MODERNISATION IN ALGERIA AND THE QUEST OF TECHNOLOGY: A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF SECONDARY EDUCATION.

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ABSTRACT

This study is a social analysis of the historical conditions of the emergence of the Algerian intellectual elite. It attempts to trace and document the cultural components of two distinct educational systems, namely, the colonial and traditional schooling systems that existed in colonial Algeria. Class analysis is traced in the light of cultural and sociological factors in order to reveal the cultural revival that has long been neglected when studied from a marxist perspective.

The method of analysis can be described as historical, analytical and interpretive. Sources of data are largely original English and French works, sometimes translations from Arabic and governmental documents. Further, the survey consists of a case study in an urban area, as well as interviews with education officials at the Ministry.

This study concludes with a theoretical analysis of the process of the Algerian model of modernisation and the numerous policies of investment in human capital so as to meet the needs of the country in terms of manpower. In addition, it attempts to reveal the structure of the intellectual stratum through the new system of education introduced in 1976 through Fundamental school (1) as well as the social origin of students and the factors affecting their careers in the different branches of studies.
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To my illiterate parents who were patient with my long education...

To my illiterate parents who have invested in my education...

To my brothers and sisters and to ...

Nawal,

To the next...
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Glossary of names

Achira: Groups of related families organised in an arsh estate.
Arsh: Tribal land and a type of private property based upon the actual working of the land.
Ayla: Arabic name for family.
Badw: Rural type of social organisation.
Bey: Algerian representative before the the Turkish government at the district level.
Beylik: Public domain.
Beit El-Mal: Public treasures
Caid: Local administrator or tribal chief.
Commune: Administrative part of the district (Wilaya).
Daira: Administrative part of the commune.
Dar Es-Sultan: Sultan's headquarters.
Dey: Turkish governor of the regency of Algiers.
Diwan: Socio-political institution in the Islamic caliphate dealing with public affairs and financial matters.
Fiqh: Islamic Jurisprudence.
Habous: Religious donation of property for the benefit of a foundation devoted to religious activity or a charitable and cultural institution. Cannot be inalienable.
Hadith: All the sayings of the Prophet Mohamed [Peace be upon him].
Hadar: Urban type of social organisation.
Icaza: Certificate of success in a Medrassa.
Koran: Holy book for Muslim.
Kouroughli: Descendants from mixed marriages. Algerian mothers and Turkish fathers.
Madina: City in Saudi Arabia.
Madrassa: Religious school, equivalent of college.
Mekteb: Literally desk. In the cultural context it is the place of reading and studying.
Melk: Private property which can be owned by a family, achira or a tribe.
Mirwaha: Fan.
Nahda: Renaissance of Islamic civilisation.
Quawm: The people linked by the same faith, language and traditions.
Rais: Professional privateering group, literally chief.
Rif: Arabic name for rural zones.
Souk: Public market.
Sourate: Koranic verses. Every Sourate is made of several verses.
Suna: Traditions left by the Prophet Mohamed [Peace be upon him] including deeds, utterances and unspoken approvals.
Talib: Plural Tollahab: Student.
Ulema: Religious learned scholar.
Umma: Nation.
Watan: Fatherland.
Willaya: First administrative district.
Zaouia: Religious institution linked to a mosque. Its purposes are of socialisation.
Glossary of Abbreviations

AAA: American Arab Affairs.
AJS: American Journal of Sociology.
ARRS: Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales.
CNRS: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.
CREA: Centre de la Recherche et des Etudes Agraires.
DESGT: Directeur de l'Enseignement Secondaire General et Technique.
EJE: European Journal of Education.
ENL: Entreprise Nationale du Livre.
FLN: Front de Liberation Nationale.
GSE: Gestion Socialiste des Entreprises.
IJSE: International Journal of Science Education.
IRHPS: International Review of History and Political Science.
ISSJ: International Social Science Journal.
JEAI: Journal of Educational Administrative History.
MEI: Middle East International.
MEJ: Middle East Journal.
MEN: Ministere de l'Education Nationale.
MEPS: Ministere des Enseignements Primaires et Secondaries.
MPAT: Ministere de la Planification et de l'Amenagement Territoire.
OAS: Organisation de l'Armee Secrete. (French para-military organisation)
OPU: Office des Publications Universitaires
OS: Organisation Secrete. (Algerian political organisation)
RCEA: Revue Canadienne des Etudes Africaines.
SGT: Statut General du Travailleur.
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INTRODUCTION

The sphere of educational studies has been actively and expertly investigated in the last decades. Researchers in various sciences are making of education a controversial subject, upon which it is quite difficult, if not impossible, to agree upon a common definition of term education. In order to encompass the meaning of that concept it has been dealt with in the context of social investigation and scientific research. The central focus of these studies tends to cover six interrelated topics in the field of education. In other words, education is basically concerned with the individual, either in the process of socialisation as a starting point in his education, or in the process of academic teaching.

As a matter of fact, the outcomes of educational research can be classified in the following brief points:

a) study of one's abilities, b) investment in human capital through education, c) improvement of social status or upward mobility, d) gender and education, e) education and class structure, f) methods of teaching or academic pedagogy.

Each outcome or topic has been viewed from numerous angles, resulting in an enormous academic investigation and a controversial amount of literature where '(...) the history of education (...) has opened new perspectives in a field historians had long ignored' (Talbott:1971:133). Hence forth, a subject like 'social origin' or 'origin and destination' in education is becoming of special interest and a topic of many
specialists, illustrated by the work undertaken by sociologists like: Boudon, Bourdieu, Halsey, Gerard, Levy, Merille.

These studies have developed a socio-cultural perspective to study the trajectory of a student population through cultural variables, and consequently classify the different strata in the socio-professional 'nomenclature'.

As far as the present study is concerned, it deals with the concept of education in a developing country, namely, Algeria, that lacks this kind of sociological research. As a matter of fact studies about Algeria have concentrated upon some specific points such as state building, industrialisation, agrarian reform, history etc... But only sporadic attempts have been devoted to education, its contribution to modernisation and social change, as well as its role in stratification. What is more, is the fact that the former studies dealing with the specific features of Algerian society tend to utilise the marxist theory for analysis and interpretation. As a result the cultural revival is often neglected and consequently, the revolution of independence is attributed to purely materialistic elements rather than cultural factors, such as religion, i.e Islam.

Indeed Gallisot reveals, the difficulties when approaching Algerian society in terms of Marxist theory. To quote him: 'Algeria is a test case for the marxist analysis' (Gallisot: 1975:418). The author argues that any explanation presented in the light of that theory 'must be inadequate' in the case of a muslim country like Algeria whose form of
property and that of kinship had been maintained for thousand of years. Hence, he suggests, that an objective inquiry should take into account the specific aspects of Algerian society where collective forms of ownership and production are 'made up kinship ties and of more or less ethnic local and regional committees from village to federation, from duwar to tribe (...) the best method is surely to put aside all pre-judgements and begin by making a social analysis ' (Gallisot: 1975:418).

Another aspect of the previous studies, meriting particular attention is the overestimation of the term "State Capitalism" used to explain the process of the accumulation of capital. The use of such a concept can be a corollary of some misconceptions relating to the Algerian economy. Indeed students must take great methodological care, if they are to apply this concept in studying Algeria. This sort of precaution is suggested by Glasman and Kremer whose initial interest was to investigate this notion in the economy. They conclude that:

'One must take great care of the "State Capitalism" notion. The ruling class in Algeria has not to exploit the working class to achieve the accumulation of capital [for industrial investment], the hydrocarbon resources are sufficient for this ' (Glasman and Kremer: 1978:148).

In the same vein, Djeghloul argues that in performing a sociological inquiry about a country like Algeria, a methodological dichotomy must be made, a separation between Western analysis and the peculiar aspects of a Muslim country (Djeghloul (a):1986:15).
This study is designed to build on socio-historical insights and integrate them with the essence of the Algerian elite during the time of the revolution, with specific reference to some sociological factors:
i.e.: socialisation, parental education, geographical origin, social background etc... The purpose of this study is a social analysis which may contribute to understanding the structure of Algerian society from a sociological and cultural standpoint.

Overall, this study attempts to trace the historical components of the emergence of the Algerian elite and document the cultural conflict that emerged from a dual system of education. On the one hand, colonial policies of education were intended for total alienation. On the other hand, local educational institutions, viewed as the counter institutions of those implemented by French officials whose basic interest was tax collection, which fostered the employment of local families to collect the money inside rural areas. Thus, administrative and social stratification was impelled. (Vonsivers: 1979: 681-684). These colonial actions were encouraged by the local resistance that emerged against French officials and by population growth at that time (Vonsivers: 1984).

With full attention given to the concept of education, the first chapter deals, briefly, with a literature review within the various sociological contexts: i.e: functionalism, marxism, man power theory, etc.... This chapter, introduces the problematic work, and considers some methodological points related to the analysis and the survey. Further, there is a
brief introduction to Algeria in terms of history, geography and the role of education in the economic milieus.

History and description of the Algerian social order as related by Ibn Khaldun in his outstanding multi-disciplinary analysis (3) about medieval North Africa, and the dislocation of the social order by the French presence form the basis of the second chapter which examines the cultural foundations of the French system of education, and the cultural resistance, fostered by the imposition of foreign values and attitudes. The cultural resistance that is referred to, and led by the 'Ulema' association must be documented, because it is the only medium that expresses the conflict which emerged from the combination of numerous factors, notably cultural parameters for which colonial schools were rejected by the majority of the people (Benabdi: 1980:52).

Chapter three is an interpretative analysis of the consequential events of the colonial policies in education. It shows the preliminary solutions undertaken by the leading class for national construction. The second section is a critical approach to the process of industrialisation, which seems to be the most dynamic feature that can effectively speed-up the process of social change in terms of the distributive aspect (health, education), structural aspects (production of goods, services) and the aggregative features (stratification, homogeneity ...). Above all, this chapter covers a period of twenty years during which Algeria has utilised its energy resources to develop a wide range of products and through which
observers expected a steady revival of both the administrative and the industrial infrastructures (Martinez: 1976: 62-63), as well as the cultural one (Grandguillaume: 1979: 20-21).

This literature is the framework of a survey carried out at one Lyceee during two academic terms. The long duration of the survey was partly due to the size of the sample, and partly to the time allowed for every student, as well as the numerous contacts with officials at the ministry of education.

Chapter four presents the field of the survey, namely, the Lyceee Mixte Bouattoura which can be taken as prototype of the structure of the Algerian educational institutions. This chapter describes the administrative structure of the lycee and its teaching facilities with regard to:

a) pedagogic unity, b) basic pedagogic instrument, c) thematic teaching, d) scientific methods. (Martinez: 1976: 61-64).

In other words, the educative function is ensured through an ensemble of institutions and educational structures known as a system which is centrally planned and organised so that the multifarious functions -within an academic milieu- can be performed efficiently. Moreover, this chapter analyses the distribution of the students with specific reference to gender, and sections of studies as well as the social characteristics of the sample.

In order to give sociological meaning to the concept of equality in education a whole section is devoted to this (chapter 5). Through this analysis, it is hoped to reveal the factors that may affect one's career in specific section of
studies. Sociological studies have already demonstrated the selection operated by schools and universities, because the process of education does not present equal chances (Lucas: 1987: 56).

Regarding the importance of education in development and modernisation, the dialectical relation has been dealt with in order to discern the strategic importance of middle and higher level manpower and proceed to a sociological analysis of class structure and modernisation.

It is often stated that the Algerian milieu does not encourage the education of girls. This kind of assumption or statement is explained by the rigid traditions that operate a systematic division of labour, as well as by religion. Hence, we must hasten to say that Islam is a religion of science and knowledge (Dia: 1975: 117-162). Indeed the holy Koran has repeatedly emphasised the place and significance of science. The very beginning 'Sourates' were revealed to the prophet of Islam as instructions to: "Read [Proclaim] in the name of your Lord". Other Islamic instructions that encourage the quest of sciences are also contained in the traditions of the prophet Muhammad (Peace be upon him): "The quest of knowledge is a duty for every muslim" "Ask for science, even in China".

This is the sociological context in which the study is designed so as to achieve a full examination of the historical conditions of the emergence of an intellectual stratum and trace its dynamics and its social position within the general context of the society.
Unlike the marxist perspective which has been heavily criticised in the Algerian context (Devillers: 1984: 207), this study presents a picture of social stratification from a cultural standpoint. In other words, it attempts to analyse the historical, social and economic factors that fostered the emergence of conflict amongst the Algerian elites.
CHAPTER ONE

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I OPERATIONALIZATION OF THE STUDY
1) Literature review or critical approach to education
2) Outline of the study
3) Assumptions

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SECTION ONE:

I OPERATIONALIZATION OF THE STUDY

1) Literature review or critical approach to education
2) Outline of the study
3) Assumptions
I Operationalization of the study

This section is designed to tackle three major topics of the research with regard to the theoretical framework of the study. Firstly, it summarises the important theories relating to education and its contribution to modernisation and development. Education has long been a fundamental topic in the work of sociologists, psychologists, educationists, economists etc., because it has been seen as a source of emancipation with respect to many issues: i.e. moral, intellectual, social, economic etc. Moreover, it is considered as the effective medium through which a society can organise its resources and modernise (Khoi: 1967:352-395).

Second, a broad outline of the present study will be presented. The notion of education in Algeria, its planning and the investment in human capital, relating the educational issues to development and industrialisation.

Finally, the questions related to the methodology utilised in the study will be dealt with as far as historical facts and the practical features of the survey are concerned, in order to express in either sense the assumptions formulated throughout the operationalization of the study.

1") Literature review or critical approach to education

Education is being widely investigated and there is no common definition relating specifically to education. However, it might be advanced that discussions about education debate five fundamental headings closely connected to the importance and
the role of education. These are:

a) methods of teaching,

b) contribution of education to the improvement of intellectual aptitudes and faculties, as well as technical skills,

c) contribution of education to modernisation,

d) improvement of social status through educational openings and personal outlooks,

e) social reproduction and the distribution of knowledge.

