

A FRENCH SCHOOL IN TUNISIA

Teaching sustainability and reproducing socio-ecological hierarchy in Tunisia



Master's thesis, 30 ECTS
Human Ecology Division, Culture Power and Sustainability
LUND UNIVERSITY
Author: **Christine Brignone**
Supervisor: **Professor Susan Paulson**
Term (of defense): Spring 2011

Department:	Department of Human Geography Human Ecology Division
Address:	Sölvegatan 12, SE 223-62 LUND SWEDEN
Phone:	+46-46-2228417

Supervisor:	Professor Susan Paulson
-------------	-------------------------

Titel and Subtitle:	A FRENCH SCHOOL IN TUNISIA Teaching sustainability and reproducing socio-ecological hierarchy in Tunisia
Author:	Christine Brignone

Examination:

Master thesis

Term of defense:	Spring 2011
------------------	-------------

Abstract:

The explicit sustainability education these students receive gives them narrowly circumscribed ideas about sustainability as recycling and solar panels. At the same time school experience conveys implicit lessons about sustaining one's social position through consumption and display of imported fashion and products associated with France/the west, practices with contradictory implications for sustainability.

Implicit lessons are taught by school structure and activities that establish unequal power between French and Arabic languages, between geography and history curricula focused on France vs. Tunisia, and between more French-identified and more Tunisian-identified faculty and staff.

I argue that models reproducing these hierarchies are at counter-purposes with efforts toward sustainability of Tunisian lifeways and environments because they encourage students to distance themselves from Tunisian cultural and ecological realities, and to aspire to more highly valued and powered French or "universal" ones.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

To my father, Guy Brignone, without whom I could not have done any of this.

While conducting this critical study, I have met persons who I am happy to have had the opportunity to meet, and I am truly grateful for the help I received from the different protagonists of my study who opened their doors and minds to me.

I thank particularly the director of the school who helped me realize this study, but I also thank every single person I talked to whose help has been priceless when trying to understand complex mechanisms within a particular structure, itself part of a larger process.

Two months spent together, particularly in these tensed moments of historical events happening in Tunisia at the time of my fieldwork, tied relations and drew moments and bonds probably unforgettable. I would like to thank especially Evelyne, Sèverine, Marie-Laure and Souad, and all the kids.

The fieldwork from which this study is drawn has been an initiatory journey: the touch of the non-sharpened color pencil on my thumb as I again sat behind the school table, the trees of the main alley (the only thing left from the time I was a student there 18 years ago), the scent of the bougainvillea mixed with the one from the blackboard chalk, producing somehow a known classroom's fragrance; all of these remembrances of the past together with methods and pedagogy I recognized, constantly reminded me that I am partly a prototype of this schooling system.

I thank all the professors of Lund University, whose teachings brought me new critical perspectives and understandings on different issues; and particularly Susan Paulson for her insightful supervision and her precious support.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

A- Introduction	6
1- Context	6
2- Purpose of study	8
3- Research questions	9
4- Historical and spatial overview	9
B- Methodology	13
1- Observations	13
1-1- Observations in classrooms	13
1-2- Observations in other places within the school	14
2- Interviews and focus groups	14
2-1- Interviews with teachers	14
2-2- Interviews and focus groups with students	14
2-3- Interview outside the school	15
3- Questionnaires	15
3-1- Questionnaires for students	15
3-2- Questionnaires for teachers	16
3-3- Questionnaire for Tunisian pupils	17
4- Documents from the school	17
4-1- Student files	17
4-2- Staff files	17
4-3- School archives	17
4-4- Documents from teachers and pupils	18
5- Data from diverse institutions outside the school	18
C- Theoretical framework	19
1- Coloniality/ Neocolonialism	20
1-1 Coloniality of power, knowledge and nature	20
1-2 Neocolonialism/ imperialism / hegemony	21
2- Political ecology/ distribution conflicts	22
3- Bourdieu's concepts of symbolic violence, habitus and capitals	23
D- Findings and analysis	25
Introduction: description of the actors	25
a- The students	25
b- The teachers	26
I- Explicit discourse on sustainable development	26
I-1-General overview of environmental education and sustainable development within the official syllabus and in the UNESCO framework	26
1-1-1 The official French national syllabus	26
1-1-2 The UNESCO framework	27

I-2-Sustainable development (direct and indirect teachings)	28
1-2-1 Within the classroom	28
a- The class project.....	28
b- In the curriculum / in pedagogic materials.....	31
1-2-2- Projects carried out by the school	32
I-3-Sustainable development, sustaining what? Analysis of the findings	33
II- Implicit meanings and implications for sustainability of Tunisia	38
II-1- The idea of progress	39
II-2- Dualism	41
II-3- Development	43
II-4- Development as a model of expansion of capitalism	45
II-5- Coloniality of knowledge	45
II-6- Relative place and power of two worldviews within the school	48
II-7- Multiculturalism?	50
II-8- Sustainable development and coloniality.....	51
Conclusion and Transition	52
III- Culturally and ecologically embedded?	52
III-1- Consumption and identity construction	53
III-2- Consumption as marker of distinction	55
III-3- Local knowledge	61
3-3-1 History and geography of Tunisia	61
3-3-2- Arabic language	62
3-3-3- Relations to the local teachings	65
3-3-4- They seem to be leaving Tunisia	67
E- Conclusion	68
References	72
Appendix 1: Tables	82
Appendix 2: GIS maps	107
Appendix 3: Drawings from children	95
Appendix 4: Questionnaire for students	99
Appendix 5: Questionnaire for teachers	104
Appendix 6: Questionnaire for local school's students	105

Like the bamboo from China in the botanical garden of Lund,
Which despite its presence here, is going to bloom
Following the biological clock of its original country;
The nomad grows his roots within a (or many) host's land,
He [more formally, the transnational person] will live, grow, and probably flourish
beautifully.
But his body and mind seem tied to "this" land.

(Reflection on fieldwork)

A- INTRODUCTION

1- Context

I understand Tunisia as a land of diversified cultural assimilation. Most of the countries in the world seem to follow a path with globalization and capitalist expansion which corresponds to the implementation of Western cultural and economic division of labour model (Quijano, 2009). Tunisia has a geographical position and historical experience which makes it particularly inclined to be culturally enriched. Through time, it was conquered or visited by "Phoenicians, Romans, Vandals, Byzantines, Arabs, Turks, and French" (Poncet, 1974:7).

The enrichment that a mix of cultures brings is priceless. Today, the contribution of Italian and French influence in Tunisian music, to give one example, is recognized and named as new types of "traditional" music. And the specificity of the Tunisian music is due to a particular mix of all these influences that happened only there, and create the new traditions due to cultural contact. "Culture is dynamic and increasingly interlayered, meanings are not fixed and we are all, to different extents hybrids of our experiences" (Preece, 2010: 270).

However, what I am concerned with and going to address in my thesis is the culture as used as marker of hierarchical differentiation. When a culture, here French culture is referred to as the dominant one (the Western), is used to reach and meet development standards in order to play in the world-system, challenges arise for the sustainability of less dominant local cultures, lifeways, languages and environments.

The last official conquest took place from 1881 to 1956, year of the Tunisian Independence; depending on positioning, some refer to it as “occupation” others as “colonization” (Najet, 30/01; Fouad 29/01). I insist on this difference because this thesis is about difference in understandings and worldviews, and the application and internalization of conquering economic and consumption models.

As Jean Poncet states: Tunisia’s “evolution is two times millenary (---) (and is) a state more ancient than any other in the West. Tunisia became a country “under-developed” after having belonged to the French empire three fourth of a century” (Poncet, 1974: 8).

I will be presenting a study focused on a French primary school in Tunisia. Six thousand meters square (Touati), recently renovated and merged with an older French school in Tunisia, it received an investment of 3,8 million euros from French government (ambassadefrance-tn.org). This school is part of a larger network of French schools all over the world, the organization of which is depending on the ministry of foreign affairs. The AEFÉ, Agency for French Education Abroad (Agence pour l’Enseignement Français à l’Etranger) is a government agency coordinating the establishment of 470 French schools in 132 countries in the world (aeфе.fr). This school has not always been housed there. Indeed, the school opened its doors in 1981 (Najet, Emmanuelle, Louis). The school has been growing significantly during these 30 years, passing from one class to 50, from few dozens of children to 1096 this year. It is divided within two sites: the oldest primary grade is placed with the secondary school, 15 minutes driving from the first one; they have their own “little school”.

There are ten other primary, secondary and high school from the same network being established in Tunisia nowadays. For pupils in these schools, France and Europe often correspond in the mind to grandiose places of consumption. And for parents, access to this school means the access to a “superior job” later on for their children.

Why I am calling them French schools? They are part of this larger network; they use the French curriculum and teachers must have a French diploma. Tunisian people can only teach, if they have both nationalities. This school can be said to be a French school on the Tunisian soil. A French school in Tunisia. I will sometimes compare this place with what is commonly referred as “Tunisian schools” referring to national ones.

During summer 2010, I attended an end of the year fete at the same French primary school in Tunisia where I studied as a child. As a CPS student, I was alert to the consumption patterns and Western developmental models that were enacted and conveyed by the school and its celebration.

The explicit sustainability education the students of the school I studied receive gives them narrowly circumscribed ideas about sustainability as recycling and solar panels. At the same time school experience conveys implicit lessons about sustaining one's social position through consumption and display of imported fashion and products associated with France/the west, practices with contradictory implications for sustainability.

Implicit lessons are taught by school structure and activities that establish unequal power between French and Arabic languages, between geography and history curricula focused on France vs. Tunisia, and between more French-identified and more Tunisian-identified faculty and staff.

I argue that models reproducing these hierarchies are at counter-purposes with efforts toward sustainability of Tunisian lifeways and environments because they encourage students to distance themselves from Tunisian cultural and ecological realities, and to aspire to more highly valued and powered French or "universal" ones.

I returned to Tunisia, in Tunis for two months, January until March 2011. And my fieldwork has mainly been concentrating on the place of the school, but I also went around to many different agencies to meet the people to interview and to find secondary data. It is enquiring the period from 1981 date of the opening, until today, while also stating some of the previous historical discourses and practices within the introductory part and throughout the paper with the intermediary of interviewees.

2- Purpose of study

The larger purpose of my study is to contribute to understandings of ways hierarchical values attached to western culture and its "universal" knowledge can be in tension with local

knowledges and ecologies in ways that limit sustainability. In Escobar's (1988: 438) words, we can build stronger and more diverse approaches to sustainability by "understanding better the geo-cultural distribution of identity and difference and its implications in terms of the material and cultural relations among different people".

3- Research questions

My research asks how is sustainability and sustainable development taught to children, both explicitly and implicitly, within a French School in Tunisia.

Sub questions include: What are the objectives of this school? What are the consequences of a French schooling for Tunisian pupils? How are socio/economic/cultural/spatial systems reproduced (or challenged) in this process, together with the hierarchies and inequalities entailed therein? What lifestyles and consumption models of identity are taught informally/ implicitly as well as formally/ explicitly?

My analysis applies four main key concepts—cultural hegemony, sustainability, development and consumption—and assesses some of the contradictions and paradoxes in messages of universality, universal knowledge and universal model of development and evolution embedded in and communicated by the school simultaneously with lessons about sustainable living.

4- Historical and spatial overview

My fieldwork gains meaning in a larger context of the French presence: historically and spatially. I will comment on three main points: first, a concise review of French schooling during and after the occupation; then, main changes brought with the protectorate concerning agriculture and land possession and finally, locating schooling in Tunisia and this specific school as a small part of contemporary French presence in Tunisia. I tried to do a schema summarizing what I could grasp during my journey there of the complicated and interrelated institutions embodying the French presence in Tunisia.

While we already presented the school as part of a bigger network of French schools around the world, I would like to place it as part of a local history of French schools starting before the protectorate.

The very first institutions created by French representatives were religious: in 1843 a girls' school, and 1845 a boys' school (Direction Générale de l'Instruction publique et des Beaux-Arts, 19?: 7). In 1875, the third noticeable establishment, and also the only one (that I could find track of) to take place before the protectorate, is the one that will later become the secondary school following the specific primary school I am studying.

From then on, the French schooling system has mostly been attended by the local elite and Bourguiba, even though the defender and promoter of Independence, has also been one of the founder of "la Francophonie" and thought of French as the language of modernity (Marzouki, 2007). "The French schools disappeared progressively because the local educative system evolved and they did not need us anymore" (interview father André, 16.02.2011).

At the same time, the local, national educative system was progressively built, and the French system was (and is still) taken as a model. "The Tunisian elite is completely seduced by the French education and wish its generalization" (Largueche, 19? : 258; my translation); "the Tunisian educative system is very much inspired from the French one" (interview Tunisian intellectual, 11.02.2011).

Today, we can find a wide range of different school organizations in Tunisia: International, where two curricula are taught; Italian, French and National are the main types encountered.

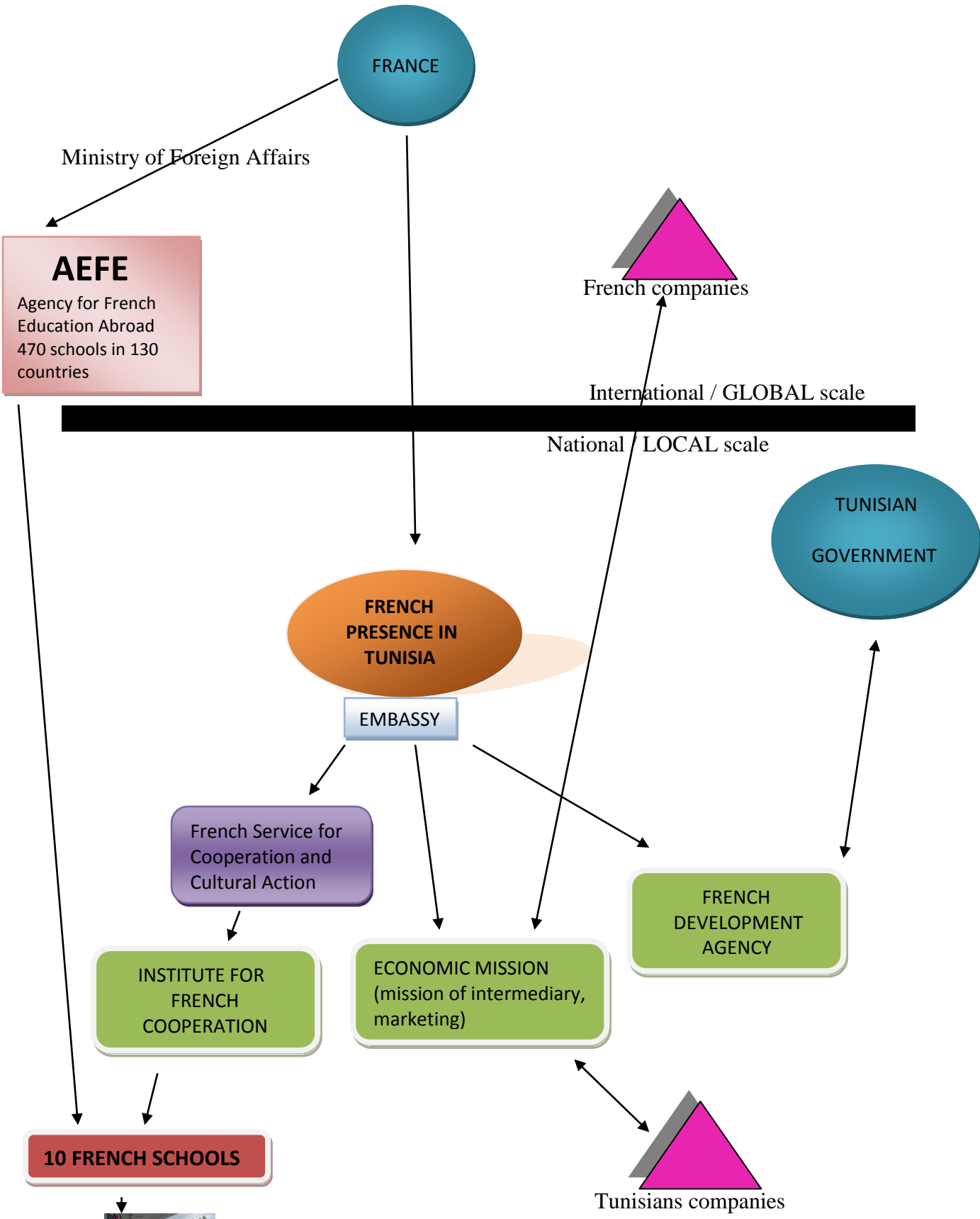
Parallel to the schooling system, the implementation of the "grand farm of modern agricultural type" happened in Tunisia with the French presence, and as a consequence radically changed the landscape and the social structure (Poncet, 1961).

For the last part of this introduction, I set the contemporary context of the school as a small piece of the French presence in Tunisia. During my fieldwork, I tried to understand the overall institutional structure, the role of each and the relationship the school and the institutions could have between each other. I tried to map these relationships in the following schema.

One of the key places to be described to understand my fieldwork is the Institute for French Cooperation, which represents locally the main structure embodying the politics of influence

of France in Tunisia. Whereas the French Service for Cooperation and Cultural Action (SCAC) exists in different countries (Morocco, etc) (ambafrance-ma.org), the Institute for French Cooperation is specific to Tunisia and to the privileged relations they maintained since Independence. The SCAC used to be called until a recent past “the French cultural mission” (assistant cultural adviser, 24/02). Past recent enough to still be in the everyday language. Key governance processes are the structural adjustment program took place in Tunisia in 1986 (King, 1999: 42), and it coincides with the birth of the AEFÉ (1990) (aefe.fr) and the AFD, French Development Agency (1992) (afd.fr).

FRENCH SCHOOLING IN TUNISIA AS PART OF A LARGER PRESENCE



My fieldwork, one of the schools

Let us turn now towards the methodology part.

B- METHODOLOGY

I used five different methodologies mainly centered in an ethnographic framework, with participatory observations, interviews, and collection of data from institutions. I have been conducting Interviews and focus groups. I also enquired national data and archives (national and school) to place my study in a broader spatial and temporal context. A combination of both multiscale analysis and different methods (Paulson and Gezon, 2005) seems to be at the image of human ecology and political ecology. “The integration of anthropological-style local research with political-economic structural analysis thereafter became a key concern of political ecologists” (Bryant, 1998: 81). I also used GIS mapping to represent the location of origin (neighborhood) of the kids.

1- Observations

1-1 Observations in classrooms

I have been carrying out participatory observations (Clifford and Valentine, 2010) in classrooms for the full time of my fieldwork. While I mainly observed two classrooms, I also went on to see other. I decided on which classrooms to observe consistently, and which to visit for shorter periods, mainly with three criteria. First a practical one: who is willing to accept to have me at the back of their classrooms looking and taking note. Second, the grade: I knew that the older the pupils were, the more they had notions of the environmental discourse. But I wanted to have as wider picture as possible, so I tried to capture the different grades in my sampling.

Finally, the profile of the teachers: their nationalities and the time spent as a teacher in Tunisia. While some teachers are French, teaching in Tunisia for 20 years; others, which is the majority, are in Tunisia for 3 to 5 years. At last, but not the least interesting, were Tunisian teachers (with both French and Tunisian nationalities) and who were often among the youngest (25 to 35 years old).

1-2 Observations in other places within the school

To have a glimpse of notions of consumption and sustainability, I carried observations in different places: the school cafeteria, the playground, theatre lessons given within the school, teacher's room.

2- Interviews and Focus Groups

The main methods that I used for selection of the interviewees are: 1. Purposeful selection of diversely positioned actors, and 2. Snowball sample. Persons sent me to others that they thought could help me. I also drew on a network of people who knew me and my mother 18 years ago. I interviewed 11 teachers (including Arabic teachers, French teachers, French teachers with dual nationalities); another teacher from the high school; one retiree teacher who is one of the four founders of the school; three parents, two ex-pupils; one of the two secretary of the school; both directors; the assistant-cultural adviser at the IFC (Institute for French Cooperation abroad); a doctor, local intellectual; a local professional on environment. I also got an interview together with two mission directors at the French Development Agency (environmental/rural/water; and urban missions); I got an interview with the person in charge of development (infrastructures, transports and industries) at the economic mission section of the French embassy. I met the fathers from the Institute of the Arabic Belles-Lettres (IBLA). Finally I have had an interview with a person in charge at the Urban Agency of the Large Tunis (AUGT: Agence Urbaine du Grand Tunis), where I could gather materials for the GIS map. In total, I conducted 31 interviews with adults.

2-1- I conducted mainly interviews with teachers

I described earlier the methods used to select to different profiles of teachers interviewed.

2-2- Interviews and focus groups with students

Because of the revolutionary events the time was shortened and I had to make the best out of it. As a consequence, my original plan to interview children at lunch time has not been followed. I gave priority to the interview with teachers or with persons outside the school who

were free only at lunch time. I also used these breaks for going back and forth to both sites of the school and/or to make copies for the questionnaires, etc. (questionnaires used to make up for the lack of face-to-face interviews with children).

I nevertheless got two sets of focus groups with the GS (last grade of preschool). With five children each time, I could ask questions and make them draw on a simple three rounds map what were their favorite activities.

Four groups of focus groups with three to four children in each group, carried out at the end of the week of one of my main classroom observations (in CM1). I did with them the same activities. But it seems to me that it was less appropriate to older children: the results were less satisfactory.

Finally, I conducted two times interviews of two students together (from the second main classroom, CM2); and five class intervention at the occasion of the distribution of the questionnaires.

2-3 Interviews outside the school

They have been listed above. My main purpose was to have a spatially and historically larger understanding of my fieldwork and of the French presence in Tunisia.

3- Questionnaires

I distributed questionnaires to both students and teachers.

3-1 Questionnaires for students (See appendix 4)

I prepared my questions for them to cover a broad range of themes. Consumption patterns, desires for the future, holidays spent abroad, what they remember of their sustainable teachings, or, if sustainable development and the protection of the environment are topics that they feel concerned with, etc.

My questionnaire ended up with 37 questions. Because of practical reasons I did not have the possibility to test it, apart on my little brother who is one year older than the population it was made for. With him the questionnaire took 45 minutes to be filled. And the questionnaires being that long, it was difficult to find, even with few pupils, enough time during the school

day to test it on a larger sample. This had for consequences that after administering my questionnaire to the first class I made adjustments on it for the next-round, and had to administer a supplementary sheet to the first class that ultimately has been used as testing sample. 45 minutes to almost an hour was too long. And even though the questionnaires were filled with dedication and reflection, the kids were exhausted at the end.

