ce que ce laboratoire a omis de dire et de décrire, ce sont entre autres (en dehors de la catégori socioprofessionelle) les critères précis à partir desquels ces familles ont été choisies et les diverses méthodes avec lesquelles celles-ci. "éduquaient" ces enfants à la couleur de peau différente. Quelles étaient par exemple leurs relations affectives avec ces orphelins? Comment surtout les re-gardaient-elles? Les questions sont nombreuses et les racines du racisme sont profondes et difficiles apparemment à déraciner.

3 - Démonstration de l'infériorité de l'Indigène

Comme signalé plus haut, le XVIII° siècle, chanté jusquà ajourd'hui, comme étant celui des Lumières et de la raison raisonnent et résonnante dans le monde entier, devenait obscur, injuste et tortionnaire, esclavagiste et assassin lorsqu'il s'agissait de voir et de gérer l'altérité. Voltaire par exemple, avait affirmé que le climat n'avait pas d'influence sur les individus puisque « des Nègres et des Négresses, transportés dans les pays froids y produisent toujours des animaux de leur espèce. » (20)

Le XIX° siècle, héritier d'idéologies séculaires racistes développées largement par ses prédécesseurs, est le père de de l'hygiénisme et de l'eugénisme, cette pseudo-science enfantée à sa démesure. Sa toute puissance et son pouvoir de décider de la vie ou de la mort de populations entières qui ne faisaient pas partie de la race supérieure, lui venaient aussi de sa certitude d'être le seul à posséder *La* civilisation et *La* modernité qu'il dit vouloir un certain moment, apporter aux peuples sauvages, les deux notions elles-mêmes s'opposant à l'ignorance et à la barbarie de ces derniers.

Le « nous » de l'Occident rationnel, moderne, policé, libre et civilisé, se percevait comme étant unique et supérieur aux autres. Il est toujours mis en opposition à « eux », ces peuplades dominées parce qu'« incivilisables.» La civilisation était associée (et l'est toujours) au progrès qui lui, découlait de la croissance de la production de biens matériels qui à son tour, résultait de l'état d'avancement de la science et de la technique auxquelles les indigènes ne peuvaient prétendre parce que dénués d'entendement.

Ce que ce terme de « civilisations » ne dit pas, ce qu'il occulte, c'est le prix très fort qu'ont dû payer ces "sauvages pour son édification. Le progrès dont s'enorgueillissaient les « civilisés » n'aurait pu en effet être acté si l'exploitation des biens et de la force du travail de plusieurs

générations d'esclaves et de colonisés dans le monde n'ont pas eu lieu. Le développement économique occidental, repose en fait sur la misère des autres, sur le cadavre des millions dêtres humains, sur l'injustice et le calvaire séculaires subis par les dominés qui étaient voués aux travaux forcés et dont les biens ont été pillés par les dominateurs.

Pour justifier cette injustice criante, cet enfer sur terre vécus durablement par les autres, des "savants" sont donc venus au secours de ceux qui les exploitaient, les toruraient et les assassinaient, commettant ainsi mille et un crimes contre l'humanité. Une taxonomie raciale fut établie par la "science" servile du même siècle. Gustave Le Bon (21) dans son ouvrage *Lois différentes de l'événement des peuples*, affirmait haut et fort qu'il existe quatre races: les primitifs (les Australiens), les inférieures (les Nègres), les moyennes (les Chinois, les Arabes, les Mongols), et les supérieures (les peuples indo-européens). Tout est dit et les choses sont claires, la race des Blancs est la meilleure. C'est celle qu'il faut préserver au détriment de toutes les autres. Après elle le déluge.

A noter que l'appartenance de l'Arabe aux « races moyennes », ne sera pas respectée par la colonisation en Algérie. L'Arabe fut abaissé d'un cran, réduit et classé dans la catégorie des Nègres, ces derniers de la clase des « inférieurs. » Une riche littérature va voir le jour pour confirmer et conforter cette « vérité » si reposante pour les esclavagistes et les colonialistes de tout bord. Sera démontrée alors son incapacité à la réflexion, à la logique, à la théorisation, à la rationalisation, à la pensée et à la conscience. L'école, les mass media de l'époque, la littérature de voyage, celle des journaux intimes, celle des souvenirs de passage dans les colonies, celle des écrits scientifiques ou de romans éloquents, vont contribuer à asseoir définitivement l'image dégradée de l'autre, ce Noir esclave séculaire, cet Arabe colonisé. Le cinéma viendra plus tard relier ces préjugés pour bien les ancrer dans l'inconscient collectif des Français et des Occidentaux bien assis dans leur convictions et préjugés racisites. Rares sont ceux qui, parmi les intellectuels d'alors, ont dérogé à la règle de dénigrement et d'infériorisation des populations vouées au moins au mépris, à l'humiliation et au travaux forcés et au plus au massacre et à la disparition.

Très nombreux sont en effet, sont ceux qui ont été les porte-paroles de cette idéologie raciste qu'ils répandaient à la volée. Convaincus de la supériorité de la race blanche, ils ont glorifié l'action de l'esclavagisme et du colonialisme, usant de leur rang, de leurs productions "intellectuelles" et profitant des avantages que cette propagande pouvait leur apporter comme titres honorifiques et comme récompenses matérielles. La figure d'un Ernest Renan déjà cité, est à ce niveau édifiante. Savant et orientaliste de renom, ayant préparé sa thèse sur le philosophe rationaliste arabe Ibn Rushd dit Averroès - n'ayant d'ailleurs pas adopté les idées d'ouverture à l'autre de ce dernier – démontra une grande virulence quant à l'Islam, aux peuples sémites et à l'altérité en général. Cet intellectuel respecté et admiré par toute une époque, comblé par les honneurs de la République, dira en 1871 que « la conquête d'un pays de race inférieure par une race supérieure qui s'établit pour le gouverner n'a rien de choquant. » (22) Il blâmera ceux qui prétendraient à la conception de « races égales » et il estimera en toute bonne conscience et ouvertement que « la régénération des races inférieures ou abâtardies par les races supérieures est dans l'ordre providentiel de l'humanité» (23) Ainsi fut justifié l'injustifiable. En Algérie l'indigène de seigneur chez lui, devint par l'effet d'une idéologie raciste et suprématiste, un portefaix, un cireur ou un journalier agricole soumis à des lois intransigeantes en matière des droits des colons, hier rejetés chez eux et dont la France s'était débarrassés parce qu'ils lui posaient de réels problèmes. Des terres fertiles, même celles qui appartenaient aux « habous » - biens de main morte, donc intouchables en principe - leur furent distribuées. L'Algérie? Terre

vierge qui, sans propriétaires dignes de ce nom, n'attendait que ces colons auxquels on a fait traverser la Méditérranée de gré ou de forcé, pour l'exploiter!

Un écrivain français, Louis Bertrand (1866-1941), membre de l'Académie française, dont l'œuvre est complètement tombée en désuétude, prit l'Algérie où il séjourna peu pourtant (1891 et 1900), comme sujet de prédilection de ses romans. Il écrivait et dissertait abondamment sur l'origine « romaine » de ce pays. Il chantait le sang romain, effaçant au passage l'existence même des indigènes algériens. Dans son œuvre pourtant si prolixe, n'apparaissaient en effet que les populations européennes, seules dignes d'intérêt. Pour lui, la colonisation française n'a fait que reconquérir un héritage ancien qui lui venait directement des Romains. L'Algérie est la continuation de cet héritage et seuls ses descendants européens sont des citoyens à part entière, dignes de respect et de tous les droits. Il lui arrivait quand il évoquait rarement les autochtones, de les comparer à de simples moutons. (24)

La bestialisation de l'Arabe était devenue chose courante. L'infériorisation des races autres qu'européennes, est établie par la science comme indiqué plus haut. Pour nommer l'Algérien, on puisait dans les noms accordés à l'espèce animale. Pour le décrire on « se réfère constamment au bestiaire » affirmera plus tard le même Frantz Fanon. (25)

Bestialisés, les indigènes sont de plus perçus comme possédant des caractères naturels de perversité extrême. Ils sont inutiles, néfastes, instinctifs, sensuels, portés à la débauche, dépravés, homosexuels, prédateurs, etc. Ils ont en outre un organe sexuel hypertrophié d'où leur hypersexualité anormale. Le Docteur Jacobus résume ces caractères dans son livre *L'art d'aimer aux colonies*. (26) Il nous apprend que l'indigène algérien n'a pas qu'une sexualité débridée. Il se définit aussi par l'absence totale de morale. Sa religion qui le pousse vers les passions et les pratiques déviantes, son inconscience et son inconsistance font de lui un animal dangereux qu'il convient d'éloigner par tous les moyens de la race supérieure qui est d'origine européenne, entendue comme étant saine et inscrite dans la modération et la morale.

Les propagandistes de la colonisation, ne tarissent pas d'éloges sur la race supérieure et accablement l'indigène de tous les maux. Il porte en lui - et c'est congénital - une odeur fétide et repoussante, cause de troubles sexuels très graves qui risquent de compromettre l'intégrité physique et psychique des femmes européennes. Femmes qu'il convient de protéger d'une quelconque proximité avec ce grave danger. Sa puanteur se réfléchit sur lui et provoque une nocivité sur le plan sexuel. Les maladies vénériennes elles-mêmes sont l'œuvre des indigènes. La syphilis est « arabe ». Ce mal apparaissait comme inconnu de l'Europe considérée chaste et propre même si celle-ci était hantée depuis très longtemps par ces maladies dites honteuses contre lesquelles toute lutte s'avérait vaine puisqu'on ne leur avait pas trouvé de remède et les citoyens français qui les contractaient alors, les transmettaient à large échelle. (Corbin, A. 1989) (27)

Il était connu aussi que ce sont les femmes indigènes - que les jeunes et purs Européens fréquentaient dans les lieux de perdition - qui étaient responsables de ces maladies. Ce sont elles qui compromettaient la santé de la race blanche. Pierre Loti (1897) nous décrit longuement les conséquences néfastes de ces relations et leurs ravages sur des marins français et sur leur descendance. (28) Il fallait par conséquent proscrire les métissages qui représentaient une vraie menace de dégénérescence de la belle et saine race européenne.

Ces représentations négatives ne sont pas la création de la colonisation elle-même comme nous l'avons souligné. Elles lui ont préexisté. Les préjugés et les stéréotypes sur l'Arabe et le Musulman, existaient depuis les croisades, La « science » avait vérifié leurs fondements et justifié leur usage commun. Cette science si sûre de ses vérités, si despote dans ses dogmes et si

tyrannique dans ses conclusions, a été par la suite magistralement dénudée pour ainsi dire, par des savants, cette fois, des vrais et non des moindres, tel que S. J. Gould. (29) Ce dernier s'est attelé dans un ouvrage devenu célèbre *La mal Mesure de l'homme* (1997) à détruire justement cette théorie biopolitique inventée de toutes pièces par une époque férue de racisme et de xénophobie, avides des richesses de l'autre. Il a mis à mal ces pseudo-vérités séculaires qui ont handicapé l'humanité entière. Il démontré leurs futilités, leurs mensonges et leur impact sur les populations. Ces études prétendument scientifiques ustifiaient le racisme et la xénophobie. Leurs dont conséquences ont été désastreuses pour l'histoire des hommes.

IV - La science au secours des crimes de la colonisation

1 - Des certitudes et des preuves de l'ethnopsychiatrie

Pour revenir à la colonisation française en Algérie, ce pays qui a servi de laboratoire pour les autres colonies françaises et autres, des « savants » vont étudier de près l'indigène sur le plan ethno-psychiatrique et mettre donc en évidence ses caractéristiques animales et sa nature perverse. C'est ainsi que sous la direction du docteur Antoine Porot (1876-1965), est née « l'École d'Alger » citée plus haut qui s'attellera à prouver scientifiquement que l'Algérien est non seulement inférieur à l'Européen mais qu'il est de nature violente et définitivement incapable de rationalité et d'avancement intellectuel.

L'auteur publiera en 1918 un livre intitulé *Notes de psychiatrie musulmane*. On y trouve consignée une taxonomie qui établit que l'objet de son étude qu'est le Musulman d'Algérie, est dépourvu d'intelligence et de morale. Il est en outre démuni de lobe frontal et se distingue par l'absence de conscience de soi. Guidé par ses seuls instincts, « c'est un débile hystérique, sujet de surcroit à des impulsions homicides imprévisibles. » (30) Il y est ajouté qu'il a une impulsivité criminelle et insiste que le fait que son cortex cérébral est peu développé. Cet être primitif est dominé « comme chez les vertébrés inférieurs, par l'activité du diencéphale ». (31) Sa vie est végétative et instinctive. Bref, cet être si inférieur à l'être humain, porte en lui des tares irréversibles et il est voué à demeurer animal. C'est pourquoi toute tentative de le civiliser demeurera vaine.

Dans les années cinquante du siècle dernier, Frantz Fanon se penchera sur la production de cette école et, arguments à l'appui, réfutera la doctrine du « primitivisme » du docteur Etienne Porot qui continuait pourtant à avoir un succès considérable. Il soulignera notamment que les travaux de ce dernier et de ses élèves ont passé sous silence des données fondamentales et qu'ils n'ont pas pris en compte par exemple les profonds bouleversements que la colonisation avait fait subir à l'Algérien en le dépossédant de ses biens, de sa langue, de sa culture et de tout ce qui peut constituer son identité et son équilibre. Il relèvera dans les écrits de ces spécialistes, la non référence au milieu socioculturel hautement perturbé par les préjudices subis par l'indigène, en particulier la mise à mal de l'estime de soi. Il démontrera les effets néfastes produits dans la conscience de l'Algérien par cette dépersonnalisation qu'a entraînée la colonisation. (32) L'auteur est un connaisseur, un scientifique, un homme engagé dans la recherche de la vérité, pour la justice sociale et pour les droits de l'homme. Il s'engagera effectivement aux côtés des *Damnés de la terre* qui étaient hier des êtres humains et que la colonisation a affaiblis et déshumanisés.

2 - Chercher la principale cause de la déchéance des Indigènes

La violence et la stagnation observées chez l'indigène, avaient des causes précises, dont la principale serait la religion musulmane comme nous l'avons souligné. C'est elle qui serait à l'origine du mal inguérissable qu'il porte en lui. « Après avoir rempli ses devoirs religieux, en accomplissant des actes de pure forme, le musulman se laisse vivre…Il n'a pas de ligne de conduite morale, pas de conscience individuelle; c'est pourquoi il se refuse l'étonnement et ne cherche pas à comprendre; c'est pourquoi il ne tire pas de conclusion morale des faits dont il est témoin » (Porot, E. 1918). (33) Saucières, H. (De), dans: *Esquisses sur la Province d'Alger. Scènes et mœurs arabes* (1853: 6,11) (34), parle du « souffle stérilisant de l'islamisme ». L'indigène est démuni de toute logique, de toute raison, il n'est point sujet mais objet sans conscience. Tocqueville dira qu'« il y a peu de religion aussi funeste aux hommes que celle de Mohamet. » (35) Montesquieu avait lui-même, un siècle auparavant, affirmé que l'« esprit destructeur de la religion mahométane, (était) favorable au despotisme le plus violent » (36) « L'Arabe est sot à jamais » s'écria, indigné V. Hain (1832) dans son ouvrage *A la nation*, *sur Alger*. (37) En outre, « il est paresseux, fainéant, arriéré, incapable de modernité » dira Stéphane Gsell, professeur au Collège de France, qui ajoutera que « ses traditions sont archaïques. » (38)

C'est donc l'Islam qui aurait généré la barbarie et dégénéré l'indigène. Il représenterait l'obstacle le plus puissant à la civilisation. E.F. Gautier, (1930), dans *Un siècle de colonisation, Études au microscope*, (39) évoquant le premier contact de l'Européen avec ces barbares rétifs à toute civilisation, dira à propos de leur religion: « c'était le tout premier choc. Non pas l'Islam de plus tard, troublé et désorganisé doutant de soi, mais l'Islam solidement assis…sur son orgueil intégral. C'était tout de même autre chose que les Peaux rouges de l'Amérique, les magnésiens de l'Australie, les Bachimes, les Hottentots et les Nègres de l'Amérique. » (40)

« Les indigènes font de toute façon partie de ces peuples qu'on ne peut pas changer » disait le docteur Bonnafont (1846) dans ses *Réflexions sur l'Algérie, particulièrement sur la Province de Constantine.* (41) « Ils ont des mœurs simples et féroces qui se sont conservées intactes en traversant les siècles » notait encore V. Hain. Ils stagnent parce qu'ils sont incapables de changement. Buffon dans son *Histoire naturelle*, dira qu'ils sont irresponsables, incapables de travailler et qu'ils ne sont bons qu'à gaspiller les richesses naturelles. La preuve? « Le sillon du laboureur arabe est tortueux, celui du paysan français est droit. » (42) Ernest Mercier (1887) dans son ouvrage *La question indigène en Algérie au commencement du XXe siècle*, affirmait qu'il y a dans ce pays deux catégories de population: « les citoyens français et les sujets français » qui eux, doivent être surveillés pour éviter « l'insécurité, le vol et le brigandage ». (43) Ces derniers sont inhérents à la race inférieure qu'ils côtoient de loin, la réprimant sana cesse, pour la calmer et éviter que ses vices se déchaînent sur les colons qui eux, comme prouvé, appartiennent à la race, saine des Blancs dominateurs, ces premiers de la classe de vivants sur terre qui ont le droit de réprimer et de sanctionner individuellement ou collectivement les races inférieures.

C'est l'ordonnance de Bugeaud qui est à l'origine de la sanction collective qui engage la responsabilité des tribus en cas d'écart de la part d'un seul individu. Ces êtres sont très dangereux et « il faut les corriger par une justice sévère » écrit Mercier, E. (ibid. :102) car ils « ont besoin d'être gouvernés » et « ce sont de grands enfants incapables de se conduire seuls » et qu' « il faut les mener fermement, ne supporter d'eux aucune incartade et mater les intrigants et les agents de démoralisation » Il s'agissait, dit-il, de leur montrer « l'exemple constant de notre supériorité morale ». (44) On ne peut être plus clair dans le monde de la non clairvoyance.

« C'est la civilisation qui marche contre la barbarie », écrivait en 1841 Victor Hugo à propos de la colonisation de l'Algérie. « C'est un peuple éclairé qui va trouver un peuple dans la nuit ». (45) C. Richard, nous confirme dans son Étude sur l'insurrection du Dahra, p. 36 que « l'Arabe

encore une fois, est à l'opposé de la Logique et du Rationnel contrairement au Chrétien qui est le bon sens même. » (46)

V - La délicate question de l'éducation

1 - L'éducation en Algérie à la veille de la conquête française

L'alphabétisation des indigènes était quasiment généralisée à l'arrivée des Français. Au XIX° siècle, dans l'Algérie où, de l'aveu même de témoins français, l'éducation était plus « avancée que celle des Français » comme en témpoigne le Duc D'Aumale lui-même. (*Archive d'Aix en Provence*). (47) Dès son installation dans le pays, la colonisation va détruire systématiquement tous les acquis éducatifs et culturels existants, pour prétendre ensuite avoir trouvé en arrivant, matière d'éducation, de cultura et de civilisation, *Tabula rasa*. Elle n'y aurait rencontré que des barbares, des sauvages « incivilisables. »

Parmi mes colons et mes généraux acquis aux méthodes répressives coloniales, des voix s'élevèrent pourtant contre l'ignorance dans laquelle la colonisation a plongé la population indigène. Un général de la conquête, avait même écrit à son gouvernement à Paris pour tirer une sonnette d'alarme, indiquant que « ce peuple qu'on a maintenu dans l'ignorance, finira un jour se révolter contre nous! (48) Sa prédication s'est réalisé car les insurrections ont sillonné la présense française en Algérie et finirent par chasser ceux qui ont cru en l'éternité de leur présense tyrannique. Montesquieu disait: "même un vers de terre, quand on lui marche dessus, il se redresse."

L'organisation de l'éducation formelle en Algérie était la même que celle des institutions éducatives du reste du monde musulman qui comprenait le "kuttab" (niveau primaire), les études dans les mosquées et les "madaris" (secondaire et supérieur).

L'enseignement supérieur fut réglementé dès le Moyen âge, grâce aux premières institutions universitaires fondées par le vizir Nidham al-Mulk au 12° siècle dont le modèle fut adopté par le monde occidental grâce sa transmission par l'Italie et l'Espagne à la Sorbonne qui l'étendit à Oxford et aux autres universités. Nous continuons aujourd'hui encore, à utiliser sur le plan international cette organisation dans les universités. (49)

L'éducation formelle était gtatuite. Elle était structurée et subventionnée par les finances générées pas les « habous » ou « waqf » qui désignait les biens de main morte. Ce sont des dons qui ne peuvent être ni vendus ni cédés en héritage. Ils doivent financer des œuvres pieuses et/ou des institutions éducatives. Les « waqf ou awqaf » au pluriel, sont terres fertiles, des biens immobiliers, des bains maures, des marchés, des animaux, etc. Un enseignement du niveau secondaire était souvent dispensé dans les mosquées parallèlement à celui de la « madrasa » et dont la construction et l'entretien relevaient aussi du même « waqf. » Les « madaris » (pluriel de « madrasa » qui désignait: l'université) fonctionnaient dans quasiment toutes les grandes agglomérations et dispensaient un enseignement religieux et profane. (50)

-*Les acteurs* étaient formés par un corps administratif, avec un responsable à sa tête, aidé d'un personnel gestionnaire, par celui des enseignants comprenant les professeurs, leurs assistants et des lecteurs et des enseignés eux-mêmes qui veanient de tous les milieux riches ou pauvres. Ces derniers devaient répondre à une réglementation de leur vie dans l'établissement qui les accueillait. Ils étaient hébergés, nourris et avaient droit à une aide financière.

-Les objectifs étaient essentiellement la formation des cadres juridiques et des enseignants qui bénéficiaient au sein de la poîlation d'un grand prestige. D'autres cadres divers y étaient formés. *-Les contenus* étaient de deux sortes: les disciplines des sciences religieuses et celles des sciences dites étrangères ou « dakhila », héritées des autres civilisations.

-La durée des études était de quatre années.

-L'évaluation se faisaient au niveau de chaque discipline eneignée par un cheikh ou savant qui attribuait après examen, une licence ou « ijaza » (pluriel: "ijazat"). L'étudiant pouvait suivre différents cursus et obtenir plusieurs « ijazat » dans plusieurs spécialités.

Lorsqu'un étudiant achevait son cycle en Algérie et désirait poursuivre des études poussées en théologie, il quittait son pays et allait parfaire ses connaissances à l'université des Qarawuiyine à Fès ou vers celle de la Zaytouna à Tunis ou même à d'Al-Azhar en Egypte. Ceux qui en revenaient étaient auréolés, respectés comme des « oulama », (pluriel de « 'alim » ou savants). Ils occupaient alors des fonctions d'enseignant, de Cadi, d'imam ou autres.

A côté des « madaris » il y avait un enseignement des « zaouiyas » ou confréries, très vivant. Les étudiants apprenaient les sciences religieuses en priorité, se formaient à l'histoire et la poésie soufie. Ils bénéficiaient également de la gratuité de l'enseignement. Le « mourid » ou disciple était initié au soufisme et pas uniquement. Il recevait un enseignement par exemple en mathématiques et en sciences étrangères. (51)

Dans la culture algérienne comme dans tout le monde musulman, le respect envers la science et les savants était quasi religieux; l'apprentissage de la science est lui-même une obligation religieuse. Le petit algérien apprenait très tôt à respecter le «'ilm » ou le « savoir » même si lui-même n'est pas destiné à devenir savant. La société dont l'organisation était souvent tribale, s'accordait sur des valeurs éducatives communes qu'elle inculquait très tôt à ses membres. Un savant peut sauver l'âme de sa famille au moment du jugement dernier, dit la sagesse populaire. Le Prophète de l'Islam avait dit qu'il préférait la mort de toute une tribu à celle d'un seul savant. La science est sacrée. Son respect ainsi que celui de ses savants, témoigne d'un acte de foi.

L'enseignant bénéficiait d'un statut privilégié et les parents encourageaient leur progéniture à s'instruire et « à rechercher la science même en Chine » comme le leur recommandait leur religion. La première sourate du Coran, débute par cette injonction: « lis! » Il y a propos du savoir, une chanson populaire ancienne qui est encore dans la mémoire des Algériens. On peut traduire ainsi son début: « ô père Salim, où est ta parole donnée hier à propos de mon fils qui lira la « lawha » (tablette) et qui deviendra un jour savant ? » Elle ne dit pas « qui deviendra riche » mais exprime l'amour que les Algériens vouent au savoir et aussi leur plus grand souhait pour le futur de leur enfant : savoir lire d'abord la « lawha » ou cette tablette qui est une planche sur laquelle on apprend à écrire les premières lettres de l'alphabet arabe et par la suite les versets coraniques, la grammaire et d'autres disciplines, pour ensuite pousser très loin ses études et devenir un « 'alim » ou savant. La colonisation va briser ce rêve et casser tout élan vers le savoir et la science.

2 - Destruction de l'enseignement et de la culture Arabes

L'éducation et la culture sont deux entités contre lesquelles la colonisation a lutté férocement en Algérie où elle a mené parallèlement deux guerres, l'une avec des armes et l'autre avec la destruction délibérée de ces deux éléments clefs pour toute ouverture et pour tout développement. L'éducation transmet la culture et cette dernière nourrit l'éducation. Leur lien intime fait qu'en « abattant » l'une, l'autre tombe automatiquement. Sans culture, il n'y a pas d'éducation et sans éducation, la culture décline et finit par disparaître puisqu'il n'y a plus de

transmission. Ibn Khaldun parle de « Sanad » qui est la chaîne des transmetteurs. Si celle-ci se rompt, le contenu de l'éducation et la culture et la cultura elle-même, disparaissent totalement. (52) La France coloniale s'est attaquée essentiellement à ce « Sanad » qu'elle a rompu et la majorité des indigènes étaient tombés dans l'illettrisme et l'analphabétisme, sources eux-mêmes d'ignorance, d'obscurantisme et de misère.

Les Algériens considéraient que l'apprentissage de la langue arabe était obligatoire car celle-ci est le véhicule de la Parole divine qu'est le Coran, qui l'a choisie et rendue ainsi sacrée. La colonisation était venue bouleverser cet ordre à la fois linguistique, culturel et cultuel. S'appuyant sur l'arsenal idéologique du racisme, l'occupant décida que la population indigène, n'était apte à aucun apprentissage et que l'enseignement de la langue arabe devait disparaître. Elle s'attaquera donc dès son arrivée, à détruire l'éducation et la culture et ce dans l'objectif d'effacer tout ce qui peut rappeler les traces d'une civilisation ou d'une religion. C'est à ce prix que l'occupant pouvait prétendre à la totale maîtrise du terrain et déclarer par la suite que la colonisation était venue sur sa terre pour « civiliser » des sauvages qu'elle a considéré d'ailleurs contradictoirement, incapaples d'apprentissage ou d'une assimilation quelconque en matière de civilisation justement.

L'enseignement qui se faisait en langue arabe, qui formait des élites conscientes et responsables, fut brusquement interrompu. Plus de "sanad" donc, plus de transmission d'un savoir quel qu'il soit. La régression ne tarda pas à se manifester sur tous les plans. Les enseignants qui furent chassés ou tués, aucune transmission dans ce sens ne pouvait se faire. Très vite le terrain fut vidé de tout ce qui pouvait donner à constater une quelconque instruction aux enfants indigènes. L'ignorance et l'obscurantisme s'étaient répandus et seule des petites écoles coraniques sans moyens, continuaient tant bien que mal à survivre un peu partout, de façon quasiment clandestine.

