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PROSPECTS

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DEVELOPING A SUSTAINABLE EDUCATIONAL POLICY FOR A BETTER QUALITY OF MANKIND

Arief Rachman

In this short paper, what is meant by a sustainable education policy is one that views education as a part of an educational philosophy providing all human values to individuals or groups in accordance with their needs in their real cultural environment. It uses their own experience and rational thinking according to their levels of maturity through existing educational agencies in a complementary and balanced manner with the ultimate aim of being able to lead a happy life.

Human-beings in relation to their environment

Everything that exists is a part of an interdependent universe. All living things depend on one another for their existence, well-being and development. In relation to their environment, human-beings have an inner ecology that interacts with the social and planetary ecology. Education is an effective instrument to improve the environment in order to enhance the quality of life by showing mankind how to maintain harmonious relations with the environment. Therefore, education should inculcate ethical values toward the environment.

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The objective of sustainable education

In this connection, the objective of education is to develop individuals who are members of several social groups, such as the family, the community and the world, as well as being potential leaders – as indicated in every religion – in preserving the planet so that it becomes a better place to live in.

APPLYING A HOLISTIC VIEW OF EDUCATION

A holistic view of education would encourage individuals to live in harmony with nature and to be closely integrated with their environment – and this also applies to the whole community. Human-beings cannot be separated from their environments. Education should cover human nature and the nature of the universe in the same whole. Therefore, actions that harm the environment will directly or indirectly affect us too, which is why we should be responsible for the preservation of the environment. Our relationship with the environment should teach us to repair the ecological destruction caused by humans and to see that a balance in the ecosystem is achieved. This kind of education should therefore be a holistic one, applying an active methodology that will be directed to the person as a whole to help him or her in maintaining harmony between the senses, feelings, the intellect and intuition. In this regard, education should not be confused with that kind of teaching that stresses knowledge. The holistic approach will show us how every situation offers us the opportunity to learn and emphasizes the development of self-education. The global and particular context of every situation will take on equal importance.

The content of holistic education should place emphasis on simplicity, co-operation, human values, general knowledge prior to specialized knowledge and see materials as something that should be used to serve fundamental values. Thus, a holistic approach aims to awaken and develop the intuition as much as the senses with the strength of logic.

The goal of a holistic education is to achieve a balance between these psychic functions. It is concerned with physical health, along with emotional and mental equilibrium and the awakening and maintenance of human values. As far as the brain is concerned, this would correspond to a balance between its right and left hemispheres. Another strength of the holistic approach is to maintain the balance between masculinity and femininity.

SOME CULTURAL FACTORS INFLUENCING EDUCATION

Education is a part of culture. Therefore, in developing the educational policies of any country, cultural factors should be taken into account. There are those that undergo constant modification, such as:

- The needs and aspirations of the people;
- Knowledge and know-how;

- Creativity and ability;
- Spoken languages;
- Migration patterns;
- Changes to the environment;
- Technology transfers and intercultural communications.

And those that serve as factors of continuity in the community, such as traditions and beliefs:

- The value system;
- Ethical and spiritual norms;
- Modes of life;
- Ways of thought;
- Customs;
- Habits;
- Aesthetic creativity;
- Religious and historical celebrations;
- Some forms of non-tangible heritage.

Institutions responsible for education

Education plays a meaningful role when the satisfaction of learning needs is connected to social requirements, when teaching is relevant and fully assimilated, and when learning is effective and sustained. In such a situation, the learners are viewed as the architects and builders of their own learning processes and they recognize the utility of practical skills in the course of their everyday life. In this regard, education is not merely schooling; it allows for the existence of other forms of educational institution. There are at least three institutions that are responsible for education: the family, the school and the community. They should work together in a complementary and inter-dependent manner.

THE FAMILY AS AN EFFECTIVE EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION

In any society, every child has to learn to conform more or less to a series of cultural norms and ideas about good and bad based on what he/she finds to be acceptable or unacceptable to the adults in the family during the early years. The first five or ten years of growth are the most formative environment for the child in the family. It is through the family that many educational aims will be achieved, since intelligence is more closely and clearly associated with home circumstances. Much learning goes on in situations that parents do not usually regard as educational ones. Learning is global and all the child's experience is educative. The balance between the natural and nurturing processes should be established within the family.

Every child is born with potentialities the strength of which varies from individual to individual. Some are malleable while others seem to be more resistant to environmental influences. The shaping of intelligence in terms of knowledge and skills will be very heavily influenced first by the home and then in a more formal manner by

the school. A child needs strong support from the parents in coping with the immense adjustment that has to be made, as well as the importance of reaching the goal that has to be achieved. If it is well managed, such support helps children to develop positive and successful life-skills that will provide them with positive and successful coping styles useful throughout life. If the child receives no such support, if the environment is too protective or the learning provided is beyond the level of maturity, then this may tend to cripple the individual in the face of the challenges to be met with later in life.

SCHOOLS AS THE BEST EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION

School has a crucial and indispensable role to play in providing education. The content of education on human values should be emphasized, concentrating on moral issues as indicated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. At least three components of moral education should be acquired at school:

- Moral education as the inculcation or transmission of a set of values, beliefs, attitudes, rules, habits, skills and dispositions.
- Moral education as a kind of lived experience that occurs in certain kinds of environments; it is something that is apprehended rather than taught
- Moral education as a set of procedures or tools designed to help young people deal with moral issues (critical thinking, ethical inquiry, intentions, motives, etc.).

Moral education should be taught both at home and in the school environment. Schools can and must include in their curricula matters of substance concerning moral values, respect for rules, habits, beliefs and disposition, as much as they include scientific laws and theories, works of literature and art, etc. They should incorporate practices into everyday lessons that allow students to gain experience as moral agents, as much as they incorporate matters into lessons that allow them to gain artistic skills, to carry out mathematical operations, etc. Furthermore, they should equip and empower students to think about moral values, to connect what they think and believe with what they say and do, to practice ethical inquiry alongside artistic inquiry, scientific inquiry, etc. The school's culture should be cultivated so that it becomes an important element in the formal preservation of human development.

Beyond that, schools are the best institutions to provide a safe haven for learning, not only for academic development but also for psychological and social development, complementing learning within the family. Schools must not teach in contradiction with the values of the family and the culture of the society. If we accept the important role that schools can play in helping personal development and in the acquisition of skills for healthy living and for acquiring life-skills, new efforts need to be made to improve the education provided at school levels.

COMPLEMENTARY TASKS OF THE HOME, THE SCHOOL AND THE COMMUNITY

Home, school and the community are the three educational institutions that complement each other in education for personal development. The home environment and the school environment interact – what happens in one will influence what happens in the other. Therefore, the home and the school should be brought together and should jointly exercise their complementary functions through, for example, parent/teacher associations. In this respect, parents and teachers should have different but complementary tasks. Mothers and fathers have a far closer and deeper tie with their children than the teacher, because they know them more intimately and possess a fuller knowledge of their early development. The teachers, who should be familiar with the psychology of children, should be able to see each child objectively and situate individual children in the perspective of their wider experience. The school, as the only social organization that is potentially in touch with all children and their families, will occupy a key position in the community, a position that should be exploited and developed. The school itself is a community of adults and children existing in a variety of relationships to each other. This experience should be extended to the surrounding community by integrating the school with its own community.

Strategies to improve educational policy in the future

Before we decide upon the strategies to improve education in the future, we have to know the challenges facing education at present and that affect young people, for example: exclusion and marginalization; the pressure of globalization; the use and expansion of new information technologies; the impact of urbanization; gender inequality; injustice at the level of political power; HIV/AIDS; community conflicts; pornography; etc. Therefore, education for the future should benefit young people in their various communities by considering the following aspects: the economy (poor and rich); the geographical conditions (urban, rural, remote areas); and gender equity (boys, girls); while bearing in mind national and international aspects. The following strategies may help in making schools more responsive to the needs of young people in the future:

1. To clarify what is meant by successful education (the natural process as well as the nurturing process of inculcating a strong personality – spiritually, emotionally, intellectually and socially).
2. To define, develop and disseminate models of schools that promote knowledge, skills and values relevant to both local conditions and to the general challenges facing society.
3. To promote school/parent/community linkages for increased community ownership about the education of their children.
4. To ensure the inclusion of vocational training for life-skills that responds to the relevant interests of students and their needs for survival and healthy development.

5. To improve training and support systems for teachers in order to build up their capacity as educators and role models, as well as their ability to assist students.
6. To provide a balanced education for students according to whether they live in urban/rural areas, remote regions, poor/rich communities or belong to disadvantaged groups.
7. To aim at ending social exclusion by including young people in distress or living in violent circumstances, by offering renewed learning opportunities for early school-leavers, and lifelong learning and training opportunities for both employed and unemployed youth.
8. To improve the academic and financial standard of teachers.
9. To improve the content of the curriculum, as well as the textbooks and learning materials available.

Co-operation among the educational stakeholders

In order to be able to carry out these strategies, there should be co-operative actions with different roles being established among the stakeholders of education: government, relevant United Nations agencies, international organizations and NGOs.

THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT

The government should put priority on improving educational policies geared to improve the quality of mankind. Therefore, educational development should be integrated with all kinds of development. Educational development should not be detached from the philosophy of education or the culture of the people because any development is a question of human development, both individual and collective involving all regions of the world. And to promote sustainable development that favours human life, human development should incorporate cultural dimensions. For this purpose, no country can work alone – the existence of many international organizations and other United Nations agencies are expected to assist countries at different stages of development.

THE ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES

According to United Nations Charter, one of the missions of the United Nations Organization is to encourage international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character. The UN has had the task of encouraging social and economic progress at the global level because of unequal development in different parts of the world. It should, therefore, take a leadership role in improving all types of development, including that of education, in both developing and the least-developed countries.

THE ROLE OF UNESCO

Among UN agencies, it is UNESCO that recognizes the importance of the role of culture in development and stresses the importance of including cultural dimensions in development. The World Decade for Cultural Development proclaimed by the UN and the establishment of a World Commission on Culture and Development is UNESCO's initiative. UNESCO is one of the UN agencies that has devoted most of its attention to educational development. UNESCO has assisted Member States in directing the development of their educational policies through intellectual co-operation, but UNESCO should work co-operatively and intensively with Member States at the field level through its National Commissions which act as co-ordinating bodies at the country level, so that its work is more recognized and appreciated.

THE ROLE OF NGOS

NGOs should share the work of governments in improving educational development. Therefore, their existence should be recognized and they should be involved in co-operative activities. They should also have a clear policy direction to support the improvement of educational development in their country. In this case, NGOs should work hand in hand with governments to encourage the participation of all people, especially those who are at the grassroots levels, to participate in educational development. In doing their work, they should:

1. Acquire knowledge about the area they work in.
2. Understand the level of knowledge of the community, the social role of men and women in that community, and local forms of their participation.
3. Plan together with local communities in building a learning environment.
4. Win the people's confidence by establishing quality human relations.
5. Hold in depth discussions with them, listen to their opinions and comments, and inform them of the result of their observations.
6. Work in stages with local communities in designing and implementing projects.

Conclusions

In designing a sustainable educational policy, continuous co-operative actions should be carried out among the educational stakeholders with synergy. The educational tasks and responsibilities should be identified among them in accordance with their mandate. Financial resources should be sought to support the programme activities designed. There should be a co-operative and co-ordinated management among them with the assistance of UN agencies and other international organizations interested in education. The approach to education should be holistic, placing learners as active agents in their social and natural settings, adapt them to their needs and use interdisciplinary approaches and diversified curricula. Moral education should be the core in the design of any educational programme and the responsibility of the school in teaching moral education should be emphasized by examples of moral conduct among

teachers, students and school administrators. Especially teachers should be the role models of good conduct at school level.

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THE EURO-ARAB DIALOGUE: AN EDUCATIONAL BRIDGE

INTRODUCTION TO THE OPEN FILE

Aziz Hasbi

In place of the usual Editorial for this issue of PROSPECTS, we are privileged to publish the following article by Aziz Hasbi, President of the IBE Council, which serves both as an Editorial and as an Introduction to the Open File.

This is a good time to start talking about 'dialogue' again, even if the present cacophony might seem to give more credence to a polarizing 'clash of civilizations' (Huntington, 1997). In fact, dialogue has never ceased, although it has not always enjoyed the climate it needs to carry out its function, which has itself changed over time. Have we ever been genuinely willing or able to identify the objectives and means of dialogue, except on particular occasions or in order to promote unilateral purposes? Have we ever really been willing to discuss issues in good faith or on an equal footing, in order to find lasting solutions to all the problems which point to the failure of dialogue in the past and the acceptance of that failure as normal?

But there is an urgent need for dialogue if our 'sophisticated' world, while unable to distribute the fruits of progress to all its inhabitants, will at least allow them to survive and escape the incidents of barbarity and terror which have become a part of our daily lives now that technology has brought our world's constituent parts irreversibly closer together. Increasingly transparent proximity and media coverage highlight iniquities and injustices in the distribution of material well-being in the world, thereby fuelling fantasies and resentment. The world of plenty is both desired and hated for

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its inaccessibility. Its image increases the feeling of misery and poverty among those who can derive no benefit from it, making them painfully aware of the failure of their own progress. Development is not, of course, merely material: but try to explain that to those who live in penury and are ready to brave death to reach the Eldorado shown all day long in advertising clips flaunting the privileges and glamour that are the stuff of dreams.

Yes, we need dialogue, especially between the Arab and European worlds, which are linked by the bonds of history and by inescapable geographical proximity. However, the need for dialogue must be sincere and not subverted by the usual, useless 'dialogue for dialogue's sake' approach, which clumsily transposes the ruses of diplomatic negotiation and commercial haggling to dialogue among cultures and civilizations. The unfortunate outcome of this approach is always the same: the impression that winning and losing depends on where the power lies at any given time. The sort of dialogue that concerns us, and which should be the cornerstone of co-existence between civilizations, cannot be reduced to that game, since civilizations cannot be reduced to the hegemony and domination which result from a game in which there is always a winner and a loser.

What kind of dialogue do we need, then? What do we want it to achieve? What kind of role should we assign to education in our efforts to achieve it? Can education form genuine bonds? And what kind of education would it be? For the problems we are experiencing do not stem from an absolute deficit of education, assuming that the problem of the relation between it and instruction has been resolved. The world is now being systematically subjected to deliberate exploitation and informed terror. Exploitation has always existed and has always been opposed. Terror has been its faithful companion. However, the awareness of their effects now conveyed by the media throughout the world in real time is creating a climate that it is difficult to restrain with wishful thinking, or to ward off by passing resolutions doomed to remain without effect. Still less effective would be endless dialogue in which superficial verbal sparring invokes values whose universality is only attested by a minute portion of the Earth's population. This is the age of 'globalization'!

Logically, education would seem to be a useful instrument for this kind of bridge-building, on condition that it is placed in the service of a strategy of dialogue that is both sincere (that word again!) and agreed on by all. This strategy should be based on a methodology that focuses on the objective(s) set for the dialogue and also on critical assessment of the reasons for the failure of previous attempts at dialogue and, why not, of the dominant schools of thought that have underpinned (or perhaps undermined?) dialogue in the past.

Defining the objectives of dialogue

Many declarations and projects have been adopted by official or unofficial parties to Euro-Arab dialogue. These projects have from time to time given rise to hopes of an agreement to promote co-existence and joint development, but these have been dashed by their failure to deliver or the difficulties involved in implementation, including

the stronger party taking advantage of them. Let us take the most interesting case, the Barcelona Declaration of 27–28 November 1995, which made possible the establishment of the principles of the new policy of Euro-Mediterranean partnership. This was intended to be an all-inclusive partnership of solidarity, aimed at establishing multilateral relations on the basis of reciprocal concessions, and including political and security aspects. This policy is fundamentally different from the co-operation arrangements existing before the new association agreements involving the idea of a free-trade zone. The Barcelona Declaration consists of three sections:

- Political and security partnership: *Establishing a common area of peace and stability*;
- Economic and financial partnership: *Creating an area of shared prosperity*;
- Partnership in social, cultural and human affairs: *Developing human resources, promoting understanding between cultures and exchanges between civil societies* [our emphasis].

This is a dream for all those committed to co-existence and mutual recognition! However, the partnership policy did not come about by chance, and the motivations underlying it have coloured its content and imposed limitations. The text of the Declaration emerged from difficult negotiations between the countries concerned and the European Union, which inevitably involved compromises that, although they do constitute a qualitative leap forward in relations between the countries on the shores of the Mediterranean, are a more intensive reflection of European concerns about partners considered to pose a threat to the prosperity and tranquillity of a Europe that is increasingly turning towards its northern and eastern neighbours.

With the gradual enlargement of Europe, there is a physical displacement of the border of the European Union, which is now face to face with the Mediterranean countries in the south and east. This geographical proximity and the importance acquired by the Mediterranean, with the new groupings around an increasingly strong Europe that is more and more envied by other economic powers, have strengthened European awareness of the need to consolidate its positions in the Mediterranean basin. Whatever the expectations of Europe's Mediterranean partners, its policies will be based on aims that primarily reflect its own concerns.

In fact, the only objectives of the planned integration to be clearly set are those involving the opening up of Europe's partners to European industrial products. The Barcelona Declaration does not provide an innovative response to the question of the liberalization of trade in agricultural products.

The funding provided for this ambitious policy did not seem, when it was launched, to measure up to the objectives set, differing in this respect from the effort made by the European Union on behalf of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe.

One may conclude that the principles that could form the basis for efforts to bring the two worlds closer together and put in place a system of co-existence in which plurality is acknowledged do exist, but that they are not being acted on. That is why any purposeful dialogue should involve identifying the bases of a philosophy of action; action against intolerance and marginalization, action to encourage recognition of the individuality, dignity and beliefs of partners. Solidarity should mean something, and be accompanied by resources that would enable it to temper the rigour of States'

efforts to further what they consider to be their national interest. The elimination of social and economic marginalization should be based on the right to recognition, which should rid relations between the peoples of the region of their complexes and reintegrate them on an equal footing in respect for the legacy of their often-shared ancestors.

Establishing a sound basis for dialogue

Nobody can reasonably deny the need for dialogue to create the conditions for lasting co-existence between the Arab and European worlds, indeed between all civilizations. It is desirable, necessary and possible, but not only because of the 'geopolitical decline' of Europe (Leclerc, 2000) and its competition with the United States of America in the Mediterranean basin and the world at large.

Dialogue must be endowed with a meaning that can be found in shared fundamental concerns. It must be sufficiently pragmatic for its outcome to be realistic and feasible. It must avoid the traps of mindless moralizing. And it must banish the mutually distrustful mediaeval attitudes, shaped by the geography of barbarity and/or unbelief, of or towards a civilization or religion that believes itself to be superior (Lewis, 2002, p. 9), since both go through cycles of progress and stagnation, power and weakness, apogee and decline, Enlightenment and obscurantism, victories believed to be decisive and final, and defeats perceived as irremediable. The knowledge and technologies which are the shared heritage of humanity were not created *ex nihilo*, but were built up in a lengthy process of accumulation to which every people has made its contribution. Efforts now being made to give the West credit for a unique and absolute rationality and a creativity, which are seen as consubstantial with it (Leclerc, 2002) simply demonstrate amnesia and ethnocentricity. In order to establish a dialogue on sound foundations, we must call on the wisdom that prefers relativization to triumphalism, the latter having already done considerable damage.

A dialogue aimed at establishing the conditions for lasting co-existence must avoid long-winded platitudes. The Arab and European worlds must take responsibility for their shared history, a history of wars and peace, of mutual hatred fanned by fanaticism on both sides that has not been extinguished by secularization, but also periods of two-way communication which have seen giant leaps in human progress. The European and Arab worlds have inherited civilizations with a history tortured by ancestral rivalry in the economic, religious and many other spheres, and their considerable knowledge of each other was often acquired for the wrong reasons (know your enemy, the better to subjugate him or foil his plans for domination). Their view of each other has been distorted in various ways, and these distortions have not faded with time. Geographical and human proximity have created a dialectic of attraction/repulsion which has always been fed by the painful memories stored up by both sides and by fear of the 'other'. This proximity has created fantasies on both sides that will continue to weigh on any attempt at rapprochement until they are identified and exorcized.

Reading and coming to terms with history also means correcting the adverse effects on both sides of a selective appropriation of historical realities for the purposes of self-congratulation. It also means becoming aware of the vulnerability of situations

resulting from the crushing victory of one civilization over another, because the concessions made to power and the relationship that they engender lead to ill-feeling that can only be erased from the minds of the vanquished by revenge on the victor. We must try to learn the lessons of history together and reject previous ways of resolving periods when resentment festers: 'crusades' and other forms of fanatical revenge are unacceptable in a context of globalization, for technology and a glut of sensationalist information might push humanity to commit the irreparable. No military hegemony can be expected to last forever in today's 'sophisticated' world. If we cannot become brothers, we must at least learn to live side by side with our differences and to manage the planet as wisely as we can, or one way or another we may end up losing all we have. Sophistication is here but there is as yet little sign of common sense or discernment.

Education that takes these factors into consideration should act as a link and encourage dialogue.

The role of the 'educational link' in mutual understanding

The region's history shows that efforts to know other cultures once led to a monumental endeavour in the field of translation – when Arabs/Muslims translated works in Greek, Persian and Syriac into Arabic, Europeans took advantage of this heritage and added to it. Another huge surge in translation activity helped to launch the reformist Arab/Muslim *nahda* (rebirth or awakening) of the nineteenth century, which had already been initiated only to be suspended several times by an Ottoman Empire that had from the end of the seventeenth century become aware of Europe's technical inventiveness on the battlefield and its painful consequences (Lewis, 2002).

However, initial reactions to these confrontations, and the Napoleonic campaign in Egypt in 1798 in particular, were rather naïve: the Arab and Muslim peoples thought that modernization was a purely technical matter and that it could be achieved by borrowing the technology. Nor were these efforts always without ulterior motives.

However, the technology developed by Europe was not rejected as such because of its association with the Christian world. Enthusiasm was dampened more by the haughty demeanour and desire for domination of the 'civilizers', and the internalization of defeat and morbid sensitivity of the 'vanquished'. Reformism driven by military defeat at the hands of Europe had, in any case, been neutralized by rivalry among the European powers, which were all striving to initiate it themselves in order to prevent the client country from coming under the influence of the rival power. So reformism came to nothing, gradually falling prey to the reservations and then opposition of the keepers of the faith, who advocated a defensive fall-back on 'tradition' in the face of this conquering, arrogant West whose *reconquista* attitude, based on profound religious resentment of the Arab/Muslim world, had survived the Renaissance, the Reformation and Age of Enlightenment unscathed.

The development of tools for understanding through education should take these precedents into account and create an atmosphere conducive to correcting the hate-

filled defence mechanisms that are now encouraged by the victory of fundamentalism on both sides, stressing the decadent deviations of the 'other' and passing over in silence the positive aspects which have made humanity a comprehensive entity and a source of creativity. This process should make us think about effective ways of establishing tolerance, which it is no exaggeration to describe as a criterion of 'civility' (Lewis, 2002).

It should also involve awareness of the need to secularize relations between the two civilizations. Secularism in Arab countries, which is under discussion at the moment, is for their respective peoples to decide on. This debate is moreover complicated by the development problems experienced by these countries and the harassment to which they are subjected by the developed world. No one today can demonstrate that spirituality is the converse of development or that it is the real obstacle to the 'peaceful co-existence of plural values' (Leclerc, 2000). Spirituality that is fully assumed and tolerant is an asset. It is the political manipulation of spirituality, which takes root in the fertile soil of poverty and marginalization, that is the problem. It is the abuses, injustices and crimes committed in the name of religion that have caused the most damage throughout human history. Education that is aware of the difficulties and which sets itself clear objectives, and a programme of specific action to give life to the noble principles with which the joint declarations are replete, could put in train a dialogue that would enable reason to triumph over reciprocal rejection.

All these considerations should be reflected in education.

What kind of education?

Should it be a kind of awareness-building campaign covering the whole of society, like the television commercials that appeal to a sense of civic duty? Or should we devise special courses for schools, as has been done on occasion for human rights teaching and environmental issues? Or do we need both of these? In any case, awareness of the problems is the first step to devising a solution. It is not true that the Arab world has no place for the teaching of foreign languages or science. Its attitude to science and the new technologies of training and information is eloquent in this respect. What we need to identify are the problems experienced by the world of education, which have often been addressed by the transposition of exogenous methods and even content from foreign curricula – foreign being understood as anything that is not a product of each of the peoples of the region.

Education in the countries of the southern and eastern Mediterranean, to take only those areas relevant to this article, is crippled by a duality that takes several forms. It places the learner on the horns of a dilemma: the choice lies between education for the masses, which is hamstrung by budget shortfalls, and an elitist, Western-style education accessible only to the minority who have the means to pay for private education or to leave the country and be educated abroad. This duality leads to several types of unacceptable solutions, including a two-track education: one track leading to the brain drain and the other to endemic unemployment, which gives rise to frustration and is prey to manipulation of all sorts. The situation is sometimes complicated by the relocation of Western training, cutting off contact with local

realities and reinforcing the impression that local education systems are bankrupt. Let us be clear about this: the idea is not to reject all external contributions out of hand, but to highlight problems which could block any initiative aiming at rapprochement between the two communities via education, supposing any such initiative were ever to see the light of day.

In fact, all the peoples of the region recognize the importance of knowledge, hence education, in encouraging contacts with other cultures. Europe derived its power from studying and building on the experience of other peoples, and the Arab world is bound to seek knowledge from other peoples, even the most remote; such an approach was forcefully advocated by the Prophet himself. However, the aim of education must be mutual knowledge and recognition rather than information about the other side's weaknesses and poverty, in contrast to one's own plenty, in order to highlight the attractions of certain lifestyles. Over-insistence on Western methods has sometimes resulted in xenophobia. We must therefore find a way of avoiding wholesale curriculum transfer and be wary of the prescriptions of international experts whose approach may be influenced by ethnocentrism. The not-always-happy precedent of solutions handed down by the international financial institutions to the countries of the South should be a lesson. Education can never be reduced to wholesale transposition from one country or civilization to another.

Education thus carries with it the seeds of ambivalence and it must not be systematically entrusted with missions that it is not necessarily capable of carrying out. Education is necessarily a tool in the service of an ideal, hence the need to create conditions conducive to fruitful co-existence between the peoples in question, enabling them to live together in peace.

Everyone, above all in the Arab countries, acknowledges the importance of learning foreign languages. But there too we must prevent language being used to convey xenophobic or hegemonic views that spark off hate-filled reactions of rejection and defensiveness, fuelling radicalism of various kinds.

Education should encourage the creation throughout the world of intermediaries of co-existence, imbued with and proud of their own culture, but cultivating an attitude of relativity, tolerance and respect for the individuality of others. This may seem like wishful thinking, but it is also a necessity. If the education process is to produce such intermediaries, categories of thought which are bound to act as a brake must be carefully examined, as must those that could form the content of an education for co-existence.

Using dominant contemporary thought to create a context for co-habitation

Ethnocentric ideological assumptions have indisputably made communication between civilizations more difficult. The transposition of certain ideas or institutions from one civilization to another, which it was fondly imagined would enable developing countries to make up for lost time, has been more of a hindrance to development than a help. The idea of 'catching up' with the developed countries was abandoned some

time ago. As long ago as 1979, the World Bank, in fact, acknowledged that even if the developed countries stopped advancing and the developing countries doubled their growth rates, the latter would need a century to catch up with the former. In any case, the modern political and social institutions adopted by most of the countries in the South do not have the same impact as their Western counterparts.

How can dialogue help to dissolve the complexes that hamper intercultural relations? For that is where the real problem lies. Is there any way we can present transcultural and trans-civilizational values and technology in a positive light? Would the provision of education based on that transversality be enough to enable both sides at last to acknowledge their reciprocal contributions and unequivocally recognize the other as a stakeholder in the scientific and technological progress that characterizes today's world?

It is not easy to answer these questions. But any attempt to do so must involve efforts to find what some people refer to as a 'common language'. To the question: 'How can we persuade both sides to set aside their clichés, to overcome the fear that simply living together will make them lose their identity?', Azzedine Guellouz replies: 'There is only one solution: the discovery of a common language' (Chevallier, Guellouz & Miquel, 1991). This common language must involve a number of concepts which are causing trouble at the moment, some of which are examined below.

For example, the debate on *universality* is central to our concerns and it is a concept that has itself caused some confusion. There has been a tendency to dismiss the notion of universality because it can be associated with the dominance of Western civilization, with all its cultural and religious assumptions. This suspicion is rooted in the history of relations between the West and the rest of the world, in that colonialism and imperialism have been camouflaged by the universality of the European enlightenment and the benefits of progress as allegedly conveyed by the Western powers. Efforts to set the emergence of a '*genuine* universalism' – which generates 'intercultural rapprochement' because it 'combines tolerance, emulation, acceptance of co-existence and peaceful rivalry based on ideas and cultural assets' – against '*false* universalisms' (Eurocentrism, exoticism and cosmopolitanism), which are based on 'violence and power games' (Leclerc, 2000), have not succeeded in rehabilitating this concept in the eyes of peoples who have been subjected to its negative effects.

Globalization is also burdened by its association with the spread of Western, not to say American, civilization. After the fall of the Soviet bloc, some pundits saw the world moving inexorably towards the hell of complete uniformity, with no alternative to the omnipotent West and its values, liberalism and liberal democracy (Fukuyama, 1992). In the context of the phenomenon of globalization, *freedom* has tended to be presented as a victory of the liberal western model over both communism and Third-Worldism rather than as the founding principle of a new way of reducing development disparities both internally and internationally, in dignity and with respect for cultural difference.