The questions, a third of which were open-ended, were designed for the oldest students of the school. So I decided to administer it to the CM1, eight/nine years old, and CM2, nine/ten years old, the two oldest grades of the primary school. The CM1 are 175 students in total divided into seven classrooms, the CM2 are 155 students within six classrooms. For my sample to be representative of the grade, it had to be 15 to 20 per cent minimum (Clifford and Valentine, 2010). I calculated that it meant two classrooms. Indeed, for practical reasons again, taking 45 to an hour on the teaching time, I could not share equally the number of questionnaires within each classroom. In total I have 99 questionnaires 49 of which are from CM1. In order to exploit the results quantitatively, I have been systematically coding the questions, and made categories for the open-ended questions. I would have want to exploit the results and be able to make probabilities in crossing different variables, different trend in the answers given, to see if I could make any correlation between them; but there was no time for further statistical analysis.

3-2 Questionnaires for teachers (See [appendix 5](#))

This initiative started with the UNESCO club meeting I attended. I prepared three ranking questions. It was originally designed for the UNESCO club members. But because I did not want to disturb, I did not dare presenting the sheets to them until the end of the meeting, and while they were tired from the meeting, they took it home, and I did not see half of the questionnaires coming back to me. So in order to reach as many teachers as possible, I printed many more copies, presented myself on the back of the sheet, and distributed them on every staff mailboxes. I got enough back for the results to be representatives (I collected a total of 8, which is 15 percent) of the 41 and 9 Arabic teachers of the school (staff files). I did not have time to fully incorporated them into my findings though.

3-3 Questionnaires for Tunisian pupils (See appendix 6)

I received by post the 12/04 from a contact made in Tunis the 29 copies of a smaller questionnaire made for pupils of the Tunisian schools to have an element of comparison on the environmental ideas conveyed. As for the teacher questionnaires, I could not incorporate them.

4- Documents from the school

4-1- Students files

I had difficulties to access them. The headmaster finally let me opened the students' files only within the few last days of my fieldwork, and with the agreement that I would not take the name of the children and will show him all the information reported on my sheets. I wanted to make statistics out of four main data: the localization of the home residence of the pupils to then make a GIS map; the nationalities of the students, and the one of their parents as well as the socio-professional categories of the parents.

While I wanted to take note of every student, I had the time to gather only half of the total number of students, 504 out of 1096 (students files, survey 2011). I entered the data on a excel file to produce quantitative results. As for the questionnaires, I would have want to exploit the results and be able to make probabilities in crossing different variables, gender, parents nationalities, parents professions, etc.

4-2- Staff files

I gathered the working status and nationality as well as gender for every person working within the school. I wanted to see if there was any correlation between nationality and working status.

4-3- School archives

For this section as well as for the next subpart (5), I had in mind a specific timeframe for my study: to place the school in context I thought about four key dates, whereby I would compare

the data found. It consists in: the opening of the school in 1981-1982; and then every ten years: 1991-1992; 2001-2002 and finally the current year: 2010-2011.

However, for the data researched within the school, I added the year of the renovation (2008), one before and one after. I took note of the price difference and the number of students.

4-4- Documents from the teachers and pupils

I took notes on the “cahiers de vie” (notebook life) which are notebook taken home by the smallest grades to show to the parents what activities are made at school, and inversely, what are the activities carried out during the weekend. I took note of the professions the smaller kids want to have later (on the coat hangers).

I gathered teacher files used for building their lessons (books used, but also files distributed in class). I did so for the sustainable development subject but also for history, geography, and sciences. I gathered files on different class projects; or drawings from the art lesson.

I worked on the main history and geography books used for the three oldest grades of the school.

5- Reaching data from diverse institutions

To embed my study in a larger context I accessed more data, mainly secondary data, spatial and historical. For this I visited different kind of institutions mainly during the last two weeks of my fieldwork.

While I chose four key dates for the timeframe of my study, I realized soon that they were more of a conducting line than really something that would be completely realizable. Indeed, in most of the place visited, the documents for the dates sought were either missing, or only partly available (especially for the older data). I listed below the different institutions I visited.

a- The academic institutions

I visited the Research Institute on Contemporary Maghreb

The library of a social science university in Tunis

A research institute: International Center of Technologies and Environment of Tunis

Agency of Urbanism of the Large Tunis (Agence Urbaine du Grand Tunis)

I went to the Institute for National Statistics

b- The French institutions

French Embassy

Institute for French Cooperation

E-mail communication with the consul to have data about the numbers of French people in Tunisia (the data received were very different from the one within the official national statistics). E-mail communication to find the cultural agreement between France and Tunisia (1985).

c- The economic institutions

In order to find the number of French company in Tunisia, and its evolution, I visited the two following institutions:

French-Tunisian chamber of trade

The Foreign Investment Promotion Agency.

I went to the French Development Agency, to understand how the loan system was undertaken, as well as to have a glimpse of the sustainable development projects carried out in cooperation between France and Tunisia.

d- The religious institution

The Diocesan library

Institute of the Arabic Belle Lettres (IBLA, held by Fathers present in Tunisia since at least 1886, I founded a book mentioning their presence (Direction générale de l'Instruction publique et des Beaux-Arts, 19? : 99). IBLA publishes a journal since 1937. I knew that they could inform me about the older French presence in Tunisia, notably on schools.

Let us now turn toward the theoretical framework part.

C- THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

The theoretical framework I am using to try to answer my research questions is composed of three main theories: coloniality, political ecology, and Bourdieu's theories involving concepts of habitus, symbolic violence and capitals. On this part I am going to briefly describe the theories and define the concepts I will be using to analyze my research findings.

1- Coloniality/Neocolonialism

Within this first theoretical framework I am going to use five main concepts: coloniality of power/knowledge/nature; neocolonialism; eurocentrism; hegemony and imperialism.

1-1 Coloniality of Power, Knowledge and Nature

It is significant that the postcolonial debate is not very popular in France and is not something I heard about until my stay in Sweden and studies about the Algerian conflict including Fanon, Césaire, and others important French postcolonial thinkers. But there is a resurgent discourse about the “benefits” that colonialism brought to the colonized countries (Ba Konaré, 2008; Smith, 2010).

Throughout the thesis, I am going to use a theoretical framework which has been developed mainly by Latin American analysts whose concepts I will try to apply on the case of Tunisia and the school. These three interrelated concepts, coloniality of power/knowledge/nature, imply the dominance of some tradition over the others who are subalternized, together with hegemonic messages and institutions that naturalize the resulting hierarchies and Truths.

Coloniality, a term coined by Quijano (1994), consists in the global articulation of a Western system of power involving mechanisms of naturalization of the inferiority of some places, people, knowledges and subjectivities which are not Western and the legitimization of social inequalities. Coloniality works by the vehicle of contemporary civilizational mechanisms, as discourses and technologies of development and globalization. The concept comprises ontological dimensions (coloniality of being) and epistemological (coloniality of knowledge), revealing diverse modalities of Eurocentrism. Dussel (1999) defines Eurocentrism as the belief that Europe had an intrinsic superior rationality that allowed and justified its expansion and domination of other people.

Closely linked to the concept of coloniality of power is the “coloniality of knowledge (which) establishes the subalternity of knowledges which do not correspond to the logocentrism embodied in the instrumental reason proper to the expert knowledge” (Mignolo 2005; Restrepo and Escobar, 2009; my translation). Foucault (1980: 82), while not using the same

concept, also describe the same process: “subjugated knowledge . . . a whole set of knowledges that have been disqualified as inadequate to their task or insufficiently elaborated; naïve knowledges, located low down on the hierarchy, beneath the required level of cognition or scientificity” (Banarjee, 150-151: 2003).

This quote is summarizing the main process described by the set of concepts: “The coloniality of power constitutes a matrix that operates through control or hegemony over authority, labor, sexuality, and subjectivity -- that is, the practical domains of political administration, production and exploitation, personal life and reproduction, and world-view and interpretive perspective. The forms these have taken are the nation-state, capitalism, the nuclear family, and eurocentrism. Eurocentrism functions as the ideological valorization of EuroAmerican society as superior, progressive, and universal, though it really represents white supremacy, capitalist profitability, and EuroAmerican self-universalization” (Martinot).

1-2 Neocolonialism/ imperialism/ hegemony

These three concepts are closely related to the theory I have just exposed.

Altbach (1982) gives a definition of neocolonialism which “refers not only to the continuation of past colonial practices through new mechanisms but also explicit attempts by the colonizing nations to maintain their influence in their former territories” (Nguyen, 2009: 110). For Tickly (2004), it consists of a form of “new imperialism” which reveals the interest of Western nations and capitalism.

Banarjee in turn, gives a definition of imperialism which refers to the ideologies and practices of a dominant group from the center that rules the peripheries “by force, by political means, or by economic, social and cultural dependence” (Banarjee, 2003: 146).

Banarjee’s understanding seems imprinted with world-system theory and dependency theory; they are theories taking into consideration the world as the whole, and the relationships among countries, to explain the socio-political status of each (with notably a single division of labour). It is the capitalist world-economy. According to dependency theory, the development of the core nations is done at the expense of the peripheries; Wallerstein also introduced the semi-peripheries with which the political stability of the dominant system is assured (Frank, 1969; Wallerstein, 1979). “It underlines a spatial articulation of power rather than a linear succession of events” (Mignolo, 2008: 228), its beginning is situated around the fifteenth century and is link to the emergence of capitalism.

In this study I use the concept of hegemony as a sociocultural system in which consent is obtained by convincing participants that the status quo is natural and inevitable (as with the world-system and capitalism). Members of a hegemonic society internalize dominant values and practices, coming to accept them as normal and right; a hegemonic culture is a social order which is meant to be believed as something natural and universal; participants thus try to play by the rules and norms allotted.

Said (1983: 8), pioneer in postcolonial thought, wrote: “The end of empires and direct colonial rule did not mean the end of imperialism, and its traces can be observed in ‘the general cultural sphere . . . in specific political, ideological, economic and social practice’” (Banarjee, 2003: 146).

2- Political ecology/ Distribution conflicts

Bryant defines political ecology as seeking “to demonstrate a more complex understanding of how power relations mediate human-environmental interaction” (Bryant, 1998: 80). In the political ecology framework, politics and environment are tightly connected.

And as Harvey says: “all ecological projects (and arguments) are simultaneously political-economic projects (and arguments) and vice versa. Ecological arguments are never socially neutral any more than socio-political arguments are ecologically neutral. Looking more closely at the way ecology and politics interrelate then becomes imperative if we are to get a better handle on how to approach environmental/ecological questions” (Harvey, 1993: 25).

I am going to use the understanding of political ecology as the study of ecological distribution conflicts; concept originally from Joan Martinez-Allier (2002), which “means conflicts over access to, and control over, natural resources” (Escobar, 2006: 8).

This concept has been expanded further by Escobar who talks about cultural distribution conflicts which “looks at how cultural differences create or propagate inequalities in social power, usually through the imposition of a particular set of cultural norms as “natural” and universal. Cultural distribution displaces the study of cultural difference from strict concerns with diversity towards the distributive effects of cultural dominance and struggles around it”

(Escobar, 2006: 10). The study of political ecology is indeed a framework to understand the unequal power in our “social-natural lives” (Heyman 2005: 128; Paulson and Gezon, 2005).

I also draw on political ecology methodology whereby different scales are taken into account in order to analyze an issue; as such, it is both an intersection between different disciplines and an analysis of global connectedness (Paulson and Gezon, 2005). Space is an important concept and I will use it showing “the importance of studying the local not only through rural or marginal spaces but also through spaces in which powerful decisions are made” (Paulson and Gezon, 2005: 10).

So, I will try “to map the ways in which knowledge and power may inter-relate so as to mediate political-ecological outcomes” (Fairhead and Leach, 1995; Fortmann, 1995; Jewitt, 1995; Escobar, 1996; Peet and Watts, 1996; Bryant, 1998: 83). And I indeed think that indirectly and directly the school is playing a role in the view the pupils will have on lifestyles and ultimately this leads to a certain relation to, and understanding of nature. Politics, (the politics of the school here, and behind the French government) are indeed put first to understand how it has an important role to play for the ecology of Tunisia. “Struggle over material practices and struggles over meanings are closely related” (Bryant, 1998: 84).

3- Bourdieu’s theories of habitus, symbolic violence and capitals

The third theoretical tradition that I will use throughout the thesis is the work of Bourdieu which reinforces above understandings of coloniality as legitimization of social inequalities. Bourdieu develops an explanation of the mechanisms whereby the socio-political inequalities of class relationships take place and are reproduced. He starts with an important process of systematic categorizations through which dominant/dominated is creating primordial division. “All the agents in a given social formation share a set of basic perceptual schemes, which receive the beginnings of objectification in the pairs of antagonistic adjectives commonly used to classify and qualify persons or objects in the most varied areas of practice” (Bourdieu, 1982: 468).

I will be using the concept of habitus whereby Bourdieu makes the link between socialization and individual actions. Habitus are dispositions, perceptions socially acquired.

The actor is using those in order to move through social space, to produce practices. For Bourdieu, habitus is the integrated form of the social class to which someone belongs and functions as a socialized subjectivity. Bourdieu ([1980] 1991, 54) reported by Casey says that “The structures characterizing a determinate class of conditions of existence produce the structures of the habitus, which in their turn are the basis of the perception and appreciation of all subsequent experiences” (Casey, 2001: 686).

This thesis draws significantly on the concept of symbolic violence which describes the mechanism permitting a certain type of education to be privileged, which in turn legitimizes the knowledge and power of some over the others. This is a process whereby the dominant class is imposing its views. The symbolic violence is “all sort of powers which succeed in imposing meanings, significations, as legitimate in concealing the struggle power which is at the basis of their strength” (Bourdieu, 1964; Lallement, 2007: 74; my translation). The social order is in turn legitimized as natural.

This is done with the help of three capitals described by Bourdieu. Economic capital are both the earnings and the holdings (property, propriety) of a person. Social capital represents the network of relations. It constitutes a medium for insertion, information and opportunities of employment or of business. Cultural capital signifies all the cultural resources and can be of three sorts: embodied in persons: knowledge, language, savoir-faire; objectified: which are cultural objects someone posses (art); and institutionalized: diploma, certifying one’s intellectual achievement (e.g. university degrees).

The works that I have been the most inspired by to help me on my research are the *Reproduction* (Bourdieu, Passeron, 1970), and *Distinction* (1984).

With these concepts he explains, within his study of *Reproduction* (1970), that the dominant class is reproducing itself, partly because the one that succeed in school are the one who know the codes (have the cultural capital required, which is the one from the dominant class with their own referents). The school is producing the illusion of neutrality while what it really does is to reproduce the established order.

The main thesis of *Distinction* (1984) is that different tastes do not have the same social value and that demonstration of certain tastes contributes to place individuals in the social space. The practices of consumption are determined and governed by tastes which are socially

acquired by a class habitus. So there is a correlation between social positions and social practices. Consumption has social meanings. Social practices are organized into a hierarchy and they are mirroring the socio-economical hierarchies. Lifestyles have powerful effects of distinctions and legitimization. Dominated groups are trying to imitate dominant groups in order to give themselves more social value. But doing so, they recognize the domination and superior value and taste of the upper class. According to Bourdieu, there are no tastes which are more “crass” or vulgar in themselves. They are considered as such only as part of a semiotic system, in which certain arbitrary signs are defined as distinguished, as culturally noble. According to Bourdieu, these are mechanisms aiming at legitimizing lifestyles of the dominant class, directed towards their superiority and ultimately oppression.

With these three theories I am building my analytical framework arguing that there is a process whereby the cultural flow from the West to the former colonial countries, here Tunisia, is ensuring that the natural and economical resources flow back to them.

D- FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

Introduction:

Before looking at the explicit sustainable development teachings encountered within the school, I would like to start by a small introduction to describe the main actors of my fieldwork. I would also like to introduce here the surname of Maupassant with which I will refer to the school within the thesis.

a- Who are the students?

The children who attend this school have perceptions and understandings because of their milieu of origin, which are embodied in their (primary) habitus which Bourdieu defines as “characteristic of a group or a class” (1970: 58) from the prime education received at home. They are from a higher social class, offspring of the financial, economical and political elite of Tunisia (see **table 1** for the professions of parents; and the **table 2** with the price of the school for the three years chosen, that shows the rise). They must spend an important economic capital to be able to attend this school.

With the data collected (see [table 3](#) with some answers from the GS (Grande Section de maternelle, last year of pre-school) about their favorite activities), I glimpse the importance of consumer goods both in their leisure time and in the definition of the self (see [tables 4](#) with the possessing of the kids, and [table 5](#): the meanings their attribute to it).

b- Who are the teachers?

The teachers are mostly French and have to have French diploma and the French nationality or at least dual nationalities to be able to teach there (interview secretary, 10/02/2011). There are different statuses of teachers who are not paid by the same organism: the higher rank is “the expatriates”, they are only few of them: the directors and special teachers (English teacher for example). They are paid by the French government directly. Followed by “the residents” paid by the AEFÉ, and finally “the local contracts” paid by the school (interview secretary, 10/02/2011) (see [table 6](#) work status by nationalities).

I will take as definition of implicit and explicit education the ones that Bourdieu gives: “the mode of inculcation producing an habitus by the unconscious inculcation of principles that are manifested only at the practical state in the imposed practice (implicit pedagogy) (...) the mode of inculcation producing the habitus by the methodically organized principles expressed and even formalized (explicit pedagogy) (Bourdieu, 1971, 62; my translation).

I- EXPLICIT DISCOURSE

I-1- General overview of environmental education and sustainable development within the official syllabus and in the UNESCO Framework

1-1-1 The official French national syllabus

Sustainable development is a notion that is explicitly and officially part of the French national curriculum since 2004 (education.gouv.fr). Before that however, a first initiative to officially integrate into the curriculum some elements of instruction of environment and its protection was taken in 1977. The 2004 initiative has been followed by a more recent one in 2007; this one comes after the environmental chart adopted by the parliament and promulgated in 2005 by the president J. Chirac (eduscol.education.fr).

The definition of sustainable development which is followed is the one from the Brundtland report from 1987 stating: sustainable development is a development that “meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (education.gouv.fr). Moreover the official curriculum states the importance to concentrate on different axes of scientific analysis which are “environmental, economic, social and cultural” (ibid). Within this framework, the report states that the school and the teachers (who, it also states as priorities, are going to be increasingly trained in sustainability issues) have to introduce this notion which has to be inserted within all the subjects.

“The growing awareness of environmental, economical and sociocultural questions have, without panic but with lucidity, to help to better perceive the interdependency of human societies with the whole planetary system and the necessity for all to adopt behaviours suitable to the sustained management of this one as well as to the development of a worldwide solidarity” (education.gouv.fr; my translation).

1-1-2 The Unesco Framework

Within the Education for Sustainable Development Toolkit (UNESCO Education for Sustainable Development in Action, Learning & Training Tools N°1: 2006), diverse definitions, aims and advices for training, are formulated. This is an official document aiming at setting the context of environmental education on a worldwide scale, and I am referring to it here, to understand the framework which is commonly used within this discourse. In this subsection, I will only quote five parts of the paper which I think are necessary for the analysis which is going to come later:

“The authors consider sustainability to be a paradigm for thinking about a future in which environmental, societal, and economic considerations are balanced in the pursuit of development and improved quality of life (ibid, 2006: 10).

“In order to achieve sustainable development, environmental protection shall constitute an integral part of the development process, and cannot be considered in isolation from it” (ibid: 10).

“Nations should cooperate to promote an open international economic system that will lead to economic growth and sustainable development in all countries. Environmental policies should not be used as an unjustifiable means of restricting international trade” (ibid: 11).

“Sustainable development requires better scientific understanding of the problems. Nations should share knowledge and innovative technologies to achieve the goal of sustainability” (ibid: 11).

“We believe that it (sustainable development) means new technologies and new ways of doing business, which allow us to improve quality of life today in all economic, environmental, and social dimensions, without impairing the ability of future generations to enjoy quality of life and opportunity at least as good as ours” (ibid: 11).

With this official framework in mind, I will now retrace the main sustainability initiatives encountered within the school: the projects within the classrooms; the projects carried at the school-wide level that call for the participation of all; the projects carried by the school as a structure.

I-2- Sustainable development (direct and indirect teachings)

1-2-1 Within the classroom

Within the classrooms I encountered two main ways of introducing sustainable development and environmental protection.

a- The class projects

The first and most common one involves the activities carried in class that ought to give a sense of responsibility to the pupils. It is most often recycling garbage which is positioned within the classrooms. The teacher sometimes let the cleaners know that they should not throw this garbage, because the teacher gives the responsibility to the kids to do so. Most of the time though, the recycling one is not very much used, and students throw waste in the regular garbage. Nevertheless, sometimes pupils go home and practice recycling at home, after having introduced the idea to the parents (interviewee; questionnaire results). However there are only two ways for the garbage to be relayed from the homes to the recycling company of Tunis: one is to call small private business; the second is to gather them in a different bag and when one throws its garbage, this one is hung separately. Often, a man

passes by with his handcart collecting to bring them to the recycling place in exchange of money. (Indeed, the director told me that often the pupils are coming to school with plastic bottles because the infrastructure for recycling and collecting is lacking at a national level.) Moreover, the director also reported to me that they have had troubles with the service which is supposed to bring these plastic bottles to the recycling center; the company stopped coming. Formal arrangement or not, during the holiday I saw a woman who came with her handcart to pick them all.

Disposals are indeed something many teachers have been complaining to me about when I asked them what they thought should be developed in Tunisia. “There are plastic everywhere” (Gs teachers, 03/01/2011). Tunisia is in fact importing more and more finite goods (see [tables 7](#) on imports /exports). This table shows material flows in concrete way. The focus turned to recycling waste often takes our minds away from our roles in production and consumption of waste.

The most important factor for the growing quantity of trash is probably the growing number of supermarkets, notably the openings of giant supermarkets: Carrefour in 2001 and Géant in 2005 (two French brands). Whereas most food products sold in local markets are wrapped in paper or a plastic bag, or simply carried home in shopping baskets/bags, many of the products sold at these France-based supermarkets are packaged with styrofoam, cardboard, and plastic containers. This is something I have not being able to document quantitatively (difference in trash production before and since the supermarkets opening) but that I have been able to observe over the years.

So the activities carried in class seem to correspond to an accessible way to introduce the teachings to the pupils, as well as to the ideas the teachers are having about their direct environment and what it lacks according to them. As Blaikie and Brookfield (1987) reported by Bryant note: “generally, environmental problems are such only because they are seen as such by different individuals and groups” (Bryant, 1998: 87). And indeed, the French teachers have embodied cultural understandings and reference system and are conveying them to the pupils.

This in turn can be observed within the answers of the kids which convey the internalization of the idea of Tunisia as “plenty of wastes”. On the [table 8](#), I separated “wastes” from “pollution” to try to stay as close as possible to the answers given by the kids. The choice of

word is indeed revealing in my point of view. It also communicates the notions of the national official curriculum as we will see in the next part.