Cet état inquiétait certains hauts responsables militaires français comme nous l'avons signalé. Ils voyaient en l'ignorance plutôt un danger pour l'établissement pérenne de la France en Algérie. C'est ainsi que P. Foncin (1883, p.705) se posait cette question en désignant par le « nous » les Français: « qu'est devenue l'instruction musulmane en Algérie? L'avons-nous réformée? L'avons-nous remplacée? Ni l'un ni l'autre. Nous l'avons laissée périr presqu'entièrement: nous nous sommes contentés de fermer les zaouïas les plus dangereuses: nous n'avons ni soutenu ni sérieusement inspecté, ni amélioré l'enseignement. Qu'avons-nous fait à sa place? Peu de chose. » (53) Rien ou le contraire en vérité, c'est-à-dire la destruction de l'enseignement des indigènes.

Un fidèle soldat indigène, « assimilé » au départ et qui échappa miraculeusement grâce ç une volonté tenace, à l'engrenage de l'analphabétisme et de l'ignorance, a fait la guerre pour la France et ayant appris parfaitement la langue française, il était devenu en plus, grâce à sa propre détermination, un parfait germanisant. Il s'était par la suite consacré à l'enseignement. Serein au début quant aux intentions de la colonisation, il fut rattrapé par le temps de la désillusion. Déçu et choqué par les massacres continuels de ses coreligionnaires perpétrés par la France, il a fini par prendre conscience de la plaie profonde que constituait la colonisation pour son pays. Voici ce qu'il constate dans l'un de ses ouvrages: « La paralysie intellectuelle provenait depuis 1830 de la fermeture générale des écoles arabes non compensée par l'ouverture équivalente d'établissements français pour tous les enfants d'âge scolaire. On tenait ces enfants dans l'analphabétisme complet par désir aveugle d'exploiter leur ignorance des traditions nationales, et surtout par crainte raciste de les voir évoluer dangereusement » (54)

Avant l'arrivée des Français dans leur pays, les Algériens parlaient l'arabe et l'écrivaient couramment à côté de l'utilisation orale des dialectes et du berbère. Cela n'arrangeait pas les

affaires de la colonisation qui y voyait un danger pour ses intérêts. Si elle laissait cet état de fait se prolonger normalement, il devenait évident que toutes les théories d'infériorisation de l'autre, n'auraient jamais fonctionné. Si l'indigène avait conservé sa langue, son instruction et sa culture, qu'il avait continué à évoluer grâce à l'éducation, c'était là une façon de sonner le glas pour la colonisation. Il fallait donc détruire dès le départ ce qui pouvait nuire à la domination et à l'exploitation des terres et des hommes. Les Algériens perdirent l'usage de leur langue arabe avec la destruction de son enseignement. Ils perdirent du coup le savoir qui est libétateur pour l'homme. Le colonialisme voulait aussi par cet acte, les éloigner de la connaissance de leur religion, au grand bénéfice pour la « pacification. » Sans attache, isolé de son passé, de ses coreligionaires, de sa langue, du savoir, de sa culture et de sa religion, l'action de domination et de destruction était plus facile à mener par les conquérants.

La destruction de cette langue devint donc effective par l'interdiction de son enseignement et de ses structures. Le même Tazrout M. dira: « L'arabe littéraire qui s'écrit, apparait lui-même brimé et interdit…la seule langue littéraire officielle aujourd'hui en usage est donc le français, qui est baragouiné par une minorité d'autochtones…qui est ignoré totalement par la majorité des musulmans. » (55)

Des tentatives seront entreprises par la suite pour appliquer les lois Jules Ferry sur cette terre mais où les indigènes ne bénéficiaient pas du statut de Français. La scolarisation des enfants des autochtones, rencontrera cependant, une opposition farouche de la part des colons qui craignaient que l'instruction émancipe ses colonisés et développe en eux le sentiment de liberté. Dans tous les cas de figure, il fallait maintenir la population indigène dans l'ignorance. L'école n'était pas faite pour eux et leur rôle devait se limiter à servir la France coloniale. Effacer pour l'indigène, le lien qu'il avait avec son passé et sa culture, l'empêcher de s'instruire, c'est l'affaiblir pour mieux l'asservir.

Un problème se posa par la suite pour le colon qui devait s'adresser au colonisé pour se faire obéir. « La communication » devait s'établir grâce à des intermédiaires car lui-même ne s'abaissait pas à apprendre l'arabe. On décida de « franciser » quelques enfants indigènes en leur créant spécifiquement une école pour ne pas les mélanger aux enfants européens. Ils devaient bénéficier du strict minimum du programme des écoles françaises. A côté du français, on innova en introduisant quelques heures d'enseignement de l'arabe dialectal, une forme parlée et très appauvrie de l'arabe littéraire qui lui, se pratiquait oralement et par écrit. (56) Des manuels scolaires furent inventés dans ce dialecte. Mais, comme nous l'avons signalé plus haut, ces écoles ne firent pas long feu, faute de budget et à cause de l'opposition des colons surtout pour les raisons que nous avons expliquées.

Les enfants indigènes apprenaient auparavant dès l'âge de trois ans le Coran par cœur. C'était une initiation à la religion mais en même temps un apprentissage de la langue arabe. Il assimilait une somme importante de mots sachant le Coran compte en contient cinq. Un acquis considérable à un âge où l'on assimile facilement les apprentissages et une base importante pour le reste des études. La colonisation faisait la chasse aux enseignants de cette matière clef pour l'avenir de la langue arabe.

Dépossédés de leur terre et dépourvus de l'enseignement de leur propre langue, les indigènes s'étaient retrouvés dans l'obscurité. Le célèbre écrivain algérien Kateb Yacine exprima sa double aliénation en écrivant : « Ainsi avais-je perdu à la fois ma mère et son langage, les seules trésors inaliénables et pourtant aliénés. » (57) La mère étant le symbole de la patrie également.

Déposséder tout un peuple de sa terre, de son enseignement d'origine, de sa langue, de son éducation, de sa culture, le maintenir volontairement dans l'ignorance n'ont pas sans

conséquences sur le destin son propre destin et sur l'avenir de la colonisation elle-même. Celle-ci a du prendre fin contre sa propre volonté et à l'indépendance du pays presque 90°/° de la population algérienne était analphabète. Une autre histoire va commencer même si elle sera marquée par les stigmates de la colonisation. Elle demande à être traitée dans d'autres chapitres pour comprendre comment évolue l'histoire entre l'Algérie et son ancien colonisateur et voir si les relations bilatérales iront réellement vers une paix durable.

Conclusion?

Après ce bref aperçu sur le système colonial construit sur des bases racistes, qui avait mené en parallèle durant presque un siècle et demi, une répression de la population algérienne et une destruction de son éducation, de sa culture et de son identité, il nous est difficile de conclure car le sujet tant il est vaste. Le traiter dans sa globalité, demanderait plus de temps et plus de moyens. Nous avons tenté de le déconstruire pour le rendre plus lisible par le biais de témoignages anciens et d'écrits récents. Sous-jacentes à notre modeste article, se posent deux questions: le mutisme et les non-dits qui entourent l'histoire de l'Algérie sous la domination française, seront-ils un jour dépassés pour dévoiler les vérités historiques et surtout, sera-ton en mesure d'enseigner ces vérités à l'école? Aujourd'hui, à cause de la non réponse à ces deux interrogations « le passé n'est même pas passé» comme le disait Faulkner. Il faut signaler que des écrits louables sur le sujet sont publiés par des chercheurs indépendants mais leurs ouvrages ne sont pas exploités pour l'enseignement de l'histoire à l'école. L'histoire de la colonisation en Algérie, est effectivement occultée dans l'institution scolaire en France dont le rôle est pourtant d'apprendre à ses élèves au moins l'histoire de leur pays. Pays qui comprenait également la terre de l'Algérie.

Aujourd'hui, profitant de silence/ignorance volontaire ou non, certains esprits vont jusqu'à nier les crimes de la colonisation et des députés iront même jusqu'à voter une loi qui acte « les bienfaits de la colonisation » en Algérie. Celle du 05 février, n'a pas été annulée malgré la protestation vigoureuse de plusieurs personnalités intellectuelles et politiques. Les anciens colonisés devraient être reconnaissants à la colonisation et les petits Français ne sauront pas qu'il s'agit plutôt de méfaits et de crimes contre l'humanité et ne se poseront la question par exemple du pourquoi de la présence chez eux d'une importante immigration venue d'Algérie. « Le passé est l'avenir du présent » dira l'historien Marc Bloch. Et n répétons surtout pas que le silence est d'or. Il enfante l'incompréhension et l'ignorance. S'observent d'ailleurs ces dernières années en France, une certaine « libération de la parole » xénophobe et raciste.

Seul le silence est grand? Le poète n'a toujours pas raison. Le silence peut être ravageur. Victimes de ce silence qui a engendré leur ignorance, des élèves d'une classe d'un lycée français, ont refusé récemment de lire un roman qui traite de la guerre d'Algérie sous prétexte que « l'auteur n'est pas français et que l'histoire ne concernait pas la France » écrit à l'auteur, leur professeure consternée qui avait invité l'écrivain à les rencontrer. Elle ajoute: « il y a eu une levée de boucliers… (ils ne savaient pas que l'Algérie était française) et il y a du vocabulaire en arabe…Un élève a refusé de lire pour ne pas prononcer le nom 'Messaoud' des propos racistes ont été prononcés. » Sous le choc, l'enseignante a rappelé la loi à ses élèves et a convoqué une rencontre avec leurs parents. (58)

Ces mêmes élèves ne sont pas des enfants mais des adolescents très proches de l'âge adulte. Ils termineront leur cycle d'études secondaires dans un an. Ils ont passé 11 ans de leur vie scolaire sans avoir appris que l'Algérie fait partie de leur histoire, qu'elle a bel et bien été française durant cent trente-deux ans. Cet exemple témoigne de l'orientation en matière de l'enseignement quant à cette discipline dite histoire. Maherzi, A. (59) C'est là aussi une manière d'ignorer

l'autre. Apprendre aux élèves ce que cet autre a enduré comme injustices et souffrances séculaires, c'est le préparer à la non-violence et à un vivre ensemble harmonieux.

Pour l'écriture de l'histoire elle-même, il y a une voie intéressante qui se dessine depuis les années quatre-vingt du siècle dernier. C'est celle du courant World History avec l'Indien Sunjay Subrahmanyam, (60) qui travaille avec d'autres historiens dans le sens de l'écriture d'une histoire qui prendrait en compte la « pesée du monde » et non pas celle d'un seul pays ou d'une région au détriment du reste de l'humanité. L'universalisme de l'histoire telle que présenté par l'Occident en général, demande à être revisité quant à ses visions ethnocentristes, à ses certitudes et à ses dogmes. Une écriture innovante en méthodologie qui ferait une place aux phénomènes transnationaux, qui compare les sources d'origine diverse, en reconstituant « les chaînes de causalité », en les soumettant à une rigoureuse vérification et à une critique objective. Les mensonges et les parties pris dont souffrent les petites histoires qu'on apprend aux écoliers qui font l'impasse de pans entiers du passé, qui falsifient ou taisent les vérités, n'auront plus de place ni dans les livres scolaires et seront dénoncées par les chercheurs et leurs lecteurs.

Pour l'heure, la France et l'Algérie se font face géographiquement sans vraiment arriver à effacer les stigmates d'un passé occulté et non pris en charge par l'école des deux côtés. Leurs relations ne sont souvent pas au beau fixe et influent sur les centaines de milliers d'immigrés algériens vivant dans l'ancien pays de la colonisation. Le passé est certes encore douloureux mais cela n'excuse pas les représentations négatives qui résistent au temps et qui, à défaut d'une éducation à l'altérité - qui implique une écriture commune et objective de l'histoire et son enseignement à l'école - tendent à s'implanter dans les esprits, alimentant préjugés et exclusions, poussant aux extrémismes et à toute sorte de dérives. Le seul remède efficace à notre sens, et nous ne cesserons de le répéter, est dans l'éducation qui seule, a la faculté de changer les mentalités et d'assurer le vivre ensemble entre les individus d'une même société et la paix entre les peuples.

Notes

(1) Moll, L. 1945. *Colonisation et agriculture en Algérie*. Paris.

(2) Bodichon, père des thèses exterminatrices qu'il rédige à l'attention « des étudiants en sciences coloniales » cité à plusieurs reprises par Olivier Le cour Grangmaison: *Coloniser, exterminer*. Paris : Fayard.

(3) Molins, L .S. 2012. *Le Code noir ou le calvaire de Canaan*. Paris: PUF. Voici par exemple, ce que stipule l'article 38 de ce Code : « L'esclave fugitif qui aura été en fuite pendant un mois, à compter du jour que son maître l'aura dénoncé en justice, aura les oreilles coupées, et sera marqué d'une fleur de lys sur une épaule ; s'il récidive, un autre mois, à compter pareillement du jour de la dénonciation, il aura le jarret coupé, et il sera marqué d'une fleur de lys, sur l'autre épaule ; et la troisième fois, il sera puni de mort.» C'est de ce Code noir que le Code de l'indigénat s'inspira pour s'appliqué d'abord en Algérie et ensuite dans toutes les colonies françaises.

(4)Tocqueville, A. 1848. *De la démocratie en Amérique*. Paris. Texte entier Téléchargé de : https://fr.wikisource.org/wiki/De_la_démocratie_en_Amérique/Édition.../Texte_entier

(5) Tocqueville, *Le Moniteur universel*, Assemblée Nationale, 01-06-1844)

(6) Guizot, *Rapport*, Assemblée Nationale

(7)Tocqueville, A. *De la démocratie américaine*. Ibid.

(8) Tocqueville, A. *Travail sur l'Algérie.* Paris.

(9) François Chervériat. 1889. Cité par Grandmaison O.L. Ibid.

(10) Fromentin, E. Une année dans le Sahel. Paris

(11) Maherzi A. 1992. Pas si simple. L'Hebdo libéré.83. Alger.

(12) Jacques Berque. 1965. Dépossession du monde: Paris.

(13) Fanon, F. 1961. *Les damnés de la terre*. Paris: Maspero.

(14) Fanon, F., Ibid., p. 117.

(15) Maherzi, A. 2004. Corps de femmes indigènes et imaginaire colonial. *Des femmes, images et écritures*. Toulouse : PUM et Todorov, T.

16) Morison, T. 1990. *Playing in the dark: Whiteness and The Litaracy Imagination*. New York. Vintage Books.

(17) Certeau, M. (De) 2005. L'Étranger ou l'union dans la différence, 2005, collection Points Seuil ;

(18) Renan, E. 1871. La Réforme qu'on continue encore de nos jours à honorer sa mémoire et que son nom est donné à des rues dans la capitale française et dans d'autres villes!

(19) Hund, Wulf D., Jeremy Krikler, Roediger D. (eds.). 2010. *Wages of Whiteness & Racist Symbolic Capital.* Berlin: Lit.

(20) Voltaire, comme d'autres philosophes du siècle dit des Lumières, ont gardé le silence sur l'esclavage. Certains ont versé dans des clichés de ce genre. Les livres de littérature et de civilisation françaises en général, passent sous silence ce côté honteux et nous les présentent comme les proches ancêtres des droits de l'homme.

(21) Le Bon, G. (1889 : 28) *Lois différentes de l'événement des peuples.* Cité par Grandmaison, O.L., Ibid.

22) Renan. E., 1871. *La Réforme intellectuelle et morale.* 1982. *La conquête de l'Amérique, la question de l'autre*. Paris : Seuil)

(23) Renan, E., Ibid.

(24) Louis Bertrand, 1899. *Le sang des races*. Paris

(25) Ernest Renan, F.-E. 1871. *La Réforme intellectuelle et morale*. Paris.

(26) Jacobus, D. *L'art d'aimer aux colonies*. Paris.

(27) Corbin, A. 1989.

(28) Loti, P. 1897. *Les trois dames de la Casbah*. Paris: Calmann Levy.

(29) Gould S. J. 1997.

(30) Porot, E.*Notes de psychiatrie musulmane*.

(31) Porot, E. Ibid.

(32) Fanon F., Ibid.

(33) Porot, E.1918, Ibid.

(34) De Saucières, H. 1853. *Esquisses sur la Province d'Alger. Scènes et mœurs arabes*. Paris.

(35) Toqcueville, A.cité par Grandmaison, O. L. 2005.

(36) Montesquieu, *L'esprit des lois*.

(37) Hain, V. 1832. *A la nation, sur Alger*. Paris.

(38) Stéphane Gsell, professeur au Collège de France, cité par Le Cour Grandmaison. Ibid.

(39) Gautier, E. F. 1930. *Un siècle de colonisation, Etudes au microscope*. Paris. Cité par Le Cour Grandmaison, O. ibid.

(40) Gauthier, E. F. Ibid.

(41) Bonnafont, 1846. *Réflexions sur l'Algérie, particulièrement sur la Province de Constantine.*

(42) Buffon dans son *Histoire naturelle*. Paris.

(43) Mercier, E.1887. *La question indigène en Algérie au commencement du XXe siècle*. Paris.

(44) Mercier, E. Ibid.

(45) *Les Orientales dans la France colonisatrice*. 1883.

(46) Richard, C. *Étude sur l'insurrection du Dahra*.

(47) Duc Daumale lui-même. Archive d'Aix en Provence.

(48) Cité par Achour, C. ibid.

(49) Le Thanh K. 1981. *L'éducation comparée.* Paris: Armand Colin.

(50) Makdici, G. 1981. The rise of colleges: Institutions of learning in Islam and the West. Edinburgh: University Press

(51) L'Emir Abdelkader, *Lettre aux Français*. Alger.

(52) Ibn Khaldun. 1967. *Discours sur l'histoire universelle*. Paris : Sindbad.

(53) Foncin, P. 1883. Cité par Grandmaison, O. L. Ibid.

(54) Tazerout, M., *Histoire politique de l'Afrique du Nord*.

(55) Tazerout, M. Ibid

(56) Merad, A. 1963. Regard sur l'enseignement des Musulmans en Algérie. *Confluent*. Paris.

(57) Kateb Yacine cite par Achour C. Ibid.

(58) https://www.saphirnews.com consulté le 15-10-2018

(59) Maherzi, A. 2012. Manuels d'histoire et altérité ou comment l'histoire d'une guerre construit les frontières dans les esprits des élèves. *Territoires et démocratie culturelle*. Corte : Stramperia Sammarcelli.

(60) Sanjay Subrahmanyam, historien indien, professeur d'histoire économique à la chaire d'histoire à l'université de Californie à Los Angeles, et professeur au Collège de France. Il est le promoteur de « l'histoire connectée. »

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Identity discourse and Jordan's double-shift schools: Constructing nation and citizen in a Syrian refugee host states

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This article traces the discourse on Syrian refugees in the host state of Jordan, the country with the highest per capita ratio of refugees in the world. Through its double-shift system, Jordanian students are taught in the morning and Syrian refugee students in the afternoon. Although students in both shifts learn Jordan's national curriculum designed to produce loyalty to the nation-state, little is known about the civic identities of Syrian children and youth, especially that of boys. Educational reforms and development literature in the Middle East often target boys as a population to be monitored, and for which public schooling is paramount so they will not be enticed by radical ideologies leading to violence and extremism. The theoretical construct of borderlands is used to depict the physical and social or affective space shaping civic identities as a result of displacement and conflict migration. The findings from an empirical, qualitative study conducted with Syrian urban male students in four public schools in Amman reveal civic identities informed by pan-Arab and Islamic sensibilities. The article, in effect, is a call toward a theory of child voice through comparative education research that explores the conditions in which children and youth attempt to build their civic identities.

Keywords: identity discourse, nationalism, Jordan, Syrian refugees, double-shift schools

يتتبع هذا المقال الحوار حول اللاجئين السوريين في دولة الأردن المضيفة، الدولة ذات الأعلى نسبة من اللاجئين في العالم. من خلال نظام الفترتين، يتم تدريس الطلاب الأردنيين في الصباح والطلاب السوريين اللاجئين في فترة ما بعد الظهر. وعلى الرغم من أن الطلاب في كلا الفترتين يتعلمون المنهج القومي الأردني المصمم لإعطاء الولاء لقومية الدولة ، القليل يعرف عن الهويات المدنية للأطفال والشباب السورين ، وخاصة الأولاد. فالأبحاث المتعلقة بالإصلاحات التعليمية والتنوية في الشرق الأوسط غالباً ما تستهدف الأولاد كمجموعة سكانية يجب مراقبتها، والتي يُعتبر التعليم العام لهم كأهمية قصوى لكي لا يتم جزبهم لأيديولوجيات راديكالية تؤدي إلى العنف والتطرف. تُستخدم نظرية الحدود الدولية لوصف التكوين المكاني والاجتماعي الذي يشكل الهويات المدنية نتيجة النزوح والهجرة من النزاعات. وتكشف النتائج التي توصلت إليها هذه الدراسة التجريبية والنوعية التي أجريت مع طلاب سورين مدنيين من أربع مدارس حكومية في عمّان، إلى هويات مدنية مستوحاة من إدراك عربي وإسلامي. في الواقع ، المقال هو دعوة نحو نظرية "صوت الطفل" من خلال أبحاث التعليم المقارن التي تستكشف الظروف التي يحاول فيها الأطفال والشباب بناء هويتهم المدنية

本文追溯了约旦作为东道国如何与叙利亚难民对话，而约旦是世界上人均难民比例最高的国家。在双班制教学模式下，该国学校早上教授约旦学生，下午教授叙利亚难民学生。两个班次的学生都会学习约旦的国家课程、培养对民族国家的忠诚，但该课程很少讨论叙利亚儿童和青年的公民身份，特别是男孩的公民身份。以往的中东地区的教育改革和发展文献中，男孩往往被当作一个受监测的人群，公立学校教育更是如此，因此，男孩往往被认为不会被导致暴力和极端主义的激进意识形态所吸引。本文使用边界地区的理论来描绘像流离失所和冲突迁移等的物质、社会或情感的空间对塑造公民身份的影响。本研究运用经验性定性研究的方法，调查了来自安曼四所公立学校的

叙利亚城市男学生，揭示了泛阿拉伯和伊斯兰情感的公民身份。本文通过比较教育研究来呼吁儿童话语的理论，探讨了儿童和青少年试图建立公民身份的条件。

Cet article retrace le discours sur les réfugiés syriens dans l'État hôte, la Jordanie, où le taux de réfugiés par habitant est le plus élevé au monde. Grâce à son système de double vacation, les élèves jordaniens apprennent le matin et les élèves syriens réfugiés l'après-midi. Bien que les élèves des deux groupes apprennent le programme national jordanien conçu pour susciter la loyauté envers l'État-nation, on en sait peu sur l'identité civique des enfants et des jeunes syriens, en particulier celle des garçons. La littérature sur le développement et les réformes de l'éducation au Moyen-Orient cible souvent les garçons en tant que population à encadrer, et pour laquelle l'éducation publique est primordiale pour ne pas être séduite par des idéologies radicales menant à la violence et à l'extrémisme. La construction théorique des zones frontalières est utilisée pour décrire l'espace physique et social ou affectif qui façonne les identités civiques à la suite du déplacement et de la migration conflictuelle. Les résultats d'une étude empirique et qualitative menée auprès d'étudiants urbains syriens dans quatre écoles publiques à Amman révèlent des identités civiques fondées sur des sensibilités panarabes et islamiques. L'article, en effet, est un appel à une théorie de la voix des enfants par le biais d'une recherche en éducation comparée qui explore les conditions dans lesquelles les enfants et les jeunes tentent de construire leur identité civique.

В статье прослеживается дискурс о сирийских беженцах в принимающем государстве Иордании-стране с самым высоким в мире показателем беженцев на душу населения. По системе двойной смены иорданские ученики учатся утром и сирийские студенты-беженцы днем. Хотя учащиеся обеих смен учатся по иорданской национальной учебной программе, призванной обеспечить лояльность по отношению к национальному государству, мало что известно о гражданской идентичности сирийских детей и молодежи, особенно мальчиков. Реформы образования и литература по вопросам развития на Ближнем Востоке часто ориентируются на мальчиков как на население, которое должно контролироваться, и для которого государственное образование имеет первостепенное значение, поэтому их не соблазнят радикальные идеологии, ведущие к насилию и экстремизму. Теоретическая конструкция пограничных территорий используется для отображения физического и социального или аффективного пространства, формирующего гражданскую идентичность в результате перемещения и миграции конфликта. Результаты эмпирического качественного исследования, проведенного среди сирийских городских учащихся-мужчин в четырех государственных школах Аммана, свидетельствуют о гражданской идентичности, основанной на Панарабских и исламских чувствах. Эта статья, по сути, является призывом к теории детского голоса посредством исследований сравнительного образования, когда исследуются условия, в которых дети и молодежь пытаются построить свою гражданскую идентичность.

Este artículo describe el discurso sobre los refugiados sirios en el estado anfitrión de Jordania, el país con la mayor proporción de refugiados per cápita en el mundo. A través de su sistema de doble turno, los estudiantes jordanos reciben clases por la mañana y los refugiados sirios por la tarde. Aunque los estudiantes de ambos turnos aprenden el plan de estudios nacional de Jordania diseñado para producir lealtad al estado-nación, poco se sabe acerca de las identidades cívicas de los niños y jóvenes sirios, especialmente de los varones. Las reformas educativas y la literatura sobre desarrollo en Medio Oriente a menudo van dirigidas a los varones como una población que debe ser monitoreada, y para la cual la educación pública es primordial para que no sean atraídos por ideologías radicales que conducen a la violencia y el extremismo. La construcción teórica de las zonas fronterizas se utiliza para representar el espacio físico, social o afectivo que configura las identidades cívicas como resultado del desplazamiento y la migración de conflictos. Los resultados del estudio empírico y cualitativo realizado con estudiantes urbanos de sexo masculino sirios en cuatro escuelas públicas en Amman revelan identidades cívicas informadas por las sensibilidades panárabes e islámicas. El artículo, en efecto, es un llamado a una teoría sobre la voz infantil a través de una investigación de educación comparada que explore las condiciones en las que los niños y jóvenes intentan construir sus identidades cívicas.

Introduction

According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR, 2015), 60 million people have been displaced by conflict internationally, more than at any point since the Second World War (Culbertson & Constant, 2015). The United Nations has described the present Syrian conflict as the worst humanitarian crisis in the first part of this century (*The Lancet,* 2014). From 2011 to 2015 in Syria, 23 million people were displaced, including 7.6 million internally and 4 million externally as refugees; thus, at least one-half of Syria's population has been displaced by the Syrian civil war (UNHCR, 2015). After the almost 5 million Palestinian refugees (Nebehay, 2015), "this makes the Syrian refugees the second-largest refugee population in the world" (Culbertson & Constant, 2015, p. 1).

Jordan has the highest per capita ratio of refugees in the world (*Jordan Times,* 2016). Jordan has 9.5 million people (53% male and 47% female), of which 2.9 million are non-citizens, including refugees as well as legal and illegal immigrants (Ghazal, 2016). Refugees in Jordan are mainly from Palestine (over 2 million), Syria (1.4 million), and Iraq (1 million) (UNRWA, 2015). Syrian refugees now compose 20% of Jordan's population and, unlike Iraqi refugees, have fewer financial assets and need greater social assistance. Syrian refugees to Jordan come primarily from Deraa (47%), Damascus (20%), and Homs (17%), and over half of the refugees (52.4%) are under 18 years of age (Ahmadzadeh et al., 2014). Though refugees in Jordan maintain their refugee status with limited rights even after decades in the country, little is known about civic identities and the role of public schooling in identity formation.

It is estimated that more than 80% of Syrian refugees in Jordan live in urban areas rather than in camps, and about 28% are registered as inhabitants in the capital Amman, the highest cost city in the Arab world. According to the UNHCR (2015), two-thirds of Syrian families in Jordan's urban areas live below the absolute poverty line. Most alarming is that the majority of Syrian refugees in Jordan's urban areas are school-aged children (approximately 200,000 between 6 to 17 years old). The refugee crisis has led to overcrowded public schools and a double-shift system with Jordanian students taught in the morning and Syrian refugee students in the afternoon.