These views have been developed through pioneering books and articles. Historians of education tend to attribute the merit of the foundation of the sociology of education to the French sociologist Durkheim. Whatever, the role played by this sociologist, one has to consider the original socio-historical thoughts of the medieval thinker, Ibn Khaldun. Indeed, he formulated in the 14th century a series of scientific thoughts according to which he argued that there are two basic ways of the transmission of knowledge in any society: i.e. Verbal and Written Communication (Ibn Khaldun: 1958: V2: 429). He, then, made a series of observations criticising the ineffective methods of teaching at that time in the Maghreb and formulating several ways of effective teaching (Ibn Khaldun: 1958: V3: 285-295).

Contemporary studies about this controversial subject are often related to four major frameworks of reference, different in their methods but which acknowledge the very important role of education in societies, whatever level of development they have achieved.

First the functionalist perspective emphasises the influence of society upon coming generations. In other words, this theory
relates the organised process of education to the economy and sociological patterns as well as to pedagogy 'regarded as necessary for the survival of the society' (Burgess:1986:12).

A comprehensive exposition of the marxist theory of education seems to be very difficult without understanding the general context of marxism. The intention is to give a brief summary of the fundamental approaches to education. In this sense, marxist students consider the content of education as reflecting the larger economic sphere and relate it to the class structure, the economy, work and alienation. Hence, the marxist definition may be communicated in the following terms:

'Education is a mode of production involving pupils and teachers and knowledge in both private property and cultural 'capital'. Schools are factories'.
(Sarup:1978:129)

Third, the theory of human capital investment argues for a strong relationship between development and the rational utilisation of manpower. In effect, it argues that in the course of development, a strategy of development of the existing human resources is sorely needed and must be the preliminary procedure (Harbison and Myers:1964:17-21). Such a strategy ensures that a society can 'achieve the best possible utilisation of limited resources'. (Harbison and Myers:1964:20)

Finally, the theory of socio-cultural reproduction, which is best illustrated in the work of Bourdieu, sees education as a constant social competition to achieve the best social status, involving various sociological parameters, such as the family's
social position, the individual relationship to cultural capital etc. Proponents of this perspective stress the process of social stratification operated by education according to inequality of life chances. Moreover, they establish a relationship between upward social mobility and social background (Boudon:1973:4-12) (Bourdieu:1979 (b):3-6).

In general, education is viewed as the 'whole process of bringing persons up and is usually, though not necessarily, used in respect of the young. (...) More widely, it refers to the education of persons at all stages of the life cycle; more narrowly, to refer to that part of bringing-up that occurs in formal institutions, 'and is more accurately termed 'schooling' (Mann:1985:105).

It is quite clear from these quotations that education performs two basic functions which involve other factors, directly related to the type of education: i.e beliefs, values, attitudes, because it is 'assumed that human behaviour is social' (Patten:1971:16).

Like many sociological concepts, education as we have seen has no universally shared definition. Thus, it is not surprising that various definitions introduce different parameters to encompass its meaning, according to the theme studied, such as sociological, psychological, economic, political. Since, it is not the intention to present the different outcomes of the theoretical work regarding education, it is useful to mention that specialists agree that it fulfils important functions, summarised in the following points:
a) The cultural function: This is the basic outcome of education, as it is the transmitting of knowledge from one generation to another. It is also the vehicle through which values, attitudes, skills and cultural guidelines are passed on.

b) The social function: Education is partly defined as the process of socialisation by which individuals are integrated into the social system. By the same token, they are differentiated in the social ladder.

c) The economic function: This role is being largely considered by theorists, especially those concerned with the theory of human investment. In this respect, education is viewed as the practical instrument involved in production and productivity (Fournier and Questiaux: 1980: 805-806).

The current important function of education is that of the preparation of the young to undertake suitable jobs with adequate qualification, and to perfect their skills and 'savoir faire' in the industrial milieu (Harbison: 1973: 53-55). This statement leads to considering education as an industry itself from two different stand points:

a) On the one hand, it provides people with industrial requirements, such as technical ability and skills, basic qualification to perform whatever action, and

b) on the other hand, the technical aspects of education are acquired through a specific process of learning which involves the various features of a materialistic production. Thus educated people are, sometimes viewed as the product of school.
Other scholars consider education a crucial element in social stratification. That is to say, not only is education a means of acquiring societal values, attitudes and culture but it is also a token that places people on the social ladder with differences in class, status and power (Calvert:1982:95-115).

This aspect of education has become of fundamental concern to sociologists. They tend to approach it from the conflictual standpoint, which leads to fundamental differences with respect to social status "which will be applied to a typically effective claim to positive or negative privilege with respect to social prestige so far as it rests on one or more of the following bases: (a) mode of living, (b) a form of process of education which may consist in empirical or rational training and the acquisition of the corresponding mode of life or (c) on the prestige of both, or of an occupation" (Weber as quoted in Calvert:1982:98).

From these quotations it appears that this perspective of study tends to acknowledge the great role played by education, resulting in threefold social differentiation; class, status and power. Thus, education has an impact upon the process of schooling where the social background of an individual is heavily involved (Kelsall, Kelsall and Chesholm:1984:82-83). This perspective has long been the fundamental concern of the French sociologist Bourdieu who concentrated on cultural and social reproduction through the actions of education and its process. In his book 'The Inheritors' with Passeron; they state quite categorically that class and status are tokens of
differentiation in the schooling milieu. To quote them:

'Differing through a whole set of predispositions and prior knowledge they [students] owe to their backgrounds, students are only formally equal in their acquisition of high culture. They are separated not by divergences which, each time, distinguish statistical categories differing in a different respect and for different reasons, but by systems of cultural features which (...) they share in part with their class of origin' (Bourdieu and Passeron: 1979: 21).

With respect to Algeria the theory of human investment will be applied because it best illustrates the different stages of development with reference to industry and agriculture. This view stresses the impact of education on modernisation. Above all, it is argued that well planned development must integrate the existing resources and 'must be directed towards a just and equitable social order' (Clarke: 1985: 64).

Clarke put forward some key concepts from which development can be achieved through their own achievement. In a way, it is a dialectical situation because if one of the 'basic needs, self-reliance and public participation' is not attained, development remains incomplete (Clarke: 1985: 62), because the major objective of development is economic growth. Thus, development must involve many integrated factors and education must be exploited for the best possible integration, as economic growth is met by effective education established for
educating the people, undergoing social change and organising resources.

For these reasons secondary education is the intermediary between organisation, planning and economic growth, because it prepares students for technical and professional activities. In effect, Harbison, considers secondary and post-secondary education as the genuine way to evaluate the degree of development achieved (Harbison: 1973:57-58), given the commitment of such a strategy to the 'mobilisation of all local-level resources and facilities' (Halak: 1983:323).

2) Outline of the study

As a newly emerging nation-state, Algeria presents a spatial area for sociological studies. Thus, literature about Algeria has been rapidly increasing covering various areas of the socio-political life, describing the economic situation and predicting future transformations. However, it has been commonplace for many previous studies to investigate the sociological features through the marxist framework which assumes a constant conflict between the ruling class and the working class. For instance, Madi views Algeria through the organisation of industrial entreprises and considers that any form of worker's resistance is against the ruling class (Madi: 1981:343-376).

This is an exaggerated statement, because firstly, it neglects the very specific context of industrial conflicts, and secondly it does not reveal the workers' cultural and professional
backgrounds. In effect, the author estimates that an Algerian worker has not the necessary 'industrial traditions' to be involved in industrial work. Such a statement is odd when there is evidence of the large number of Algerians working in France, and to demonstrate that an ordinary Algerian worker may contribute in industrial maintenance after some months of experience. Indeed, in a study about industrial adaptation, it has been revealed that workers from rural areas are able to point out any break down and undertake repairs if authorised (Benlakhal and al:1983:72-73 and 98-99).

Above all, writes Hermassi 'an objective analysis, of the paths of development among new nations can not be accomplished solely by applying either liberal or marxist criteria (...). The new nations (...) represent very different kinds of social and cultural structure in which the accumulation of tasks, the structure of dependency, the involution of the economy, and most importantly the historical failure of the bourgeoisie and the correlative weakness of the proletariat preclude application of either clear cut liberal or marxist positions' (Hermassi:1972:6).

Such studies do reveal the materialistic conditions of the emergence of classes according to the appropriation of the means of production, illustrated by the work of Benhouria (1980) and Lazreg (1975). In these studies for instance, emphasis is put on the very economic features of class structure, relating each class to its relationship to the means of production. In addition, it is argued that studies about
Algeria tend to concentrate upon rural sociological studies neglecting subjects relevant to development, such as education (Peneff:1981:Introduction).

Henceforth, the present study is designed to focus upon the emergence of the elite from a conflictual standpoint i.e.: socialisation, education, social background, family position and the like. Moreover, it attempts to clarify the conditions of social reproduction with specific reference to education in order to evaluate the importance of social origins in this matter.

Furthermore, the cultural conflict that has arisen from colonial policies in education has not been investigated in conflictual terms. That is to say, the changes brought in psychological and mental attitudes through the acquisition of French education, resulted in an 'appreciation and appraisal of values, which more often than not are in conflict with those of their own society' (Chejne:1965:461). Little or no attention was paid to this specific cultural matter that was involved in the formation of the wartime Algerian elite. What characterised the colonial educational system was its intensive selective procedure. Indeed, students were selected on the basis of social criteria rather than intellectual qualifications (Ydroudj:1984:15). Moreover, the existence of three channels of studies, namely, maths, science and arts (Hereafter MN, SN, LN) was another obstacle to students' choices as the disciplines were often, if not always, imposed.

With the institutionalization of the 'Fundamental School', the
Algerian educational system underwent very specific structural change with respect to its organisation, orientation and curriculum (Martinez: 1976:58-60). However, I hasten to say that the new educational system does not end the existence of social stratification, but minimises it because every student who can effectively prove his talents and put into practice his abilities may choose his own prospects. Above all, the fundamental school has been organised within such a structure to give all students equal chances during an equal duration, that lasts nine years. This is an innovation which avoids deschooling, since no student is permitted to leave school unless he achieves the whole period of the fundamental school.

The main themes of the present study are:

a) an attempt to trace the historical background of Algeria
b) an analysis of the traditional order organised around the Khaldunian concept ‘Assabia’; -an original concept translated by Bourdieu as ‘Genealogie’ (Bourdieu:1974:87) and
c) a close documentation of the dislocation of this social order by foreign domination with respect to politics, economic and cultural patterns that gave birth to a divergent subelite in wartime Algeria. Moreover, what this study emphasises is the very selective colonial policy of education established for social stratification according to a prerequisite social status.

Indeed, French officials designated local administrators for tax collection. It is argued that through such functions the colonial agents enjoyed social advantages (Gendzier:1978:254). The inherited system of education has not been the object of
close scrutiny as have other subjects, such as the revolution of independence, industrialisation and political institutions. In the educational field researchers are motivated by some specific features i.e; arabisation of the environment, repartition of education according to sexes and the like. What they tend to loose sight of, is that a large majority of the current cadres and intellectuals are the output of French schools (Macrae:1974:45). Therefore, it seems relevant to highlight the selective device implemented for an elite socially sponsored to undertake higher education that opens up a wide range of opportunities for better paid jobs and enhances their social status (Glasman and Kremer:1978:173).

In the light of this brief outline, it is possible to show the conflict that existed in colonial Algeria and whose consequences are still apparent today. Reforms which are underway, reduce the degree of competition and consequently social stratification, but they do not eradicate it, since any system of education is a social reproduction process (Bourdieu and Passeron:1977:52). Moreover, it is social position that defines the students’ chances for graduation. For instance, it is very difficult for a working class person to educate all his children in a costly academic environment (Djaidir:1986:16).

In order to go through these hypotheses, a survey will be carried out in a secondary 'Lycee' derived from the new reform. The survey concerns only first year student since they were oriented through the secondary channels, during the previous year.
3) Assumptions

In the framework of the brief outline emphasis has been placed upon education and its role in modernisation and social stratification. Education in Algeria is state controlled and consequently compulsory and universal for every child of school age. Thus, the initial assumption is closely related to the structure of the Algerian intellectual stratum with respect to education and that of the secondary level in particular. At this level another assumption might be advanced about the homogeneity of this stratum. That is to say, that it presents common characteristics with reference to the enrolment and social equality as well as educational opportunities that have been levelled for the masses, especially after the institutionalization of fundamental school.

It is further assumed that the structure of the schooling system at higher levels is specifically characterised, where students' choices are influenced on two basic points:

a) social influences exercised by the social background of the student and that in turn involves social reproduction;

b) personal attributes which may shape one's prospects. These include, age, sex, attitudes and the like.

In order to be as analytically concise as possible, the focus here is on the sociological implications of class structure with reference to secondary education. Moreover, it focuses upon the urban structure of the intellectual stratum, since social differences are rooted in each area, urban and rural. For the purposes of representativeness, the study is to be
compared with the single attempt made by Glasman and Kremer about education in Algeria whose findings are related to intellectual elite's structure (Glasman and Kremer: 1977: 176–188).
CHAPTER ONE

SECTION TWO:

II METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS:

1) Methodology
2) Orientation of analysis
3) Data collection
4) Questionnaire design
5) Organisation of the study
   a) Preliminary visit
   b) Pilot work
   c) Sample design
II METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

This section presents an investigation of the different stages of the survey, as well as the theoretical framework of the methodology pursued throughout the study. It also illustrates the various stages of the study's organisation and the eventual corrections of the instruments of the research that have been used, especially the questions and their wordings.

1) Methodology

The present study explores some historical facts relating to the French presence in the central part of the Maghreb. It gives a brief background to the French policies that help greatly in understanding the colonial model of social stratification. The model referred to here is the educational policy which contained the seeds of the emergence of elite conflict in wartime Algeria.

In order to encompass the historical details about the colonisation of Algeria and distinguish some subjective statements, the documentary technique was used for the purpose of historical tracing. This technique faces two major obstacles: 'establishing authenticity' and the 'availability of documents' (Platt:1981:31-37). But it does enable students engaged in historical research to test the available documents and establish facts. Hence, such a technique can be an important procedure for finding out reliable sources and questioning their validity through concise and incisive verification.
The historical data contained in the study have been gathered eclectically since patterns of evidence were sought because there were some arguments involved in books that were related, more often, to subjectivity and passion. Moreover, history is an adequate field where such a technique may be used. In effect documentary research contributed to documenting the emergence of elites and the formation of subelites. Such a perspective of study gives the opportunity to establish proof and evidence and more importantly, may 'contain elements of the case study, whether because of shortage of broad data, or because of the intrinsic interest of some particular cases' (Platt:1981:55).