Table 8: Question to the children

What can harm the environment in your point of view? (open-ended question)	
Wastes	14
Plastic wastes	5
Manufactures	2
The industry	1
Pollution	31
CO2	6
Cars	6
Petrol	6
Nuclear (wastes, plant)	6
Wars, bombs	1
Chemical products and wastes	1
Deforestation	2
Wasting water	2
Natural reasons	1
Greenhouse effect	1
Gases, smokes, etc.	1
Fires	2
Others	6
No response	5

Source : Questionnaire 2011

Notions that are seen within the curriculum like “water” or “water cycle” are used to build class project. Within a classroom of CM2, I could notice a board which had been made as a class project for explaining the water cycle.

However some diverse notions have also been encountered: one of the teachers of the classrooms I have been observing told me she had a system for not having to make too much photocopies.

b- In the curriculum / in pedagogic materials

While the teachings are inserted within the official curriculum, as one of the teachers explained “there is always some delay between the moment it is written in the curriculum and the new books to be printed” (27/01/2011). This has for consequence to leave the teachers lacking official materials to work on. The same teacher sent me to EDUSCOL which is an official government site for education, where she can find some lessons on sustainable development on which she relies; the content of which is partly expressed within the previous part (I-1). Another teacher told me, “No, there is nothing in the sciences books, neither in geography, about sustainable development” (8/02).

As a consequence, there is an unequal manner to tackle the issue which often depends on their concern with it as well as the time left from a curriculum otherwise loaded. While some are not raising the issue, others are calling external interventions to help. These people are coming to talk about the Tunisian patrimony and environment; it is thus made “by the vehicle of associations, not institutional” (8/02).

The main notions to be tackled are water, electricity, energy efficiency, global warming. And indeed, within the official national curriculum (Bulletin Officiel cycle 3, 2008: 25) I could find only two clear mentions of sustainability: “a subject of study to choose between water in town (needs and treatments) or wastes (reduction and recycling) in relation with curriculum of science or technology”. The second mention, a bit further say that the notions of “resources, pollution, risk and prevention” (ibid) have to be expressed.

I found in different school materials, and teachers’ files the emphasis put on the population growth (implied in the “Third World”) as on that can pose problem. The title of a section on a personal book used by one of the teacher is “Producing, consuming less and better” (Masson, 2003: 28; my translation). And it starts with a paragraph on: “stabilizing the world population. For the same lifestyle, more we are numerous and more we consume! So we should stop the population growth. In the third-world, women have a lot of children. However, more the women are educated, the less they want children. We should thus favour the girls’ access to school and the access of women to a better social position and contraception” (ibid). But the fact that “20 percent of the earth’s population consumes 80 percent of the planet’s income”

(Mignolo, 2008: 234) is not recalled. That the lifestyle has to change is not suggested, it is the population that has to stop growing. Let us take a last example: on a book on water, there is a section (under the title “buying intelligently” (reference missing)) on the embodied water of products. While a piece of one kilogram of beef is equaled to 16 000 liters, it shows a picture saying that it is the equivalent of a garage filled with water. In this garage, it is a Porsche which is parked (the brand is written on the license plate).

As is observable within the [table 9](#), students do make the link with consumption of water, electricity and energy but not the energy (labor/time/resources) embodied in the goods. Indeed, there is almost no reference to consumption. The link is indeed not necessarily made between consumption and depletion of the resources (class observations, teacher’s materials). However, during a class intervention I made to present what I was doing, a teacher mentioned the link. For the majority of kids though, they do not seem to link consumer goods and natural resources, and it does not seem that economic growth and development notions are going against environmental interests and protection in their perspectives. For this statement, I rely on answers for the questionnaires (see [table 10](#)) where 54% of the pupils chose the answer “small” to the question of consequences of development on the environment. Moreover, the [table 11](#) informs on the improvements children would like to see coming to Tunisia with development (MacDonald, shops and Disneyland are within the first representative numbers).

1-2-2- Projects carried out by the school

They are two different categories of projects; what the school is investing in order to green their energy uses, and the projects to give a sense of responsibility to the kids.

Solar panel have been installed since 2008 (date of renovation of the school); carpool is a project organized at the school-wide level; and there are plastic containers (as well as paper recycling garbage). The director told me that more projects are underway: to develop some green spaces; to build a compost container to collect the wastes from the cafeteria; and e was also thinking about a plan for collecting greywater. However the CM2 (which I recall are within the other part of the school next to the secondary school, hence share their cafeteria) are having an individual plastic bottle of water for each. “For the com’, it sounds nice to develop green spaces and be concerned by the environment” (director, 04/01).



Source: Fieldwork 2011

Pupils are conscious to be on a different school. They are conscious that it has an economic price to attend this school. The children can see and understand the environmental projects (both the one from school (solar panel) and the one in classrooms (recycling paper, plastic, bottle cap, etc.). In my point of view, in this school which is very clean (cleaners being watching for any waste on the floor in the middle of the kids playing in the playground at break times, which is also telling something about the power relations), there is two consequences: the distancing of the self from the outside (of the school) person (for this point see [table 18](#) about the grading of the kids on their school management of the environment as compared to local Tunisians schools); and the very idea that the protection of the environment does not go necessarily at the opposite of wealth and consumption. This statement has to be nuanced, and for this I would send the reader to the [table 17](#), where the comments of some kids, even though rarely encountered, show some awareness about the issue of consumption and inequality of access.

I-3- Sustainable development, sustaining what? Analysis of the findings

As we have seen in the first part, the school has a wide range of activities and projects evolving around sustainable development notions. Across projects carried in class, at the level of the whole school, investments in infrastructures of the school or within the teachings, a

common trend can be noticed. Ideas manifest in these initiatives draw on ecological modernization theory. This theory which appeared in the beginning of the 1980s, among other things bears “the fundamental assumption that economic growth and the resolution of the ecological problems can, in principle, be reconciled” (Hajer, 1994: 26). Indeed, as Redclift (1987) puts it: “by adopting the concept of sustainable development, two old enemies, growth and the environment are reconciled” (Escobar, 1995: 195). It recognizes the scarcity of natural resources, but what is advocated is a more efficient way to use resources. The Brundtland report (1987: 9, 15) quoted by Escobar indeed says of it that is it: “a process of change in which the exploitation of resources, direction of investments, orientation of technological development, and institutional change are made consistent with future as well as present needs (---) Produce more with less” (Escobar, 1995:196).

Responses to the challenge are concentrated on finding new technologies, as well as the internalization of externalities, and giving a value (in monetary terms) to the environmental damages in order to protect it. “Hence economists left and right have argued vociferously that continual improvements in technology will assure long-run resource abundance” (Norgaard, 1994: 46). This message is been passed to pupils, through a belief that better technology and management of the resources can save the planet. Nature is indeed conceptualized as environment in the sustainable development discourse; notion essential for the capitalization of nature. This has for effect to instrumentalize nature and exploit it for our needs, as Escobar puts it: “as a resource external to humans and which humans can appropriate in any way they see fit” (Escobar, 2006; 9). Nature is indeed viewed as resources, as a stock of external capital to be exploited, and this has been done through the dichotomization of nature-culture (process that we will briefly examine within the second part). The idea is that the natural world is distanced as exterior to humans for it to be mastered. And then, “nature will be known and remade through technique and will finally become artificial, just as culture becomes natural” (Rabinow, 1992: 241; Escobar, 1995: 209)?

One example that illustrates this view of nature within the school I think is on the quote written to accompany the largest wall frieze of the school (32 meters square): “The land of Tunisia is offering us the stone. We are making a present out of it which is passed through generations” (Riadh Bouassida, my translation). It is something which is “given” to us, we are making a present out of it, rendering ourselves master of it; the land is thus malleable to our wishes as objects that we appropriate and then, we are passing it through generations (which

is a reference to one of the main component of the mainstream sustainable development definition in my point of view). Moreover on the brass next to the frieze, brand names (as Toyota to give only one) are written (as they are the one who financed it). Again here, economic growth (represented here with the name of an important company) is not seen at odd with sustainability.

Even though the nature–culture dichotomy which underlie the Enlightenment tradition was recognized “for being responsible for the environmental degradation of the planet in the name of ‘development’ (Dunlap and Catton 1979; Escobar, 1995), contemporary discourses of sustainable development are plagued by the same modernistic assumptions of rationality in their reliance on scientific inquiry and the separation of people from the biophysical environment (Merchant 1980; Macnaghten and Urry 1998)” (Banarjee, 2003: 153).

After having exposed some of the controversies around the mainstream sustainable development definition (and inherent paradoxes), I will try to articulate my own understanding of sustainability with the help of Banarjee which provides his conception of sustainability and at the same time articulates a critique of the concept of sustainable development:

“To sustain means to support from below, to supply with nourishment; it is about care and concern, a concept that is far removed from development, which is an act of control, often a program of violence, organized and managed by nation states, international institutions, and business corporations operating under the tenets of modern Western science” (Banarjee, 2003: 158).

I would add to his quote for the formulation of my understanding of sustainability that in my point of view to sustain also induces a notion of reproduction and regeneration; sustaining a community, sustaining the earth (Gudeman and Riviera, 1990). Finally to complete my understanding, I use the critique that Escobar articulates with the second contradiction of capitalism (originally from James O’Connor (1988)), which is that capitalism destroys the conditions of production on which it relies (nature and land). Sustainable development seems indeed to be a discourse being advanced with the optic to attempt to remedy to this process by technological adjustments. But this obliterates the structural inequalities in resource access and use of the different countries of the world. And indeed, Hornborg reveals with his concept of machine fetishism, “the inclination to view the technological capacity of a given population

as independent of that population's position in a global system of resource flows" (Hornborg, 2009: 255). He explains that "local increase in technological capacity is a matter of shifting resources from one social category to another within global society" (Hornborg, 2009: 240).

Indeed, and despite the rhetoric of equity found within the sustainable development discourse, "conflicting objectives over resource use further exacerbate the equity problem because the industrialized countries sustain inequalities by imposing a monopoly knowledge that constitutes the parameters of global environmental problems" (Banarjee, 2003: 160).

It seems indeed, as Harvey puts it, to be a debate about the "preservation of a particular social order rather than a debate about the preservation of nature per se" (Harvey 1996: 148).

Sustainable development can thus be placed within a larger narrative of development. The reliance on technology, the scientific rationality and the dichotomization between nature and culture, seem indeed to show that "sustainable development (---) incorporate environmental considerations into the development process without unduly disrupting that process" (Bryant, 1998: 80).

"The scientific rationality of ecological modernization constructs a global discourse of environmental problems to which the only solution is for society to 'modernize itself out of the environmental crisis' by increased investments in new 'environmentally friendly' technologies (---) In many ways the critique of sustainable development and its ancillary corporate environmental management practices is a critique of modernity, with its metanarratives of progress and development" (Banarjee, 2003 :170). The school is modern, clean (let's remind the anecdote of the cleaning ladies collecting any paper falling on the floor almost instantly) and is being equipped with solar panel, and other technological assets as described earlier. It seems to represent these notions and to convey them.



Source: Fieldwork 2011. Part of the playground

By following a technical discourse with sustainable development and in concentrating mainly on individual gesture the school is also indirectly concealing the politics of consumption, politics of production and supply (Heyman, 2005: 126; Paulson and Gezon, 2005). In doing so it indirectly passes the message that minor changes are going to resolve environmental problems (Escobar, 1995). And more importantly, it hides (concept of commodity fetishism) the embodied land/labor of the consumer goods, and conceals the importance of consumption in the process of environmental exhaustion. Commodity fetishism is the belief that there is an inherent value in the commodity, which has for consequence to hide the labour embodied and involved in the production of the commodity. While it is acknowledge that “it becomes clear that while shifting technologies and stabilizing population will be essential in creating sustainable societies, neither will succeed without considerable changes in consumption patterns, including reducing and even eliminating the use of certain goods, such as cars and airplanes” (Assadourian, 2010: 7).

We have been showing that the ideas and notions about sustainability identified in the school and within the materials of the teachers are identical from the mainstream sustainable development discourse at the center of dominant western and popular media as wells as

messages about sustainability. As such they are vehicles for communicating larger dominant messages.

With this in mind, in the second and third part I will provide an inquiry of the further implications that the school has for the sustainability of Tunisia in relation to development. What are the main components of the development discourse and how are they conveyed through the teachings?

II- IMPLICIT MEANINGS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR THE SUSTAINABILITY OF TUNISIA

“Political ecological conflicts are thus as much struggles over meaning as they are battles over material practices” (Bryant, 1998: 87).

“We should have only one language” (the school supervisor, 03/01/2011; my translation).

The school as an entity, the knowledge conveyed, and the diverse interactions taking place within it, are also part of a larger process of teaching about sustainability.

I would like to start this part with a quote from the AEFÉ website at the beginning of the page on the pedagogical section: “The objective of the common bases (...) defines the knowledge and skills that the human and the citizen has to master in the XXI century, for its own personal fulfillment (development) and its professional performance” (aefe.fr; my translation). (“C’est l’objectif fondamental du socle commun, tel que l’AEFE le met en œuvre de l’école au collège. Il définit les connaissances et les compétences que doit maîtriser l’homme (sic) et le citoyen du XXIème siècle, pour son épanouissement personnel et sa performance professionnelle”).

I see here three different main concepts which could be applied in an analysis: universality of the French knowledge; superiority; and as a consequence dichotomy: “the human and the citizen of the XXI century”, understood as development in time (instead of space).

When asked about the main goal of the school during an interview, the director of the school said: “during the colonization, the school was mainly for the children of the French people;

then it became for the “coopérants”. Now it is to help the local elite to develop” (the school director, 4/01/2011).

Let us try to analyze this statement as well as the Western epistemology of development. Indeed, would it be within the school books, the observations in class, or the results from the questionnaires I have found trends and results that correspond to the different notions that compose the development discourse.

In fact, as Escobar says, “Becoming a new client of the development apparatus, brings with it more than is bargained for: it affirms and contributes to the spread of the dominant worldview” (Escobar, 1995: 196).

And throughout the part I will describe how the process of legitimization of the dominant model of development is disseminated and expressed within the teachings. The teachings, the class/school projects, or the school books, indeed emphasize, bias or silence some elements of time/space inequalities. Let us quote Sleeter who says that “the nature of school knowledge determines that school curriculum is selective, through which dominant group’s ideology, culture, and worldviews are legitimated while those of minority groups are subjugated; and that school curriculum is political, which serves the role of social control – that is, the maintenance of the status quo and of existing power structures” (Wang and Phillion, 2010: 568).

First, and only to mention it, teaching in French is already bringing elements of coloniality of knowledge into play. White (1996) quotes a government report from French Africa in 1930 where it was noted that “the native’s mind [can] become disciplined by the mastering of spoken French” (O. Quist, 2001: 302). Indeed, Fanon also express the same idea: “a man that possesses the language possesses by the same token the world expressed and implicated by this language” (Fanon, 1952: 14; my translation). Transmission of values, attitudes, sensibilities and beliefs are indeed conveyed through education (O. Quist, 2001).

II-1-The idea of progress

The belief in progress, indeed a “theory of inevitable progress” as Wallerstein (1990: 37) puts it, assumes a linear conception of time, whereby an (hegemonic and Eurocentric) model, is to

be achieved through a number of universal stages. Development in turn is the process of making progress happen (Norgaard, 1994).

This conception consists in the faith in science, technology, the rational social organization “and thereby to more material well-being through more effective control of nature” (Norgaard, 1994: 48). A better way of living and better lifestyle advocated by the notion of progress is visible within the geography book of CM1 and CM2: “The modern planning: Technical progress allows to overcome the disadvantages linked to the climate. The heating and air-conditioner maintain during the whole year pleasant temperatures within the buildings and the means of transportations (trains, cars...). During the winter, vehicles clear off the snow and grit the streets and the roads” (Le Callennec, 2004: 33; my translation). This paragraph comes next to another one where it is says: “their life is entirely conditioned by the arctic cold” (Ibid, 32; my translation). I think that a quote from Quijano would be relevant to place here to analyze the previous references: “The Europeans generated a new temporal perspective of history and relocated colonized populations, along with their perspective histories and culture, in the past of a historical trajectory whose culmination was Europe” (Quijano, 2008: 190).

As evidence of such notions present within the teachings let us review some notes of interaction taken from my observations in class, where this technical/progress/time issue were revealed:

Geography lesson: CM1

Teacher: “There are people in Tunisia who still don’t have water”

Pupil: “there are still poor people”

04/01/2011

Mathematical lesson on weight: CM1

Teacher: “We have electronic scales in France, but here, you don’t have them yet.

Who have a bathroom scale?”

A pupil describes hers.

Teacher recognizing it, says: “In the old days at the doctor’s place that’s what was there.

Here, they are still so much of them”

05/01/2011

Class intervention introducing to the kids what I am doing: CM1

On the topic of what to do to ameliorate the condition of environment, the teacher suggested recycling and melt down the sole of old shoes to make roads.

“To do roads, for the south, there are not that many roads in Tunisia”

07/01/2011

Geography lesson on commercial landscape: CE2

The instruction was to recognize the commercial landscapes and to be able to differentiate them among: large supermarkets, department stores, malls, grocery, markets; and to make the difference among them with the traditional shops.

The teacher: “Do you find everything in the corner shop? Like at Carrefour for example?”

10/01/2011

Source: Class observation, 2011

Nevertheless, within the geography schedule made by another teacher, one of the headings was “what are the problems caused by the motorway development?” (Martine (we are going to meet her again later), geography schedule files). As said within the first part, the teachings depend indeed on the habitus of a teacher, as well as his concerns in a matter.

We can recall here, what Poncet said, reported at the beginning of the paper, where he notes that once French came to Tunisia, it became (named as) underdeveloped.

This evolutionist perspective has been coupled and amalgamated with another one, as Mignolo (2008) explains, which is dualism.

II-2- Dualism

Dualism is the mean by which dichotomy, often with classificatory categories, is created. This process has become famous, even though rooted in the history of Christianity, with the Cartesian dualism (Quijano, 2008). Descartes made a radical separation between reason/subject and body. This division between the mind, capable of rational knowledge, and the body fixed the latter and the environment outside the human being. To illustrate how this thinking is more or less representative of the understandings of the kids, one of the questions within the questionnaire was to write a definition of environment. Three types of answers were the most frequent: it is nature; it is the nature surrounding me; it is everything

surrounding me (nature and buildings, nature and human creation). For the two last, I interpreted the answers as the students considering themselves embedded within it. The **table 19** shows the number of students for each category of answers.

In the eighteenth century, this dualism has been coupled and amalgamated with evolutionism and the idea of progress (Quijano, 2008) “and of the state of nature in the human trajectory (one of) the foundational myths of the eurocentric version of modernity. (---) Thus all non-Europeans could be considered as pre-Europeans and at the same time displaced on a certain historical chain from the primitive to the civilized, from the rational to the irrational, from the traditional to the modern, from the magic-mythic to the scientific. In other words, from the non-European/pre-European to something that in time will be Europeanized or modernized” (Quijano, 2008: 204).

This dichotomy in turn, legitimized the domination and exploitation until the World War II of the ones which were closer to nature, not rational subjects (as well as nature, considered as an exploitable resources as seen in the first part). Dussel defines the Eurocentric paradigm, according to which: “Europe had exceptional internal characteristics that allowed it to supersede, through its rationality, all other cultures” (Dussel, 1999: 3; Jameson and Miyoshi, 2003). One example of this process that I found is within the textbook of history (CM1/CM2), and it recalls the idea expressed at the beginning of the theoretical part about the resurgent discourse on the benefits of colonialism (Ba Konaré, 2010). At the section of colonization, a question of reflection is asked to the children. They have to comment on three pictures where, on one of them, we can see a table and what seems to be a doctor watching into the ears of a small boy (who is a bit leaning on his other side, seemingly reticent). One local who seems to be the doctor’s assistant is the only local who is not naked. The second picture is showing kids of all ages sat in front of blackboard where a local boy (the only one wearing a European outfit) is pointing at the board with his stick. The European is looking at him, smiling. The question asked to the students in the history book is: “found one economical and one humanitarian motivation that can explain why Europeans created clinics and schools in the colonies” (Le Callennec, 2004: 183; my translation). Said has a passage that I think could be placed here: “the rhetoric of power all too easily produces an illusion of benevolence when deployed in an imperial setting” (1993: 8).

The reason behind the will to legitimize a social order as natural is that, segregation can be justified by the natural factor, and it enables not to take socio-economic responsibilities. Indeed Wallerstein explains that the dichotomy between the ideal and mind is an ideological weapon of control (Wallerstein, 1990).

Both the two previous notions exposed, progress and dualism, are the products of the Enlightenment, what Mignolo calls the second stage of modernity (with the German Romantic philosophy, and the British Industrial Revolution) which were “part of the German restitution of the Greek legacy as the foundation of Western civilization” (Mignolo, 2008: 229). We can notice this cutting of time within the structure of the history book used for CM1 and CM2 at school, separated in six part: “The Prehistory; the Antiquity (which starts with the invention of the writings); the Middle-Age; Modern times and Napoleonic Empire; The XIXe century (which starts with the economic progress and industrial revolution); and the XXe century and the present world” (Le Callennec, 2006: 4-5).

II- 3- Development

Escobar refers to development as “ a powerful encompassing discourse which has ruled most social designs and actions of those [underdeveloped] countries since the early post-World War II period ... [that has] shaped in significant ways the modes of existence of Third World societies, mediating in a profound sense the knowledge they seek about themselves and their peoples, mapping their social landscape, sculpting their economies, transforming their cultures” (Escobar, 1992: 411-412; Masemann, 2007: 108).

Both components just described, progress and dualism, are part of the current notion of development which became a main Western epistemology after the World War II. One feature of this ideology is “the representation of inequalities in societal space as developmental stages in historical time” (Hornborg, 2009: 237). Thus “belief in progress provided the justification for Westerners to expand the geographical domain of modernity (to help) people of other cultures to progress beyond their backwardness” (Norgaard, 1994: 45). An interesting example reflecting this idea is a teacher’s science file, about the circuit and water treatment. One of the questions is “what is the risk if we drink unsafe water?”(science’s file, class observation, 9/02/2011). The illustration next to it is a Black woman with a

headscarf and a bowl on her hand holding her dress and leaning to collect water. This kind of associations between notions of progress and poverty are frequent. With this justification, “the poor countries became the target of an endless number of programs and interventions that seemed to be inescapable and that ensured their control” (Escobar, 1988: 431). The Western rationality (and faith in science and technology) through development thus came to replace European colonization (Norgaard, 1994; Banarjee, 2003). Both the director of the school with his answer about the goal of the school, and the adviser at the French Development Agency (AFD) who received me for an interview, acknowledged the continuity. The person at the AFD answered to my question “is your agency present all over the world?” by: “we are mostly at the place of former French colonies” (Zacharie interviewee, 24/02/2011). To make a comment on the emphasis placed on the idea of progress let us cite the French national official curriculum on the subject of science and technology: “the knowledge and skills have to be acquired through a inquiry approach that develop (---) the interest for technical progress and the techniques” (Bulletin Officiel, 2008: 24; my translation).