These assumptions lead some to reject the concept of globalization in favour of that of 'globality', which they contrast with 'westernization' (Leclerc, 2000). The same approach has been adopted with respect to the concept of '*civilization*', whose ethno-

centric assumptions are countered by an interpretation in the sense of 'personality' (Zakariya, 1991).

Another example is the great debate on the universality of the *State* and, increasingly, of *civil society*. What we can observe in relation to the assumptions of globalization and what are presented as the inevitable advances of liberalism, the weakening of the State and the strengthening of civil society, is that they raise problems for the countries of the South. This is because, overall, globalization creates a context in which poverty and marginalization are likely to increase, in the absence of any substitute for State regulation, despite all the failings of the State in those countries. State intervention cannot really be replaced by an almost non-existent private sector, or by the associations of civil society, whose lobbying helps to increase the pressure on the State, which is increasingly undermined by popular pressure from below and international constraints from above, without really having the means to respond to either. Faced with this situation, the World Bank, one of the most enthusiastic defenders of liberalism, called, in its 1997 report on world development, for the rehabilitation of the role of the State with a view to combating social imbalances with new methods of social protection.

The concept of *modernity* is also a factor in relations between the West and the rest of the world, in particular the Arab-Muslim world, and it is particularly relevant to the Euro-Arab dialogue. The stagnation of the Muslim world in terms of development has tended to set modernity against tradition, and to propose an antinomy between the modern West and an essentially traditionalist Islam. Leclerc rejects this representation and instead calls into question the 'exogenous' process of modernization undergone by the Arab-Muslim countries, among others (Leclerc, 2000). Modernity is scarcely differentiated from modernization, and although certain authors associate modernization with technical and technological features and modernity with culture and civilization, this distinction has not convinced everyday users of the two concepts, which still tend to be confused. Other authors try to temper the rigour of the domination felt to be responsible for modernity by pointing out that 'at their apogee, all dominant civilizations have imposed their modernity on others' (Lewis, 2002).

In practice, we are today faced with a difficult equation: modernization is perceived both in the western world and outside it as a form of westernization (Leclerc, 2000). The heart of the problem is the risk of alienation. It is a real risk and it is seized upon by the guardians – whether self-appointed or official – of 'tradition'. At the same time, technical modernization has become a much sought-after feature of daily life, at least with respect to equal access to the material commodities it generates. But it has proved difficult to make it available to all in this form, and it was precisely this difficulty that got the better of efforts to establish the 'new international economic order'. Access to these commodities has proved to be expensive, and few countries outside the West have the means or the will to pay the price. Any dialogue must discuss practical means of removing the tension from this frustrating relationship.

The question of modernity/modernization is closely linked to that of *secularism*, which, among other things, sees religion as a factor in the rejection of modernity.

However, others point out that the return to religious purity promised by Protestantism during the Reformation laid the foundations for development in the West.

In fact, the debate on development goes beyond religious considerations. If the countries of the South, including the countries of Latin America, are experiencing problems owing to the lack or inadequacy of technology transfer, the blame should not be laid at the door of religion. Dialogue would serve some purpose if it stopped us from focusing on the relation between religion, tradition and modernity, the latter being seen as the antinomy of the absence of secularism, and enabled us to envisage secularism as a means of co-existence. In any case, the secularism held up by the West as an example is underpinned by religious and/or ideological beliefs seen as superior to other spiritual traditions that are then denounced as the enemies of progress. Thus, certain peoples become hostage to sometimes exaggerated – since they are political – reactions of rejection and withdraw into inward-looking ‘tradition’ in self-defence.

The dominant categories of contemporary thought can thus be helping to raise barriers to a tranquil process of rapprochement between peoples. Hence, the importance of challenging them, ridding them of their ethnocentric undertones and relativizing them. Instead, we must demonstrate the need for a return to approaches to other cultures that are more modest, and for a judicious *solidarity* with them instead of a clash of civilizations in which ‘civilization’ would be the loser. It is only by developing a philosophy of action based on a mutual recognition of the humanity of every member of the human race, and on acknowledgement of the ephemeral nature of ascendancy and abundance that we can endow any dialogue with meaning, and especially the Euro-Arab dialogue, which is hampered by the memories of a shared history as geographical neighbours. Education is a link and a mediator that can powerfully assist rapprochement, on condition that it is grounded in a realistic reading of that shared heritage.

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THE EURO-ARAB DIALOGUE:
AN EDUCATIONAL BRIDGE

INTERREGIONAL STRATEGY

‘LEARNING TO LIVE TOGETHER’:
AN INITIATIVE WELL UNDER WAY

Fatma Tarhouni and Traugott Schöfthaler

Introduction

The international emphasis on improving the quality of education and the new impetus given in 2001 by the United Nations Year of Dialogue among Civilizations are among the recent developments that have provided new links between Europe and the Arab world.

The National Commissions for UNESCO of the European and the Arab States have opened a window of opportunity. They have established an eighteen-member Task Force, with nine national commissions from each region, co-ordinated by the Tunisian and German National Commissions.

The Task Force has prepared an interregional strategy – ‘Learning to live together’ – linked to the strategic objectives of UNESCO’s Medium-Term Strategy, 2002–2007, and to the programmes and strategies of regional intergovernmental organizations, in particular the Arab League Educational, Cultural and Scientific Organization (ALECSO)

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and the Council of Europe. All three organizations have provided financial and technical assistance to the initiative.

The strategy was approved by the statutory meetings of National Commissions of the Arab States (Rabat, 3–8 June 2002) and the European region (Budapest, 14–18 June 2002). It pursues a twofold objective:

- establishing a Euro-Arab platform for co-operation, open to all national commissions of the two regions and, through them, to the civil societies of their countries.
- strengthening co-operation between the regional intergovernmental organizations of both the European and Arab States, in particular in implementing the recommendations of the International Commission on Education for the Twenty-first Century (Delors et al., 1996).

The joint strategy of UNESCO, ALECSO and the Council of Europe also aims at involving other intergovernmental organizations active in these fields, such as the Arab League, the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), and the European Union.

The decision-making process on strategy by the governing bodies of UNESCO, ALECSO and the Council of Europe started in the last quarter of 2002 and will be completed by the end of 2003 in the context of decisions to be taken on the programmes and budgets for the forthcoming biennium 2004–2005. The on-going negotiation on a memorandum of co-operation between ALECSO and the Council of Europe is an important factor which will, very probably, give more weight to the already-existing co-operation agreements between these two regional organizations and UNESCO.

The intellectual frame of reinforced Euro-Arab co-operation

Two international commissions, one on 'Culture and Development' (led by the former United Nations Secretary-General, Javier Pérez de Cuéllar) and one on 'Education for the Twenty-first Century' (led by the former President of the European Commission, Jacques Delors) went well beyond reviewing the evolution of educational and cultural policies. Their two reports, submitted to UNESCO and to the United Nations and published in 1995 and 1996 under the titles of *Our creative diversity* and *Learning: the treasure within*, draw conclusions from fundamental debates on the human condition from the Age of Enlightenment up to the development decades at the end of the twentieth century.

Both reports provide a surprisingly large number of converging ideas addressing important issues of global cohesion. The Euro-Arab dialogue can significantly benefit from converging views in the debate on universalism and cultural relativism, on the connotations between culture and nation, on human rights, cultural diversity and pluralism. The two reports provide an intellectual frame that can be further developed and which is ready to be used in order to overcome mutual prejudice between Europe and the Arab World, deeply rooted in a long history of confrontation, and to

create a climate of good neighbourliness, based on mutual respect for and interest in each other.

Enlightenment has become an almost omnipresent issue in Euro-Arab intellectual encounters. Too often, however, discussion leads to repetitive conclusions, characterizing Enlightenment as a European phenomenon that has not – or not yet – reached the Arab World. The two international reports express their firm opposition to such reductionist perspectives, drawing on the fact that universalist thinking has been widely misused for ideological purposes. In Europe, the promotion of ideas, such as unilinear evolution or even teleological revolution, have paved the way for the triumph of very simple-minded concepts of 'progress', moving well away from enlightened intentions. The emerging imperialist nation-States of the nineteenth century created a framework for perverting intellectual Enlightenment into chauvinism.

The two reports draw also on the few examples of enlightened self-criticism in proposing a global perspective for abandoning a Eurocentrist perspective in debates on time-lags and gaps in cultural development. The Pérez de Cuéllar report suggests, in its second chapter entitled 'No culture is an island', a new way of combining universalism and relativism:

There is no room for the assertion of relativism in a world in which relativism is true. Cognitive relativism is nonsense, moral relativism is tragic. Without an assertion of absolute standards, no recommendation of this Commission would be possible [. . .] Let us rejoice in diversity, while maintaining absolute standards of judging what is right, good and true (Pérez de Cuéllar, 1995, p. 55).

In a similar vein, the Delors Report concludes:

Between the extremes of abstract and over-simplifying universalism and a relativism, which makes no higher demand going beyond the horizon of each particular culture, one needs to assert both the right to be different and receptiveness to universal values (Delors et al., 1996, p. 59)

A second point of convergence concerns the connotations between 'culture' and 'nation', a nineteenth century heritage intrinsically linked to efforts designed to ensure social cohesion in the process of nation-building. The two reports are in favour of republican principles based on 'education for democratic citizenship' and supporting 'diversified and multiple cultural identities' (Delors). At the end of the already mentioned second chapter, the Pérez de Cuéllar report maintains:

Attempts of 'nation-building' through making all groups homogeneous are neither desirable nor feasible. [. . .] The most durable way to accommodate ethnic diversity is to create a sense of the nation as a civic community, rooted in values that can be shared by all ethnic components of the national society. Such a sense of community is best achieved if the concept of 'nation' is freed from any connotations of ethnic exclusivity (p. 74).

Consequently, the traditional understanding of intercultural dialogue as 'dialogue between national and foreign cultures' must be transformed into a more appropriate

wording, such as 'the participation of a nation or country in the dialogue between cultures and civilizations'. This is not a matter of terminology but goes to the core of the new concept of 'cultural diversity', which is among the shared values of UNESCO, ALECSO and the Council of Europe.

UNESCO has always promoted the principle of non-discrimination as a common denominator in all international normative human rights instruments. There is a coherent approach that has been developed from 'the right to be different' (Declaration on Race and Racial Prejudice, 1978) to the affirmation of the priority of fundamental freedoms over cultural origins in the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (2001), and which deserves to be more widely recognized and applied. A human rights point of view is, by its very virtue, opposed to defining obligations for individuals according to their origin or cultural background. To quote from Article 2 of the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity: 'In our increasingly diverse societies, it is essential to ensure harmonious interaction among people and groups with plural, varied and dynamic cultural identities as well as their willingness to live together.'

Learning to live together, one of the four pillars of an education for the twenty-first century identified by the international commission led by Jacques Delors, is essentially 'education for pluralism'. The Delors Report takes up the core idea of an education for liberation, proposed by Paulo Freire in Brazil, which seems to fit well into a modern concept of global education, guiding the on-going transformation of formal education systems, that focused on teaching, into modern learning societies, that focus on lifelong learning. Part of this process is the transformation of the role of the teaching profession into facilitators of learning processes. In its chapter 6, 'Children and young people', the Pérez de Cuéllar Report suggests quite similar and complementary strategies.

The Delors Report provides a new vision of schools facilitating 'the daily practice of tolerance by helping pupils to allow for the point of view of others'. Multiperspectivity has become a major objective of education for the twenty-first century, helping adolescents to build their systems of thinking and values freely through 'explaining to young people the historical, cultural or religious background to the various ideologies competing for their attention in the society around them or in the school and classroom' (Delors et al., 1996, p. 60).

The great Swiss psychologist Jean Piaget elaborated, in the 1920s, a theory of human development based on concrete and global universalism. According to Piaget, learning processes are composed of balancing accommodation and assimilation in relationships between the individual and his/her environment. Such progressive balancing applies to cognitive as well as to moral development. It is against this background that the Delors Report insists that 'the desire to impose from the outside predetermined values comes down in the end in negating them, since values only have meaning when they are freely chosen by the individual.' Value education in a democratic spirit, says Delors, 'cannot be satisfied with a minimalist form of tolerance that consists merely of putting up with otherness'. We have, according to Delors, to create a much larger space for allowing moral development to acquire democratic values: 'The teaching of history should, however, transcend the national context and should encompass a social

and cultural dimension, in order that knowledge about the past may lead to a better understanding and a truer appreciation of the present' (Delors et al., 1996, pp. 60–61). In a similar vein, the Pérez de Cuéllar Report suggests regular interaction between schools and non-formal everyday learning environments to assist the individual in acquiring the skills needed for lifelong learning.

The Euro-Arab strategy 'learning to live together'

UNESCO's Medium-Term Strategy, 2002–2007 (known as the 31 C/4 Approved), provides the programme framework for the Euro-Arab strategy, in particular with the following strategic objectives:

- promoting education as a fundamental right;
- improving the quality of education;
- promoting experimentation, innovation and the diffusion and sharing of information;
- safeguarding cultural diversity and encouraging dialogue among cultures and civilizations;
- enhancing learning opportunities through access to diversified contents and delivery systems.

The expected outcomes of the Euro-Arab strategy, as approved by the National Commissions of the European and Arab States in June 2002, include:

- Wide dissemination and promotion of the Delors Report and the outcomes of the forty-sixth session of the International Conference on Education (ICE) within Ministries of Education, teacher-training institutions and curriculum development centres, and the organization of exchanges between practitioners and policy-makers; the networking of teacher-training institutions in both regions.
- Organization of exchange programmes for teachers and decision-makers in education systems, and the establishment of networks of teacher-training institutions in both regions.
- Support to Member States and their National Commissions for the exchange of young people, notably through twinning arrangements between schools from both regions participating in UNESCO's Associated Schools Project.
- Comparative analysis of curricula and school textbooks in several countries from both regions.
- Strengthening education for democratic citizenship, human rights, peace and dialogue between cultures and civilizations through the implementation of concrete projects, such as a practical guide and training workshops for the teaching profession.
- In support of the Plan Arabia, establishment of a network of higher education institutions specializing in teaching and research on the cultural diversity of the Arab World (including those outside the Arab States and the Europe).
- Encouraging inter-university co-operation between the two regions, notably through joint research projects and participation in the UNESCO Chairs network.

- Support to cultural festivals, exhibitions and cultural information seminars that develop and foster the Arab-Europe dialogue.
- Demonstration of the impact of ICT-based alternative delivery systems through pilot projects, such as multilingual UNESCO Education Servers for Human Rights and Democracy; making use of the evaluation of the existing server in the European region (Sarajevo) for the establishment of similar services for the Arab States region.
- Collection of best practices for dissemination of knowledge on the other region in the media through workshops organized in collaboration with journalists and their professional associations, contests and encouraging co-operation and exchange between the media of the two regions.

The initiative is well under way

On the initiative of the German Commission and the Tunisian National Commission for UNESCO, national commissions from the Arab States and Europe were invited to an informal meeting during the International Conference on Education (ICE), Geneva, 7 September 2001. In addition to representatives of seventeen national commissions and other members of their countries' delegations, present in Geneva, the following intergovernmental organizations took part: the Arab League, the Council of Europe and UNESCO. On this occasion, copies of the Arabic version of the Delors Report (*Learning: the treasure within*) were distributed, and the participants reached consensus on a number of activities to be considered in any follow-up to this first meeting and to the conclusions and plan of action on 'Learning to Live Together' adopted by the forty-sixth ICE.

The Geneva meeting took inspiration from a large number of ideas and proposals to reinforce co-operation between the two regions, most of them focusing on countries around the Mediterranean. In this context, a very ambitious project deserves particular mention – the preparation of a Euro-Arab Conference on 'Education for Pluralism', aimed at promoting substantial use of the Delors Report and of the Council of Europe project on 'Education for democratic citizenship' by teacher-training institutions from both regions. In the frame of the Middle-East peace process, beginning with the Oslo agreements and supported by additional efforts by the European Union and UNESCO (the so-called Barcelona process), the conference was scheduled to take place in March 2001 in Jerusalem-Al Quds. It was envisaged to follow the balanced pattern of Palestinians and Israelis jointly hosting the meeting that had been developed with the 1999 Conference on 'Moral Philosophy in Education', jointly organized by the Hebrew University and the Al Quds Open University with support from UNESCO. UNESCO and the Council of Europe had established a steering committee for the new conference to which the Secretaries-General of the German, the Israeli and the Palestinian Commissions for UNESCO contributed by sharing their experiences in triangular co-operation with the two organizations. The new Israeli-Palestinian conflict prevented the Steering Committee from holding their final meeting in October 2000, which had been foreseen in the conference rooms already agreed upon.

by the local organizers (a Palestinian teacher-training centre in East Jerusalem-Al Quds and an Israeli teacher-training centre in Jerusalem-West).

Having considered the report of the 7 September meeting, the National Commissions of the Arab States and the European region appointed, at their regional meetings during the thirty-first session of the General Conference and during subsequent consultations, the secretaries-general of the following national commissions as members of a Euro-Arab Task Force 'Learning to Live Together', to be co-ordinated by the German and the Tunisian National Commissions, and entrusted with the mandate of preparing a working document for the subsequent statutory regional meetings (Rabat and Budapest):

Arab States: Egypt, Kuwait, Lebanon, Morocco, Oman, Qatar, Syrian Arab Republic, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates. (At the invitation of the co-ordinators, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya joined the group in March 2003.)

European region: Canada, France, Germany, Hungary, Netherlands, Slovenia, Turkey, Ukraine, United Kingdom. (Following the temporary dissolution of the UK National Commission in March 2003, Denmark accepted to join the group in May 2003.)

The Task Force held its first meeting on 25 October 2001 at UNESCO Headquarters, Paris, with thirteen members and three representatives of UNESCO's Education Sector participating. It was pointed out that the proposals made at the meeting in Geneva constitute a valid basis for co-operation during the next biennium. However, it was suggested to concentrate first on a limited number of priority activities and projects, and to invite UNESCO, ALECSO and the Council of Europe to the Task Force meetings.

The second meeting of the Task Force was held from 10 to 13 April 2002 in Abu Dhabi at the invitation of the United Arab Emirates National Commission. The group agreed on the need to prepare a global strategy to be considered as a framework for the growing number of ideas and proposals.

The group had to take account of events outside UNESCO (notably the occupation of Palestine and the events of 11 September 2001) and inside UNESCO (notably the adoption of the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity at the thirty-first session of the General Conference, October–November 2001). Against this background, discussions have been held on ways and means to advance practical co-operation and thus to permit interregional collaboration amongst national commissions.

Initial areas of interest include the promotion of cultural diversity and teacher training, with special emphasis on the UNESCO Associated Schools Network as a useful modality for project action. However, an Arab-Europe dialogue could be much wider in ambit, embracing fields such as science, the social sciences and the media. It was pointed out that the Delors Report, which promotes an inter-sectoral perspective, should nevertheless remain the focus of the Arab-Europe dialogue. Key and influential partners should include intergovernmental organizations (IGOs), non-governmental organizations (NGOs), the academic community and parliamentarians.

The ultimate aim of this dialogue is to mobilize all social actors (civil society) in support of UNESCO's objectives in education, science, culture and communication

through the modality of interregional co-operation amongst national commissions of the Arab States and the European regions, and in the framework of an emerging inter-agency programme for the Arab-Europe dialogue of UNESCO, ALECSO, the Council of Europe and other interested IGOs.

The mandate of the Task Force was renewed at the statutory meetings of national commissions of the two regions in Rabat (3–8 June 2002) and Budapest (14–18 June 2002). For the first time, national commissions of the two regions were invited to consider a common working document. They approved a joint Euro-Arab strategy, prepared by the Task Force. The national commissions recommended that the Director-General of UNESCO integrate this strategy into the regional strategies he had prepared for the European and the Arab States regions. Including this interregional element, the new regional strategies were presented to the Executive Board of UNESCO in October 2002. At its 166th session in April 2003, the Executive Board formally recognized the Euro-Arab strategy as an interregional strategy. In its recommendations concerning UNESCO's Programme and Budget for 2004–2005, submitted to the General Conference convened in September/October 2003, the Executive Board invited the Director-General to implement the Euro-Arab strategy within the work plans to be prepared for the coming biennium.

The integration of the strategy into the programmes of the Council of Europe and ALECSO was the main subject of the third and fourth sessions of the Task Force organized by the Council of Europe, jointly with UNESCO, on 28–29 October 2002 in Strasbourg and by ALECSO on 18–19 June 2003 in Cairo.

The presentation of the on-going and planned programmes of both organizations, as well as their specific activities concerning Euro-Arab co-operation, has facilitated the preparation of a number of joint ALECSO/Council of Europe/UNESCO and national commissions' projects. It has also led to closer co-operation between ALECSO and the Council of Europe, including a first memorandum of co-operation. The activities resulting from the Strasbourg and Cairo meetings include one that is considered as a new pattern of teacher training for the two regions. The Council of Europe decided to invite Arab teachers on a regular basis to participate in teacher-training seminars organized in Europe. The first two seminars of this new type took place on May 2003 on themes such as 'violence in schools' and 'dialogue between cultures and civilizations'. The proposal to invite European teachers to participate in Arab teacher-training seminars deserves also to be studied.

In a similar vein, the invitation to take part in the 'Plan Arabia' project implemented by UNESCO and ALECSO, addressed to European experts and research institutes specializing in Arab civilization, will create new opportunities for Euro-Arab cultural and scientific co-operation. The 'Plan Arabia' aims at promoting better understanding of the 'creative diversity' of the Arab civilization in other regions of the world. This project can create an important instrument for overcoming anti-Arab prejudices within European societies.

The two meetings in Strasbourg and Cairo are closely inter-related and have resulted in a number of recommendations addressed to all three organizations concerning educational, scientific, cultural and communication programmes. Results of a survey among

national commissions of both regions on activities and proposals along the lines of the expected results of the strategy were presented and led to the identification of a series of concrete projects. Some of them have already been implemented or launched during 2003. The Task Force members have also suggested organizing joint activities by national commissions from both regions in preparation for the second part of the World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS), to be convened in Tunis in November 2005. Bearing in mind that the mandate of the Task Force is limited until the end of October 2003, the strategy was completed by the preparation of implementation mechanisms.

UNESCO, ALECSO and the Council of Europe are invited to establish a joint consultative committee for promoting Euro-Arab co-operation in their fields of competence. Such a committee should bring together the Euro-Arab focal points to be established in the secretariats of the three organizations with experts from the two regions. Its tasks should include the promotion of inter-agency collaboration which could also involve other interested organizations; implication of national commissions in Euro-Arab activities and programmes; the creation of a website and a data base, which should also provide for practical information on funding Euro-Arab projects; the establishment of advisory services; and provision of technical assistance concerning project proposals and applications for funding to be submitted to the European Commission or other possible funding sources.

Prospects

Throughout the last two years, an increasingly large number of events and projects have involved Euro-Arab co-operation. The following two are of particular importance for the Euro-Arab strategy:

At the invitation of ALECSO, representatives of the Council of Europe met with intellectuals from twenty Arab and European countries on 15–16 July 2002 for a conference on the dialogue between cultures and civilizations, organized by the Institute for the Arab World in Paris. The participants recommended, among other things, that communication and exchange channels between the two regions should be multiplied; translations of literature, educational and scientific publications into and from the Arab language should be encouraged; missions of educationists should be exchanged; and that learning of the Arab language in Europe should be given a much higher profile, with the objective of bringing it to the same level that European languages enjoy in the Arab world.

The French and the Moroccan National Commissions organized from 10 to 14 March in Rabat an international conference on 'Learning to Live Together: which education for which citizenship?', as an important contribution to the implementation of the Euro-Arab strategy. The Rabat Conference has, among other things, paved the way for conducting comparative research on school textbooks of the two regions.

Following the enlargement of the European Union in 2004 and the conclusion of specific agreements with European non-EU members, the Mediterranean programmes of the EU will soon be transformed into frameworks for co-operation between virtu-

ally the whole of the two regions. It seems, therefore, necessary for the joint UNESCO, ALECSO and Council of Europe Euro-Arab strategy to seek implementation of activities in concert with the European Union.

Furthermore, the new regional strategies of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) could also be seen as an important frame for the Euro-Arab strategy. The follow-up to the first UNDP Arab Human Development Report 2002 deserves to be linked to relevant United Nations and UNDP activities in Europe.

The President of UNESCO's General Conference and Permanent Delegate of the Islamic Republic of Iran to UNESCO, Ahmad Jalali, has given his support to the Euro-Arab strategy project 'Learning to Live Together'. He participated in the statutory meetings of national commissions of both regions in June 2002. His philosophy and wisdom were very helpful to Euro-Arab concertation in the debates that took place in Rabat and Budapest. His advice includes significant guidance for the follow-up strategy:

According to the historical interpretation, dialogue among civilizations is nothing totally new but rather an ever-present process. Civilizations have always engaged in dialogue with each other, but unfortunately, history has been and is often seen as an inventory of antagonisms and wars, and this aspect has been given most prominence. To change this attitude, two methodological changes are required: firstly, a shift of access from conflict to dialogue, to search in history for elements of dialogue and to attempt to rewrite history as a history of dialogue; and secondly, to move from an ethnocentric concept of culture and civilization to a concept in which transfer and 'give and take' occupy the foreground.

In the ethnocentric view of the development of cultures and civilisations, these are both supposed to grow in a more or less closed environment, limited by national or ethnic boundaries. External interventions and, above all, wars and invasions undermine their organic growth and put their very existence in danger. Our problem is thus to define cultures and civilizations as open systems in such a way that transfer, exchange, 'give and take' and dialogue enter into their very definition (Ahmad Jalali, Budapest, 15 June 2002).

The Euro-Arab Task Force will submit its final report to the regional meetings of Arab and European National Commissions to be convened in the context of the thirty-second session of the General Conference of UNESCO (29 September to 17 October 2003). The report will include an inventory of joint activities of national commissions of both the Arab States and Europe.

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THE EURO-ARAB DIALOGUE: AN EDUCATIONAL BRIDGE

WHAT IS EDUCATION'S ROLE

Abdeljalil Akkari

Contact with others means questioning one's own identity

Just as with individuals, the cultural identity of a civilization can only be determined through contact with others. The particularity of examining the relationship between Europe and the Arab world lies precisely in the closeness of this link viewed in the context of a deep rift arising from fascination and rejection.

Searching for one's identity through the concept of the 'other' or the image of the 'other' is not restricted to the Euro-Arab dialogue. Any intercultural contact is accompanied by a reassessment of identity. What is typical of the Arab culture as a great civilization that has been unable to come to terms with its shortcomings is that it tolerates with difficulty being observed by others (Labib, 1999). Thus, the attitude of Arab intellectuals towards Europe is ambivalent since it arises from both animosity and admiration. The animosity stems from a colonial and post-colonial past, accompanied by admiration for Western cultural, scientific and technological progress compared to a long stagnation on the Arab side (Laroui, 1967).

As indicated by Labib (1999), colonialism has aggravated this double image of the West so that it has become that of the dominating enemy:

This double image has always been with us ever since the *nahdha* [rebirth or awakening], even if, due to different circumstances, one of these elements has dominated over the other.

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Then the concept of 'historical underdevelopment' comes to the fore and the Arabs become trapped between two opposing realities: that of their heritage in eclipse and that of the other (the western) (p. 125).

As a natural frontier between the Arab world and Europe, the Mediterranean has always been both a zone of conflict and a market place. Over many thousands of years, it was believed to be the centre of the world. Today, it is no longer considered as a place of stability and enrichment. Many quarrels have broken out and numerous stresses affect the entire region. The shipwreck of illegal immigrants on Europe's southern frontier demonstrates the urgent need to consider the future of this internal sea.

The attacks of 11 September 2001, unanimously condemned by the international community, together with other events occurring in Europe and the Arab world, underline the importance and the urgent need of implementing a Euro-Arab dialogue. These events have revealed concerns about the way in which relationships between different cultures and civilizations should be tackled. The alternative to Huntington's famous proposition about the clash of civilizations can only be intercultural dialogue.

Nevertheless, the Euro-Arab dialogue would seem to be difficult, particularly since the stereotypes and the shared concepts appear to be fixed. Readiness and opportunities for mutual contact and intercultural exchanges are rare. Any dialogue is immediately victim of an imbalance. It is not only an economic and cultural imbalance between the Arab world and Europe, but also a political imbalance. Europe as a political entity is rapidly coming together, whereas the political positions in the Arab world are increasingly fragmented. A comparison of literacy rates, of budgets devoted to scientific research or even of violations in the field of human rights in the two regions is sufficient to gauge the division.

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has just published a most interesting report on 'human development in the Arab world'. Indeed, only 1.5% of the region's inhabitants have access to a computer and 0.6% use the Internet, the main channel to information, communication and research results. Only about 300 books are translated annually in the region, which represents about one-fifth of the annual production of a country like Greece. Expenditure in the field of research and development remains slight and corresponds to one-seventh of the global average. The Arab world, which has the highest proportion of young people in the world with 38% of its population under 14, must, according to this report, provide better opportunities for this age group.

However, the prospects seem limited due to unemployment (at 15%, it is the highest in the developing world), lack of contact with the world due to the technological gap, and the lack of liberty such that we are witnessing waves of qualified young Arabs arriving in industrialized countries. On this point, the UNDP report deplores the fact that the Arab world, which, in the past, provided the foundations for western science, is experiencing a brain drain and its scientific skills serve only to advance the West and not its own region.

In the field of education, the report notes a decline in expenditure due to badly

implemented structural adjustment policies that placed little importance on human development. The report demonstrates the extent to which the two-track education system (high quality private education for an affluent minority and mediocre governmental education for the majority) which robs education of its role in social mobility while perpetuating poverty and social stratification. As for education itself, expenditure is low: 0.5% of GNP (a figure comparable to Cuba, 1.26%, and Japan, 2.9%, in 1995). To bridge this gap, according to the report, social attitudes must be increasingly encouraged towards innovative creativity and renewing contact with expatriate Arabs with the intention of encouraging them to return to their countries of origin (UNDP, 2002).