The absence of legal status or a foreseeable route to citizenship in Jordan raises a dilemma for educating Syrian and other refugees for citizenship (Kiwan, 2018). Jordan's public schools are tasked with developing in youth the shared values of tolerance and self-worth as global citizens rooted in Arab and Islamic identity (Abdullah II ibn Al Hussein, 2017). There are over 500 public schools that have been double-shifted to address the needs of Jordanian and Syrian refugee students (RAND, 2016). Double-shift schools, though, are not a new phenomenon in Jordan, as double-shifts had previously been applied to address classroom overcrowding and lack of school buildings for Jordanian students. Alarmingly, school dropout rates among Syrian refugees are twice the national average in Jordan compared to other host countries. As economic conditions continue to deteriorate in Jordan, there is concern that Jordan's host refugee status may fuel other national grievances and protests against government policies, with consequences for students and the nation.

Globally, the conditions in which children and youth attempt to build their citizenship are not well understood (Swartz & Arnot, 2013). In Jordan, young people are being called upon to develop civic competence while also forging a stable political future in the midst of poverty, social need, and mass immigration or displacement due to conflict and unrest. However, the constructions of citizen identity that young urban male Syrian refugees hold about themselves, each other, Jordan, the Middle East, and their world are largely unknown. The focus of this article therefore is to trace the identity discourse and attendant narrative of "nation" and

"citizen" within public (government) schools in Jordan. This work begins with defining identity and examining Jordan's educational foundations, rooted in Islam and Arabism, which serves as a discourse of belonging in the refugee host state. The concept of "borderland" is then applied to understand the urban Syrian refugee experience in Jordan. Finally, the findings from an empirical, qualitative study conducted at four public schools in Amman (three of which are double-shift) reveal how the civic identities of 44 Syrian refugee students in basic education (grades 6-10) are informed by pan-Arab and Islamic sensibilities. The goal of this study is to inform larger citizenship theory and identity discourse in Jordan and elsewhere through comparative research that considers the voices of Arab children and youth.

Defining identity in a refugee host state

The concept of identity or *hawiyya* (in Arabic) captures the notion of being—one's essential nature. Gecas and Burke (1995) conceive of the self as interdependent, contextual and relational, and permeable as opposed to independent, autonomous, and bounded. While identity refers to the characteristics that define who or what a person is (such as individuality and selfhood), the term is also associated with identification, recognition, naming, placing, discerning, and distinguishing one person or thing from another. For Norton (2013), identity refers to "how a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is structured across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future" (p. 45). Having a sense of identity allows children and youth to stand out as individuals, to develop a sense of well-being and importance, and to feel comfortable with various groups and cultures. This kind of education is seen to foster positive social engagement, academic achievement, and a defined purpose, all of which can have a stabilizing effect on society and provide a defense against vulnerable youth being given to extremism.

Identity can also signify a close similarity or affinity between people—a sameness or oneness. When extended to discussions of the nation, identity building is central to national development and support for, alignment with, closeness to, or congruence with the aims and purposes of the state. Özkirimli (2005) contends that nationalism is distinguishable from other political discourses due to the intersecting dimensions of the spatial, the temporal, the symbolic, and the everyday. The spatial dimension links physical territory to the conception of the modern nation-state as opposed to traditional forms of governance and collective social life (Phillips, 2013). The temporal dimension links the nation's past with the present and envisions a collective future. The symbolic dimension, through icons, symbols, and invented traditions, constructs "a collective consciousness or national subjectivity" (Özkirimli, 2005, p. 190), while the everyday dimension links the daily behavior of its population to the production of the nation (Phillips, 2013).

Castells (2010) theorizes identity formation by identifying three types of identity: legitimizing identity (reinforcement of the status quo), resistance identity (oppositional response due to stigmatization by the mainstream), and project identity (orientation toward social change) (cited in Yenkin, 2015). Power functions not only at the macro level, but also in the everyday social encounters, for instance, between students with differential access to material and symbolic resources (Norton, 2013). Contemporary debates about nation and citizen in the Arab world have not bifurcated state identity (*hawiyya wataniyya*) and Arab nationalism (*qawmiyya arabiyya*) but rather have focused on the meaning of a state that has both a national identity and an Arab identity (Telhami & Barnett, 2002, cited in Phillips, 2013). Gerges (2013), for example, has argued that Arabism, or the bond that exists between Arabic-speaking peoples, has created a durable sense of belonging transcendent of national boundaries.

The Jordanian identity promoted by the late King Hussein and the present monarchy under his son King Abdullah II is based on three distinguishable facets, namely Islam, Arabism, and Jordan's tribal character (Phillips, 2013). The regional role that Jordan plays as host to refugees

fleeing turmoil has the potential to destabilize the country politically and economically and to challenge Jordanian collective identity (Thompson & Arsalan, 2007). The Jordanian government therefore is concerned with national security and identity formation for purposes of social cohesion. Jordan has used "an identity discourse in which a layer of Arab identity has been constructed, reproduced and disseminated daily" (Gerges, 2013, p. xiii). As such, Jordan's public schools are involved in the identity formation process.

Brand (2006) and Massad (2001) assert that nation-building efforts position Jordan as a colonial creation under threat. In the opening of his speech to the newly-elected parliament in 1997, King Hussein referred to the country of Jordan as "the family or the tribe" whose purpose is to maintain its ideals, protect its "noble values", and move "its beautiful traditions and generous customs forward" (El-Sharif, 2015, p. 19). Jordan's "fuzzy nationalism" is the result of what Frisch (2002) regards as four disparate elements: lineage and family, civic identity, pan-Arab identity, and religion. Kubow and Kreishan (2014) have argued that "hybridity" though may be a better term to describe the cultural flows and interactions between nationalism and Arabism and tradition and modernity in Jordan. King Hussein's promotion of a multi-layered identity or fuzzy nationalism included religious and national elements, while his son King Abdullah II through his "Jordan first" campaign has more clearly asserted state nationalism over other identities (Phillips, 2013).

Attention to identity discourse within and outside of the nation's double-shift schools is key to understanding the attitudes, lived experiences, and markers of identity that shape Syrian refugee students' relationships between self and society. The views of children and youth, however, rarely inform educational policy and practice, much less policy discourse on nationalism or personal and collective identities. While the Arab Barometer survey has produced scientifically reliable data on the politically relevant attitudes of citizens aged 18 years and older in the Middle East-North Africa (MENA) region, there has not been a similar survey for the school-aged population (6-17 years old). Moreover, the various iterations of the IEA Civic Education Study of school-age students internationally never included an Arab country. Elsewhere I have argued for a theory of child voice to inform educational policy and practice by considering students' perspectives on society, citizenship, and identity based on their own lived experiences (Kubow & Ulm, 2015). This article, in effect, is a call towards a theory and practice of child voice, whereby the knowledge and experiences of children and youth feature largely in the values and visions for the future and used to inform and direct national policies. Before turning to the voices of Arab children and youth, the educational foundations of Jordan's national curriculum are explored.

Jordan's educational foundations: Islam, Arabism, and belonging

The educational system in Jordan is comprised of two years of preschool education, 10 years of compulsory basic education, and two years of secondary education followed by the *Tawjihi*, the General Certificate of Secondary Education Exam. Education Law no. 3 of 1994 mandates that all Jordanians, irrespective of gender, complete 10 years of basic education. The language of instruction in Jordan's public schools is Arabic, though Jordanians, Syrians, and other Arabs speak different Arabic dialects. Although basic and secondary education is free of charge in Jordan's public schools, costly private schools are preferred over free public schools in Amman. Thus, students from lower middle and poor socioeconomic backgrounds, including Syrian refugees, largely attend public schools in Jordan (Davis, 2012), with the Ministry of Education providing teaching and learning services to the majority of students (70%) in the country.

Public schooling, therefore, plays an important nation-building role, linking the monarchy and the people in a colonial creation (Anderson, 2005) and seeking to catalyze social development

and progress (Cantini, 2016). In 2003, Jordan began a nation-wide effort to improve the quality of its educational system through an "Education Reform for the Knowledge Economy" program (Kubow, 2010). His Majesty King Abdullah II identified a number of development priorities: "strengthening social identity and integration, linking education to labor market needs, increasing political participation, and dealing with the many effects of globalization" (Thompson & Arsalan, 2007, p. 51). In 2007, concepts of democracy and human rights were introduced into the curricula and national, ethnic, and humanitarian dimensions were emphasized (Abbas, 2012).

Like all public schools in Jordan, the double-shift system seeks to strengthen the government's legitimacy through a national curriculum premised on five educational foundations: intellectual, social, national, ethnic, and humanitarian. The intellectual foundations that guide schooling are based upon "faith in God and in the ideals of the Arab Nation" (al-Sheikh & al-Khalailah, 2012, p. 157). Islam—as an intellectual, moral, and behavioral system—fashions the conscience of the student to the community, nation, and Arab world, while the social foundations seek to balance political, social, and economic rights with duties toward social justice, cooperation, and shared responsibility. Through the curriculum's national foundations, students learn about Jordan's system of governance, including the parliament and monarchy, and through ethnic foundations they learn that the Arabic language is central to their identity and unity. Attention is given to important historical events (e.g., the Great Arab Revolt), national historical sites, and the Arab nature of Palestine. Finally, through various subjects (i.e., history, geography and civic education, Islamic education, artistic education, physical education, and music education), the intent of the humanitarian foundations is for students to be open to other peoples and cultures and to develop a global outlook to meet the needs of the modern world (al-Newashi, 2012).

Textbooks and teaching pedagogies are considered "powerful tools in the transfer of national identity, values, desired principles, symbols, and stereotypes" (Firer & Adwan, 2004, p. 14). For more than a quarter century in Jordan, Islamic studies rather than civic education was used to foster religious identity and social belonging; it was not until 1989 and 1992, respectively, that civic education was made part of the national curriculum in elementary and then secondary education (al-Sheikh & al-Khalailah, 2012). Textbooks used in the advanced level of basic education (grades 8-10) focus on Arab-Islamic civilization and its values, the Great Arab Revolt, and the nation's constitution. An analysis of Jordan's history textbooks by al-Khalidi (2012) revealed that most of the content featured males rather than females as societal actors and contributors (al-Khalidi, 2012). After grade 3, public school students attend single-sex classes. Other contemporary scholarship (Adely, 2012; Droeber, 2005; Jansen, 2006) has asserted that more is going on in schools than mere replication of the status quo through the national curriculum; rather, young people in Jordan are resisting and transforming schools' social reproductive roles and power relations (Cantini, 2016). Because people's identities are multiple and not solely or necessarily tied to political belonging in a single nation, a reconceptualization of citizenship is needed (Osler & Starkey, 2005).

Jordan's borderlands: The urban Syrian refugee experience

Anderson's (1991) thesis of nationalism portrays nations as "imagined communities" whose members view themselves as being in communion with others whom they have never met (Phillips, 2013). Nationality is often assumed to be the identity that rises above other identities (e.g., familial, tribal, ethnic, and religious). In Jordan, nationality has yet to transcend other identities to command allegiance to the nation-state (Muralidharan, 2012). Secularism as a kind of civic nationalism that locates the nation within a liberal construction of autonomy and rights seems to be at odds with cultural nationalism (Muralidharan, 2012). Culture—defined

as a system of ideas, beliefs, and values—enables the interpretation of human experience and a filtration through which understandings pass (Ramondo, 1991).

Nationalism, as such, is embedded in the politics of culture (Özkirimli, 2005; Phillips, 2013). Phillips (2013) argues that the government of Jordan has fostered and disseminated a distinctive state identity to the population, and "the discourse built has been deliberately ambiguous and multi-faceted involving state, Arab and, at times, religious identity" (p. 28). Jordan's multi-layered identity is tied to rule legitimation and support for its domestic and foreign policies "in the absence of a democratic mandate" (Phillips, 2013, p. 3). This argument is similar to that levied by Ayubi (1995) who claims that Arab nationalism has always been "a kulturnation/never a staatsnation, with little focus on the reality of what a united Arab state would look like" (p. 46). Thus, Jordan's official identity discourse as a refugee host state combines state nationalism and national Arabism to fit the politics of the day (Phillips, 2013).

The concept of borderland(s) offered by Anzaldúa (1999) speaks to both a physical and a social, affective space that constructs identity anew as a result of displacement, movement, and interaction. In the case of registered Syrian refugees, about 49% live in two of Jordan's northern governorates bordering Syria, namely Mafraq (26%) and Irbid (23%); the main host governorate is Amman (28%), with the remaining 23% residing in nine other governorates (Ahmadzadeh et al., 2014). The immense pressure placed on the Jordanian government necessitated a $150 million loan in 2014 to cover 80% of the costs of the Syrian refugee crisis, with the remaining 20% financed by the international community (Yukhananov, 2013; Alvdalat, 2015; Culbertson & Constant, 2015). The largest international donor to Jordan for aid to Syrian refugees is the United States Agency for International Development (Culbertson & Constant, 2015). Increasingly, Jordanian citizens view Syrian refugees as placing greater strain on Jordan's resources (Shteiwi, Walsh, and Klassen, 2014). Many Jordanians fear that "resources are being channeled away from their needs to meet the needs of the growing Syrian refugee communities, in education as well as other sectors" (Culbertson & Constant, 2015, p. 69). Consequently, the government of Jordan has stipulated that international contributions must be split 60% to Syrians and 40% to Jordanians in order to benefit local host communities as well (Ahmadzadeh et al., 2014).

The term *borderlands* refers to both "the physical, geographic borders of nation-states and less tangible borders that involve imagination and experience" (Krupar & Prins, 2016, p. 204). Borderland represents "a place of encounters between identities and capacities, meaning, and knowledge that permeates educational institutions and programs" (Giroux, 1997; cited in Krupar & Prins, 2016, p. 196). Borderlands therefore transcend the political border between states to create a social and physical space with its own unique historical and social dynamic (Baud & Van Schendel, 1997; Krupar & Prins, 2016) within a refugee host state. Due to extended displacement in Jordan, some Syrian families have reduced their food consumption, sold belongings, and taken their children out of school (Dineen, 2013). Wells and colleagues (2016) cite a myriad of psychosocial needs for Syrian refugees, including: environmental stressors (e.g., limited finances, housing, and work rights; discrimination; economically necessitated marriages; and interrupted education); psychosocial impacts (e.g., frustration and boredom; social isolation); distress (e.g., anger, fear, sadness; loss of hope and concentration); and symptoms (e.g., functional impairment). Panter-Brick and colleagues (2017) found that Syrian refugees aged 11-18 drew personal strength from seeing education as important and maintaining their ambition.

As Krupar and Prins (2016) make clear, the border is internal (within a person) and external (physical). In the case of double-shift schools in Jordan, the separate shifts place Syrian refugee students on the physical and figurative margins of Jordan's education system, fostering (apart from the passing times between the morning and afternoon sessions) physical separation and, for some, social exclusion. The national curriculum also serves to reinforce Jordanian as

opposed to Syrian identity and history. Although almost 70% of Jordan's population is less than 30 years of age, "there seems to be little to no specific attention to youth in educational spaces" (Cantini, 2016, p. 2). The study of education in Jordan and the Arab region has focused mainly on policy-oriented research, leaving the lives of young people largely unexplored (Adely, 2009). "Given the centrality of educational spaces" (Adely, 2009, p. 373), especially government (public) schools, and given that "ideological and material dimensions go hand in hand in co-creating the meaning, and the effects, of education" (Cantini, 2016, p. 22), research that explores identity formation of Arab children and youth in urban borderlands in host refugee states is urgently needed.

During the 2013-2014 academic year, the number of Syrian refugee students enrolled in public primary and secondary schools in Jordan was 100,381 outside camps and 20,174 inside camps (Ahmadzadeh et al., 2014). By 2015, there were 125,000 Syrians in Jordan's public schools. The cost to educate one Syrian student that year was $1,544; the cost to educate all Syrian refugees in Jordan's public schools was $193 million (Culbertson & Constant, 2015). For Syrian refugee students, Jordan's double-shift schools are often located far away from their homes, making transportation expensive and sometimes unsafe. An outcome of the double-shift system is a reduction in instructional time for all students—Jordanian and Syrian alike, with approximately 4.5 hours of learning time per shift.

More Syrian refugee girls than boys are enrolled in Jordan's public schools. The Ministry of Education does not allow those who have been out of school for three or more years to enroll in Jordan's public schools, and some youth who have missed a year or more of school feel embarrassed to be in classrooms with younger children (Culbertson & Constant, 2015). Labor laws prevent Syrian refugee adults from being hired as teachers in Jordan's public schools, and unemployed, inexperienced, and recent university Jordanian graduates are often hired to teach Syrian refugee students in the afternoon shifts. Inexperienced teachers, though, may be preferred to no learning opportunities or the protection a school can provide (Culbertson & Constant, 2015). It is projected that Syrian refugees may remain in Jordan for 20 years or more (Culbertson & Constant, 2015), which means more young people will compete for work, university, and public resources (Carrion, 2015).

Male Syrian refugee experience in urban double-shift schools

This section discusses the findings from eight focus groups conducted with 44 Syrian refugee students (grades 6-10) at four, all-boy schools in two different education directorates in Amman, Jordan.[1] Focus groups or "group depth interviews" are composed of a selected group of people who share their beliefs on a particular topic. The role of the moderator is to elicit responses that enable participants to consider their experiences and perspectives (Krueger, 1988; Morgan, 1988). Focus groups are especially effective for obtaining data from children and youth, as peer interactions lead to insights and opportunities for students to agree, expound, or counter the points they hear.[2] Other benefits are that groups can be assembled on short notice and data obtained quickly, resulting in fewer interruptions to the school day.

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[1] This research is part of a larger qualitative study that examined constructions of citizen identity in male and female Jordanian and refugee students in 10 primary and secondary public schools in Amman, Jordan. Nine of the 10 schools were newly established double-shift schools.

[2] The researcher has had success conducting focus groups with children and youth in diverse international contexts, including South Africa (Kubow & Berlin, 2013; Kubow & Ulm, 2015) and Jordan (Kubow, 2010; Kubow & Kreishan, 2014).

I spent five months in the field and presented myself as an American professor interested in the views of children and youth regarding citizenship and identity in Jordan's double-shift schools. Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval was obtained from the researcher's home institution, as well as approval from the Hashemite Kingdom's Ministry of Education (MoE). The MoE notified the school principals about the approved research, and the school administrators then identified classes and interested students who came to a designated room in the school for the focus group. Child assent for study participation was obtained by reading an IRB protocol aloud to students that introduced me, the study, and the research process. Students had the opportunity to ask me questions about the study and to assent to participation by staying in the room or leaving. Those who chose to participate were assured that there were no right or wrong answers, and that they could respond if they wanted to (or not) to any question during the focus group. The Syrian refugee boys, who ranged in age from 12-16 years, discussed issues of citizen identity, Syria, and schooling in their host nation of Jordan. The focus groups were conducted in Arabic with an interpreter who immediately shared the responses in English, enabling my direct interaction with the students and opportunities for immediate clarification, elaboration, and follow-up questions. The focus groups were digitally recorded and ranged in length from 30-60 minutes.

Double-shifts were created at Schools 1-3 to address overcrowding, with Syrian refugees educated in an afternoon shift separate from Jordanian students taught in the morning shift. School 4 has only one-shift due to a preference at the school for Syrian and Jordanian students to be mixed. The afternoon shift at School 1 serves grades 1-10. Nineteen Syrian boys (7 boys in grade 6; 6 boys in grade 7; 6 boys in grade 8) participated in focus groups at School 1. At School 2, the afternoon shift serves refugees in grades 1-8. Fifteen Syrian boys (7 boys in grade 7 and 8 boys in grade 8) participated in focus groups at School 2. School 3 serves refugees in grades 1-11. Five boys (3 in grade 9 and 2 in grade 10) participated in focus groups at School 3.[3] At School 4, the 20-25 Syrian students attend one-shift with Jordanian students. Five Syrian boys in grade 9 participated in a focus group at School 4.

Data was transcribed verbatim from Arabic into English by a Jordanian transcriber with exceptional expertise. I drew upon Rubin and Rubin (2012) to ascertain emic codes emerging from student responses and etic codes from key concepts in my review of the literature. I also considered how students' responses converged or diverged (Charmaz, 2005) among their peers. Separate debriefing meetings were held with each of the three female Jordanian interpreters and the one female Jordanian transcriber to uncover additional contextual and cultural meanings in the data.

School 1

At School 1, Syrian refugee boys in grade 6 liked the afternoon shift because they feel comfortable with each other, do not have to use the Jordanian dialect, and come ready to learn and are not sleepy. The boys' opinions differed, though, as to how effective teaching is in the afternoon shift. When I asked about the meaning of the word "nation," the boys viewed nation as the Arab nation or Arab world, as opposed to one specific nation such as Syria or Jordan. A pan-Arab identity was supported by their metaphorical reference to "one hand," which they said represented collaboration and unity of the Arab nation—one body with no differences among the separate Arab nation-states. Only one of the seven boys viewed "nation" as Syria. Democracy was understood as "freedom" (male 7) and freedom as not being made "to do something you don't want to do" (male 2). Outside of school, the boys said they play soccer,

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[3] The two focus groups conducted with male refugee students at School 3 included Iraqis and one Libyan student. For purposes here, only the data from the Syrian refugees is reported.

basketball, volleyball, karate, and PlayStation. When I asked how it felt to participate in the focus group, the students said it was good to "empty our hearts."

Similar to grade 6, the Syrian boys in grade 7 at School 1 were positive about the afternoon shift, reporting that they felt comfortable learning among Syrians and that they had time to study and play in the morning before school. The seventh graders, like their younger peers, also viewed "nation" as the Arab "world" (male 5)—"one united nation" (male 1 and male 6) composed of "people who follow the Prophet [Muhammad]" (male 5). The boys described the Arab world as people who are "strongly attached to each other" (male 3) and bound by the religion of Islam. The seventh graders said they are not learning about contemporary Syria in school because of the war and they are not learning about America or any other Western country. Rather, the boys reported that the curriculum focuses on ancient Arab civilizations, the wonders of the world, the traditions of Jordan and its national anthem, and respect for people.

When I asked the Syrian eighth grade boys to describe their experience in the afternoon shift at School 1, one boy (male 4) poignantly replied:

> It is very difficult, as we have come here from Syria, to a different environment and a different situation. The school shift is very long, and the school is far away from home. We attend school all days of the week, except for Fridays. We stay at school until a late hour of the day, until after sunset. You rarely find Syrian students who live at a close distant from their schools.

Despite these drawbacks, the students said they are achieving higher scores in their classes in the afternoon shift compared to previously when they were in the morning shift with Jordanian students.

The eighth graders at School 1 said they are learning about the history, traditions, and cuisine of Jordan, about the monarchy and civilizations that lived in Jordan, and about democracy in Jordan. As one student summarized: "The food, independence, wars, customs and traditions, that's it" (male 5, grade 8, School 1). In relation to their democratic knowledge, the boys spoke of the system of governance, types of councils, the three authorities (executive, legislative, and judiciary), and parliament's two houses (the senate and the representatives), but not about their role as civic participants. Aside from some attention to Syrian authors and poets, the boys reported learning nothing about Syria in school. When I asked how that makes them feel, they replied:

> Male 5: We feel lost.
>
> Male 3: If somebody asks you something about Syria, you don't know the answer.
>
> Male 4: When someone is an expatriate living away from home, how do you expect him to learn about his country? Some of us left Syria when we were in Grade 1 or 2, and some of us had not been enrolled in schools.
>
> Male 1: Some of us were not aware of anything—where they are, where they were; they don't recall what it [Syria] looks like.

For these boys, their hope is for the liberation of Syria so that they can "go back home" to see their relatives, to "rebuild our country" (male 4), and to "help those who are oppressed" (male 3).

The eighth graders at School 1 also shared that schooling in Jordan, unlike Syria, focuses on religion, which they view as a good thing. When asked about the word "nation," the boys spoke of cooperation, unity, "the nation of Muhammad, meaning Islam" (male 3), "being one person" (male 5), and "being one hand" (male 3). Male 1 explained that "to be as one hand

and one body; actually it is a metaphor, if a problem in the body, then all go down" (male 1). I then asked them what the characteristics are of an Islamic nation, to which they replied: "memorizing the Qu'ran" and "helping those in need." As male 4 elaborated: "The stronger people help the weaker ones; the values and ethics are important. Religion is how you treat others. For example, he's Christian and I am Muslim, but there shouldn't be any difference between us" (male 4). For these boys, "foreigner" was understood as Westerner, and they said they are not learning about the West in the school curriculum.

School 2

Syrian refugees in grade 7 at School 2 described their schooling experience in Jordan as learning about "how to get along with other people" (male 5), meeting new friends, and "when you have a good teacher at the school, you feel that they are like a father to you" (male 6). The boys said they had Jordanian friends in the morning shift and that they go to their homes and play together outdoors. In their host nation school, they are learning about Jordan's unique archaeological sites (Petra, Jerash, and the Dead Sea), Jordan's values, customs, and traditions, and the monarchy and system of rule. In their Social Science class, the boys said they are learning that dialogue is important to resolving disputes and that they should seek the help of authority figures rather than taking matters into their own hands. Male 6 said there used to be fighting in the school, "but the school is sorting things out." When I asked the group about the values that Syrians hold, male 7 replied that, "we understand each other and hold Islamic values." To be Arab, according to the boys, is to be Muslim, to pray and fast, to speak Arabic, and to "know that Arabs have a long history" (male 7), having "made their way through from humble beginnings to now being advanced and up to date with modern technologies" (male 6).

At School 2, the discussion among Syrian eighth graders focused on Jordan's peace and security and commonalities among Arabs, as opposed to differences between Syrians and Jordanians. One student (male 7) expressed his appreciation of King Abdullah II because Jordan is a secure and safe place to live, and he was grateful for the kindness and support shown by "our Jordanian brothers" who have helped him and other Syrian refugees adjust to life in Jordan. A peer (male 8) supported that view:

> When we were in Syria, we were displaced, and we were living in fear. There was no safety or security. But when we arrived in Jordan, we felt the safety and stability the country offers. People welcomed us not as displaced people or refugees, but as neighbors and brothers.

For the eighth graders at School 2, being Arab and descendants of Prophet Muhammad "is something to be proud of" (male 7). When I asked if one could be an Arab and not Muslim, the students said "yes." The values that hold Arabs together, according to the boys, are common traditions and customs, "they share one world/homeland" (male 8), and that Arab hospitality is a "deeply-rooted trait" (male 5). To illustrate the latter, male 8 told of an incident when someone attempted to kill Prophet Muhammad, but the killer had a change of heart due to the kind way the Prophet treated him.

School 3

Being Syrian is a source of pride for the ninth grade boys at School 3 because they are part of the Arab world. Honesty and truthfulness, as well as helping the elderly and those with disabilities, were cited as Islamic values. An Arab Islamic identity was also central to these students, as illustrated in the following comment by male 8:

> Arab values are deep rooted, and we were raised to respect those values. The Arab world is our origin and history, and, if we let go of that, we let go of ourselves and our existence. And if we let go of our religion and Islamic values, we let go of everything that makes us who we are.

These young people value their religion and spoke at length about it. When I asked the boys to share their views about the conflict in Syria, male 8 was very passionate in his response, perceiving the war as God's judgment on those who have strayed from Islam:

> The war is part of a worldwide purification process. Some Syrians, not all, were criminals and murderers and had deviated from God's teachings. Now you see Syrians closer to God, praying and being faithful so that God will save them. Some wars are a curse to humanity, but this war in Syria is serving to purify the people. Now people are closer to God, so that God will help them.

His peer (male 4) disagreed, stating that, "the war doesn't differentiate between criminals and good people or children. Islam did not teach us to bomb everybody. Those criminals can be judged by God, or they should be sent to court." However, male 8 insisted that due to the war, "people are placing their faith in God to bring better days and alleviate their suffering." Male 7 also disagreed with his peer's statement because "God teaches us to be thankful in good days and bad days." Due to his family's experience in Syria however, male 8 was adamant that the Syrian war was serving a purifying function:

> All those who disagree with me have not experienced what I saw. My father was arrested, and [a] few days later he was wounded in the head and was kept in ICU [intensive care unit] for a long time. My uncle was at home when the police held him and beat him. He had wounds and broken limbs and had to go to the hospital for two months. My maternal uncle was shot in the leg. This uncle used to have tattoos, but, after the incident, he had his tattoos removed because tattoos are against the teachings of God, so it was his way to repent and ask God's forgiveness. Not everybody has experienced such kind of incidents, and some lost faith because of such incidents. But, through my experience, this war turned people into believers in God. My uncle also became more patient and accepted his fate (his injury). So again, war purifies people. In Ghouta, people became strong believers. War should not last long, I agree with my colleagues, but when there's war it triggers people to ask for forgiveness and it brings them closer to God.