This is an explanatory study about development and modernisation in Algeria with special reference to secondary education, whose limits may lie in the lack of representativeness of the sample on a national scale, but can be considered as a typical of urban schooling in Algeria. Given the fact of the common structure of Algerian cities and their sociological layout, it can present the referential framework through which urban schooling may be understood.

Clearly there are differences between urban and rural schooling with respect to the student population and its social characteristics such as age, sex, family structure, parental occupations etc. Dufour's sociological inquiry in both areas has highlighted these differences (Dufour:1978:34-35). And recent surveys tend to confirm the differential aspects. For instance, with reference to sex, Kennouche reveals that while only 16% of the boys are prevented from being educated for
socio-cultural reasons in a rural area, there are 41% of girls in parallel to that percentage (Kennouche: 1983: 14 and 16). Explanations vary from writer to writer, and yet they agree upon the crucial role that tradition still plays especially in rural groupings (Boutefnouchet: n.d.: 85). Stone shares this point of view in his study about mobility in six Middle Eastern countries, arguing that education tries to make a clear break with tradition but 'the traditional ties will continue to influence university students' (Stone: 1973: 2). (1)

Moreover, this study attempts to seize the qualitative aspects of school actors. Thus, it is designed to search the interior of the social structure of the secondary pupils and predict a projection of the coming intellectual stratum. Data of the social inquiry are from cross sectional samples chosen randomly from the numerous first level classes in Bouattoura Lycee set in the suburbs of Algiers. Because the study is restricted from a spatial point, it faces the challenge of representativeness and some sample bias related to the overall interpretation of the statistical records. Henceforth, a recombination of the data in percentage has to be made to make a meaningful comparison with Glasman's and Kermer's study. In this way, such limitations may be overcome and give the possibility of establishing a typical analysis of education in Algeria, at least in its urban aspect. This is not to say that this inquiry pretends to constitute a final synthesis of this matter.
2) Orientation of analysis

Theories of social stratification present an adequate frame within which this study can be operationalized and interpreted. These theories introduce sociological paradigms in the general process of analysis, every process contained in a specific network of interpretations so as to identify social differences and trace social mobility with reference to the theoretical or empirical paradigms.

In this respect one must refer to the work of French sociologists such as Bourdieu, Boudon and Passeron and the work of Halsey whose 'origins and destinations' is very relevant in this field. Their model of analysis assumes that every schooling system appears to be 'universalistic' characterised by popular and massive enrolment in education especially at the primary level and intermediate education. However, it points out that education becomes very selective at the secondary and higher level; consequently the system becomes 'particularistic'. That is to say, it operates a systematic intellectual stratification which in turn stratifies the students socially according to the level achieved (Bourdieu and Passeron:1977:99-102).

Indeed, with Saint Martin Bourdieu has recently re-established the theory of social excellence in education. This theory identifies the different variables that influence the academic and social career of students, arguing that social differences are the logical result of social reproduction and the perpetuation of these references in the structure of the
educational system maintain social differences in class structure (Bourdieu and Saint Martin: 1987:37-38). The basic medium used in this theory to understand societies is based upon the distribution of knowledge among social classes. For this, and in order to understand cultural capital, Bourdieu divides it into three different categories. When combined they make a whole unit which refers to a particular culture monopolised by 'a privileged' group. Bourdieu argues that the cultural capital may take three different forms. Beforehand he states quite categorically that its notion has emerged as a hypothesis in order to distinguish the inequality of academic performance in educational systems. He estimates that such a performance is closely linked to 'the specific profits' of the cultural capital; that is to say that 'schooling success' is related to any state of the cultural capital. By such a measurement Bourdieu insists on explaining the 'schooling success' and 'the schooling failure' by the relation between students and the cultural capital. Therefore he neglects aptitudes, abilities and talents (Bourdieu: (b) 1979:3).

He refers to the different states of any cultural capital as:

a) Incorporated state, b) Objective state, and c) Institutionalised state. On the first occasion Bourdieu estimates that the cultural capital is well represented in the incorporated state because it is related to the general shape of culture and supposes incorporation and assimilation, and must be invested individually as it needs plenty of time. Hence, it becomes an integrated part of "person", an "habitus".
In other words, the incorporated capital is a singularity of a person in his biological physionomy and may be inherited from his parents. Its characteristics are that of dissimulation and invisibility as it makes the differences between the inherited cultural units and those innate in the person (Bourdieu: (b)1979:4). The objective form of cultural capital distinguished in one situation. That is, this state must be referred to in the fundamental state of the cultural capital, in its incorporated state. This condition has some materialistic supports which express the objective culture in various concrete products. Bourdieu refers to these products as being 'books, painting, monuments, etc.' This form of capital may be transmitted in its total materialistic features (Bourdieu: (b)1979:5). Finally, the cultural capital takes another form which is connected to the schooling title and the cultural capital. The institutionalised cultural capital is the key state to hold a conventional value whose characteristic is 'constant' and permanent. Moreover, it is 'juridically guaranteed' under the control of the culture (Bourdieu: (b)1979:5).

Above all, these characteristics play an important role in the particular case of inheritance, and consequently they have a constant influence upon the prospects of students, even if it is indirectly linked to the para-educational dimensions:

'Not only do the most privileged students derive from this background of origin habits, skills and attitudes which serve them directly in their
scholastic tasks, but they also inherit from it knowledge and know-how, tastes, and a "good taste" whose scholastic profitability is no less certain for being indirect. "Extra-curriculum" culture (la culture "libre"), the implicit condition for academic success in certain disciplines, is very unequally distributed among students from different backgrounds, and inequality of income does not suffice to explain the disparities which we find. Cultural privilege is manifest when it is matter of familiarity .... (Bourdieu and Passseron:1977:17)

Although this model has been typically applied to Western societies in their socio-cultural environment, (Bourdieu:1974:67 and ff), it constitutes a reference for this study as it gives analytical insights to explain the variables effecting students' careers and future optional branches with respect to background, social status etc... However, one must not lose sight of the very traditional features, still important factors in the socio-psychological formation in the Algerian case.

An important indicator of the traditional traits is the existence of cultural differences in students' orientation between the Maghribi students and other students from western societies. In this respect Stone has rightly highlighted the influence of tradition that exists among Middle Eastern students in their academic orientation towards specific branches of higher education. Under the weight of such
circumstances, he argues that the state and the educational authority have to intervene to instruct and orient students to the much needed studies. To quote a part of his argument:

'In the light of influence of tradition, governments in most Middle Eastern countries, and sometimes the universities themselves in association with institutes of higher education abroad, have attempted to change traditional views of acceptable academic pursuits to bring them into the line with the real or perceived needs of the country' (Stone:1973:9).

As a result of the traditional impact, Stone states categorically that the educational outputs of higher education will remain under the same influence as '(...), the values, ideas, and priorities one learns as a child are likely to remain important guidelines for decision making in adulthood, as is outright loyalty to family interests' (Stone:1973:12).

Moreover, tradition operates a differential impact among the student population with respect to sexes. That is to say, in most Middle Eastern countries there is a general tendency for girls to pursue 'feminist' studies such as teaching, medicine etc... rather than 'male' branches. This is just a traditional aspect of the division of labour within the community. Such a division starts from the first social fabrics (families) which are involved in maintaining sexual differences with respect to education and ultimately to work (Tahon:1982:59-60). What is more, tradition is perceived by Algerian sociologists as the
forceful instrument of social organisation and is always hegemonic in every respect of both individual and collective life. (Boutefnouchet. n.d:87–102). The author explains the relative involvement of Algerian women in the different economic sectors as a result of the stereotyped idea that, 'a woman is the guardian of the traditional values' (Boutefnouchet. n.d:92). Henceforth, it is very important in the study of Arab societies to take into account the specific structure of those societies and avoid the standard model applied in western societies. This methodological consideration has even been put aside by some Algerian students.

3) **Data Collection**

Data contained in this study derive from French and English references written about Algeria. They also deal with the different theories of stratification, survey methods, etc...

These references may be classified into three sections.

a) **Empirical data**, concerning contemporary literature about sociological aspects of Algeria with respect to the different milieus of social, economic, political and religious life. Within this category are books, articles, newspapers periodicals, magazines and academic research, such as memoirs, dissertations...

b) **Qualitative data**, gleaned through the survey and empirical references.

c) **Official sources**, have also been used in this study. They comprise official documents, educational regulations and projects of the reform as well as governmental publications.
4) Questionnaire Design

It is often argued that the object of any sociological inquiry is the eventual response to a permanent question: i.e. Why? (Boudon:1973:31). This interrogation bred a tremendous literature produced by generations of sociologists and social scientists, concerning the methods of data collection in the course of social inquiry. Contents of the intellectual work yield information about the various tools of investigation, techniques of interviewing and the theories of data interpretation (Phillips:1966), (Fowler:1984), (Burgess:1985), (Pownen and Watts:1987). These are some references devoted to the understanding of surveys as mechanisms for sociological inquiry within any problematic situation. These studies have in common two fundamental conceptions: First, they emphasize the necessity for a context of study within which concepts are built up and constructed and, second they suggest specific methods for specific subjects, to get an overall investigation because there are differences between political issues, health issues and educational issues. However, they normally operate in a compatible sense. That is, they all use survey methods for data collection to be interpreted as a result.

With all the literature that has been published about survey methods, the subject is not fully exhausted. Yet, there are some controversial areas upon which social scientists are not agreed upon. For instance, when is the best moment to use questionnaire, or to use mail questionnaire or merely face to face?. Nonetheless, there is a scientific consensus about the
importance of a survey for, it is an adequate 'form of planned collection of data for the purpose of description or prediction as a guide to action or for the purpose of analysing the relation between variables...' (Oppenheim:1961:1). During the stage of gleaning data it is always recommended to follow certain methodological procedures (Marsh:1982:18).

Other scholars considers social inquiry as 'conversations with purposes' (Bighman and Moore in Bradburn and Seghmour:1983:4). They refer simply to interviews which differ from normal conversation between two or more people by having a central focus and are purposely built to investigate a specific matter and consequently, they help researchers to collect the data they need for their inquiry (Bradburn and Seghmour:1983:4-5).

For Wiseman and Aron, interviews are viewed beyond this utilitarian aspect, since they consider them as an 'explanatory tool' for both the layman and the social researcher. Differences between the two usages may lie in the fact that for any sociological inquiry, the researcher has to organise and schedule his interviews according to the outline of his research: Moreover, sociological work involves more duties after the interviews: i.e: recording, coding, analysing and interpreting the data. Hence, an interview is defined as being 'a way to get detailed descriptions or even explanations of certain type of social behaviour' (Wiseman and Aron:1972:42).

In this study, the questionnaire constitutes the major tool used because variables of interpretations cannot be seized by other techniques. Thus, a schedule was constructed for asking
questions about the following points:

a) Characteristics of the sample such as age, sex, branch of studies etc...

b) Sample's family characteristics: size of the family, siblings studies or work, parental occupations and the like...

c) General data about the sample like expectation for future prospects, individual orientation about education, leisure time etc..

An initial contact with the actors has revealed the weakness of some questions. For instance, it was quite impossible for some of them to give the exact occupation of their parents. Therefore, it was decided to involve their parents by sending them a memo where they could describe the missing data. This alternative of testing the validity of some questions during the pilot survey contributed to maximising the students participation through a direct interview which is known in educational research by an "account interview" where students can recall an 'event and its context' (Pownne and Watts:1987:5) in connection with the general theme of the inquiry.

5) Organisation of Study

Like all social inquiries, this study has been organised in such a way to meet the methodological rules with which researchers have to comply. The Lycee has been chosen randomly from a list of existing lycées in Algiers. The list was provided by the Ministry of Education. The ministry's officials provided the researcher with a formal letter directed to the headmasters of the institution in order to ease his work and
give him any research facilities especially statistical records etc... Prior to the interviewing tasks there were two major stages completed so as to establish a final schedule for the interviews.

a) Pilot survey
The questionnaire was piloted and tested before 25 final year students undergoing secondary education. 'Conversations' with these students were helpful, as it was noticed that there were some missing values relating to the parental background. Another observation retained particular attention: Almost, all students tended to reveal their occupations during free-time. Hence, the final questionnaire contains some questions relating to this specific point. Thus, the pilot survey was important for the present study as it has revealed the initial limits of the first questionnaire.

b) Preliminary visit and formal introduction
Having completed that stage, the headmistress introduced the researcher to the sample under investigation in formal tone, to avoid any disturbances. Soon after, the meeting became less formal when students started to ask questions about the object and the outcomes of the study especially students in the Arts branch. Their interests may be explained by their future orientation which may be only in the social sciences.

An empty room was allocated for the researcher for individual interviewing and a time table was elaborated with the assistance of the educational auxiliaries so as not to disturb the course of the classes. Interviews were conducted during four working months. It was possible to achieve an average of
three interviews per day excluding Thursdays and Fridays.

c) Sample Design

Like the Lycee, the sample was chosen randomly. However, it excludes the second and final year of secondary education because the fundamental school is not applicable at these levels. Thus, all the number of the sample derives from the first secondary year whose structure is represented in the following table:

**Table 1.** Total number of students in the first level of secondary education according to gender and branches of studies.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BRANCH</th>
<th>NUMBER</th>
<th>BOYS</th>
<th>GIRLS</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SCIENCES 1-2-3 AND 4</td>
<td>44-42-40-38</td>
<td>25-17</td>
<td>19-25</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LETTRES 1-2 3 AND 4</td>
<td>44-43-46</td>
<td>27-16-16</td>
<td>16-28-30</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHEMISTRY 1 AND 2</td>
<td>37-37</td>
<td>21-21</td>
<td>16-16</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>481</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>481</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The sample is composed of one class from each branch of study. The way the sample was chosen is the same procedure for the Lycee. All the classes were separated in different hats in order to avoid any bias and to give to each one the same chance of being chosen and ultimately avoid having two classes from the same branch of study. Thus the degree of probability was not affected by this procedure of selection, which differs from
the unrestricted random sampling, known by random sampling with replacement. In other words, the latter necessitates the replacement of the unit in the urn, whereas the 'lottery method' does not, especially if only one unit is needed in every branch. Such a method is known for its complete randomness and does not involve any 'human judgement' (Moser and Kalton:1985:80-82). Hence, the final draws have constituted the following number according to each class:

**Table 2. Total Number of the sample.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Maths</th>
<th>Science</th>
<th>Lettresses</th>
<th>Chemistry</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>39</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is quite clear that from each section a whole class was chosen rather than members from every class. This is due to the sociological aspect of the inquiry: i.e.: the social structure of each class. As a result, it may be considered as a sample that contains the global characteristics of the whole classes of study. If the sample was composed of different groups from the remaining classes one might find difficulties to grasp the social situation and the analysis would have been different. Moreover, the intention was to grasp the social characteristics within each class, so as to illustrate differences and similarities.
CHAPTER ONE

SECTION THREE :

III PRESENTATION.