The process of development sets the global power structure where the advanced capitalist core nations conceal the mechanisms whereby their economic and technological expansion occurs at the expense of the peripheral nations (Hornborg, 2009). Indeed, “the wastefulness and unsustainability of industrial resource management (that necessarily come with development and economic growth) is made possible by displacing environmental impacts to other areas, populations, or social categories” (Hornborg, 2009: 246). This is what Hornborg calls the zero-sum game. (I wrote together development and economic growth since Norgaard reports “the inclination in both core and periphery to define ‘progress’ in terms of economic growth and technological advances” (Norgaard, 1994: 246).)

Dualism is still present in the discourse of development, with separation like traditional-modern, capital-pre-capital, etc., as we had a glimpse already within the geography book where the traditional lifestyles have to adapt to their environment, whereas the modern way is able to overcome the disadvantages. Moreover, these dichotomies are associated “with the racial and spatial classification of the world’s population” (Quijano, 1997; Mignolo, 2008: 235). And interestingly I found this idea within the answers of the kids through the questionnaires (see [table 20](#)). In their perceptions, they are connecting Tunisia with ideas of nature, and France seems to be associated with more technical and urban representations.

II-4- Development as a model of expansion of capitalism

Moreover, the expansion of knowledge and the Western epistemology is linked to the expansion of capitalism, as Mignolo says: “the expansion of western capitalism implied the expansion of Western epistemology in all its ramifications, from the instrumental reason that went along with capitalism and the industrial revolution” (Mignolo, 2008: 227). The expansion of capitalism is also linked to the expansion of a global consumer model: “the consumption of goods and services becomes the structural basis of Western societies” (Appadurai, 1990; Banarjee, 2001: 697).

“Eventually, education was seen as the major means of forcing this evolutionary process to speed up (Masemann, 2007:106, Arnove and Torres, 2007). I will take only two quotes from my fieldwork to express the ideas of consumption and capitalism conveyed by some teachers within the school. On the idea to organize a cake sale to finance the organization of a performance, the teacher said “I think it would be very good if you had something to consume instead of bringing from home (---) I think that you are grown up enough to do as everybody” (class observation, 05/01/2011). And while knowing the context I can say that the comment was probably motivated by the fact that the pupils are bringing large sandwiches for snacks at break times; nevertheless, the way it is formulated is what is noticeable here. The second quote would be the conclusion that a teacher drawn from a small altercation between kids concerning their playing cards: “you should never lend, certain people think it means giving, they never give back” (class observation, 06/01/2011). Here, we can discern the notion of private property and some informal teaching around it.

II-5- Coloniality of knowledge

In this section I am going to report how the Eurocentric perspective is palpable within the school and the discourse legitimizing its presence in Tunisia. Furthermore, education is used as a favored mean to convey these ideas as Altbach (1971: 237) gives a definition of ““neocolonialism” to designate the continued post-colonial impact of advanced industrial countries on the educational systems and policies as well as the intellectual life of

developing areas (---) Neocolonialism is partly a planned policy of advanced nations to maintain their influence in developing countries, but it is also simply a continuation of past practices”. And within the textbooks and different school’s materials I found instances of it, Eurocentric knowledge, values, lifestyles and lifeways conveyed as the Truth.

The assistant cultural adviser, at the Institute for French Cooperation, I had an interview with, answered to my question to describe the population within the schools (24/02/2011). In addition to articulating the categories with which their populations are commonly referred to (see next session), when he described the Tunisians pupils attending the schools, he said: “the parents were often themselves in the mission (it used to be called the French cultural mission until very recently), and consider that the French educational system has an intrinsic value as compared to the local system” (interviewee, 24/02/2011; my translation). The educational system is intrinsically valuable, this answer is part of a larger universalizing modern discourse of the inherent and natural value of the dominant knowledge. “If the history of development is to be seen as a history of imperialism and colonialism, it is the power–knowledge nexus that can illustrate how development came to be seen as a version of reality and entrenched as the only normative reality” (Spivak, 1988; Banarjee, 2003:151). I also had an interview with a doctor and Tunisian intellectual who reported me that in his point of view, François Mitterrand (former French president) was thinking about these schools as a place to form people “to think French” (interviewee, 29/01/2011).

Quijano (1997: 117), reported by Mignolo, with his concept of coloniality of power explains “that all dominated populations and all the newly created identities were subjugated to the hegemony of eurocentrism understood as a way of conceiving of an organizing knowledge” (Mignolo, 2008: 250). In turn this create a frame of mind, and it provides “the opportunity for mental colonialism to continue and neocolonialism to triumph” (Nguyen, 2009: 112). But let us give concrete examples of Western, local perspectives, communicated as the norm and the reference. In the section on lifeways according to different level of wealth in the geography book, two large pictures are positioned one next to the other one: one is a family in a poor country, namely Ethiopia; the other a family in a rich country in Germany. The families are displaying all their goods outside. The vocabulary to describe their belongings is enriching: arrows are pointing at elements. And while for the German family “the furniture are varied”; they have “machines to cook, warm, wash: the everyday life is facilitated by constant innovations”, etc. (Le Callennec, 2004: 43; my translation); for the Ethiopian family, out of

seven descriptions, six are starting by “pas de”: “no cars, no bikes, no tractors, no kitchen, no oven, no fridge, no running water” (and it continues within the descriptions); the last is starting by “very few” (ibid, 42): “very few furniture: before having collected this old sofa, the family was sitting on the floor”. Remembering what Wolf (1982) tells us about success depending on the possession of valuable goods, we could ask why the author did not describe the possessions of these persons instead of listing what they do not have.

To reference to the rural exodus, the author of the history textbook is explaining how population had grown significantly; the lack of land in return as well as the attraction of the city have led to the departure of the peasants (Le Callennec, 2006: 158). The enclosure of the commons is silenced. It seems that students are blinded to processes of unequal power access to resources brought by Western modernity. “In creating school textbooks, the knowledge of the dominant group is selected and emphasized and that of minority groups is excluded and ignored (Apple 2004; Qian 2007). Therefore, school textbooks are not only the carrier of ideologies, values, cultures, and morality but also the arena in which dominant groups maintain their power over knowledge selection and construction and reproduce the power structure (Apple 1993; Apple and Christian-Smith 1991; Spring 2002, 2007)” (Wang and Phillion, 2010: 568).

The last example for this section that I am going to communicate is about the notion of inequality justified by hard work. As Wallerstein points at “the universal work ethic justifies all existing inequalities, since the explanation of their origin is in the historically unequal adoption by different groups of this motivation. States that are better off than other states, groups that are better off than other groups, have achieved this advantage by an earlier, stronger, and more enduring commitment to the universal work ethic” (Wallerstein, 1990: 46). And indeed let me quote the history book again when the small and middle bourgeoisie is described by the author: “Composed of doctors, magistrates, engineers, teachers, office workers, these middle classes differed from the worker world and the peasants by the level of lives but also their *mentality*. As the upper bourgeoisie, they had the sense of work, savings, commitment to the propriety and order” (Le Callennec, 2006: 165; my translation, emphasis added).

II-6- Relative place and power of two worldviews within the school

There is a sort of categorization which is used by most of the people I talked to (even in the official school statistics, as well as by the assistant cultural adviser), to define the population of the school (be it pupils, staff, parents): “Franco-Français”, “Franco-Tu” and “Tuniso-Tunisiens”. And while I was trying to define what these different nominations designate I realized how implicitly rich in meaning they are. The meanings are understood by everyone but not talked about, as a sort of social code. In my interpretation, and even though it corresponds to the nationalities people have, it conveys messages of racial denominations and categorizations. To emphasize another point, while I went through the old files from another school: lycée mixte de Mutuelville, I could find the former categorization: “Christians, Muslims, Jewish, etc” (school’ files, 1973). One of my interviewee told me that in earlier years we could find the use of the appellations “indigenous” and “autochtones”, etc.

While I already described the different status found within the school (expatriates, residents and local contracts) I did not emphasize on the fact that they are paid differently, and recognized differently. This is creating tensions and power relations among the teachers and staffs. The signs of different social status are most of the cases evident between a teacher and a cleaning lady, while the cleaning lady will say hello when she passes someone, the teachers will not necessarily do so for example. These differences are also visible among teachers with different work status. “The functioning is not healthy, they are important problems, it is one of the results of the colonial period” (interviewee, 11/01/2011). The hierarchy in work status is often coupled with the racial categorizations just described (see [table 6](#)). In fact there is an internal reproduction of the racial hierarchy, “for underneath that codification of relations between Europeans and non-Europeans, race is, without doubt, the basic category” (Quijano, 2008: 190; Morana et al., 2008). “Racism was the ideological justification for the hierarchization of the work-force and its highly unequal distributions of reward” (Wallerstein, 1983:78). Indeed, these are cases where some “local contract” teachers earn less and/or get less benefits, health, retirement, for doing the exact same job with the same experience and qualification as “foreign hire” teachers.

The hierarchy following the racial categorization was also obvious at the French embassy, but also at the IFC and practically all the French institute I went to, between workers but also between simple citizens.

This in turn creates constant tensions, and the most evident is between Arabic teachers and the French ones. One tension I observed at a UNESCO club meeting (at school) I participated in, is similar to one that an interviewee reported me during an interview after the meeting. While the Arabic teacher present made an intervention she was responded to in a virulent manner by one of the teacher, while what was said in the first place seemed pretty inoffensive.

For different reasons, I have heard a teacher to say “we are in a French school”. But I also heard someone answering “yes, but in Tunisia!” For example while I was in the professor room, I heard about a problem concerning the holidays’ length. A teacher representative said after a meeting “We still have only ten days for the February holidays, instead of two full weeks. While there are fifteen days in October instead of ten, it is too much”. Another teacher answered her that it was because of the Aid (a Tunisian religious celebration). The first one seemed to already know about the reason, but still continued: “It is not justified” (teacher’s room; 7/02). An interviewee also told me about another anecdote: one year around Christmas time, which was also the Aid time, one classroom had made little sheep and displayed them on the windows (Aid celebration is the one where sheep are killed and eaten.) At a school meeting, a teacher complained saying that we were on a French school, secular one. The interviewee, “jumping on the occasion” (as she told me) of secularism, asked the director to switch on the lights of the classrooms and to walk around. The meetings stopped there after they could notice many Christmas trees and also a lot of crèches.

“The access to, destruction or disempowering of, cultural resources for the definition of social norms and goals become a key question in the understanding of the cultural” (Escobar, 2006: 10). We are here with competing notions of time-space that have cosmological, political and environmental implications. With the last section of this part we will try to analyze these issues of difference in worldviews in relation to other practices and claim of multiculturalism within the school. “Modernity, (---) cannot be understood without reference to the coloniality of power that accompanied it and that entailed the marginalization of the cultures and knowledge of subaltern groups” (Escobar, 2008: 162).

But before that, I would like to look at the tensions between teachers and parents. In fact, conversely, and paradoxically to the implication for local culture of the school as an embodiment of the development model, more than one French teacher complained to me

about the lifestyle/ consumerism aspirations of the parents as well as their lack of knowledge on their local culture: “there are too turn towards Europe, I mean the consumerist side of Europe (---) they don’t know their own culture” (interviewee, 01/02/2011); “the *refinement* of their oriental side is lost, even with rich people (---) they have for their only god the European culture (---) they bring their children to Disneyland (---) cultural level is limited” (interviewee, 6/01/2011). However, the school is not teaching the local culture to them, and they are the second or third generation to be in this school and a part from what they learn through the “prime education” (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1970), it seems evident that the cultural alienation (O. Quist, 2001) role of the school is starting to have some consequences. We will come back on that point on the part III where we will see that the content of local culture conveyed to the kids seems to depend on the involvement of the Arabic teachers.

II-7- Multiculturalism?

I have been encountering the notion of multiculturalism, throughout the discourse expressed within the school (on the website of the school, and else). The example traducing this discourse is a celebration hold on the 16th of March, which is the national day for Tunisian traditional clothes. Kids come dressed that day, as well as the teachers and staffs. Moreover some traditional activities are held during the whole day: a woman cooks bread; the artisans stitch the leather, embroider the fabric; an orchestra with flags is performing; exhibitions are held within a classroom “with everything from Tunisia” (website of the school, intentionally not mentioned), where traditional clothes are hung with the explanation that they are made by hand; and the work of the kids representing the traditional “Hand of Fatima” (non-Islamic symbol) are exposed, etc. At the end of the day, they know why and in what circumstances these clothes are worn.

The fact to make it a particular event within the school is in my point of view, significant. Banarjee provides an insightful analysis of multiculturalism where he explains how it “perpetuates hegemonic modes of relations in a global context. It does not acknowledge, let alone challenge, existing inequalities of opportunity and access” (Banarjee, 2001: 703). He explains how this notion is a way to incorporate the difference into the hegemonic discourse where there is an already established hierarchy of cultures. Its incorporation, far from addressing the power relations between cultural communities, is creating the “fossilization of

difference” (Banarjee, 2003: 706) and asserts the power of the dominant to structure and naturalizes the epistemological and ontological difference of the other (Said, 1979).

“This cultural hegemony (...) sustains asymmetrical power/knowledge relations by providing the West with a “flexible positional superiority, which puts the Westerner in a whole series of relationships with the Orient without ever losing him the relative upper hand” (Said, 1979:7; Banarjee, 2003: 706). “The acceptance of cultural pluralism is the new assimilationism (---) as long as we do not threaten the dominant ideology, we can be as multicultural as we like” (Banarjee, 2003: 707). Moreover this view forgets that France or the dominant culture is also ethnic and local.

Banarjee and Wallerstein are both relating the notion of multiculturalism as the production and sustenance of a hierarchical cultural division of labour (Banarjee, 2001), and “could serve a justification of educating various groups in their separate “cultures” and hence preparing them for different tasks in the single economy” (Wallerstein, 1990: 45).

II-8- Sustainable development and coloniality

The most important paradox of this education is that they are teaching these children “à la française” (aeefe.fr), a knowledge with principles of development and consumption; and they are also teaching them how to get over with the consequences of this same development. Indeed, sustainable development could be considered as the new colonial discourse (Banarjee, 2003). “It needs time to change mentalities, it took fifteen years in France” (interviewee, 05/01/2011); “I try to make them conscious, especially here, that it is not normal, there are other way than throwing on the floor (---) but it is really not in their habits, they are paralyzed (note here, the linear model of time) in their habits”. And to the question “why”: “it is cultural” (interviewee, 06/01/2011). “The Third World, still in need of development, now needs to be told how to develop sustainably. The consumer is still the king: nature is not so much understood as consumed, and the power dynamics in this new era of globalization and post-development remain unchanged (Banarjee and Linstead 2001)” (Banarjee, 2003: 174).

At the national level, it used to be a Plan (1992-2002): Francophonie and Sustainable Development, now there is still collaboration around the matter (notably by the intermediary of the AFD). Nevertheless, there is an important project of nuclear power plant in

collaboration between French government and Tunisia. “While continuing the epistemic violence of colonial development, sustainable development simultaneously reifies global capitalism as the liberating and protecting force that can ensure survival of the human race” (Banarjee, 2003: 174).

Moreover, it seems that the discourse on energy efficiency as part of the sustainable development program is internalized by the kids: during a lesson of science about energy, with a table comparing the consumption of coal, petrol, gas and electricity between 1970 and today, a kid exclaimed “Ah! I understood! In 1970, it was not developed enough yet, so it was a lot of coal and petrol” (pupils, class intervention, 26/01/2011).

Conclusion and transition

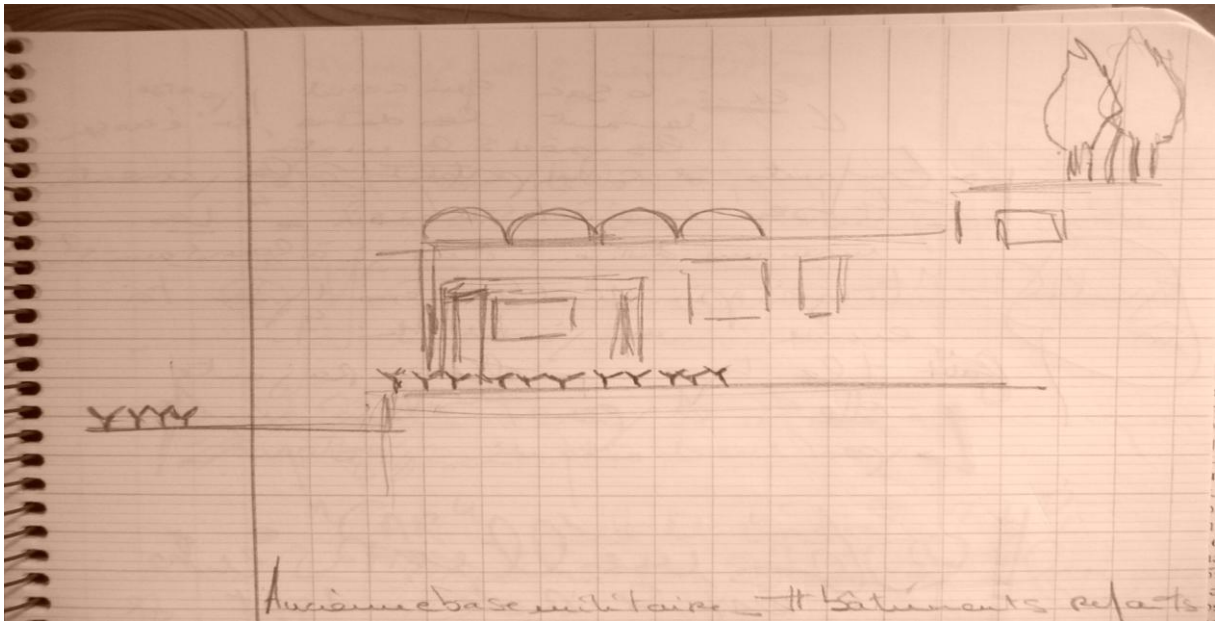
We have been demonstrating that development is about spreading local knowledge and values of one time/place through time and space to a broader stage. And we have been giving examples of how the school is communicating its visions to students.

For the next part, we are going to enquire the implications of this education and the values communicated for the identity and the sustainability of Tunisia. What are the representations of the kids and their families of the school and of what it can bring to them?

III- CULTURALLY AND ECOLOGICALLY EMBEDDED?

The school is not accessible to everybody. First, because it is expensive, and even more so for Tunisian children (see [table 2](#)). This table is showing the differentiated prices as well as the rise of it for the four dates chosen. And secondly, entry tests for Tunisians students and persons not coming from French schools already are obligatory; and while French students are automatically accepted, places are limited for others (website of the school, intentionally not mentioned). Bourdieu provides an insight on this mechanism: “the exclusion is often exercised by (different) mechanisms (---) would it be economical mechanisms or customary or juridical prescripts (e.g. numerous clauses as authoritarian limitation of the recipients in function of ethnic criterion or else)” (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1971: 67).

Ancient military base, the school is concealed behind huge walls (sketch). These battlements are what can be seen from the outside. And while the school is situated at the frontline of a poor neighborhood, it is known for being a school attended by wealthy persons. Rocks often use to fly as an expression of frustrations (three interviewees).



Source: Survey 2011

“Culture’ in the modern anthropological sense is obviously not acknowledged as a relevant component of socio-ecological systems. Yet, as we have seen, culture is in many ways crucial to socio-ecological processes and relations. It shapes our way of thinking and talking about sustainability and exchange, including our categories of ‘technology’, ‘economy’, and ‘ecology’. It generates our specific kinds of fetishism and consumption, determining which aspects of material culture that we consider indispensable” (Hornborg, 2009: 255).

“The endless accumulation of capital requires as one of its mechanisms a collective orientation towards consumption” (Wallerstein, 1990: 38).

III-1- Consumption as identity construction

Both Banarjee and Friedman hold a similar argument which is that “the cultural logic of consumption is that consumption creates and reinforces identity” (Banarjee, 2001: 716-717).

Friedman with his work on Congolese people explains how consumption turned toward the (products of the) West through a desire for new identities is part of a cultural strategy of self-definition (Friedman, 1994). And because “the construction of identity is (---) part of the historical dynamics of the global system” (Friedman, 1994: 101), to realize oneself is to become *un grand*” (ibid, 113, italic within the original text), understood as the modern West, through the consumption of the imported goods, the consumption of the elite and the “latest design and the least accessible” (ibid). Consuming the West is to become “this modern personhood” (Friedman, 1991: 155). Congolese in turn internalize this external life-force. Friedman emphasizes the importance of goods in the construction of the social identity and selfhood, “because clothes are the immediate expression of the degree of life-force possessed by a person, and life-force is everywhere and always external. Consumption of clothing is encompassed by a global strategy of linkage to the force that provides not only wealth but also health and political power (---) similarly clothing is not a symbol of social position but a concrete manifestation of such position” (Friedman, 1994: 106).

France (and the West) is indeed often associated with consumption in the representation of the children (see [table 12](#) with some of their interventions, noted during the class observations). And Norgaard (1994:27) explains how “non-westernized peoples sought the same power and material wealth through the adoption of modern knowledge, social organization, and technology”. Moreover, the kids seem to have a strong sense of consumption, already from the lowest grades (GS) (see [table 3](#), see also the reproduction of a drawing from a five years old girl ([appendix 3](#)) from the “cahier de vie”: the “life-book” where they write the activities done during the weekend). You can also see the drawings in the [appendix 3](#) from which the students of CM2 had the instruction during an art lesson to create an urban landscape (work on perspective). A part that such a landscape (see drawings) is hardly something one can find outside the main metropolis, I would like to turn the attention here on the brands and signs of consumption that most of the kids have added (the instruction given by the teacher was to freely complete the drawing). Banarjee indeed tells us that “the global culture that is constructed is a consumer culture dependent on the consumption of images and symbols in different parts of the globe” (Banarjee, 2001: 698).

III-2- Consumption as marker of Distinction

For Bourdieu, the display of cultural capital is a strategy of power. Cultural differentiation plays an important role in the definition of social position, “a process whereby a particular “class”-determined habitus distinguishes itself in the cultural marketplace by identifying itself with a clearly defined set of products and activities, a lifestyle” (Friedman, 1994: 103). Consumption is used as a sign of status and is used to create distinction between what is noble from what is considered as belonging to the lower category or “crass” (Bourdieu, 1982). Indeed, division and distinction is developed out of categorizations. And this ultimately leads to stratify the society between dominant and dominated groups.