The ninth grade Syrian boys at School 3 were in agreement that the teachers in the afternoon shift are compassionate and try to encourage them because the teachers believe the war has had adverse effects on them. The boys were uncertain as to what the future holds for them, speaking of extended family members who have immigrated to the U.S. and Europe and parents who are seeking to immigrate. For male 8, his family looks at their time in Jordan "as a holiday or vacation, in the hopes that things will get better in Syria and we can go back." Taking inspiration from the Qu'ran, he believes that:

> Syria will be back to what it used to be, but it has to be purified first. Palestinians left their homeland 23 years ago, and they thought that they would go back in a few days, and they have not returned even until this day. Islam said that eventually the Jews will leave Palestine, and the Palestinians will regain their country. (male 8, grade 9, School 3)

School 4

In contrast to a Syrian tenth grader (male 2) at School 3 who said he had time to study prior to the afternoon shift, Syrian boys in grade 9 in the one-shift at School 4 said they have been taunted by Jordanian students who call them by their country of origin ("Hey, Syrians!") rather than by their names and who mimic their Syrian accent (male 2). The Syrian boys said that if a Jordanian student has a father or mother who is Syrian then that makes them feel a connection with their Jordanian peer. They also shared that their parents are stressed about life in Jordan

and are applying for immigration to the U.S. As male 1 summarized, "We have no future in Jordan."

One Syrian ninth grader (male 2) at School 4 felt only a "very minimal sense of unity" among Arabs, having previously enrolled at a double-shift school where teachers were uninterested in delivering lessons. This made going to school there useless and his eventual move to the one-shift school a necessity. As mentioned across all of the focus groups, ninth graders at School 4 said, "there's no mention of Syria at all in the school" (male 2). When I asked if the school should talk about Syria, he replied that Jordanians would say to Syrians that "now you are better than us" (male 2) because you have your own curriculum. Thus, the boys concluded that a separate curriculum for Syrians will not happen; rather, "we learn about the history of Jordan, the geography, and the climate, etc. You forget there's anything named Syria" (male 2). Because the school does not focus on the war in Syria, the students say they learn about it from social media, mainly Facebook.

The Syrian ninth graders at School 4 had a lengthy discussion about the Syrian war. For male 1, "The people [in Syria] got divided into two fronts: some want their freedom, and others are okay with the status quo" and "each party wants to be in the right" (male 2). Male 4 spoke of "the interference of neighboring countries and others," citing Iran, Russia, and Turkey as meddling in Syria. His peer (male 2) stated that, "It's no more a civil war in Syria; it's a war among other countries on Syrian land without destroying their own." The boys said there is nothing left in Syria, as homes are destroyed, and it will be difficult for people there for a long time. Despite the hardships, the ninth graders said that maintaining their Syrian identity was important to them. For male 4, "being Syrian means belonging to my country, preserving our identity. And no matter what happens, I will continue to love Syria, and I will not give up on it." While one student (male 4) claimed that, "Bilad Al-Sham [the Levant] is all the same. Bilad Al-Sham should stay as one hand. The Prophet has urged this unity," some peers disagreed as to whether Jordan is one (or unified) with Syria.

Their experience at the "mixed" one-shift school with Jordanian students has not made the ninth grade Syrian boys feel as if they are truly integrated or that they fully belong. The Syrian students spoke of how Jordanians like to pick fights with them:

> For example, I would be sitting somewhere, and a Jordanian would shove me, and I don't respond. Then he shoves me again and again until a fight ensues. They feel that we are taking their space, that we are intruding on their country. They have reason to feel this way. (male 2, grade 9, School 4)

In addition to being made to feel "that we are consuming their resources," said male 4, "if we get into trouble with anybody, we can be deported right away." Overall, the boys feel that learning about the history of Jordan will not prepare them for the future, especially if they move to another country. Thus, schooling should focus on "the history of other Arab countries and countries of the world" (male 2).

Conclusion

Because schools are microcosms to view larger social forces and to understand how those forces manifest in students' civic identities, there is great need to study the impact of public schooling on identity formation for Syrian refugees in Jordan's urban, double-shift schools. Focus group data from four public schools in Amman reveal that an Arab Islamic identity is strong among most Syrian refugee boys who, for the most part, view schooling as heavily focused on Jordanian history and historical sites but devoid of attention to the West and other Arab countries, including Syria and the on-going war there.

The conflict in Syria is a delicate issue, and Arabs are divided as to how they view the events. Jordan is torn between its position of helping an Arab neighbor and maintaining its relations with international allies. While some believe that Syrian President Bashar al-Assad is a dictator who is killing his people, others believe that foreign powers are having a proxy war in Syria and are fighting over Syria's resources. Both sides look at the involvement of the U.S. and Russia, among others, differently, with many seeing it as interference in Arab affairs.

Further research is crucial to understand the kind of identity and community constructed by Syrian refugee students in host countries. A key question to explore is the role that refugee students in Jordan and elsewhere play in legitimizing, reproducing, critiquing, and challenging identities promoted by public schooling in those host nation-states. For the majority of Syrian boys in my study of public schools in Amman, the identity narrative is a pan-Arab and Islamic one. Adherence to a national identity promoted by the state of Jordan or allegiance to Jordan may not be forming, despite the national curriculum that focuses heavily on the history, historical sites, and heritage of Jordan. However, more comparative research on youth identity is needed.

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Geographical inquiry as a transcultural vehicle for education in sustainable development: The centrality of a new vision

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Early debates around the concept of sustainable development were defined by discussion around the degree to which both natural and human environments were included. At the 1987 World Commission on Environment and Development, it was decided that the natural environment should be seen as an integral part of human existence, and not some entity that was related, yet divorced, from it. However, more recently, the idea of sustainable development has tended to be centred mainly around its natural environmental applications at the expense of the human, framed within the context that the world's natural environments, along with their associated resources, need to be used and managed in such a way as to make them available for future generations.

Educational approaches that emphasise this prevailing, one-sided, largely dehumanised notion of sustainable development have consequently tended to be more scientific in nature, revolving around an understanding of the mutual dependence between the four spheres of the natural environment: the biosphere, atmosphere, hydrosphere, and lithosphere. The existence of people as a key aspect of the equation has been lost or diminished, as exemplified in the argued negation of climate change as an issue by various conservative political forces around the world.

This paper argues that the decline in the teaching of school geography as a discipline in countries such as Australia has contributed greatly to this distortion of education of sustainable development. It contends that the features of the geographical approach to inquiry, particularly in its wider conceptualisation of fieldwork (Kidman & Casinader, 2017), and centred on human-physical interaction within places, provides a much more effective means of developing a sustainable development education, one that is more cogniscent of the deeper aspects of the concept. The *transcultural* context that is enabled by a geographical approach enables learnings about human interactions with the natural environment to be seen, diminishing or minimising the elements of contemporary cultural imperialism that have continued to affect the sustainable development debate.

تم تعريف المناقشات المبكرة حول مفهوم التنمية المستدامة من خلال مناقشة حول درجة شمولية البيئة الطبيعية والبشرية. في اللجنة العالمية للبيئة والتنمية عام 1987 ، تقرر أن البيئة الطبيعية يجب أن تُعتبر جزءًا لا يتجزأ من الوجود البشري ، وليس بعض الكيانات المرتبطة بها ، ولكن مفصولة عنها. ومع ذلك ، في الآونة الأخيرة ، تميل فكرة التنمية المستدامة إلى

التركيز بشكل أساسي على تطبيقاتها البيئية الطبيعية على حساب الإنسان ، في إطار السياق الذي تحتاج فيه بيئات العالم الطبيعية ، إلى جانب الموارد المرتبطة بها ، إلى استخدامها وادارتها بطريقة تجعلها متاحة للأجيال القادمة.

إن المناهج التعليمية التي تؤكد على هذا المفهوم السائد من جانب واحد ، والذي هو إنساني للغاية ، للتنمية المستدامة ، تميل إلى أن تكون علمية أكثر في طبيعتها ، وتدور حول فهم الاعتماد المتبادل بين المجالات الأربعة للبيئة الطبيعية: المحيط الحيوي ، الغلاف الجوي ، الغلاف المائي، والغلاف الصخري. فلقد ضاع أو تضاءل وجود البشر كجانب أساسي في المعادلة ، كما هو ظاهر في نفي تغير المناخ كمشكلة من قبل مختلف القوى السياسية المحافظة في جميع أنحاء العالم.

تجادل هذه المقالة أن الانخفاض في تدريس الجغرافيا كتخصص في المدرسة في دول مثل أستراليا قد ساهم بشكل كبير في هذا التشوه للتعليم من أجل التنمية المستدامة. وتؤكد أن المميزات للمنهج الجغرافي في البحث ، لا سيما في التصور الأوسع للعمل الميداني (كيدمان وكاسيندر، ٢٠١٧) والتي تركز على التفاعل الإنساني - المادي في الأماكن المختلفة، توفر وسيلة أكثر فاعلية لتطوير تعليم التنمية المستدامة ، بشكل إدراكي أكبر وأعمق للمفهوم. إن السياق من خلال الثقافات الذي يمكّنه المنهج الجغرافي يجعل التعرف على التفاعلات البشرية مع البيئة الطبيعية واضح ، ويقلص أو يقلل عناصر الإمبريالية الثقافية المعاصرة التي استمرت في التأثير على نقاش التنمية المستدامة.

关于可持续发展概念的早期辩论同时关注了自然环境和人类环境的讨论。1987 年世界环境与发展委员会也认为自然环境应被视为人类生存的一个组成部分，而不是某些与之相关但尚未分离的实体。然而，近期关于可持续发展的概念的讨论却只主要围绕自然环境方面的应用而忽视了人类，其建立的语境认为世界自然环境及其相关资源需要使用和管理才能保证它们可供后代使用。

用教育的方式强调这种普遍的、片面的、非人性化的可持续发展概念，往往在结果上更趋于科学的本质，并强调对自然环境四个领域之间相互依赖关系的理解：生物圈，大气层，水圈和岩石圈。因此，正如世界各地各种保守政治力量否定气候变化所证明的那样，人们不再作为等式的一个关键方面存在。

本文认为，如澳大利亚的一些国家减少地理作为一个学科的教学的现象已经严重地扭曲了可持续发展教育。本文认为，探究地理方法的特征，特别是其更广泛的实地工作的概念（Kidman&Casinader，2017），以及区域内人与物理互动为中心的这些特征为发展可持续发展教育提供了更有效的手段，同时能促进对此概念的深层理解。通过地理方法实现的跨文化情景能够使人们了解人类与自然环境的相互作用，并有助于减少持续影响着可持续发展的辩论的当代文化帝国主义。

Les premiers débats sur le concept de développement durable ont été définis par une discussion sur le degré d'implication des environnements naturels et humains. Lors de la Commission mondiale sur l'environnement et le développement de 1987, il a été décidé que l'environnement naturel devrait être considéré comme faisant partie intégrante de l'existence humaine et non comme une entité liée, bien que séparée de celle-ci. Cependant, plus récemment, l'idée de développement durable a eu tendance à être centrée principalement sur ses applications environnementales naturelles aux dépens de l'homme, circonscrit dans le contexte où les environnements naturels de la planète, ainsi que leurs ressources, doivent être utilisés et gérés de manière à les rendre disponibles pour les générations futures.

Les approches éducatives qui mettent en avant cette notion dominante, largement déshumanisée, du développement durable ont par conséquent tendance à être de nature plus scientifique, axées sur une compréhension de la dépendance mutuelle entre les quatre sphères de l'environnement naturel: la biosphère, l'atmosphère, l'hydrosphère et la lithosphère. L'existence de la population en tant qu'aspect essentiel de l'équation a été perdue ou réduite, comme en témoigne la négation argumentée du changement climatique en tant que question soulevée par diverses forces politiques conservatrices à travers le monde.

Cet article affirme que le déclin de l'enseignement de la géographie scolaire en tant que discipline dans des pays tels que l'Australie a largement contribué à cette distorsion de l'éducation au développement durable. Il soutient que les caractéristiques de l'approche géographique de l'enquête, notamment dans sa conceptualisation plus large du travail sur le terrain (Kidman & Casinader, 2017), centrée sur l'interaction homme-physique dans les lieux, constituent un moyen beaucoup plus efficace de développer une éducation pour le développement durable, celui qui est plus conscient des aspects plus profonds du concept. Le contexte transculturel rendu possible par une approche géographique permet de mieux comprendre les interactions entre l'homme et l'environnement naturel, diminuant ou minimisant les éléments de l'impérialisme culturel contemporain qui ont continué d'influencer le débat sur le développement durable.

Первые обсуждения концепции устойчивого развития определялись тем, в какой степени учитывались как природные, так и антропогенные условия. На сессии Всемирной комиссии по окружающей среде и развитию 1987 года было принято решение о том, что природную среду следует рассматривать как неотъемлемую часть человеческого существования, а не как некое образование, связанное с ней, но отделенное от нее. Однако в последнее время идея устойчивого развития, как правило, сосредоточивается главным образом на ее применении в природной среде в ущерб интересам человека в контексте того, что природная среда мира наряду со связанными с ней ресурсами должна использоваться и управляться таким образом, чтобы сделать ее доступной для будущих поколений.

Образовательные подходы, которые подчеркивают это преобладающее, одностороннее, в значительной степени дегуманизированное понятие устойчивого развития, как правило, носят более научный характер, вращаясь вокруг понимания взаимной зависимости между четырьмя сферами природной среды: биосферой, атмосферой, гидросферой и литосферой. Существование людей как ключевого аспекта этого уравнения было утрачено или уменьшено, о чем свидетельствует аргументированное отрицание различными консервативными политическими силами во всем мире проблемы изменения климата.

В настоящем документе утверждается, что сокращение преподавания школьной географии как дисциплины в таких странах, как Австралия, в значительной степени способствовало такому искажению образования в области устойчивого развития. В нем заявляется, что особенности географического подхода к расследованию, особенно в его более широкой концептуализации работы на местах (Kidman & Casinader, 2017), и с упором на взаимодействие между людьми и физическими объектами, обеспечивают гораздо более эффективные средства разработки образования в области устойчивого развития, которое в большей степени учитывает более глубокие аспекты этой концепции. Транскультурный контекст, который обеспечивается географическим подходом, позволяет увидеть знания о взаимодействии человека с окружающей средой, уменьшая или сводя к минимуму элементы современного культурного империализма, которые продолжают влиять на обсуждение вопросов устойчивого развития.

Los debates iniciales alrededor del concepto de desarrollo sustentable se definieron por discusiones en torno al grado en que fueron incluidos tanto los entornos naturales como los humanos. En la Comisión Mundial sobre el Medio Ambiente y el Desarrollo de 1987, se decidió que el entorno natural debía considerarse como parte integral de la existencia humana, y no como una entidad que aunque relacionada, estaba divorciada de ella. Sin embargo, más recientemente la idea de desarrollo sustentable ha tendido a centrarse principalmente en sus aplicaciones ambientales naturales a expensas de lo humano, enmarcada en el contexto de que los entornos naturales del mundo, junto con sus recursos asociados, deben utilizarse y gestionarse de tal manera que estén disponibles para las generaciones futuras.

Los enfoques educativos que enfatizan esta noción predominante, unilateral y en gran parte deshumanizada del desarrollo sustentable consecuentemente tienden a ser de naturaleza más científica, y giran en torno a la comprensión de la dependencia mutua entre las cuatro esferas del entorno natural: la biosfera, la atmósfera, la hidrosfera y la litosfera. La existencia de personas como un aspecto clave de la ecuación se ha perdido o disminuido, como se ejemplifica en la negación argumentada sobre el cambio climático como un problema de varias fuerzas políticas conservadoras en todo el mundo.

Este documento plantea que la declinación en la enseñanza de la geografía escolar como disciplina en países como Australia ha contribuido enormemente con la distorsión de la educación sobre desarrollo sustentable. Sostiene, además, que las características del enfoque geográfico en la indagación, particularmente en su conceptualización más amplia de trabajo de campo (Kidman & Casinader, 2017), y centrada en la interacción físico-humana en algunos lugares, proporcionan un medio mucho más efectivo de desarrollar una educación para el desarrollo sustentable que sea más consciente de los aspectos más profundos del concepto. El contexto transcultural que habilita un enfoque geográfico permite apreciar aprendizajes sobre las interacciones humanas con el entorno natural a ser visto, disminuyendo o minimizando los elementos del imperialismo cultural contemporáneo que han afectado continuamente el debate sobre desarrollo sustentable.

Introduction: Underneath the radar – a dilemma for education for sustainable development

Educationally, it can be argued that one of the enduring legacies of the late 20th century was the establishment of *sustainability* as a conceptual theme (Firth & Winter, 2007). What appears to have been forgotten, however, in an age where the idea of sustainability is frequently considered as a stand-alone concept in primary and secondary education, is that its original emergence entailed a far more complex and interwoven entity than its current mono-dimensional image might imply.

Historically, it can be said that the concept of sustainability surfaced in the 1980s as being innately associated with the improvement of quality of life for people in a region. The two ideas were incorporated into the notion of *sustainable development*, or the consideration that countries needed to improve the growth of their economies and societies in a such a manner that made it possible for such improvement in living standards to continue in future generations without losing the quality of environmental conditions that had enabled that economic and lifestyle growth in the first place. However, as this paper will assert, the connection with human existence as an equal priority in the context of sustainability education has become less visible, to the point where the original *cultural* essentiality of sustainability, as part of sustainable development, has been lost to a large degree. The shift, or divergence, has been best encapsulated by the emergence of two supposedly competing global acronyms EfS (Education for Sustainability) and ESD (Education for Sustainable Development). The reality, we argue, is that EfS is a misleading redundancy, because of a more comprehensive and realistic conception and implementation of sustainability education within the parameters of ESD.

Such a position is not a promotion of an argument that the integral importance of the health of the natural environment should be downgraded in any way. The notion of environmental sustainability, or at least the need to be concerned about the way in which the natural environment was being used, or abused, has a long history (see, for example, Vogt 1949), but it is our view that, as a high-profile matter of public debate, the concept became more prevalent in the mainstream literature in the early 1970s. It is at this time that writers such as John Passmore (1974) were being very direct in their concerns about environmental stability and the imperative that humans needed to see themselves as 'stewards' of the Earth, and not just unthinking users.

By the 1980s, the notion that the long-term health of the environment needed to be taken into account as part of any national development plan for economic growth had begun to take hold. The necessity of working globally to improve people's living conditions came to the fore of international consciousness, underscored by the declaration of the Third Development Decade (1981-1990) and the World Decade for Cultural Development (1988-1997) by the United Nations. For many working in the field of Sustainable Development, the 1992 Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro (more formally known as the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development), along with the declarations of unified action, marked the high point of global cooperation and agreement, and a significant stage in people-environment relationships, as it "was the starting point for the international acceptance of the model of sustainable development as a combination of developmental and environmental effects, including social and economic dimensions" (Schreiber & Siege, 2016, p. 30).

However, we would argue that, in terms of Sustainability Education, a far more fundamental and significant event was the earlier 1987 World Commission on Environment and Development. The publication that derived from that work, *Our Common Future*, or the Brundtland Report (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987), became the catalyst for young researchers and activists in the field, and was the first document to fully encapsulate and elucidate the dimensions of what was meant by 'sustainable development'. Most significantly, the document highlighted that the natural environment was not merely an

entity in itself, but an integral part of human existence, related to it and yet separate. Sustainable development was, therefore, a holistic concept that incorporated both the world of human endeavour and the natural/physical environment in which human lives operated.

Similar emphases were to be found in other contemporaneous documents as global affairs became more saturated with incipient worldwide environmental concerns, such as global warming and the greenhouse effect. A common theme was the necessity of finding a balance between the needs of a growing population and a pressurised physical environment, such as in Agenda 21 (United Nations, 1992)—itself a direct consequence of the Rio Summit—and the Belgrade Charter, which acknowledged the need for both individual and collective responsibility in meeting these challenges (UNESCO, 1977).

Unfortunately, whilst this all-encompassing perception of sustainable development has been maintained in statements of global policy (for example, UNESCO, 2017) notions of school-based sustainability education have become increasingly divorced from this developmental context. With a few major exceptions, which will be addressed later in this article, in the reality of the classroom, EfS has replaced ESD, resulting in an incomplete and ill formed knowledge and understanding about the nature of sustainability itself.

Consequently, this paper argues that a new approach to sustainability education is required, one that brings it back more into the original scope of ESD. Through a combination of conceptual, philosophical and document analysis that frames a case study of Australian curriculum against a global context, it argues that the most effective way for achieving this is to place sustainability education within a *geographical* approach to learning rather than the interdisciplinary path promoted to date. Aside from its greater conceptual affinity with sustainability education, the discipline of Geography facilitates a more culturally responsive approach to sustainability education through its incorporative relationship with *transculturalism*, a new lens on demographic cultural diversity that is arguably more aligned with the realities of a global society in the 21st Century. It is this set of principles that will be the focus of the rest of the paper.

Sustainablity development education in the school context

In order to understand some of the reasons why this shift from an emphasis on ESD to EfS has occurred in many regions and not in others, it is pertinent to consider the broad outline of national curriculum policy in an exemplar country; in this case, Australia. In essence, explanations for this 'unfocusing' of ESD and a re-centering on EfS can be linked to changes in the perceived significance of Geography within the school curriculum. In Australia, the 1990s saw a reconstruction of school curriculum away from what were seen as the more traditional disciplines in an attempt to encourage students to see their learning as being more relevant to their lives (Casinader, 2015). Integration of disciplines was seen as the key, but what eventuated did not show an accurate understanding about the nature of disciplines and how they worked cognitively; there was little evidence that its collective designers and writers understood what is now being referred to as discipline-based *inquiry literacy* (Kidman & Casinader, 2017).

It is not within the scope of this paper to discuss the wider reasons surrounding these decisions, but it is arguable that the impact was most keenly felt within Australian school geography education. Essentially, the long-established conceptual basis of the discipline was that it acted as a bridge between the natural and social sciences or Humanities, in which the focus was on the interactions between people and the environment through the lens of areal differentiation; the spatial paradigm, or the intellectual perspective that phenomena on the Earth can be divided into distinct regions that have common characteristics. Moreover, rather than being a mere 'agglomeration of pieces of the systematic sciences' (Hartshorne, 1949, p. 460), Geography is

able to integrate a wide range of human and physical phenomena in making sense of the real world; it is an 'integrating [science] concerned with studying the world' (p. 463). All information in a place or region being studied is of interest to the geographer, for '[there] are no set rules for determining which phenomena … are of geographic significance. That must be determined, in any particular case, on the basis of the direct importance of the phenomena to areal differentiation' (p. 464). To have Geography divorced from its scientific roots, and integrated into an unsympathetic social science construct was effectively a dismissal of Geography's inherent disciplinary value.

Consequently, under the false illusion that the process would enable students to relate their education to the real world, integrated learning areas were created largely on the basis of content as the arbiter; the more significant parameters, such as the nature of conceptual thinking and disciplinary inquiry processes, were put to one side. In Australia, in the mid 1990s, Geography, History and Civics were combined into Studies of Society and Environment (SOSE), despite their lack of intellectual overlap, in the construction of the National Curriculum Statements and Profiles. This aborted attempt at a national curriculum still resulted in States adopting its principles in their own curriculum frameworks (Clements, 1996; Casinader, 2015). This shift towards an outcomes-based curriculum based on Key Learning Areas (KLAs) sparked considerable debate on both sides (see Tudball, 2008; Marsh, 2010). In so doing, however, the impact on geography teaching in Australia was marked. The environmental emphasis became highlighted above all other conceptual bases of Geography, and the breadth of the subject as a specific school discipline began to decline in importance (Casinader, 2015). In light of the present push for STEM, or the integration of the Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics in school and tertiary courses, it is interesting to note that, at the time, a similar integration of disciplines on the Science front was deemed unnecessary. This can be seen as being largely due to a perceived hierarchy of school subjects, in which the Sciences were—and, arguably, still are—deemed to be more difficult and more deserving of their own disciplinary space than the Humanities.

This collapsing of disciplinary boundaries in terms of ESD aligned closely with a persistent drive for EfS as opposed to ESD. Advocates argued that sustainability education was only likely to be effective and needed to be taught in an interdisciplinary manner—an approach that has been promoted consistently by global bodies such as the United Nations (2017). In this paradigm, to be taught effectively, sustainability needs to be embedded in non-disciplinary education so that it is seen as being embedded in the complexity of daily life. The difficulty with such a rationale is two-fold. Firstly, it does not take into account the educational imperative behind successful sustainability education; that is, it needs to be taught in a learning context that consciously highlights its interdependent human-environmental nature. As was demonstrated in the 1990s Australian SOSE experience, in which the authors were deeply embedded as school Geography and Science teachers, the environmental emphasis in EfS had a paradoxical effect. Environmental issues on their own, without explicit consideration of human interaction, came to be seen as the responsibility of Science teachers, along with much of the physical environmental work previously covered by Geography.

This de-emphasis of the more scientific aspects of the geographical discipline saw its role within SOSE education contract to one that was more focused on the human aspects of society. In short, Geography lost the right and ability to explore and teach the duality of people-environment interactions that helped to identify it as a discipline. In the process, any chance for accurate EfS *Development* was lost, for EfS was far more concerned with the environmental than the human aspects of the equation. As writers such as Huckle (1991) and Fuller (2010) have argued, such highlighting of the environmental was a political decision rather than an intellectual, educational one, explicitly designed to take advantage the contemporary prominence of ecological issues. In the process, the existence of *people as a key aspect* of the sustainability equation has been lost or diminished, a pattern more widely reflected in the

current negation of climate change as an issue by conservative global political forces, regardless of the weight of scientific evidence that might exist regarding its impact on people in regions such as Oceania (IPCC, 2014a, 2014b) The scientific debate around climate stability has become more important than the issues of cultural sustainability that are inextricably associated with it. As a result of, or perhaps alongside, these trends, the direction of ESD has become lost in an interdisciplinary maze. Sustainability is now perceived more as being a scientific endeavour, framed around an understanding of the mutual interdependence of the four environmental spheres: the biosphere, atmosphere, hydrosphere and lithosphere.

Given these shifts, it is not surprising that school-based sustainability education has tended to occur within Science classrooms, implying a standard scientific approach to inquiry-based learning in which the laboratory - the site of experimental learning, has precedence. Studying the environment in the field is much less of a priority (Kidman & Casinader, 2017). In other words, there has been a further separation of the notions of sustainability and sustainable development, which we argue is both a conceptual and practical *non-sequitur*. The arguments in favour of the separation of sustainability and sustainable development tend to revolve around a belief that the two are separate ideas. For instance, Maude (2014, p. 19) argues that sustainability 'is the state or condition of being sustainable', whereas 'sustainable development is a process of economic and social change designed to produce an environmentally sustainable economy and a just society'. However, such a separation tends to de-emphasise the reality that sustainability without a context lacks any substantive value; it has to be considered within the framework of human existence to have meaning. The differentiation ignores that human and environmental conditions of life cannot be disaggregated, for they are mutually interdependent and symbiotic.

In Australia, the interdisciplinary approach has been largely maintained to the present. Within the structure of the Australian Curriculum, introduced in 2010, sustainability is structured as one of the three cross-curriculum priorities, to be addressed across all learning areas; it is not a learning area in itself. The emphasis within sustainability learning in terms of content remains the perspective of the physical environment. Consequently, in the Australian Curriculum, Geography might have regained its disciplinary integrity and its conceptual identifier as the bridge between the human and the physical environment, albeit without some of its past critically evaluative edge (Casinader 2016a) but the preferred interdisciplinary approach to EFS is still reflected in the references that are made to sustainability in the curriculum frameworks of several learning areas, especially Science and Geography.