1) Geography
2) History
3) Educational structure
III PRESENTATION

This is a brief introduction to Algeria with respect to three factors: geography, history and educational structure. It is often wrongly conceived that Algeria, unlike its neighbouring countries has been an integral part of France. This argument is unfounded in the light of history that gives insights about the chronologically important movements that swept over the central part of the Maghreb.

In addition, French were involved in Algeria as have other empires and dynasties. That is to say, it was competing for colonies with other Europeans powers, for different reasons.

1) Geography

It is said that the Arabic name of Algeria derives from EL-Djazair meaning literally 'Islands' (Lawless:1980:xv). Situated in the central part of the Maghreb, the French termed the whole area North Africa to refer to its Maghreb colonies.

Algeria occupies the largest area in the region reaching some 2,381,741 square Km. With this land surface it is the third largest country in Africa after Sudan and Zaire (Entellis:1986:2) and tenth in the world (Horne:1977:44). Four-fifths of Algerian territory is desert, considered as one of the main obstacles the development of the Southern part of the country. Thus the state is committed to overcome any problem fostered by the desert. Commitment of the state has been centralised in the 'Green belt' and 'transsaharian road' operations to involve this region in development plans and
consequently minimise its geographical isolation. The latter operation went farther south to reach the two neighbouring countries of the south, namely Niger and Mali.

In addition, Algeria shares the same borders with Morocco, Tunisia, Libya, Mauritania and Western Sahara, in the respective regions of West, East, South East and South West-North. It leads to the Mediterranean Sea on a lengthy coastal line of 1200 Km. This line has always been the stake of foreign domination since the earliest days as it links Africa with Europe. For instance, Phoenicians considered it as a landing point for their expeditions towards Spain (Abunnasser:1971:12).

With respect to population, it was 9 million in 1960, 18 million in 1977 and 23 million in 1987 (Brisset:1987:13). Islam is the religion of the whole population and Arabic is the official language. Thus, there are no ethnic groups and only one linguistic group, that is the Kabyles, but it has no socio-political implication as they are integrated in the society, and consider themselves Algerians.

As for the climate, Algeria comprises three different climatic areas: Firstly, the coastal line which is characterised by a Mediterranean type with warm winters and hot dry summers. Secondly, the Tell or 'les hauts plateaux', its zone is slightly saharian than the Mediterranean. Finally, the southern part has arid and, dry and very hot seasons throughout the year. Rainfall does not exceed 130 mm in this region. (4)
### Administrative Constitution of Algeria 1987

Each number corresponds to the code of the Willaya (District):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Willaya</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01.</td>
<td>Adrar</td>
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<tr>
<td>02.</td>
<td>Echellif</td>
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<tr>
<td>03.</td>
<td>Laghouat</td>
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<td>04.</td>
<td>Oum-El-Bouaghi</td>
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<td>05.</td>
<td>Batna</td>
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<td>06.</td>
<td>Bejaia</td>
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<td>07.</td>
<td>Biskra</td>
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<td>08.</td>
<td>Bechar</td>
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<td>09.</td>
<td>Blida</td>
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<td>10.</td>
<td>Bouira</td>
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<td>11.</td>
<td>Tamanrasset</td>
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<td>12.</td>
<td>Tebessa</td>
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<td>13.</td>
<td>Telemcen</td>
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<td>14.</td>
<td>Tiaret</td>
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<td>15.</td>
<td>Tizi-Ouzou</td>
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<td>16.</td>
<td>Algiers</td>
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<td>17.</td>
<td>Djelfa</td>
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<td>18.</td>
<td>Jijel</td>
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<td>19.</td>
<td>Setif</td>
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<td>20.</td>
<td>Saida</td>
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<td>21.</td>
<td>Skikda</td>
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<td>22.</td>
<td>Sidi-Bel-Abbas</td>
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<td>Annaba</td>
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<td>26.</td>
<td>Media</td>
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<td>Mostaghanem</td>
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<td>Mascara</td>
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<td>Ouargla</td>
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<td>El-Bayadh</td>
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<td>Bordj-Bouarridj</td>
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<td>Boumerdes</td>
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<td>36.</td>
<td>El-Tarf</td>
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<td>Tindouf</td>
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<td>Tissemsilt</td>
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<td>El-Ouad</td>
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<td>Khenchela</td>
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<td>41.</td>
<td>Souk-Ahras</td>
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<td>42.</td>
<td>Tipaza</td>
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<td>43.</td>
<td>Mila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44.</td>
<td>Ain-El-Defla</td>
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<tr>
<td>45.</td>
<td>El-Naama</td>
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<tr>
<td>46.</td>
<td>Ain Temouchent</td>
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<tr>
<td>47.</td>
<td>Ghardaia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48.</td>
<td>Relizane</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2) History

From the earliest period, Algeria constituted a coveted geographical land for various dynasties and empires. Its history starts with the trading of Phoniciens on the Algerian ports used as a hyphen between the Maghreb and their establishments since the 12th century B.C.

When Cartage was defeated in 146 B.C the Maurs, original inhabitants of Algeria, submitted to the Romans who annexed the whole region including current Tunisia and Morocco, and founded its province. Their rule was characterised by efficiency resulting in a highly developed life-style, efficacious political organisation and outstanding urban life. Roman ruins still testify to their long presence in many towns: Cherchel, Tipaza, Timgad and Djamila.

Vandals succeeded the Romans in Algeria 429-533. This short rule is explained by two fundamental facts: First, the Vandals were unable 'to exert any real control over the Berbers' (Lawless:1980:XVI). Second, the internal difficulties on which their state was based were never overcome. Moreover, it is argued that 'the Vandals had neither an advanced civilisation, nor great members with which [they were able] to dominate the area they ruled' (Abun Naser:1971:48).

Following the decay of the Vandals empire, Byzantines conquered Algeria who in turn were ousted by Arabs in 647. In effect, under the leadership of Okba Ibn Nafa, Arabs defeated the Byzantine troops. Inspired by Islam; new religion, new
culture, new language new traditions and new life-style were implemented and willingly embraced by the original inhabitants (Bouhali:1976:43). In this respect Lawless shares this opinion arguing that Islam was not imposed upon them (Lawless:1980:XVI). According to one historian, the fact that the inhabitants came to Islam is due to the fact that the culture of Arabs is linked to a dynamic faith, which has many similarities to the culture of the non-Romanized tribes at that time (Abun Naser:1971:65).

Centuries after the peaceful Islamic reign, intermittent foreign coups dislocated the Arabic tribes until the 16th Century that noticed a strong revival of Islam: ‘Divergent Arab-societies’, notes Eick ‘(...) were recruited under the rule of the Ottomans of Western Turkey. The new ruling group, though not Arabic-speaking, was nevertheless of the same faith’ (Eick:1965:25).

For the order of the present study, consideration will be given to the Turkish period (1518-1830) with an emphasis on the socio-political activities since it was the starting point of the dislocation of the Algerian social order. Indeed, they ruled Algeria with a system that was easy to penetrate and which facilitated French dominance, because ‘then the country lay nominally under a loose suzerainty of Turkish military rule’ (Horne:1977:28). Moreover, the French period (1830-1962) will be the object of very close scrutiny with respect to the policies of education and manpower investment.
3) **Educational Structure**

Algeria has known two contrasting schooling systems, each one advocating different values and aiming at different objectives. The first one was developed and instructed by the traditional elite, Damis (1974), whereas the second was established by French officials, who sought to educate the urban bourgeoisie and rule through it Perville (1984).

Examination and analysis of both systems are to be undertaken in the course of the general approach. Thus, it will be possible to contrast the two systems with respect to the structure of each system, its curriculum, the objectives of each system and the socio-political implications that resulted from the parallel developments.

There is a consensus among historians, observers and sociologists that in every colonial situation, policies of education are not to serve the cultural, nor the political needs of the colonised. This sort of argument is often concluded in the following terms:

'The organisation of school in the colonies superficially resembled that of the Metropole. In fact, in most colonies metropolitan schools existed at least at the primary level (...). These metropolitan institutions, as in Kenya, Vietnam, Indonesia and Algeria, were designed to serve the children of the coloniser. They offered only one form of education. Metropolitan elite education ...'

For the present time, it is a question of the current educational system in Algeria which is subject to profound reforms at different levels. Reforms started with the introduction of Arabic in late 1962. Its universalization took place in the mid seventies through the Fundamental school in elementary and secondary education. It was prolonged to higher education in the 1980's. Such an operation is viewed as the 'cultural vehicle' (Benabdi:1980:2) that would culturally link all the intellectual elite and ultimately avoid what Micaud termed 'Biculturalism' that implies various socio-political implications (Micaud:1974:92). Henceforth, major changes occurred in the structure of the Algerian educational system with the innovation of the Fundamental school which started with some pilot experiences in 1975-76. Evaluating its academic success and cultural uniformity, the authorities implanted it throughout the districts (Dufour:1978:44).

The former system inherited from the French era, was structured as shown in Diagram 1.
Diagram 1. Structure of the Algerian educational system (1962-1976)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Students' age</th>
<th>Schooling age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Pre-elementary education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>(Nursery)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>25</th>
<th>20</th>
<th>University</th>
<th>Higher</th>
<th>Social sciences</th>
<th>Education</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Higher Training institutes</td>
<td></td>
<td>Award</td>
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<td>first</td>
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<td></td>
<td>degree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Licences</td>
<td>Secondary education</td>
<td>Eligibility</td>
<td>Teacher training institutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>National Examination</td>
<td>Vocational,</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>technical and professional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>CEM</td>
<td>Intermediate education</td>
<td>Eligibility</td>
<td>Training centres</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>Primary education</td>
<td>National</td>
<td>Primary</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
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<td></td>
<td>competitive studies</td>
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<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>examination certificate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1- CEM: College d'Enseignement Moyen.
2- BEM: Brevet d'Enseignement Moyen.
3- BAC: Baccalaureat.
Notes:

ABSTRACT

(1) The 'Fundamental school' is the new system introduced by Algeria in 1976, it is a nine year period where students undertake the process without any eligibility exam as in the previous system.

Introduction

(1) Merille's analysis gives a detailed approach about the various socio-professional classifications in the 'nomenclature' see: Merille (1983).

(2) Details about the characteristics of Algeria and its social order can be found in (Lacoste:1974:1-17).

(3) See the English translation by Rozental.

(4) It seems that observers and theorists of the Third-world tend to consider the elite conflict and the struggle surrounding the emergence of leadership simple. Moreover, post-independence era is often viewed from a marxist perspective neglecting the cultural factors, involved in the structure of fractions. Thus, to apply such a perspective may be questionable for that, it neglect the cultural revival and does not consider the internal structure of Third-World countries.

Chapter one:

(1) Moreover tradition did have an impact upon the tendency of the formation of the Algerian elites see: (Hermassi:1973:207-224) and (Vatikiotis:1973:309-329).

(2) For very specific references about Algerian culture see Boutefnouchet(1982).
(3) See Madi (1981).

(4) Details about climate, vegetation, population and geographical relief are to found in Isnaro (1966), Mountjoy and Embelton (1970).
CHAPTER TWO

SECTION ONE:
I TURKISH PROTECTORATE VERSUS FRENCH COLONISATION :
1) Turkish administration and the French landing,
2) Resistance and nationalism: Abed-El-Kader and the union.

SECTION TWO:
II EMERGENCE OF ALGERIAN NATIONALISM:
1) Algerian elites in fractions,
2) May 1945, the renaissance,
3) Political fusion of november and political consensus.

SECTION THREE:
III HISTORICAL OF THE COLONIAL SYSTEM IN EDUCATION
1) Unequal access to school: limits to the reproduction of the French ideology,
2) Selective school: Mechanism of social stratification,
3) Essence of Algerian electorate and class of mediation,
4) Religious institutions versus French schools.
CHAPTER TWO

SECTION ONE:

I TURKISH PROTECTORATE VERSUS FRENCH COLONISATION

1) Turkish administration and the French landing
2) Resistance and nationalism: Abed-El-Kader and the union.
I. TURKISH PROTECTORATE VERSUS FRENCH COLONISATION

In the brief foregoing historical background, no mention has been made of the Spanish period in Algeria. The major reason is that, the Ottoman Empire was solicited to come to Algeria to dislodge them. Another reason lies in the fact that there was no important event during their presence. However, it is important to recall that by '1479 Isabella(...) and her husband Ferdinand of Aragon [Le Catholic] found the idea of the crusade ready at hand for rallying their people behind them' (Abun Nasser:1971:159). Henceforth, terming the expedition "the African crusade" (Andre Julien:1964:250-302), the Spanish King seized the important ports in Algeria and established his hegemony in political and military terms.

Those ports were a source of financial income for the Algerians and a source of fear and insecurity for Europeans sailors. For religious purposes, the expedition was also intended to end the privateering activities developed by Algerians along the lengthy coast of the Mediterranean sea, and ultimately secure the passing of European ships. In this context, the Spanish acted on behalf of European countries to free that strategic passage deemed necessary to other parts of the world.

At that time, Algeria, a 'municipal republic administrated by a bourgeois oligarchy under the protection of Thaaliba' (a well-known Arab tribe) (Andre Julian:1964:254), surrendered and negotiated with the Spanish. As it was incapable of facing foreign coups, the oligarchy agreed to pay tribute for the new power in return for peace. The armed intervention of the tribe
did not stop the Spanish intrusion into the most strategic points along the Algerian coast. Ultimately, the local people accepted the series of conditions set up unilaterally by the Spaniards in return for peaceful relations based upon the extraction of annual tribute and taxes.