The attacks of 11 September happened at a time when the poor circulation of ideas and the few channels of exchange widened the gulf between the Arabs and the rest of the world – and especially Europe, two regions which are however closely historically linked as much by migratory movements as by present day economic interdependence.

It may be useful to recall that the Euro-Arab dialogue has not occurred as a recent initiative. Indeed, following the first oil crisis in 1973, the presidents of Algeria and Tunisia launched an appeal in favour of turning the Mediterranean into a 'lake of peace'. The Euro-Arab dialogue begun at this time did not achieve its aims due to the profoundly economic concerns of the Europeans who were worried about their supplies of oil and the political concerns of the Arab world locked in an enduring conflict with Israel.

In the present disturbed period, influenced by globalization and the crises of identity and of religious fundamentalism, the Arab world looks towards Europe as a mediating influence, because it is here that human rights are respected and cultural diversity recognized. Henceforth, it is expected that Europe will establish links between civilizations that are confronting each other in other regions of the world. Without diminishing the importance of the Euro-Arab political dialogue, it seems useful to concentrate this article on what education can bring to this initiating dialogue.

Arab education: between tradition, modernity and openness

Despite hostility between Islam and the world of Christianity, there is a strong probability that European universities have resorted to scientific, medical and philosophical manuals written by Moslem intellectuals such as Avicenna or Averroës, to mention only these. More and more historical evidence suggests that it is in mediaeval Islam that we must look for the origins of universality itself (Cardaillac, 1991).

The most famous Moslem intellectual centres had been operating for rather more than a century when the first universities were founded in Europe. The college/mosque of Al-Qarawiyyin in Fez (Morocco) was founded in 859; the one in Cordoba at the beginning of the tenth century; the college/mosque of Al-Azhar in Cairo in 972. In Europe, the first centres of higher learning came much later. The universities of

Bologna, Paris and Montpellier certainly did not exist before the twelfth century (Vernet, 1985).

After this golden age, the Arab world went into a period of decline and stagnation that it attempted to tackle after the middle of the nineteenth century. During the period immediately prior to colonial domination, enlightened intellectuals and politicians, such as the Tunisian Khair-Eddine and the Egyptian Mohamed Ali, became aware of the enormous scientific gulf that had opened up and of the necessity of modernizing society and the Arab States – beginning with the education systems. Modernization should also involve the painful process of a critical examination of the legacy of the past and the abandonment of out-of-date traditions.

The Arab universities were thus at the centre of the process of separation/linkage between the past and the future. Put differently, the question of a linkage or of a separation between the religious heritage and the rationality arising from scientific discoveries was particularly difficult to carry out in the Arab world.

Sometimes, religious-type institutions were separated from those providing lay teaching. The precision and speed with which this separation took place varied from one country to another. In Tunisia, the Ezeitouna University specialized in theological teaching.

The modern-day university is in a way the barometer of all contemporary societies. In this regard, the Arab countries are no exception. They have passed through an era when policies were dominated by developmental theories in which students and graduates were viewed basically as activists in the service of independence and national development, to more pragmatic and selective approaches prescribed by new neo-liberal economic ideas. We have also moved away from the era when (in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s) the Arab States lacked white-collar workers and high-level technicians, and when the European countries provided a proportion of university lecturers. If we take the examples of Morocco and Tunisia, many Arab countries are now unable to find long-term employment for their university graduates (Moatassime, 2000).

With hindsight, we may note that the period immediately following independence was an intellectually stimulating era in exchanges between European and Arab universities. It can be noted, for example, that a number of leading French academics began their careers in North Africa before making their reputations on the international sphere. We may mention in this context the stay of the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu in Algeria and the philosopher Michel Foucault in Tunisia.

In contrast, the present situation is marked by a reluctance on the part of European researchers to work in the Arab world. The rapid rise in unemployment and scarcity of work among Arab academics trained in the region and the low level of return on the part of those educated in Europe are also signs unlikely to foster dialogue. While this situation may well be described as 'brain drain', the presence of a large number of academics of Arab origin in Europe could well give them the opportunity to play the role of intercultural mediators in the Euro-Arab dialogue (see Table 1).

In France, as much among university lecturers as among students, North Africa occupies first place, with 30% of foreigners, followed by the United Kingdom, Germany

TABLE 1. Main countries of origin of foreign university lecturers working in France, 1992

Country	Number	Country	Number
Morocco	269	Spain	89
Algeria	258	Italy	74
United Kingdom	213	Lebanon	67
Germany	157	China	64
United States of America	139	Poland	63
Tunisia	108	Belgium	60

Source: Halary, 1994.

and the United States. Nevertheless, the western academics are located in the highest ranking positions, while those from North Africa occupy less elevated posts.

If the presence of researchers from Arab countries is beneficial for Europe, this brain drain does nothing to enable Arab countries establish home-grown scientific research services and to conduct their technological progress in an independent manner. The losses in human resources are estimated at 250,000 people over a twenty-five year period for North Africa alone, i.e. about 10,000 migrants per year, of which more than half originated in Algeria alone (Moatassime, 2000; UNDP, 2002).

Some studies have shown that present-day European researchers are still interested in the Arab world. For example, we may refer to a recent survey (CSA, 2001) among a sample of 427 French students, selected according to a quota method (different types of college, different parts of the country), and corresponding to the last year of higher commercial and engineering colleges and the third year of management, law or science courses. These future white-collar workers chose North Africa and the Middle East as a professional working destination more frequently than China, the Russian Federation, Central and Eastern Europe or even Japan.

Co-operation between European and Arab universities should therefore be encouraged. It could even become the most important form of non-governmental co-operation, as well as the most useful, between the north and south shores of the Mediterranean. This collaboration should be developed in all areas of knowledge in general and particularly in that of intercultural dialogue. Joint research projects on migration will, for example, find in universities the most appropriate environment to conduct this research in an independent manner. The work carried out by the European University Institute in Florence is most useful in this respect. It organizes various types of event (meetings, publications, etc.) bringing together numerous researchers from all sides of the Mediterranean.

The recent opening of the TEMPUS programme to Mediterranean countries – Tempus Meda – will also allow European and Arab universities to work together, and professors, researchers and students to meet and to benefit from the education and knowledge of their foreign colleagues. By setting up the mechanisms of co-operation

that make it possible for educational specialists to work together (travel grants, data bases, professional networks), this European programme will give those responsible for education the opportunities and the means to get to know each other and to undertake joint projects.

Meeting and understanding to promote dialogue

Truly intercultural contact between the north and south of the Mediterranean will only occur through a double self-examination. In the Arab world, a process of critical examination should be foreseen to renew the socio-cultural heritage and to identify the positive elements. A vital step for the Arab world is a reassessment of one's self-image avoiding an approach from the deforming perspective of orientalism (Saïd, 1994). A serious analysis of Arab stagnation would also bear fruit. Three key factors must not be avoided: the lack of liberty, the appalling condition of women and the lack of knowledge about the Arab world (UNDP, 2002).

In Europe, a similar critical approach is necessary concerning a certain degree of Euro-centrism that denies the contribution of other civilizations in the construction of modernism and knowledge. To consider Islam as incompatible with modernity by excluding it from the western cultural sphere is a counter-productive attitude. In this context, it would be useful to break the long silence about the contribution of Arab civilization to humanity.

The development of a climate of confidence between these two partners cannot be ordered by decree; it will slowly and patiently accumulate through a succession of practical activities involving all the socio-cultural partners, and particularly those concerned with education. The Mediterranean will only be able to evolve in a positive direction and to become a sea of peace and understanding when a true and enduring intercultural dialogue is established that overcomes 'the rupture of civilizations'. This learning about others and mutual understanding could be a 'creative synthesis' between measures designed to recast the foundations of the culturally based human being and his/her readiness to accept ethnic mixing and universality.

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THE EURO-ARAB DIALOGUE:
AN EDUCATIONAL BRIDGE

THE HISTORY OF ARABIC
STUDIES IN HUNGARY

Maróth Miklós

When visiting libraries in Hungary, one can easily become convinced that the knowledge of Arabic has been present in Hungary for centuries. Historically, there have been two main fields where Arabic has played an important role.

The first field was that of Christian theology. In theological seminaries, no one could disregard the fact that the Old Testament of the Bible was written in Hebrew, one of the Semitic languages. In seminaries it was the general interest in Semitic languages that motivated studies in Arabic.

At the same time, all well-known polyglot Bibles contained an Arabic translation in addition to the Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Aramaic and Syriac versions. It was to obtain a better understanding of the Bible that induced some theologians to take up the study of Arabic.

The polyglot Bibles in the old libraries of monasteries bear witness to the presence of a knowledge of Arabic among Catholic monks. The relatively small number and the superficial character of the Arabic grammar written by Hungarian theologians in Latin (e.g. that of Dertsik) indicate that their interest in Arabic was far less than that in Aramaic or Syriac. While many of the monks with a knowledge of Arabic studied in Hungarian monasteries, a good number of them spent some time in Rome before going on to work in Muslim countries.

The other field was that of foreign affairs. During and after the Turkish wars (sixteenth to eighteenth centuries), Hungary had a common border with the world of Islam. Accordingly, Hungary itself and Hungary as part of the Habsburg monarchy had

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diplomatic and commercial contacts with eastern nations. These important political and economic contacts explain why in Vienna – the capital of Austria as well as, at the time, of Hungary – a famous diplomatic school, the Sprachknaben, specialized not only in western, but also in eastern languages. The professors of the school (who belonged to different nations) compiled grammars and textbooks, the main bulk of which remained unknown in other countries, even though some of them were quite significant.

The level of education in monasteries or in the diplomatic school of languages cannot be compared with that of the best universities in other European countries. At Oxford, Cambridge or Leyden, chairs had been established centuries earlier for Arabic and Islamic studies. In these universities the first medical texts of Avicenna and Averroës, among others, and later the religious literature (including the Quran and the Bible, etc.) became the focus of interest. Countries with special contacts with the Arab world, e.g. Spain and Portugal, gathered large collections of Arabic manuscripts and sent their students to Arab universities. For example, Petrus Hispanus went to the Qarawiyyin University in Morocco as early as the thirteenth century and compiled the first Arabic grammar and vocabulary in Latin. In the history of Hungarian scholarship, there are no traces of comparable scientific efforts.

The situation began to change with the reforms of the Austro-Hungarian universities in 1855. In this year, the Austro-Hungarian universities shifted from the outdated mediaeval model to the modern German model of higher education. According to the mediaeval model, everybody was first obliged to complete the preparatory courses in the faculty of literature, and after having finished them with success, students were then able to move on to learn either law, medicine or sciences in general. According to the new model, secondary school classes took over the task of the former faculty of literature. In the faculty of sciences, students began to specialize in physics, chemistry or any other subject instead of learning about all sciences, as had earlier been the case.

In order to undertake these new responsibilities, secondary schools needed teachers who had specialized in the subject matters to be taught. The demand was met by establishing new faculties of literature that differed from the former ones. In these new faculties the aim was not to prepare students for university studies, but to train teachers instead who were specialized in the subjects that were taught in the secondary schools, such as Hungarian language and literature, history, foreign languages, etc.

In the newly established faculties of humanities, various chairs had to be established. Reading the old yearbooks of the university one can see that the first chairs were founded for history, literature, (ancient) philosophy and Italian and Russian languages. However, interested students could also attend special courses, including oriental languages. For example, the young and promising secondary-school student, I. Goldziher (1850–1921), attended courses on Persian and Turkish with special permission, and he studied Arabic at the Faculty of (Roman Catholic) Theology with J. Ruzicska.

As a result of his success and interest, József Eötvös, the minister of education and devoted partisan of university reform, who was seeking talented young men to send

to German universities who he hoped would eventually be appointed as professors, chose the 18-year-old young man for a scholarship and future professorship of the not-yet-founded chair of Semitic Languages. Unfortunately, while Goldziher continued his studies in Damascus and Cairo, the Vatican Council defined the dogma of papal infallibility in 1870. However, P. Hatala, who was professor of the New and Old Testament revelation at the faculty of theology, would not accept it. Hatala thus became a heretic and had to leave his post. The higher authorities wanted to avoid making a martyr of him, so he was transferred to the faculty of letters and appointed – instead of Goldziher – Professor of Semitic Languages.

The chair of Semitic languages founded in 1870 offered the first possibility in Hungary to carry out scientific research in the field of Arabic studies, but it was now occupied by a professor of theology of the old stamp, unqualified for Arabic. Thus, continuing the tradition of Catholic theologies, Hatala compiled Arabic grammar in Hungarian and lectured on Arabic. However, in reality, he remained principally a scholar of the Hebrew Old Testament and the Greek New Testament.

Goldziher began his career as an unpaid private professor. He was no longer young when, after Hatala's retirement in 1905, he became an ordinary professor. Following the traditions created by Hatala, Goldziher lectured on various Semitic languages and literatures, such as Hebrew, Aramaic, etc. Yet, at the same time he introduced special Arabic and Islamic courses and after Hatala's retirement began to deliver lectures on the history of Islamic philosophy as well.

As the yearbooks of the university show, five to six students usually attended Hatala's courses. As a matter of fact, there were only a few dozen students in the philosophical faculty (i.e. faculty of literature) at that time, so this number indicates that Hatala's courses were relatively popular. We are not informed about the number of Goldziher's students, but we know that he had a large number of students, not only from Hungary, but from the other Balkan countries too. These students came from various Muslim communities living in the Austro-Hungarian Empire or in other countries.

Goldziher was accepted and admired not only by fellow professors all over the world, but by Muslim students as well. This fact sheds new light on E. Said's statement asserting that the aim of oriental studies in European countries was in the service of imperialism against the peoples in the Middle East. In 1911, Ahmad Fuad, a member of the royal family of Egypt came to Budapest to offer Goldziher the professorship of Arabic philosophy at Cairo University. Although the Austro-Hungarian authorities thought it opportune to accept the invitation, Goldziher demurred. His ideal was an apolitical, pure science. Hungarian Orientalism has been largely influenced by this attitude ever since. The interest in oriental languages in Hungary was not motivated by national political aspirations, because Hungary never had any ambition to conquer the East. The opposite is true, because Hungary was itself exposed to Muslim offensives. This historical fact and awareness of their oriental nomadic origins encouraged Hungarians turn to oriental cultures.

Goldziher died without leaving any students who were able to inherit his status and his library was sold to Jerusalem. He was the first scholar who broke with the traditional practical teachings of theologians, going back to the traditions of mis-

sionary and diplomatic schools in Rome and Vienna, and aligned himself with the European, mainly German, philological tradition. His work has not been continued by anybody at university level in Budapest.

In compliance with tradition, the next professor of Arabic was also a Semitist. M. Kmoskó (1876–1931) came from the seminary of Catholic priests, but he had received a good philological training as well. He devoted his life to the writings of the fathers of the Oriental church in Syriac. He prepared an edition in several volumes that are included in Migne's *Patrologia Orientalis*. As a scholar of Arabic he investigated the Syriac and Arabic chronicles relating to the nomadic prehistory of the Hungarian people. From there he turned to Arabic geography. (It was he who pointed out that the unknown Arabic writer on geography, Ibn Dasta, is identical with the well-known Ibn Rusta.) In contradistinction to Syriac text editions, his studies devoted to the Arabic chronicles and writers on geography were written in Hungarian and remained unpublished. Thus, his achievements in the field of Arabic studies are inaccessible to the scholarly world.

Kmoskó collected enormous amounts of material and wrote the rough draft of his works in large copybooks in Hungarian, but everything he wrote remained unpublished. The copybooks are preserved in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. A research group at the university in Szeged began to publish his legacy written in Hungarian during the last years of his life. The project is still in progress, but, due to the fact that they are written in the Hungarian language, the volumes containing his works are unlikely to make his name known to the world.

Kmoskó, although a theologian like his predecessors, had an excellent philological formation. After Goldziher, nobody could afford to write on oriental issues without the necessary qualification accessible only at the faculty of literature. In Hungary, where oriental studies were motivated by society's interest in the oriental origin and prehistory of the Hungarian people, the investigation of the history of the Central-Asiatic and Eastern-European steppes was an inevitable duty of scholars. Kmoskó, as a professor of Arabic, fulfilled his duty, but due to his premature death and the circumstances mentioned above, his name has remained and probably will remain unknown abroad.

Before the Second World War the minister of education, K. Klebelsberg, started a reform movement, as J. Eötvös had done in the previous century resulting in the university reform of 1855. He too decided to send many talented young people to learn abroad at the best universities of Western Europe. The young theologians of the reformed church were sent to the Netherlands. Among them was K. Czeglédy, son of the renowned S. Czeglédy, who had prepared a new translation of the Old Testament. The younger Czeglédy went to Utrecht where he studied Arabic as a student of the famous de Goeje. Upon his return to Hungary, he was accorded the vacant chair of Arabic studies after the Second World War. Being the only professor of Arabic for decades in the second half of the twentieth century, he became the master of all Hungarian scholars of Arabic now alive, who in turn regard themselves as descendants of the Dutch school of oriental studies.

Czeglédy (1914–1996) continued what Kmoskó had begun. He devoted his life to

the investigation of the history of the steppes. He began by reading Latin, Greek, Syriac and Arabic sources, and later in his thirties he studied Armenian and Middle- and New-Persian. In his forties, he studied Turkic languages and in his fifties Chinese. By the time he was 60 he was ready to publish his first book in Hungarian under the title *Nomádok vándorlása Napkeletről Napnyugatra* (The migration of nomads from the Orient to the Occident, Budapest, 1969).

In this book he analysed the most difficult questions of the history of the steppes, e.g. the history of Huns, the problem of Hephtalites, etc. All this indicates that, although he officially held the chair of Arabic, he did not necessarily deal with Arabic issues. He was not an Arabic scholar in the strict sense; he can, instead, be regarded as an orientalist. Due to this fact he too has remained unknown abroad.

Nevertheless, as professor of Arabic he transmitted what he learnt in his youth in the Netherlands to the next generations. In this sense, his activity signals a turning point in the history of Arabic studies for Hungary. Before him, Goldziher represented the beginning of Arabic scholarship in Hungary, but not having had a successor, Kmoskó had to lay new foundations. Kmoskó died without a successor, and so Czeglédy with his Dutch affiliation had to begin once again to build up Arabic scholarship in Hungary, but this time he succeeded in establishing a large school with numerous scholars.

The new generation took their places at the university at the end of the 1960s. It was Fodor Sándor (Alexander Fodor, 1941–) who was given the position of assistant to the chair of Arabic studies. His main interest was focused on popular costumes, magic and related topics. He investigated the popular beliefs of ordinary people living in Muslim countries, especially in Egypt, pointing out that old Egyptian beliefs and costumes are present in the everyday life of Muslims as part of the Islamic heritage.

The next assistant was T. Iványi. He studied Arabic and general linguistics at the university and thus he was able to specialize in the history of Arabic linguistics. In the 1970s, I. Ormos joined the staff. His field was the history of Arabic medicine. After Czeglédy retired, Fodor became professor of Arabic.

* * *

While the university in Budapest was always the seat of the philological studies, other institutions eventually emerged. In the first half of the twentieth century, the Oriental Academy of Commerce existed, followed by its legal successors: the Karl Marx Faculty of Economics, then the Budapest School of Economics and now the Economic Faculty of the University of Budapest. These were the other seats of knowledge on oriental languages. Arabic was and still is one of the oriental languages taught here for practical purposes.

In this faculty there is a department for foreign relations as well. Students of this department who combined Arabic with specializations in the Middle East can become experts on the Arab world with a good practical knowledge of languages. Their teacher, K. Dévényi, is active at the Faculty of Literature as well; her special field is Arabic linguistics.

The College of Commerce, Hotel and Catering Trade is the third institution where

students can learn Arabic. The great number of Arabists graduating from the Faculty of Literature enabled the college to find able teachers for the language school, where previously only western languages had been taught. The purpose of training here is similar to that of the Faculty of Economics. The students of this college usually achieve a good practical knowledge of modern spoken Arabic, but the basic aim of the course is to prepare them for careers in commerce.

* * *

After the change of the political regime (1990), a new university, the Pázmány Péter Catholic University was founded in 1992. In this university religion, religious movements and doctrines and the study of the Middle Ages are in the limelight of the research programme. Europe civilization came into being and was formed to the north of the Mediterranean basin. At the same time the eastern Mediterranean was the birthplace of the three monotheistic religions (Judaism, Christianity and Islam). Consequently, the Faculty of Literature (located at Piliscsaba, some eight kilometres from Budapest) established a chair for mediaeval studies, for Hebrew (with an emphasis on the Old Testament) and Arabic.

The chair of Arabic broke with the Semitic traditions of the state university in Budapest, because Islam as a religion is at the centre of its research programme. This difference between the Semitic and Islamic settings resulted in different training procedures. There was also the matter of the obligatory minor languages (at the state university, Hebrew and Syriac; at the Catholic University, Turkish). The state university provides a large number of courses on Arabic linguistics, while the Catholic university pays more attention to Islamic philosophy and religious subjects, such as the literature of *hadith*, theology (*ilm al-kalam*) dogmatic (*aqaid*), jurisprudence (*fiqh*), etc.

This second scientific academy of Arabic philology came into being in 1993 on the basis of Czeglédy's activity, because two of the three members of the department were his former students – the third one was a student of one of Czeglédy's students! M. Maróth (1943–) then took the chair of the department. His main field is Arabic philosophy, with special interest in the philosophically motivated Islamic theology (*ilm al-kalam*) and jurisprudence. L. Tüske works with literary texts; he is mainly concerned with classical literary criticism. The youngest one is B. Major. He studies history, especially mediaeval Arabic and Islamic history, concentrating on the period of the Crusades.

In addition to the Faculty of Literature, students can learn Arabic at the most traditional place as well: at the Faculty of Theology. Gy. Fodor (1947–) is the professor of Biblical languages. He teaches Hebrew and other ancient languages, but being an Arabist by training, he continues the centuries-old tradition of giving courses on Arabic as well. Even so, Arabic does not belong to the group of the obligatory subjects at the faculty of theology.

* * *

The last academy of Arabic studies is the Avicenna Institute of Middle-East Studies, set up in 2001 by the Hungarian Government in Piliscsaba. The research programme of the institute is approved by a board of trustees consisting of five professors who are active in oriental studies. The appointed director, M. Maróth, has elected two deputies, one for the Iranian languages from the state university and one for Turkish from a research institute of the Academy of Sciences. They have established a scientific programme and selected the younger members of the institute.

The institute has an internal and an international activity. Internally, it is a research-institute that offers working opportunities, mainly to young scholars preparing their Ph.D. theses or those who have just finished their thesis. The young scholars carry out a research programme, together with the professors in the different fields: literature, history, philosophy, linguistics, etc. This programme has resulted in a series of scholarly books written in foreign languages and in presentations of the cultural and scientific achievements of the Islamic countries written in Hungarian.

The institute organizes domestic and international conferences and congresses on various subjects. The next meeting, scheduled for February 2003, will be on the prospective development of Islam in the Middle East and its impact on the Arab-European relationships.

The institute sponsors university courses. In a recent semester, researchers of oriental art working in different museums were brought together in a series of lectures delivered at the state university. The lectures, including the problems of architecture, miniatures, pottery, rugs and wall carpets, will be published in a volume under preparation that will present 'the legacy of Islam'. This series of lectures will represent the section on art history.

Internationally, the main task of the institute is (in addition to the traditional philological research) to find meeting points between Muslims and Christians, the Arab world and Europe, etc. This aim can be reached by establishing personal contacts with Arab scholars and universities, as well as carrying out joint scientific programmes. More ways to achieve these aims include inviting young scholars to undertake shorter or longer scholarships, and inviting professors from both the Arab world and European countries for various periods of time to undertake research or to deliver lectures on various topics. (The first professor is coming from the Moroccan al-Qarawiyyin University to deliver lectures on *hadith* in the near future.)

The research programme of the institute is similar to that of the Pázmány Péter Catholic University. Taking into consideration the similarity of the programme and the common seat (both the Faculty of Literature of the university and the institute are working in Piliscsaba on opposite sides of the same road), they expressed the wish to conclude a special agreement on co-operation.

If they can achieve this and succeed in uniting forces, a new and significant centre of Arabic studies will see the light of day in Hungary.

THE EURO-ARAB DIALOGUE:
AN EDUCATIONAL BRIDGE

THE ARAB TRADITION OF
MEDICAL EDUCATION AND
ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH
THE EUROPEAN TRADITION

*Yaqoub Ahmed Al-Sharrah*¹

Definition of Islamic medicine: a problem

In terms of location in time, Arabic – or what we may call Islamic – science denotes the scientific activities of individuals who lived from the eighth century A.D. to the beginning of the modern era. Geographically, this region stretched from the Iberian Peninsula and North Africa to the Indus valley and from the Southern Arabia to the Caspian Sea. Basically, the region covered what we may call the Islamic civilization, and discourse was expressed for the most part in the Arabic language.² In this article, we will review various views of Islamic medicine and conclude by giving what we feel is the most appropriate definition, in addition to discussing influences exerted by and on Arabic medicine.

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Medicine of the early Muslim society

Starting from the fifteenth century, there was increased pride in the achievements of the Islamic civilization in all fields, including that of medicine. A major proportion of the papers at the first and second International Conference on Islamic Medicine in Kuwait in 1981 and 1982 were devoted to history.³ Special seminars, either autonomous or as part of medical conferences, have been devoted to the memory of early Muslim physicians, such as Ibn Nafees, al-Zahrawi and others.⁴ Some authors have demanded recognition for the Muslim contributions to Western medicine that the West may have ignored.⁵ Yet some claims of early Muslim contributions are exaggerated, such as saying that al-Zahrawi was the first surgeon in the world for instance.

The medicine practiced by Muslims in the golden era of Islamic civilization – the tenth to the twelfth centuries A.D. – has been looked on by some as the ideal. Islamic medicine was defined by Syed Hosein Nasr and others⁶ as the historical achievements made by Arab and Muslim physicians. This historical theme has continued to fascinate all Muslim physicians who write on Islamic medicine and reading. Through their writings one is drawn to the inevitable conclusion that history is both an inspiration and a challenge to the present generation. Arguments have been advanced that the historical perspective cannot on its own define an Islamic paradigm of medicine. It could actually be utilized in a negative way as a psychological defence mechanism to rationalize the failure of contemporary generations compared to the ancients. It is also an issue open to debate: can what was achieved historically be termed Islamic medicine? The ownership of such medicine is debatable. People and circumstances were not always in conformity with the broad vision of Islam. Muslims learned it from the Greeks and improved on it. In India, they did not even change its name and continued calling it *tibb unani* (Arabic for Greek medicine). Claims that such medicine represents the Islamic ideal are therefore difficult to substantiate.

There have been efforts to revive traditional Muslim medicines in a new form by carrying out scientific studies including 'double-blind' controlled clinical studies to show its therapeutic effectiveness and also to study other aspects relating to its pharmacology. The first and second International Conferences on Islamic Medicine devoted a lot of time to the revival of old remedies, with much optimism for the future. The Hamdard Foundation in Pakistan is engaged in research on traditional herbal remedies. However, these efforts have not been pursued vigorously and consistently in other countries.

Criteria of Islamic medicine

Ahmad El Kadhi, presenting a paper at the first International Conference on Islamic Medicine held in Kuwait in January 1980, proposed six distinguishing criteria of Islamic medicine: Using statistics and medical experience in the United States of America, he argued that modern Western medicine did not fulfil the criteria of being: (a) excellent and advanced; (b) based on faith and divine ethics; (c) guided and oriented, i.e. consistent and logical; (d) comprehensive, paying attention to the body and the spirit,

the individual and the society; (e) universal, utilizing all useful resources and offers its services to all mankind; (f) scientific. Two of these six criteria require re-examination. Criterion (a) should not be taken in an absolute way. A medical system's excellence or advancement is a relative assessment based on the knowledge and resources available at a particular time and in a particular place. Medical systems are continuously improving, making it virtually impossible to classify them as excellent at a particular point in time. Criterion (f) about medicine being scientific could better be defined as based on objective research using all sources of knowledge available. The words 'scientific' and 'scientific method' have been misused as representing objectivity, yet we know that there are many in-built biases in today's medical research that reflect subjective opinions, philosophies and world views. This is in addition to cases of fraud and incompetence that are reported in the press.

Important landmarks and figures⁷

Islam spread and Muslims were keen to collect all the ancient manuscripts and books that were available. When the phase of active conquest was over, the Arabs directed their energies to various branches of learning with great enthusiasm. They translated all that they acquired of Greek, Persian and Indian manuscripts. Christians and Jews, amongst others, played a large part in this work.

Within one-and-a-half centuries of the appearance of Islam, Baghdad under the Abbassids and Cordoba under the Umayyads became world centres for learning, and particularly for medicine. Among the famous physicians of Umayyad times were Ibn Uthal and Abu al-Hakam al-Dimashqi. Ibn Uthal was a Christian and physician to the first Umayyad caliph, Mu'awiyah. He was skilled in the science of poisons, and during the reign of Mu'awiyah many prominent men and princes died mysteriously. Ibn Uthal was later killed in revenge. Abu al-Hakam al-Dimashqi was a Christian physician skilled in therapeutics. He was physician to the second Umayyad caliph, Yazid.

Translation into Arabic began under the rule of the Umayyads at the time of Prince Khalid ibn Yazid. Prince Khalid was interested in alchemy and employed the services of Greek philosophers who were living in Egypt. He rewarded them lavishly and they translated Greek and Egyptian books on chemistry, medicine and astronomy. A contemporary of prince Khalid was the great Arab chemist Jabir Ibn Hayan (Geber), who was born in A.D. 705 and died sixty-four years later. He became an expert in chemical procedures and was the first to discover mercury.