The display of wealth and of lifestyle shows one’s belonging of class and prestige. Both Schor and Veblen report this idea. Schor outlines an idea of visibility of consumption. Nowadays, one is expressing his level of income in commodities which can be displayed outside, presented to the world. It can be a car, clothes, etc. This is done “in order to impress these transient observers, and to retain one’s self-complacency under their observation” (Veblen, 1902). To be envied is the purpose, “invidious comparison” as Veblen names it. “The structure of use and ownership of products is therefore the underlying foundation of social meaning” (Schor, 1998: 35).

“In a colonial material culture, the differences in clothes, kinds of food, housings were marking one’s place in the social hierarchy and were introducing “new values and power relationships” (Bauer, 2001: 179). Today, the goods from the West, from the trips to Paris (see [table 13](#) on how often the parents travel), (“the Black who knows the metropolis is half a god” (Fanon, 1952: 15; my translation)) that the children and/or their parents have and display, or bought in Tunis, often at costs and advertisements that are openly displaying luxury, are goods affordable and consumable only by a few privileged ones “who distinguish themselves through consumption” (Roseberry, 1996: 773-774).

The “cahiers de vie” (from the GS) could give me insights on their trips to Paris. And for this point, I would like to call your attention on the [table 14](#) which relates some of the students writings made on this subject. The lifestyle consumed is indeed again, one not affordable by all, like performances of grandiose shows for example. See for that point the [table 4 and 5](#) on the level of consumption of the kids, and the meanings attributed to it.

Here, we could link the notion of fields from Bourdieu; which is: the social place where power struggle are taking place between agents, in order for them to gain or maintain their capital (economic, cultural, social) (Lallement, 2007); with Veblen's idea of reputability. The individual, in Veblen's view, is trying to acquire reputability thanks to consumption. By the display of his goods, he is effecting a power struggle in the economic fields (as well as the cultural one), for him to access to, or preserve a rank in the hierarchy. For that purpose, the individual is using conspicuous consumption, and conspicuous leisure, which are consumption and leisure aimed at expressing one's belonging of class and superiority since people express with them that they can afford spending money in costly and wasteful wealth and entertainment. Those conspicuous consumption and conspicuous leisure can be vicariously consumed, that-is-to-say, indirectly consumed by the intermediary of other persons: the wife, servants, friends; both by means of wasting time and efforts and wasting goods. As a consequence, goods will be consumed and exposed, as well as feasts, where one can contemplate the "pecuniary strength" (Veblen, 1902) of the host.

The chauffeurs that accompany the kids to school are an example of display of wealth which fit this theoretical explanation. I moreover had the opportunity to observe an anniversary. The little girl was turning six, and is the daughter of some persons closely related to the family from (former) political power. The display of means that had been gathered to organize the party was important: clowns, disc jockey, etc.

Furthermore, what was interesting to see were the mornings and afternoons when parents were coming to collect their kids. I have this picture in mind where I recall these two mothers talking together on the parking (built in purpose for the school) who are giving their back to another school which almost faces Maupassant. The rejection, as it could be interpreted with the back given to them, was further emphasizing the contrast already noticeable by the clothes, manners, and other social markers that Bourdieu reports. One could say that they "behaved like the French in speech and manners" (Quist, 2001: 303). Indeed, as Baudrillard (1988) says: "consumption is not just a material process but an idealist practice involving the consumption of ideas, signs and symbols" (Banarjee, 2001: 687).



Source: Survey 2011 The parking of the school (empty most of the day).





Source: Survey 2011. Both the parking and the other school in the fond (right on the picture). The parking was filled with cars at the moment of collecting the kids. The two women were here giving their back to the other school and its parents (who came walking).

There are mechanisms under the process of distinction whereby the social order is legitimized. While tastes (which are the reflection of schemes of perception and appreciation) depend of one's social class, his position in the economic stratum, his education, and the related cultural capital embodied by the persons through the acquired habitus, the distinction is nevertheless presented as natural, "the ideology of charisma regards taste in legitimate culture as a gift of nature" (Bourdieu, 1982: 1). And as this division of the social system is practiced, the power relations are thus maintained, and it legitimizes class differences, under the pretext of a natural order of human differences (Bourdieu, 1982).

The cultural habitus is expressed and revealed through manners, gestures and choices of clothes and patterns of consumption. They can also be observed in ways of feeling and thinking.

An observation (25/02/2011) I did, where I could discern the embodied cultural capital of some of the (ex) pupils, was at the airport: at the boarding room, a couple that already stroke me at the police control queue, were now partly confirming my earlier hypothesis; they are going to France. To firmly validate my wonder, I went and asked.

One of them was indeed at the high school tight to the primary school I am studying, and the other was from another French school. I could tell after two months passed among the population of the school that they had been following their schooling career there. The embodied cultural capital of these ex-pupils communicated their schooling. And, I think, that it is not only because they are from a higher social class, where behaviors can also be noticed partly with the distantiating from the other Bourdieu analyzes (Bourdieu, 1984). Indeed, the way in which we learn manners is demonstrated and communicated by the way we use them. Their habitus was the one, I argue, not of French people but of all the power relations embodied within the process of French schooling. To give one example, the man added “bonne journée” to the steward, perhaps as to show the mastering of French language, or being polite in a certain Francophile way which corresponds to the way interaction and communication is taught within the school. But I do not think it is only that. I believe indeed that by the choice of interaction, the status is communicated (let us not forget though that their mastery of Arabic language is diminishing partly because of the attendance to this school as we will see in the next subsection): being French is considered as a higher status in Tunisia, and the access to the French education implies economic means and power. The reproduction is created.

Moreover, I also noticed another woman whose attitudes made me wonder the same. The disciplining behavior with her kids reminded me the reprimands witnessed at the school. When I went to her, I got another positive confirmation.

Within the perspective of coloniality that we have been relating to, both consumption as identity and as marker of distinction, are, first, creator of distance from the local population less wealthy, indeed as Sahlins (1976) says “the driving forces of consumption are cultural, both in general terms and in specifics” (Hornborg, 2009: 248); and secondly, ecologically disembedding, turning towards global consumption and by the same token, rising it. Not consuming the local products, they are not necessary helping neither the social conditions nor the economy of Tunisia, and in addition to that we can think of the exhaustion of nature. “Consumption seizes the productivity of plants, animals, soils, aquifers, and so on for human use and returning most of the energy and materials in relatively degraded form” (Heyman, 2003: 128; Paulson and Gezon, 2005). “It is the richest who have some of the largest ecological impacts” (Assadourian, 2010: 16).

And while “to wear Europeans clothes, adopt the things that the European uses, his form of civility, flourishing the indigenous language with European expressions, (---) all of this is done to attempt to reach to a feeling of equality with the Europeans and his mode of existence” (Fanon, 1952: 20; my translation); as markers of distinction they contribute to distance themselves from the local population.

The last point that could be made is on the importance of the dual nationality. As shown in the [table 15](#), the parents who have dual nationality French-Tunisians are numerous; it shows that they themselves are offspring of a mix marriage most of the time. The children, when they are from a mix marriage themselves, have in almost all the cases (from the 46% of the student’s files enquired, 28% of the students have dual nationality) the dual nationality. It seems to be both, a strategic move, would it be to move abroad for the graduate studies or for a future working career (and perhaps international one like the parents); and, a cultural one, where one embed and internalize even more the universal western culture, whereby one can be closer and assimilate more the legitimate culture which represents modernity with the notion of progress incorporated within it. Let us recall the words of the assistant cultural adviser, who said, that the parents recognize intrinsically the value of the French education. It seems to me that part of the reason is the possibility of access to good positions for their career; French education as key to major positions. Indeed, as it is expressed through the concept of coloniality of knowledge, the hegemony of the instrumental reason in the scientific knowledge of the West is recognized as universal and the only one (Mignolo, 2008; Quijano, 2008; Dussel, 1999). The social reproduction of Tunisia is permitted by the vehicle of cultural reproduction and their access to the universal intrinsically valuable French education. As such the school is helping the elite to reproduce itself.

And what I have been able to notice is the reproduction of the hierarchy at the local level. I take the example of the only Arabic teacher who had the French nationality (while she probably had both, she did not notify it on the official register) seemed to behave differently from the other teachers. While the Arabic teachers where often together, I never saw her with them; she is the only Arabic teacher who was hesitant to let me in her classroom to observe (while the other Arabic teachers seemed delighted that for once their work was given attention and who interrupted their lessons more than once to talk to me); the way she dresses, etc.

And as we saw until now, that “success is demonstrated by the ability to acquire valued commodities” (Wolf, 1982: 390), it nevertheless increasingly distance the population of the school from the local ecology, ecology understood as “the material-cum-relational substrate enveloping – and implicated in – all human life (including technology and economy)” (Hornborg, 2009: 240).

III-3- Local knowledge

I would like to initiate this part with reporting the teachings of the local knowledge which is introduced to the pupils. As exposed in the introduction, this school is following the official French curriculum. The teachings are provided in French, and it prepares for the “Baccalauréat”, the French diploma which is going to open the doors of French universities, in France, but all over the world too.

Nevertheless what about the local knowledge, the one which can bind the pupil to his land? (See [table 16](#) on the nationalities of the kids).

Three main points had held my attention: the teachings of the Arabic language, history and geography.

3-3-1- History and Geography of Tunisia

Officially the teachers are supposed to adapt the curriculum to the context and insert elements of the local geography and history. What seems to be lacking however is a clear structure and materials to teach. A part from some precise examples of dates for history and some places for geography, or some specific notions or events which are written in the official report (“transcripts”, notions to acquire), teachers are left to do so on their own and to culture themselves on the local history and geography (they are required to make cultural trips around Tunisia). How teachers cope with it vary greatly. They have different reactions to this lacking but all seem to be perturbed: “This is not relevant at all” (interviewee (French-Tunisian teacher) 03/02/2011) pointing at the syllabus for history and geography, “this is not evocative for the children” (because not their local context); “I don’t know how to do, we do not have

any book” (interviewee (teacher), 6/01/2011) and showing me the geography book “how do you want to show them this (Arc de Triumph), they don’t have that here”.

This lack of emphasizing or supporting teachings on their local knowledge recalls a belief held by the development discourse and coloniality: “they have no history worth studying, only a future which ... they are expected to conquer” (Wallerstein, 1990:39).

Here too, like for sustainable development, the teachers are sometimes bringing in external speakers. In any case, this is asking a lot of work and to do some lessons of history or geography about Tunisia, both Arabic and main teachers do not have time and are sending back the task to each other. Martine (French teacher in Maupassant for more than twenty years now) is doing geography almost entirely applied to the context. The notions stays the same (as for example a maritime industrial zone), but the students can locate themselves within their own context.

However, during the class observations I have often been noticing that history and geography were simply not taught in any other way than the content of the national French curriculum. Singularly enough, almost all the classrooms arrived to the French Revolution part of the curriculum when we came back from the forced holidays. And then, a parallel was made and while it served also to channel the emotions experienced, it still somehow in my interpretation placed Tunisia in the past within the linear model of development.

Nevertheless, there is a system of training during the whole year where teachers are provided with a deepening in some subjects. Regularly history and geography training are suggested by the AEFÉ through the school. I studied a report of one of the history training held in February 1992. During the training they constructed a program among other things. But the school inspector was prompt to remind that “even if parallels have to be found, bridges built, the task is first to do history of France” (training report, 01/02/1992; my translation).

3-3-2- Arabic language

The Arabic language is taught and reported in the official report as being the first living language with English (transcripts, Arabic and English languages). Three hours of teaching each week, and this for everybody. The pupils of the class are divided within three groups of

level: beginner, intermediate, advanced; this for every grades. Most of the time, the student do not progress from one level to another in his/her school career; or if he does, it will be of one level (Arabic teacher, 10/01/2011). The English lessons in comparison are provided with the whole class. The sharing of numbers of hours and of levels used to be different. Until 2000 at least, two groups existed: “the Arabic-speaking and the non-Arabic speaking” kids. Even though the levels differed within both groups, “the differentiated pedagogy” was applied in order to adapt to the various levels present within the classrooms (Bureau Pédagogique de l’Enseignement de l’Arabe, 1994). The non-Arabic speakers were encouraged, if they wished, to join the Arabic-speaking groups. What differed mainly between both was the number of hours and the objectives. Two hours by week for the non-Arabic speakers with the main goal to “open to the Arabic culture in a general way; priority given to the mastering of the Tunisian Arabic as a tool for daily communication; opening on the written code and sensitization to the classical language” (Bureau Pédagogique de l’Enseignement de l’Arabe, 1994: 4; my translation). The teachings for Arabic-speaking students in turn were designed for acquiring a “real bilingualism; a minimum gap with the Arabic formation from the Ministry of Tunisian Education; to insure a possibility of integration within the Tunisian society (higher education that include Arabic, work, etc.)” (ibid). This group had four to six hours of learning. I said until 2000 at least, because I have historical document, letter written by an Arabic teacher who reports the change and whose title is “How to do more hours with less hours?” (interviewee’s document, 2000). A pupil (27/01/2011) reported me that “the beginner it is too easy, and the intermediary too difficult”.

Now, the objectives are less ambitious, and in the field, I could observe what the actual Arabic level of the kids was. It indeed varies greatly among students, and this seems to be related to the regularity of practices of the language at home. Most of them seem indeed to talk French with their parents, with the insertions of Tunisian words within conversations (observations in front of the school, Meriem’s place; Doha’s place; Najet’s interview). They become a Francophone elite (Marzouki, 2007).

A movie has been made “Marock” which relates the story of one of these French schools in Morocco; it reports the distance which exists between the population of these schools and “the rest” of the Moroccan population. Concerning the language, a quote is appropriate to report here. While a girl anxious explains to her friend on the phone that she is not going to be able to leave for France after the baccalaureate because her father is broke, and she knows that she

will have to attend the Moroccan university, she says: “I can’t even speak proper Arabic” (2005: 43’30; my translation). I had different testimonies of people relating the same information, namely that the kids talk more French than Arabic: “They don’t talk Arabic at home” (interviewee, 26/01/2011). “On TV, the women who presented the broadcast were talking too fast for me to understand” (pupil during an Arabic lesson, 27/01/2011). “It is not an Arabic, for them to become students in literature, that we teach, but just for them to be able to talk and exchange a bit in this language” (Arabic teacher, 10/01/2011). “They are separated from Tunisian people within this school” (secretary, 10/02/2011).

During the interview with the same secretary, I could come to know about some strategy that she reported me some parents have, to cope with the lack of teaching of Arabic language and with the separation “from Tunisian people”. The strategy that she told about is to place the kids in a local school (public or private) for them to be in contact with local people and practice the language as well as having notions of local knowledge. Then, and still young (usually around 7 or 8 years old (I am basing this also on the students’ files where it was noted when the kids come from outside, as well as which school)) they switch for the French schools. “These families consider that it is both a chance (to access an internationally recognized certificate) and a risk (to see his child drawn away from his own culture)” (Miguel Addisu, 2010: 176-177; my translation).

And indeed, while the goal was for the Arabic pupils to acquire a “real bilingualism” to “insure a possibility of integration within the Tunisian society”, I happened to know (teacher interview, 9/02/2011) that once pupils finish secondary school and reach the age of 16, they can be asked to leave if they do not have the level to enter the high school (16 is indeed the legal age to stop school). These pupils are left outside the French system, often with a level of Arabic too poor to join any kind of Tunisian formation (we should keep in mind that to enter the school there is an entry-test (except for French students)). This information has not been confirmed though.

On the next part I will try to understand some of the relationship that the pupils have toward the Arabic language and culture within the school, mainly through the teaching.

3-3-3- Relations to the local teachings

I already emphasized (part II) the different status that the diverse work contracts are offering as well as the internal hierarchy of the school both among the teachers and the staff in general. How does this affect the status of Arabic language and Tunisian culture in general and the relation of the kids toward it?

To start with one element: the kids change classrooms to go to the Arabic course, while they have one classroom assigned for the rest of the time for a full school year (sometimes however there is a system of interchange of classrooms for the science, geography or history course: the teachers arranged themselves and the ones who feel better at ease with one subject are teaching different classes about it).

An Arabic teacher told me that this and other transition markers were contributing to the status of Arabic as something different. Another “transition marker” would be “She said “you calm down, you are not in Arabic class anymore”” (teacher interviewee, 12/02/2011).

My observations suggest that the lessons and the way Arabic teachers instruct is indeed different. But the attitude of the pupils toward the teacher is also completely different from the ones in the “regular” lessons.

One of my interviewee (Najet), a retiree Arabic teacher, was a key relation for my study since she has had different main roles in connection to the school. In addition to having been a teacher there for all her career she was part of the four founders of the school in 1981. She contributed in writing the books that were used by the Arabic teachers within the French schools in Tunisia, was part of the Arabic Educational Office that she contributed to create (only a French one existed before that), and in general has been fighting for a better representation of the Tunisian language and culture within the school and the French network in Tunisia. Since I will be referring to her several times, I will recount her sayings with the name of Najet. She had many projects centered around the Tunisian culture (trips around Tunisia, to the Souk, the Medina, museums, trips to craft industry, etc. ; mosaics of earthenware; sculptures, etc.), and was also centering her work around the exchange of culture. For example one of her work was to put together, in the style of calligraphy, both alphabets. In what is this different from the earlier critique of multiculturalism? First, she

introduced them to local culture on a regular basis. Moreover, on the practical work, culture is not only displayed, the difference and inequality of power between culture is not erased, nor it is only the common particularities which are sought, but it seems to be a work of creation and imagination out of both cultures.



Source: Survey 2011

If we put together the different fights around worldviews that are happening within the school (part II) and the fact that pupils seem to perceive the ongoing power relations that are taking place between teachers and the hierarchy (let's recall the example of the cleaning women collecting the waste in the middle of the kids almost as soon as one is dropped) we can imagine that it can affect the students who interiorize the hierarchy. Indeed, themselves are sometimes impolite towards the teachers; I observed one pupil (a French girl) who was constantly correcting the Arabic teacher on her French. That the teacher did not reply back was linked to my presence within the classroom or because of power relationships between French and Tunisians status, I do not know; but the teacher was thanking her and it seemed that the little girl did not consider her own comments as misplaced.

“They make you hate Arabic” a pupil told me during an interview (27/01/2011). And indeed, what I could understand from my fieldwork is that for each initiative it has to be a fight, administratively, socially; and more than once, the Arabic teacher described earlier told me she had to go to the “87” has it is commonly called, which refers to the headquarter of the French Institute for Cooperation, for digressions that are difficult to grasp. Najet reported me that it took some times before proper classrooms be reserved to the Arabic lessons (since the French teachers did not want to leave theirs. She used to teach in a small corridor for some

time. Perpetual fighting for respect is the common share. We can thus interpret the lack of motivations of the Arabic teachers as probably also meaning “showing the white flag”, or at least some kind of giving up attitude. How much is the teacher ready to fight for his/her condition and the place of the Tunisian culture seem to be a crucial element in the relation the kids have to it.

Indeed, the interviewee also reported me an understanding she had that the kids don't seem to feel proud of their Tunisian culture. Bourdieu gives us insights on that point: “the pedagogical action tend to produce legitimacy of everything it conveys in designing what is conveyed (---) as worthy to be conveyed, by opposition to all which is not conveyed” (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1970: 37; my translation). The local culture as such seems recognized as invalid, not worthy of being taught, it becomes devalued and inferior. The students in turn internalize this message and it seems that they tend to suppress this part of themselves. The interviewee also told me that in her point of view, her job has been to reconcile this dual feeling the kids have about themselves.

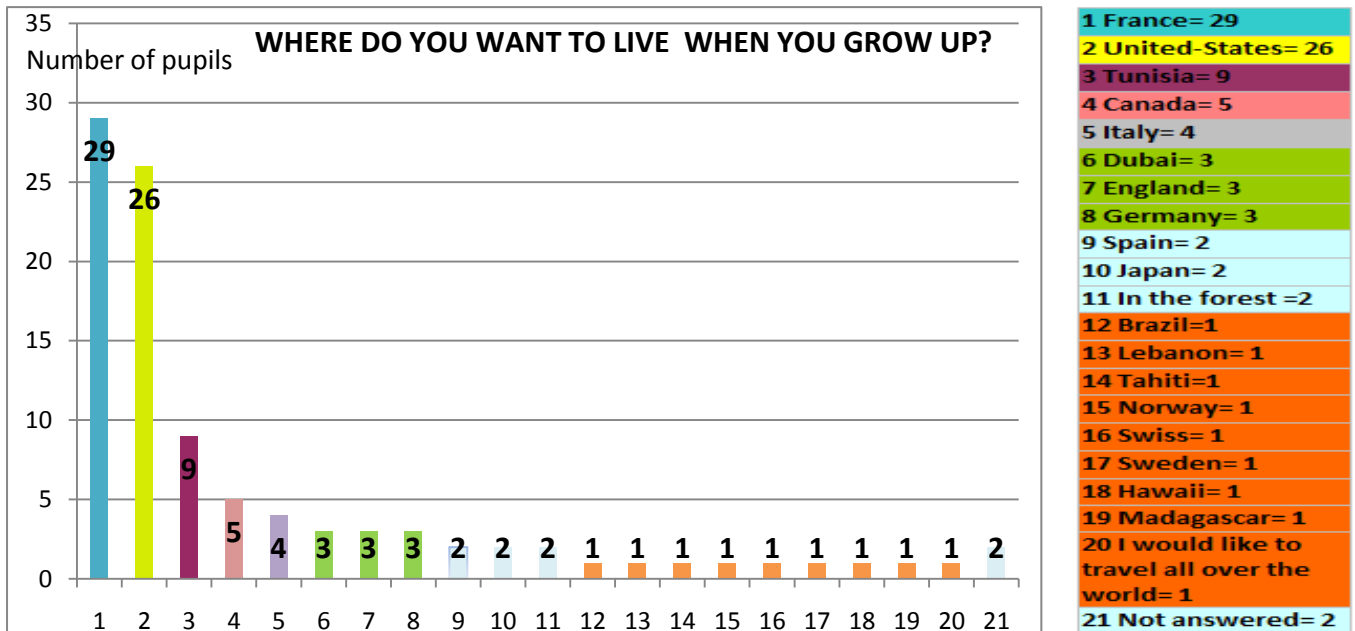
Finally, there is a project which exists in secondary and high school: International section. These classrooms are places where the local culture is given more attention with some hours added during the week's schedule (lyceepmf-tunis.com). However, it is not a success: not many students are actually following this curriculum. From what I understood it is not valued by many others than by the Arabic teachers. The parents to who I asked about it told me that it meant twice as much load of work, and were opting without hesitation for the French curriculum.