Observers estimate that the acceptance of this conditional peace saved the Algerian from complete destruction and being exterminated by the catholic kings of the Spanish Kingdom. (Lacoste, Noushi and Prenant: 1960:137-140).

Meanwhile, a religious fervour had brought to birth an ardent revival of Islam on the other side of the Mediterranean sea by a non-Arab empire, linked by the same faith and by the same revelations. Algeria, profited from that opportunity and demanded officially military aid from the Ottoman Empire to put an end to the burdensome and increasing taxes, imposed by the Spanish domination over the whole country. Indeed, by 1518 two muslim renewed corsair brothers, namely, Aroudj and Kheir Eddine Barbaroussa, led a strong armada towards the principality of Algiers in order to free it from Spanish hands. The older (Aroudj) perished during the expedition and let his young brother successfully complete the rescue operation. According to an English historian, Kheir Eddine was a christian and his name before embracing Islam was unknown (Morgan:1731:221). He was able to level the force with the Spanish and defeat them by dislodging their army from the most strategic ports in Algeria which were at that time, Bejaia, Oran and Djidjelli (currently Jijel) as well as Algiers (Morgan:1731:230-231). This was the
starting point for Algeria to become a strong vassal of the
Ottoman Empire, through which it expanded its hegemony to the
neighbouring states.

Having achieved the military mission and feeling a need for
more support in terms of material and soldiers so as to secure
his position, Kheir Eddine requested help from the Turkish
Sultan Selim after having informed him about the extreme
importance that Algeria may present with its strategic
geographical layout. Thus, the Sultan sent a colossal army to
reinforce the leader's position. It is estimated that the
former sent an army of 2,000 janissaries and 4,000 volunteers.
In addition he rewarded Kheir Eddine by bestowing on him the
title of Pasha Berler Bey (Entelis:1986:19).

Given all the requested assistance he needed, the corsair
strengthened his position and gradually expanded his rule all
over the country, putting away the intermittent Spanish coups.
As a result Algiers became the regency of Algiers transformed
to a strong and an influential platform for extending
privateering activities 'that captured the imagination as

Initially, the Ottoman intervention in the central part of the
Maghreb was intended to dislodge the Spaniards and consequently
create a balance of power at sea. Nonetheless, the
interpretation given by the king’s missionary changed this
tendency and went beyond the local expectations. Henceforth, it
was impossible to leave the scene. On the contrary he
established an administrative process through which Algeria was
to be ruled and linked to the sublime porte (Istanbul). This kind of process was sufficient enough, to dominate peacefully the people judging by the fact that the Ottoman rule lasted in the country for over three centuries even after its pioneers left Algiers in 1533 under a royal request to work for the royal fleet (Entelis:1986:19).

1) Turkish administration versus French landing

It has been seen that Algeria was an independent entity organised by tribal systems as described by the medieval sociologist Ibn Khaldun in his detailed and well documented 'Muquadima' (Prolegomena) which is considered as a 'real encyclopaedia of sciences' (Lahbabi:1968:14). Even for the present time, the work left by this "gifted" thinker 'contains some idea that mutuantis—mutandis, help to explain contemporary Algerian politics' (D. and M. Ottaway:1970:5).

The foundation of sociology is attributed to Auguste Comte who developed a sociological perspective for the study of societal aspects in their different forms. Despite his contribution, one has to mention that prior to Comte and more precisely in the fourteenth century, Ibn Khaldun started to write down his scientific thoughts that remained unknown by the west and ignored by the Arabs themselves. Hence, Professor Sarton considers that Ibn Khaldun, 'came too late not only to be translated into Latin, and thus fall in the stream of western learning, he came too late even to be appreciated by his own people' (Sarton:1951:92). In effect, centuries before Comte, Ibn Khaldun (1332-1406) formulated the basis of a new
independent science with its own concepts and methods which he termed 'Ilm El Omran'. A study of his writings shows, that he established a contrast between two types of social organisation that are the cause of social change.

Contrasting Badw and Hadar, Ibn Khaldun estimated that the former is tough nomadic style, whereas Hadar means relative, developed life in sedentary tribes. He singled out that the emergence of dynasties and empires of the Maghreb were based upon parental links and tribal connections and more specifically blood relationship which he termed by an original concept 'Assabiya'. This forceful abstract mechanism played a vital role in the rise and fall of the empires which swept over North Africa and which is an essential characteristic of the Berber life in the Maghreb. According to Lahbabi "(...) Assabiya does not exist in the rest of the Muslim world" (Lahbabi:1968:42).

Explaining the dialectics of 'Assabiya' the Ottaways consider it as the 'force that bound together the members of each tribe and gave some chiefs the power to impose their rule on other tribes and found empires. The allegiance of the tribal chief to the Sultan, however, was menaced by the strength of Assabiya within the tribes, since each tribe remained a distinct political entity resisting incorporation into a larger state. In order to survive, the Sultan needed to free himself from the dependence on the tribal chiefs by finding a more solid and lasting foundation for his rule; but the tenacious clannishness of the innumerable Berber tribes of North Africa inevitably

The contrast between the two previous patterns of life and the relative cohesion of blood mechanism, namely, Assabiya, in soft sedentary tribes leads to a highly developed form of social organisation which settles in urban areas, that is Hadar in the Khaldunian conception, and which is synonymous with medina or city, which itself was previously a rural organisation in its initial essence. The transformation from one form to another is completed after the achievement of the bare necessities linked to the process of change.

According to Ibn Khaldun, during the process of change there are a variety of situations in internal organisations, but it is 'followed by an increase of comfort and ease, which leads to formation of the most luxury customs. They [people of the medina] take the greatest pride in the preparation of food and fine cuisine, in the use of varied splendid clothes of silk and brocade and other (fine materials), in the construction of ever higher buildings and towers, in elaborate furnishings for the buildings and the most intensive cultivation of crafts in actuality. They build castles and mansions, provide them with running water...' (Ibn Khaldun: V.I: 1958: 249-250). This is briefly the view of Ibn Khaldun about the social impact of development in great urban areas in the medieval Maghreb. It is also his view about the rise of empire, but its fall has to be understood as the reverse process. In other words, for Ibn Khaldun the emergence of dominance is a natural necessity for running the affairs of the community and guiding people for
good living and civilisation. In this sense, he estimated that the dominant leaders are few in comparison to the rest of the people, and that leadership is vested in the strongest group and the most powerful assabiya that transcends the others because, their relationship in terms of blood ties are superior in courage and it is this conscious feeling of superiority that guide them to dominate the others. To quote him:

"Leadership over people (...) must of necessity derive from group feeling that is superior to each individual group feeling. Each individual group feeling that becomes aware of the superiority of the group feeling of the leader is ready to obey and follow [that leader]" (Ibn Khaldun:1958:VT.:269).

This gives a brief view about the wide Khaldunian theory of change and the specific way it occurred in medieval times. It also, concerns the political dialectics of the rise and fall of leadership. In this sense, it is important to note that whenever a new assabiya emerges within a powerful group, it incorporates the former one to constitute a bigger assabiya. This process of substitution is perpetual and the duration of every assabiya is limited to its force. Therefore the theory of change in Ibn Khaldun's view is cyclical.

The Turkish protectorate in Algeria was characterised by military rule of the Janissaries, known as 'Odjak', who were in constant conflict with the 'Taifa of Rais'. This conflict ended with a large victory of the latter who transformed the administrative system by electing a dey instead of Pasha so as
to run the 'diwan'. Such a reverse may be understood in the light of Ibn Khaldun theory of leadership, that suggests the superiority of the Rais group feeling, the incorporation of the odjak group and their submission into a new system or in Khaldunian terms; assabiyah.

The addition of the Odjaks into the system or the maritime corporation meant a decline in the organisation by the end of the 18th century when the Janissaries became a self seeking group and developed into a self perpetuating hierarchy, unconscious about the security of the country's borders and unaware about the stability of the state, after having been devoted fighters for the Islamic realm, the symbol of the empire expansion and a disciplined army with a reputation for obedience and loyalty. In addition, they were not only jeopardising the security of the state and the stability of power, they were also an added financial burden for 'Beit El-Mal' (Lacoste, Noushi, and Prenant: 1960:144). Moreover, Deparadis estimated that this corps, namely, the Odjaks acted as 'a real brake for the building of a real nation' (Deparadis: 1898:122).

Although, Algeria was divided into three different beyliks (provinces) - (which the French named later departments)- linked directly to the Dey in Dar-El-Sultan, it did not come wholly under Turkish rule. These districts were the beylik of the Titari (centre) whose headquarters were in Medea, of the East in Constantine and of the West in Oran. This type of administrative rule became 'effective only at tax-collection
time when troops set out to visit Arab-Berber tribes to get the
dey's tribute.' (Lazreg:1975:41).

Danziger, has argued that the reason for the system's inefficiency may be found in the social organisation that prevailed at that time in the Algerian social order. Using a Khaldunian approach he described the Algerian social system in the following terms:

'(....) All the rural Algerians were grouped in tribes, fractions and clans, which took care of their political, economic and social needs. The tribes were sustained by a belief in blood relationship between the members and a sentiment of solidarity against outsiders' (Danziger:1974:36).

Henceforth, the Algerian social order was in a way an obstacle for the Turk to penetrate into the tribes for collecting taxes and other payments. The necessity to create an administrative corps became urgent in order to impose taxes and collect them, as well as maintain law and order within the social units, especially those located in rural areas. This corps was to be used during the French presence and it benefited from some social privileges, such as improving its social position in the hierarchy, educating their children and being exempted from paying tributes and taxes etc...

In this period, the increasing number of that social group to which we refer as Caids, were used by the Turkish as spies everywhere to locate the exact placement of unconquered tribes. Some scholars estimated that this group was obliged to
search the market around which life was organised, in order to extract the tribute from them (Danziger: 1974:54-55), because 'it is no exaggeration to say that the life of the tribe almost in its entirety happens in the market' (Doutte: 1905:144).

In developing such measures for financial matters, the interrelation between Turkish and Algerians was 'based solely on two things: Obtaining the largest amount in taxes and other payments, and maintaining sufficient law and order to assure the undistributed collection of these taxes' (Entelis: 1986:22). The building of the new military corps became more complex after the fusion of the two belligerents and the admission of the 'Kouroughlis', which was in actual fact the first weakening point of the defensive line against outsiders, especially Frenchmen.

At that time, King Charles X undertook his "Christian expedition" for conquest and not for vengeance as argued by many historians and observers. This point is to be discussed in detail later. However, before mentioning the specific circumstances under which the French landing took place, it seems important to analyse the original type of economic organisation in the Algerian social order prior to the conquest.

It has been argued that this economic structure is the 'form of the social structure in the country [Algeria which] was determined by its specific mode of production with its original system of ownership' (Lazreg: 1975:45).
In order to suit the capitalist interests, the colonial administration elaborated a dual enterprise for land appropriation which resulted in a massive appropriation of fertile land (Sari:1978). If, the appropriation and ownership of land during the Turkish presence was based solely upon administrative titles and military nominations, it was more formal during the French colonial system. In effect, two major juridical interpretations were introduced by law so as to achieve the process of land appropriation for the benefit of the colons: In the first instance, the colonial administration identified the form of production as feudal when they needed a labour force. In the second instance, it was interpreted as being communal when it came to encourage the colon's settlement. In this sense, Lazreg insists on the fact that governmental laws, ordonances and decrees issued by the French administration had just one purpose: justification of land appropriation (Lazreg:1975:45-16), (Launay:1963:131-140).

Despite what has been advanced there is a consensus among historians, sociologists and economists about the form of production and the type of ownership in Algeria based upon three major fabrics namely,'Arsh', 'Melk' and 'Habous'. The type of land is summarised as follows.
Structure of land ownership in Algeria

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of land</th>
<th>Mode of Production</th>
<th>Observations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arsh</td>
<td>Part of the tribal land recognised as the private property of the individual or family who works it.</td>
<td>CANNOT BE SOLD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melk</td>
<td>Private property acquired by contract</td>
<td>CAN BE SOLD BUT CUSTOM FORBIDS SELLING IT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habous</td>
<td>Property donated to religious foundations or cultural institutions</td>
<td>CANNOT BE SOLD</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


This is the same design found in specialists' analysis whose views are shared to demonstrate the drastic measures of land appropriation.

As far as the colonisation of Algeria is concerned, students of Algerian history advance a futile argument "as a pretext" to explain the French landing, making of it a historical necessity and consequently admit that Algeria was really an "integral part of France". Historical speculation may remain valid, so long as an analysis of the conditions of the colonial enterprise are not presented, even in historical notes and in chronological form.

Official diplomatic relations between Algeria and France began in 1564. In 1793 France contracted a financial debt after commercial exchanges, through two Jewish families, namely, Bakri and Bushnaq. Political change occurred in Dar-El-Sultan, the headquarters of the regency of Algiers. Hussein was elected
at the Head of the regency as a Dey in 1818. Reputed for his impartiality and impetuosity, he solicited negotiations with the French monarchy to find a mutual solution for the debt. In 1827 King Charles X, sent an official delegation headed by Pierre Duval. Those negotiations were the starting point of the political crisis. The French representative refused categorically to acknowledge the existence of the debt and subsequently there was no way to pay. The reigning Dey (Hussein) lost his temper and treated Duval as "a wicked, faithless, idol-worshipping rascal", and above all, tapped him with his fan (Mirwaha).

It is often argued that this diplomatic wrangle led to the conquest of Algeria. By doing so, historians tend to omit some political facts related to the conditional points of the conquest. Therefore, this argument must be totally refuted in the light of an objective analysis which gives the actual reasons that fostered the historical French landing.

Back in the 16th century, Napoleon had already coveted the region by sending a renowned spy—Boutin—who established a detailed plan for an eventual attack (Lataillade:1984:27). Moreover, Charles' X regime was declining in popularity and was politically unsettled and unstable, so it was vital for the King to gain mass support as it was only through glory that his regime could be stabilised (Noushi, Lacoste, Prenant:1960:195). Henceforth, the preceding argument becomes untenable and historically invalid, because if one takes it as such the French expedition would have been a real necessity.
We have also seen that the Algerian fleet was a source of jeopardy for European ships and that it captured the attention of Europe, but its force was weakened by internal conflict between the different constituting groups, which resulted in weakening the system through which Algeria was ruled (Danziger: 1974:68-69).