However, the interesting point about this aspect is the way in which the sustainability concept is dealt with across the two disciplines (ACARA, 2018a). Geography has 24 content descriptors related to sustainability in its framework across the full spectrum of primary school and secondary school up to Year Ten, compared with only five in Science, which are primarily in the early secondary years. It suggests strongly that geographers, at least, see themselves having a stronger place in sustainability education than science educators, a viewpoint that has been reflected in other research (see Casinader & Kidman, 2018). It is a position, nevertheless, that needs to be aggressively maintained if ESD is to regain its rightful place as the primary frame for effective sustainability education.

Educating for sustainable development: A revised approach

To teach sustainability effectively as a concept, therefore, requires it to be taught within the concept of sustainable development, and this, in turn, necessitates an educational disciplinary approach that encompasses the essentiality of the people-environment interaction to the notion of sustainability, along with the consideration of the quality of both the environment and people's lives. Consequently, it is our contention that it is far more appropriate for

sustainability education to be framed within a *geographical* disciplinary framework than to be considered and implemented within that of Science.

The reasons for this assertion lie both in the nature of the geographical discipline itself and in its conception of educational inquiry. Conceptually, Geography's disciplinary heart remains its focus on the interactions between people and their environments at a variety of scales. Furthermore, its construction of inquiry contains two aspects that are not found in disciplines such as Science. Firstly, the endpoint of geographical inquiry it is not simply an evaluation of what has occurred, as is advocated in scientific inquiries (Kidman & Casinader, 2017), but is more a reflection and prediction as to what might or should exist in the future; in other words, the notion of long-term sustainability is seen as being integral to the geographical purpose.

Secondly, this fundamental disciplinary notion of evidence-based reflection enables an inquiry-based geographical pedagogy that is centred on what exists, and what should or might exist, in the real world. The very core of a 'geographical inquiry literacy' (Kidman & Casinader, 2017) is an understanding that geographical investigations start from the premise that the discipline is concerned with *all* the elements that are found within a place, whether they are positive or negative in nature, human or physical:

> the 'place', in all its forms and natures, is the focal point of the discipline and inquiry, and so geographical inquiry is able to, and indeed, demands, both an acknowledgement and incorporation of scientifically-constructed methods of data collection and a reflexive self-engagement by the investigator(s) into the nature of that place, leading to its own form of place-responsive pedagogy on the part of the educator. (Kidman & Casinader, 2017 p. 137)

There is no inherent selection in the data gathering process that might be predetermined, for example, by the scientific hypothesis. All data gathered is assumed to be of possible relevance, and therefore it is not rejected until analysis has taken place. Geography is the 'only subject that shows the ways in which … the earth and social sciences are combined and even intertwined' (Birkenhauer, 2002, p. 273)

The collection of data in the field, as opposed to experimentation in the laboratory, is central to the geographical paradigm. The geographical fieldwork imperative (Kidman & Casinader, 2017) enables an understanding of the transformation or development of a landscape as it has been modified by people; that is, the very interaction that is the core of the sustainability concept. The gathering of data in that field work is not confined to a set of predetermined hypotheses, as is more common in scientific inquiry, but is instead framed by a wider conceptualisation of fieldwork as a dynamic, all-encompassing form of inquiry learning, concerned with 'the acquisition of deep and intimate knowledge of the land, or site, under investigation' (Kidman & Casinader, 2017, p. 130). It is this capacity to observe the real world, in all its variety of people-human interactions, sustainable or not, that is at the heart of geographical inquiry and that also makes it ideally suited to the study of sustainability as part of an investigation into sustainable development, in which the notions of the existence of people in the natural environment are considered within a long-term context.

Towards a transcultural literacy within ESD

The reframing of ESD within a geographical context also enables the inclusion of a complementary perspective that has been de-emphasised, if not ignored, within the relevant literature. In a world of increasing societal cultural diversity, the enunciation of ESD education has been essentially expressed in culturally neutral terms; that is, on the assumption that sustainability and sustainable development are universally interpreted in the same way. Even UNESCO publications (for example, 2005) have not defined what ESD is or how it should be

interpreted, a reflection of the possibility that globally devised goals may not always be appropriate for local national ESD priorities (Couch, 2017). In part, it is arguable that this has been encouraged by the strict boundaries of truth and falsehood in data/evidence that is part of the scientific paradigm and mode of inquiry. However, the complex variation and cultural attitudes across the world mean that there is an equal, inevitable and inescapable variation in the interpretation of what is meant by sustainability and sustainable development. The advantage of a geographical context for ESD is that it is able to accommodate such differences. Geography, as a discipline, is attuned to a newer construction of cultural perspective, that of *transculturalism*, one that is more aligned with, and accepting of the complex cultural realities of the 21st Century and the multifarious *sustainability* perspectives that derive from that.

Within an educational context, the use of the term '*transcultural*' is relatively new. It is based on the position that current approaches to cultural perspectives in education are founded on two concepts that predates contemporary globalisation in their origin; multiculturalism and interculturalism (Casinader, 2016b). It is argued that both these terms were formulated in an age when global exposure to cultural difference was very limited by existing communications technologies and the construction of national and global societies. The modern technological revolution, initiated by the public introduction of the Internet in the early 1990s, has seen a shift from nationally based economies to a far more complex and intertwined global economy, in which global mobility and demographic patterns reflect a world in which societies are now increasingly culturally diverse and exposure to difference is now the norm, not the exception.

Whereas multicultural and intercultural approaches to education are based on a highlighting of the differences between peoples and between places, the notion of transculturalism builds upon its predecessors to emphasise that cultural variation is now 'expected' between and within places; cultural difference is not viewed as a problem or exception that might need to be countered in some way (Casinader, 2016b). Cultural diversity is seen as an opportunity for new possibilities, not in terms of the identification of the 'Other'. People who have developed a transcultural capacity are able to seamlessly transition within, across and between different cultural environments and places, whether in work or life. It is not a competence that can be acquired by undertaking a qualification, but an attitudinal shift that involves a change in one's cognitive framework, a shift that research suggests can be facilitated by globalising experiences at home or abroad that demand individuals having to respond to culturally unknown environments on a personal level (Casinader, 2017; Casinader & Clemans, 2018).

The holistic nature of the geographical perspective, in its observation of difference within a place is both expected and acknowledged as being significant, provides the perfect conceptual environment for transcultural attitudes to be recognised, as well as being utilised in more specific fields such as ESD. This nested relationship between the geographical paradigm and the observation, acknowledgement and celebration of difference is not new; the gathering of information about places, and the reflection of what was similar and what was different to the 'known world', has been part of the discipline since the years of its disciplinary creation and consolidation through the work of European explorers dating back to the 'Reconnaissance' (Livingstone, 1992), if not before. There is a synergy between both Geographical inquiry literacy and Transcultural literacy, which assumes and accepts that cultural imaginaries other than the dominant one in a particular place exist, looking beyond variance itself to the normality of that difference. Transcultural literacy incorporates an engagement with and an absorption of the cultural imaginary of others, including any cultural perspectives on ESD that might differ from the predominant attitudes.
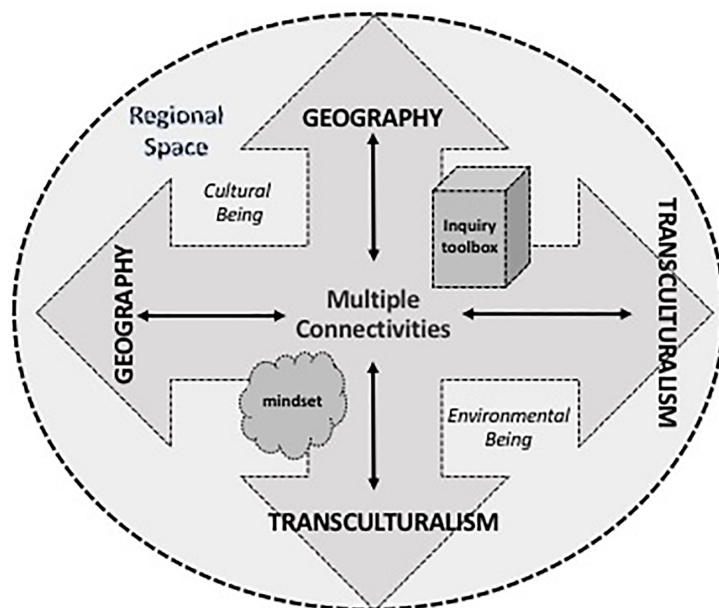
The manner in which transcultural literacy can be said to be nested within geographical inquiry, and therefore ESD, is illustrated in Figure 1. Within a place, or what might be termed a regional space of any scale, Geography's holistic and egalitarian treatment of all data within that place, both human and/or environmental, generates a series of multiple connectivities that takes into account aspects relating to both cultural and environmental being, or the existence of the interplay between the human and environmental. The process and approach of geographical inquiry provides a toolbox, through which each of these patterns of connections can be observed and analysed. Similarly, transculturalism, using its mindset in which difference is the standard and not the exception, gathers in different forms of cultural existence, taking into account variations that may or may not be influenced by variations in environmental context, building a holistic picture of a place through its human-environment interactions. These variations may, and do, also include cultural differences in what might be valued within the concept of sustainability.

Consequently, the most significant advantage and benefit of using Geography as the vehicle for ESD lies in its embedded transculturalism, if taught in a manner that highlights the discipline's focus on the people-environment interaction. Sustainability, when taught within a paradigm that is constructed within a Euro-American perspective on national development, as has been the predominant past practice, lacks relevance and meaning to those who live outside that context. For example, Professor Konai Helu Thaman, in her keynote presentation at the 2017 Oceania Comparative and International Education Society Conference, highlighted that the United Nations Decade for ESD had had little impact in the Pacific because it was not inclusive of indigenous knowledges and priorities (Thaman, 2017). In her view, the dimensions of ESD needed to be culture-specific, and therefore context-specific. In the case of the Pacific, this meant the underlying principles of Pacific Island knowledge systems, such as respect and a preference for collectivity, needed to be used as the vehicles of ESD in that region. In addition, in conference discussion, Thaman also highlighted the relevance of Geography as a disciplinary vehicle for ESD in regions such as the Pacific, for its focus on the dual people-environment interaction was itself a direct reflection of the inherent holistic approach to life that underpins Pacific culture (communication talk).

Implications for ESD

The main advantage of an Education for Sustainable Development that is situated within a geographical disciplinary framework, therefore, rather than a scientific or interdisciplinary one, is that it utilises the synergy and symbiosis between Geographical inquiry and Transcultural literacy. By accepting complex diversity as the norm of human society within their conceptual outlook, they acknowledge and respect the existence of variations in how the notion of sustainable development might be perceived. Any patterns of people-environment interaction, whatever might exist, are accepted as being the reality that needs to be responded to, and not treated in a reductionist pattern.

This is not to say but there should be no debate as to which sustainable practices might have more long-term effectiveness, or which approaches might be less self-centred and more relevant to the future of global society rather than a local one. However, effective ESD cannot take place in a fully universal way, in all regions of the world, unless an acknowledgement of cultural difference as a *positive* is first established. In short, Geography as a discipline has the capacity to bring differing points together into the one frame of reference; for it is 'a way of giving voice … is apparent in its focus on the earth's diversity rather than on its regularities' (Gade, 2011, p.168).

Consequently, Education for Sustainable Development that takes place within the disciplinary framework of Geography has a more solid and productive curriculum and pedagogical housing, as it is incorporated within a transcultural frame of reference. Together, they form a natural nexus within a purposeful fieldwork imperative, viewing the people-physical differences within a place as positives that are inherently connected in multiple ways and that cannot be separated easily.

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Dr Niranjan Casinader is Senior Lecturer in the Faculty of Education at Monash University, specialising in curriculum, pedagogy and Humanities education through the lenses of culture and problem solving. A geographer by training, he worked in school education for over 30 years before entering academia. In a corollary to his focus there, his research and publications are centred on the relationships between education, culture, thinking, development and globalisation, both contemporary and historical. Current projects include studies into the transcultural capacity and the inquiry literacy of teachers in schools, building upon his model of Cultural Dispositions of Thinking. He has been professionally recognised for his educational work, both locally and internationally.

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Framing post-SDG prospects for 'education for development'

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This paper sets out possible ways of improving and deepening our theoretical analyses and understandings of what is generally referred to as 'aid for education in the developing world', with a particular focus on the Sustainable Development Goals, especially in the area of SGD 4, which focuses on education. The analysis is based on an attempted reformulation of the nature and understanding of 'aid for education in a period of globalization'. This is necessary because the use of single, apparently generic, terms conceals deeper and differently formulated conceptions of the analysis of education at a global scale. This reformulation, which takes up the first half of the paper, is based on the distinctions between two common approaches to the issues, taking the lenses of 'the world' and 'the global', and the less common approach of 'the planetary' (as enabling a focus on the nature of the SDGs). A key rationale for this approach is the confusion and ambiguities that accompany many attempts to understand and explain the 'supranational'. These distinctions are then related to current theoretical and empirical analyses of the SDGs. The paper concludes by arguing that the 'official' ways in which they are analyzed within the programme, and the assumptions and emphases of the dominant analyses, essentially preclude critically-focused analyses.

Keywords: sustainable development, global, world, planetary, aid for education

تحدد هذه المقالة الطرق المكنة لتحسين وتعميق وفهم التحليل النظري لما يُشار إليه عمومًا باسم "المعونة من أجل التعليم في العالم النامي" ، مع التركيز بشكل خاص على أهداف التنمية المستدامة ، خاصة في مجال هدف التنمية المستدامة رقم ٤ ، الذي يركز على التعليم. يستند التحليل إلى محاولة إعادة الصياغة لطبيعة وفهم "معونة التعليم في فترة من العولمة" ، وهذا ضروري لأن استخدام مصطلحات مفردة – تبدو شاملة – يُخفي مفاهيم أعمق ومختلفة لتحليل التعليم من منظور عالمي. تستند هذه الصياغة ، التي تتناول النصف الأول من المقالة ، على التمييز بين نهجين متقاربين للقضايا ، مع أخذ عدسات "العالم" و "العولمة" ، والنهج الأقل شيوعًا: "الكوكي" (كتمكين التركيز على طبيعة أهداف التنمية المستدامة). أحد الأسباب الرئيسية لهذا النهج هو الالتباس والغموض الذي يصاحب العديد من المحاولات لفهم وشرح مصطلح "فوق القومية". بعد ذلك سيتم ربط هذه الاختلافات بالتحليلات النظرية والتجريبية الحالية لأهداف التنمية المستدامة. وتختم المقالة بالمناقشة أن الطرق "الرسمية" التي يتم تحليلها في إطار البرنامج ، والافتراضات والتوكيدات الخاصة بالتحليلات السائدة ، تمنع في الأساس التحليلات المركزة بشكل حاسم.

本文针对"发展中国家的教育援助"进行了理论分析，提出了提升和深化理解的可能途径，并特别侧重分析了可持续发展目标，特别是以教育为重点的 SGD 4 领域的可持续发展目标。本文的分析试图重新建构对"全球化时期的教育援助"的性质和理解。本文认为，使用单一的、通用的术语掩盖了在全球范围内对教育的分析和概念化的更深层次地理解和不同表述。本文的前半部分基于两种常见的方法之间的区别 – 通常地以"世界"和"全球"为视角的方法；和特别地以"行星"为视角的方法（后者使人们能够关注 SDG 的性质）。本文作出这一区别的关键理由是，在许多试图理解和解释"超国家"这一概念的过程中出现了混乱和含糊之处。本文对于这两种方法的区分有关于当前对 SDG 的理论

和实证分析。本文论定，"官方"的分析方法局限于所设定的程序、占主导地位的假设和强调中，因此其本质上未涵盖批判性的重点分析方法。

Cet article expose les moyens d'améliorer et d'approfondir nos analyses théoriques et notre compréhension de ce que l'on appelle généralement «l'aide à l'éducation dans les pays en développement», en accordant une attention particulière aux objectifs de développement durable, en particulier dans le domaine du développement durable 4, qui met l'accent sur l'éducation. L'analyse repose sur une tentative de reformulation de la nature et de la compréhension de «l'aide à l'éducation en période de mondialisation». Cela est nécessaire, car l'utilisation de termes uniques, apparemment génériques, cache des conceptions plus profondes et formulées différemment de l'analyse de l'éducation à l'échelle mondiale. Cette reformulation, qui occupe la première moitié du document, est basée sur la distinction entre deux approches communes des problèmes, prenant les perspectives de "*monde*" et de "*mondial*", et de l'approche moins connue de "*planétaire*" (permettant de se concentrer sur la nature des ODD). La confusion et les ambiguïtés qui accompagnent de nombreuses tentatives de compréhension et d'explication du «supranational» constituent l'un des principaux motifs de cette approche. Ces distinctions sont ensuite liées aux analyses théoriques et empiriques actuelles des ODD. L'article conclut en affirmant que les méthodes «officielles» de leur analyse dans le programme, ainsi que les hypothèses et les priorités des analyses dominantes, excluent essentiellement les analyses axées sur la critique.

В настоящем документе излагаются возможные пути совершенствования и углубления нашего теоретического анализа и понимания того, что обычно именуется "помощью в целях образования в развивающихся странах", с уделением особого внимания Целям устойчивого развития (ЦУР), особенно в области ЦУР 4, в которой основное внимание уделяется образованию. Анализ основан на попытке переформулировки сущности и понимания понятия "помощь в образовании в период глобализации", что необходимо, поскольку использование единых, казалось бы, общих терминов скрывает более глубокие и по-разному сформулированные концепции анализа образования в глобальном масштабе. Эта переформулировка, которая занимает первую половину документа, основана на различиях между двумя общими подходами к проблемам, принимая во внимание "мир" и "глобальный", и менее общий подход "планетарный" (как возможность сосредоточиться на природе ЦУР). Ключевым обоснованием такого подхода является путаница и двусмысленность, сопровождающие многие попытки понять и объяснить "наднациональное". Эти различия затем связаны с текущим теоретическим и эмпирическим анализом ЦУР. В заключение в документе утверждается, что "официальные" способы их анализа в рамках программы, а также предположения и акценты доминирующих анализов по существу исключают критически сфокусированный анализ.

Este documento presenta posibles formas de mejorar y profundizar nuestro entendimiento y análisis teóricos sobre lo que generalmente se denomina "ayuda para la educación en el mundo en desarrollo", con un foco particular en los Objetivos de Desarrollo Sustentable (ODS), especialmente en el área del ODS 4, centrado en la educación. El análisis se basa en un intento de reformulación de la naturaleza y la comprensión de la "ayuda para la educación en un período de globalización". Esto es necesario porque el uso de términos únicos, aparentemente genéricos, oculta concepciones diferentes y más profundas del análisis de la educación en una escala global. Esta reformulación, que ocupa la primera mitad del documento, se basa en las distinciones entre dos maneras comunes de enfocar el tema, tomando las lentes de "el mundo" y "lo global", y la perspectiva menos común de "lo planetario" (como habilitando un enfoque en la naturaleza de los ODS). Una razón fundamental para este enfoque es la confusión y las ambigüedades que acompañan a muchos intentos de entender y explicar lo "supranacional". Estas distinciones se relacionan con los análisis teóricos y empíricos actuales de los ODS. El documento concluye con el argumento de que las formas "oficiales" en las que se analizan dentro del programa, así como las suposiciones y el énfasis de los análisis dominantes, esencialmente excluyen los análisis centrados en la crítica.

Introduction

My objective in this paper is, ambitiously, twofold, aiming to advance on the one hand some possibly novel theoretical and methodological propositions, and on the other, some rather more empirically-based theoretical considerations concerning the educational components of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

One interesting, and quite widespread response to the arrival on the scene of the SDGs has been to compare them with the preceding, but far from forgotten, Millenium Development Goals (MDGs), many of whose melodies continue to linger on in the current discourses. However, when I began to think back even further, to the time before the MDGs, to Education For All (EFA) and all that, I was struck by the surprising elements of continuity over the decades that seemed to crop up. Perhaps, though, it should not have been so surprising, because it is relatively easy to discern key threads running through all these various iterations and forms of what we still find it easy to think of and refer to as generic forms of 'development' and 'aid', which move roughly from the North to the South of the planet. It sometimes seems that it is only the modalities of 'development' and 'aid' that have changed; the division of the labour of 'aid' seems to have broadly persisted despite a range of related changes, of donors and recipients, and the activities of major international organizations.

That said, what I want to begin by arguing is that while what we see when we look back over the recent decades of 'aid' and 'development' is a quite impressive display of apparent continuity, certainly of language, that continuity is to a considerable extent nominal rather than substantial. As a result, it serves to not only disguise, but to significantly distort the extent and nature, and the forms and consequences, of the 'real' changes that have taken place.

Consequently, I want to begin this paper by tentatively advancing an approach that may more usefully reveal something of the nature and extent of the changes that have taken place over recent decades in the area of 'aid for education'.

The way that I will seek to do this is by comparing three different ways of conceptualizing the current state of 'development aid for education'. In essence, I will be trying to argue that these superficially similar, but fundamentally different, understandings and constructions have for some time distorted the picture of what is going on, and that it is crucial to thoroughly distinguish them from each other, especially in terms of the ways that they identify and act towards different political and institutional bases and assumptions about the nature of the relationships between superficially similar, but fundamentally different practices and meanings.

As well as practices and meanings, there is a major and extremely important recognition to be made when we address issues such as the nature and significance of the modes of global governance of education, in, around, and through, projects like the MDGs and the SDGs, internationally and on a global scale. And that is that the very terminologies we use to describe these phenomena structure the ways that such issues can be understood. We are confronted by a   myriad of apparently similar terms for describing what is going on—globalization, internationalization, transnationalization, etcetera, with typically very little specification of what, if any, perceived need to distinguish between them exists, and perhaps a tacit assumption that the best way to deal with them is to accumulate them. However, if we see them as lenses that selectively incorporate and identify particular features of each term's meaning and use, then we may be in a better position to elaborate and compare them.

Moreover, it is a major part of my argument here that there are indeed major—and highly significant—differences between the ways in which we refer to what we might regard most neutrally as the 'supranational' level. This level is referred to in numerous ways—globalization, internationalization, world, regional, hemispheric, etcetera—each term of which individually seems in some way to narrow and define the scope of the activities they describe.

And indeed, my first, and most important, argument is that it is crucial to recognize that these different characterizations do point to significant differences in the ways that we approach them analytically. They mean/imply different things, and consequently we need to distinguish between them carefully.

So, the main argument I want to make here is that the optimal way of categorizing these characterizations of the activities. It is to distinguish these terms on the basis of what we can describe as different 'lenses', and that, in turn, the perceptions generated by the lens will add to our understanding of the nature of what is referred to as the 'global', which is, in effect, the main objective of this paper.

Employing different lenses

The value of employing these lenses is the construction of a set of extremely important distinctions that emerge when we address issues such as the nature and significance of the SDGs internationally, or on a global scale so that the lens-dependent terminology structures the ways that such issues can be understood and made comparable. It is a major part of my argument here that there are major and highly significant differences between the ways in which we refer to the supranational level—global, world, planetary—all of which seem in some way to narrow and define the scope of the activities they describe.

So, in an essentially theoretical and methodological effort to get 'behind' this confusing array of terms and their different meanings, I will advance, very tentatively, the world/global/planetary distinction for different bases of naming and pursuing, and hence being able to compare, the issues that confront us, and the analytic consequence or impulsions of that distinction, which identifies and distinguishes the three sets of political/institutional arrangements (there is no implied ranking of significance in this order).

It is crucial, however, to recognize that, as previously stated, these different characterizations and changes do mean/imply different things, and until we find an effective way to distinguish between them, our analyses will be less than complete.

The fundamental basis of the conceptualization rests on arguments made some time ago, comparing two conceptions of the relationship between national and transnational spheres in education. These were referred to as respectively composing a 'Common World Education Culture' (CWEC) and a 'Globally Structured Agenda for Education' (GSAE) (Dale 2000), which were to be contrasted with each other in the ways that they referred to the 'supranational' level.

The labels attached to the two approaches are intended to be relatively self-explanatory. The proponents of the CWEC argue that since at least the middle of the nineteenth century, 'a rationalized world institutional and cultural order has emerged which consists of universally applicable models that shape states, organisations and individual identities….' As the leading proponents of the CWEC put it, nation states did not emerge from 'internal ideas' but rather were framed by 'cultural principles exogenous to any specific nation state and its historical legacy" (Meyer & Ramirez 2000, 115), while what we are calling the CWEC rests on 'a world cultural preference for market systems and political democracy (Meyer et al. 1997, 167)

Two other notable aspects of WCT for our current purposes are the singularity of the cultural core of the program, and the almost entire exclusion of any reference to capitalism, or indeed to political economy at all—though, very significantly for what we are trying to argue here, the nation state figures very prominently. By contrast, the GSAE identifies an agenda for education, on a global scale, that is structured on the basis of a capitalist logic; the purpose is to tie the education system into the logic and practices of capitalism.

The basis, nature and purpose of the distinction between the 'world' and the 'global' in that approach should now be clear. The 'world' is seen in CWEC as the composite of the nation states found on the Earth, which are seen to be linked by the common thread of a transnational conception of education and its relationship to the state, while the 'global' in GSAE refers to the activities of a global capitalist economy which shapes education in particular ways.

The 'WORLD'

It may be useful to begin with what is perhaps the commonest of the three forms, with the label 'world' probably the most recognized, in many languages, means we have of apprehending the wide scope and range of activities and experiences that we share as inhabitants of the Earth. However, one important point to be made here is that for some of the arguments I will deliver below, the terms 'world' and 'global' can be used as both noun and adjective (as in 'world record', for instance, or 'global climate'). So, at one level, what I have in mind in the way I will refer to 'world' is as a means of characterizing what in one usage may be conceived of as the 'international system of states', based on membership of the United Nations, as the most complete catalogue of the political entities making up, and dividing, the total population of Earth into at least (largely) formally free, autonomous and sovereign nation states. (To be sure, there are a few exceptions to be considered here, such as, for instance, 'stateless' people, but the existence of that distinction demonstrates the pervasiveness and embeddedness of the category as a whole.)

We have also noted above, the senses in which 'the world' is recognized/constructed by the CWEC approach, based on very particular criteria of what counts as education and its transnational reach, and forms of performance.

Within this world-international sphere many hugely significant relationships are experienced and transactions carried out, but the fundamental basis on which this international system of states rests, is that relations between these countries are based on their membership of the United Nations (and its constituent bodies) and that membership cannot be withdrawn, except in the case of two countries both claiming to represent a particular population or territory (as happened to the expulsion of the Chinese nationalist regime in 1971). And while this in no way means that all members are treated 'equally', acknowledged 'country-hood', as signaled by membership of the UN, remains the fundamental basis of their collective common-ness. It is on the basis of their 'country-hood' that this membership becomes eligible for particular types of recognition and entitlement. Crucially, all member countries are formally (as in the right to vote, for instance) equal, though their UN membership for instance makes some countries eligible to receive 'aid' of various kinds (though we should note that countries can withdraw or be expelled from UN agencies; the withdrawal of the United States from UNESCO, for instance, is possibly the highest profile example of this).

We might also recognize that it is at this level that we find the idea of 'nation-hood', which may or may not overlap with country-hood (which can lead to a range of 'local' difficulties). And the specific point—which is highly relevant for the arguments I will be making later—is that the formal recognition of individuals in the current world is largely bestowed through the status of (national) citizenship, which might, therefore and crucially, be seen as the basis of the political 'equivalencing', or homogenizing, of the Earth's population (or at least of those deemed fit to receive such a status, albeit one that we might see as being under some challenge from the level of the global).