3-3-4- They seem to be leaving Tunisia

In time, this education seems to have important consequences on the identity. One of them is migration. I had a lot of testimony relating this trend to leave Tunisia (again the school is preparing for the official French certificate). After high school either they go to continue their studies to France, or try to find a “good job” in France. To the question “why would you want to live in France?”, the kid answered me “to have a good job” (Class discussion; 07/02); or they are destined to have very good positions in their own countries.

On the following **table 21** we can see that 55, 6% of the students surveyed want to go either in United-States or to France; 44, 4% want to go to Europe; and 75,8 % want to go either to Europe or the United-States.

Table 21: Answers from the question: Where do you want to live when you grow up?



Source: questionnaire CM1 and CM2- Survey 2010

Note that the child who answered “I would like to travel all over the world” is the son of a diplomat (questionnaire result).

E- CONCLUSION

A main conclusion can be drawn so far: the local knowledge of France toward which students look at as a model which is presented as universal (as we saw in the second part (Mignolo, 2008; Quijano, 2008)) and which is legitimized as such (Bourdieu, 1970) together with the lack of emphasis on teaching local knowledge and realities of Tunisia are contributing to the lack of care for the socio-ecology of Tunisia, **the sustainability of Tunisia’s environment**, both for the people and the environment, **both for the cultural and ecological dimensions of it**. Indeed, Casey, (2001: 684), tells that “the relationship between self and place is not just one of reciprocal influence (that much any ecologically sensitive account would maintain) but also, more radically, of constitutive coingredience: each is essential to the being of the other”. And in fact, this coupled with the gathering of the students and their families around pockets of neighborhoods (see **GIS map Appendix 2**) also lead them to be enclosed in some

places where they are often away from the lowest class of society. These factors limit the extent to which students are embedded in the socio-ecological space of Tunisia.

“(---) Long-standing cultural practices and meanings as well as the social relations in which they are embedded are altered. The consequences of this are enormous, to the extent that the very basis of community aspirations and desires is modified. Thus the effect of the introduction of development has to be seen not only in terms of its social and economic impact, but also, and perhaps more importantly, in relation to the cultural meanings and practices they upset or modify” (Escobar, 1988: 438).

The school and what it allows access to, key positions in the economic and political life are seen strategically both because of the “higher” French education recognized as such and the amalgam in the representation of the West with consumption. Again, what is being sustained? By buying and consuming (computers, clothes, etc.) people ensure and sustain membership in social network that ensures them sustainable access to resources and opportunities. At the same time, it contributes to constantly expanding consumption and production that exhausts natural resources, making it impossible to sustain environmental well-being. Nevertheless the students seem to aspire to achieve this lifestyle. As they are probable future leaders in the political sphere and/or the economical sphere, this is bringing to the fore the consequences for the sustainability of Tunisia with such informal model brought to them by the vehicle of the school. O. Quist with her study in the Gold Coast and Côte d’Ivoire, notice that the French and the British cultural influences continue to influence today’s students from the elites’ secondary school: their “cultural practices, life-styles and attitudes with profound consequences for the postcolonial cultural project of nation-building” (O. Quist, 2001: 299).

Crossley and Tikly (2004) in a passage quoted by Phuong-May et al. say: “The postcolonial legacy has resulted in educational systems that, remain elitist, lack relevance to local realities and are often at variance with indigenous knowledge systems, values and beliefs” (2009:110).

While delegitimized indigenous local knowledge, practices and models are left aside for the ideas of modernity (Steiner-Khamsi, 2000), the pupils and future citizens of Tunisia seems to be “Frenchified” with cultural referents which culturally alienate (O. Quist, 2001) them from

the local socio-ecology. I conclude this thesis with voices of three actors who describe tensions resulting from these processes.

Doha, an ex-student of the school shared a precious testimony of the singular feeling of frustration and difference one can feel when torn apart amongst two (or more) cultures. The Tunisian population “have a mentality” she doesn’t like; “they are more into mathematics, they learn logic, but you tell them Flaubert, Maupassant, they answer you “who is that?”” (14/02). Doha was the second ex-pupil of the school who I encountered who communicated to me this feeling of lack of belonging. “Between the foreign (to them) stranger and the foreign (to her) hosts, the shared cultural capital is that which marks her as strange and them as not” (Pratt, 2008: 473).

Meriem, whose words introduced to me the idea of feeling of strangeness that the students of this school can have once they become adults like her, expressed to me her daily struggles with her colleagues at work who went to the Tunisian local school, and who are not educated the same way, have not the same reference system, “the same way to reason and think” (26/01). She also reported the distance felt from the history and geography of her country and land. “In the neocolony the creative challenge is to produce, between “opposition” and “subsumed” a “land of presence”” (Pratt, 2008: 475).

Testimony I can add up to another interview, where a teacher was letting me know that, she joined the special gathering of people in the south where a human caravan, that left from Tunis the 6th of February, went to the places where the Revolution started and there gathered around 7000 people (Tunisian radio RTCI, 6/02). She said: “I discovered my country” (French-Tunisian teacher, 7/02).

The revolution indeed brought an impulse of hope. For me it was the hope for them to have “the right to claim epistemic right from the places where experiences and memories organize time and knowledge” (Mignolo, 2008: 237).

This case study demonstrates an example of how development spreads local knowledge and values of one time/place through time and space to a broader space. My analysis draws

attention to the challenges and limitations that this process has for local non-dominant socio-ecological knowledge, practice and patterns to thrive and be sustainable.

The explicit sustainability education these students receive gives them narrowly circumscribed ideas about sustainability as recycling and solar panels. At the same time school experience has the implicit lessons about sustaining one's social position through consumption and display of fashion and products associated with France/the west.

In this thesis I have demonstrated evidence of relations of unequal power established in the school between French and Arabic languages, between geography and history curricula focused on France vs. Tunisia, and between more French-identified and more Tunisian-identified faculty and staff.

I argue that these hierarchies of power that are part of the implicit lesson of school serve to limit sustainability of Tunisian lifeways and environments by encouraging students to distance themselves from Tunisian cultural and ecological realities, and to aspire to more highly valued and powered French or “universal” ones.

“The neocolonial contract, which restricts development of all kinds in the neocolony, makes growth and flourishing into a struggle against the grain” (Pratt, 2008: 474).

REFERENCES:

Altbach, Philip G. 1971. Education and Neocolonialism: A Note. *Comparative Education Review* 15 (2): 237-239.

Altbach, Philip G. 1982. Servitude of the mind? Education, dependency, and neo-colonialism. In: *Comparative education*, ed. P.G. Altbach, R.F. Arnove, and G.P. Kelly, 469–484. New York: Macmillan.

Appadurai, Arjun. 1990. Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy. *Theory, Culture and Society* 7: 295-310.

Apple, M.W., and Christian-Smith, L.K. 1991. The politics of the textbook. In *The politics of the textbook*, ed. M.W. Apple and L.K. Christian-Smith, 1–21. New York: Routledge.

Apple, M.W. 1993. *Official knowledge: Democratic education in a conservative age*. New York: Routledge.

Apple, M.W. 2004. *Ideology and curriculum*. 3rd ed. New York: Routledge Falmer.

Arnove, Robert F., and Carlos Alberto Torres, eds. 2007. *Comparative Education, The dialectic of the Global and the Local*. Rowman and Littlefield Publishers: Inc.

Assadourian, Erik. 2009. The Rise and Fall of Consumer Cultures. In *State of the World 2010, Transforming Culture: From Consumerism to Sustainability*, ed. Linda Starke and Lisa Mastny, 3-22. The Worldwatch Institute. W.W. Norton and Company, New York.

Ba Konaré, Adame. 2008. *Petit précis de remise à niveau sur l'histoire africaine à l'usage du président Sarkozy*. La découverte Poche.

Bauer, Arnold. 2001. *Goods, Power, History: Latin America's Material Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Baudrillard, J. 1988. *Selected Writings*. Cambridge: Polity.

Banarjee, Subhabrata Bobby, and Stephen Linstead. 2001. Globalization, Multiculturalism and Other Fictions: Colonialism for the New Millennium? *Organization* 8 (4): 683-722.

Banarjee, Subhabrata Bobby. 2003. Who Sustains Whose Development? Sustainable Development and the Reinvention of Nature. *Organization Studies* 24: 144-180.

Blaikie, P. and H. Brookfield. 1987. *Land degradation and society*. London: Methuen.

Bourdieu, Pierre, et Jean-Claude Passeron. 1964. *Les Héritiers*, Paris, Minuit.

Bourdieu, Pierre, et Jean-Claude Passeron. 1970. *La Reproduction, éléments pour une théorie du système d'enseignement*. Les Editions de Minuit.

- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1971. Systems of education and systems of thought. In: *Knowledge and Control: new directions for the sociology of education, Part Three*, ed. M.F.D. Young, 189-207. London : Collier Macmillan.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. [1980] 1991. Identity and representation: Elements for a critical reflection on the idea of region. In *Language and symbolic power*, ed. Pierre Bourdieu, 220–228. Translated by G. Raymond and M. Adamson. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1984. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Bryant, Raymond L. and S. Bailey. 1997. *Third world political ecology*. London: Routledge.
- Bryant, Raymond L. 1998. Power, knowledge and political ecology in the third world: a review. *Progress in Physical Geography* 22 (1): 79-94.
- Casey, Edward S. 2001. Between Geography and Philosophy: What Does It Mean to Be in the Place-World? *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 91 (4): 683-693.
- Clifford, Nicholas, and Gill Valentine. 2010. *Key Methods in Geography*. Sage: Los Angeles.
- Crossley, M., and L. Tikly. 2004. Postcolonial perspectives and comparative and international research in education: A critical introduction. *Comparative Education* 40 (2): 147–156
- Direction de l'Instruction publique et des Beaux-Arts. *L'œuvre scolaire de la France en Tunisie 1883-1922*. Weber et Cie: Tunis. (date missing on the document)
- Dunlap, Riley, and William Catton. 1979. Environmental sociology. *Annual Review of Sociology* 5: 243–273.
- Dussel, Enrique. 1999. Beyond Eurocentrism: The World-System and the Limits of Modernity. In *The Cultures of Globalization*, ed. Frederic Jameson, and Miyoshi Masao, 3-31. Duke University Press: Durham and London.
- Escobar, Arturo. 1988. Power and Visibility: Development and the Invention and Management of the Third World. *Cultural Anthropology* 3 (4): 428-443.
- Escobar, Arturo. 1992. Reflections on Development: Grassroots Approaches and Alternative Politics in the Third World. *Futures* 24 (2): 411-412.
- Escobar, Arturo. 1995: *Encountering development: the making and unmaking of the third world*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Escobar, Arturo. 1996: Constructing nature: elements for a post-structural political ecology. In *Liberation ecologies: environment, development, social movements*, ed. R. Peet, and M. Watts, 46-68. London: Routledge.
- Escobar, Arturo. 2006. Difference and Conflict in the Struggle Over Natural Resources: A political ecology framework. *Development* 49 (3): 6-13.

- Escobar, Arturo. 2008. *Territories of Difference: Place, Movements, Life, Redes*. Duke University Press.
- Fairhead, J. and M. Leach. 1995. False forest history, complicit social analysis: rethinking some west African environmental narratives. *World Development* 23 : 1023-1035.
- Fanon, Frantz. 1952. *Peau noire, masques blancs*. Seuil : Essais points.
- Foucault, Michel. 1980. *Power/knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings*. New York: Pantheon.
- Fortmann, L. 1995. Talking claims: discursive strategies in contesting property. *World Development* 23: 1053-1063.
- Franck, Andre Gunder. [1969] 2000. The Development of Underdevelopment. In *From Modernization to Globalization: Perspectives on Development and Social Change*, ed. Roberts, Timmons, and Amy Hite, 159-168. Blackwell Publishing.
- Friedman, Jonathan. 1991. Consuming Desires. *Cultural Anthropology* 6 (2):154–63.
- Friedman, Jonathan. 1994. *Cultural Identity and Global Process*. Sage Publications.
- Gudeman, Stephen, and Alberto Riviera. 1990. *Conversations in Colombia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hajer, Maarten A. 1994. *The politics of Environmental Discourse, Ecological Modernization and the Policy Process*. Oxford University Press.
- Harvey, David. 1993. The nature of environment: the dialectics of social and environmental change. In *Real problems, false solutions*, ed. R. Miliband, and L. Panitch, 1-51. London: Merlin Press.
- Harvey, David. 1996. *Justice, nature and the geography of difference*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Heyman, Josiah. 2005. The political ecology of consumption. In *Political Ecology across Spaces, Scales, and Social Groups*, ed. Susan Paulson, and Lisa Gezon, 113-132. Rutgers University Press: New Brunswick.
- Hornborg, Alf. 2009. Zero-Sum World: Challenges in Conceptualizing Environmental Load Displacement and Ecologically Unequal Exchange in the Modern World-System. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 50: 237-262.
- Jameson, Frederic, and Miyoshi Masao, eds. 1999. *The Cultures of Globalization*. Duke University Press: Durham and London.
- Jewitt, S. 1995. Europe's `Others'? Forestry policy and practices in colonial and postcolonial India: Environment and Planning D. *Society and Space* 13, 67-90.
- Lallement, Michel. 2007. *Histoire des idées sociologiques: de Parsons aux contemporains*. Armand Colin: Circa (3ème édition).

- Macnaghten, Phil, and John Urry. 1998. *Contested natures*. London: Sage.
- Martinez Allier, Joan. 2002. *The Environmentalism of the Poor*. London: Elgar.
- Masemann, Vandra Lea. 2007. Culture and Education. In *Comparative Education, The dialectic of the Global and the Local*, ed. Robert F. Arnove, and Carlos Alberto Torres, 101-116. Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Marzouki, Samir. 2007. La francophonie des élites: le cas de la Tunisie. *Hérodote* 3 (126): 35-43.
- Merchant, Carolyn. 1980. *The death of nature: Women, ecology and the scientific revolution*. London: Wildwood House.
- Mignolo, Walter 2005. Cambiando las éticas y las políticas del conocimiento: lógica de la colonialidad y poscolonialidad imperial. *Tabula Rasa* 3: 47-72.
- Mignolo, Walter. 2008. The geopolitics of Knowledge and the colonial difference. In *Coloniality at Large, Latin America end the Postcolonial Debate*, ed. Mabel Morana, Enrique Dussel, and Carlos A. Jauregui, 225-258. Duke University Press: Durham and London.
- Morana, Mabel, Enrique Dussel, and Carlos A. Jauregui, eds. 2008. *Coloniality at Large, Latin America end the Postcolonial Debate*. Duke University Press: Durham and London.
- Morana, Mabel, Enrique Dussel, and Carlos A. Jauregui. 2008. Colonialism and its replicants. In *Coloniality at Large, Latin America end the Postcolonial Debate*, ed. Mabel Morana, Enrique Dussel, and Carlos A. Jauregui, 1-20. Duke University Press: Durham and London.
- Nguyen, Phuong-Mai, Julian G. Elliott, Cess Terlouw, and Albert Pilot. 2009. Neocolonialism in education: Cooperative Learning in an Asian context. *Comparative Education* 45 (1): 109-130.
- Norgaard, Richard. 1994. *Development Betrayed, the end of progress and a coevolutionary revisioning of the future*. Routledge: London.
- O'Connor, James. 1998. *Natural Causes*. New York: Guilford Press.
- Paulson, Susan, and Lisa Gezon. 2005. *Political Ecology across Spaces, Scales, and Social Groups*. Rutgers University Press: New Brunswick.
- Peet, R. and M. Watts, eds. 1996. *Liberation ecologies: environment, development, social movements*. London: Routledge.
- Poncet, Jean. 1961. *La colonisation et l'agriculture Européenne en Tunisie depuis 1881 : Etude de Géographie historique et économique*. Mouton et co. MCMLXII La Haye : Paris.
- Poncet, Jean. 1974. *La Tunisie à la recherche de son avenir: Indépendance ou néocolonialisme?* Ed sociale Notre temps : Monde.

Pratt, Marie-Louise. 2008. In the neocolony: Destiny, Destination, and the traffic in meaning. In *Coloniality at Large, Latin America and the Postcolonial Debate*, ed. Mabel Morana, Enrique Dussel, and Carlos A. Jauregui, 459-475. Duke University Press: Durham and London.

Preece, Julia. 2008. 'Context matters': whose concept of growth and development are we talking about? *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education* 38 (3): 267-280.

Qian, M. 2007. Discontinuity and reconstruction: The hidden curriculum in schoolroom instruction in minority-nationality areas. *Chinese Education and Society* 40, no. 2: 60–76.

Quijano, Anibal. 1994. Colonialité du Pouvoir, démocratie et citoyenneté en Amérique Latine. In *Amérique Latine : Démocratie et exclusion*. Paris : l'Harmattan.
<http://multitudes.samizdat.net/>.

Quijano, Anibal. 1997. Colonialidad de poder, cultura y conocimiento en America Latina. *Anuario Mariateguía* 9: 113-22.

Quijano, Anibal. 2008. Coloniality of Power, Eurocentrism, and Colonial classification. In *Coloniality at Large, Latin America and the Postcolonial Debate*, ed. Mabel Morana, Enrique Dussel, and Carlos A. Jauregui, 181-224. Duke University Press: Durham and London.

Quist, Hubert O. 2001. Cultural Issues in Secondary Education Development in West Africa: away from colonial survivals, towards neocolonial influences? *Comparative Education* 37 (3): 297–314.

Rabinow, Paul. 1992. Artificiality and Enlightenment: From Sociobiology to Biosociality. In *Incorporations*, ed. Jonathan Crary and Sanford Kwinter, 234-52. New York: Zone Books.

Redclift, Michael. 1987. *Sustainable Development: Exploring the Contradictions*. London. Routledge.

Restrepo, Eduardo and Arturo Escobar 2009. Anthropologies hégémoniques et colonialité (Hegemonic anthropology and coloniality) *Cahiers des Amériques Latines* 62 :83-95.

Roseberry, William. 1996. The Rise of Yuppie Coffees and the Reimagination of Class in the United States. *American Anthropologist* 98(4):762–775.

Sahlins, M.D. 1976. *Culture and Practical Reason*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Said, Edward. 1979. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books.

Said, Edward W. 1983. *The world, the text, and the critic*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard U. P.

Said, Edward. 1993. *Culture and imperialism*. London: Vintage.

- Schor, Juliet. 1998. *The overspent American: Upscaling, Downshifting, And The New Consumer*. New York: Basic Books.
- Smith, Stephen. 2010. *Voyage en Postcolonie : Le Nouveau Monde franco-africain*. Grasset.
- Spivak, Gayatri C. 1988. Can the subaltern speak? In *Marxism and the interpretation of Culture*, ed. C. Nelson and L. Grossberg. London: Macmillan.
- Spring, J. 2002. *Conflict of interests: The politics of American education*. 4th ed. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Spring, J. 2007. *Deculturalization and the struggle for equality: A brief history of the education of dominated cultures in the United States*. 5th ed. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Steiner-Khamsi. 2000. Transferring education, displaying reforms. In: *Discourse Formations in Comparative Education*, ed. J. Schriewer, 153–187. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.
- Tickly, L. 2004. Education and the new imperialism. *Comparative Education* 40 (2): 173-198.
- Veblen, Thorstein. 1902. *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institution*. New York: Macmillan.
- Wallerstein, Immanuel, [1979], 2000. The Rise and Future Demise of the World Capitalist System: Concepts for Comparative Analysis. In *From Modernization to Globalization. Perspectives on Development and Social Change*, ed. Roberts Timmons, and Amy Hite, 190-209. Blackwell Publishing.
- Wallerstein, Immanuel. 1983. *Historical Capitalism and Capitalist Civilization*. London: Verso.
- Wallerstein, Immanuel. 1990. Culture as the ideological battleground of the modern world system. *Theory, Culture and Society* 7: 31–55.
- Wang, Yuxiang and Joann Phillion. 2010. Whose knowledge is valued: a critical study of knowledge in elementary school textbooks in China. *Intercultural Education* 21 (6): 567-580.
- White, B.W. 1996. Talk about school: Education and the Colonial project in French and British Africa (1860–1960). *Comparative Education* 32 (1): 9–25.
- Wolf, Eric R. 1982. *Europe and the People Without History*. University of California Press.
- World Commission on Environment and Development. 1987. *Our common Future*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Thesis:

Largueche, Amor. 19?. *Enseignement et société, de l'inadéquation à la recherche de l'équilibre. Etude sur l'enseignement dans la société Tunisienne*. PhD diss., Université de Paris V Descartes. (Date missing on the document).

Miguel Addisu, Véronique. 2010. *Apprendre en Français au lycée Fran-Ethiopien d'Addis-Abeba, une approche sociolinguistique à des fins didactiques*. PhD Diss., Université de Rouen.

Film :

Laïla Marrakchi, 2005 *Marock*. Maroc, France.

Interviewee's materials and documents from school and external institutions:

Interviewee's document, 2000, *Quelques réflexions que mi sont venues. Comment faire plus d'heures avec moins d'heures ?*

Stage Histoire Géographie 30/31 janvier 1992. *Rapport et bilan de stage*.

Official programmes :

Agence pour l'Enseignement Français en Tunisie. *Livret scolaire*. Cycle des approfondissements Cycle 3.

Agence pour l'Enseignement Français en Tunisie. *Livret scolaire, Langues : Arabe et Anglais*. Cycle des approfondissements Cycle 3.

Bureau Pédagogique de l'Enseignement de l'Arabe. 1994. *Langue et culture Arabes instructions et programmes approuvés par l'inspection générale Française Elèves Arabophones*. Ambassade de France en Tunisie Service Culturel Scientifique et de Coopération. Etablissement Français d'enseignement en Tunisie.

Bureau Pédagogique d'Arabe. 2002. *Programmes pour l'enseignement de l'Arabe dans les écoles Françaises de Tunisie*. Ambassade de France en Tunisie, Service de Coopération et d'Action Culturelle. Tunis.

Les programmes de l'école primaire. 2008. Bulletin Officiel. n°3 juin 2008
Bureau Pédagogique de l'Enseignement de l'Arabe. 1994. *Langue et culture Arabes instructions et programmes approuvés par l'inspection générale Française Elèves non-Arabophones*. Ambassade de France en Tunisie Service Culturel Scientifique et de Coopération. Etablissement Français d'enseignement en Tunisie.

Teacher's personal school materials :

FILES:

Geography arranged programs from a teacher CM2.

Geography : *les infrastructures routières en Afrique.*

Une zone industrialo-portuaire. L'organisation du port industriel de Radès.

Sciences : *L'énergie: Quels sont nos besoins en énergie?*

Comment produit-on de l'électricité ?

D'où vient l'énergie que nous utilisons ?

Le circuit de traitement de l'eau.

BOOKS :

Masson, Isabelle. 2003. *L'écologie, agir pour la planète.*ed Milan Junior.