To sum-up, the fact that the French undertook the well known expedition was to achieve internal objectives in political terms and to start establishing overseas colonies in North Africa (7).

2) Resistance and nationalism: Abd-El Kader and the union: Emerit, provides descriptive statement of the relationship between Algerians and Frenchmen:

'There is no spirit that had not singled out - in the time of the conquest, the impossible cohabitation between Algerians and Frenchmen' (Emerit: 1961:103).

This statement shows that the Algerian resistance started with the French establishment. However, there is a widespread belief among historians, sociologists and students of Algerian politics, that Algerian nationalism originates after the participation of Algerians in the first World War and precisely in 1919 (Noushi: 1962:51-79) (Entelis: 1986:35). This view has been expressed in one single form and at various times. Thus, it seems necessary to document briefly the local resistance in the light of tribal or national uprisings which are the yardsticks that give the dates of Algerian nationalism.
starting with the resistance of Abd-El-Kader in the west in 1832.

In effect, Abd-El-kader declared war against the French army, headed the local resistance for fifteen years, organised the army and established the state. And it was when Abd-El-Kader surrendered that France had a genuine opportunity to declare Algeria an "integral" part of France in 1848 dealt with a a French governor in Algiers and linked to the Metropole.

When Abd-El-kader was elected as Prince of the west the ceremony was double edged: First, it was intended to re-enact the democratic way of election in the Islamic era. And, second to maintain and revive Islam as a style of life with respect to the socio-political dimensions. This is clear from his proclamation to the tribes after his election:

'I accept this position of Amir [Prince], although with reluctance, hoping it would be a vehicle for uniting the Muslims, for preventing strife and dissensions among them, for assuring the safety of the roads, for terminating activities which are contrary to the pure Shariaa, for protecting the country from the enemy, and for establishing law and justice for the powerful and the feeble alike... know that my utmost goal is the unification of the Islamic community and the execution of the Islamic practices. In all this, my trust is in Allah' (Abd-El-kader:1964:162).

In his thesis Danziger estimates, that the well organised resistance lead by the Prince, even 'a short lived experience'
was a complete success for internal consolidation and the recognition that he 'was above all a political leader 'whose success' lay in his ability to pragmatically and skilfully utilise the existing forces, institutions and beliefs...'

(Danziger: 1974:347). The foundation of the state at that time was mainly based upon the religious 'Sufi' order that prevailed in the region. Religious institutions were rationally utilised. Islamic practices were maintained solely according to the Shariaa and above all, volunteers were recruited to run those institutions and teach, in order to transmit the whole culture without any attention to social status and political position of either the students or their families.

The basic structure of the Kadiria order was solid enough to mobilise the organised tribes for the national cause. In order to give meaning to this order, one might present the major purposes of it as follows:

a) Transmission of an Islamic socialisation and education,

b) Preservation of Islam from malpractices and distorted interpretations given by invaders.

c) Organisation of the socio-political life with specific reference to the Islamic Shariaa and law,

d) Establishment of an autonomous state.

All these objectives were carried out by the religious organisations, and through the special curriculum of the Zaouiya's which included Islamic jurisprudence, traditions, Shariaa, theology and various other subjects. Teaching was given free of charge to students to encourage those who were of a lower social status. The role and the dimensions of these
religious institutions will be discussed in detail in the coming sections, as they identify the cultural conflict between the French system and the religious schools in their different forms.

In summary, it is important to recall that the French invasion was not a historic necessity but a conquest and, that Algerians had demonstrated a fierce resistance through organised actions. Abd-El-kader's military resistance was one which was not only intended for political consolidation and consciousness cohesion, but was extended beyond the military enterprise. In effect, it was expected to achieve social equality through equal distribution of education among the different social strata.
CHAPTER TWO

SECTION TWO:

II EMERGENCE OF ALGERIAN NATIONALISM.

1) Algerian elites in fractions,

2) May 1945, the renaissance,

3) Political fusion of November and political consensus.
II EMERGENCE OF ALGERIAN NATIONALISM

Following the destruction of Abd-El-Kader's state in 1847, other leaders emerged to organise resistance and protest against the French presence and its 'mission' in Algeria. However, all the uprisings had been suppressed by the French army, but at all times the local people did not submit to the foreign presence, as each uprising bred another Ouled Sidi Cheikh 1864; El-Mokrani 1871, Bouamama 1880 etc...

These uprisings, even years and generations after the Kadiria order whose number was estimated to be 87,000 (Gordon: 1966: 9), carried the same aims and were directed to achieve political independence or at least internal consolidation and ultimately, prevent any type of integration. They also testified to the spirit and the relationship that existed during the colonial period. In any case, they all shared a common aspect and were based upon the 'confrérie religieuse' (Religious brotherhood) which characterised all the Maghreb territory at that time. (Noushi: 1962: 17).

For the purposes of this study, emphasis will be placed upon a) the political elites that emerged in Algeria in the pre-war period, b) wartime elites will be highlighted to expound the socio-political orientations, c) the parameters that influence these orientations, d) the point that will be documented in detail, concerns the shape of reforms claimed by each elite with specific reference to three variables, deemed to be the most influential in the tendencies of political reforms. These criteria are: First, social origins of the members of the
elite; second, the educational background; and third, the milieus of socialisation including the social position of the family in the hierarchy.

1) Algerian elites in fractions

Using a typical Khaldunian approach, some sporadic attempts have been made to understand the politics that prevailed in Algeria in both the war time and independence periods. These attempts have also tried to understand the process of the emergence of the elites on the basis of intra elite conflicts and power struggle between the political cliques and clans.

There is a total consensus among researchers that the top political elite in colonial Algeria was made up of groups of people who were from different part of the country and were not linked by blood relations or tribal connections. Their connection is a political 'assabiya' as they were related to each other by the fact that were living in the same socio-political situation, issued from common origin -socially- and suffering the rigid colonial system or benefiting from it. In addition, they were linked by the same faith. The religious parameter has enormously contributed to the unification of military coups against the colonial administration. The political groups referred to here are: The liberals, the radicals, the revolutionaries and the militaries. Quandt adds the intellectuals to these groups but he does not refer to the Ulema as an independent group, like many scholars.

It is noteworthy to say that, in order to reverse the position
of the colonised, the Algerian resistance experienced the first structured organisation under the prophecy of the proletarian movement. Indeed, it was in 1924 that socio-political life in Algeria was officially organised when Messali-El-Hadj established the first political party named the 'Etoile Nord Africaine' (North African Star). [Hereafter ENA]. The leader, who was a self-educated worker in France, founded the ENA as a part of the French Communist Party but he soon demanded political autonomy because, its movement was greatly influenced by French politics. He, therefore, Algerianised it by setting up its principles and work.

The ENA came as an outbreak of the Algerian acquiescence of two decades and six years (1900-1926). Rallying and recruiting Algerian workers in France, this proletarian movement opted for radical reforms and, it basically concentrated on full independence from foreign domination. Hence, its ideas influenced many Algerians settled in France and Algeria.

According to Entelis, the essence of the ENA was partly due to socio-economic conditions and life experiences, but it seems that political experiences and political contacts of the leader may be another cause. Entelis puts his explanation in the following terms:

'Many of these [Algerians] labourers experienced severe hardship common amongst poorly paid workers in industrial countries. The workers economic grievances quickly gave way to political demands' (Entelis: 1986: 34).

In his study about Algerian war time leadership, Quandt places
an important emphasis upon some socio-political parameters, that he sees as determining the emergence of each political elite as well as understanding their orientations and demands.

The parameters that he considers vital to document the essence of the groups are: education, social background, socialisation and life experiences. This alternative explanation might be the yardstick to understand the constitution of the "neuf historiques" leaders of the revolution.

In this sense Hubert singles out, that the social origin of the 'Chiefs' of the revolution was generally rural and that their families were living in marginal socio-political positions because of colonisation 'even if the father of one of them became an important landowner' (Hubert:1973:99). Similarly for their educational background there was generally common educational levels characterising all the members. Moreover, the striking point is the milieu of socialisation that played an important role in shaping the demands of the nine. The majority of this group were from the East of the country where the Ulemas originated themselves. This point will be discussed later in detail. (See table 3)
## Table 3: Socio-geographical origin of the nine historic chiefs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age (1954)</th>
<th>Place of birth</th>
<th>Socio-professional category</th>
<th>Accomplished studies</th>
<th>Profession</th>
<th>Observation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>K. Ali Ahmed</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Kabylie village</td>
<td>Caid and rich land owner</td>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>Not known</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Born 26/08/26</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Ben Bella</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Small village</td>
<td>Peasant and shop owner</td>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>Tradesman</td>
<td>Warrant officer during WW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25/12/19</td>
<td></td>
<td>Maghnia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Ben Boufai</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>Small village</td>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>Miller</td>
<td>IBID</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05/02/17</td>
<td></td>
<td>Aures</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L. Ben Mhidi</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Village in</td>
<td>Arts</td>
<td>Political activity</td>
<td>Influential in M.T.L.D</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td></td>
<td>Constantine</td>
<td></td>
<td>(before 1954)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Killed 03/03</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R. Bitat</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>IBID</td>
<td>Peasant</td>
<td>Primary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19/12/25</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Boudiaf</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>IBID</td>
<td>Modest family but known</td>
<td>Higher education</td>
<td>State employee</td>
<td>Gave-up health reasons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25/06/19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Didouche</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Algiers</td>
<td>Tradesman and shop owner</td>
<td>Primary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Killed in</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Kheribi</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Town in</td>
<td>Peasant</td>
<td>Unaccomplished</td>
<td>Worker</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15/03/12</td>
<td></td>
<td>Aures</td>
<td></td>
<td>Primary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Killed 03/01</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Krim</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>Kabylie village</td>
<td>Caid and small land owner</td>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>Employee</td>
<td>Lance corporal during W.War 1955</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15/12/22</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observations</td>
<td>Mean 32</td>
<td>4 villages, 2 small V, 2 small T, 2 towns</td>
<td>One reached higher education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The weakness of the radicals in mobilising the masses for the national cause was due to some inner dissensions among its members and the authoritarian style of rule which anticipated its collapse; giving way to a new political orientation led by the person of Ferhat Abbas whose political career was full of disillusionment within the framework of the policy he claimed. His reforms were based upon integral assimilation in both the French culture and life. The following quotations from the liberals Manifesto express quite clearly the tendency of reforms that were demanded by the leader Ferhat Abbas in 1936, as quoted by (Mansell:1961:31).

"If I had discovered the Algerian nation I would be a nationalist and I would not be ashamed of it as if it were a crime (...) I will not die for the Algerian fatherland, because it does not exist. I have not found it. I have searched history, I have questioned both the dead and the living, I have visited the graveyard: no one mentioned it, not even once. One cannot build on wind. We have dismissed once and for all the visions and the dreams in order to tie our future finally to what France is doing in this country. In any case, no one believes seriously in our "nationalism". What people are really objecting to behind this word is our political and economic emancipation. Without the emancipation of the natives French Algeria will not last."

This was the major tendency amongst the liberals who considered themselves to be the legitimate spokesmen of the people within the colonial situation. However, they were
actually the representatives of a handful of French educated Algerians making of their intellectual background an effective instrument for socio-political upward mobility.

When the group of the "évolues" paved their way toward these assimilationist demands and moderate claims, between native Muslims and Europeans settlers with respect to political rights, social equality and equal education in French schools and universities; they were seeking "equal status". Their socialisation and education may be an important clue to understand the structure of this group.

For Quandt, the Algerians' elus' who were organised in the official 'Fédération des Elus' (Elected of the Federation) since the beginning of the 1930's were 'perhaps more the products of French schools than of their own societies, and not surprisingly their first political demands were for equal rights with Frenchmen including French citizenship, rather than independence' (Quandt:1969:27). The various proclamations of the liberals won them total unpopularity and political isolation from the people and even from the settlers. Their quest for political assimilation was nearly completed through the Blum Viollette programme which automatically gave French citizenship when requested, but it was withdrawn from the congress council in Paris and was not discussed on the agenda. The reason was the pressure imposed by the settlers, which did intervene in this respect and ultimately, the programme faced a fierce opposition in the assembly which resulted in "... neither the maximalist nor the minimalist demands of the
assimilationists were satisfied' (Entelis: 1986: 39).

As has been seen, Islam was always the doctrine on which local resistance was based from the early days of colonisation. As a matter of fact, this current demanded total independence through the reaffirmation of the Algerian culture, religious cohesion, proper practices of the Islamic precepts and a resetting of the real aspects of Islam as a religion and a style of life. In contrast, the totalitarian colonialism 'has represented and incarnated, the most serious encroachment upon these values' (Hermassi: 1972: 93).

The foundation of Ulemas' community in 1931 by a group of pious scholars came in this order. Moreover, it also faced the liberals when Abd-El-Hamid Ibn Badis, who originated from Constantine's family of religious nobles who learned at religious institutions of Arab countries, responded in reasonable tone that influenced the former. This statement was published in Badis' paper Echihab and quoted by Entelis:

"History has taught us that the Muslim people of Algeria were created like the others. They have their history, illustrated by noble deeds; they have their religious unity and their language; they have their culture; their customs, their habits with all that is good and bad in them. This muslim population is not France; it cannot be France, it does not want to be France. It is a population far from France in its language, its life and its religion, it does not seek to incorporate itself in France. It possesses its fatherland whose frontiers are
fixed and this is the Algerian fatherland" (Entelis:1986:44).

It is quite clear that this statement made by the founder of the religious organisation, rejected categorically the assimilationists' demands with respect to all aspects i.e. social life, political expectations, religion, culture and the like. Actually this religious community did exist prior to this date in preliminary form, however, without any political aspirations. Its main work was to educate the people, who were not able to enter colonial schools. It provided religious institutions for reading sacred texts, and the Koran's interpretations according to Shariaa. Hence, 'it was the first group during colonisation to advocate maintaining national personality, and it reacted mainly by intensifying the effort to purify religious life and institutions' (Hermassi:1972:93).