Another medical achievement during the rule of the Umayyads was the hospital for lepers built in Damascus. This was the first of its kind and enjoyed many endowments. This should be contrasted with European practice that, even six centuries later, was condemning lepers to be burnt to death by royal decree.

The Umayyad Caliphate lasted for about ninety years, and during that time Islam spread from China in the east to Spain in the west. Translation of scientific books into Arabic had already begun, but under the Abbassids, who succeeded the Umayyads, it was greatly accelerated. An important factor that facilitated the work of translation

was the flexibility of the Arabic language, the richness of its terminology and its capacity for expression.

Baghdad, which the first Abbassid Caliph, Al-Mansur, took for his capital, became the centre of the world for the arts and sciences. The age of Haroun al-Rashid, the ninth-century Caliph renowned in the Arabian Nights, was among the most golden of historical ages. He surrounded himself with the foremost physicians of the age, who had studied Persian, Greek and Indian medicine.

It is said that the Caliph Al-Abbas asked his physician Isa ibn Yusuf to prepare an examination of medical competence. Those doctors who did not pass the examination were debarred from medical practice. Some 860 men were successful, but hundreds of charlatans were expelled from the profession.

The Caliph Al-Mansur invited Jurjis ibn Jibrail, a Syrian physician and the head of the hospital in Jundi-Shapur, to be his personal physician. This man was a member of a family that produced many famous physicians over several generations. They served at the Abbassid court for about three centuries, where they attained great wealth and high positions – sometimes higher than that of princes or ministers. Some of them were translators of scientific texts or authors of books on medicine.

Yuhannah ibn Masawayh was a physician at the time of Haroun al-Rashid. At the Caliph's request, he translated Greek medical books purchased in Byzantium and was himself the author of books on fevers, nutrition, headache and sterility in women. Al-Mu'tasim, the successor to Haroun al-Rashid, was so interested in Yuhannah's work on dissection that he made a special room available and had apes brought to him from Nubia in Africa.

Hunain ibn Ishaq (Johanitius) was probably the greatest translator in Arab history. He had a wide knowledge of Syriac, Greek and Arabic, and carried out a large number of translations from Greek scientific and philosophical manuscripts into Arabic. These included most of the works of Hippocrates and Galen. After his death, much of this work was continued by his pupils and by his nephew Hubaish. The latter also wrote books on medicine, among which was a treatise on nutrition.

There are many other translators who became prominent writers and philosophers: Thabit ibn Qurrah wrote many books on a variety of medical topics as well as on philosophy and astronomy; Qusta ibn Luqa, a contemporary of Al-Kindi, translated many books into Arabic; there was also Mankah the Indian, who translated from Sanskrit into Arabic, and translated a treatise on poisons written by the Indian physician Shanaq.

The Abbassid Caliphs were not only concerned with translation. They were also interested in public health, and it was an Abbassid minister, Ali ibn Isa, who requested the court physician, Sinan ibn Thabit, to organize regular visits to prisons by medical officers. The first hospital in the Muslim empire was built in the ninth century in Baghdad by Haroun al-Rashid; many other hospitals were built subsequently in the Muslim world. The first hospital to be built in Cairo was at the time of the governor of Egypt, Ibn Tulun, in A.D. 872. These hospitals were remarkably advanced in design, for they contained pharmacies, libraries, lecture rooms for medical students and separate wards for men and women.

The age of translation paved the way for the age of composition and innovation. The latter half of the ninth century and the tenth century form the most creative period in the history of Muslim science and learning.

Al-Tabari was a physician to two of the Abbassid Caliphs. He wrote an encyclopaedic work on medicine, philosophy, zoology and astronomy, and was greatly influenced by the writings of Aristotle and Galen.

Al-Razi (Rhazes), A.D. 865 to 925, was a Persian and the pupil of Al-Tabari. He was one of the greatest of Muslim physicians and a most prolific writer. He took a great interest in chemistry and it is said that he prepared pure alcohol from fermented sugars, as well as inventing a scale for measuring the specific gravity of fluids. But his greatest fame rests on his supreme abilities as a clinician, and his clinical descriptions of many illnesses were unsurpassed. He investigated women's diseases and midwifery, hereditary diseases and eye diseases. He wrote an account of smallpox and measles, and books on chemistry and pharmacy, but the most famous of his books is *Al-Hawi* [Continence], a large encyclopaedia on medicine in twenty-four volumes. Translated into Latin, it made a great impact on European thinking in medicine.

Al-Majusi was also born in Persia. He wrote a medical book called *Al-Maliki*, known as *Liber Regius* in its Latin translation. It was widely used as a reference work in the Middle Ages. Al-Majusi was the first physician to explain that the foetus does not leave the uterus by its own efforts, but rather that it is expelled by the contractions of the uterus.

Ibn Sina (Avicenna) was born in A.D. 980 and died aged fifty-three. He wrote copiously and on many subjects, but the most famous of his books was *The Canon of Medicine*. This is an encyclopaedic work in fourteen volumes and combines Greek and Arabic medical systems, with the addition of Ibn Sina's personal experience. It deals with diseases, their classification, description and causes; with therapeutics and the classification of simple and compound medicines; with hygiene, the functions of parts of the body, and with many other topics. In particular, Ibn Sina noted the fact that pulmonary tuberculosis was contagious, and he thought that it was spread through contact with soil and water. He also described accurately the symptoms of diabetes mellitus and some of its complications. He was very interested in the effect of the mind on the body, and wrote a great deal about psychological disturbances. The *Canon* was translated into Latin and published many times. It had the most fundamental influence in European thinking during the Middle Ages, and was a standard reference book in universities until the seventeenth century.

The other major cultural centre of the Muslim world was Cordoba in Spain. The library was reputed to have over 600,000 books. Among the greatest men that Spain produced was Abu al-Qasim al-Zahrawi (Albucasis), who was born in Al-Zahra, Spain, in A.D. 936. He is regarded as the most famous of the Arab surgeons, but he was also skilled in the use of simple and compound remedies, and was thus sometimes described as 'the pharmacist surgeon'. He wrote the famous manual on surgery called *Al-Tasrif*, although it also includes sections on the preparation and dosage of drugs, and on nutrition, public health and anatomical dissection. The celebrated sections

on surgery are illustrated with drawings of about 100 surgical instruments. There are descriptions of techniques for operating to relieve various conditions, including the amputation of limbs, the removal of foreign bodies and the crushing of bladder stones. He invented many of the instruments in his book, and in particular he devised a pair of forceps for use in midwifery. Al-Zahrawi was no mean dentist either; it is said that he performed cosmetic operations to correct dental irregularities. His book became famous in the universities of Europe in the Middle Ages. It was translated into Latin by Gerard of Cremona in A.D. 1187 and became the chief reference work for surgery in the universities of Italy and France.

Ibn Rushd (Averroes) was a twelfth-century physician, philosopher and astronomer of Cordoba. He was primarily concerned with philosophy and wrote an extensive commentary on the philosophical works of Aristotle. But he also practised medicine and wrote a medical work entitled *Al-Kulliyat*, which became known in the Latin West as *Colliget*. Among his many original contributions was the observation that you can only become infected with smallpox once.

The family of Ibn Zuhr produced a number of famous physicians – men and women – over six consecutive generations. The most celebrated of them was Ibn Marwan ibn Zuhr (Avenzoar). He was a contemporary of Ibn Rushd and an extremely able clinician. His book, *Al-Têisir*, was among those translated into Latin and thus passed into European learning.

Two other physicians who belonged neither to Baghdad nor to Cordoba are worthy of note. Ibn Abi Usaybi'ah was born in Syria and practised medicine for a while in Cairo. His major contribution to medicine was his large biographical work on the physicians who had preceded him. The second is Ibn al-Nafis, also born in Syria and who also practised medicine in Cairo. He refuted what Galen had said about the passage of blood through invisible pores in the septum separating the right and left ventricles of the heart. He described the lesser (pulmonary) circulation for the first time in history before the Englishman Harvey. It is a regrettable fact that this remarkable achievement has received very little notice and his views were ignored for centuries.

To sum up, we have to admit that the West has not done justice to the influence of Muslims on the historical development of medicine. Western writers have given little prominence to Islamic scientific and intellectual contributions in this field. Yet Muslims carried the torch of science and thought in an age when no other civilization was capable of doing so. At one time, learning was regarded as heresy, and the Eastern Christian Church persecuted all scientists. Those fleeing persecution found refuge in the Islamic Empire, which took them in and acquired from them the scientific heritage of the time. Muslims who endeavoured to ensure for them a congenial atmosphere in which to work and to learn showed them a great deal of respect. That was the beginning of a universal cultural revolution that enlightened the ancient world, and which the West later embraced, inheriting from the Muslims their scientific and intellectual achievements.⁸

Medical education in the Islamic world:

Those who learn and study medicine and practise it as a profession must work in hospitals to obtain experience under the supervision of master scientists. Von Grunebaum says about the necessity of hospital visits for medical students:

The medical student must always visit the hospitals and must be very careful of the conditions and situations of the persons found there, while he is accompanied by the most intelligent medical teachers, and must ask about patients' conditions, their symptoms, remembering what he has read about changes and their significance – whether good or bad. If he understands these things he will achieve a high rank in his profession.⁹

Thus, it is evident that medical teaching at that time was based on knowledge and was practised in Bimaristans or hospitals. To be acquainted with the rules of the process of medical teaching that dominated the Islamic world, we have to study first the origin of the Bimaristans and their development. Ibn Abi Usaibi'ah said:

Hippocrates cared greatly about his patients and their treatment. It is said that he was the first to invent and build the Bimaristan and the first to renew it, by allocating – near his house – part of his garden for the patients and assigned some servants to perform the treatments. He called this the 'Akhssendokin', i.e. a patient complex. Also the word Bimaristan – which is of Persian origin – has the same meaning. *Bimar* in Persian means disease and *stan* is location or place, i.e. location or place of disease.¹⁰

This is Ibn Abi Usaibi'ah's explanation of the historical development of the Bimaristans or hospitals that we find in the *Uyun al-Anba*. But Max Meyerhof¹¹ mentioned that the first hospital to be built in the Islamic world is that which was based in Baghdad by the order of Haroun al-Rashid. Hospitals were subsequently built everywhere. Is Meyerhof's opinion true or not?

Ibn Qutaybah al-Dainuri, in his book *Leadership and politics*,¹² was interested in some important matters relating to Islamic history. He mentioned that the first Bimaristan or hospital was built for the Muslim army when Abdallah Ibn al-Zoubair, blockaded in Mecca, built a tent on one side of the Mosque, so that the wounded could be cared for by skilled persons. This is the Arab Bimaristan.

THE BIMARISTAN SYSTEM

People who are interested in establishing any institution must set up an administrative or technical system. Physicians in the Islamic world set up a precise system inside the hospitals so that it would be based upon academic knowledge fulfilling two goals: the welfare of the patients must be dealt with according to the most recent rules of medical treatment; Bimaristans used for teaching medicine to the newly graduated physicians are responsible for treating patients successfully. Therefore, the Bimaristans in the Islamic world adopted all the technical procedures that allowed these two purposes to be achieved.

Ibn Joubir¹³ observed hospitals at work. Also, Ahmed Isa Bey in *Bimaristans in Islam*,¹⁴ Amin Assaad Khayrallah in *Outline of Arabic contributions*¹⁵ and Nushirawya in *Islamic Bimaristans in the Middle Ages* all mentioned the administrative, technical and teaching organization existing in the hospitals of that period.

Concerning the choice of site, they tried to choose the best location with regard to the health conditions. They preferred to build the Bimaristans on hills or by rivers. Al Adoudi's bimaristan is a good example of this; it was built by Adoud al-Dawla b. Bawaih¹⁶ in Baghdad by the River Deglah. The water of the river flowed through its courtyard and halls before rejoining the Deglah.

Concerning organization, it was natural that the physicians divided the Bimaristan into two sections, one for men and the other for women. Each section was independent, with large wards for the patients. Each ward had at least one physician and each group of doctors in a section had a chief doctor. The wards were specialized: a ward for internal diseases, another for broken bones, another for diseases of the eye, another one for midwifery, and other rooms for communicable diseases.

In his book, *Uyun al-Anba*,¹⁷ Ibn Abi Usaibi'ah described wards for internal medicine which frequently included a section for patients affected by fever and another one for the mentally deranged. All sections of the Bimaristan were equipped with the entire medical equipment necessary for the physician.

Ibn Abi Usaibi'ah tells us that Adoud al-Dawla set a test for a hundred physicians, when he decided to build the Adoudian Bimaristan on the Western side of Baghdad, and he chose twenty-four physicians out of 100 to work there. The chief of all physicians in the hospital was called Al-Saoor. The administrative and medical systems in the hospital were based upon using boys who worked as employees or health workers, assistants or dressers; some of them were servants and they cleaned the Bimaristan and cared for the patients when necessary.

According to this order and system, the Bimaristan was performing its medical job from a diagnostic point of view, disease definition and the prescription of treatment. Moreover, they understood the necessity of including a pharmacy in the Bimaristan to issue drugs, which were given according to the physician's prescription. The pharmacy was called 'Al Sharabkhana'. As is still the case today, the Bimaristan was subject to inspection. This was the responsibility of an employee assigned by the minister or the Caliph and given the authority to enter the hospital to be acquainted with the patients' status and the care offered to them, the food given to them and whether the boys were serving them or not. Was the physician performing his duty to the best of his ability? This system assured the permanence of the Bimaristan allowing it to work with a high degree of technical, scientific and administrative competence.

It is worth mentioning that each patient had a card on which the physician recorded his observations while treating the patient. Also the physician had his own special register to record his observations on the diseases he was treating. The physician performed his experiments and tests according to his observations. If the physician faced any problem in diagnosis, he went to the head of his division or the chief physician. Frequently the physicians held meetings to discuss cases. Undoubtedly these discussions

and consultations were equivalent to small scientific conference of physicians: We still do the same today.

We notice that the historians of Arab medicine wrote in great detail about the work system in the hospital. There were shifts for the doctors – some worked in the day and others at night, some worked partly in the morning and then another period at night. At the same time they were allowed enough rest to continue working in the Bimaristan and supervise the treatment system and medical care of the patients.

Al-Maqrizi mentioned in his notes¹⁸ that when patients were admitted to the Bimaristan, their clothes were taken away and their money put in the care of a guardian. The patients received clean clothes and were given free drugs and food under the supervision of the physicians until they were cured.

Ibn al-Okhwa, in his book *al-Hisba*, described the entrance of the patient to the out-patient department to see the physician. He said in a very important text:

The physician asks the patient about the cause of his illness and the pain he feels. He prepares for the patient syrups and other drugs, then he writes a copy of the prescription to the family attending with the patient. Next day he re-examines the patient and looks at the drugs and asks him if he feels better or not, and he advises the patient according to his condition. This procedure is repeated on the third day and the fourth until the patient is either cured or dead. If the patient is cured, the physician is paid.

If the patient died, his family would go to the chief doctor and present the prescriptions written by the physician. If the chief doctor judged that the physician had performed his job without negligence, he tells the parents that death was natural; if he judges otherwise, he tells them: 'take the blood money of your relative from the physician; he killed him by his bad performance and negligence'. In this honourable way they could be sure that medicine was practised by experienced and well-trained persons.

It was comprehended early on that Bimaristans had different forms and purposes. The Bimaristan established to serve those wounded in battle was different from that built for patients affected by mental disease, or those for a commercial caravan or the pilgrimage to Al-Kaaba, and so on.

Medical educational assemblies

Educational assemblies spread across the Islamic world through a methodological system. They were sometimes sponsored by the profession, but usually by the State. This has always been the way. We know that a scientist is known by his following, as well as by the influence he exerts on his pupils; therefore, scientists are always careful to teach pupils in their assemblies in a way different from that of other teachers.

The Arab physicians' way of teaching had its characteristics. Abou Bakr al-Razi, may be one of the best physicians of his time to preserve for us in writing the essentials that a physician should know well, and that teachers should engrave in the pupils mind. These teachings were not just theoretical, but arose from experience and practice. Abou Bakr al-Razi was the best clinical physician of his time, as well as being a good

teacher of medicine and author. His book, *The Guide or al-Fusul*, is a good example. During his teaching sessions pupils crowded around him in circles according to their precedence. He used to present patients to them, let them ask about the illness and try to diagnose it; if they failed he would intervene and give the final decision.¹⁹

The values and ethics of Islamic medicine

The use of values and ethics as defining characteristics was seen as an improvement on the definition of Islamic medicine using operational criteria. The criteria are difficult to measure and compare across different systems of medicine. Omar Hasan Kasule Sr., in a paper presented to the first International Conference on Islamic Medicine in Kuwait, argued that Islamic medicine can be defined only as values and ethics and not as any specific medical procedures or therapeutic agents. This definition allows Islamic medicine to be a universal concept that has no specific or particular time-space characteristics. A definition based only on values is, however, too general to be useful operationally. Values can be very subjective and difficult to define with precision.

This section may be corroborated by a few quotations from some eminent past and present scholars:

No historical student of the culture of Western Europe can ever reconstruct for himself the intellectual values of the later Middle Ages unless he possesses a vivid awareness of Islam looming in the background.²⁰

The Arab has left his intellectual impress on Europe, as, before long, Christendom will have to admit; he has indelibly written it on the heavens, as anyone may see who reads the names of the stars on a common celestial globe.²¹

Because Europe was reacting against Islam it belittled the influence of the Saracens [Muslims] and exaggerated its dependence on its Greek and Roman heritage. So today, an important task for us is to correct this false emphasis and to acknowledge fully our debt to the Arab and Islamic world.²²

One of the hallmarks of civilized man is knowledge of the past – [including] the past of others with whom one's own culture has had repeated and fruitful contact; or the past of any group that has contributed to the ascent of man. The Arabs fit profoundly into both of the latter two categories. But in the West the Arabs are not well known. Victims of ignorance as well as misinformation, they and their culture have often been stigmatized from afar.²³

Too often science in Arabia has been seen as nothing more than a holding operation. The area has been viewed as a giant storehouse for previously discovered scientific results, keeping them until they could be passed on for use in the West. But this is, of course, a travesty of the truth. Certainly the Arabs did inherit Greek science – and some Indian and Chinese science too, for that matter – and later passed it on to the West. But this is far from being all that they did.²⁴

An eminent mid-twentieth century scholar, George Sarton (Harvard University), traces the 'roots' of Western intellectual development to the Arab tradition, which was 'the outstanding stream, and remained until the fourteenth century one of the largest streams

of mediaeval thought.' He goes on: 'The Arabs were standing on the shoulders of their Greek forerunners, just as the Americans are standing on the shoulders of their European ones. There is nothing wrong in that.' Then Sarton criticizes those who 'will glibly say: "The Arabs simply translated Greek writings, they were industrious imitators."' This is not absolutely untrue, but is such a small part of the truth, that when it is allowed to stand alone, it is worse than a lie'.²⁵

Pluralism in modern Arab medical education

Arabic has been the language of scientific and medical studies for more than fourteen centuries, but this situation had changed when Arab countries were occupied by colonial forces in the nineteenth century, when the colonizers forced their language on every aspect of life, including medical education. In a study published by the World Health Organization in 1988, regarding the languages of medical education all over the world, we find that in the countries that experienced foreign occupation medical education takes place in the language of the original colonizers. Arab countries are good examples of this, as the countries of the Maghreb (Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and Mauritania) adopted French for medical education, while most of other Arab countries, including Egypt, Iraq, Jordan and the Gulf States, employ English. Somalia uses Italian. The only exception is Syria, where medical education still takes place in Arabic.

Arabic is a very versatile language that can incorporate every new concept in medicine and other modern sciences. Thus, teaching and studying medicine and health sciences in Arabic is a step in the right direction of getting rid of the odd situation experienced by the Arab world today. Almost every country in the world, including countries with modest populations, such as Iceland, Romania and Sweden, study medicine in their own languages. Arabs will only regain their status as pioneers in science and medicine when they return to studying in their mother language – Arabic.

Studying medicine in Arabic has many potential benefits for learners, including increased capacity and a shorter time for comprehension. It has also many benefits for society at large, as language represents a symbol of a nation's dignity and esteem. There are economic gains also, including saving the costs of purchasing expensive foreign books and paying the salaries of foreign professors. Also, the doctor/patient relationship will receive a good boost when doctors speak the same language as their patients, instead of talking to them as if they were from another planet.

For all the above-mentioned reasons and others, the need arose to try to bridge this linguistic gap in the study of medicine and health sciences. Thus, the idea came of establishing an 'Arabization' centre for health sciences, a short account of which follows:

The use of the Arabic language in medicine

The translation of the world's scientific and technological output into Arabic is a basic, pressing and important step towards developing Arab medical programmes in terms of medical instruction or research and development processes. Its prime objec-

tive is to underscore the role of Arabic in the field of the medical sciences. In order to make the technology transfer effectively controllable, the Arabic language should be the technical and practical medium of thinking and writing for Arab doctors.

Any Arab organization concerned with the development and progress of science and technology should therefore give an absolute preference to technical translation into Arabic. During the sixth and seventh centuries A.D., the basics of rational and scientific thinking were only available in Arabic thanks to the efforts of Arab scientists and translators. They also made original contributions to the various branches of scientific knowledge. Thus, at that time Arabic became the main axis of scientific development.

In the twelfth century A.D., a regular programme was organized for extensive translations from Arabic into Latin language in the fields of medicine, mathematics, optics, chemistry and other scientific disciplines. This strongly inspired and laid the foundations for the great advancement of Western science and technology. Many terms used in European scientific terminology originated from the Arabic language.

The above example would prompt us to reverse the process and try again to transfer all the world's major scientific and technological developments into Arabic. This calls on us to carry out well-organized efforts at all levels to gather, study, translate and publish up-to-date medical information in the Arabic language. This subject is deemed of great interest for Pan-Arab co-operation.

The Arabization Centre for Medical Science (ACMLS) can, to a certain extent, assist in reaching this objective. It is therefore proposed to include the services of translation, authorship and terminology standardization into ACMLS' programmes. The process may be carried out by means of the following.

1. A comprehensive plan for Arabic authoring in the medical fields. The subjects and authorship standards should be determined through hiring the assistance of Arab specialists capable of fulfilling this important mission.
2. A comprehensive Arabization plan for the major foreign medical reference books, especially the textbooks that would contribute to the introduction of Arabic to this field, as well as the Arabization of some badly needed medical specializations.
3. A comprehensive Arabization plan for the foreign medical terminology and their publishing in Arabic; the accurate definition of their concepts and meanings, and publication of the relevant dictionaries and glossaries.
4. The publication of an Arab medical encyclopaedia presenting the development of Islamic medicine over the past centuries.
5. Provision of a plan for the various medical educational media and models used in medical instruction in order to accelerate the introduction of Arabic concepts into medical teaching.

Notes

1. I would like to express my deep gratitude to the editorial board of *Prospects* for this opportunity to participate in the dialogue between Arab and European cultures. Nevertheless, it is very difficult to tackle all the necessary topics in one short article; the

subject of Arab medicine and its influence on European/Western medicine could be the theme of many books.

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THE EURO-ARAB DIALOGUE:
AN EDUCATIONAL BRIDGE

ISLAM IN GERMAN TEXTBOOKS:
EXAMPLES FROM GEOGRAPHY
AND HISTORY

Nese Ihtiyar

Throughout the 1990s, the media paid increasing attention to the religious and cultural differences between the 'Islamic world' and the 'western world'. The attacks of 11 September 2001 meant that this issue also found its way into the consciousness of the general public. The war in Iraq and the Palestinian/Israeli situation have both reinforced the perception of Islam as a problem. It is legitimate to ask whether Islam is perceived as a danger by the 'western world' and, vice versa, whether Christianity or western values are regarded by the 'Islamic world' as a threat.

This question is significant because a large number of Moslem migrants – some already of the third-generation – live and go to school in Germany, as in other European societies. A critical analysis of Islam and western culture is more necessary than ever for mutual understanding. The challenge when dealing with this subject should not only be to emphasize the differences – which certainly exist and must be named – but also, more importantly, to stress the common features and points of contact.

In reaction to the current situation, research on school textbooks has the task of analysing the way classroom manuals should depict cross-cultural and inter-religious relationships so that they are not viewed primarily from a conflict-based perspective.

Original language: German

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Against a background of migration, for a very wide variety of reasons, and globalization, schoolbooks on both sides should be examined. The approach to a cross-cultural dialogue must answer two questions:

1. Are Islam and the Islamic culture(s) and countries presented in western school textbooks in a suitable manner likely to stimulate a critical dialogue?
2. How is the west/Christianity portrayed in schoolbooks in Islamic countries or countries with a predominantly Islamic culture?

The Georg-Eckert-Institut für internationale Schulbuchforschung (the Georg Eckert Institute for International Research on School Textbooks) in Brunswick has taken on this task and began work in the summer of 2002 on the project 'Western and Islamic worlds: aspects of mutual perception as reflected in their schoolbooks'.

This project is concerned with the first part of the project, which examines the portrayal of Islam in German textbooks. The analysis covers textbooks on the subjects of geography, history, modern studies/politics, Protestant and Catholic religious instruction and ethics. The books examined are used in various types of schools and in different school years.

To guarantee a qualitative approach, the analysis is based around the following questions:

1. What are the predominant themes with regard to Islam? Does this simply include stereotyped and clichéd images, such as the position of women in Islam?
2. In what sort of contexts is Islam perceived? Are they conflict themes (the Middle-East conflict) or is there a 'foreigner' element? Looked at from another angle, we also have to ask which subjects are left aside and/or ignored?

It is particularly important to examine whether an explanation is based on an Islamic view of itself or whether a multi-faceted perspective is offered that contributes to dismantling existing stereotypes.

An analysis of textbook language must also be carried out. Is an informative, factual style employed or is it more likely to convey emotion and meaning? A critical analysis must also include the material selected for illustration purposes.

Schoolbooks should be expected to reflect present-day reality. If this requirement is to be fulfilled, a further analysis must determine whether any description of the current situation provides a realistic picture – this not always being the case.

Finally, the position of Moslem school pupils, both girls and boys, must also be examined. Are they able to identify with their image as it is presented? How do they appear during classroom work? Do they function as 'visual study aids' or even 'experts' on Islam? Or has a dialogue of co-operation already been encouraged with the pupils in place of a social hierarchy?

The textbooks examined deal with Islam in various ways and to different depths. Results show that the textbooks examined in the subject areas of geography and history contain both positive and reasonable presentations of Islam. However, there is also a portrayal ranging from those that require further refinement to those that are unacceptable. In spite of a perceived shift of accent to greater differentiation and recommended examples that can be further pursued, a whole series of shortcomings can still be defined.¹ Besides factual errors, the failure to understand the way Islam perceives

itself as well as detrimental presentations – namely the use of the terms ‘us’ and ‘them’ or ‘foreigners’ – stand out.

On a positive level, a reference to the contemporary world is present throughout almost all of the texts. Nevertheless, this does not always correspond to reality. This becomes clear when the subject of Moslems in Germany is addressed, where they are viewed as foreigners and Turks are regarded as the prototype of the foreigner and the Moslem. This is fraught with problems as Turks are not a homogenous group and certainly not all Turks are Moslems. Furthermore, they do not necessarily belong to the same tribe faction (Sunnites, Alevites). Moreover, the term ‘foreigner’ (the word *Gastarbeiter*, guest or foreign worker, is still occasionally used!) can hardly apply to people who are already third-generation migrants in Germany and who even possess German citizenship. However, a useful procedure was represented by a multi-facetted approach and working through of points of contact and areas of overlap in religion and history.

The geography books examined included references to basic facts and elements of the Islamic faith, since culture and religion are important and influence the social, political and economic spheres, as well as civil society.

Most often, Islam is dealt with as a subject in the context of the Middle East, whereby it is covered in the context of arid zones/deserts, ancient civilizations of the Nile, the Euphrates and the Tigris, the place of origin of three world religions, oil reserves and a focal point of world politics. In the context of worldwide migrations, Islam is studied in connection with the migration of workers to Germany.

Particularly in the treatment of the Middle East – with regard to urban communities or traditional ways of life such as nomads or peasants – there are many indications that the perception of the (Islamic) Orient is still strongly influenced by ‘The Tales of the Arabian Nights’, which is devoid of any contemporary validity or correspondence to reality, and thus offers no basis for Moslem pupils to identify themselves with it.

Between the extremes of ‘Middle East’ and ‘migration’, the following subject blocks, which partly overlap, have been identified:

- *The Middle-Eastern city* deals with the characteristics of urban life (Cairo, Tunis, Damascus) and examines social transformation and associated problems such as overcrowding.
- *Traditional ways of life*. This title is used to describe the life of the Bedouins or desert nomads and the Egyptian peasants. Any reference to Islam is not particularly evident and, where it does exist, is of a very dubious nature.
- *Islam in the modern age* gives examples of Islamic countries torn between the traditional and the modern worlds. Examples include the Gulf oil states, and Turkey as a bridgehead between the Orient and the Occident. South-East Asia is frequently dealt with in the context of ‘Tiger States’ – but here Islam is completely ignored as a force shaping the world.
- *Islam in Germany* is concerned with worker migration and the reasons behind it. Based on reported experience (implied authenticity), the subjects include thoughts on returning to the country of origin, integration and the associated problems for Moslem pupils of both sexes.

- *Islam as a religion* covers the areas of the origins of Islam, Mohammed, the Five Pillars of Islam, women in Islam, fatalism and Islamic jurisprudence.
- *Islam as a political factor* includes the subjects of the Middle-East conflict, terrorism, fundamentalism and *jihad*.

The history books still refer to themes where war and violence are depicted as the dominant factors in the relationship between Islam and Christianity: crusades, Andalusia, the Middle-East conflict. However, a departure from a purely Eurocentric/Christian-based perspective can be detected when, for example, Moslem (including Islamic-academic) sources and authors are quoted.