L'Eau. (The reference which was missing in the thesis)

Books used by all the school for the cycle 3 (CE2/ CM1/CM2):

Le Callennec, Sophie. 2006. *Histoire Cycle 3.* Collection Magellan, Hatier.

Le Callennec, Sophie. 2004. *Géographie Cycle 3.* Collection Magellan, Hatier.

De Ram, Cécile, Knowles, Xavier. 2007. *Le développement durable Cycle 3.* Hachette Education. Paris.

Lire en Autonomie. 2008. *Autour de l'environnement Cycle 3.* Magnard.

At the National Statistical Institute:

République Tunisienne Ministère du plan et des Finances. Institut National de la Statistique. 1982. *Bulletin Mensuel de Statistique* n° 324 janvier.

République Tunisienne Ministère du plan et de Finances. Institut National de la Statistique. 1982. *Bulletin Mensuel de Statistique* n°335 décembre.

République Tunisienne. Institut National de la Statistique. 1984. Caractéristique démographiques. In *Recensement général de la population et de l'habitat*, Vol 4, 30 mars 1984.

Republique Tunisienne, ministère du Plan et du Développement régional. Institut National de la Statistique. 1991. *Annuaire de la Tunisie* Vol 35.

République Tunisienne Ministère du Développement économique. 1994. *Recensement Générale de la population et de l'habitat.*

For the age, nationality, nationality of parents, places of birth, places of residence:
Administration files’:
Files of current students and student files from previous years
Staff files.

For the prices of the school:

Ministère de l’éducation Nationale. 1985. Programmes Français, La mission d’enseignement français en Tunisie. In *Guide du coopérant Français*. Ambassade de France en Tunisie. Ed 86 Ciface : 65-131.

Mission d’enseignement Français en Tunisie. 1991. Décompte des droits à constater pour la demi-pension primaire, maternelle.

Ambassade de France en Tunisie ; Service Culturel, scientifique et de Coopération. 2001. Etablissements d’enseignement Français en Tunisie, tarifs annuels. République Française.

République Française, AEFÉ/ ERT, Lycée Pierre Mendès France, Tunis. 2010. Droits de scolarité – 1^{ère} inscription – Hébergement – Examens 2010/ 2011.

Others:

United Nations, Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. United Nations decade of Education for Sustainable Development (2005-2014). 2006. *Education for sustainable development toolkit*. Education for Sustainable development in Action. Learning and Training Tool N°1- october

WEBSITE:

Aefe.com. “Grande Orientations” Agence pour l’Enseignement Français à l’Etranger. Accessed February 28 <http://www.aefe.fr/tous-publics/pedagogie/grandes-orientations>

Afd.fr “L’AFD en Tunisie” Agence Française de Développement. Accessed January 18 <http://www.afd.fr/jahia/Jahia/home/pays-d-intervention-afd/mediterranee-et-moyen-orient/pays-Mediterranee/tunisie>

Ambafrance-ma.org. “La France au Maroc.” Service de Coopération et d’Action Culturelle Accessed December 11 <http://www.ambafrance-ma.org/cooperation/>

Ambassadefrance-tn.org. “La France en Tunisie. Visite en Tunisie de M. Alain Joyandet”. Ambassade de France en Tunisie. Accessed Mars 21, 2010. <http://www.ambassadefrance-tn.org/spip.php?article580>

CIA.com. The World Factbook “Country Comparison: Distribution of family income - Gini index” Central Intelligence Agency

Accessed May 10 <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/rankorder/2172rank.html>

Education.gouv.fr. “Enseignements élémentaire et secondaire, Instruction pédagogiques : Education au développement durable et à la solidarité Internationale”. Ministère Education Nationale Enseignement Supérieur Recherche

Accessed Mars 3 <http://www.education.gouv.fr/bo/2004/25/MENC0401147N.htm>). 2004

Education.gouv.fr. “Enseignements élémentaire et secondaire, Education au développement durable : Seconde phase de généralisation de l’éducation au développement durable (EDD)”. Ministère Education Nationale Enseignement Supérieur Recherche. Accessed Mars 3 <http://www.education.gouv.fr/bo/2007/14/MENE0700821C.htm>

Eduscol.education.fr. “Education au développement durable, textes de référence .” Ministère Education Nationale Enseignement Supérieur Recherche

Accessed Mars 3 <http://www.eduscol.education.fr/cid47919/textes-de-reference.html>).

Lycéepmf-tunis.com. “La section Internationale” Lycée Pierre Mendès France

Accessed April 13 [http://www.lyceepmf-](http://www.lyceepmf-tunis.com/public/00public/004scolarite/0043inscriptions/00431admission/sioib/_si_oib.pdf)

[tunis.com/public/00public/004scolarite/0043inscriptions/00431admission/sioib/_si_oib.pdf](http://www.lyceepmf-tunis.com/public/00public/004scolarite/0043inscriptions/00431admission/sioib/_si_oib.pdf)

Martinot, Steve. “The Coloniality of Power: Notes Toward De-Colonization.” Center for Global Justice

Accessed November 21. <http://www.globaljusticecenter.org/papers/martinot.htm/>.

Touati, Lotfi. “Education: L’école Robert Desnos rénovée renforce le réseau des établissements français en Tunisie.” Tunisia Today: Actualités de la Tunisie

Accessed Mars 21, 2010. <http://www.tunisia-today.com/archives/51876>

United Nations. 1987. "[Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development.](#)" General Assembly Resolution 42/187, 11 December 1987.

ANNEXE 1: TABLES

Table 1: Socio-professional categories of the parents of 46% of the total of children (1096 students in the school)

PROFESSIONS	TOTAL	FATHER	MOTHER
Doctor	83	42	41
Nurse	8	3	5
Pharmacist	7	4	3
Subtotal medicine	98		
Teacher in French schools in Tunisia	25	6	19
University professor	39	6	33
Teacher	19	1	18
Assistant professor	9	2	7
Researcher	4	2	2
Subtotal academic/ school	71		
Manager (independent and executive)	211	152	59
Middle-level manager	104	52	52
Subtotal manager	315		
Businessman/woman and consultant	17	11	6
Storekeeper	15	13	2
Public accountant	15	10	5
Magistrate/ jurist	5	2	3
Bailiff	1	1	0
Lawyer	13	6	7
Subtotal law	19		
Diplomat	8	7	1
Minister	5	3	2
Minister adviser	3	3	0
High government official	11	8	3
Subtotal government official	27		
Technician	2	2	0
Low-level manager	8	3	5
Employee	56	12	44
Fashion designer/ Artistic producer/ designer	13	2	11
Farmer	7	7	0
Journalist/editor	5	3	2
Sport selector/ coach	3	3	0
Architect	12	7	5

Insurance	2	1	1
Real estate	4	4	0
Engineer African Bank of Development	5	4	1
International government official at the African Bank of Development	4	4	0
Manager at the African Bank of Development	3	3	0
Employee at the African Bank of Development	23	16	7
Subtotal African Bank of Development	35		
Banker	4	3	1
Engineer	42	33	9
Computer engineer	13	7	6
Computer programmer	2	2	0
International government official	8	2	6
Boat captain	3	3	0
Pilot	5	5	0
Army/police	2	2	0
Housewife/ househusband	167	28	138
Retiree	10	10	0
Deceased	4	4	0
TOTAL	1008	504	504

Source: Student's files from the school's administration. Fieldwork 2011

Table 2: Prices of the school: by year and nationalities (in dinars).

	Pre-school			Primary school		
	French	Tunisian	Third Foreign	French	Tunisian	Third Foreign
1985	420			162		
1991	615	615	1620	525	525	1470
2001	2085	2100 / 2685	3210	1140	1155/ 1755	3210
2010	4185	5097	6546	2547	3528	6951

Source: Survey 2011: administration current and archive materials; archive materials ministry of french education, guide du coopérant (1985: 69).

¹The difference is between the children enrolled before 1994 and after 1995.

These prices do not include the school lunches

1 dinar = 10, 27 francs in 1985

1 euro= 6, 55957 francs

1 dinar in 1985 should have been the equivalent of 1, 57 euros

1 dinar= 0, 51 euro today

Table 3: Three favorite activities for four child in GS (Grande-Section de Maternelle: last year (out of three) of pre-school / 5years old)

Pick up the flowers -	Shopping-	Gymnastics-
Studying-	Playing football-	Rugby-
Gymnastics-	Shopping-	Football-
Football-	Playing-	Basket-ball-

Source: Survey (focus group) 2011

Table 4: QUESTION: Do you have?

	YES	NO	No response	Total
A computer (your, not the one at home)	59	39	1	99
If yes, is it in your room?	41	17	2	60 ¹
A mobile phone	74	23	2	99
A Watch	95	4	0	99

Source: Questionnaire 2011

¹The 39 answers missing are the difference (the one who do not have a computer)

	Video games
One	18
Two	40
Three	23
Four	11
Do not have	7
	99

Source: Questionnaire 2011

Table 5: Question: What do the brand clothes/ items represent for you?

To make myself beautiful	57
To be fashionable	48
To do as my friends	18
To be part of a group	12
To look like celebrities	25
Nothing	35

Source: Questionnaire 2011

Note that it was a multiple answer question.

Table 6: Work status of the staff by nationalities

	Tunisian	French	French-Tunisian	Other dual Nationality	Total
Expatriates		3			3
Residents (teachers)		26	3	5	34
Local contracts (total)	41	14	5	1	61
Teachers	1	4	2		7
Part-time Teachers		4	2		6
Arabic Teachers	7	1	1		9
Librarians	1	1			2
Office Assistant		1		1	2
Receptionist	1				1
Nurses		2			2
Supervisors	1	1			2
Pre-school assistants	7				7
Technicians and Security	4				4
Kitchen staff	4				4
Duty Officers	15				15
Total	41	43	8	6	98

Source: staff files, survey 2011

Table 7: Imports/ Exports of Tunisia

1982: Population (1st of July) 6 726 100. Unity for the category “value” is millions of Dinars

	IMPORTS		EXPORTS	
	Value	Quantity	Value	Quantity
Total	2008,4	6373,6	1167,6	7423,6
CEE	1320,3	-	669,9	-
France	521,4	823,1	225,9	1090,3
% France share	26%	12,90%	19%	15%
Total				
Consumption	392,1	-	240,7	-
Industrial equipment	516,7	-	37,9	-
Energy	243,5	-	536,2	-
Food	196,1	-	100,5	-
Other semi finished products	439,5	-	210,1	-
France				
Consumption	126,7	-	74,2	-
Industrial equipment	197,2	-	7,6	-
Energy	8	-	62,4	-
Other semi finished products	118,1	-	42,1	-

Source: National Statistical Institute, fieldwork 2011

1992: Population (1st of July) 8 355 300. Unity for the category “value” is millions of Dinars

	IMPORTS		EXPORTS	
	Value	Quantity	Value	Quantity
Total	5 688,80	5407,4	3 567,00	7247,9
CEE	4 043,70	-	2 782,60	-
France	1 448,80	892,9	966	1703,1
% France share	25%	17%	27%	23%
Total				
Consumption	1 675,70	-	1 632,50	-
Industrial equipment	1 290,30	-	164,90	-
Energy	397,1	-	538,4	-
Food	380,5	-	335,5	-
Other semi finished products	1 475,10	-	818,5	-
France				
Consumption	600,3	-	570,6	-
Industrial equipment	383,5	-	64,6	-
Energy	16	-	117,5	-

Other semi finished products	341	-	146,6	-
------------------------------	-----	---	-------	---

Source: National Statistical Institute, fieldwork 2011

2002: Population (1st of July) 9 781 900. Unity for the category “value” is millions of Dinars

	IMPORTS		EXPORTS	
	Value	Quantity	Value	Quantity
Total	13 510,90	?	9 748,60	?
UE	9 493,80	-	7 662,30	-
France	3 454,70	?	3 025,00	?
% France share	26%		31%	
Total				
Consumption	4 549,60	-	5 110,20	-
Industrial equipment	2 894,10	-	762,80	-
Energy	1 227,10	-	911,90	-
Food	1 143,00	-	556,50	-
Other semi finished products	2 947,80	-	2 139,80	-
France				
Consumption	?	-	?	-
Industrial equipment	?	-	?	-
Energy	?	-	?	-
Other semi finished products	?	-	?	-

Source: National Statistical Institute, fieldwork 2011

2010: Population (1st of July) 10 549 100. Unity for the category “value” is millions of Dinars

	IMPORTS		EXPORTS	
	Value	Quantity	Value	Quantity
Total	31 817,01	?	23 519,00	?
UE	22 653,30	-	17 956,00	-
France	6 010,90	?	6 749,80	?
% France share	19%		29%	
Total				
Consumption				
Industrial equipment				
Energy				
Food				

Other semi finished products				
France				
Consumption				
Industrial equipment				
Energy				
Other semi finished products				

Source: National Statistical Institute, internet

As you can see the accuracy and precision of numbers is decreasing with time. When I asked the woman in charge at the Institute, she just answered me by “yes, I know, they took out information on the last volumes” (17/02/2011).

TABLE 8 WITHIN THE PAPER

Table 9: Suggest what could be done to resolve the environmental problems?

	In Tunisia	In the World	And you?
Technical answers (electric cars, filters on chimneys, more ecological planes, etc)	8	5	2
Context (manifestations, posters) ¹	6	2	4
Placing more waste bins	10	8	0
“Collecting the garbage” (“I” or “people”, idea of solidarity)	0	6	16
Using less petrol	2	2	0
Not using nuclear	0	1	0
Using less the car, walking more	2	1	5
Taking the bus, carpool	0	1	1
Save up electricity, water	1	3	3
Stop throwing wastes	24	10	22
“They should take out the wastes”	4	6	0
Stop polluting	5	5	5

More organic products	0	1	0
Renewable energies	0	2	1
Inventions (“to construct robots attracted by wastes and that recycle them”) ²	0	0	2
Recycling	3	1	7
“Telling others to stop polluting”	5	1	4
Suppression, dissuasion (“to punish”)	3	1	1
Interdiction, laws	4	4	0
Consuming less	2	5	2
Planting trees	4	4	2
Constructing less polluting factories	1	1	0
Consciousness raising with lessons and specialists	2	0	2
Displace the problems (“construct factories far from nature”)	2	3	0
“Nothing”	0	0	3
No response	11	26	17
Total	99	99	99

SOURCE: questionnaire 2011

¹ Answers that I interpreted as being part of the turbulent context.

² The category invention is a part from technical answers, because it conveyed imagination.

Table 10: In your point of view, what are the consequences of developing a country for nature?

No consequence	3
Small consequences	54
A lot of consequences	37
No response	5

Source: questionnaire 2011

Table 11: What should be developed in Tunisia in your point of view?

For this question the kids had to give four choices. Here are the results, the category “no response” has not been reported here.

More shops	18
Shop' brand	7
Product' brand	4
Subtotal	29
Better car, convertible car	6
More swimming-pool	2
Sports, sport club	4
Sport playground, gym or fitness center	3
Games, video games	5
A new president	8
Housing, skyscraper	3
Disneyland, amusement park	14
Snow	6
Mac Donald	25
Technology	4
Less wastes	4
A clean city	4
More waste bins	4
Recycling	9
Stop polluting	7
Less CO2, bettering the air	3
Electric car	9
More natural park, forest, public gardens	17
More wealth to help poor people	7
More economy	4
More money	2
More schools	4
More clean schools	1
More foreign schools	1
More police/ more security	6
To be happier/less problems	3
More ecology, more environmental protection	10
Transports	4
Bike, bicycle path	9
Respect the others, kindness	2
More evolution, ameliorate Tunisia	3
Ameliorate the health, more medicines, more private hospital	10
Less wasting	2

Less unemployment, more work	4
More historical places	2
More leisure place	5
More ecological objects	2
Air-conditioned bus/ Mac do	2
Others	24
Total	273

Source: questionnaire 2011

Table 12: Some of the kids' interventions linking France and the West to consumption

While talking about Marco Polo during an history lesson: A child: "I went to a restaurant called Marco Polo in Spain" Another student: "There is a brand called like that too"	06/01/2011-CM1
During the same history lesson, later talking about the fact that people did not use to take shower often: The teacher: "they did not smell very good, even the rich people, so they used perfume" A student: "Is it a designer perfume?"	06/01/2011-CM1
During a science lesson on energy, the task was to compare the use of energy between a week day and the weekend as well as during the summer and the winter. A student: "In France, there is the swimming-pool"	26/01/2011-CM2
During an interview with two girls: "In France, they are more things to have fun: Disneyland (---) In France they are more shops, more amusements parks, more things."	27/01/2011-CM2
During another interview: "My father goes often to France, every two weeks. And he brings me back some presents, and brand clothes."	28/01/2011-CM2

Source: Fieldwork 2011

Table 13: Are your parents travelling for their work?

Never	12
Sometimes	42
Often	44
No response	1
Total	99

Source: questionnaire 2011

When your parents travel alone, do they bring back one or more presents to you?

Never	2
Sometimes	14
Often	19
Always	60
No response	4
Total	99

Source: questionnaire 2011

Table 14: GS writings about their or their parents' trips to Paris and Europe

“We went to pick up my aunt at the airport. We had lunch with her. She brought me back a huge helicopter with a control”
“My parents went on a trip. Went to pick them up at the airport with my grand-father. They brought me many surprises. I missed them a lot.”
“We went to Paris. We saw three musical comedies: at the Mogador Theater: Cinderella; at the Olympia: Scoobydoo and the ghost pirates; at the Folies Bergères: Arturo Brachetti, the illusionist.”
“We could see the Eiffel tower sparkling from our room. We ate a lot of fries and Mac Nuggets in Mac Donald (---) We stay seven days in Paris, and that's all.”

Source: “Cahiers de vie”, fieldwork 2011

Table 15: Nationalities of the parents

FATHERS:

	French nationality	Tunisian nationality	Dual nationality	Third nationality	TOTAL
CE2	34	66	51	23	174
CM1	33	76	36	30	175
CM2	29	58	45	23	155
TOTAL	96	200	132	76	504
Total %	19%	40%	26%	15%	100%

Source: student's files from the school's administration

MOTHERS:

	French nationality	Tunisian nationality	Dual nationality	Third nationality	TOTAL
CE2	30	57	67	20	174
CM1	23	61	59	32	175
CM2	21	50	58	26	155
TOTAL	74	168	184	78	504
Total %	15%	33%	37%	15%	100%

Source: student's files from the school's administration

Table 16: Students' nationalities

	French nationality	Tunisian nationality	Dual nationality	Third nationality	TOTAL
CE2	26	80	48	20	174
CM1	21	80	42	32	175
CM2	23	63	49	20	155
TOTAL	70	223	139	72	504
Total %	14%	44%	28%	14%	100%

Source: Survey 2011. Student's files from the school administration

Table 17: Some answers from the questionnaire showing the awareness of some pupils on the issue of consumption and inequality of access.

"To eliminate cars"; "to have less cars"; "stop using petrol"
"To give back what we took to nature"; "Stop taking from nature without giving back"
"We have to be as brothers and sisters"
"Stop doing fashionable things that pollute"

Source: questionnaire 2011

At the reverse, some answers showing the exteriority of the responsibility

"That Tunisian people STOP throwing wastes in the street"
"The garbage collectors could work better"
"To bring polite and not dirty people"

Source: questionnaire 2011

Table 18: How is your school dealing with the environmental issue in your point of view?

Not quite good	7
Pretty good	28
Good	42
Very good	21
No response	1

Source: questionnaire 2011

How are the Tunisian local schools dealing with the environmental issue in your point of view?

Not quite good	37
Pretty good	17
Good	9
Very good	2
I don't know	35
No response	1

Source: questionnaire 2011

27 kids downgraded the local schools by one rank; 17 by two ranks and 5 kids by three ranks. 7 students thought it was equal, 8 upgraded the local schools by one rank; and 35 students answered I don't know.

Table 19: What is the environment in your point of view?

Nature that surrounds us/ what is surrounding us but which is natural	5
Everything that surrounds us/ natural and constructed	11
Nature/ plants/ vegetation, etc.	40
Fauna/ animals	3
Nature and animals	1
Not polluting / Not dirtying our planet/ not throwing wastes/ choosing the right act	11
Taking care of our planet/ protecting the earth	8
It is a place that we have to respect/ "it is a place where there are no bad things"/ (sense of pristine nature)	4
"The environment, it is very important for me" (relating to himself/ herself)	3
Historical events/ "important moments for the earth"	2
Something happening on the planet/ something happening outside	3
Others	2
No response	6
Total	99

Source: questionnaire 2011

Table 20: What is good for the environment in Tunisia which does not exist in France?

“The trees, because it is said “Tunisia is green”, the sea because it is very beautiful especially at Zarzis”
“The sea”
“The nature, the beach”
“All the nature that surrounds us, the vegetation, while in France, there is almost only cities”
“In Tunisia, there is the beach, the nature”
“Vegetation”

Source: questionnaire 2011

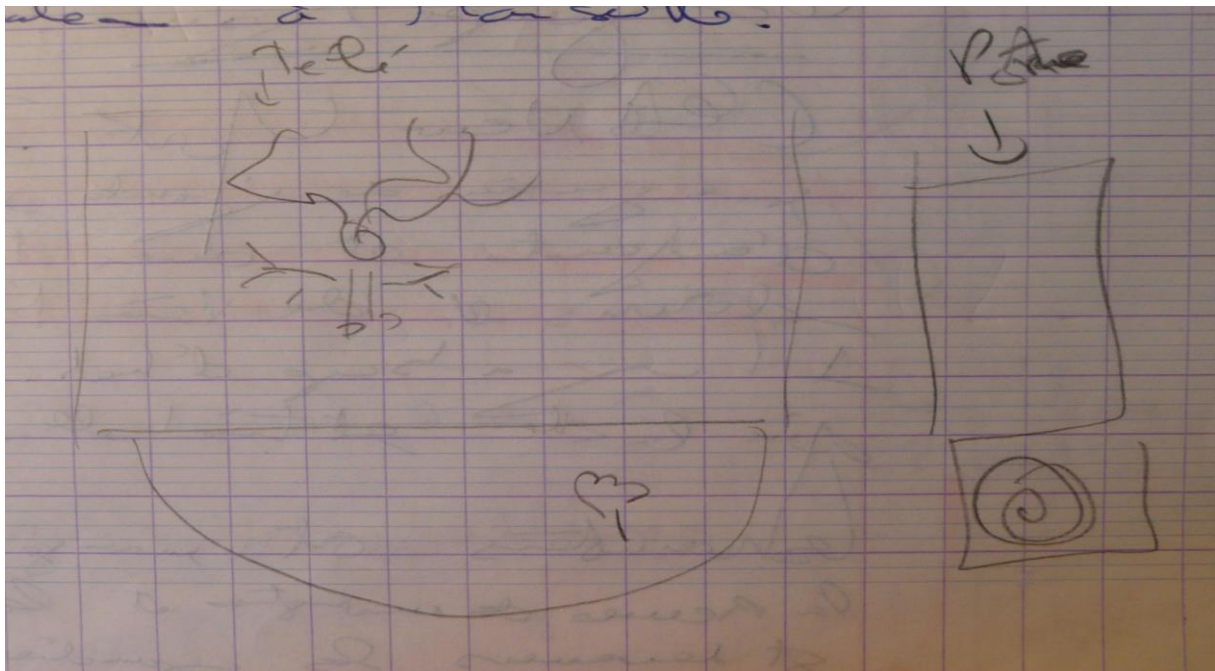
The answers encountered seem to correspond to the activities the kids are carrying out with their families in the respective countries and hence the idea and representation they have of France and Tunisia.