Below the level of the world (and the regional), we have, of course, individual nation states, with massively different capacities to impact—and be impacted on by—the world. The significance of individual state interventions in and on the world creates a range of hierarchies that do not necessarily overlap—take for instance North Korea's possession of nuclear capacity but otherwise limited impact on the world. And the level of the national state is still the main

arena in which 'international' as well as 'national' politics take place. It is through the relationships between states that most of the world's formal cross-national political exchanges take place, while the nation remains as the main repository of personal and political attachment, and formally the basis of differential levels of attachment through citizenship, with the real denizens of the world found in the body/bodies of 'stateless' people.

However, having underlined the fact of formal equivalence of countries on the basis of their UN membership, it is crucial to stress that this equivalence remains formal, and that benefits— and penalties—accruing from that membership continue to frame, and to divide, 'the world' in various ways.

Indeed, it is at the level of involvement with UN activities that the limitations of merely formal membership of the world become most apparent. Such membership does not mean equal involvement and acknowledgement and certainly not equal treatment. It is at the level of the world that we find the greatest levels of activity and international stratification through, for instance, activities as different as warfare and humanitarian intervention.

Such membership also extends very unevenly to the conditions under which poorer countries experience being in the 'world', demonstrating the purely formal nature of their membership of the 'world community', and their adherence to a CWEC, a background that is crucial to the accounts given in this paper.

It is similarly important to register here that the lens of the 'world' rests on a broad idea of the common condition of mankind— and also, taking a big leap here, from the basic species to its assumed shared and reciprocal claim to a set of fundamental rights that all mankind shares as a part of their common humanity. As the universal (NB) Declaration of Human Rights (which might be seen as the best measure and guarantor of the 'world' as a collection of states) puts it, 'the recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family [emphasis added] is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world'. Though notably this kind of 'rights' talk, and the assumptions on which it stands, sits in some fundamental tension with the 'shared planet' lens.

Two points should be made here. One is the question of equivalence, which is raised by the numerous different forms and practices taken by 'globalization'. The clearest example is the formal equivalence of all member countries of the UN, at the level of 'the world'. The other is the equivalence-ing of national education systems by such mechanisms and modalities as PISA, which have come to be assumed by, and are keys ways in which these activities may be referred to as 'global', especially in the sense of global capitalism, since they stretch far beyond and more deeply across the activities of the 'world' as I have just referred to it.

The 'GLOBAL'

As possibly the commonest way of referring to the supranational sphere, the 'global' is understood in many different ways, even if the differences are not often fully investigated. There are good reasons for this. In particular, we should note that focusing on lenses such as the 'world' and the 'planet' leaves a significant remainder for understanding each of them separately from different perspectives. Crucially, the lenses of neither the 'world' nor the 'planet' focus directly and explicitly on the 'activities' revealed by the 'global' lens which most significantly shapes our lives in the world and on the planet. In particular, neither is easily able to fully recognize the nature and scope of these activities at the global level; that is, those that drive capitalist economic activities on a global scale.

There are two keys ways in which these activities may be referred to as global, especially in the sense of global capitalism. One is that they stretch far beyond and more deeply across the activities of the 'world' as I have just referred to it. However, more importantly, the activities we refer to as global are highly influential on, but not reducible to, what goes on in the 'world'

(of nation states). In a nutshell, what I mean by the 'global' refers to the scope of economic activities that take place on the planet, and to the dominance it grants social imaginaries that emphasize necessity and obscure options for political choice. That is to say, these activities extend into, and beyond, the scope of individual states, and are scarcely controlled by it.

And it not just the need to characterize the sphere and geographic spread of those activities that leads me to refer to them as belonging to the category 'global', but the nature of the activities that we have come to see as driving what we separately and collectively experience as shaped at this global level.

At base, the 'global' does not represent the universal human interest, but the interests of capitalism; it represents particular local and parochial interests which have been globalized through the scope of its reach. Effectively, it is not too great an exaggeration, given the experience of the Crash, to suggest that effectively the 'world' needed to administer the 'global', to save it from itself. Any direction that is exercised over its activities comes from (very largely private) international organizations and corporations, whose capacity to flourish even after the Crash was evidence of their power vis a vis even the most powerful states.

However, and closer to the themes of this paper, we do find different understandings of these issues in the MDGs and the SDGs. It seems clear that the MDGs are in formal conception much closer to the 'world', in the sense of the 'international'. They were set up and largely run by the main international organizations—UNESCO, World Bank, OECD, etcetera.

Further, in the case of the MDGs, there was less sense of the structural causes of underdevelopment (which are associated with the kinds of differences mentioned here); rather, we tend to find more or less undifferentiated conceptions of poverty, and underdevelopment, with an absolute development goal in the form of universal primary education. That is to say, there was no recognition of, or response to, the (globally-generated) structural (political-economic) causes of underdevelopment, which are, however, addressed by SDG targets 10.5 and 10.6 in their identification of the global-level responsibility to address such inequalities. Similarly, but somewhat in contrast, the SDGs seek 'inclusive and equitable quality education' (though this itself can be interpreted in different ways). This is a very important example of the differences between the two approaches, and especially of the potential of not treating all 'at-risk' countries as if they were identical for all main purposes.

Crucially for the argument here, the SDGs introduce an idea of 'relativity'. We see here strong justification for Philip McMichael's (2017) argument that 'while Development once meant [in the MDGs?] improvement on the past', it now refers [in the SDGs?] to 'how to make the future'. More than this, Heloise Weber (2016) has drawn attention to the key distinction between entitlement and goals; the former are fundamental rights that ought not to be denied to anyone and should be politically protected and secured. By major contrast, goals are 'aspirations' that may or may not be realized. Access to them is typically through markets, very different from an entitlement, and if we look at the wording of the aims and intentions of the goals, it seems very unlikely that everyone will be able to realize their rights. Weber also introduces the 'ladder' metaphor, where inequalities are effectively conceived of in terms of rungs on a ladder; the ladder facilitates the relative comparison of goal attainments, but also permits the continuous deferment of reaching substantial goals for the society because development is always conceived relative to whomever or whatever occupies the upper rungs.

The 'PLANETARY'

More recently, alternative ways of conceiving of and framing the 'world' and the transnational have emerged, many of which involve embracing them in ways that are quite distinct from the international system of states. That is, at the opposite end of the scale from the UN, and its shaping membership conditions, the issues we are studying also include what we might call the

sphere of the 'planetary'. This essentially constructs the planet itself as a complex, extensive and potentially fragile whole, with 'Earth' not reducible to, but nevertheless, in different places, a 'victim', or 'beneficiary', of different forms of human activity, especially as it is currently enacted.

It is represented in our common species being, and on the basis of 'ecological' rather than political-economic concerns.

Put extremely simply, the planetary lens focuses on the sustainable production and distribution of particular forms of 'common' (in the sense of being available to all) goods, which are judged and selected, not on the capacity for profit, or international diplomacy, but on the basis of their impact on, and consequences for, the planet; especially as mediated through the activities of the 'world' and the 'global'. This brings them into sharp conflict with both the global, whose central focus is on the profitable production, distribution and exchange of any and all goods and services, and the world, which instantiates the problem of multiple political and economic 'splinterings' of the planet.

The crucial point here, certainly in terms of the SDGs, is that the planetary does not have the same sort of political-economic interests as are associated with the world and the global. It is, in a sense, sui generis. The point and purpose of the planetary in the context of this paper is that it is associated with an explicit (capital-lettered) goal that is to be sustainable.

These tend to come to prominence with an accompanying assumption (or hope) that the members of the 'global community'—who, crucially, are not confined to the members of the UN, but include, significantly, especially active national and international NGOs—will recognize and act on the understanding that the future of the planet represents a quite different set of issues from membership of the UN. Fundamentally, it seeks to relegate 'social' or 'political' boundaries of all kinds.

However, at the same time, and as we shall see in the next section, there are rather more, and somewhat different, sets of assumptions about the relationship between the 'planetary' and both the 'world' and the 'global', where 'a hard economic line divides the social ideals of planetary citizenship from the business of globalisation' (Adams and Carfagna, 2006, (quoted in Haigh, 2008, p 428). Similarly, Haigh argues that '[although] education for planetary citizenship provides the dream for internationalization, economic globalization dictates practice' (2008, p. 428).

As was registered above through the 'World' lens, it is also important to register in relation to the 'Planetary' that the idea of the common humanity of mankind, as represented in our common species being, might presume a shared and reciprocal claim to a kind of ecological equivalent of the universal (NB) Declaration of Human Rights; acknowledged is that the assumptions on which it stands sit in some fundamental tension with the 'shared-planet' lens.

As indicated by possibly the most engaged writer in this area, Martin Haigh (2014, p.3), 'education for planetary whole earth consciousness' ranks eighth out of eight of the possibilities of national and global cooperation in Higher Education'.

SDGs in practice

The SDGs represent a noticeable break with earlier leading paradigms of sustainable development, including the MDGs. As Van Zanten and von Tulder (2018, p. 209) put it, 'They instigate a shift from state-centred, duty-based and negatively framed agreement, aimed at 'developing countries', to a partnering-centred, opportunity-based and more positively framed ambition aimed at developed as well as developing countries'. Noteworthy, too, is the emphasis placed on corporate efforts in realizing SD. As UN Secretary General Ban KI-Moon commented, 'Governments must take the lead in living up to their pledges. At the same time, I

am counting on the private sector to drive success'. Furthermore, Helen Clark, at the time head of UNDP, added that 'the new SD programme cannot be achieved without business' (quoted in van Zanten and von Tulder, 2018, ibid).

In terms of the wider arguments advanced here about the relationships between the conceptions of world, global and planetary, the SDGs, in both conception and practice are a very good example of the nature of, and the power of, 'the global' over 'the world' and 'the planetary'. By contrast with the idea of education as a human right, the forms taken by education, and the ways they are rendered in the SDGs, represent a very good example of the power of the global over both the world and the planetary.

In a powerful and valuable discussion of the relationships between the SDGs and 'business' under this new agenda, Scheyvens and colleagues (2016) point out that 'there are expectations that businesses, government and civil society actors will be *equally* [emphasis in original] responsible for progressing a more sustainable path forward'. This follows Ban's claim that the agreement to the SDGs represented a 'paradigm shift for people and the planet (UN 2014, para 24, quoted in Scheyvens et al., 2016, p. 371). The SDGs are seen to represent 'potentially a new way forward for development policy and practice, with an emphasis on a broad range of global goods and targets for the world to aim for by 2030' (Ibid.). Moreover, whereas in the SDG document economic growth remains a central element of the post 2015 agenda, 'it is now embedded within a concern for inclusive growth, and as a means to address inequalities: the private sector is seen as ideally placed to contribute to these goals around prosperity and inclusive economic growth'. Also stated is that the close involvement of the private sector in the SDG process 'reflects a conscious shift in the past decade that has seen the private sector become more entwined in the world of development policy and planning' (p. 374), such that 'the post-2015 era presents an historic opportunity for the international business community to contribute to the attainment of worldwide sustainability and development objectives' (UN Global Compact, 2013; Scheyvens et al., 2016, p. 375).

The authors go on to give further examples of the penetration of business into the SDGs, but of particular importance here is their discussion of the failure of the SDGs to recognize (or perhaps to notice) that the structural causes of poverty are not addressed. Nor have they been confronted with 'critical arguments that offer more rigorous and sustained understandings of inequalities, including deprivations of basic life sustaining needs and fundamental entitlements (Weber, 2015, p. 660). This may be seen as a very useful

elaboration of some of the key features of what we are referring to as the 'global'. While noting that 'governments and NGOs have roles to play in addressing social and environmental challenges' (Scheyvens et al., 375) as one leading proponent of the business case puts it, '… they cannot replace the private sector doing what it does best—innovating and delivering market-based solutions' (Kramer, 2014, quoted in Scheyvens et al., p. 375)

Having considered the broader and more abstract ways in which the SDGs were formed, I will turn now to consider some of the ways that they have been put into practice, with a particular focus on relating the practices to the broader arguments above. There is a rather large and wide range of literature focusing on what we might broadly call the 'implementation' of the SDGs, and I will seek to focus here on how some of the issues adumbrated above have been addressed in that literature.

I will take for this purpose one especially well informed analysis of the issues which is very much in line with the arguments set out above. Argued is that 'the majority of scholarship tends to concern itself with measuring or collating goal performance … [while] the analyses discussed here explore SDG as an intrinsically political construct and are less concerned with technical aspects than with the kinds of epistemological, hegemonic, or political economic

assumptions built into them and the ensuing effectiveness they will have in terms of addressing or perpetuating the historical impoverishment of large groups of people living in poverty' (Gabay and Ilcan, 2017, p. 337).

Gabay and Ilcan go on to broaden the conversation to take account of 'knowledge production, modernity, colonialism, exclusion, citizenship and other conceptual insights' (Ibid.). That is to say, they *problematize* the Goals as an instrument, rather than taking them for granted, or at face value, and as we noted above, the ways we see things changes how we evaluate them. So, they focus on the SDGs 'in relation to how they can: define the units of what can be said and what can be done; shape development logics through notions of division and forms of exclusion; construct political problems as technical problems; create certain spaces of imagination as a field of activity; and endorse particular ideas and forms of knowledge in models for sustainable development' (Ibid.).

I have quoted this passage at length, because it does seem to come to grips with the 'real' issues surrounding the SDGs; that while changes may be heralded and lauded, we need to know by whom, and with what intentions and likely consequences; and to consider processes as well as practices, and outcomes as well as outputs (the difference being that outputs are 'what has been 'done'/created, and outcomes are the consequences of that) which is crucial in this context. Target setting is a very important example of output creation; it does not take into account what the intended purposes—rather than just practices—of an initiative are, or of what (if any) its outcomes/consequences are—and crucially, 'for whom'.

We might see this as an excellent example of Robert Cox's celebrated distinction between 'problem solving and 'critical approaches, where problem solving approaches 'takes the world as it finds it, with the prevailing social and power relationships and the institutions into which they are organised, as the given framework for action. The general aim of problem-solving is to make these relationships and institutions work smoothly by dealing effectively with particular sources of trouble' (Cox 1981, 128-129). A critical approach, however, 'does not take institutions and social and power relations for granted but calls them into question by concerning itself with their origins and how and whether they might be in the process of changing…. Critical theory is directed to the social and political complex as a whole rather than to the separate parts' (Cox 1981: 129).

As Gabay and Ilcan put it, (2018, p. 338), [what is needed is to] 'look beyond international development policy as a banal set of technocratic fixes ('outputs', in the terms used here), while Liverman (2018, p. 8) points out that Gabay and Ilcan also criticize the universalism of the SDGs, 'and the ways in which individuals have been made into objects in need of help and then constructed as active subjects, responsible for their own development and then managed through partnerships, capacity building and big data that make and remake and relabel bodies and communities'.

In a somewhat similar way, Sexsmith and McMichael (2015) reflect the different conceptions of the 'world', the 'global' and the 'planetary' being advanced here. In particular, they find it 'extremely puzzling that SDG visioning continues [after the end of the MDGS] to assign principal responsibility to the state [in our terms, 'the world'] for post 2015 development—criticisms of the world model analyze whether the world community has succeeded in reimagining development for the post 2015 period in a way that accommodates the global dimension of these circumstances and possible solutions ….[while] … within the state system at large, the conventional paradigm fractures the possibility of combined global responses as states inevitably make appeals to different development stages with responsibility unevenly shared across different states' (p. 584).

There are a number of somewhat contradictory accounts of the remit for the SDGs, and how systematically that has been interpreted. As Brisset and Miller (2017, p. 197) put it: 'the

emphasis on targets of quality education and equitable access to education is a significant improvement over the MDGs, which focused more on enrolment rates and educational access as opposed to education quality and equity, despite these improvements, the notion of quality remains vague'. In addition, 'While target 4.1 does seem to specify that it is up to national governments to determine 'relevant and effective learning [although how are they supposed to do that is not made clear], what the outcomes might look like remains ill defined'. Their most powerful criticism of the practice of the SDGs, however, is that while they promised to eradicate global poverty and fight inequality, 'By failing to explicitly recognize other forms of knowledge, ways of life and conceptions of development, the SDGs are firmly rooted in a pro-growth Western conception of education'.

And they continue by suggesting that 'It is only by challenging and expanding the definition of quality education—one that questions who is taught and how—that education can truly have an impact on other areas of development, thereby contributing to a more holistic and integrated approach to achieving sustainable development' (p. 201).

Concluding their critical discourse analysis of 'Education under the SDGs' Brisset and Mitter (2017, p. 200) comment that, 'Ultimately, while SDG4 does make attempts at presenting a transformative approach to education by recognizing the role of education in promoting sustainable development, peace and gender equality (among others), these objectives are not placed at the heart of the goal: more emphasis appears to be placed on the economic gains of education'.

The view here, however, is that the problem runs much deeper than that. It is possible and very useful to distinguish two bases of such allocations, what are referred to as *distributional* and *relational* paradigms. In the former, the basis of distribution of a good or service derives from membership of particular aggregates of individuals possessing particular assets—of income, prestige, qualifications, etcetera, (which may be all they have in common); rewards are distributed on the basis of these qualities or possessions. The matter at issue in distributional approaches is the *procedures* through which they are implemented, which create a hierarchical continuum of income and prestige. And the significance of this distinction becomes clearer when instead of thinking about it in relatively 'objective' ways, we recognize that the distributional pattern is what underlies the inequalities we recognize, but feel helpless in the face of; the distribution essentially takes 'meritocratic' forms, letting us know that we are where we are as a result of the 'normal and fair distribution of goods and services.

By contrast, the *relational* approach focuses on the relations of control and subordination which are established through the particular forms taken by the allocation processes. It points to the elements of conflict between different social groups involved in any such process as crucial to the *outcomes* of the processes. It contrasts the hierarchical system of income and prestige which underlies the distributional paradigm, with systems of oppression and privilege, which are based on conflict between social groups.

This conception can be further elaborated through the work of the English sociologist, John Goldthorpe (2010, p. 732-3), who argues that 'inequality can also be thought of, at a deeper level, in terms of social relations in the context of which individuals are in some sense advantaged or disadvantaged'. Social stratification then refers to inequality that is of a structured kind or, that is, to inequality insofar as it is not merely a matter of individual fortune but rather inherent in prevailing forms of social relationship that have in some degree an institutional basis. The positions that individuals hold within forms of social stratification will be major determinants of their life-chances and life-styles and will also condition many of their important life-choices. In turn, social stratification can then be seen as crucial to the understanding of the different kinds of inequality that are observable at an attributional level.

Final comment

I would like to close this paper by introducing what I consider to represent an extremely important way of analyzing, understanding and critiquing the analyses of the relationships between the SDGs and education topics, why they are as they are, and how they may be overcome. This most telling and important summary of this state of affairs, based on a political analysis of social and political relations, has been outlined by Heloise Weber, in Walker and colleagues (2018, p. 100).

'In the case of the post-2030 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), there is an explicit prescription that the [further] *commercialization* of public goods and services provides the most appropriate framework for poverty reduction and development' (Ibid.). It is, though, important to recognise that the SDGs include a (unique) commitment to free education. However, as Weber notes, '[this] commitment sits alongside education being subject to privatization under the GATS of the WTO'. She continues: 'The SDGs include a subtle and understated, yet arguably highly suggestive and consequential, reference to security and "order." This link to "peace and order" can be reasonably read as disconcerting at the very least, since it may all too easily serve to undermine legitimate political protest and resistance against denials of fundamental entitlements to live dignified lives' (p. 100) … while …. the way in which such insecurities are framed as a threat to the global North deliberately disarticulates the fact that experiences of insecurity and inequality in the South are (and have been) deeply connected to the affluence and well-being of others, especially (though not exclusively) in the global North' (p. 101).

The politics that underpins analysis inflected to Modernization Theory is constituted by how "description and prescription" converge in understandings and explanations of insecurity and inequality in a way that *inverts* causality: "poverty is a threat, and poverty is the source of poverty." The critical point advanced here is about deliberately shifting the analytic to processes and relations through which in/security is experienced and contested and, importantly, constituted' (Ibid.).

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Wisdom, knowledge, and the postcolonial university in Thailand by Zane Ma Rhea. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017. 266 pp. ISBN 978-1-137-38292-4

The notion of wisdom has made a comeback into the scholarly literature in education and also in philosophy. Not so long ago it is usually thought of as too vague to produce any tangible, measurable outcome. After all to operationalize wisdom, breaking it down to a set of objectively measurable benchmarks, does not seem to be a wise thing to do. In philosophy, the notion of wisdom usually receives some acknowledgment of its importance out of respect for the ancients, but then it is often brushed aside, being thought of as too vague to the given a precise definition and supplanted by the notion of knowledge which can be thoroughly analyzed. However, wisdom was the highest goal of education for the ancients. Plato, for example, puts wisdom as the highest achievement attainable by a human being. For Plato wisdom is not any kind of knowledge, but Knowledge of the Good, the kind of knowledge that fully integrates 'knowing that' and 'knowing how', i.e., descriptive and ethical knowledge. In this case, virtue is indeed knowledge, and this is an embodiment of wisdom. And more recently (but stil more than 50 years ago), Alfred North Whitehead characterizes wisdom as the kind of knowledge that makes sense of the plethora of information that is available. In *The Aims of Education,* he writes: "Now wisdom is the way in which knowledge is held. It concerns the handling of knowledge, its selection for the determination of relevant issues, its employment to add value to our immediate experience" (Whitehead, 1967, p. 30). For Whitehead, then, wisdom represents a secondary form of knowledge, knowledge of how to organize the already existing knowledge and of how to find "value" to our immediate situation. What is shared by Plato and Whitehead is that wisdom is a reflective activity. Instead of going about one's life rather mindlessly, only employing knowledge to respond to one's environment, wisdom enables one to think reflectively about one's own knowing and to make sense of it all.

Zane Ma Rhea's new book further extends the notion of wisdom to include the tradition of wisdom coming from the East, notably Theravāda Buddhism as practiced in Thailand. The book is a welcome addition to the discussion on wisdom, especially how we can bring back wisdom into the program of modern education in a country such as Thailand, which has lost much of the tie with its own spiritual tradition due to the influx of globalization and neoliberalism. Not only Thailand will benefit from the book, however; the West itself has also lost much of the connection with its own wisdom tradition. Ma Rhea's book thus fills an important gap in the literature where those in Thailand (and other countries in Asia and the non-West in general) can learn to look back to their own wisdom tradition to find what is valuable, enabling them, according to Whitehead, to make sense of the deluge of knowledge and information. Moreover, those in the West can also learn from the book to look back toward their own wisdom tradition, especially that of the Greeks, to find an antidote to the prevailing atmosphere that emphasizes knowledge for material gains almost exclusively.

What makes this book even more valuable is its discussion of the teaching of Theravāda Buddhism as well as the Thai indigenous repertoire of local knowledge as a source of wisdom for Thailand. Wisdom, or *pannā,* in Buddhism is the highest form of knowledge, one that is necessary for attaining Liberation *(nibbāna),* the ultimate goal of becoming a Buddhist. One who has attained wisdom in this sense would thus also know how to behave in any situation and wisdom here is also a thorough merging of both epistemic and ethical ideals, which is

similar to the Platonic ideal mentioned earlier. More practically speaking, Buddhist wisdom functions as an aim of education when it provides a channel for the student/practitioner to reflect on the meaning of what is going on around her, to make sense of it all. Local wisdom is also important as a source of useful knowledge, especially of local herbs and plants, and it can also function as a reminder that there is more to wisdom than knowledge coming from the West. Ma Rhea discusses how Thai universities have tried to cope with the problem of finding for a balance between local and Buddhism on the one hand and scientific and technological knowledge coming from the West. Thai leaders since the middle part of the 19th century have grappled with this problem, resulting mostly in the policy of adopting technical knowledge and skills while largely avoiding the philosophical thinking that lies at the foundation of such knowledge (Hongladārom, 2002). This could be an explanation of the notion of "adaptive balancing" discussed in Ma Rhea's book (for example at p. 204). What we can learn from studying this adaptive balancing (or what Rattana Lao calls "the culture of borrowing"; see Lao, 2015) is that it requires wisdom to be able to discern what should be chosen and adopted into the repertoire of a culture's knowledge and skills and what should be avoided. This wisdom is changing fast, however, as Thais are becoming more aware that what they have avoided in the recent past in fact is very important and is indeed indispensable if they are to remain in the globalized arena of economic and technological competition.

The book consists of eight chapters. What ties them together is the argument that local and spiritual wisdom (Buddhism in this case) should be re-integrated into the curricula of the modern university. Not only in the form that treats Buddhism (and the other spiritual traditions) as an antiquated relic studied objectively from the outside, but as a living tradition that must be internalized by the students themselves. Chapter One introduces the main idea of the book. Chapter Two and Three talks about the wisdom tradition and Thai universities respectively. Chapter Four to Six together talk about the role of the university in modernity and the relations between Thai and Australian universities. Chapters Seven and Eight form the basic argument of the book, that of reintegrating what Ma Rhea calls the "postmodern" wisdom into the mainstream program of study within the university. The wisdom is "postmodern" in the sense that it is a reaction to the modern, and neoliberal, attitude of requiring everything to be measurable and responsive to the market. A strong point in the book is that Ma Rhea does not simply praise the Thai traditional wisdom, but she in fact reports that even the Thai academics themselves are critical of their own tradition, while accepting that it is important as a source of their own cultural identity and cannot be ignored.

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Dignity of labour for African leaders: the formation of education policy in the British Colonial Office and Achimota School on the Gold Coast by Shoko Yamada. Research and Publishing Common Initiative Group in Bamenda Cameroon, 2018

History and culture can be a potent means to trace and understand the roots of contemporary educational discourse regardless of whether certain historical understandings are authentic or not. Shoko Yamada's *Dignity of labour for African leaders: the formation of education policy in the British Colonial Office and Achimota School on the Gold Coast* achieves this. The book demonstrates how historical and cultural analyses make sense of past and contemporary educational discourses, policies and practices in Africa, particularly in the Gold Coast (Ghana). Historical data, philosophies, and personal narratives as well as the process of educational borrowing are vital to understanding British colonial education in Africa and its legacies.

The ten chapters of this book critically examine the discourse on education for colonised Africans in London and the Gold Coast Colony, (now known as Ghana). Yamada argues that terms such as 'adaptation' and 'character training' provoked a sense of legitimacy, suggesting that the accepted education policy was based on a winning exemplar elsewhere. Yamada, a professor of comparative education and African Studies at Nagoya University, Japan, and an education specialist with expertise in the fields of history, educational development in contemporary Africa, and donors' aid policies on education in developing countries, tackles the dearth of scholarship "on the jargon of colonial education, 'adaptation' and 'character training' from the perspective of educational philosophies'' (p. 280).

The book, based on the author's PhD dissertation, focuses on the period between 1910s and 1930s which witnessed an increase in British authority over its colonies and a formalisation of its management in various fields, including education. Part I forms the analytic framework which outlines the author's methodological approach. It also gives an overview of the history of education and politics in colonial Africa, using theories of global exchanges of ideas and transfer of educational models. In Part II, the global level discourse is analysed through context, structure, actors and norms, while Part III examines the national and institutional level in the Gold Coast Colony and Achimota School utilising the same dimensions of analysis (context, structure, actors and norms). Part IV concludes by setting the history of Achimota and British colonial education within the context of vocational and general secondary education in Ghana and globally.

Yamada frames the analysis within the context of *the Memorandum on Education Policy in Tropical Africa* and the Achimota School. Both represent "the windows through which observers can capture the intentions of actors, norms they relied on in promoting their positions and the politics of decision making" (p. 4). Analysing both also demonstrates how the global and local intersect. Using data generated from documents and interviews, she analyses the process that shaped education policy for British Africa in the colonial capital of London, and Africa's response to a colonialist-initiated policy. She competently explores the manner in which the policy was altered through local intervention. The case of Achimota School powerfully exemplifies what was regarded as 'good' education for Africans and how it was realised.