In history, detailed analyses of Moslems in Germany are occasionally presented. The problem of 'living between two worlds' experienced by Moslem children (once again drawing on Turkish and ethnic Turkish children) is being examined in greater depth. The following subjects groups have arisen within these contexts:

- *The origins of Islam up to the Umayyaden period* deals with pre-Islamic Arabia, the life of Mohammed and expansion under the four Rightly Guided caliphs.
- *Islam as a religion* covers the Koran, the Five Pillars of Islam, fatalism, mysticism, Sunnism/Shiism (at least in a tentative way) and comparisons with Christianity and Judaism.
- *Influence of Islam on daily experience, culture and science* is concerned with the Islamic-Arab cultural heritage in Europe,² trade, dietary laws, education and women in Islam.
- *Islam as a political factor* covers the keywords re-Islamization, fundamentalism, *sharia*, the Middle-East conflict and the Islamic Republic of Iran.
- *Islam in Germany* covers worker migration and problems and opportunities on the path to peaceful co-existence.
- *Islam in the historical context* examines the crusades, Andalusia and, sometimes, the Ottoman Empire and the founding of the Republic of Turkey.

The following sections are an excerpt from our analysis of the geography books.³ Many of the findings from the selected themes *Islam as a religion*, *Islam as a political factor*, *Islam in Germany* and *Work tasks* are also valid for history books.

Islam as a religion

An examination of Islam as a religion is often to be found under the chapter heading 'Islam in Germany'. Basic knowledge of Islam is usually provided on one or two pages. As a geography book makes no claim to provide a detailed analysis of religions on a theological level, an explanation of the basic concepts and facts of Islam is usually offered. This amounts to a description of the vocabulary, a brief overview of the genesis of Islam and thus Mohammed and the Five Pillars of Islam. The fact that there is often an additional section devoted to the position of women in Islam is especially remarkable. The basic message conveyed is that women in particular suffer due to the strictness of Islam and that Islam permits polygamy. Bearing in mind that polygamy is an exception rather than a rule and that the statement 'Islam allows a man to have four wives', if left unqualified, creates a very distorted image of the

male/female relationship in Islam, the purpose of such one-sided claims is not quite clear. In any case, it is a reflection of the content frequently encountered in the media over the last few years.

Unfortunately, viewed as a whole, a conspicuously large number of factual errors can be identified. This is an indication that the way Islam regards itself is not receiving sufficient attention and that Moslem sources and experts are not being consulted. Of primary importance is the need to improve the description about the life of Mohammed. It is contrary to any Islamic comprehension of the subject to label Mohammed as a 'founder' or 'sponsor' of Islam and to reduce his revelation to a 'vision'. This view fails to recognize Mohammed's role as a prophet and messenger of God. To do justice to Islam's view of itself, the possessive form should be avoided where possible. Phrases such as 'the Islamic faith teaches that Mohammed received the revelation from the archangel Gabriel' are to be preferred. In this connection, the claim is often made that Mohammed himself put the revelation down on paper. This is just as elementary an error as the statement that the Koran contains the commandments and instructions of Mohammed, particularly absurd when the following words are put into a Moslem's mouth: 'The Koran contains a summary of Mohammed's teachings' (Diercke Erdkunde, year 7 & 8, Niedersachsen, 1995, p. 224).⁴ It is a disappointment and a sign of failure to encounter material where the term Mohammedans is still used – especially when the author adds that Mohammedans are also called Moslems (GEOS, 1997, p. 118). Moslems have decisively rejected the term 'Mohammedan', a fact that has been emphasized in the specialist literature for a long period of time.

Very little information is offered on the life of Mohammed. After a 'childhood in poverty' he is supposed to have had 'visions' and then allegedly 'fled' from Mecca in the year 622. According to Moslem opinion, the word *hidschra* should be understood as 'emigration' and not as 'flight'. A few lines are dedicated to Mohammed's lifetime and subsequent expansion policy. This is where the term *jihad* appears, translated as 'Holy War against the Unbelievers'. No further explanation is given of the term *jihad*. Just as in discussions in the media and politics, *jihad* is defined as warlike aggression willed by God against persons of a different faith. Moslem sources are not quoted at all. The fact that there is a minor and a major *jihad* is ignored and that only the minor *jihad* involves warlike acts – and, even then, only in self-defence. Without this background knowledge, the statement – which, by the way, is also false – that the *jihad* is an element of the Five Pillars or, in other words, the *schahada* (witness) is amended so that the Moslem now has to 'stand up for' his faith (Erdkunde, year 8, Oldenbourg, 1997), takes on a completely different quality, which is misleading.

The Five Pillars are covered relatively briefly. Significant in this sense is the fact that in many cases the specific Islamic terms are also given. The Five Pillars are explained in one to three sentences each, often in a box accompanying the text. Koranic quotations relevant to the Five Pillars are listed. The effect of this very welcome introduction of Islamic primary sources however is diminished sometimes by missing references to chapter and verse and by abbreviated quotations. The Koran translation used should be a recognized and currently valid edition, such as that of Khoury and Abdullah, which is both academically sound and readily accessible.

It is quite clearly a misinterpretation to claim that the Five Pillars must be performed publicly. This is obviously unavoidable during a pilgrimage and certainly during common prayer. The performance of the Five Pillars is primarily a very private and spiritual experience that, although intended to strengthen the community spirit, in no way requires to be accounted for in public. On the contrary, the public giving of alms is frowned upon. Claims are made that a pilgrimage is undertaken in honour of Mohammed, that alms are used for the upkeep of mosques and that fasting causes an economic slow down. On the basis of these examples that deal with basic elements of Islam, it is obvious that no attempt has been made to refer to either intellectual or Moslem sources that, nonetheless, are available from German-speaking academics. The examples listed above show that the central notion of *tauhid* (monotheism) in Islam clearly has not been recognized or taken into account in any way.

A reference to the 'strictness' of Islam is very rarely omitted. Because chopping off hands and whipping are constantly named as examples of Islamic jurisprudence, Islamic law becomes reduced to these punishments. Moreover, the pupils are never told, unless their teacher is familiar with Islamic Law, that such punishments (chopping off of hands) are only imposed for repeated offences and, in all cases, after the evidence of several witnesses (the ruling varies slightly between the different schools of law). With simplistic explanations such as these, the extremely complicated Islamic legal structure is presented as a cruel and inhumane system.

In many cases, a separate section is devoted to women. The illustrations, texts and (fictitious) reports based on experience create the impression that a woman can only be a Moslem if she wears a headscarf or, in other words, that the headscarf is a yardstick for measuring the religiousness of a woman! The debate about the headscarf is continuous and heated both in the western and Islamic-oriented media (for instance, in Turkey). A school textbook should therefore approach the subject in a manner that permits debate on these matters. A non-differentiating title such as 'Life behind veils' (Diercke Erdkunde, Schleswig-Holstein, 1999), accompanied, to underpin the author's intention, by a picture of a man followed by several veiled women, certainly does not promote a fruitful dialogue. A shortened quotation from the Koranic and a dubious report of the experiences of a second wife confirm the stereotyped image of an emancipated West and a mediaeval Islam. In such cases, Moslem women and, in particular, academic women should be permitted to express their opinion.

A differentiated description which opens up a dialogue meets with strong approval (Geografie 2, Seydlitz, 1996, p. 116 ff). Using pictures of veiled and unveiled women in different societies accompanied by a text source, it becomes clear to the school students that there is no such thing as 'the Islamic woman'. The view is clearly expressed that men and women have rights and obligations in Islam and that if women are disadvantaged – which, needless to say, corresponds to reality – this cannot be automatically put down to the 'misogynous' nature of Islam. Here, a very important point has been incorporated into the overall analysis, namely the difference between religion and traditional or common law, which contains a large number of non-Islamic elements.

Islam as a political factor

When flash points in the world are dealt with, Islam appears as a 'troublemaking' element. Crises are explained by an increasing re-Islamization and the images of fatalistic Moslems who support violence are employed. Statements to the effect that not all Moslems regard the Koran as a statute book (Erdkunde 8, Oldenburg, 1997) are therefore all the more important to demonstrate to school students the difference between Islam as a religion and a politicized Islam. The emotive word *jihad* appears only on rare occasions and, when it does, without a reference to whether the minor or major *jihad* is intended.

The simplistic translation of the teachings of Islam as 'submission to the will of Allah' is, on its own, sufficient to promote the impression of a fatalistic Islam. Here, Moslems should be allowed to speak out about how Islam is interpreted and whether submission in a religious sense should be regarded in any way as something negative.

Constructions of terrorist (Arab) Moslems are particularly evident in the Israel/Palestine chapters. Reports from Israeli settlers create the impression that the Arabs harass the settlers and do not shy away from terror attacks (Erdkunde, Gymnasium, Oldenburg, 1997, p. 175). This subject area is predominantly viewed from an Israeli perspective. To inform pupils about this conflict in a manner which allows debate on the issues, the Arab position must be described to the same extent and at the same level, e.g. that Israel is an occupying power and that both sides have to make an effort to achieve peace.

Reports describing how Arabs in Saudi Arabia fear that tourism could have a negative influence on religion – without offering any further explanation (Diercke Erdkunde, year 7, Baden Württemberg, Westermann, 1996, p. 75) – creates the impression of an isolated Islam which is not prepared for a dialogue.

Egypt is mentioned as an example of the process of re-Islamization. Obvious symbols and signs of this process are allegedly 'overcrowded Koran schools' (Terra Erdkunde, Realschule, year 7, Baden Württemberg, Klett, 2000) and the use of the veil by Moslem women (Diercke Erdkunde, year 7/8, Niedersachsen, Westermann, 1997). Only a few books analyse the causes and the historical development of present-day conflicts. A hint of an explanation is offered by referring to tensions between three ethnic groups – Arabs, Turks and Iranians – and the colonial powers (GEOS, year 7/8, Volk & Wissen, 1997). To properly fulfil the requirements of a school textbook and offer the pupils an up-to-date picture of the conflicts, worldwide political events of the last few years should be increasingly introduced into the debate. It is certainly reasonable to expect that older school students can take part in controversial discussions on the Gulf War and its geopolitical consequences.

Islam is also mentioned as a trigger factor in other conflict zones, e.g. Sudan and Afghanistan. Rarely, and then only in a very abbreviated form, is Islamic fundamentalism described as a political reaction to colonial times and westernization, or that Islam as a religion does not constitute a threat.

Discussion of Islam as a factor in the above contexts generally leads to an emphasis on the differences rather than on the common features. An emphasis is placed on

the fact that many Moslems reject the western way of life and western values, implying that this is something threatening. Apart from the fact that Moslems subscribe to values that are also humane and social, texts should increasingly cover common features on an economic and cultural level.

Islam in Germany

When worldwide migration is discussed in the context of Germany, subjects include the influx of migrants from war-zones and worker migration. Here, Turks have become *per se* the representatives of foreigners and Moslems, which is accompanied by numerous illustrations and statistics. It is obvious that whenever foreigners are presented in illustrations, the children in question are already part of the third migrant generation and were probably born as German citizens. The only possible message here is: the pupil from a migrant background remains an outsider – simply a foreigner.

Looking back on the 1960s, the term *Gastarbeiter* (guest or foreign worker) was justified. However, since the 1980s, thoughts of returning home have been given up and, for this reason, the terms 'migrant worker' or 'German with a migrant background' are to be preferred. Suburbs where the majority of residents are Turkish are quickly described: the Turkish grocer's shop, travel agency, kebab stands, mosque and Koran school. Frequently, there is also a picture of a young businessman who is a good taxpayer. Presumptuous statements can also be found. For example, there are foreigners in Germany who are 'even doctors' (Terra Erdkunde, year 5, Baden Württemberg, Klett, 2000, p. 144)!

The places where foreigners are supposed to work appear to be a foregone conclusion, as 'the new starting point' (Diercke Erdkunde, year 2, NRW, Westermann, 1995, p. 117) makes clear. According to this scenario, a new starting point will be necessary when all foreigners (whoever the word 'foreigner' really applies to) have left Germany and factories, mines, refuse collection and building sites no longer function. This implies that foreigners are only capable of heavy, unpleasant and dirty work. On the other hand, texts also emphasize that the presence of foreigners enriches life in Germany, whereby it must be noted that pictures of Turkish restaurants and snack bars create the impression that this only affects gastronomy.

In reports where mainly children and young people of Turkish origin describe their experience as Moslems, these children are put forward as 'religious experts'. The 12-year-old Ayse reports: strict Moslems pray and go to 'evening prayers' on Friday. Apart from the fact that strictness may have nothing to do with praying, it should at least be pointed out that the Friday prayers mentioned above take place at midday.

What more obviously becomes evident are the feelings experienced by young people living in two worlds, which is made clear, for example, by a German poem written by Alev Tekinay. The conflict is caused, on the one hand, by hard living conditions in Turkey, where (according to the books) there is insufficient running water and electricity, poor sanitary conditions and where it is allegedly mandatory for women to wear a veil (and this in lay Turkey where wearing a veil is partially prohibited!). Pupils are given the impression that life in Turkey is exclusively one of poverty, hardship

and lack of culture. This view is supported in a crass manner by the picture of a 10-year-old girl wearing ragged clothing (possibly deliberately) who is on holiday in Turkey 'in her native country' (sic). Incidentally, in another book the same picture of the same girl is presented as an Egyptian peasant child. On the other hand, young Moslems in Germany struggle against the strict parental regime, which contrasts with the German way of life. Furthermore, the problem of the aloofness of the Germans on a human level is also mentioned. Joint celebrations/festivals should help to bring the different cultures closer together.

Work tasks

The work tasks within the units identified dealing with Islam have both knowledge-seeking elements as well as cross-cultural and dialogue-stimulating characteristics. Questions based on the text concentrating on the repetition of facts and questions of comprehension are less useful than exercises that demand the comparison and understanding of differences and common elements between Islam and Christianity. This type of exercise can be found mainly in the subject blocks that are concerned with Islam as a religion and those that are based on present-day reality and have contemporary relevance for the pupils (Moslems in Germany). Pupils are frequently called on to carry out their own research with regard to Moslem life in their own environment.

Because the proportion of Moslem pupils in some schools is high – North Rhine-Westphalia (NRW) serves as a good example – and is constantly increasing, attention has been turned to the positioning of Moslem pupils. Textbooks from NRW in particular have integrated Moslem pupils into the texts and work tasks.

Up until now, the Moslem pupil has appeared in the exercises as an outsider who served as an 'expert' or target for questioning with regard to religion. Unfortunately, this trend still continues. When Moslem pupils fulfil this role, they no longer form part of the class unit, since the pupil is now 'exotic' and 'different'. When a Moslem child is asked about day-to-day religious life, questions about his/her private life can hardly be avoided, perhaps even about life within the family. Very offensive questions may be posed, albeit unintentionally (the author can speak here from her own experience). There is a danger that such questioning may turn into a regular 'interrogation' and no longer serve the purpose of promoting understanding.

Similarly, it is unconstructive to nominate a pupil as an expert on Islam. A 15-year-old boy, for example, may be out of his depth if he has to explain the role of women or the *jihad*. The only way that the embarrassing situation of being unable, or barely able, to answer such questions is for the pupil to have knowledge of Islamic law – an extremely improbable scenario. The pupil is already out of his/her depth when asked to comment on Islamic history or to relate something about his/her 'home country'.

Unfortunately, the division of the class unit into 'them' and 'us' is increasingly evident. Exercises such as 'Ask your Moslem fellow pupils . . .' are inherently discriminatory. The class should not be divided up into Moslems and Christians. If this division occurs, there is a danger that it will be maintained outside the classroom. Furthermore, this promotes hierarchical structures, making peaceful co-existence impossible. When the

task is to find out about Moslem life in the town and to examine the living conditions of Moslems, it is not self-evident that Moslems pupils should be involved in the discussion.

In contrast, exercises that require all pupils to gather information on Islam and Christianity, without dividing the class into Christian and Moslem groups, are exemplary. Alternatively, when the reasons for migration are to be tackled, reports from affected persons should be examined at the same time.

A partly unenlightened, romanticizing view of the Islamic/Middle-Eastern way of life can also be found in practical exercises. Allusions to, and the mention of, Aladdin's magic lamp and 'The Tales of the Arabian Nights' in the course of discussion on 'Islamic ways of life' (Diercke Erdkunde, 3, class 7, 1999) amount to a disgrace, having no relevance to reality and not encouraging a critical analysis. This also applies to projects. On a positive side, the appeal for common celebrations/festivals is very often made. However, a motto such as 'Holding a party for Moslem pupils' (Terra Erdkunde, year 5, Realschule, Baden Württemberg, Klett, 2000) raises the question: why not for everybody? It is also questionable whether co-operation is promoted during the 'Middle-East' project days (Diercke Erdkunde, year 8, Baden Württemberg, 1997). One of the pictures of these project days shows a colourful, exotic world with belly-dancers, music, dance and a hookah – here it is clear that Western notions of the Middle East are still based on 'The Tales of the Arabian Nights'. Moslem pupils are unable to identify in any way with such presentations.

In conclusion

The aim of the project is to provide a recommendation for the writing of school textbooks. The actual form this could take was discussed in the course of a conference at the Georg-Eckert-Institut in Brunswick (March 2003) with experts from various subject areas, and with Moslems and non-Moslems. In March 2003 at a forum at the Weimar Conference 'Lerngemeinschaft. Das deutsche Bildungswesen und der Dialog mit den Muslimen' (Learning association: the German education system and the dialogue with Muslims), during the meeting of state Ministers of Education and Art, the issue of a critical appraisal of the presentation of Islam in curricula and textbooks was also addressed and suggestions for approving certain procedures were made. Unanimous approval was given to the view that 'the presentation of religions and cultures should be guided by the principle of interreligious dialogue' (Hans Rolf) because this teaches school students to reflect on what they learn.

The principles that lead to 'us' and the 'others' or 'foreigners' were also subjected to a basic analysis. It is worth examining to what extent Moslem children possessing German nationality, whose grandparents once came to Germany as migrant workers, are still not part of 'us in Germany' or should still be regarded as 'different'. A new target should therefore be set for the future, namely, that schools should educate 'Germans of the Moslem faith' (Ahmed Aries), which would mean that the migratory background of Moslem children would no longer be the first consideration.

One step towards greater differentiation in the treatment of Islam would be increased

incorporation of Moslem sources and authors in the texts as well as the active involvement of Moslem experts living in Germany, which would be achieved through text review and consultation.

To emphasize the fact that Moslems are part of the core of German society and not a fringe group, more authentic reports from Moslems must be integrated into textbooks. It is particularly important in this respect that positive examples are taken into consideration; this can be achieved by reference to prominent Moslem figures in the world of sport, politics, music and television.

Sweeping statements and generalizations should be avoided at all costs as they produce distorted images. In this connection, the difference between religion and tradition must receive greater emphasis.

Increasing diversity within the totality of Islam is also under discussion. On the one hand, this is based on the restriction of Islam to the 'fertile crescent'; while the presence of Islam in South-East Asia or Europe remains completely unmentioned. On the other hand, Moslem thinkers and scholars from a very wide variety of disciplines from the Middle Ages through to the modern age, who have certainly had a decisive influence on European thought, are equally passed over in silence. Furthermore, branches within Islam, such as Sunnism and Shiism, are hardly ever discussed.

When making this selection of recommendations, we cannot forget that in reality school textbooks are subject to market mechanisms that also influence the policies of publishing houses. Furthermore, we must also consider the extent to which school students are able to become involved in theological complexity and selectivity.

In the forefront of our minds, however, is the demand that society gives up modes of thought involving 'the foreigners and us' and changes its perspective. A new discourse in society for peaceful co-existence must be initiated and has to find its way into curricula and schoolbooks through innovative concepts and approaches to the issue.

Notes

1. This applies primarily to the books examined in the areas of geography, modern studies (the modern studies/politics section was examined by Safiye Jalil, Bonn) and history. Efforts to shift the accent in history have become more apparent. On the other hand, the Protestant and Catholic religious studies books (carried out by Pia Zumbrink, Jena) and ethics books (by Samuel Vogel, Jena) examined in the course of the study indicate a more evident tendency towards greater differentiation in the representation of Islam.
2. The term Islamic-Arabian also refers to non-Arab scholars from Persia (Ibn Sina), Turkey (Al-Farabi) or India. Arabic refers to the common Arabic language of scholars.
3. The complete analysis and textbook recommendations are still being worked on at the time of going to press and will be published shortly.
4. In this article, references to school textbooks are presented in this abbreviated form.

THE EURO-ARAB DIALOGUE:
AN EDUCATIONAL BRIDGE

TECHNICAL EDUCATION IN
AN ARAB-EUROPEAN DIALOGUE

K.E. Shaw

Introduction

The most obvious current problems in technical and vocational education (TVE) are shared by most European and Arab States. These are the problems of inclusion and the cluster of issues that stem from it. Baldly stated, this means that the structure of secondary schools is usually such that, in order to pursue TVE, most students need to leave mainstream general or academic education and move into a different track. Until compulsory leaving age, general academic education attracts the great majority. This continues to be true for those who stay on in full-time schooling, though clearly not all students are well suited to profit from it. This is the track that leads to high-status leaving examinations, to higher education and white-collar or professional work. This kind of education generally enjoys high social approval, especially from parents in more advantaged households. It has become open as much to girls as to boys, even in many Arab countries. In aspirant households, it is seen as the prevailing and obvious choice to which great effort and resources are devoted. Information about it is widely disseminated, well understood socially and usually a topic of keen discussion amongst parents at social gatherings. Nevertheless, it receives much criticism from employers because, although it tends to develop valued cognitive skills and provides recognized certification, it frequently fails to develop skills for earning a living among the students.

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Those able students who have studied mathematics, science and technology can move into prestigious technical institutions of higher education such as the higher technical colleges in the Gulf and specialized universities in Saudi Arabia, technological universities in Germany, *Grandes écoles* in France, MIT in the USA and the like. But these are for a rather small elite. Even if engineering is included, such students are significantly fewer than those who study law, humanities, social sciences, business and the arts or Islamic studies. Women are also often poorly represented in advanced technical courses.

If students step off from this general education track, their pathway into the future becomes much less clear. Both in the Arab world and in the West, many who do this by choice or through pressure from institutions are often less successful, less motivated students from less advantaged homes. They are normally entering a track of much lower status. It leads to lower-status colleges, which do not lead to university studies, and eventually to less-favoured skilled manual or lower-level clerical work. Often, their highest level of career is at technician or supervisory level, and this is often dependent on the lottery of whether on-the-job training is made available. In the Middle East, where many skilled personnel are expatriates, it is often suggested that such training is given to locals grudgingly, often across language barriers, and despite much rhetoric about indigenization, without real government backing (Al-Mugbali, 2002). It is clear that jobs with training are much prized in the West by the middle third of the ability range amongst school leavers. It would be interesting to know how young Arabs perceive this situation.

Inclusion projects, which enable TVE students to remain in the mainstream throughout their school career, seek to combat this divisive structure. In the last decades, the general trend in secondary education in the State sectors has been to gather young people of all abilities under one school roof. However, schools in the United Kingdom are increasingly encouraged to specialize in different fields and select a proportion of their entrants. Where this occurs, the inclusion issue is converted into a curriculum problem. Which students are to follow TVE elements in their studies, starting at what age, and for what kind of certification at the end? Particularly after about age 14, a significant minority of students becomes disaffected, no longer profits much from the general academic curriculum and tends to perform poorly in conventional written examinations. If this group is to be diverted into some form of TVE track, it usually costs more than academic subjects because of materials and equipment. It is also seen as of lower esteem and is not popular with parents.

One major response has been to try to introduce a measure of TVE-related studies for all students in secondary school and to devise a range of leaving certificates, as in France or the United States, that enable all candidates to achieve a measure of success. The United States has been more successful than some other countries, such as the United Kingdom, in enabling many students to have a second or even third chance of gaining certification and re-entering education through community colleges and moving on back into the mainstream. In Europe and the Arab world, it appears much less likely that candidates get a second chance if they drop out or choose the 'wrong' track.

One of the most readable and informed treatments of this situation in the West is the work of Mjelde (1997) and Sultana (1997). A Norwegian researcher, Mjelde accepts that for many students secondary schooling makes learning problematic or even prevents it. Her proposal is for a much greater use of workshop teaching so that a different pedagogy is called into play, as well as a unified curriculum. Her work is wide ranging and has an excellent overview. Professor Sultana's rejoinder is very powerful and offers a clear-eyed view of the realities of TVE and the problems that Mjelde's arguments raise. This lucid and particularly well-informed discussion brings to light two other matters which must be central to any Arab/European dialogue in this sphere. These are, first, the effects of cultural elements as they affect the perceptions and evaluations of schooling and curricula and, second, the relationship of education with employment, the economy and national development.

Globalization, employment choices and training

An important recent discussion of this complex relationship is that of Brown (1999) on which I shall draw heavily in this section. He points out that: 'Globalization has made the question of how nations organize their skill formation in the context of the new competition an urgent research question' (p. 233). As nations move towards more knowledge-intensive and knowledge-driven economies, as in the West, in East Asia, India and elsewhere – moving on from Fordism – difficult questions arise about how far individuals are responsible for their own employability. How far can they rely on the government to intervene in the economy, to provide employment by job creation and to organize education and training? These are issues of special relevance in the Middle East where high birth rates mean that most of the population are young and the employment of the female half of the population is a serious issue. Furthermore, much labour (and not all of it unskilled) is provided by expatriates on contract, the labour market is very imperfect, and there is much under- and unemployment. In addition, we are coming to realize that skill learning and skill utilization in employment are not adequately handled in the West – or elsewhere – by a neo-classical approach which separates the economy from the social, the cultural and the political contexts. There is a powerful element of social construction in the notion of skills and the concept of social capital. The way people behave in this domain is not to be understood simply as rational responses to the market. Much else governs their choices besides economic inducements: salaries, career prospects, working conditions and the like (Hodkinson, Sparkes & Hodkinson, 1996; Bloomer & Hodkinson, 1997).

Efforts to make labour markets work better cannot in themselves be a solution. Decisions by individuals to enter employment, choices between private and public sector work, or entry into or refusal of education and training are embedded in a social context and subject to important cultural considerations and social relationships. There are also important political considerations about whether or not the government should interfere to regulate markets, promote or ignore foreign direct investment, introduce changes in the school curricula, alter the funding for post-school TVE, or replace the agencies that administer it. Fieldwork in the United Kingdom by the aforementioned

writers has shown how a complex web of elements enters into young peoples' decisions in this domain. Quoting Coleman, Brown (1999) stresses that norms, interpersonal trust, social networks, social organization – the list could be extended – cannot be ignored in attempts to understand and attribute meaning to the ways young people act in the transition to employment and the decisions they are called upon to make about training. How these take place in complex webs of relations among persons and the cultural values that they share is an area in which the Arab and the European could collaborate with mutual profit and illumination, given the cultural differences that would help sharpen perception and broaden interpretation. They go back to deep experiences in the family, in child-rearing practices, peer groups, school climates and even neighbourhoods, all of which could be illuminated by comparison and contrasts.

One of the most obvious features of the many Arab states, especially the oil-rich ones, is the unwillingness of many young people to work in the private sector while there is any hope of government or public sector employment. Mellahi and Al-Hinai (2000) have claimed that the chief factors in this are not employer preferences or the inclinations of the job-seekers, but pressures from the extended families who tend to see employment in the private sector as a demeaning second best and a blow to their local prestige. A comparative approach to planning and public administration here between Arab and European research partners would be of value to both.

Skills

Neither the more affluent European nor the richer Arab States can long sustain a low-skill/low-pay equilibrium for nationals without risk of unrest. Many firms would go out of business in the Arab States if they had to employ nationals at the salaries they expect. It is difficult to see what the long-term effects of heavy reliance of expatriate labour in the global market conditions will turn out to be, but it throws up many social problems, including the supposed impact on the work ethic of nationals. A high-wage/high-skills equilibrium is an important policy goal for the Arab States, certainly for the smaller and oil-rich ones with large numbers of contract workers. This means that high skills must not be the preserve of a small university-educated elite. On the contrary, possession of high skills and the opportunity to use them in employment must be pushed as far down the occupational pyramid as possible.

There is ample evidence, however, that such policies present great difficulties. As Keep (2002) has shown, the prevailing view in the United Kingdom, and probably in the West generally, has been to improve the supply side by management techniques such as target setting, planning mechanisms, funding and incentives. In the United Kingdom, a succession of more than a dozen national-level institutions (known as Quangos) have come and gone in the last twenty years, culminating in the 'mother of all Quangos', the Learning and Skills Council. This embraces pre-university education, further and tertiary education colleges, and training groups with forty-seven local strategic plans. Keep also reports that more than one-third of employees in the United Kingdom are over-qualified for the work they are doing.

The official explanation is simple market failure. However, the alternative, which is as important for the Arab world as elsewhere, stems from the recognition that it is the economy that determines skills by participation and in-work training, rather than TVE outputs determining economic success. Trying to meet labour skills demands as they arise leads to short-term, reactive and random policies, which the last twenty years have shown to be largely unsuccessful in the United Kingdom and elsewhere. As evidence from the Far Eastern 'little tigers' shows, the effort needs to be placed on the economy with the government as an economic actor in the market. In Keep's words, firms need to shift their markets upwards into higher value products which demand higher skills at all levels, including management. They need to develop organizational capacity by learning, so that the jobs of the future and the demands they make, which are satisfied by on-the-job and in-house training, transform the workforce steadily. Corporate universities run by large and multinational organizations show that more than simple training and upgrading of skills of operatives is seen as a worthwhile investment.