The work achieved by this organisation was very important and deeply influential in maintaining proper cultural patterns and Islamic practices. Moreover, its performance influenced the political current maintained by the liberals resulting in their denunciation of colonisation With a hard emphasis upon universal education, the Ulemas effectively contributed in preventing total illiteracy and consequently stood by the colonial strata of the hierarchy (Entelis:1986:43). The task of the Ulemas embodied in social role and religious matters, as they devoted a great deal of effort to transmit and inculcate bodies of religious corrections, and sets of beliefs to conserve first, and to pass down the Islamic cultural heritage
in the best norm and in its original form. Above all their intention was to avoid any form of malpractice or misinterpretation of the basic Islamic precepts. For these reasons, adequate measures were utilised and specific methods exploited in this regard. Moreover, their purpose was to shape the awakening of the people along Islamic lines.

They pleaded their objectives in newspapers, pamphlets, books, and public sermons during prayers in the mosques. With adequate acquaintance with Islam, they went abroad for eventual perfection of their traditional studies and religious knowledge, questioning the legitimacy of the colonial political system. (Hubert: 1973:53).

We have seen in the foregoing presentation that the Ulemas' claims were basically social and religious that turned into political ones. Hence, change occurred in their claims when they witnessed the eagerness of Frenchmen to make Algeria "a dust of human" as their "mission of civilisation" turned into a "mission of destruction" (Ottaway: 1972:242). Henceforth, it is important to indicate that the work of the elite during wartime was influenced by the colonial context where controversial stakes were in conflict: On the one hand, an assimilationist tendency claiming a sponsored assimilation and cultural integration into the French culture. And on the other hand, successful attempts to prevent the assimilationists' actions and revive an original and an already existing culture.

An equally important fraction emerged, and was to add to the existing conflict more. The new group was called the
revolutionaries. Their modest origins put them in the front of society to claim radical reforms and total independence. Their intention concentrated on the rejection of French rule and estimated that violence breeds only violence, which is the only forceful way to gain independence. The consensus and the political cohesion attained among this group 'was sufficient to link [them] together during the early phase of organising the war of independence ...' (revolution) (Quandt: 1969: 71).

The interdependency that grouped the members of the political elites in Algeria in terms of their common attitudes and behaviours — except the liberals in the beginning of their politics in the 1930's — is explained by Quandt in socio-political terms:

'For every Algerian who profited from the benefits of French culture there were dozens who felt more than frustrations, the anger, and the humiliation of being placed in inferior positions by a technically superior culture. Added to this dependency relationship were the all too frequent instances of impoverishment, discrimination and racism' (Quandt: 1969: 2).

Like the revolutionaries and the radicals, the last political elite involved in Algerian politics was the militaries. This group shared the same socio-political parameters of politicisation, since its members centralised upon political independence. They were politically determined to use violence and organise an open confrontation against the French army. Their determination was not affected by their late political
socialisation, which is due to the very factor of age as they were the youngest group of the Algerian wartime elite (Quandt:1969:110-115). (See table 4)

Table 4. Social background of Algerian wartime elite adapted from (Quandt:1969:151).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Politicians</th>
<th>Revolutionaries</th>
<th>Intellectuals</th>
<th>Militaries</th>
<th>Total elite</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Education</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td>11 (100%)</td>
<td>2 (8%)</td>
<td>2 (8%)</td>
<td>11 (69%)</td>
<td>26 (34%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>19 (73%)</td>
<td>4 (17%)</td>
<td>3 (19%)</td>
<td>26 (34%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary</td>
<td>5 (19%)</td>
<td>5 (21%)</td>
<td>10 (13%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>13 (54%)</td>
<td>2 (12%)</td>
<td>15 (19%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Region of birth</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Algiers</td>
<td>5 (45%)</td>
<td>3 (12%)</td>
<td>1 (4%)</td>
<td>4 (25%)</td>
<td>13 (17%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constantine</td>
<td>2 (18%)</td>
<td>13 (50%)</td>
<td>3 (12%)</td>
<td>6 (38%)</td>
<td>24 (31%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oran</td>
<td>1 (9%)</td>
<td>5 (19%)</td>
<td>2 (8%)</td>
<td>1 (6%)</td>
<td>9 (12%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kabylie</td>
<td>3 (28%)</td>
<td>5 (19%)</td>
<td>3 (12%)</td>
<td>1 (6%)</td>
<td>12 (16%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>15 (64%)</td>
<td>4 (25%)</td>
<td>19 (24%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Size of birth place</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100,000</td>
<td>2 (18%)</td>
<td>2 (8%)</td>
<td>3 (19%)</td>
<td>7 (9%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30,000-100,000</td>
<td>1 (9%)</td>
<td>2 (8%)</td>
<td>1 (4%)</td>
<td>4 (5%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,000-30,000</td>
<td>4 (37%)</td>
<td>10 (38%)</td>
<td>1 (4%)</td>
<td>5 (31%)</td>
<td>20 (26%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 3,000</td>
<td>3 (27%)</td>
<td>10 (36%)</td>
<td>6 (25%)</td>
<td>3 (19%)</td>
<td>22 (29%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>1 (9%)</td>
<td>2 (8%)</td>
<td>16 (67%)</td>
<td>5 (31%)</td>
<td>24 (31%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Average age in 1954</strong></td>
<td>39</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) An aggregate of liberals and radicals.
Their late political socialisation in society did not affect the impact of their mobilisation to encourage armed struggle against foreign domination. They revolted against social privations, political oppression and the division of the country into compartments of interests where segregation and racism were deeply experienced (Fanon:1963:29). In order to gain political unity and administrative cohesion, between the preceding parties, and after the continual harassment of the nationalist leadership by the French police, the foundation of a single party was the only alternative and the immediate issue, in order to mobilise the masses, as the leaders were aware that the former never tolerated French domination (Zartman:1964:4).

The foundation of the 'Front de Liberation Nationale' was the respective issue of political consensus attained by all the clans of the wartime period, aspiring for unity and common expectations based upon independence. Another, reason which contributed to political consensus was the dismantling of the 'Organization Secrete' founded in 1945 as a political protest against the inhumane killing of that year in three eastern cities. Arrest of the O.S leaders added to the commitment of the elite, the will to fight colonialism 'by all available means' (Quandt:1969:60). Although, the O.S was short lived, it made a contribution to wartime politics as it was through it that political consensus was attained, thereby, founding an open party that gathered all the members of the political institutions and organisations with the support of the 'Armee Nationale de Liberation', and that of the people. The
definition of 'consensus' identifies as existing, 'when all the people agree on all aspects of government (...)' (Reveree:1970:2).

2) **May 1945, renaissance of nationalism**

Given the fact that the Blum Viollette Bill was completely rejected in the European assembly in 1938, the hopes of the liberals were 'aborted' by the heated arguments presented by the colons, thereby, the liberals 'evolues' recorded an undesirable defeat that re-shaped their expectations and transformed the procedure of their claims and reforms. Consequently, they degenerated into an anti-French party leading to the formation of the 'Amis du Manifeste Algerian', who displayed a determinant spirit, renouncing their previous moderate demands, and accordingly voicing an Algerian independence.

The political front bred by consensus gathered all the groups involved in pre-war times. Their purposes were to voice and demand more radical concessions from the colonial administration for the benefit of all people (Lazreg:1975:108).

The Blum viollette Bill was not the unique cause of change that occurred within the structure of the elite. The 1945's event's in 'Kherrata', 'Guelma' and 'Setif' were also a factor that influenced Ferhat Abbas, when he declared himself a real nationalist. The killings started when the allies liberated Paris from Nazi rule with an effective contribution by Algerians, fighting under the French flag and expecting
independence as a reward, and as declared by the colonial authorities. Hence, they went on a peaceful demonstration proclaiming independence and, the liberation of Messali - founder of the ENA -. This demonstration resulted in inhumane and brutal repression in the named cities, leaving an objective estimate of 45,000 dead. The severity of 1945 event - as described by Fares(1978), had a vital impact in awakening nationalism and reviving national feelings of the liberals. Moreover, their declarations took a re-shaped tone, as they realised that only an armed revolution could make things equal. The following extract from the Manifesto of the ex-liberals expresses the new tendency of their politics, as quoted by Noushi:

"In order to gain [independence], a mass action must rise. The souks (markets), the public houses, and all the places must be a ground for action (...). We want that Algeria preserves its own physionomy, its language, its traditions ..." (Noushi:1962:96).

The very severe measures utilised by colonisation were purposely set to secure European settlement and provide them with arable lands, thereby using a 'legal' network which ended in a huge depossession of the Algerian peasantry Sari(1978) Launay(1963). Above all, life under colonial rule was 'devoid of any meaning' (Fanon:1980:5), as the entire action of colonisation was an action of destruction and cultural alienation, as well as a capitalist exploitation. All these actions were intended to dislocate the social fabric of Algerian society, which is the strategy of every situation
under foreign domination which has been documented by Meunier and quoted by Hermassi:

“In deporting entire groups and dispersing them, no one troubled to reflect that by scattering them, their societies were broken-up, their unity was destroyed, their traditions swamped, their customary law obliterated ...” (Hermassi:1972:65).

In order to quell colonial hardships, Algerians were organised in groups throughout the country, led by the political structure of the FLN. Thus, it was possible to gain socio-political ground and wrest their demands in an organised, structured and 'formal' party, forming a united front which grouped all the political tendencies, whose members disbanded 'their own organisations (...) and rallied the FLN' (Quandt:1969:86).

To conclude, it is possible to argue that May, 1945 was the very date of Algerian renaissance and through which consensus and cohesion were attained with regard to reforms, expectations, perspectives and the methods to be used to put in practice the programme of the party, centralised upon the launch of the revolution. Messali tried to launch the armed struggle before 1945 but he failed and was imprisoned. Besides, inner conflict prevented such an alternative and the date was postponed.

3) **Political fusion of November, 1954 and political consensus**

Revere estimates that the political current in the pre-war
period concluded a total agreement between the groups that constituted the wartime Algerian elite. Moreover, he considers the consensus attained by those groups was a totalitarian consensus, meaning a political confluence between the clans, and more importantly between the masses and the elite (Revere: 1970:5). Henceforth, the intra-elite conflict between the groups and the inner socio-political differences were overcome and ceased to destroy the political climate and the social atmosphere grouping all Algerians in the national front. This resulted in an immediate positive interaction between the nationalist movements and the elites Basu (1978).

Indeed at the very beginning of Nov 1954, the members of the FLN agreed on the division of Algeria into five 'wilayas' (provinces) to get accurate synchronisation and to re-enact the plan of resistance. The revolution was launched on that date mobilising all the existing forces and demanding the contribution of all masses, to counter the colonial rulers severe operations, brutal actions and the politics of the "scorched earth".

Prior to November, the leaders of the revolution met and organised the five wilayas to undertake the task of overthrowing the colonial regime during, almost, eight years, that ended with a total overthrow of foreign domination and political independence. Initially, the revolution started with some co-ordinated attacks in the whole territory, under the military supervision of the nine historic leaders, whose common link was to oust Frenchmen. These actions quickly enhanced the
FLN's prestige and gained it massive support, confluent in advocating decolonisation. It was dearly obtained, and was tragic for both belligerents (Aron: 1957:22). Moreover, it was a positive and a 'violent phenomenon (...) which set out to change the order of the world' (Fanon: 1963:27). French repressions were of disdain, but soon became of seriousness, effective, coherent and strong to quell the process of the mass uprising Horne(1977).

When the colonial administration realised that the uprising went beyond the estimated dimensions, it substituted the way of repression by psychological coups at women and children. Fanon reported in his book, that a Swedish newspaper women witnessed this sort of war in a camp and talked to the people. Here is an extract of this report:

"The next in the line was a boy of seven, marked by deep wounds made by steel wire with which he had been bound while French soldiers mistreated and killed his parents and sisters. A lieutenant has forcefully kept the boy's eyes open, so that he would see and remember this for a long time (...).

The child said 'there is only one thing I want: to be able to cut a French soldier up into small pieces, tiny pieces" (Fanon: 1980:4).

Escalation of the war had the double effect of uniting rivalries and making the members of the elite renounce their differences. They dedicated themselves, their abilities and strength to fighting Frenchmen. By the time France was
internationally isolated. Algeria was gaining international support and solidarity. Its case was pleaded in international organisations. because, unlike some wars, the Algerian revolution is one which was not intended for victory but for peace (Aron:1957:2) (Horne:1977).

Pressures came from the expensive costs and the colonial settlers whose interests were at stake. Hence, the colonial regime decided in March 1962 to negotiate a bilateral agreement for a cease-fire that led in July 5,1962 to the official proclamation of independence.

The illusion of French Algeria that lasted 132 years disappeared with the evacuation of the French troops in a massive exodus whose sequel was enormous for independent Algeria. because, there was in parallel to the military exodus a civil one, resulting in an intellectual drain of both administration and economy. It is an impartial view, the one that makes of psychological warfare a double edge '(...) with one hand the army was trying to crush the insurrection by force, while with the other it was trying to kill the insurgents and the people with kindness and consideration ' (O'Ballance:1967:53).
CHAPTER TWO

SECTION THREE

III HISTORY OF COLONIAL EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

1) Unequal access to school: limits to the reproduction of the French ideology.

2) Selective school: Mechanism of social stratification.

3) Essence of Algerian electorate and class mediation.

4) Religious institutions versus French schools.
III HISTORY OF COLONIAL EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Colonial education in Algeria remains among the subjects which have not been investigated. Only some sporadic attempts have been made to understand the French policy in this sphere. Students in this field, agree on the fact that French policy during the domination was essentially aimed at an already selected group from high social strata. Accordingly, studies on education conclude that the first consequential result was to leave the majority of the people out of the educational system, because their social origins did not give them access to schools, colleges, lycees and universities (Souriau:1975:365) (Hugoz:1970:22).

1883 remains a key date for colonial Algeria's schools. It was the first time France institutionalised schools for Algerians after 53 years of intensive and extensive colonisation. However, the establishment of 'native' schools did not satisfy to the people's aspirations, since segregation was evident within the system between settlers and Algerians on the one hand, and between Algerians themselves on the other. Despite the existence of schooling differences, to be discussed later, some natives were capable of being members of the student corps, even though their social background could not fulfil the conditional criteria of access and their parental social position could not sponsor their studies. (See Table 5)
Table 5: Public instruction in Algeria between 1957 and 1959.