In exploring the context which conditioned the global discourse, Yamada examines areas such as the political economy of the inter-war period in Europe; interventionist government and scientific planning; education in the systemic web of colonialism; Pan-Africanism and inspirations for nationalism in Africa; and overlapping spaces of global influence as well as the influence of American educational philosophy. She considers the role of the Phelps-Stokes Commission's report in 1922; the collaboration between colonial government and Christian missions, and between Africans and the private sector; and the building of an administrative system, all of which helped shape *The Memorandum on Education Policy in Tropical Africa* created by the British Colonial Office in 1925. The book also discusses the philosophical sources of inspiration for British colonial education in Africa (American progressive educational philosophies; the American black industrial education; British vocational education; and Victorian moralism, which instilled character training in education). Yamada expertly demonstrates how multiple interests and ideas shaped the *Memorandum.*

Yamada's analysis of the national discourse on education within the political context of the Gold Coast is illuminating. She shows that Africans' dependence on the discourse of revivalism was as ambiguous as the Europeans' discourse of civilisation, and that the interests of African educated nationalists were at variance with those of traditional chiefs. She argues that while key concepts of the educational discourse in the Gold Coast Colony paralleled that in the metropole, education practices diverged significantly. Consequently, she challenges dependency theories that contend that the voices of the colonised were marginal within the discourse. The assumption that Africans were excluded from education policy making in the Gold Coast is erroneous since they were active participants in the policy process. Achimota School as an experiment manifested character training and adaptation, the two key tenets of colonial education in the early 20th century. Both were intimately linked as the goal of adaptation in education was to form the character of individuals, who were not estranged from their own societies.

Public response in Ghana after independence led to external influences on the educational system including the vocational secondary education policies. The analysis of 'adaptation' in post-colonial Ghana at the secondary education stage and the effects of global discourse on educational policy in Ghana render this book relevant to contemporary education processes.

Overall, Yamada successfully charts a rich historical piece as far as British colonial education in Africa is concerned making this study a strong contribution to the field of the history of education and educational policy and development. The strength of this book further lies in its painstaking examination of the rich body of records left behind by the participants in British colonial education. The book is enhanced by well-documented photographs, interview excerpts and personal narratives, providing the reader with a vivid picture of processes in the past that left a lasting legacy on modern-day education in Ghana/West Africa.

The author's argument against the dependency theorists' view that Africans were marginalised in the discourse occasionally leads her to lose sight of the fact that the context within which the various actors were engaging was far from a level playing field, and was rife instead with unequal power dynamics and tokenism from the powers that be.

Nonetheless, this book is a significant addition to the field of the historiography of education policy formulation and practices in Africa, making it an essential read for students, academics, education experts, and development practitioners.

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Dr Emefa Juliet Takyi-Amoako is Executive Director of Oxford ATP International Education. She is Education and Research Consultant, and Senior Quality Assurance Expert for higher education. She is also a visiting university lecturer. Her research interests are in the areas of education policy, globalisation, foreign aid partnerships, power, gender, pre-tertiary and higher education. Dr Takyi-Amoako has a rich experience of educational systems, and has authored and edited books, articles and reports on education including a co-edited book entitled *Re-visioning Education in Africa: Ubuntu-inspired Education for Humanity* (2018) recently published by Palgrave Macmillan. Her other interests comprise developing educational enrichment programmes for the youth. She has a doctorate in Comparative and International Education from Oxford University.

一部了解世界教育的入门经典 ——《比较教育》（第五版），王承绪、顾明远. 2015 年, 人民教育出版社, 北京.

由我国著名教育家、比较教育学家王承绪教授、顾明远教授主编的《比较教育》（第五版，人民教育出版社2015年版）是普通高等教育本科国家级规划教材、全国高等学校文科通用教材，曾荣获全国普通高等学校优秀教材一等奖、全国高等学校优秀教材国家级二等奖、全国教育科学研究优秀成果奖二等奖，是全国该学科影响力最大的教材之一。

1982 年，《比较教育》于人民教育出版社正式出版，供全国高等师范院校教育专业学生使用，是为该书第一版。这是新中国第一部全国通用的高等院校比较教育学科教材,也是第一部我国学者自己编写的系统介绍外国教育现状、研究世界教育动向的比较教育学专著。之后，作者又根据国内、国际教育改革和发展的形势和需要，对《比较教育》进行了修订、完善，并于 1985 年、1999 年、2012 年由人民教育出版社出版了第二版、第三版、第四版。2014 年 10 月，该教材入选教育部普通高等教育本科国家级规划教材。根据教育部有关高校课程教材改革的精神，为进一步提高该教材的质量，作者在文献资料、学术规范、观点表达等方面进行了新的修订、完善，并于 2015 年 7 月由人民教育出版社出版，即为第五版。截至 2018 年 11 月，该书已累计重印 30 次，印数达 22 万册。可以说，《比较教育》这本教材从一个侧面反映了改革开放以来我国比较教育领域的成就和经验，是我国比较教育理论研究库藏中的宝贵财富，堪称新时期比较教育思想演化和比较教育理论发展的一个缩影和写照。

《比较教育》（第五版）共分十章，除了第一章"导论"和最后一章的"回顾与展望"，全书从八个专题入手，对八国的各级教育情况进行了横向比较。这八个专题包括"学制述要""学前教育比较""义务教育比较""普通中等教育比较""职业技术教育比较""高等教育比较""师范教育比较""教育管理比较"，八个有代表性的国家是美国、英国、法国、德国、俄罗斯、日本、印度和中国。之所以选择这八个国家，既有中国比较教育研究的传统，同时也是时代发展的新要求。中国比较教育学科的发展与中国改革开放的进程密切相关，1982 年《比较教育》第一版正式出版时正值改革开放的初期，我们迫切需要向发达国家学习教育经验，因此作者在兼顾文化多样性的基础上，选择了美国、英国、法国、德国、俄罗斯和日本这六个国家作为研究对象，这也是中国比较教育学研究的传统六大国别，这一传统一直延续至 2012 年。然而随着世界格局的变化，特别是中国、印度等新兴经济体的快速发展，中国比较教育的研究对象也随之拓展，除了关注传统的六大发达国家外，更多的发展中国家也进入中国比较教育研究者的视野，印度和中国因此也被加入了《比较教育》第四版的研究对象国之列。此外，这样的章节编排充分考虑了本科生的学习程度和学习需要，体现了鲜明的基础性、系统性和适用性。这有利于编写者和教材使用者对同一教育主题在不同国家的表现形式进行全面、系统、深入的比较研究和分析阐述，有利于养成学生超越国界获取相关比较教育材料的习惯，更有利于学生把握比较教育的基本理论、了解比较教育的基本事实、形成清晰坚实的比较教育学科知识结构。

第一章导论首先介绍了比较教育的发展历史和学科特性，特别值得一提的是，对比较教

育的发展历程进行梳理之后,该书的作者提出了比较教育的三个特征:跨国或跨区域性、跨文化性,跨学科性和可比性,精准地规划了中国比较教育学者对比较教育学科属性和特色的基本定位。此外,导论部分还详细地介绍比较教育的基本研究方法,为比较教育的入门学者提供了明晰的方法指导。

在八个专题的比较中,《比较教育》(第五版)更侧重寻找世界各国教育发展的基本趋势、共同特点和规律,特别是各国在教育现代化过程中的经验和教训,探寻出教育现代化的共同规律,为我国教育工作者提供参考。如"学制述要"这一专题不仅呈现了不同国家学制的差异,同时也指出各国学制的演变都反映了各自国家的历史文化、社会经济发展水平以及教育方针政策,都是经历了一系列的改革才形成了现行的学制。各国的现行学制都符合儿童的身心发展规律,具体表现为在入学年龄、中小学分段等方面具有较高的一致性,均将学前教育、初等教育、中等教育和高等教育包含在学制中。随着终身教育理念逐渐深入人心,各国也在学制中突出了对继续教育和终身教育的重视程度。再如,在"学前教育比较"这一专题中,作者指出世界上越来越多的国家逐渐认识到学前教育作为个体接受教育的起始阶段,在促进儿童全面发展,保教并重,加强幼小衔接并做好入学准备方面具有重要的奠基作用。为了不断推动学前教育的发展,提高学前教育的地位,各国都采取了一系列重要举措:努力推进学前教育向公共产品的方向发展,并通过多种措施向儿童提供免费学前教育的机会;设置多种多样的学前教育机构,充分满足不同儿童、家长群体的需求;重视幼儿教师的职前教育与在职培训,促使幼儿教师的发展走上终身性、一体化和专业化的道路。这样的特点在每一个专题中都有充分的体现,由于篇幅有限,在此就不赘述。

最后一部分"回顾与展望"将二战后世界各国教育的发展分为了三个阶段: 20 世纪 50-60 年代教育的大发展与大变革、20 世纪 70-80 年代终身教育与学习型社会思潮的兴起以及 20 世纪 80 年代中期至今全民优质教育的发展。纵观这半个世纪以来世界教育的发展,作者由此总结出世界教育呈现出教育民主化、终身化、信息化、国际化和优质化的特点。作者提出在风云多变的 21 世纪,不断推进教育改革,提高教育质量是世界各国人民的心声,再次凸显了中国比较教育学者对世界各国教育共通性问题的关注。

此外,近年来,各国教育改革不断深入,陆续出台了许多新政策,《比较教育》(第五版)也紧跟时代的步伐,在原有的六个国别的研究基础上,新增了印度和中国两个国家,同时更新了相关的内容,走在时代的前沿,具有很强的时代性。同时《比较教育》(第五版)在原有的基础上推陈出新,更新了相关的内容和数据,系统地论述了比较教育学科的最新研究成果,及时整理和综合了最新的比较教育研究成果,反映了进入 21 世纪以来世界各国教育改革和发展的新变化、新经验与新趋势,反映了本学科发展的新特点,体现了该书鲜明的学术性、引导性和发展性。

该书文字简练、通俗易懂的特点适合零基础的入门新手阅读,可读性较高。作为普通高等教育本科国家级规划教材,《比较教育》(第五版)是大学生学习和了解比较教育的重要读本,也可以作为各级各类教师培训的教材使用,还可以供教育专业研究生以及广大校长、教师、教育行政人员、教育研究工作者作为研究的参考资料使用。

滕珺

北京师范大

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Reinventando Freire (*Reinventing Freire*), edited by Moacir Gadotti and Martin Carnoy, published by Instituto Paulo Freire (São Paulo) and Stanford University.

To commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the publication of the book *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* by Paulo Freire, Moacir Gadotti of the Paulo Freire Institute in São Paulo and Martin Carnoy of the Lemann Center at Stanford Graduate School of Education, organized a series of articles around Paulo Freire, his ideas and his practical experiences in education.

The articles, written by authors who are close, and not so close, to this 50 year-old story, led to an exceptional book, which is dense and fruitful; affective and critical; historical and philosophical; pedagogical, in the Greek sense of the word. A book that guides the reader on the international paths of the 'inédito viável' that became the theory, practice, philosophy and epistemology of education of this Brazilian scholar turned into a universal phenomenon.

The book presents a demanding task for the reader because it is about the trajectory of the *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* and all other Freire's works, as well as the works of his most dedicated thoughtful commentators or his more severe critics; moreover, the full bibliography of references is extensive. Also demanding because it refers to the implementation of his ideas in context, and the gaps therein, reverberating to the current challenges in education, both in developing countries and in developed countries, at the political moment of the changing world.

The reading is demanding, too, because Freire's ideas compel the reader to be confronted with practice. They are theoretical ideas that use the practical action to be informed and that return to the practice to be constituted as a reflexive action. The reader is invited to engage, permanently, in this movement.

Elements such as the trajectory of each author of the articles and the influence of Freire's work on his/her own work (and in some cases on her/his personal life); the carefully selected quotations that bring Freire's thought into dialogue with each author - the comings and goings to/from Freire's work for a better understanding of the arguments and ideas that are synthetically articulated -; extended and deepened concepts, throughout the book (e.g., Freire's work on decolonialism and postcolonialism), are characteristic of *Reinventando Freire* and require of the reader, more time for reading and engaging in hard intellectual work, as he/she delves deeper into the texts.

Reinventing Freire is a fertile material for evaluation and comparison, once again, of Freire's significant contribution to progressive and popular education in the twentieth century and of what remains to be done in the twenty-first century. It is a true review of the circulation and reception of the work of Freire himself and of the effective work of the Paulo Freire Institute.

Reinventando Freire evokes ideas and challenges for the present and the future. It is a piece of work with theoretical and practical remembrances, carrying the sense of living the moment of the crossing. It is a planetary collective with 29 articles from different parts of the world, which is organized in five parts that point to different dimensions such as basic and higher education, Freirian praxis and other possible pedagogies, and actualities and rediscoveries.

The subtitle of the book, intentionally conveying a delimitation to the praxis of the Paulo Freire Institute in São Paulo, Brazil (such institutes exist in Argentina, Italy, Spain, the United States, India, Taiwan, Cape Verde, and others), is not a trivial detail. This movement materialized in the institutes and a network for innumerable practices inspired by the work sown by Freire in his written ideas and encounters constituted Freire's perennial reinvention.

The founding moment of the institutes took place in 1991, with Paulo Freire, in Los Angeles; an idea sprouted in Brazil and materialized through the dedicated work of its founders and extraordinary people who produce the work of the Paulo Freire Institute. Reinventing Freire is an inventory of the living construction of the Freirian rhizome.

The organizers take the correct route to offer articles that give an account of the planetary dimension of Freire's work. The book includes articles by authors from the various nations influenced by Freire's work, as a thinker, during these decades and where Freire, the wanderer, spent time during his interventions and seminars or fieldwork emanating from the constructive practice of his theorizing.

However, without compromising the quality of these phenomenal works, the articles will need a better revision for future editions. Clearly, some texts were written prior to this collection. On page 26, for example, Cortella's article states that the *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* will celebrate its 40 anniversary this year, yet *Reinventando Freire* celebrates the work's 50th anniversary. Certainly, this is a lapse, but should have been corrected. Here and there, some sections seem truncated, perhaps by translation, and a good textual review can eliminate such shortcomings in a new edition. Print quality also needs to improve: the font is small, the print is too light, and the spacing between the lines is too narrow, which makes the reading - already long and challenging - quite tiring. Make yourself comfortable in order enjoy the full reading!

Instead of reading the book in one breath, I recommend ignoring the organization of the index and engaging in a step-by-step compilation of articles, by title, toward a reading selection. Then, go ahead and savor the path made by the intertextuality of the work of this Brazilian thinker in the many resonances he establishes with people committed to the pedagogy of those who suffer some kind of oppression, of any quality.

Reinventando Freire is a must-read book for anyone who wants to build knowledge in education and knows that relevant knowledge is dialogic, without excluding any perspective that will advance it. You will have extraordinary insight into the work of Paulo Freire who, in the end, was not alone in such work.

<div align="right">

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Государственно-частное партнерство в профессиональном образовании: подходы к реализации на примере России, США и Китая.

Обзор статей из блока Круглый стол: дефицит квалифицированных кадров и государственно-частное партнерство в профессиональном образовании. (Журнал Новой экономической ассоциации №4, 2017 г.).

В данном блоке статей авторы рассматривают проблему реализации реформ и экспериментов в среднем профессиональном образовании на примере России и Китая, а также опыт внедрения дуальных форм обучения в Соединенных Штатах. Основные изменения в данных странах связаны с проектом внедрения системы практиоориентированного образования по примеру немецкой системы дуального образования, в рамках которой государство и бизнес принимают совместное участие в выработке и реализации образовательных программ. Особая ценность данных работ заключается в том, что авторы рассматривают институциональные изменения и возможности в странах с различной институциональной средой. Данные работы являются результатом реализации исследовательского проекта «Государственно-частное партнерство в среднем профессиональном образовании: на примере фирм в России и Китае», поддержанного грантом Российского Научного Фонда.

В данной рецензии мною будут рассмотрены следующие статьи:

А.А. Яковлев, Спрос на повышение квалификации работников, «ловушка среднего дохода» и перспективы догоняющего развития в РФ.

И.В. Абанкина, Ф.Ф. Дудырев, А.И. Шабалин, Управление системой СПО: от бюджетной зависимости к модели государственночастного партнерства.

Т.Ф. Ремингтон, Государственно-частные партнерства в сфере СПО: адаптация немецкой модели дуального образования.

По Янг, Координация государственно-частного партнерства в сфере среднего профессионального образования: опыт Китая.

И. Маркес II, Профессиональное образование и механизмы государственно-частных партнерств в российских регионах.

Прежде всего, данный цикл работ представляет интерес в качестве попытки рассмотреть процессы, происходящие в российском среднем профессиональном образовании, с точки зрения его включенности в международный контекст решения проблемы преодоления кадрового дефицита, и в особенности, дефицита высококвалифицированных рабочих кадров. Большая часть работ посвящена детальному рассмотрению именно российского контекста, но данный контекст не рассматривается изолированно, а выстроен в контексте актуальных проблем довольно большого количества стран.

Так в статья А.А. Яковлева, директора Международного центра изучения институтов и развития НИУ ВШЭ, посвящена проблематике ловушки среднего дохода, в которую попал рынок труда в настоящее время, в том числе и в плане нежелания предприятий инвестировать в подготовку потенциальных рабочих кадров, имея риск потерять их вследствие зарплатного демпинга со стороны фирм-конкурентов. В данной работе не только отмечаются проблемы, с которыми сталкивается российская система образования в частности и рынок труда в общем, но и варианты из решения.. В частности, опираясь на работы ведущих исследователей данной проблематики, в числе которых профессор Ричард Ф. Донер (университет Эмори, США) и профессор Бен Росс Шнайдер (Массачусетский университет, США), автор обозначает конкретные векторы и драйверы по выходу из сложившейся ситуации.

И. Маркес, доцент факультета социальных наук и научный сотрудник Международного центра изучения институтов и развития НИУ ВШЭ, развивая проблематику ловушки среднего дохода, в своей работе описывает более глубокий, детализированный подход к реализации партнерских программ в среднем профессиональном образовании по отдельным российским регионам. Особая ценность данного исследования состоит в том, что оно базируется на данных ежегодных отчетов 1654 учреждений среднего профессионального образования во всех российских регионах, которые позволили автору выделить кластеры и типы сотрудничества учебных заведений с конкретными предприятиями, а также отраслями - от менее затратных по времени и материально-финансовым ресурсам до наиболее продвинутых форм.

Авторский коллектив Института образования НИУ ВШЭ в лице И.В.Абанкиной, Ф.Ф.Дудырева и А.И. Шабалина детально проанализировал эволюцию управления системой среднего профессионального образования от 1990-х до настоящего времени. Ценность данной работы заключается в том, что авторы не только проследили эволюцию административно-бюрократических процедур, но и проанализировали причины данных изменений, а также их последствия для региональных систем среднего профессионального образования.

Вторым смысловым блоком в сборнике выступают кейсы изменений в системе подготовки высококвалифицированных кадров для различных областей экономики в США и Китае. Так, к статье профессора Китайского института финансирования образования Пекинского университета По Янг анализируются формы партнерства 171 образовательного учреждения с 257 производственными предприятиями в различных провинциях Китая. Особый интерес данной работы представляет то, что она стала результатом исследований, проведенных в методическом партнерстве с российскими и американскими коллегами, и рассматривает изменение в схожей с российской институциональной среде в рамках внедрения, так же как и для России, новых технологий государственно-частного партнерства. Более того, как указывает профессор По Янг, сама система учреждений среднего профессионального образования была создана по модели, которая на тот момент уже существовала в Советском Союзе. Таким образом, в дополнение к предыдущим, данная работа позволяет сравнить различие подходов в России и Китае в рамках схожих образовательных институтов по реализации новой для этих институтов концепции отношений учебных заведений с государством и бизнесом.

В статье профессора университета Эмори, ведущего научного сотрудника Международного центра изучения институтов и развития Томаса Ремингтона, на примере США показаны характерные особенности партнерств с элементами дуального образования на местном уровне, которые объединяют образовательные учреждения, государственные структуры и фирмы, а также обсуждаются пути, ведущие к формированию таких партнерств. В данной статье, как и в работах Маркеса и Яковлева,

обозначена проблема преодоления государствами ловушки среднего дохода и значительного неравенства качества среднего профессионального образования в зависимости от отрасли и типов фирм, с которыми сотрудничают учебные заведения. В работе Т.Ремингтона уже на примере американской системы подготовки высококвалифицированных рабочих кадров показаны сходные проблемы, с которыми сталкивается образовательная система при попытке внедрения дуального (практикоориентированного) обучения в независимости от государственной принадлежности. В том числе, к подобного рода сложностям относятся необходимость создания новых организационных форм, преодоления рисков для инвестирования предприятиями в систему подготовки кадров, дифференциация этих рисков в зависимости от конкретной производственной отрасли, а также стимулирование инициативы со стороны учебных заведений быть более практикориентированными и готовыми перестраивать свои программы под нужды того или иного сектора в лице конкретных фирм.

В заключение хотелось бы отметить, что данный блок статей представляет один из немногих примеров рассмотрения в рамках согласованной методики исследования, .актуальной международной проблемы подготовки высококвалифицированных кадров с различных точек зрения и с включением в данный фокус стран с различной институциональной средой. Безусловно, мы не можем говорить, что каждая страна рассмотрена с одинаковой детализацией, но определенная ценность данных работ состоит в том, что постановка проблемы позволяет проследить различные и общие подходы к внедрению новой для всех системы практикоориентированного образования вне зависимости от формы правления и институциональных особенностей.

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Profile of a Comparative and International Education Leader: Mark Bray[1]

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Mark Bray's profile is a biographical sketch of his contributions to the field of comparative and international education (CIE). This profile also documents his distinguished career in which he rose to senior leadership positions in higher education and international development organizations including UNESCO. Mark served as President of the World Council of Comparative Education Societies (2004-2007), Director of UNESCO's International Institute for Educational Planning (2006-2010), and as President of the Comparative Education Society of Hong Kong (CESHK) and the US-based Comparative and International Education Society (CIES). The article is based on multiple data gathering techniques and oral interviews. Highlights include a review of some of Mark's key career milestones, leadership positions and accomplishments, as well as several publications that that have helped shape and impact CIE worldwide.

Keywords: Mark Bray, Comparative and International Education, CESHK, CIES, Shadow Education, UNESCO, Comparative Education Methodology, WCCES

يوثق هذا الملف (CIE). تمثل هذه النبذة عن حياة مارك براي رسما بيوغرافيا لمساهماته في مجال التعليم المقارن والدولي الشخصي أيضًا مسيرته البارزة التي ارتقى فيها إلى مناصب قيادية رفيعة في التعليم العالي ومنظمات التنمية الدولية بما في شغل مارك منصب رئيس المجلس العالمي لجمعيات التربية المقارنة (2004-2007) ، ومدير المعهد الدولي ذلك اليونسكو كذلك مجتمع و (CESHK) للتخطيط التربوي التابع لليونسكو (2006-2010) ، ورئيسًا لجمعية التعليم المقارن بهونغ كونغ المقارن مقره الولايات المتحدة الامريكية، ويستند المقال على تقنيات جمع البيانات المتعددة (CIES). التعليم الدولي تتضمن النقاط البارزة مراجعة لبعض المعالم المهنية الرئيسية لمارك ومواقعه القيادية وإنجازاته ، والمقابلات الشفوية في جميع أنحاء العالم CIE بالإضافة إلى العديد من المنشورات التي ساعدت في تشكيل وتأثير.

马克·布雷（Mark Bray）的简介以传记的形式记录了他在比较与国际教育（CIE）领域中的贡献。这份简介描述了他的杰出职业生涯，讲述了他在高等教育领域的高级管理职位和对包括世界银行和联合国教科文组织（UNESCO）在内的国际发展组织作出的领导贡献。马克曾担任世界比较教育学会理事会主席（2004-2007）、教科文组织国际教育规划研究所所长（2006-2010）、香港比较教育学会（CESHK）会长和美国比较和国际教育协会（CIES）的主席。本文基于多种数据收集技术和口头访谈的方法，重点回顾了马克的职业里程碑、领导职位和关键成就，梳理了他的若干著作，这些作品都帮助塑造和影响了全球范围内的比较与国际教育的发展。本文是基于多种数据收集技术和口头访谈。重点包括回顾马克的一些关键职业里程碑、领导职位和成就，以及帮助

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[1] This profile draws on interviews conducted by the author with Mark Bray on 13 March 2014, 30 September 2014, and 7 November 2018. All the uncited direct quotes in this profile derive from these interviews.

塑造和影响全球 CIE 的若干出版物。

Le profil de Mark Bray est une esquisse biographique de ses contributions au domaine de l'éducation comparée et internationale (ECI). Ce profil témoigne également de sa brillante carrière au cours de laquelle il a occupé des postes de direction dans l'enseignement supérieur et les organisations de développement international, y compris l'UNESCO. Mark a été Président du Conseil mondial des associations d'éducation comparée (2004-2007), Directeur de l'Institut international de planification de l'éducation de l'UNESCO (2006-2010) et Président de l'Association d'éducation comparée de Hong Kong et l'Association Américaine d'éducation comparée et internationale. L'article est basé sur de multiples techniques de collecte de données et d'entretiens oraux. Les points saillants comprennent un examen de certaines des étapes clés de la carrière, des postes de direction et des réalisations de Mark, ainsi que de plusieurs publications qui ont contribué à transformer et à étendre l'ECI dans le monde entier.

Профиль Марка Брея представляет собой биографический очерк его вклада в области сравнительного и международного образования (СМО). Этот профиль также документирует его выдающуюся карьеру, в которой он поднялся на высшие руководящие должности в высшем образовании и международных организациях по развитию, включая ЮНЕСКО. Марк служил в качестве президента Всемирного совета обществ сравнительного образования (2004-2007), директора Международного института ЮНЕСКО по планированию образования (2006-2010), а также в качестве президента Общества сравнительного образования Гонконга (CESHK) и Американского общества сравнительного и международного образования (CIES). Статья основана на многочисленных методах сбора данных и устных интервью. Основные моменты включают в себя обзор некоторых ключевых этапов карьеры Марка, его руководящих должностей и достижений, а также несколько публикаций, которые помогли сформировать и влияние СМО во всем мире.

El perfil de Mark Bray es un bosquejo biográfico de sus contribuciones a la educación internacional comparada (Comparative and International Education - CIE). Este perfil también documenta su distinguida carrera, en la que ascendió a posiciones de liderazgo en educación superior y en organizaciones internacionales de desarrollo, incluyendo la UNESCO. Mark ocupó los cargos de Presidente del Consejo Mundial de Sociedades de Educación Comparada (2004-2007), Director del Instituto Internacional de Planificación Educativa de la UNESCO (2006-2010), y Presidente de la Sociedad de Educación Comparada de Hong Kong (CESHK) y de la Sociedad de Educación Internacional Comparada (CEIS), con sede en Estados Unidos. El artículo se basa en múltiples técnicas de recolección de datos y entrevistas orales. Como puntos destacados del artículo se incluyen una revisión de algunos de los principales hitos de la carrera de Mark, las posiciones de liderazgo y los logros obtenidos, así como varias publicaciones clave que han ayudado a moldear al CIE y a darle impacto en todo el mundo.

Mark Bray's influence as a leader in the field of comparative and international education is inspirational. After childhood and youth in southern England, Mark turned toward a life in international education after graduating from secondary school. He held significant positions at a young age, and maintained leadership roles throughout his distinguished career. Mark bridged the divide between scholar and practitioner by working both *in* and *from* several flagship universities (namely the Universities of Edinburgh, London, Papua New Guinea, Hong Kong, and most recently East China Normal University). From these academic locations Mark also worked in prominent international development organizations including UNESCO. He also held significant leadership positions in professional bodies including Presidency of the World Council of Comparative Education Societies (WCCES). This biographical narrative of an individual's career path may bring wider understanding of the contexts for development of the field of comparative and international education (CIE).

Background of Early Years in England

Mark Bray grew up in post-War England in the 1950s and 1960s. He was born in 1952 in the south of the country, and was the third of four siblings. He recalls a frugal existence. "I remember getting hand-me-downs from my older brothers, which was normal; and families commonly reknitted jumpers as the children got bigger." Nevertheless, the environment was culturally rich, and during the economically-easing 1960s his family could even afford some vacation travel in Europe through which he gained some international exposure.