In sum, my argument is that under the threat of global competition, governments, both in the Arab World and in the West, need to re-think their training and vocational education at a more fundamental level and can learn from each other in the process. Both need to develop the capacity to step outside what Keep calls the 'ideological cage', the failed economic vision that supplying more trained personnel will in some way jolt firms out of a low-skill equilibrium. Training and upgrading the skills of employees at all levels of the firm needs to be seen as an integral and essential feature of economic activity. For Arab States, this would mesh with more thoroughgoing and rapid indigenization of the labour force. In doing so, governments need to be able to call upon and act upon the insights of well-conducted research into social and cultural influences on choice and motivation, rather than putting their trust in over-simple economic ideologies. There is no conflict between this outlook and Islam (Al-Owaidi, 2001).

Human resource development

Turning now more specifically to technical education in the Arab States, it is worth pointing out from the beginning that, while there is now a considerable and growing research literature on education in the region available in the West and much in Arabic, technical and vocational education in the region is a neglected research area (Al-Owaidi, 2000). Just how it contributes to development and growth there is little explored empirically. This is partly because, in the West where research agendas tend to be set, books and journals which deal with development – though there are plenty of them – rarely concern themselves with the Gulf and the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) area. Checks on leading journals, such as *The international journal of educational development* or *World development*, going back over the last decade will indicate that there is not much that relates to the region. This makes clear the importance of building up knowledge connecting technology and development in the region, especially empirical work by locals and insiders.

Research interest in issues of human resource development and, less frequently, human resource allocation, goes back to the 1960s when there was increased recognition of the need for a skilled labour force following post-war reconstruction. In subsequent decades the topic developed considerably as deeper insights into its implications were achieved (Shaw, 2000). It is sufficient here to notice that the topic emancipated itself from its early origins in rather straightforward economic thinking about promoting growth, as it gradually recognized the importance of more-balanced development. This included areas such as health matters, social and cultural evolution, general education and even politics. In short, human resource development gained significance by being connected with much wider issues in development studies.

As the successive reconfigurations in theory (Kossaifi, 1998) became accepted, changes in the nature and volume of employment connected with technological advances in a wide range of societies became apparent. These were associated with the arrival of the global capitalist market, including markets in labour, and with the impact all this had on TVE. Although these changes were mostly studied in relation to younger people and school-leavers, the increasing importance of retraining and of lifelong learning for the workforce was also noticed. The abiding problems of unemployment and underemployment throughout the Middle East need hardly be further stressed, but they serve to remind us that even in the oil-rich Arab States locals have to wait for long periods to gain a government post. There are very considerable difficulties also in these States in achieving co-ordination in development policies among different ministries, in part due to weaknesses in the bureaucracy (Badri, 1997; Al-Saeed, 1999). A useful beginning would be to devote local research effort and planning in an effort to match the creation of employment opportunities to the predicted outputs of qualified personnel (and, to a greater extent, for both genders) at all levels. Yet, as we have seen, even this is not enough.

In the Arab States, there is a cluster of factors, which operate in complex ways to influence how people make choices to accept TVE and to enter employment. These factors are even more culturally embedded than in the West, for they are connected with family, clan feelings and an individual's feelings about status and self-respect. Detailed field research, which realistically could only be carried out by trained locals, is needed to underpin and guide policy. The political will to implement it must also be generated. The price of not doing so is not only the waste of human resources and delayed development, but also the likelihood of discontent and even unrest among the population.

National development and globalism in the Arab States

All the present indications are that individual nations and groups, such as the European Union, are being drawn into the global capitalist market. The same must apply to the Arab States. This raises important questions for development. The recent OECD publication *Education at a glance* (2001) claims that the big question all of us face in the development of these conditions is: what do we invest in what is most efficient? The answer is clearly relevant to all strategies for change in economic policies, including

those adopted in the Arab States. We do not know what the answer is. Yet, we cannot use that as an excuse for inaction and just wait. It is a fundamental fact, whether for politicians or managers, that they have to take decisions in conditions of incomplete information and live with the consequences. Of course, for development it is not usually a matter of just one big decision, but of many, preferably co-ordinated by a clear policy. We can act prudently, but not impetuously nor from ideology (though often faith and ideology are all we have to bolster our confidence). I am thinking in particular of the World Bank and IMF with their heavy reliance on ideological faith in neo-liberalism and free markets. This has often led to badly damaged welfare provision, especially that of education, in Middle-Eastern States undergoing structural adjustment. We can only hope to make more good decisions than bad ones. My purpose here is to suggest that there is at least one reasonably safe investment decision, namely to devote more resources to the promotion of good quality technical and vocational education at all levels. However, this is only provided that the other two accompanying issues of job-creation and on-the-job training can be attended to. Otherwise the situation at present affecting Egypt and the United Kingdom might arise – over supply of mismatched qualification for the current labour market.

Although there has been some dissent (the United States, for example, is an exceptional case), it is now widely accepted that there is a link (though not simple and direct) between educational investment and economic success. The OECD document mentioned above claims that almost half a percentage point of annual average growth in the United Kingdom in the 1990s was due to educational attainment measured by years of schooling at every level. We have all heard the argument that investments in education made by the 'little tiger' economies of the Far East were a key factor in promoting economic success, in part because of the emphasis they put on science and technology. Until recently in the West, more attention has been focused on the benefits of extended TVE to the individual rather than to the economy. However, central authorities are now more ready to look at investment in TVE as one that pays off for governments as much as for individuals, provided it has the right emphasis. What precisely these investments must be decided by local research. The central concept here is that of human capital accumulation: at its simplest, it means building up a skilled, adaptable labour force which will underpin national economic performance in the global market under competitive conditions. It will rely on high-skill, high-wage operations in competition with low-cost labour in less-developed economies.

It is in these world conditions that the Arab States have to attend to their development policies. Not only must they be better co-ordinated – a point I shall return to – but they must also take account of global competitive conditions. Given this situation, planning and development choices offer particular difficulties. But now that higher education is well established, there are great opportunities for research by locals at home rather than abroad and for work by well-constituted think-tanks into these pressing issues. Building a realistic and active research culture interested in matters of development policy and implementation, both inside and outside the universities, is vital. It is essential that it should be orientated primarily to the study of immediate, day-to-day problems. Faster movement in this direction is a strong candidate

for consideration as institutions develop more local masters and Ph.D. programmes. Of course, this requires a government and bureaucratic service that is able to listen and to implement policies based on informed advice.

I recognize that there is nothing new in the recommendation that the Arab States should give high priority to inclusive education for more of their citizens, including adults. It should also be an education in which the technical and vocational content is understood in the broadest and most up-to-date sense, and informed by sophisticated local research that makes use of knowledge from all sources. It is now widely appreciated that to implement this policy requires more than a change in the codes of priorities of the rulers. It requires some modification in local cultural attitudes. This may only come as a result of harsher economic conditions and working to break-down prejudices in the population at large against some kinds of employment for locals. Continued stress on this programme to the public is not wasted if it helps in the long run to create a more receptive grassroots outlook under pressure from changing conditions in the labour market. My intention here is to put some flesh on the bones of a proposal that is otherwise little more than a slogan. What are at least some of the implications of such a move?

It is quite clear that following the outdated path of Western style, conventional industrialization is not an option. With a few exceptions, notably the Islamic Republic of Iran, countries in the region tend to lack raw materials, have limited supplies of fresh water and, in some cases, capital. However, jobs are needed. In the so-called 'knowledge' or 'information' economy, location and availability of raw materials are less important for success. What matters is the plentiful provision of workers capable of high standards of skill and in possession of competencies that generate wealth by meeting the needs of the modern economy. They need to be flexible, receive continuous on-the-job training and up-grading, and need to work in conditions that enable them to use their skills for personal advantage, as well as for that of the firm and the State. This raises deep questions about the relationships between TVE provision and governments as they pursue economic development. Two important issues at once appear. The first is that though education needs to prepare people for employment (for if it does not realistically do so, it will lose social and especially parental support), it has equally and, for some, more important purposes. These include building the nation, transmitting the great traditions of the culture, inculcating morality, opening minds and much more. How to combine these social and cultural tasks with effective preparation for employment in current conditions is a problem with which many nations wrestle, and with which many are not conspicuously successful. The second is just as taxing to planners. There is, I repeat, little efficiency in investing in TVE orientated to employment unless jobs can be created to absorb entrants to the workforce. Training must be provided as they gain experience and as circumstances alter.

These two questions alone are sufficient to show that education and work are deeply embedded in social, political and economic contexts, where differences of belief and conviction are common and where interests clash. More educated individuals are more sophisticated as choice-makers in respect of employment and life-style. Where over-simple assumptions about TVE have been made by ruling groups, both

in developed and developing countries, results have often been disappointing. In the Arab States, TVE/employment mismatches have been common. Obsolescent technological infrastructures have been slow in being renewed (Maghreb International Conference, Sfax, 1994, reported in *Science technology and development*, winter, 1995). Both in the Gulf and elsewhere, insiders (Al-Saeed, 1999; Badri, 1997; Djeflat, 1995; Zawdie, 1995) have stressed the weakness of the bureaucracy and the great need for better planning and regulatory activities of governments. There is also a need to improve training of officials and thus to assist in improving co-ordination amongst ministries and co-ordination amongst policies for science and technology, employment, TVE and overall national and regional development. For a long period, countries in this part of the world have turned to the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund for help through structural adjustment policies to correct imbalances in their economies. The advice they have received has often hit education and training hard. This is especially so where costly equipment and expensively trained teachers are concerned.

The OECD is right: we do not know how to invest optimally. At least we know that foreign direct investment is important for work-training and deep-level adoption of borrowed foreign technologies.

Foreign direct investment (FDI) is a significant factor in influencing vocational decisions in the presence of sophisticated created assets in host countries. It is thus crucial – especially in a context of increasing competition for FDI – for developing countries to formulate policies that improve local skills and build up their human resource capacities (Noorbakhsh, Paloni & Yousef, 2001, p. 1603).

Human capital theory and the Arab States

Only in the 1990s were the deeper implications of human capital theory recognized in the West. These need to be taken fully into account in the Arab States because of the deformations in the labour market there brought about by a private sector staffed almost exclusively by expatriates and the heavy government employment of nationals. My central contention is that increased localization of the workforce, essential for social as much as for economic reasons, depends heavily upon finding out how to use TVE to indigenize technological capacity. In a wide range of occupations, even quite sophisticated operating competencies can be learned on the job providing that nationals are allowed the opportunity to do so. This has been shown in the Omani chemical manufacturing industry (Al-Mugbali, 2002). But long-term progress depends on understanding technology as knowledge and not just as operating competencies: That is, knowledge that can be extended, reproduced, applied and used to ensure adoption in depth of borrowed foreign technologies (Shaw, 2001, 2002). Both need investment in TVE, but the latter needs a great deal more. As with foreign direct investment, the Arab States need borrowed technology to avoid falling behind. More is needed than simply passive and instrumental adoption, both of which may well increase dependency. Technology is not culturally neutral because it offers explanations and new perspectives on how to handle reality. It may affect how power is used: competitive-

ness, confident cognition, migrant labour flows and relations with the global economy. Developing technology-as-knowledge requires sophisticated TVE so that new local entrants to the labour market appreciate the context in which it is embedded: such issues as those of labour relations, of marketing, of adaptation to local conditions, of political control and capital markets.

The wider issues need to be reinserted by planning agencies into the historical, geographical and cultural contexts prevailing in the Arab States, and especially all aspects of these that influence work choice. This cannot be left to the unregulated market: governments are strategic actors here.

Concern for local attitudes in employment

The problem of attitudes held by locals with regard to employment in the private sector will need careful handling. To some extent, the issue of salary costs compared with expatriate levels can be met by high-wage/high-technology investments if TVE is successful. However, most male locals have until now regarded a post with the government, with the status and benefits it conferred, more or less as a citizen's right. Perhaps more importantly, their extended family and clan members support these aspirations so that a special cluster of social, kinship and cultural factors are involved in decisions about TVE and employment choices. Much more research is needed to clarify what would be needed to underpin policy here. In their valuable, though limited, study of managers in the private sector in Saudi Arabia and in Oman, Mellahi and Al-Hinai (2000), contrary to expectations, have produced evidence that their disinclination to employ locals does not stem from lack of skills or difficulties of disciplining locals. It arises from family and local cultural attitudes widespread in the region.

This does not undermine (Mellahi and Al-Hinai continue) the paramount importance of skills development, but emphasizes that human resource utilization is as important as human resource development. Meeting the demand of the economy in terms of skilled workers cannot be accurately measured by the quality of skills developed, but also depends fundamentally on the extent to which skills acquired are used in employment. Human resource development is not an end in itself, and therefore if skills are not used in employment all efforts will be wasted. Therefore, it would seem to be important that more emphasis should be put on preparing the society and changing the society's negative attitudes towards working in the private sector and, in particular, skilled manual work, than just focussing on the acquisition of knowledge and skills and building training facilities (p. 187).

Much research work is clearly needed to test these conclusions and illuminate how the factors operate and how attitudes can be modified. It might help minimize the social unrest that leaving the solution to crude market forces and more unemployment of locals might eventually provoke. It should also not be forgotten that general education needs to be taught in such a way that the knowledge gained can be applied, is transferable and prepares local entrants for long-term flexibility and on-the-job learning. Experience in the West suggests that these changes are taking a long time. There are no easy or quick solutions.

The central authorities might be wise to commission research by locals into what governs people's decisions to enter particular parts of the employment market, whether they seek and use TVE both prior to employment and when in post, taking account of lifelong learning, up-grading of skills and the need for flexibility. A much more adequate theory of human capital accumulation in the Arab context needs to be elaborated. It needs to be one that is sophisticated in the psychology of human motivation and in awareness of the social and cultural pressures in choice of employment. It needs to be heard and used to guide policy and underpin on-going research. Such policies call for at least the following areas of research effort:

1. A much more sustained effort to find out how to make vocational and technical education at all levels more faithful to local conditions and cultural beliefs, rather than just a crude 'bolt-on' to general education. The long-term goal is inclusive general education for all.
2. A much fuller and more widespread appreciation amongst planners and policy-makers of the known conditions of the capitalist global market and post-Fordist pattern of work organization is needed. Employees are widely seen now as choice and decision-makers in somewhat complex social and cultural conditions, rather than as perverse refusers of TVE and of certain kinds of employment.
3. Education and training need to be much better funded as an investment in national development. The system needs to be radically modernized and equipped for lifelong learning and for the regular up-dating of people in the economically active population at all levels. It needs to be orientated to the development and maintenance of a high-skills based economy staffed by more locals who are confident in their knowledge and endowed with a vigorous work ethic. TVE should be transformative of individuals and of their employment choices, as well as responsive to change.
4. Co-ordination of the outputs of skilled and motivated personnel with employment opportunities is crucial. Unless this can be achieved to a much better degree, TVE is part of the problem, not an element in the solution of development challenges.
5. Successful technology transfer and deep-level adoption both of hardware and of procedures is vital. This rests on long and deep-rooted learning processes, which will enable technological innovation to be developed locally in the longer term. The knowledge economy is part of a knowledge-based society with real understanding, not superficial technicism for the few. To achieve this means that education for credentials and as a screening device for social and employment selection needs to be replaced by lifelong quality learning that is meaningful outside the classroom and properly funded.

To sum up: employability is no guarantee that the individual will find appropriate employment. The State is a necessary actor in the employment market by deliberate intervention, as the case of Singapore illustrates. But it needs the necessary information and the will to use it. Research is the key. Today, however, income generating potential is increasingly characterized by an individual's ability to interact with modern

technology and ideas. Clearly this ability is a function of the human capital embodied in a worker's labour (Wright, 1997).

In the present state of higher education in the Gulf, the leading colleges and universities are maturing as teaching institutions. There is now much greater scope for their development towards the next stage, that is, the creation of a well-focussed and co-ordinated research culture. It needs to be one that works with local business and industry, is willing to learn, borrow and apply as well as invest, and is orientated to the enhancement of local economic growth and national development. The reason why growth in the twentieth century has been unprecedented is the much greater stock of human capital and the incentives for it to be put to use. Gulf countries need to improve think-tanks and R&D. Failing that, they can at least subsidize the production and use of human capital, especially in the field of technology.

Conclusion

The Arab World has learned much from Europe, as its establishments of vocational and technical education, and as the polytechnics, higher technical colleges and the Saudi technological universities show. They have learned and profited less at the level of the high school. At that stage of education, Europe has long been struggling for success in providing and popularizing such education and providing employment for its leavers. The Arab States and the West have much to learn together in working out the meanings of human-resource building in conditions of the knowledge-driven economy and global competition. Europe may learn again from the Arab world that, while education must prepare for employment, it also has other cultural and humanistic tasks such as the preservation of great traditions. I have attempted to offer at least some elements of a research agenda which both Arabs and Europeans can pursue within a shared constructive dialogue. The investigation and possibilities for action research into how effective TVE, possibly in a more inclusive style of education, can be made to work in a society which still has many traditional elements, is an intriguing task as well as a necessary one. In Europe the next steps in making TVE available, after a series of experiments that could be fairly described as a 'magnificent failure', are worthy of being followed attentively by researchers in the Arab States. It is to be hoped that the tensions in the Middle East will not hinder the productive dialogue which is already taking place in conferences and meetings in this domain and for which there is great scope in the future.

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THE PROBLEMS OF IMMIGRANT CHILDREN IN EUROPE: THE CASE OF THE TURKS

Ali Arayici

At present, most European countries are faced with insurmountable difficulties in the field of migrant education: the need to provide a learning environment, literacy training and schooling for the children of immigrants; training teachers to adopt an intercultural or multicultural approach; teaching the language and culture of origin; and to step up educational precision to deal with the increase in the population of foreign origin (Arayici, 1998, pp. 44–45, 105–106, 173–175 and 200–202).

All the evidence suggests that immigrants should show some willingness to become integrated in the country where they are working if they wish their life to be easier; if they do not, they will inevitably remain isolated and suffer the psychological consequences of their isolation. Unfortunately, first generation immigrants residing in Europe are almost always unreceptive to the host culture. As traditionalists, their main goal is to earn money so as to buy land or a house in their country of origin, and they do not always see the need for cohabitation and integration in the foreign country where they live and work.

Original language: French

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Those who come to Europe are mainly from the lower social classes and not very well educated. Their weak literacy skills and lack of general culture and knowledge do nothing to facilitate their adaptation and integration into the host country; the importance of education as a factor in the integration process is now being acknowledged. The second and third generations, although better integrated than their parents in the host country, come up against problems connected with the recognition of their culture and the principles of their national education, but also other problems of a social nature. In fact, these problems are connected with the recognition of their culture of origin.

A problem linked to the schooling of children

Confrontations between the children of immigrant workers and their parents are on the increase and are often bound up with language issues. Wishing to identify the underlying reasons for these confrontations – convinced that this would assist us in our reflection – we have attempted to answer the following questions: What role can be played by dialogue between the family and the school and between the family and the pupil in resolving the child's difficulties at school? What attitude should parents adopt towards their children's schooling problems? How can parents influence their children's future and help them to orient themselves? How can they take part in the decisions made by parent/teacher meetings? Is the orientation of young immigrants towards vocational training essential to help them find a job? Do the internal problems of the national education system of the host country and that of the country of origin affect young immigrants and, if so, at what level?

How can we bring out the underlying factors that make immigrant workers and their children stay on the sidelines, passive spectators of the social, cultural and educational actions and reactions taking place in everyday life? Are there answers to all these questions? What can be done about the problems of grants, schooling, language, integration and racism that those who go to school in a host country face every day?

The problem of the education of immigrant children in general has often been discussed over the years and it will no doubt continue to be debated in the years that lie ahead. As a result, a number of conclusions have been drawn and objectives have been set with a view to finding practical solutions. One of the first comments to be made is the following: if, indeed, immigrant workers are aware of this problem, they show little sign of it in their social, cultural and educational life. Thus, one of the first steps should be to make immigrants more aware of the importance of their children's schooling. This is a crucial consideration.

Language difficulties

Language difficulties, the relevance of the courses offered and problems with their families are the main causes for poor performance at school by second- and third-generation immigrant children. Lebon adopts an approach in line with this when he says that for the purpose of 'analysing the performance (and particularly the language

proficiency) of children who, on returning to the home country with their parents, have been re-incorporated into the education system in their countries of origin', it would be very useful to know how many have been able to join a normal class and how many have needed extra lessons, and how this compares with the 'attendance at courses in the mother-language during their stay in the host country variable' (Lebon, 1984, pp. 10 and 23).

It is not hard to understand the difficulties of those who have been uprooted from their original environment and who are continually torn between two cultures: the one they have left behind and the one that is imposed on them, but with which they do not always identify. When we asked them:¹ 'What difficulties have you encountered while attending school in France?', 33% of the children mentioned language-related difficulties, 35% referred to problems involving course content, 11% answered that the teaching was not in keeping with their maternal culture and 9% regretted the absence of religious education. There is thus a language gap – which really impedes integration – between, on the one hand, the language imposed (the host country's language which workers are obliged to use, if they can, although they do not identify with it) and, on the other hand, the more comforting mother-tongue in which they seek reminders of the country they have left behind.

In point of fact, these language problems concern the ability to express oneself rather than everyday language. Ayse, an 18-year-old who is studying in a technical college, makes some interesting comments on this subject, notably when she says: 'I have problems in French because I left intermediate school [equivalent to the lower secondary-level school in France] in Turkey so as to continue my studies in France with my parents. I have been living here for four years. When I am asked questions, I do not always understand them. I only speak Turkish with my parents at home. Immediately, I mix up the two languages and that is why I would like to return to Turkey: I must not forget the Turkish language.'

Hasan, who was born in France, says that speaking his parents' language is a real problem for him. 'I was born and have grown up in France. I am now 15 years old. I speak French well but I can't speak Turkish. My parents will go to Turkey in a few years' time. What will I do then, as I neither speak nor write Turkish? I speak it badly with my parents at home. I have been to Turkey three times and I did not like the way people lived. So I will stay in France to earn my living. I will not go back to Turkey with my parents.'

Underachievement

UNESCO's Declaration in the Framework of Action for Education for All, paragraph 20, states that 'The preconditions for educational quality, equity and efficiency are set in the early childhood years, making attention to early childhood care and development essential to the achievement of basic education goals' (UNESCO, 1997, pp. 3 and 30).

A situation of underachievement often leads children to regard their attendance at school as a frustrating obligation and, consequently, to reject what it has to offer

them. On the subject of this complex problem, Manigand says: 'underachievement by a child, whether a foreigner or not, is explained in our view by child/family/school interactions, as the child's psycho-social level depends on these interactions. Only when the migrant family has managed to resolve its difficulties in the host country can its children be compared to children from the host country with the same social background' (Manigand, 1995).

As regards France and the proportion of children who are having difficulty, we must acknowledge that most of their difficulties involve their understanding of French. It is clear that the problems faced by immigrant children stem primarily from the different language, religion, customs and culture that they find in the host country. In addition, a very high proportion of young Turks are underachievers: 48% repeat at least one class. Most Turkish children in their own country do not continue their studies beyond primary school. An infinitesimal number attend secondary school, as equal access to education in Turkey is far from having been achieved. Only the children of well-off families can continue their studies without difficulty because, as in other countries, social class plays a decisive role. The underachievement in French schools of children born in Turkey can be explained by:

1. Lack of knowledge of the French language on entering primary school or lower secondary school;
2. The parents' lack of interest in their children's schooling;
3. The intellectual level of parents, which also plays a key role.

Generally, children of Turkish immigrants in France are markedly backward at school, and those born in Turkey are more backward than those born in France. However, the backwardness among girls is more pronounced than that of boys, since some families living in Turkey decide, for various reasons, to keep their daughters away from school. The survey conducted by André Levallois among children from Turkey living in the Alsace region has highlighted a number of difficulties leading to school backwardness among Turkish children. He notes, in particular, that 'the differences in performance give a slight advantage to girls in primary school (the perhaps slightly later entry into the preparatory courses should, however, be noted). But the only decisive factor does seem to be the children's place of birth. Overall, backwardness is much more marked in secondary education, largely because the majority of these children were born in Turkey' (Levallois, 1988).

Academic consequences and family conflicts

Relations between parents, school staff and children and also, more widely, the measures aimed at improving them, subject to the resources provided by the bodies of the host country and the potential contributions from the countries of origin, are very important. Some foreign families resident in Europe are very strict as regards the observance of traditions and religion, and find it difficult to allow their daughters to be in the company of boys.

The fact is that the education imposed on girls leaves them very little freedom. Workers who were questioned on their idea of education for girls and women told us

that in Turkey girls are very often confined to the home, taking care of their brothers and sisters and helping their parents with a wide variety of tasks. Until their marriage, they hardly ever leave the house. For this reason a number of workers said that, at first, they were somewhat shocked to see that in European countries girls were free to do almost anything they pleased, and began to go out with men from the age of 14. They maintained that, at home, that kind of thing would not be tolerated. Vassaf, however, makes the following point: 'most Turkish families live here [in the Netherlands] in the semi-feudal environment they have brought with them from the home country. Each action and each thought has to be reformulated in the light of a single criterion – family unity. The slightest threat to family unity produces an even more violent reaction than that which would be expected in Turkey' (Vassaf, 1990).

However, immigrant children inevitably distance themselves from their language and culture of origin, particularly during adolescence and young adulthood. This results in mutual misunderstandings that can degenerate into open conflict within the family. This is another good reason to initiate a debate on the questions outlined above. However, it seems clear that only a collective process, involving not only parents and children but also representatives of the school system, will help to improve the situation.

Children who leave home and school

We have discovered that many children of foreigners living in different European countries leave home as a result of conflicts with their parents. It is not always easy to ascertain the reasons that make children leave home. Admittedly, such information is not easily accessible, as it concerns the most private areas of everyday life, seldom spoken about and even less written about. Obscure areas remain, obliging us to put forward a range of assumptions. But even if we keep to generalities, some obvious clues nonetheless emerge from the surveys of parents: the refusal to let children go out and the lack of freedom and trust are clearly motives that should be considered.

The repressive attitude of parents towards their daughters is undesirable in the context of the widely held view that girls should enjoy the same rights as boys. It seems obvious that any discrimination or unequal opportunity based on gender criteria must be vigorously opposed. Children's grievances in this area must therefore be given the most serious consideration. Vassaf analyses the problem of runaway children as follows:

Whether a child runs away or not depends on the type of family. Those who are least likely to run away or, more exactly, those who never run away are children of closed families, who seldom go out into the street even though they are in Europe. They have a peaceful life because traditional values are not challenged, as they have not faced any contradiction with the outside environment. Girls are not sent to school. The idea of teaching them a foreign language is ruled out and they do not know how to read or write in Turkish. They are not allowed into the street. They help their mother with the household chores and possibly take care of their younger brothers and sisters (Vassaf, 1989).

In France, as elsewhere in Europe, many children run away from home every day. The case of Fatoumata Kouba, a pupil of Senegalese origin studying for her school-leaving examination in science at the Lycée Colbert in Paris, is a good example of this. Her story, fortunately, has a happy ending. The headteacher of her *lycée* told us that Fatoumata would certainly be admitted to the preparatory course for entrance to a top-class university. Cheick Fadiga (a social worker in the Hauts-de-Seine) says that 'when parents are illiterate and staunch believers, there are few ways out' (Grosjean, 2000).

We also noted the psychologically negative role played by distance as regards children who need their parents' affection. Very often either the father or the mother is absent, if not both at once. This separation of parents and children results in a loss of parental authority and respect which further complicates the already precarious situation of children who are torn between two cultures, languages and identities and involved in intergenerational conflict. It has also been noted that 'the situation becomes more complicated if children who have been brought up by grandparents or other relatives then come to join their fathers or parents in France. Paternal authority, which has been lacking for several years, can be abruptly reasserted by parents who, over-anxious to make up for lost time, impose their own ideals at what is often a most inappropriate moment' (Berger, 1983).

The effects of grade repetition and drop-out

The schooling of second- and third-generation children raises a serious problem concerning integration in the host country and reintegration in the country of origin. Despite the efforts made by the migrants' host and home countries, this problem is still with us, particularly in respect of the second and third generations. Undoubtedly, the school is a vital link in the sequence leading to successful integration, as it is there that young nationals and young immigrants must learn to live and work together and accept their differences. As Jacques Delors has pointed out: 'although learning begins at home, basic education offers the first chance to deal with the problem of unequal opportunity' (Delors et al., 1996, p. 35 and 99–105).

Repetition, just like dropping out of education, is a form of school wastage. The number of children who repeat grades, whether children of nationals or children of immigrants, is on the increase. In developing countries in particular it is often the prelude to dropping out of school altogether. UNESCO has noted that different countries apply different policies with regard to the difficulties experienced by pupils who fail to reach the standards set for their grade. In most countries, 'repetition is seen as a remedy for slow learners. The practice is typically applied in Grade 1 out of a conviction that it is important for pupils to get off to a good start in their education' (UNESCO, 1998, pp. 17 and 21).

The children of second- or third-generation immigrant workers in Europe are unlikely to receive secondary education in view of their high rate of underachievement in primary school. We found that in some cases the parents of children from Turkey send them neither to a French school nor to classes in the mother-tongue, especially if they are

girls. In France, although schooling is compulsory, there are many children from Turkey who cannot continue their education, mainly because of underachievement. According to our survey, 48% of such pupils repeated at least one grade, and their attendance at secondary schools is negligible. The children of immigrants born in Turkey do not succeed in the French education system very well, given that few of them continued their education after secondary school and a large number have not even attended school.

Inequality between girls and boys

At present, there is clear inequality between girls and boys as regards repetition and dropping out at school. This is very typical of poor countries and Muslim countries. It is true that the children of immigrant workers find themselves in a much more precarious situation, as we have seen, than the children of nationals. The situation of children born in their country of origin who came to the host country later is even more precarious. As we have already seen, the attitude of some families aggravates the situation further (for instance, lack of interest in education on the part of a community which is often itself illiterate, the desire for children to make a financial contribution to meet the needs of the family and the refusal to allow the emancipation of girls).