Moreover 28 kids out of 99 answered: “nothing” or “I think there is nothing” to the same question; within which I would like to quote two answers in particular: “nothing AT ALL”, and: “NO, there is nothing, because France is less polluted and in plus there is recycling, and the French garbage don’t stink”.

APPENDIX 2: GIS maps, see on page 107/ 108.

APPENDIX 3: DRAWINGS FROM CHILDREN

- 1) The reproduction of a drawing from a five years old girl describing her week end



Source: Fieldwork 2011, “cahiers de vie”

What took the most part of the drawing is the TV in the middle where we can see a Barbie drawn. In front of it the space where the family was sat together to watch it. On the right: the door and a sort of whirl in front of it. Both TV and door are disproportionate.

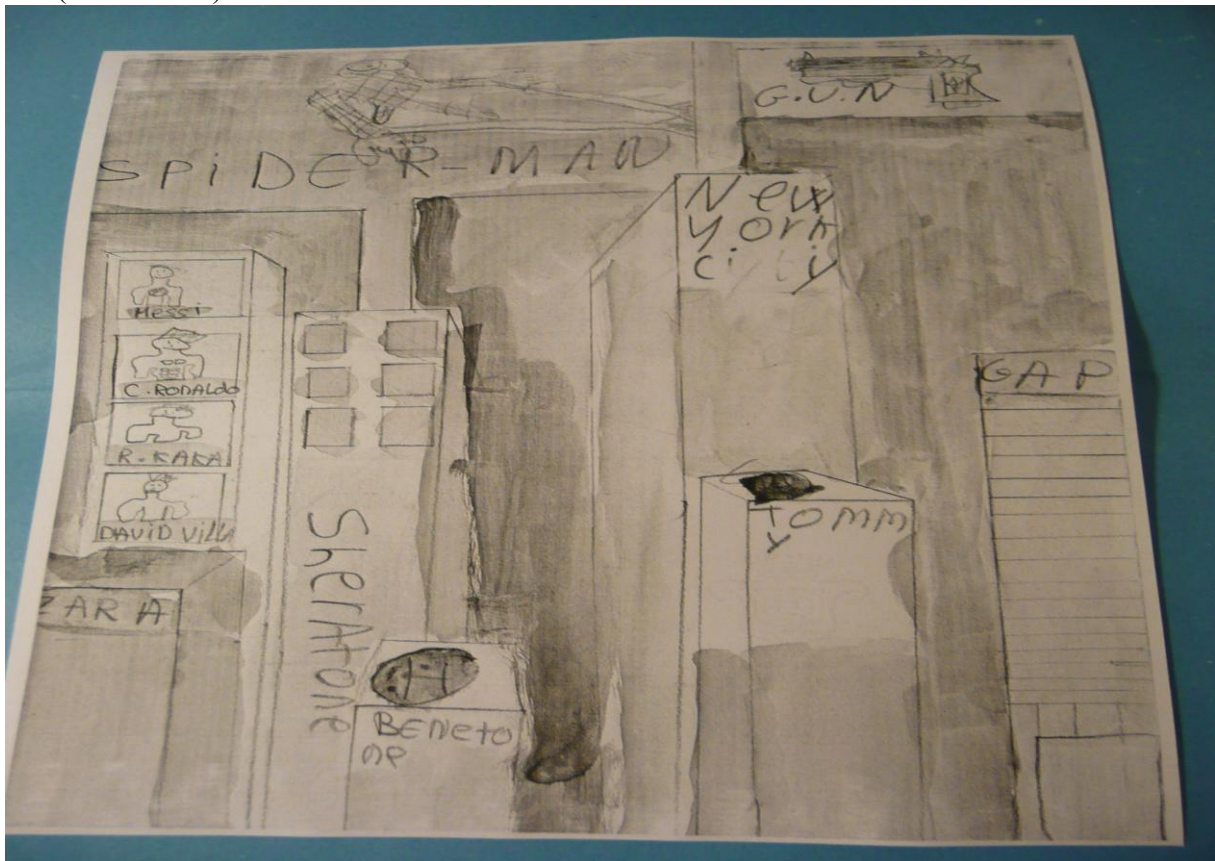
Let us quote the girl: “Saturday, we were having a day together with the family watching Barbie at fashion fairytale. And the evening we went to eat at “baguette et baguette” (a snack restaurant) and we prepared daddy’s luggage’s. Sunday, daddy left for Marseille with the boat.”

The door and the whirl are obviously representing the departure and the anxiety left by it. The overall drawing also gives a glimpse of the importance of the travels and the consumer goods.

2) Some of the drawings from the art lesson: the instruction was to create an urban landscape

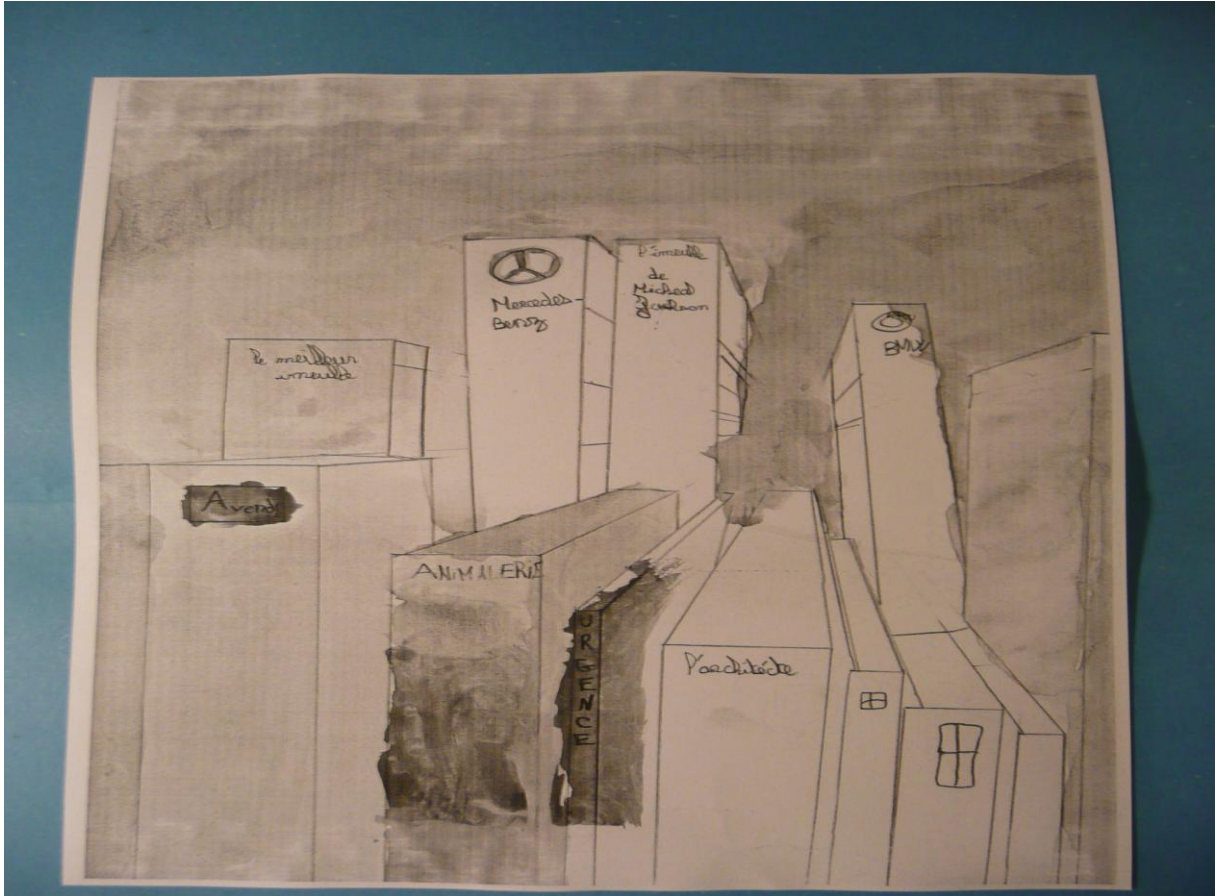
I would like to write here some of the comments I heard during this lesson:

“Can we do a flat roof with a swimming-pool on it?”; “Can we draw brands or celebrities?”; “Is that the building of Michael Jackson?”; “You will see the advertisements I am going to do” (28/01/2011).



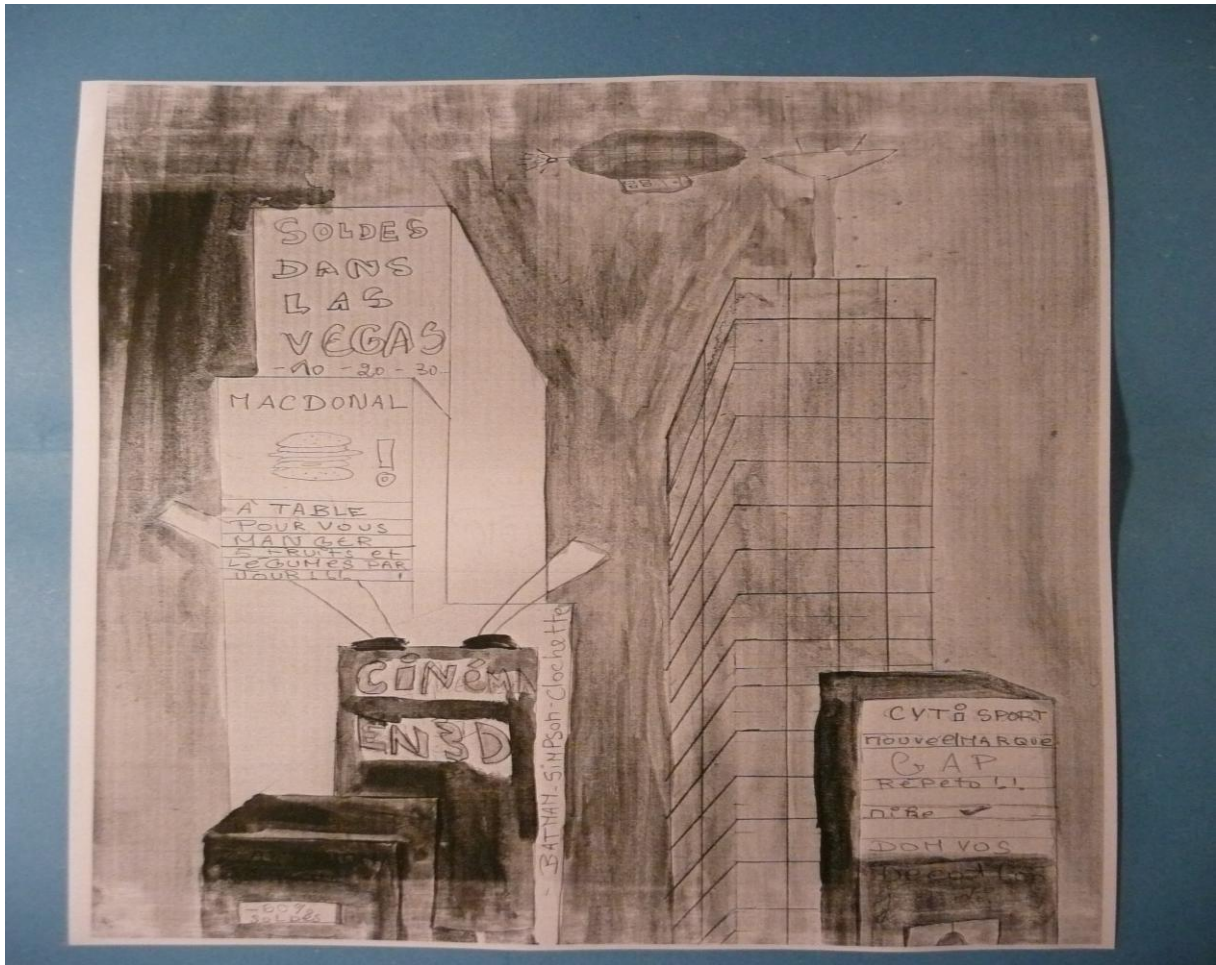
Source: fieldwork 2011

We can notice “gun; Spiderman; Sheraton; Gap; Zara; Tommy (Hilfiger); Benetton; New York City” and some players from a football team.



Source: fieldwork 2011

We can notice “Mercedes-Benz; Michael Jackson; BMW”.



Source: fieldwork 2011

We can notice: "Mac Donald; soldes dans Las Vegas (sales in Las Vegas); Gap; Repetto; Nike, Decathlon; Zara", etc.

APPENDIX 4: QUESTIONNAIRE (French) for students distributed in class.

QUESTIONNAIRE : L'ENVIRONNEMENT

Bonjour ! Voici quelques questions pour toi. Il faudrait que tu donnes ton avis à ces questions sur l'environnement ! Il n'y a ni bonne réponse ni mauvaise réponse. N'oublie pas, c'est ton avis qui est important !
BONNE CHANCE ET BON TRAVAIL !

Ton âge :
Ta classe :
Ta nationalité:
Ton pays de naissance :
Es-tu une fille ou un garçon ? :

Pour les deux questions suivantes tu peux donner plusieurs réponses :
Matière(s) préférée(s) :
Thème(s) préféré(s) :

- 1) As-tu déjà entendu parler du Développement Durable ?
 - a. Oui
 - b. Non

- 2) Où as-tu déjà entendu parler du développement durable ou de l'environnement?
 - a- A l'école
 - b- A la maison
 - c- A la télé, et sur quelle chaîne ?
 - d- Autre part

- 3) Et à l'école, te parle-t-on beaucoup de l'environnement et/ou du Développement Durable ?
 - a- Pas du tout
 - b- Un peu
 - c- Beaucoup

- 4) Cite des leçons en rapport avec la protection de l'environnement que tu as abordé en classe (cela peut être pendant les années précédentes !).
.....
.....

- 5) Essaie de donner une définition du développement durable :
.....
.....

6) Qu'est-ce que l'environnement pour toi ? :

.....
.....

7) A ton avis, qu'est-ce qui peut abîmer l'environnement ? Place par ordre d'importance !

1-
2-
3-
4-

8) Et d'après toi, qui est responsable de ça? Place toujours par ordre d'importance !

1-
2-
3-
4-

POUR LES QUESTIONS 9, 10 et 11 C'EST TOI QUI PROPOSE !! ☺

9) Propose ce que l'on pourrait faire pour résoudre les problèmes de l'environnement en Tunisie :

.....
.....

10) Et dans le monde ?

.....
.....

11) Et toi qu'est-ce que tu pourrais faire ?!

.....
.....

12) A ton avis, comment est-ce que ton école s'occupe de l'environnement ?

- a- Pas très bien
- b- Assez bien
- c- Bien
- d- Très bien

13) A ton avis, comment est-ce que les écoles Tunisiennes s'occupent de l'environnement ?

- a- Pas très bien
- b- Assez bien
- c- Bien
- d- Très bien
- e- Je ne sais pas

14) Pour toi que veut dire développer un pays ? Classe du plus important au moins important de 1 à 5 :

- a- Développer la technologie
- b- Améliorer la santé
- c- Augmenter le nombre de magasins
- d- Etre plus heureux
- e- Améliorer les transports

15) Pour toi développer un pays, c'est :

- a- Il ne faut pas le faire
- b- Un peu important de le faire
- c- Nécessaire de le faire

16) Que faudrait-il faire pour développer durablement sans trop prendre à la nature? Classe du plus important au moins important de 1 à 5 :

- a- Consommer moins
- b- Utiliser les énergies renouvelables
- c- Recycler

17) Où voudrais-tu vivre plus tard ?

18) Quel métier voudrais-tu faire ?!

19) Qu'est-ce qu'il faudrait développer en Tunisie selon toi ? Place par ordre d'importance !

- 1-
- 2-
- 3-
- 4-

20) Est-ce que toutes tes réponses à la question 19 sont écologiques ? ☺ Et si ta réponse est « non », pourquoi ?

.....
.....

21) Cite des exemples de bonnes choses pour l'environnement qui existent en Tunisie ?

.....
.....

22) Cite des exemples de bonnes choses pour l'environnement qui existent en Tunisie mais pas en France ?

.....
.....

- 23) Pour toi, partir en voyage, c'est :
- a- En Tunisie
 - b- En Tunisie et ailleurs
 - c- Ailleurs
- 24) Combien de fois par an voyages-tu ?
- a- Je ne voyage pas vraiment
 - b- 1 à 3 fois
 - c- 3 à 5 fois
 - d- Plus de 5 fois
- 25) Vas-tu partir pour ces vacances de février?
- a- Oui
 - b- Non
- Si oui, où vas-tu ?
- 26) Où préfères-tu passer tes vacances en général ?
- 27) Quel sont les conséquences du développement d'un pays sur la nature selon toi ?
- a- Pas de conséquences
 - b- Peu de conséquences
 - c- Beaucoup de conséquences
- 28) Tes leçons en classe sur la protection de l'environnement influencent-elles ton comportement?
- a- Non, pas du tout
 - b- Un peu
 - c- Beaucoup
- 29) Quel est le métier de tes parents ?
- Père :
- Mère :
- 30) As-tu déjà participé à des **activités pour l'environnement** à l'école ou à l'extérieur de l'école ?
- a- Oui
 - b- Non
- Si oui**, quelles sont les **activités pour l'environnement** auxquelles tu as déjà participé à l'école?
-
-
- Et en dehors de l'école ?
-
-
- 31) Quand tu sors avec ta famille, où te promènes-tu ?
-
-

- 32) Est-ce que tu trouves que l'environnement est un sujet important ?
- a- Non, pas du tout
 - b- Un peu
 - c- Beaucoup

- 33) Est-ce que tes parents voyagent pour le travail ?
- a- Jamais
 - b- De temps en temps
 - c- Souvent

- 34) Quand tes parents voyagent seuls, te ramènent-ils un ou des cadeaux ?
- a- Jamais
 - b- De temps en temps
 - c- Souvent
 - d- Toujours

- 35) As-tu ? : Entoure
- a- Un ordinateur à toi oui non
Si oui, est-il dans ta chambre ? oui non
 - b- Un téléphone portable oui non
 - c- Une PS3, Xbox, Wii, une DS (Entoure celle(s) que tu as)
 - d- Une montre oui non

- 36) Tu sais que ce sont les usines qui polluent. Pourtant ce sont les usines qui produisent les vêtements et les voitures. Comment faire alors ?

.....
.....

- 37) Que représentent les vêtements et/ou les objets de marques pour toi ?
- a- Rien du tout
 - b- Pour me faire beau/belle
 - c- Pour être à la mode
 - d- Pour faire comme les copains
 - e- Pour faire parti d'un groupe
 - f- Pour ressembler à des gens célèbres

- 38) Quelles sont tes trois activités préférées dans la vie de tous les jours ? Classe par ordre d'importance.

1-
2-
3-

APPENDIX 5: Questionnaire distributed to teachers

Profession :

Sexe : F M

Age :

Donnez s'il-vous-plaît cinq réponses classées par ordre d'importance selon vous.

A- Activités ou objets de votre vie qui devraient être réduits ou éliminés pour améliorer la protection de l'environnement et la bonne gestion des ressources.

- 1.....
.....
- 2.....
.....
- 3.....
.....
- 4.....
.....
- 5.....
.....

B- Initiatives nécessaires pour promouvoir le développement durable en Tunisie.

- 1.....
.....
- 2.....
.....
- 3.....
.....
- 4.....
.....
- 5.....
.....

C- Meilleures manières d'enseigner le développement durable aux enfants et d'encourager des styles de vie "durables".

- 1.....
.....
- 2.....
.....
- 3.....

4.....

5.....

APPENDIX 6 : Questionnaire distributed to Tunisian students.

QUESTIONNAIRE : L'ENVIRONNEMENT **استجواب : البيئة**

Ton âge : عمرك

Ta classe : قسمك

Es-tu une fille ou un garçon : هل أنت طفل أم طفلة

Donne ton avis ! قل ما هو رأيك



ضع الجواب في دائرة !

1) Reconnais-tu le personnage sur la photo ? Est-ce que c'est :

هل تعرف من في الصورة؟ هل هو

- a- Labib لبيب
b- Skander إسكندر
c- Dalil دليل

2) Que fait-il le plus souvent? ماذا يفعل في غالب الأحيان?

- a - Manger des gâteaux يتناول حلويات
b - Jeter les papiers à la poubelle يضع الأوراق في سلة المهملات
c- Danser يرقص

3) Te parle-t-on beaucoup de l'environnement à l'école? هل سمعت الكثير عن البيئة في المدرسة?

- a- Jamais أبدا
b- Un peu قليلا
c- Beaucoup كثير

4) Est-ce que tu trouves que l'environnement est un sujet important? هل تظن أن موضوع البيئة موضوع هام?

- a- Non, pas du tout لا ليس كذلك
b- Un peu قليلا
c- Beaucoup كثير

5) Te souviens-tu de sujets en rapport avec l'environnement abordés en classe? Cite-en quelques-uns!

هل تتذكر بعض الأسئلة لها علاقة بالبيئة و ترحت في القسم؟ أذكر البعض منها

.....
.....

6) Quelles sont tes trois activités préférées dans la vie de tous les jours ? Classe du plus important au moins important. ما هي أعمالك الثلاث المفضلة في حياتك اليومية؟ رتبها من الأهم إلى أقل أهمية

.....

.....

.....

7) As-tu déjà participé à des **activités pour l'environnement** à l'école ou à l'extérieur de l'école ?

هل شاركت في أشغال بيئية سو كانت في المدرسة أو في خارجها

c- Oui نعم

d- Non لا

Si ta réponse est non tu as fini le questionnaire, si ta réponse est oui, répond à la question 8

إن كان جوابك لا: أنهيت عمل

إن كان جوابك هو نعم فأجب عن السائل 8

8) Quelles sont les **activités pour l'environnement** auxquelles tu as déjà participé à l'école?

Et en dehors de l'école ?

ما هي الأشغال البيئية التي شاركت فيها داخل المدرسة أو خارجها

.....

.....

.....