Today, Mark's siblings all live in different countries. "Our family became highly international," Mark recounts. From a monolingual culture mostly focused on England, Mark's generation has become multilingual and global. Such generational shifts are of course far from unique; but the contrast between Mark's intercultural and international focus and that of his parents struck Mark strongly when he reflected on it during the interviews. All of Mark's own schooling was undertaken in England, but almost all his career has been abroad.

Charting a Course in CIE

Immediately following his secondary schooling, Mark took a break from full-time education and at the age of 17 went to Kenya as a Youth Service Abroad volunteer teacher in a rural *harambee* (self-help) secondary school. One of his elder brothers had followed this route, and encouraged Mark to do the same. The time in Kenya exposed Mark to a very different culture, and was not only a distinct formative experience but also a springboard to a lifelong career in comparative and international education (CIE). "My experiences in Kenya profoundly changed my perspectives on the world," he recalled.

Mark then studied economics at the University of Newcastle upon Tyne, receiving his BA in 1973. His main social group was with international students alongside British counterparts who like him had first-hand and deep experience of other countries. By that time, Mark had been "bitten by the travel bug." He used his summer vacations for travel in North and Sub-Saharan Africa, exploring further cultures and "learning through comparing."

In 1973, Mark returned to Africa for a two-year posting, this time with Voluntary Service Overseas, as a community secondary school teacher in Kwara State, Nigeria. Because he already had experience in East Africa, Mark wanted to work in West Africa. He was among the staff that launched this rural school, teaching English, economics and various other subjects as the need arose (which was frequent). Mark recalled the deep immersion in the Nigerian culture as often challenging but very meaningful. As in Kenya, the school was in a remote location with rough roads and no electricity. The pair of experiences helped to

Mark Bray (third left, front) with other teachers in Kwara State, Nigeria, 1974. Photo courtesy of Mark Bray.

give Mark a sense of what it was like to be a minority in other cultures and contexts.

During his second year in Nigeria, Mark applied for an interdisciplinary Masters program in the Centre of African Studies at the University of Edinburgh, Scotland. There he met Kenneth King, who later became his doctoral advisor. "During the program my focus shifted from

economics to education because of Kenneth King," Mark reflected. "He was a very active and inspirational, with remarkable knowledge of Africa and the wider development community." [2]

Having written a Masters dissertation about preparation of Nigeria's Universal Primary Education (UPE) scheme which was launched in 1976, Mark desired to extend the work in doctoral study. Kenneth King encouraged this, and Mark became his first PhD student. They decided that the best vantage point to observe the unfolding UPE scheme would be through return to Nigeria for a teaching position. Thus, Mark's second extended stay in Nigeria was as an economics teacher at the Federal Government College, Kano, while simultaneously enrolled as a doctoral student at the University of Edinburgh. In Kano, Mark was responsible for School Certificate and Higher School Certificate classes in economics.

Mark (second right) with his advisor, Kenneth King (center), and students/colleagues at the University of Edinburgh, 1978. Photo courtesy of Mark Bray.

Returning to the UK in 1977, Mark learned that his mentor would go on leave for two years (which later became three and a half) to work for the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) in Canada. Kenneth suggested that Mark might apply for the position that he would temporarily vacate at the University of Edinburgh. Mark was surprised at this suggestion, and recalls telling Kenneth that he was much too junior. Kenneth encouraged Mark to apply anyway.

Mark did apply, was interviewed, and informed that he did not get the job having ranked third among the three interviewees. He accepted the logic of this decision—and then about two weeks later found his balance challenged by the news that the first two candidates had declined the offer and therefore that it fell to him. Still pursuing his doctorate and in his mid-20s, he felt somewhat out of his depth. "Whereas I had been the student just months before, all of the sudden I was put in the prestigious position of being a university lecturer for the same courses I had recently taken myself," Mark recalled. He taught courses about education in less developed countries at the MEd, MSc, and postgraduate diploma levels.

Mark rose to the challenge, and especially after the first year found confidence in what he was doing. Alongside, he continued work on his doctoral thesis which he submitted in 1979. Having done so and needing a break, he rewarded himself with a diversifying travel experience, this time to India where his younger brother was following Mark's tracks as a volunteer teacher after university graduation. After revisions, the thesis was approved in 1980 and published the next year with the title *Universal Primary Education in Nigeria: A Study of Kano State*. Thus appeared Mark's first book, today placed chronologically on his shelf alongside 57 others.

When Kenneth King did in due course return to his post at the University of Edinburgh, Mark continued his geographic and cultural diversification first with a three-months assignment in Pakistan and then with a three-years appointment at the University of Papua New Guinea (UPNG). Pakistan had transitioned from the colonial era in the immediate post-war era, but the colonial transition in Papua New Guinea was much more recent. In Papua New Guinea Mark noted greater similarities with Sub-Saharan Africa in the nature and levels of development.

The post at UPNG was funded through a World Bank project and provided close links with the National Department [Ministry] of Education and with provincial governments. Mark's main

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[2] For a collection of Kenneth King's published works, with a Foreword by Mark Bray, see King (2019).

role was in-service training of provincial education planners – for which he characteristically took every opportunity to travel in order to see the country and understand local conditions. Within his first year he had visited all 19 provinces, many of them several times and extensively. He also took every opportunity to visit neighboring countries. During his tenure in Papua New Guinea, Mark also served as an Education Planning Adviser for two specific provinces (East New Britain and North Solomons), and continued his writing and research. His second book (1984) was entitled *Educational Planning in a Decentralised System: The Papua New Guinean Experience.* It made an impact far beyond Papua New Guinea itself, in part because it was well grounded in practical realities and also because it was an early contributor to wider discussion of decentralization when it became a major theme on international development agendas.

Allan Sail (first left – a colleague in the educational planning team) and Mark Bray (second left) with local villagers, visiting remote Papua New Guinea schools, 1982. Photo courtesy of Mark Bray.

Mark returned to England in 1984 as a Lecturer at the University of London Institute of Education. He was employed in what was initially called the Department of Education in Developing Countries (EDC) and then, after a reorganization, the Department of International and Comparative Education (DICE).

However, Mark stayed in London for only a year and a bit. In 1981 he had visited Hong Kong, accompanying a colleague from the University of Edinburgh who was conducting research there. Mark had met Ora Kwo, who taught in the Department of Professional Studies in Education at the University of Hong Kong. When they decided to get married in 1986, Mark moved to Hong Kong for his next (lengthy) period of immersion in a different culture. For a while, Mark was a househusband and took a Cantonese language course while he explored job possibilities and also took intermittent consultancies in countries as diverse as China, Malta, Indonesia, New Zealand and Sudan. In 1987 he considered himself extremely fortunate to secure a post in the Department of Education at the University of Hong Kong.

The post that Mark secured at HKU was at the Lecturer level. After two years he was promoted to Senior Lecturer and then a year later to Reader. Subsequent posts included Head of the Department of Education (1991-1995), Professor (1996-1999), Chair Professor in Comparative Education (1999-2012), Dean of the Faculty of Education (2002-2006), and UNESCO Chair in Comparative Education (2012-2018).

Since 2018, the status of Emeritus Professor at HKU has permitted Mark to take on other roles. Most prominent among them has been Distinguished Chair Professor at East China Normal University, Shanghai. "China is in an exciting stage of internationalization," Mark explained. "It is a pleasure to work there with a very dynamic team." He added that Shanghai has about a dozen graduates from his doctoral and masters supervision; and, reflecting on the past, observed that Shanghai is a very different city from the time of his first visit with Ora in 1983.

Institutional Roles and CIE

During the early stages of his career, Mark considered himself more focused on development studies and what would commonly be called international (or foreign) education than on comparative education. Later Mark shifted towards explicit comparisons and to leadership with professional bodies associated with the field of comparative education.

Among Mark's major achievements has been the establishment and development of the Comparative Education Research Centre (CERC) at HKU. The Centre is well known in the international community, especially because of its publications and projects and also because of contributions to multiple generations of postgraduate students.

CERC was established in 1994 during the time that Mark was Head of the HKU Department of Education. Mark worked closely with a colleague, Lee Wing On, who himself had comparative interests demonstrated in recent publication of a book based on his doctoral thesis from Durham University in England (Lee 1991). They decided that Wing On would become the founding Director, with Mark and others providing strong support.[3] Mark took over the Directorship in 1996, having by that time handed over the Headship of the Department of Education to a colleague, and remained Director until the beginning of 2002 when he was again called to major Departmental administrative duties.

A major driving force for CERC was Hong Kong's political environment during the 1990s. The timetable had been set for the departure of the British colonial administration and the resumption of Chinese sovereignty on 1 July 1997, and a major question concerned what could be learned from experiences elsewhere. Thus the first two volumes in the CERC Studies in Comparative Education, which became a prestigious series in the field, focused on this theme (Lee and Bray 1997; Bray and Lee 1997). The theme was explored further in 1999 when Macau underwent its political transition from Portuguese to Chinese administration (Bray and Koo 1999). Through these and other publications, CERC sought to provide an Asian flavor and indeed provided another center of gravity for the field which had hitherto been dominated by North America and Western Europe.

Figure 1: A Framework for Comparative Education Analyses:
The Bray and Thomas Cube
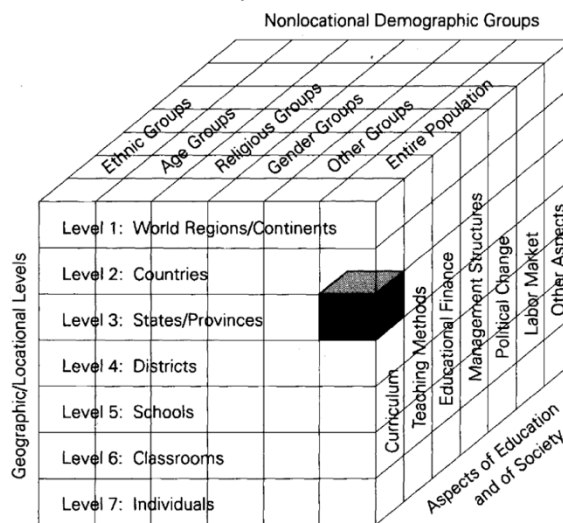
Source: Bray and Thomas (1995), p. 475.

Also worth mentioning during this period was Mark's paper co-authored with R. Murray Thomas and published in the *Harvard Education Review*, which included what is now widely known as the Bray and Thomas Cube (Figure 1). The article commenced (Bray and Thomas 1995, p. 472) by observing that:

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[3] For a history of CERC, including its leadership, structure, role, and impact, see Manzon (2015).

> Comparison is the basis of almost all forms of inquiry. However, the field of educational studies known as comparative education has historically been defined in a somewhat limited way…. [The] chief focus in comparative education literature has been on countries and world regions, and … this has tended to lead to unbalanced and incomplete perspectives. On the other side of the coin, … much research in other fields of education has been undesirably localized in focus. In many of these studies, unbalanced and incomplete perspectives have resulted from the lack of an international dimension.

The cube showed ways in which perspectives could complement each other in multilevel analysis. Bray and Thomas recognized that it could not cover every category of comparison, but the cube became a classic in the field of comparative education. Moreover, the article has been widely utilized in other fields (see e.g., Ballantine 2001), and in 1996 received the award from the American Educational Research Association (AERA) as the "Outstanding International Study of the Year."[4] Bray explored further the value and limitations of the cube in his book *Comparative Education Research: Approaches and Methods*, which was co-edited with two colleagues who became CERC Directors after he had stepped down in 2002. The book has so far appeared in two editions (Bray, Adamson and Mason 2007/2014) and 10 languages,[5] and is a core text for university courses in many countries.

Returning to the theme of Mark's institutional career trajectory, in 2006 he moved to Paris as Director of the UNESCO's International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP). The IIEP had been founded in 1963 by Philip H. Coombs,[6] and is the oldest and most prestigious of UNESCO's institutes in the education sector. Mark was only the eighth person to serve as Director. He was granted leave of absence from HKU, initially for three years and then for one more to complete a four-year term. The IIEP provides research and training worldwide within the UNESCO framework.

Mark observed that because the IIEP has its own Governing Board, it is to some extent protected from the more politicized UNESCO dynamics in UNESCO. He enjoyed the IIEP work, seizing the opportunities to interact with government policy makers and planners across the globe. Whereas his previous academic appointments had mainly afforded relationships with counterparts in universities, the IIEP's primary partnerships were with ministries of education.

Mark Bray (left) with Raymond Wanner (right), Chair of the IIEP Governing Board, 2007. Centre: photo of Philip H. Coombs, founding IIEP Director. Occasion: naming of Coombs Room in IIEP. Photo courtesy of Mark Bray.

While at the IIEP, Mark developed his work on the so-called shadow education system of private supplementary tutoring. Several years earlier, the IIEP had published his booklet in the prestigious series "Fundamentals of Educational Planning" entitled *The Shadow Education System: Private Tutoring and its Implications for Planners* (Bray 1999b). The metaphor of the shadow was used because the supplementary sector to a large extent mimics

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[4] The award followed nomination by the International Studies Special Interest Group.

[5] The languages are Chinese, English, Farsi, French, Italian, Japanese, Korean, Portuguese, Russian and Spanish.

[6] Coombs was a significant a visionary in the field of education, especially known in academic circles for his book *The World Educational Crisis* (Coombs 1968).

the mainstream: as the curriculum in the mainstream changes, so does that of the shadow. That book was the first global study of the phenomenon, and is a foundation item in what is now a considerable literature. "I did not invent the term 'shadow education,'" Mark recalls, "having encountered it in Japan, Malaysia and Singapore. But I did play a major role in popularizing it." Indeed the vocabulary is now widespread, not only from that 1999 book but also, among others, from sequels in Mark's work.

In 2007 Mark organized an IIEP Policy Forum which led to a volume entitled *Confronting the Shadow Education System: What Government Policies for What Private Tutoring?* (Bray 2009). That book had even greater impact than the first. Mark observed that:

> Back in 1999, many people had responded along the lines of "That's interesting, but it is not us: it is you people over there, in Hong Kong, Japan, Korea and elsewhere in East Asia." But a decade later, people responded that that *is* us. Shadow education had more obviously become a global phenomenon. And the comparative analysis was valuable to policy makers and planners who had previously felt isolated as if the phenomenon only existed in their countries.

An indicator of the extent to which the work was valued is provided in the number of translations. The 1999 book was published in six languages, but the 2009 book appeared in 20. In most cases the translations reflected demand in the countries themselves rather than the provision by UNESCO, and some of the languages are relatively uncommon for such international comparative work.[7]

During his tenure, Mark also gave keynote addresses in every major global region on topics that included good governance, research methods, and financing of education. "It was very stimulating to be at UNESCO," Mark recalled, "and exciting to operate on the global stage." IIEP further broadened Mark's international network and influence. Mark helped to monitor and further shape UNESCO's Education for All (EFA) agenda. He also contributed actively to

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[7] The 1999 book has been published in Azeri, Chinese, English, Farsi, French and Japanese. The 2009 book has been published in Arabic, Armenian, Azeri, Bangla, Chinese, Farsi, French, Georgian, Hindi, Kannada, Korean, Mongolian, Nepali, Polish, Portuguese, Sinhala, Spanish, Urdu and Uzbek.

UNESCO's priorities for Small Island Developing States (SIDS), including through a 2009 IIEP Policy Forum in conjunction with UNESCO's World Conference on Higher Education (see Martin and Bray 2011).

Returning to HKU after IIEP brought Mark back to the frontier of university teaching. Further, Mark's experience at UNESCO added prestige to HKU. Most obvious was the creation of the UNESCO Chair in Comparative Education, approved in November 2011 and officially launched in May 2012 in the presence at HKU of Tang Qian, UNESCO's Assistant Director-General for Education, and other senior colleagues. The model had been created in 1992 as a bridge between UNESCO and the academic world, and the network of "critical friends" enabled UNESCO to secure independent expertise from the research community and elsewhere. The Chairs existed in all domains of UNESCO work (i.e., Education, Science and Culture), but this was the first to be labeled a UNESCO Chair in Comparative Education.

Mark's expanded and deepened network and experiences also strengthened other CIE aspects within the Faculty of Education, including in the Comparative Education Research Centre of which Mark resumed the Directorship following his return from Paris. New thrusts included not only the UNESCO foci but also an expanded Master of Education (MEd) program in Comparative and Global Studies in Education and Development (CGSED) which attracted a multinational and dynamic annual intake. Mark also built up a Special Interest Group in shadow education. PhD students during the next eight years focused on Bangladesh, Cambodia, China, Eritrea, Georgia, Hong Kong, India, and Myanmar, and Postdoctoral Fellows focused on China, Cambodia, Dubai, Iran, Japan and Taiwan. Many MEd students also focused on shadow education in their dissertations, adding for example Azerbaijan, Uganda, and Uzbekistan.

Among the specific events during this period was a celebration of CERC's 20th anniversary. The five Directors to date attended, [8] and Maria Manzon, whose doctoral thesis had become an influential conceptual book (Manzon 2011), prepared an institutional history of CERC to show its leadership and evolution in changing environments (Manzon 2015). The cake-cutting component was led by CERC's capable secretaries: Emily Mang who had faithfully served CERC and its mission for 17 years, and Zhang Wei who had taken over from her.

Twentieth Anniversary Year of the Comparative Education Research Centre at the University of Hong Kong, 2015. From left: Maria Manzon, Zhang Wei, Lee Wing On, Mark Bray, Bob Adamson, Mark Mason, Yang Rui, and Emily Mang. Photo courtesy of Mark Bray.

Work with Comparative Education Societies and the World Council

Mark attended his first WCCES Congress in Prague, Czechoslovakia, in 1992. During the Congress Mark met then WCCES President Wolfgang Mitter, Secretary-General Raymond Ryba, and other prominent leaders. Raymond Ryba needed an Assistant Secretary-General to help manage the World Council affairs, and invited Mark to take this role. One reason why Raymond Ryba needed help was that his health was precarious, and his death in 1996 left a major gap. Mark did not feel ready at that stage to move into the Secretary-General position, and like many colleagues was glad that Vandra Masemann was willing to do so (Monks and Jacob 2018). Mark continued as Assistant Secretary-General for four years, and then in 2000

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[8] They were Lee Wing On (1994-1996), Mark Bray (1996-2002), Bob Adamson (2002), Mark Mason (2002-2008), Yang Rui (2008-2010), and again Mark Bray from 2010 onwards.

took over from her. In this role he supported David Wilson as President of the WCCES and then, from the time of the 2001 World Congress in Korea, Anne Hickling Hudson (Jacob 2017). From the Korean Congress he edited a special double issue of the *International Review of Education* that was then republished as a book and translated into nine languages (Bray 2003).[9] Such dissemination helped the WCCES indeed to see itself as a World Body with participation from scholars in some of the relatively minor language groups as well as the major ones.

Anne Hickling Hudson's presidency lasted from the 2001 Congress in Korea to the 2004 Congress in Cuba. Mark was nominated as her successor, and then elected—by that time having a dozen years of intimate knowledge of WCCES procedures and history. Since the WCCES was unable to appoint a replacement Secretary-General at such short notice, Mark proceeded with both roles until 2005 when Christine Fox was appointed to the position. The term of the Presidency was again for three years until the 2007 Congress in Bosnia and Herzegovina, at which point Mark handed over to Crain Soudien but remained a member of the Executive Committee for a further three years in the role of Past-President. Subsequently Mark became the WCCES-UNESCO Liaison Representative, and only in 2016 concluded his service on the WCCES Executive Committee after a period exceeding two decades. Thus, Mark was indeed a major figure in the WCCES development, part of which was chronicled alongside the roles of others in the book of histories that he co-edited with Vandra Masemann and Maria Manzon (Masemann et al. 2007).

Mark also played major roles in other societies. One was the Comparative Education Society of Asia (CESA), which had been founded during CERC's inaugural symposium in 1995 (Mochida 2007). Mark had been part of the 1994 planning meeting convened in Japan, and was a member of the Board of Directors from 1995 to 2001 and again from 2012 to 2017. He was also a loyal participant in the CESA biennial conferences, presenting keynote addresses in 1998 (Mainland China), 2001 (Taiwan), 2003 (Indonesia), 2005 (Malaysia), 2007 (Hong Kong), and 2012 (Thailand).

Secondly, Mark has always been an active member of the Comparative Education Society of Hong Kong (CESHK), of which he was President from 1998 to 2000. The CESHK had been founded in 1989, and for much of its history CERC has been the Secretariat. The CESHK Constitution declared the society's objectives to be:

- to promote the study of comparative education in Hong Kong;
- to disseminate ideas and information, through seminars and publications and other means, on recent developments, in Hong Kong and abroad, of comparative education scholarship; and
- to liaise with other scholarly associations of comparative education and of other areas of educational research, in Hong Kong and abroad.

In their account of the CESHK history, Wong and Fairbrother (2007, p. 251) noted that:

> The fifth President of the society, Mark Bray (1998-2000), at that time Director of the Comparative Education Research Centre (CERC) at the University of Hong Kong, revitalised attention to these objectives. Bray had a distinct mission of taking the CESHK further beyond the local context, which was partly achieved through the links with the WCCES. Bray's address at the CESHK's 10th anniversary conference (Bray 1999a) highlighted the impressive output of Hong Kong scholars in the prominent English-language and Chinese-language journals of the field…. Hong Kong scholars, Bray pointed out, were doing much to promote the visibility of Hong Kong itself, and also mainland China, Macao

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[9] The original book was in English, and the translations were in Bosnian, Bulgarian, Chinese, Farsi, Hungarian, Italian, Japanese, Russian and Spanish.

and Taiwan, in the international literature. He added that they had particular strengths in being able to publish in Chinese-language as well as English-language journals.

However, Wong and Fairbrother added, Bray also underscored the need for stronger attention to methodology and urged CESHK scholars to reach further beyond local case study research into the broader conceptual arena. During his presidency, the CESHK began its tradition of holding conferences on a regular annual basis rather than on a somewhat *ad hoc* pattern.

The third WCCES member in which Mark has played a major leadership role is the US-based Comparative and International Education Society (CIES). This is the oldest and largest of the WCCES member societies, having been established in 1956 (Epstein 2016; Swing 2007). With only one gap, Mark has attended every CIES annual conference since 1987 and has found these events invaluable for networking and professional development. The Bray and Thomas cube was one product, since the seed for the idea had been sown during a CIES conference.[10]

Mark was been approached several times over the years to stand for election for the CIES Presidency, and always refused because of other commitments. Finally, in 2014 he did agree to stand, and was elected. The CIES had previously had Presidents based in Canada as well as the US, but had not had a President outside North America. Since Mark was not a US citizen, he also was not linked by nationality. In these respects, therefore, his election brought a departure from traditions. Fortunately, in the internet era it was still possible to convene Skype meetings with the Executive Committee and Board of Directors, albeit at inconvenient hours for some of them; and colleagues familiar with US and politics advised him on those dimensions.

The CIES system is for the elected candidate to proceed in a four-year sequence from Vice-President to President-Elect, President and then Past-President. One of the greatest tasks for the President-Elect is organization of the annual conference. For Mark the event fell in 2016, which was the Society's 60th anniversary year and thus set the theme of "Taking Stock and Looking Forward." To achieve geographic balance with immediate predecessor conferences, Mark initially wanted the event to be on the West Coast of the US. However, no appropriate venue was available, and he therefore decided on Vancouver, Canada. A 60th Anniversary book of histories edited by Erwin H. Epstein was commissioned for the CERC-Springer series and given to each of the 2,700 conference participants. The conference indeed reflected meaningfully on the nature and evolution of the CIE field, at least as viewed from North America.

Following the tradition, towards the end of the Vancouver conference Mark transitioned from President-Elect to President. Major duties during the months that followed included appointment of a new team to the professional secretariat. Of course many other routine matters demanded considerable attention in a body as large as the CIES. Mark was glad to hand over the baton during the 2017 conference in Atlanta, USA, during which he presented his Presidential Address. Building on parts of his work over the decades, commencing with his PhD thesis about UPE in Nigeria and then turning to the research on shadow education, his address was entitled "Schooling and its Supplements: Changing Global Patterns and Implications for Comparative Education" (Bray 2017).

Alongside CESA, CESHK and CIES, Mark has assisted many other societies. For example, he has delivered keynote addresses for conferences of the:
- Association Francophone d'Éducation Comparée (AFEC),
- Australian and New Zealand Comparative Education Society (ANZCIES),
- Bulgarian Comparative Education Society (BCES),

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[10] R. Murray Thomas was also a regular participant of CIES conferences, and had been CIES President in 1985/86.

- China Comparative Education Society (CCES),
- Comparative Education Society of the Philippines (CESP),
- Czech Pedagogical Society – Comparative Education Section (CPS-CES),
- Gulf Comparative Education Society (GCES),
- Indian Ocean Comparative Education Society (IOCES),
- International Society for Comparative Adult Education (ISCAE),
- Japan Comparative Education Society (JCES),
- Sociedad Argentina de Estudios Comparados en Educación (SAECE), and
- Sociedade Brasileira de Educação Comparada (SBEC).

Once again, this list underlines his global role in developing the field.

Conclusion

Throughout his academic career, Mark has considered the universities that employed him not only to be excellent places to work *in* but also excellent places to work *from*. As indicated, over the decades he undertook multiple short-term assignments for such bodies as the Asian Development Bank, Commonwealth Secretariat, UNESCO, UNICEF, and the World Bank. Mark also worked with many national governments and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Recalling a phrase used by David Wilson, a predecessor President both of the WCCES and of the CIES, Mark felt that "this has given me an academic-practitioner perspective in which I have worked on both sides of the road. I have been able to cross the road between conceptualization through academic writing and the world of government ministries and to some extent schools." He added that the grounding of his early career in rural Africa had been invaluable for understanding of developmental contexts away from cities and centers of administration.

WCCES Congress in Istanbul, 2010. From left: an interviewer from the press, Mark Bray, Fatma Gök (WCCES Vice-President and Congress organizer), and Susan Robertson (University of Bristol, UK). Photo courtesy of Mark Bray.

Mark has also carried far-reaching impact through the professional bodies in the field. During his decades as Assistant Secretary-General and then Secretary-General and President of the WCCES, he helped to plant and watered seeds for societies that grew and flourished. Among them was the Turkish Comparative Education Society (TÜKED), which hosted the World Congress in 2010. During that event Fatma Gök, the Congress organizer and WCCES Vice-President, was among people who paid tribute to Mark and his role. Equally, as noted, he played a foundational role for CESA, and then helped it to grow and develop. Similarly, when he took over the CESHK helm he set traditions that have been sustained during subsequent decades. The CIES is a much older and larger body with many dedicated contributors over the decades, and so the nature of Mark's CIES leadership was somewhat different but again of lasting significance as the Society proceeds through its seventh decade. And alongside these bodies, Mark has helped other societies as reflected in the long list above.

A different, albeit related, side of Mark's impact has been through his scholarly publications. To date he has published 58 books, among which translations have appeared in 28 languages. He has also (co-)authored over 160 peer-reviewed journal articles, and 120 book chapters; and the *CERC Studies in Comparative Education* series has 36 volumes to date.

Looking back at his career, Mark felt very fortunate to have had many great opportunities and the energy to seize them. The world has greatly changed since the 1970s, not only through technology but also through geopolitical shifts. Combining continued links with HKU as an Emeritus Professor and a new role in Shanghai as a Distinguished Chair Professor at East China Normal University, Mark feels at the forefront of some of these shifts in what has been widely called the Asian Century (e.g., Johnson et al. 2015).

Answering a question about opportunities for younger generations, Mark responded: "I see huge opportunities, but they may be very different from what they looked like when I embarked on my career." CIE opportunities differ depending on each country. There has been a major shift in recent years in the international influence from the West toward the East. "For instance, when I travel to China and to other countries I can see the differences." Where there was once strong funding and support for CIE in traditional strongholds like the United States, United Kingdom, Canada, and much of Europe, East Asian countries such as China, Japan, Korea and Singapore have are now exerting leadership. Mark has been glad to have been part of this shift, especially in Hong Kong but also elsewhere.

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