The poor rate of school attendance for girls in various countries in the world obviously jeopardizes the future of humanity in a serious way since, as pointed out in UNESCO's Statement on Women's Contribution to a Culture of Peace,

Equality in education is the key to meeting other requirements for a culture of peace. These include: full respect for the human rights of women; the release and utilisation of women's creative potential in all aspects of life; power sharing and equal participation in decision-making by women and men; the reorientation of social and economic policies to equalise opportunities and new and more equitable patterns of gender relations – presupposing a radical reform of social structures and processes (UNESCO, 1999, p. 2).

The question of the schooling of these children, as in the other countries of the European Union, is therefore particularly worrying and in this context Tribalat's work on Turkish communities in France is remarkable. One of his findings is that:

the ambitions of Turkish families as regards their children's schooling seem, at least as regards young people who came to France when they were children, to be relatively modest. Girls are more often sacrificed than boys. They are more likely to have had their first experience of school in France and they leave it much earlier. At the age of 17, almost one-third of girls who arrived before the age of 10 are still attending school as against two-thirds of boys (at that age three-quarters of French children are still attending school) (Tribalat, 1999).

The problem of identity and fears for the future

We can easily imagine the role played by the school in the assimilation of a culture and in the process of integration in a host society. A number of studies are now being

carried out in certain European countries on problems pertaining to the schooling of immigrant children. The Dutch, French and German authorities, for example, have decided to adopt specific measures to incorporate immigrant children into their education systems more effectively.

Second- and third-generation immigrant children often have difficulty in finding their bearings. We think they should be allowed enough autonomy to enable them to form their own opinions and their own personality. Overbearing, interfering parents could make them aggressive and psychologically unstable. We ourselves have observed many examples of misunderstanding between parents – the first generation, and children – the second generation.

The socio-cultural and educational problems faced by second- and third-generation children are difficulties in integrating into the host country and at the same time in safeguarding their cultural and linguistic identity in view of the possibility of a return to the country of origin. Proficiency in a foreign language is a key component in daily life, whether in the socio-economic, cultural, educational or political fields.

The loss of cultural and national identity

Improved proficiency in the languages of the host and home countries, which is a condition for integration into a host country and reintegration into the country of origin, would also assist in the recognition of a national and cultural identity. In order to safeguard the national and cultural identity of Turkish immigrants and those from elsewhere, sustained attention needs to be paid to their language and culture of origin, which obviously should be handed down. This means that teachers in a position to carry out this function have an important role to play.

At present, we note an increase, especially among young second- and third-generation Turks born and brought up in host countries, such as France and Germany, in situations of conflict and marginalization stemming from dual identity, and in difficulties linked to socio-cultural adaptation (problems of language, religion, national/cultural identity and political integration). The successful incorporation of immigrant children into the host country's education system is therefore of the utmost urgency, in tandem with effective teaching of the language and the culture of origin, with a view to a possible return to their home country.

Second- and third-generation immigrants in the European Union risk losing contact with the foundations of their specific national and cultural identity, i.e. their culture of origin. This fear becomes an obsession that has caused many a regressive reaction of retreat within the confines of the foreign community in Europe. This reaction, which is bound up with a survival instinct, fosters the establishment and development of sympathy for Islamic fundamentalism and fascist-leaning Turkish nationalism on the one hand and, on the other, Kurdish nationalism, not to mention the concept of 'an Islamo-Turkish synthesis',² which now benefits from widespread support in Turkey.

In the various German *Länder*, many children attend neither the host country's schools nor courses in their language and culture of origin. Their families only enrol them in religious classes organized by fundamentalist, fascist-leaning associations, the

influence of which is obvious in the socio-cultural, educational and integration difficulties affecting Turkish immigrant children who are of concern to us. Antakyali, referring to the dangers of a defensive, inward-looking attitude, shows that this danger increases over the years because it is the third generation emerging now in Germany that is likely to be easily assimilated by the European world. 'In nursery schools, Turkish children are being educated in the Christian tradition. They never hear of their nation or of Islam [. . .]. If we do not take prompt action to protect this generation, it will be assimilated' (Turkish teacher, K lt r Ocagi, Br l, Turkish foyer, Br l) (Antakyali, 1992).

The need to teach the language and culture of origin

Given the difficulties they encounter in many areas (underachievement at school, frequent repetition of grades, maladjustment, problems of integration into the life of the host country), immigrant children willingly turn towards vocational and technical education. The incorporation of the teaching of the language and the culture of origin into the host country's school timetables as early as possible would be a good move, provided that such teaching is not provided, as is the case at present, in the periods devoted to general cultural activities.

The importance of teaching the language and culture of origin to immigrant children is of unquestionable importance in that it enables them to re-establish their national and cultural identity. The fundamental question is that of constructing a cultural and national identity. Since the education of foreign pupils in Germany (and in France) is not provided in their mother-tongue, either in their reception classes or in the bilingual classes, additional teaching (from four to five hours per week) of the language and culture of origin could be provided by a teacher from the country of origin during or outside school hours. That would perhaps make it less common for foreign children to be sent to specialized classes (*Sonderschule*) for children with physical or psychological disabilities.

In 2001, a Turkish teacher of immigrant children was responsible on average for approximately 160 pupils, working 20 hours per week, and travelling to several different areas in France. Many parents would like to be able to send their children to schools where they could learn their mother-tongue and their culture of origin. In our survey we therefore asked the young children, who are the most directly concerned and who are subjected to these difficulties every day, what they would like the French Government to do to facilitate both their integration in the host country and their reintegration in the country of origin. Some 42% of the children felt that the French Government should ensure that teachers know the Turkish language and culture; 29% that the courses on the language and culture of origin should be incorporated into the French school curriculum; and 23% that they should be given the same chances of academic success as French children.

In the course of our research,³ we had the opportunity to contact teachers of Turkish language and culture, who put forward some of their views on the problems affecting the second and third generations. Celal, who had been in her post for several

years, said that fundamentalist associations played a leading role in the education of the second generation, which had virtually no real knowledge of their language and culture of origin, just as it was not fully proficient in reading and writing in German.

Three aspects of our reflections

The incorporation of immigrant children into the education systems of host countries is a crucial aspect of the question of immigration, as is the need to know the language and culture of origin with a view to an eventual return to the home country. The socio-educational and cultural problems affecting second- and third-generation immigrant children can be examined at three levels, according to the findings of our survey on the socio-cultural and educational problems of the children of immigrants from Turkey (Arayici, 2002):

1. Children born in the host country and consequently sent to school there from the outset should not theoretically come up against severe difficulties at school, as they already speak the language of the host country. This is not the case for children born in Turkey, who arrive as newcomers to continue their studies in a foreign country. We tend to think that the former face the same socio-economic and cultural problems and racial discrimination as these newcomers. But the importance of the language for communication, integration and incorporation into the host country has been proved over and over again.
2. In respect of children born in Turkey who have begun the primary-school cycle in their home country and continue their education in a host country, we can single out two types of approach:
 - They attend courses on the Turkish language and culture, organized by the Government of Turkey, leaving core educational subjects (language, mathematics, history/geography, science, etc.) to the teachers of the host country.
 - Where there are no Turkish courses available, they are enrolled in 'preparatory classes' to learn the host country's language before continuing their schooling in the host country's schools.
3. In some cases, Turkish families do not wish their children to go to school for various reasons. The three most common examples are as follows:
 - Children who leave primary school in Turkey and, when settled into a host country, find neither schools offering courses on the Turkish language and culture nor preparatory classes to learn the language of the host country. This situation effectively obliges them to end their schooling.
 - A number of children, although born in the host country or already living in the host country when they reach school age, do not go to school but take up apprenticeships or help their family in the home, the latter option being particularly common for girls. The children in this category are mostly:
 - Children from Turkey born in France (or in another host country) who learn the French language and their mother-tongue simultaneously when they reach school age (at age 6 or later) are educated alongside French

children and according to the principles of French national education rather than those of Turkish national education, of which they are thus deprived;

- Children who have come to France after having completed their schooling in Turkey are more numerous. They continue their studies in the host country and at the same time attend Turkish courses organized by the Government of Turkey;
 - It should be stressed that some Turkish families wish their children to be educated in the culture and according to the principles of French education. For that reason, they decide not to send them to Turkish courses organized in France.
- Conversely, some families refuse to allow their children to be educated according to French principles or to assimilate French culture. This position is in keeping with that described above whereby parents consider that their children should begin to work at a very early age so as to contribute to the family budget. Instead of thinking of their children's future, they are more concerned about the immediate interests of the family unit.

A few pointers to respond to children's problems

The socio-cultural and educational problems encountered by these children concern the question of integration in the host country, to which is added the need to safeguard a cultural and linguistic identity in order to cope with reintegration into the country of origin if necessary. Attempts are therefore made to reduce wastage and under-achievement in the second and third generations of immigrants, who are at a disadvantage as regards job access and professional advancement.

Co-operation and solidarity between the host countries concerned and Turkey (or any other country of origin) are necessary in order to:

- facilitate an assessment of the integration problems of immigrant workers into their working life;
- assess the potential for incorporating the home country's education system into the host country;
- evaluate integration in the dominant culture, commitment to and preservation of the culture of origin, and also the psychological and social problems encountered by the children. The main difficulties occur in the school system at the time of the children's enrolment. Study of the problems involving the development of their culture and true identity thus call for work within the family context. We can add that the problems encountered by the first as well as by the second and third generations of the immigrant population are still with us. In order to understand the integration process of the second generation, which is torn between two cultures, those concerned should be asked to talk about their views, their plans for the future and the solutions they would like to see applied to a wide range of problems. This would provide extremely useful pointers.

In fact, the parents' new awareness of this problem is a first step towards solving it. A vast campaign therefore needs to be undertaken to raise awareness of the practical

difficulties encountered in everyday life by the children of the second and third generations of immigrants in their progress through the school system. It should not be forgotten, however, that the parents often find it difficult to express themselves in the language of the host country, which unquestionably impedes communication with teachers, the administration and parent/teacher associations; they have difficulty in engaging in conversation and in understanding and reading the information that is sent to them concerning their children's education (Arayici, 1999).

Conclusion

In short, our approach must be to support the extension of educational provision for immigrant children and in the school context to focus on 'living together with our differences'. We are all duty-bound to endorse this approach if we wish to safeguard the future of new generations (Arayici, 2002, pp. 235–237).

Furthermore, we should not forget the role that can be played by international organizations (such as UNESCO, OECD, EU, the Council of Europe and ILO) in dealing with problems involving schooling, illiteracy and the integration and reintegration of immigrants. As pointed out by Thomas, 'international organizations, and especially UNESCO, should play a crucial role by fostering and financing field research, which should be entrusted to national researchers' (Thomas, 1984).

As is often repeated in the recommendations of international conferences on education, the best approach seems to be, above all, to provide a minimum of education for all the children living in the country who are old enough to be sent to school. It is quite plain that, alongside these political, linguistic and educational investments, financial investment is also a very important factor for immigration in Europe. There again, the need for research aimed at establishing and quantifying the extent of the problems is vital. In order to help, we first need to have a clear picture of the deficiencies we wish to remedy.

Very generally, and this seems to us to be a key to dealing with the everyday difficulties encountered by immigrants, it appears clear that the desire to integrate remains the *sine qua non* for any improvement in this community's living conditions. We have stressed the role of the school as an instrument in socialization, but we have also noted an unwillingness on the part of first generation migrants to become integrated that could almost be described as laziness. Several reasons for this inertia can be put forward, the most obvious of which is the desire of most immigrants to return one day to the country where their wives, children or families are waiting for them (OECD, 1996, pp. 16–17).

Notes

1. See, for more details, the survey by A. Arayici, *L'immigration turque en France: enquête sur les problèmes socioéconomiques et culturels* [Turkish immigration in France: survey of socio-economic and cultural problems]. Report drawn up on behalf of CNRS, Paris, 1991, 84 pp.; and *L'immigration turque en Europe: enquête sur les problèmes socioculturels et*

- éducatifs* [Turkish immigration in Europe: survey of socio-cultural and educational problems]. Report drawn up on behalf of CNRS, Paris, 1990, 100 pp.
2. Cited by F. Antakyali, Synthèse turco-islamique [Turko-Islamic synthesis], see the article by Oran Baskin, Occidentalisation, nationalisme et synthèse turco-islamique [Westernization, nationalism and Turko-Islamic synthesis], *CEMOTI (Cahier d'études sur la Méditerranée orientale et le monde Turco-Iranien)* (Paris), no. 10, June 1990, pp. 69–84.
 3. For further details on the subject, see the report by A. Arayici, *La scolarisation des enfants de migrants turcs et leur intégration sur le marché du travail en Allemagne* [The schooling of the children of Turkish migrants and their incorporation into the labour market in Germany]. Report drawn up for OECD, Paris, 1998, pp. 8–10.

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NATIONALISM, EDUCATION AND BASIC COMPETENCIES

Jaume Sarramona López

One of the undesirable consequences of globalization is the threat of loss of identity that hangs over those peoples who do not enjoy strong political and economic power. A resurgence of nationalism can therefore be observed as a protest movement by those in favour of preserving national identities, whether or not they coincide with State political boundaries. As a counterweight to possible dangers of nationalisms, there is the opportunity of co-operating with others based on a nation's own identity, seeking what unites instead of what divides. In the field of education, one of the possible points of union are the basic competencies that prepare pupils for their present life and for the immediate future and are directed at all pupils in a country or group of countries. Catalonia is an example of a non-State nation willing to co-operate without losing its identity, that has identified and evaluated the basic competencies corresponding to the period of compulsory schooling and which provides a positive experience in this field.

Original language: Spanish

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Globalization as a feature of our time

Analysts who have attempted to identify the social traits typical of the early twenty-first century agree that some of them move between two poles of tension. This is the case of globalization, on the one hand, and the renewed importance given to what is close to us on the other, of increasing political indifference and the no less increasing demand for social participation, of the irresponsible degradation of nature and greater ecological awareness, among other contrasts. The above-mentioned poles may sometimes appear in different places on the planet, but on other occasions they are observed within the same territory, so that there may be inconsistencies. It could be said that, in the end, we are faced with the same dualities as ever, but the optimistic view we wish to adopt leads us to think that great progress has been made on the second dimension of the contradictions presented. In this paper, we will focus on the first of these tensions, and then make the corresponding evaluations from the standpoint of education.

There is no need to insist here on the concept of globalization, only too familiar and already analyzed from many points of view: economic, political, communication, culture, consumption, the circulation of goods and individuals, etc. Innumerable considerations have been made regarding its consequences, both positive and negative, so it would be very difficult to add anything new. We could conclude that, today, globalization appears to be inevitable and probably necessary to sustain progress, but also something that has to be offset with precautions and structural solutions to avoid the harmful consequences it may bring and, in fact, has already brought, of which the loss of cultural identity of minority peoples is not the least important.

It was precisely the threat of this loss of identity that provoked the resurgence of national feelings, although many issues can be disguised under this label, ranging from consolidation of a strictly cultural identity to the strengthening and even exacerbation of religious, political, ethnic, etc., feelings and contents. Add to this the fact that if globalization arouses resistance in some sectors – to the point of giving rise to a general anti-globalization movement – the same occurs with the idea of nationalism, a resistance resulting from precedents that have been tragic for the history of humanity. This is because, in the name of a certain kind of nationalism, not only has there been xenophobia, discrimination and injustice, but even the annihilation of those who were considered different. Examples of this can be found on all continents, but those that led Europe to war and unprecedented extermination are still alive. While explicitly condemning these dire consequences, let us return to the implications that concern us.

The concept of nationalism acquires very different meanings depending on where it is manifested and the existing political organization. In the case of the Quechua people, for example, this is a historical and cultural reality that today extends over the territory of several political entities in South America. The Portuguese nation, for its part, practically coincides with the borders of a single State political organization, whereas the Quebec nation corresponds to a province, i.e. a limited area, of Canada. Therefore, the terms State and nation cannot be regarded as synonyms, even though

in many cases, with the development of the so-called 'nation-States', official terminology may make them coincide. Precisely because the components that characterize a nation are basically cultural, historical and emotional, the nation-States have striven to unify all the territory involved round a culture – particularly expressed in a language – that is, round a history, a religion, a legislation, some symbols and some unique feelings. That is how the rise of the States of France, Germany, Italy, Spain, the United Kingdom and many others should be interpreted. The results have been different depending on the political regimes and the resistance of the nations concerned. These diverse results are now reflected in the different degrees of political decentralization of these States, as well as in the different degrees of assimilation of the minority nations within them: Belgium, Spain and the United Kingdom would be advanced countries in this sense, whereas France has barely started a half-hearted administrative decentralization, with no official recognition of diverse cultures within its territory. It is not the place here to make a political evaluation of the different European States or of others in America, Africa and Asia that could be quoted, but simply to mark the differences in this respect between the States that make up the European Union, a union which is being carried forward with the almost exclusive voice of the countries that have an official presence in the political decision-making bodies. The proposal to construct a Europe of Regions, which would coincide much more closely with the diversity of existing nations, clashes head on with the States from a greater centralizing tradition and with those who, like Spain, fear the strengthening of the national differences within them.

Does nationalism make sense in education?

We have already mentioned the caution required in the face of nationalist feelings, given their possible undesirable consequences, but it should also be noted that this is as valid when the concept of nation coincides with the State as when it is a nation without its own State, either because it is divided between various States, or because it is part of a plurinational State.¹ The basic issue, then, could be stated as follows: does the cultivation of a national feeling (with everything this assumes regarding identification with a specific culture) make sense in a global world, where the barriers of political and cultural borders are falling away? If we are to prepare citizens of the world, should it not be necessary to overcome the limits of attachment to minority cultures – 'local' some would say – to the benefit of broader views?

Before replying, perhaps it would be wise to recall a first fairly obvious example. Doubts regarding the advisability of fostering nationalism arise above all when a nation lacks its own State, because few dare to propose publicly the advisability of ceasing to be British, Danish, French, Greek or Spanish in order to be more universal. So the debate is usually focused on the relevance or not of being Corsican, Scottish, Catalan or Basque. Only very few authors, such as Popper,² have declared themselves against both standpoints. And the fact is that when nationalism is spoken of, the key point of the debate regards territorial limits which, if they coincide with those of a recognized State, presents no problems, while if the contrary is the case, the fear of political independence for the purpose of setting up a new one triggers all

kinds of resistances, both within the State in question and outside it. It is consciously forgotten that the borders of all States are the result of a set of historical circumstances, many of them entirely haphazard, others clearly to be condemned, which can never be considered eternal or unchanging. In connection with what concerns us we will talk of nationalism regardless of whether it coincides or not with an independent political body, that is, with a State, although it is obvious that the proposals we formulate do not have the same chances of being implemented in both cases.

Returning to the questions regarding a possible antithesis between nationalism and globalism, it should be pointed out that they are absolutely not exclusive options. Those who in order to overcome barriers and prejudices declare themselves 'citizens of the world', with no bond with a territory, a particular history or a culture, are unlikely to develop attitudes of understanding and respect towards diverse identities and finally – since in practice every individual adopts certain concrete cultural models to a greater extent than others – what happens is that they remain within the dominant cultures, which do not require positive affirmation because they impose themselves by their own influence and power. Only the person who feels links with a national identity can understand those who share the same feelings with regard to their own nation, which facilitates understanding, mutual respect, collaboration, solidarity. The feeling of belonging to a community does not have to exclude those who belong to others, but rather the contrary.

It is true that another reading of nationalism can be made. Since all identification with one group always involves a distinction with regard to the others, nationalism probes what is different. But awareness of one's own difference assumes, in principle, awareness of other differences, the result of different histories and genetic origins, without this necessarily involving value judgements. Individuals differ in their features, skin colour, height, physique, mother-tongue, abilities, interests, skills, etc., but none of this grants authority to attack their basic rights – the same could be said of peoples. Noting the differences between peoples is a way of noting their cultural wealth.

If, at the beginning, we set nationalism and globalization in opposition, this is because in the interests of globalization there is a risk of extinction of cultural minorities, those who lack the political, economic or military power to hold a place in international fora, particularly if they lack a State of their own.³ Not for nothing do we speak of 'one-track thinking' to reflect the preponderance of one social and cultural conception imposed via the communications media, mass consumption goods and political influence. A world with one-track thinking and – maybe – a single culture would undoubtedly impoverish humanity and constitute another kind of domination by some peoples over others, because in practice the dominant culture bears 'the name and surname' of a particular country or group of countries.⁴

The case of languages can be quoted as an example. In practice there is already a *lingua franca* for international relations – English – particularly in relations between geographically distant peoples. What, in principle, could be understood as a great advantage for communication also involves the imposition of a cultural model – that of the English-speaking countries – with the clear supremacy this involves over the remaining communicators. Since it is only with difficulty that one manages to master

another language to the same degree as one's own (with exceptions, naturally), the depth of exchanges is prejudiced, with all that involves in the sense of being unable to convey shades of meaning, intervening fluently in discussions, etc.

On the other hand, it should not be forgotten that a language is rather more than an instrument of communication: it is, above all, a way of seeing and constructing reality, the result of an accumulated history. If a people loses its own language, it loses with it its most singular sign of identity. Reality – the limits of reality – and the desire to open up to others obliges us to be plurilingual, but this obligation should affect everyone and in no way prevent conservation of one's own language: an unequivocal sign of individual and collective identity.⁵

The relationship between nationalism and education is born from the need to impart teaching from a reality that is close, known and understandable for the educand – what has so often been defined as a need for contextualization and 'situational learning'. The more distant realities will be reached progressively, always taking the nearest one as reference, in the same way that general and scientific knowledge is constructed basically through an inductive process, which goes from the particular and concrete to the abstract and general, going on then to interpret other concrete realities.

This close, experienced reality is situated in a territory, reflected in a language, some customs and traditions, in a history whose vestiges envelop the subject: in short, that immediate, day-to-day reality is the learner's nation. So educational conflict may arise when the subject resides in a State which officially imposes the culture of another nation (either because that culture represents the majority in the territory and holds political power, or because the subject's culture corresponds to another different territory from the one where he now resides).

Although this is not the time to make an analysis of these situations, we should be reminded of the need to preserve minority cultures in intercultural co-existence and the fostering of social cohesion, but taking care that one culture is not condemned to surviving as an enclave within a context which in principle is alien to it. The casuistry may be very diverse and an appropriate solution will have to be found for each circumstance, always bearing in mind the principles referred to.

Basic competencies as a goal for today's school

It is no exaggeration to state that one of the greatest difficulties encountered today by the education system – at all its levels – is the appropriate selection of curricular contents, given the enormous mass of information accumulating in all fields of knowledge.

It is clear that schools cannot continue to insist on teaching everything, even less when knowledge and concepts are undergoing constant, rapid change and when up-to-date information can be obtained through many varied channels from increasingly accessible sources. On the other hand, the need for lifelong learning is accepted as an inevitable reality.

The logical consequence of this situation is a return to basic knowledge and competencies, which schools should try to develop in each individual as the best guarantee

for subsequent lifelong learning. This explains, for example, the importance given recently in all countries and in international bodies such as the OECD⁶ to mastery of reading and writing and basic mathematics. Mastery of certain basic competencies by all pupils during compulsory schooling is not only an instrumental need to understand the world of today, but also a guarantee of equity within the system.

The notion of basic competencies has educational, psychological and sociological connotations, because it has to do with integrative learnings, which encompass knowledge, skills and attitudes belonging to various curricular fields: hence they are also described as 'transversal learnings' or, if preferred, 'interdisciplinary learnings', with the common denominator of being useful for resolving the most common problems encountered in everyday life.

What relationship can be established between education with nationalist foundations and basic competencies? Will they not in fact be antitheses? We will now attempt to explain our point of view in this respect.

Mastery of certain basic competencies makes it possible to understand the immediate but also the far-off world, given their transferable nature. Since the emphasis is not placed on specific contents, but on the skills for understanding and resolving situations, the recognition pattern of the basic competencies can be applied to different contents and languages. This justifies international studies such as PISA, already cited, and other similar ones, where each nation or territory can adapt the items to its own linguistic and contextual reality. Consequently, mastery of basic competencies meets the dual requirement of contextualization and generalization of learnings. And the concern for achieving such competencies is present equally in individual nations and in international bodies.

The case of Catalonia

Catalonia – one of the European non-State nations – is situated in the north-east of the Iberian peninsula and is politically part of the Spanish State. Its language, history and culture are centuries old and its social, economic and human characteristics have enabled its survival as a separate nation, despite lacking its own political power since the beginning of the eighteenth century and having suffered periods of persecution and attempts at annihilation of its distinctive features as compared to the State's majority culture.

Currently, after the restoration of democracy following the dictatorship of General Franco, on the latter's death in 1975, Catalonia has a certain degree of self-government which has enabled it to largely recover its language – and use it normally in the education system and in public life – as well as some of its laws and customs. At the moment, however, as a cultural minority lacking independent political power, it has to face both the general globalization of our time and the hegemony of supra-State organizations which, like the European Union, do not officially recognize non-State nations. Many other factors, such as its low birth rate, mass immigration since the mid-twentieth century and the lack of sensitivity in the Spanish State as a whole to recognizing a greater degree of autonomy and the right to cultivate its own identity,

constantly endanger the survival of the Catalan nation as such. Time will tell if such survival is possible, although it is quite true that no nation survives in immobility, but by integrating newcomers and adapting the new social parameters brought about by changing times.

According to current legislation, Catalonia – like the other autonomous communities into which the Spanish State has organized itself – has ‘full competence’ in education, which enables it to administer its territory’s education system with a certain degree of autonomy.⁷ This autonomy is shown, for instance, in the possibility of developing its own school curriculum – incorporating the common State study plan – and of undertaking initiatives regarding implementation and evaluation. Work on the identification of basic competencies and their evaluation can be set in this framework of its own initiatives.

Catalonia has already carried out a study in collaboration with the Balearic Islands and the Canary Islands Communities, within the framework of the FREREF (Fundación Regional Europea para la Investigación, la Educación y la Formación – European Regional Foundation for Research, Education and Training), which has made it possible to identify the basic competencies for the end of compulsory schooling (age 16) in the areas of language, mathematics, technical and scientific education, social and work-related subjects.⁸ Subsequently, the competencies identified were graded over the different levels of primary and secondary education, as well as being reviewed again and grouped in more general structures.⁹ Add to this that during 2003 the results are expected of the study already initiated to identify basic competencies in the following areas: use of information and communication technologies; arts teaching; and physical education. Table 1 presents the competencies already identified for the areas dealt with at their most general level, but with no grading between primary and secondary.

A particular feature of the procedure followed in Catalonia for the identification of basic competencies was consulting the main social organizations connected with education and not only teachers or teaching experts. The starting point was the principle that it is society as a whole that should establish the basic goals of compulsory education, since it is both responsible for and the recipient of the outcomes of the education system, and it should not only be the opinions of teachers and experts that are given exclusive priority when the competencies identified are being graded.

Identification of basic competencies has had direct consequences for Catalan education policy, to the extent of becoming one of its guidelines. In 2001, the Catalan education administration initiated a programme to evaluate the basic competencies of all its fourth grade primary pupils (age 10), which continued the following year with second-year pupils in compulsory secondary education (age 14).

This is a threefold programme in that it is both an external and internal evaluation programme for the schools and at the same time for the education system as a whole. The fact that the tests relating to basic competencies were prepared by the Education Department of the Autonomous Government of Catalonia, as well as the evaluation criteria and the instructions for administering it to the pupils, and that the schools had to enter their results on a database belonging to the same administration

TABLE 1. Relationship of general competencies at the end of compulsory schooling

LANGUAGE AREA		
Aspect: speaking and listening	Aspect: reading	Aspect: writing
1. Express and understand ideas, feelings and needs.	6. Put into practice the necessary skills for correct expressive reading.	10. Write words correctly.
2. Adapt speech to the type of communication required by the situation.	7. Understand what is read.	11. Understand a correctly written text.
3. Use various types of discourse in communication.	8. Read texts in varied typology.	12. Write texts in varied typology.
4. Be actively involved in conversation and adopt an attitude of dialogue.	9. Be actively involved in reading.	13. Be actively involved in writing.
5. Learn to speak various languages and value their use and mastery.		
MATHEMATICS AREA		
Aspect: numbers and calculations	Aspect: problem solving	Aspect: measurements
1. Use and interpret mathematical language in the description of familiar situations and make critical appreciations of the information obtained.	5. Plan and use strategies to deal with problem situations, showing confidence in their own abilities.	9. Measure directly the basic magnitudes, using appropriate instruments and the relevant units for each situation.
2. Apply arithmetical operations to deal with quantitative aspects of reality, appreciating the need for exact or approximate results.	6. Present in a clear, well-ordered and well-argued manner the process followed and the solutions obtained when solving a problem.	10. Make reasonable estimates of the most usual magnitudes and appreciate critically the results of the measurements taken.
3. Decide the appropriate method of calculation (mental, algorithmic, technological means, etc.) in a given situation and apply it efficiently.	7. Solve problems that involve percentage calculations (of VAT, interest rate, etc.) relating to the management of one's own income.	11. Use elementary methods for calculating distances, perimeters, surfaces and volumes in situations which require this.
4. Apply direct or inverse proportionality to resolve familiar situations that require this.	8. Integrate mathematical knowledge with knowledge from other subjects to understand and resolve situations.	

Aspect: geometry	Aspect: dealing with information	Aspect: randomness
12. Use knowledge of geometric shapes and relationships to describe and resolve daily situations that require this.	14. Interpret and present information using tables, graphs and statistical parameters and appreciate their use in society.	15. Recognize familiar situations and phenomena involving probability and be able to make reasonable predictions.
13. Use conventional systems of spatial representation (mock-ups, plans, maps, etc.) to obtain or communicate.		
TECHICAL AND SCIENTIFIC AREA		
Aspect: knowledge of everyday objects	Aspect: technological processes	Aspect: consumption
1. Know and evaluate risk factors deriving from the use of different machinery and domestic appliances and the corresponding means of protection.	3. Know the reasons for the possible dangerous nature of some chemical products regularly found in the home.	6. Appreciate the relationship between quality/price/need for consumption.
2. Collect information and apply basic technological knowledge to resolve simple problems.	4. Explain with scientific criteria some of the notable changes that take place in nature.	
	5. Get to know the basic elements that make up a machine for capturing energy, transforming it and producing useful work.	
Aspect: environment	Aspect: health	
7. Establish the characteristics and basic composition of some materials and appreciate the possibilities of recycling them.	10. Get to know methods of preventing certain diseases and the harmful effects of some substances.	
8. Know the main renewable energy sources.	11. Identify and appreciate basic aspects of human sexuality.	
9. Understand how living beings interact with each other and with the environment, and appreciate the impact of human action on nature.	12. Get to know the basic aspects of appropriate nutrition and appreciate its importance for health.	

TABLE 1. Continued

SOCIAL AREA			
Aspect: social skills and autonomy	Aspect: society and civic responsibility	Aspect: social thinking	
1. Listen with interest and be willing to maintain a dialogue.	9. Identify the basic characteristics of a society.	13. Accept the fact that there can be different points of view on the same event, phenomenon or problem.	
2. Appreciate establishing friendly, pleasurable relationships with other people.	10. Make relations and co-exist in a participatory fashion in a democratic, plural and changing society.	14. Grasp intentions, causes and consequences to explain social events and problems.	
3. Get to know oneself.	11. Behave appropriately according to place and time.	15. Use criticism as a positive instrument.	
4. Show a positive attitude to life.	12. Respect and defend one's own cultural, historical and artistic and environmental heritage.		
5. Prevent problem situations in everyday life.			
6. Get accustomed to solving problems autonomously.			
7. Team work.			
8. Decision-making.			
Aspect: space and time			
16. Be orientated in space.			
17. Describe geographical elements of nearby and distant space.			
18. Be familiar with key points in history.			
WORK AREA			
Aspect: personal skills and selection of workplace	Aspect: rights and obligations	Aspect: quality	
1. Know and appreciate one's own skills in relation to the world of work.	6. Know workers' rights and obligations.	8. Recognize and appreciate work well done.	
2. Know how to read job offers.	7. Be familiar with labour hygiene and safety standards.	9. Know how to present a properly finished piece of work.	
3. Write texts to apply for a job (curriculum vitae).		10. Appreciate innovations that can improve the way a job is done.	
4. Know how to present oneself when looking for a job.			
5. Analyze work conditions.			
Aspect: assessment			
11. Assess one's own work.	13. Appreciate projection of one's own medium- and long-term professional goals.		
12. Assess work done as a team.			

– so that the latter has immediate and particular knowledge about it – made it possible to see to what extent it was an external evaluation of educational establishments.

But test administration and correction are carried out by the schools themselves, which will then be able to compare their results with the system's general parameters and thus perform an internal review process that will allow them to identify their strengths and weaknesses. The test results have no consequences for pupil evaluation. For their part, the schools have the administration's guarantee that their results will not be published. In this way, unlike what happens in other countries (France, the United Kingdom, the United States, etc.), there is no school league table: the improvement has to come from each school's own initiative based on an internal assessment project, although there will be an educational inspection to boost the process.

The Higher Council for Evaluation of the Education System is in charge of evaluating the system as a whole, through external administration of the tests and their corresponding assessment for a representative sample of schools. The data obtained from this sample make it possible to establish the system's general parameters in each of the basic competencies evaluated, parameters that are presented differently depending on the size of the population and the school's socio-economic level. Each school can thus be compared with others with similar features within Catalonia as a whole.

This evaluation programme of basic competencies is unprecedented in the whole of the Spanish State and is a valuable experience for the progressive introduction of the evaluation culture in primary and secondary education schools in a country that has little tradition in this respect. For this reason, there is still some apprehension among teachers and school heads with regard to its possible consequences. Under current regulations there is no kind of external evaluation of school results throughout compulsory schooling. As has already been said, the results of these tests have no effect on pupil assessment, since they do not cover the whole of the school curriculum but only a selection of the basic competencies it is considered desirable for all pupils to master. The annual repetition of these evaluations – and of others that may be established in the future for other courses – will make it possible to have available reference points (benchmarks) that will show the advances and retreats in the fields studied.

The results of the evaluation of basic competencies are added to those obtained in other State and international evaluation programmes that Catalonia takes part in, either as part of the Spanish State (for example, in the PISA programme of the OECD), or as an autonomous body (for example, in the SITES-2 programme of the IAE). From the respective analyses and comparisons of results, broad and adequate information is obtained to make a diagnosis of the education system, on the basis of which well-founded decisions can be taken to address its improvement or possible reform. Quality education is a goal that will never be fully achieved, but towards which the efforts of all the sectors of the educational community should be directed.

By way of conclusion

As was indicated at the beginning, our societies express the contradictions between emerging and traditionally established goals, which may be considered the equivalent

of the clash between theories and models in the scientific field to which Kuhn¹⁰ referred. However, we are inclined to optimism, provided not only the voice of the strongest is heard and provided small communities can maintain their personality and add their contribution to the joint effort of immediate and further flung society, based on dialogue and collaboration. Here we have presented a sample of Catalonia's educational contribution, which may serve as reference for other nations – State or non-State. While not considering the statement *small is beautiful* to be always valid, it is undoubtedly an approach to be taken into account if we do not wish to be swallowed wholesale by the simple principle that 'the big fish eats the small one', which would assume the law of the jungle reigns supreme.

Notes

1. It should be pointed out that, in general, nation-States do not find it easy to accept the concept of 'plurinational states', because this is opposed to the territorial and cultural coincidence of nation and State. At the most, they usually accept the expression 'plural State' or 'plural nation' to refer to an interior cultural diversity, which they will always consider to be limited.
2. In his work *Open society and its enemies*, Popper wrote: 'The idea that there are natural units such as nations or language and racial groups is completely fictitious. Trying to see the State as a "natural" unit leads to the principle of the national State and to the romantic fictions of nationalism, racism and tribalism' (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966, Ch. IX, no. 7).
3. Again we can quote the case of the European Union, for example, where all languages representing a State, however small, are official, whereas others – such as Catalan, which have more speakers than some official languages – are not recognized precisely because they lack State political power.
4. Amin Maalouf alludes explicitly to the duality of globalization in statements such as the following: 'because globalization leads us, in the same movement, towards two opposing situations, one favourable, the other unfavourable, in my opinion: universality and uniformity. Two paths that look so inseparable and undifferentiated that they seem to be the same path. To the extent that it is legitimate to wonder if one is not simply the acceptable face of the other' *Les identités meurtrières* [Identities that kill], Chap. III, 3, Paris: Grasset, 1998.
5. It is possible to think that the development of technology will in the near future make it possible for individuals to express themselves in their mother-tongue and that interlocutors will receive an automatic (and reciprocal) translation, but even if this were so – and without analyzing the real possibilities of such a technological advance – it is certain that those languages lacking political and/or economic power would be left out of the process.
6. OECD, in collaboration with the United States Department of Education and the Swiss Federal Office of Statistics, is carrying out a project to identify basic competencies, which has already borne its first fruits (D. Simone & L. Hersh, *Defining and selecting key competencies*, Seattle, WA: Hogrefe & Huber, 2001). Its last PISA study on reading, mathematics and sciences focused on students' abilities to apply their knowledge and skills in those areas.

7. According to the Spanish Constitution of 1978, the State government, through its Ministry of Education, reserves a number of attributions whose limits are always difficult to define. Thus, as well as regulating the conditions for obtaining, granting and authorizing academic and professional qualifications, it also falls to it to give judgment on 'the basic rules for applying Article 27 of the Constitution', which refers to the 'right to education'. Identification of what should really be considered basic is a constant cause of argument between the State government and the governments of the Autonomous Communities, to the point that it is often necessary to resort to the Constitutional Court to resolve conflicts. The difference in sensitivity shown by the different governments towards autonomy is a decisive factor in this field.
8. A summary of the work carried out can be seen in: Jaume Sarramona, *Competencias básicas al término de la escolaridad obligatoria* [Basic competencies at the end of compulsory schooling], *Revista de educación* (Madrid), no. 322, 2000, pp. 255–288. There is a version on CD-ROM published in four languages in 2001 by the Departament d'Ensenyament de la Generalitat de Catalunya, which covers the whole research.
9. See the chapter on the work co-ordinated by Joana Noguera in: National Education Conference, 2000, *Debat sobre el sistema educatiu català. Conclusions i propostes* [Debate on the Catalan education system: conclusions and proposals], Sección VII. Barcelona, Departament d'Ensenyament, Generalitat de Catalunya, 2002. Also on the web: www.gencat.es/cne.
10. *La estructura de las revoluciones científicas* [The structure of scientific revolutions], Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1971.

PROFILES OF FAMOUS EDUCATORS

HILDA TABA

(1902–1967)

Edgar Krull

Although Ernest Hemingway once stated that in each part of the world you could meet at least one Estonian, it is a rare occurrence when the existence and achievements of great personalities originating from this 1 million strong nation are associated with their native country and nation in the minds of their foreign colleagues. In this sense Hilda Taba is not an exception. She is known worldwide as an outstanding American educator and curriculum theorist, but very few know that she was born, brought up and educated in Estonia. Probably, even more surprising is the fact that Taba, belonging to the list of the most outstanding educators of the twentieth century and whose academic work climaxed with the publication of the monograph *Curriculum development: theory and practice* (1962), remained unknown in her native country for decades. So, in spite of the fact that Taba's approach to curriculum design spread throughout the world and her monograph took an honourable position on the bookshelves of European education libraries in the 1960s, her educational ideas reached Estonian educators only at the end of the 1980s.

The above-mentioned circumstance is one of the many controversial aspects in Hilda Taba's life that evidently played an important role in her development as a scientist and gave a unique colouration to her educational ideas. Another controversy, undoubtedly playing a major role in the formation of Taba's theoretical ideas and thinking, was the collision between German and American educational traditions that she experienced in her studies of pedagogy. For instance, the undergraduate educational preparation that she received at the University of Tartu had a strong disposition towards

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German didactics and educational philosophy.¹ However, her subsequent post-graduate studies in the United States of America were strongly influenced by the ideas of progressive education, which she came to admire and which became a cornerstone of her educational thinking.

It remains unknown whether Taba had dreamed of pursuing her academic career in the United States or of returning to Estonia after her post-graduate studies abroad. However, the fact that she competed for the professorship in education at the University of Tartu in 1931 rather points to her intention to bind her working career and life to Estonia. These plans did not come about, as she was not selected for this position. But what is even more amazing was that she could not find any other job in Estonia worthy of her qualifications. So, the author of the doctoral dissertation *The dynamics of education: a methodology of progressive educational thought* (1932), which later earned wide recognition among educators, decided to return to North America. This unexpected change in her plans and the subsequent move caused Taba to experience serious difficulties and misery at the beginning of her career. Hilda Taba's road to excellence was in some parts due to chance, her enormous desire to succeed and the favourable conditions for educational research in the United States, and she became one of the brightest stars in the educational constellation of the 1960s. Nowadays, her work in the field of curriculum design, alongside that of Ralph W. Tyler, belongs to the classics of pedagogy. Several contemporary authors still frequently refer to Hilda Taba's ideas and base their work in the field of curriculum theory and practice on her conceptions developed decades ago (see, for example, articles in the handbooks edited by Shaver, 1991; and Leawy, 1991; and in academic journals by Klarin, 1992; Fraenkel, 1994; Parry, 2000). There are over 100 recent articles and monographs referring to the work of Taba in the ERIC database. Furthermore, countless references to her name and educational ideas on the Internet are additional proof that her academic contribution to the field of education has lasting value.

Some ideas about Hilda Taba as a person can be found in Elizabeth H. Brady's (1992) commemorative article. Brady, one of her closest colleagues during the days of inter-group education projects (1945–1951), wrote: 'Taba was very energetic, enthusiastic, active, seemingly tireless; she led life at a tempo which sometimes led to misunderstandings and often wore out friends and staff. She was small in stature, perky in manners and in dress, and always intent on the next thing' (Brady, 1992, p. 9).

Hilda Taba's childhood and university studies

The future prominent educator Hilda Taba was born in Kooraste, a small village in the present Põlva county, in south-east Estonia, on 7 December 1902. She was the first of nine children of Robert Taba, a schoolmaster. Hilda was first educated at her father's elementary school, and then at the local parish school.

In 1921, after graduating from Viru High School for Girls, she decided to become an elementary school-teacher. In the autumn of the same year Hilda passed the final examination for elementary teacher certification at the Didactic Seminar of Tartu,

but she did not begin work at a primary school. Instead, she became a student of economics at the University of Tartu. Economics, however, did not appeal to Taba and a year later she applied to be transferred to the Faculty of Philosophy where she majored in history and education. As her father's schoolmaster income was too modest for maintaining a big family and supporting Hilda's studies, the tutoring of young students became her main after-school activity and source of income. A dedication in her dissertation to Maria Raudsepp, a pupil she coached during her university studies in Tartu, commemorates this aspect of Taba's biography.

After graduating from the University of Tartu in 1926, Taba had the opportunity to undertake her post-graduate studies in the United States, supported by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. Her excellent knowledge of educational subjects acquired at Tartu University made it possible for her to complete a master's degree at Bryn Mawr College in a year. During her studies at Bryn Mawr, she started to visit progressive schools and became interested in the practice of the Dalton Plan (Klarin, 1989). Surveying American educational literature, Taba discovered *Fundamentals of education* by Boyd H. Bode (1921), a then widely known author and educator in the United States. Taba was very impressed by Bode's (1873–1953) approach and she grew interested in the philosophy of progressive education. In particular, she enjoyed the child-centredness and the novelty and flexibility of this educational approach.

In 1927 she applied for doctoral studies in educational philosophy at Columbia University. During the following five years of studies Taba met many American scientists of world renown, among them the psychologist E.L. Thorndike (1874–1949), the educator and historian P. Monroe (1869–1947), the sociologist G.C. Gounts, and the founder of the Winnetka Plan, C. Washburne (1889–1968). Nevertheless, the person to affect Hilda Taba's educational thinking most was John Dewey (1859–1952) – a philosopher and educator with a global reputation, and one of the initiators of the progressive educational movement whose lectures she attended and whose writings she studied carefully (Isham, 1982; Taba, 1932, p. vii). The principal advisor of her doctoral work became William H. Kilpatrick (1871–1965), one of John Dewey's colleagues, known in the history of education as the initiator of the project method. Kilpatrick ended his foreword to Taba's dissertation with prophetic words about its author, stating that 'hard will be that reader to please and far advanced his previous thinking who does not leave this book feeling distinctly indebted to its very capable author' (Kilpatrick, 1932). Kilpatrick was right in assessing the value of this work, and his opinion was proved by the fact that some fifty years later Telegraph Books reprinted the monograph in 1980.

In 1931, having completed her doctoral dissertation, Hilda Taba returned to Estonia in order to apply for the professorship left vacant through the untimely death of Peeter Pild, her professor of education when she studied at the University of Tartu. Unfortunately, Taba was not elected and evidently was badly disappointed. Although she found employment at a college of household economics in Estonia, she decided shortly thereafter to return to the United States.

Taba's scientific career in the United States

Once back in the United States, Hilda Taba experienced serious hardships. In the beginning she did not find any employment corresponding to her qualifications, and so she had to undertake some casual jobs. Later, she worked for a wealthy American family coaching their children – an activity she was used to already in Estonia. In addition, her stay in the United States was complicated by the fact that she did not have American citizenship, and because of this she was permanently threatened with deportation by the Department of Immigration. Finally, in 1933 Taba was given a post as a German teacher, and later on she became the director of curriculum in the Dalton School,² in Ohio.

It is of interest to mention that Hilda Taba became involved in educational research by a lucky chance. She was hired just at the start of the Eight-Year Study³ in which the Dalton School was actively involved. Taba's participation in the study brought her together with Ralph Tyler, who was the head of the field evaluation staff of the study.

Tyler was impressed by her devotion to scientific research and by her profound understanding of educational processes, and he hired Taba to form part of the evaluation staff (located at the University of Ohio) as the co-ordinator of the social studies curriculum. In 1939, when the evaluation staff was transferred to the University of Chicago, Taba became the director of the curriculum laboratory, which she headed until 1945.

By the mid-1940s Taba had become a capable and widely recognized educational researcher. She initiated, designed and directed several research projects centred on two major topics: intergroup education (1945–1951); and the reorganization and development of social studies curricula in California (1951–1967). Hilda Taba also served as a consultant to many local institutions and school districts, and she took part in UNESCO seminars in Paris and Brazil (Harshbarger, 1978).

STUDIES IN THE FIELD OF INTERGROUP EDUCATION

Intergroup education became topical in the United States following the Second World War. The reorganization of American industry for the needs of war had caused a significant migration of workers from rural areas to the cities. As a result, major changes in people's way of life and in the composition of their neighbourhoods took place, and these changes contributed to a growing tension. In 1944, quite serious interracial riots took place in Detroit. This was the drop that made the cup run over, and more than 400 public organizations were founded in the United States in response to these events (Klarin, 1989). Taba's research group submitted to the American Council on Education one of many proposals aimed at the investigation of possibilities for increasing the level of tolerance between students from different ethnic and cultural backgrounds. The Intergroup Education Project was accepted and launched in New York City in 1945. Hilda Taba became its director. The success of the experimental project led to the establishment of the Center of Intergroup Education at the University of Chicago, which was headed by Taba (1948–1951).

The study began with an extensive investigation of the socio-psychological causes of intergroup tensions, and it ended with the approval of school curricula for intergroup tolerance education between students. These curricula focused on the four main issues related to social life that proved to be essential in the formation of stereotypes and prejudices: (1) differences in the style of family life; (2) differences in the life-styles of the communities; (3) ignorance of American culture; and (4) development of peaceful relations between individuals (Taba et al., 1952). In order to foster better knowledge, understanding and attitudes in these life spheres, special education programmes were developed. For example, the education programme aimed at the development of personal relations taught children how to handle conflicts without resorting to violence. From today's perspective, intergroup education can be considered as a forerunner of intercultural or multicultural education. When taking a closer look at Taba's work on intergroup education, it is difficult to disagree with Elizabeth H. Brady's comment that one of Taba's 'major contributions was to recognize that social science could provide a strong foundation for education, with sociology, social pedagogy and cultural anthropology in particular illuminating issues in human relations education' (Brady, 1992, p. 8).

DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL STUDIES CURRICULA

The second and final period of Hilda Taba's independent scientific career began in 1951, when she accepted a proposal for the reorganization and development of social studies curricula in Contra Costa county, in the San Francisco Bay area. At the same time, she became a full professor of education at San Francisco State University. This was the period when her expertise in the areas of curriculum design, intergroup education and development of cognitive processes won her international recognition.

Mary Durkin (1993, p. ix), the former social studies curriculum co-ordinator for the county, describes the beginning of Taba's research and its character in Contra Costa as follows:

It was a fortunate coincidence that Dr. Hilda Taba joined the staff of San Francisco State at the same time as the Director of Curriculum of Contra Costa County Department of Education in California was searching for a consultant whose mode of thinking was compatible with staff's to write a social studies teacher guide.

The Contra Costa County Board of Education provided Taba with ample time by not setting a deadline for the guides. Seven years were spent on two studies of children's thinking and the guides. The process included conferences with content specialists, in-service workshops, and the writing, testing and rewriting of the guides.

In her turn, Taba (1962, p. 482) saw the problems connected with the social studies curriculum and the reasons for selecting a specific strategy for curriculum development in this way:

The analysis of the problems required change in the curriculum and the approach to making this change was made by the county curriculum staff in co-operation with the school prin-

cipals. This analysis suggested that the usual efforts – institutes, lectures, required attendance of college classes – had not over a period of years produced much curriculum improvement and did not seem promising for making changes in the structure of curriculum. Furthermore, since the county staff had been responsible for developing curriculum guides and units, the teachers in various districts tended to regard the county as authoritarian and it was difficult to kindle their initiative for curriculum improvement. For these reasons, the county staff was searching for some kind of grass-roots approach that would promise greater participation and involvement in the whole process of curriculum improvement, and at the same time improve the human relations between the schools and the county office.

So, the beginning of the study was largely concerned with the identification and analysis of teachers' problems in the field of social studies. The teachers, after they had identified mismatches in the curricula they were using with their expectations for them, were asked to develop their own teaching/learning units. As the teachers' expertise was not sufficient for curriculum development, seminars and consultancy sessions were organized. The members of the research team primarily provided this kind of in-service training for co-operating teachers. Later on, this function was gradually taken over by the county staff as their expertise through in-service training that was especially organized for them increased. Teachers who developed the new teaching/learning units first checked them in school practice. Then they underwent a critical revision and were again tried out, but this time by a larger number of teachers. This procedure was applied many times, until results satisfying the needs of teachers at different schools were achieved. Usually, the curriculum for an entire grade involved from five to eight units.

The planning of general steps and procedures of curriculum development were the responsibility of Taba's research team at the beginning of the study. Then, similarly to the development of teacher guidance abilities, this function was gradually taken over by the county curriculum staff as its expertise increased. Consequently, the research programme was aimed at the re-education of the whole staff and at producing pilot models of curriculum development and teaching (Taba, 1962, pp. 482–493).

The main purpose of the study was to provide a flexible model of curriculum renewal, based on conjoint efforts of practising teachers and educational administrators responsible for school curricula. It is important to mention that many ideas underlying Taba's curriculum model, such as the notion of a 'spiral' curriculum, inductive teaching strategies for the development of concepts, generalizations and applications; organization of content on three levels – key ideas, organizational ideas and facts – and her general strategy for developing thinking through the social studies curriculum significantly influenced curriculum developers during the 1960s and early 1970s. Many general principles and ideas of curriculum design developed by Hilda Taba belong to the foundations of modern curriculum theories, and are frequently referred to by other authors.

Many of Taba's ideas on curriculum design can be considered as a further elaboration of Ralph Tyler's rather psychological principles of curriculum development: attributing to them a more pedagogical and practical nature. This is well evidenced by reconsidering the meaning and nature of Tyler's (1969) rationale of curriculum

design: (1) stating educational objectives; (2) selecting and (3) organizing learning experiences; and (4) assessing the achievement of objectives. In her version, Taba introduced notions of multiple educational objectives and four distinct categories of objectives (basic knowledge, thinking skills, attitudes and academic skills). This approach allowed Hilda Taba to relate specific teaching/learning strategies to each category of objectives. In this sense, her classification of educational objectives has some similarities with Gagné's (1985) system of learning outcomes and the conditions of learning which explain the ways for reaching desired outcomes. Also, the sophisticated classification of educational objectives allowed Taba to give to Tyler's notion of learning experiences a more specific and practical meaning by considering separately the selection and organization of instructional content and strategies of learning. As stated by Hilda Taba in her teacher handbook for elementary social studies:

the selection and organization of content implements only one of the four areas of objectives – that of knowledge. The selection of content does not develop the techniques and skills for thinking, change patterns of attitudes and feelings, or produce academic and social skills. These objectives only can be achieved by the way in which the learning experiences are planned and conducted in the classroom. [. . .] Achievement of three of the four categories of objectives depends on the nature of learning experiences rather than on the content (Taba, 1967, p. 11).

Hilda Taba died unexpectedly on 6 July 1967, at the peak of her academic capabilities and power.

Some of Taba's philosophical ideas on curriculum development

There are many academic papers in English and in Estonian describing Hilda Taba's ideas and research on specific areas of education. But there are fewer writings on Taba's general principles and beliefs regarding research and education that made her work unique, inventive and original. Many of the ideas that made Taba world famous kept developing and evolving gradually throughout her career. A preliminary, and therefore incomplete, analysis of her scientific heritage suggests at least four principles that seem to govern her vision of curriculum theory and curriculum development (Krull & Kurm, 1996, pp. 11–12):

1. Social processes, including the socialization of human beings, are not linear, and they cannot be modelled through linear planning. In other words, learning and development of personality cannot be considered as one-way processes of establishing educational aims and deriving specific objectives from an ideal of education proclaimed or imagined by some authority.
2. Social institutions, among them school curricula and programmes, are more likely to be effectively rearranged if, instead of the common way of administrative reorganization – from top to bottom – a well-founded and co-ordinated system of development from bottom to top can be used.
3. The development of new curricula and programmes is more effective if it is

based on the principles of democratic guidance and on the well-founded distribution of work. The emphasis is on the partnership based on competence, and not on administration.

4. The renovation of curricula and programmes is not a short-term effort but a long process, lasting for years.

The principle of considering social processes as non-linear is the most important one, and it probably governs all of Hilda Taba's educational work. Taba pointed out already in her doctoral dissertation that 'ends and aims, as they are in actual life, seldom present themselves as simple and easily comprehensible units' (1932, p. 142) and, therefore, 'a purposive act must be regarded primarily as an outgrowth of previous activity and not as an independent unit starting and activating because of some end or purpose clamoring for actualization' (1932, p. 143). Applying the principle to curriculum design, this means that it is unreal and impossible to set up rigid general goals of education from which more specified objectives would be derived for a concrete plan. The general goals are also subject to modification in order to become adapted to the real circumstances, whereby they are dependent more or less on the content and character of the educational step planned.

The second principle of the efficiency of the bottom-up approach suggests the most convenient way to help individuals and human social organizations to accept and to adapt to new situations and ideas. Taba's view can be well interpreted in the light of Donald Schon's concept of 'dynamic conservatism' (Schon, 1987), which expresses the tendency of individuals and social organizations to oppose energetically changes that derange or offend their convictions and understandings by building up structures and mechanisms that will interfere with these changes. The expected changes in the individual or social consciousness will take place only if individuals or groups, under pressure to introduce these changes, conserve or acquire the ability to learn. So, the changes and learning underlying it take place more easily, and meet less opposition if they are not imposed by the central institutions but are initiated in the periphery, and gradually spread all over the structure.

The third and fourth principles underline the necessity for the democratic guidance of curriculum development and the long-term nature of this process, and are essentially derived from the first two principles. They are explicitly spelled out in the description of the organization for social studies curriculum development used in Contra Costa county (see Taba, 1962, pp. 482–489)

Probably the most characteristic feature of Hilda Taba's educational thinking was the ability to see the forest for the trees, pointing to her capability to discriminate between the essential and the non-essential or the important and the unimportant. She was never misled by the outside lustre of an idea even when facing the most advanced educational innovations of the day, and she always scrutinized them for their educational purpose or value. An episode described in the commemorative article by A.L. Costa and R.A. Loveall (2002) is good evidence of this aspect of Taba's thinking. Taba, when visiting a prestigious American university in the 1960s, was led to a computer centre where a huge mainframe computer was used for developing one of the first teaching machines. Her judgement on the value of this enterprise was fast

and rather disappointing: 'Million-dollar machine, ten cent idea' (Costa & Loveall, 2002, p. 61).

Some concluding remarks

There is a popular saying that a prophet is without honour in his own land. Hilda Taba is not an exception, and it was only as late as twenty years after her death that she started to become known and recognized as an outstanding educator in her native land. Hilda Taba's educational talent blossomed in the United States, where she is definitely an outstanding American educator. There is only one known article – 'Governing tendencies in American education' (Taba, 1931) – published in the Estonian journal of education *Kasvatus* in 1931. Since then, Hilda Taba has remained practically unknown to Estonian educators for many decades. When Taba became known worldwide, the infiltration of her ideas to Estonia was hampered by the Soviet regime (lasting from 1940 to 1991), which was hostile to any Western educational ideas. As reparation for the injustice that Hilda Taba experienced in her lifetime, two international curriculum conferences in honour of her 90th and 100th anniversaries were held at the University of Tartu in 1992 and 2002.

On the international stage, Hilda Taba has merited a prestigious position among other outstanding educators of the twentieth century. Her scientific heritage in the field of educational philosophy, intergroup education and curriculum development is considerable, and it provided the edifice of educational knowledge with many important building blocks of lasting value. Many of Taba's ideas on curriculum design, like the organization of content, her classification of educational objectives, and inductive strategies of concept formation and teaching, have become classics of pedagogy. Her inductive approach to teaching has been introduced as a prototype in six consecutive editions of *Models of teaching* (Joyce, Weil & Calhoun, 2000).

Hilda Taba's personality and miraculous academic career in the United States have convincingly proven what the synergy of an adventurous soul, talent, a strong desire to achieve, perseverance and industry can produce when combined together in a single person.

Notes

1. This was caused by a strong intellectual and political influence of German nobleman landowners who settled in Estonia from the thirteenth century onwards. In spite of the incorporation of Estonia into the Russian Empire at the beginning of eighteenth century, the strong dominance of the German nobility in public life lasted until the beginning of the First World War and only started to weaken after the declaration of Estonian independence in 1918.
2. The Dalton Plan is an education system in which students accept as individualized contracts the work assigned to them. These contracts are actually monthly assignments. Students work at their own rates and do not depend on close guidance from their teachers, although they confer individually with the teachers. The plan is named for the Dalton,

- Massachusetts, high school where Helen Parkhurst devised and, from 1913, perfected it (Dalton Plan, 1993).
3. Eight-year study was a large-scale investigation in the United States that was intended to compare the educational effectiveness of the thirty high schools whose works were based on the principles of progressive education propagated by John Dewey and William Kilpatrick, compared to the educational outcomes obtained by the schools using conventional programmes and methods (see Lindgren, 1972, pp. 310–311).

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