Source: Capdecome (1960:27)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Primary education</th>
<th>Type of population</th>
<th>Nov 1957</th>
<th>Nov 1958</th>
<th>Nov 1959</th>
<th>Total No after 20/09/58</th>
<th>Absolute Real</th>
<th>Expected Real</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) Preschool and primary education</td>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>546 006</td>
<td>466 665</td>
<td>616 474</td>
<td>+276 424</td>
<td>+78,1</td>
<td>4,9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non Muslim</td>
<td>123 249</td>
<td>124 187</td>
<td>129 207</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>469 257</td>
<td>590 852</td>
<td>745 681</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>58,9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Complementary courses</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>4 027</td>
<td>6 838</td>
<td>8 559</td>
<td>6 265</td>
<td>76,9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N. M</td>
<td>12 802</td>
<td>14 499</td>
<td>15 355</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>35,5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>17 629</td>
<td>21 336</td>
<td>25 894</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Frst. educ.</td>
<td></td>
<td>466 866</td>
<td>612 188</td>
<td>769 575</td>
<td>289 689</td>
<td>180 000</td>
<td>58,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second degree education</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>6 806</td>
<td>6 838</td>
<td>10 283</td>
<td>7 227</td>
<td>5 000</td>
<td>51,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N. M</td>
<td>30 663</td>
<td>33 314</td>
<td>34 413</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>37 469</td>
<td>41 152</td>
<td>44 694</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>19,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Normal schools (4)</td>
<td>M</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>476</td>
<td>53,5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N. M</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>203</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>890</td>
<td>678</td>
<td>566</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical &amp; professional instruction</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>6 345</td>
<td>9 547</td>
<td>11 753</td>
<td>7 179</td>
<td>85,3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N. M</td>
<td>7 565</td>
<td>8 566</td>
<td>9 356</td>
<td>23,4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>14 910</td>
<td>18 013</td>
<td>21 109</td>
<td>51,6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher education faculties (2)</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>4 214</td>
<td>530</td>
<td>814</td>
<td>1 738</td>
<td>93,3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N. M</td>
<td>4 394</td>
<td>4 924</td>
<td>739</td>
<td>30,6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>8 608</td>
<td>6 854</td>
<td>1 553</td>
<td></td>
<td>36,1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ill. education</td>
<td>M</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islamic Inst. of Political studies (3)</td>
<td>N. M</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>45</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>66</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The figures contained in the previous table may express that colonial education was universal, and that it was accessible to all social strata without the prerequisite social criteria. Such a reflection is true at the bottom level of education where Algerians were overwhelmingly the student population during the mentioned period. This was due to the fact that European settlers had already started to leave Algeria whose war was in its third year of hostilities.

Moreover, settlers who stayed preferred to send their children to private schools, resulting in a decrease of their representation, at least at the elementary level. However, the aforementioned reflection is misleading. A quick comparison of the number of Algerians and that of settlers shows a striking fact. (see Appendix 1)

Paradoxically, this was a contradiction with the general outline designed by many theorists of the cultural alienation in an attempt at 'civilization' and 'cultural development' of the dominated society.

Enrolment of Algerians was solely based upon social background and related to family political involvement. For the others they joined the 'free school' set up and run by religious institutions (Damis:1974:440) or just joined the large number of the 'sub-proletariat' as documented in Bourdieu's work (Bourdieu and al:1963). Henceforth, public and official rejection of the colonial schooling system was the first reaction. As far as the latter is concerned, Ben Rahal's refusal to adopt or accept the metropolitan education speaks
for itself.
He established his own educational theory through which one can see that it was a real 'restructuring and homogenisation of the cultural spheres' (Djeghloul(a):1986:72). Moreover, the rejection of the colonial system resulted in the emergence of religious schools that were the instrument of reform and teaching. For this, it is interesting to compare two systems with respect to their:

a) origin,  
b) social enrolments,  
c) curriculum, 
d) the socio-professional openings for each system in the society.

As a first attempt towards assimilation, a coherent policy of political and cultural integration was set up after the military domination of the French administration. Such a policy, was aimed at creating socio-cultural cleavages and alienating the people as well as a dislocation of the social order whose structure prevented to some extent the alienating impact (Ibrahim-Taleb:1981:56). However, this policy had an influential effect upon the emergence of the liberals who constituted a cultural entity, entirely linked to French culture but did not commit an apostasy act.

Colonna, considers the assimilationist policy undertaken through education and missions to have started in 1871 after settlers' pressure so as to make it official and governmental, but destructive for the Algerian cultural heritage. But it could not penetrate the very interior structure of Algerian culture as it emerged after independence in good condition with some cultural exceptions (Colonna:1975:22). Realising the
positive impacts, education may have, the colonists pressures changed in the opposite direction by 1931 were radically demanding the abolition of schools for Algerians, arguing that instruction of 'natives' would leave behind it a shortage of unskilled workers for farms, roads, building and maintenance. Moreover, they feared that education could be a source of political and social demands. Henceforth, the colonist hostility remained stable and was maintained until 1918 (Ageron:1968:V2:923), the date by which formal education started to be diffused throughout the country on the basis of the theory of distance of the two distinct culture. As Colonna puts it:

'Nothing could link, in effect, the unconformity [of students] to the moral exigencies of school' (Colonna:1973:182).

The diffusion of formal education among Algerians was estimated by the 1902 session of the European delegates, to be 'a peril for their domination [Frenchmen] and for the budget of the colony' (Ageron:1968:V2:929). This argument tends to misinterpret the socio-political impact of formal education, because, one has to state that the French policy of education did in effect, delay the day of Revolution, and was a result of the war time conflict between the different fractions. It is also argued that education in colonies is 'imposed upon defeated people and must be understood as it is' (Ageron:1972:45). Thus, it is not surprising to say, that the initial tasks of colonial schools are: to perpetuate the dominant culture with all its components, the destruction of
the local cultural features, including language, traditions, religion; dislocation of the social order, creation of social and political cleavages as well as creating a predominant supra elite which represents colonial interests and respond to its actions of integration and assimilation.

The evolution of Algerian students in colonial university has been statistically documented in Perville's detailed study about the French educational system. His study provides the reader with a statistical view about the evolution of the Algerian population and focusing upon limited branches since 1879. It also documents the awards given to Algerians in higher education between 1915 and 1962. As Perville's study is detailed annually between the above mentioned dates, one can summarise his data in the following tables. They contain the same features of the educational openings, namely, the proportion of Algerians within the global student population, the type of degrees and the type of registration in the colonial university.

**Table 6**: Certificates awarded to Muslim Algerians since the foundation of higher schools (1879-80) until 1914-15.
A) Baccalauréat (Total numbers between 1908-09 and 1914-15 included).

Annual record since 1909-10 to 1914-15.

Including the Bacs obtained before 1905 regime.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Philosophy</th>
<th>21</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>63</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mathematics</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B) Higher education degrees.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Lettres</th>
<th>143</th>
<th>13</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>20</th>
<th>22</th>
<th>19</th>
<th>13</th>
<th>239</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Law studies</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sciences</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chemistry</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>307</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Taking into account the Bacs obtained in France before and after 1879 as well as university degrees in France before and after 1909.

C) Record by school (1880-1909) and by faculty (1909-1915).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lettres*</th>
<th>Arab Certificate</th>
<th>Berber Certificate</th>
<th>Arab Degree</th>
<th>First Degree</th>
<th>Postgraduate Degree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1880-1909</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909-1915</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Including three Bacheliers es-Lettres before 1894.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Law Studies</th>
<th>Free Studies</th>
<th>BAC</th>
<th>First Degree</th>
<th>ALC (b)</th>
<th>Higher ALC</th>
<th>Doct.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1880-1909</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909-1915</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sciences a</th>
<th>PCB Certificate(6)</th>
<th>First Degree</th>
<th>Higher Degree</th>
<th>Doctorate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1880-1909</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathematics</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a Including three Bacheliers in Sciences before 1894.
b Algerian Local Certificate.
c Taken by future doctor and pharmacists. (Source: Statistique Generale de l'Algerie).

It is quite clear from the previous tables, that the proportion of Algerians within the student population was insignificant. In effect, their percentage was below 20% of the total number of students, throughout all the academic years which numbered 47, that is between 1915 to 1961-62. Moreover, there was only one academic year where the proportion of muslim students reached 18.1. This was an exception, because if we study the other percentages, we find that they fluctuated between 1.2% and 13%, but more often they were below 13% (see Appendix 1).

The study also attempts to examine the structure of the French system of education, its background with respect to the basis
of enrolments and the openings of education. It also analyses closely the systematic selection that penetrated the student population on a socio-professional and political basis.

It is necessary for now, to debate the limits and impact of the colonial school which resulted in a fierce cultural rejection by the people and the Ulemas group.

1) **Unequal access to school: Limits to the reproduction of French ideology**

Decolonisation of Algeria started with the rejection of French education by the majority of the people who rallied to the reformist school. Its vocation was concerned with religious education as well as administrative clergy and religious affairs. In order to illustrate the perspective of both systems and their openings. Colonna proposes the following subsidies related to both systems:
Diagram 2: School disciplines for Muslims in colonial Algeria.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>French primary school</th>
<th>Practical concurrence</th>
<th>Koranic reformist school</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary certificate</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sixty chapters of the Koran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Reformist certificate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lycees</td>
<td>Complementary courses</td>
<td>Arab universities Rural Zaouia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Tunis-Middle East)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French universities</td>
<td>Technical Normal Official</td>
<td>Lawyers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Algiers-France)</td>
<td>school school medersa</td>
<td>Official Reformist Ulemas Koranic teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawyers</td>
<td>Vocational Teachers</td>
<td>clergy and, Newspaper men and, Rural clerks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctors</td>
<td>training</td>
<td>magistracy urban clerks free from control</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Acceptance of French school

Rejection of French school

Adapted from Colonna (1975:66)
The existing differences between the two systems was a result and a reason for the limited numbers of students enrolled in French schools. On the one hand, the structure of colonial schools was such that it did not respond to the needs of the people. On the other hand, because of this characteristic it had restricted the total enrolment to a minority which fulfilled the conditions of excellence.

Indeed, Colonna puts a special emphasis upon the emergence of a mediation group between French and Algerian cultures. He argues, that the exigencies of elitism—to run political institutions and ameliorate social positions—stimulated the people to trace a place in colonial academic institutions. That is to say, they formulated political reforms, asserted socio-economic demands and mobilise the population for resistance or alienate it because 'reproduction, reconversion and ascension are the result of the demands of the dominant society, with respect to collaboration and or mediation [of groups]' (Colonna: 1983: 25).

In order to get an overall picture of the student population, the author's study about colonial schools insists on the triangular image of French schools that must be taken into account. The triangular form expresses the interdependence and the 'relation between power, school and society' (Colonna: 1973: 180). Thus, it is only through such an alternative that one can understand the theory of excellence which operated as an effective medium to select an already selected group by their social positions, which greatly
contrived to prove the previous theory expressed in the following representation:

Diagram 3: Type of relation to school and dominant culture

Colorna (1973:187)
French had established a very powerful school apparatus to give a cultural hegemony to their values in every single aspect and promote 'the legitimate' interests of the French language. All this, counted for a socio-cultural assimilation promised in the general policy on school and education. From this standpoint, the colonial school institutionalised an educational method to select a mediating stratum that would diffuse French values, attitudes and culture.

The 'moral conquest' (Perville:1984:11) was also viewed as being a means to quell Algerian cultural patterns and stimulate the formation of 'mixed intellectuals' in order to create a cultural dilemma in the society (Perville:1984:17-18). Thus, being talented and having all the intellectual qualities to undertake the schooling process could not be of any assistance to Algerians, unless they showed a liking for French culture, but without any excess, otherwise, they would be labelled as 'bad' 'pretentious' and 'amateur'. (See diagram 3)

Above all, colonial schools were characterised by rigorous selection. In effect, a study of the social origins of Algerians enrolled in colonial schools shows that, seldom were there Algerians capable of entering educational institutions, unless their admission was guaranteed by their social status; otherwise they exclusively achieved the first cycle of education: i.e primary education. Such a selective procedure was true at the highest level of institution (See Appendix 1). It was solely based upon socio-political criteria. It is argued that those who graduated in French 'lycees' and universities
did not lack the series of conditional criteria set up for these purposes.

Indeed, their parents were often, if not always, placed at the forefront of the society. Their functions were of 'Bachaghas', 'Aghas', 'Caids', lawyers, translators, doctors and almost occupying important positions on the French administrative ladder. In other words, education was provided on the condition that students' families would perform loyal services for the dominant society. For instance, to report any sort of political organisation, condemn recalcitrants and quell local demonstrations (Ydroudj:1984:16-17), because, Frenchmen were unable to control the whole territory and establish direct rule over the Algerian society.

In this respect, Von Sivers states that 'the idea of direct rule was actually fiction nurtured by colonial officials anxious to show a sceptical public of settlers and metropolitan Frenchmen that the notorious Algerian resistance against colonial rule had been effectively squashed' (Von Sivers:1982:116). Henceforth, colonial officials appointed Algerian administrators in order to attain an overall control and establish a socio-political hegemony as 'the manipulative powers of the French clearly were limited' (Von Sivers:1982:118). Although, there were some muslim students at different levels on the educational ladder they clearly, were enrolled in complementary courses or were directed to some 'modest' openings (See Appendix 1). For instance, Perville's study shows that there was one muslim pupil out of four in the
'lycees' (secondary education), one out of six at the end of the cycle. After the competitive examination, one out of seven was eligible for higher education (Perville:1984:23).

Outlining some wartime Algerians' leaders biographies Quandt shows how socialisation within a given geographical zone influenced the political tendency of reforms. The example of Ferhat Abbas, the leader of the liberals, is significant in this respect. He, in effect, was socialised within a 'commune de plein exercice' which was amended and officially 'formed wherever a sizeable European population existed and here the full French system of local government operated as it did in France' (Quandt:1969:73). In addition, to the influence of socialisation one has to estimate the role played by formal education which shapes the political current through its curriculum and values which, in turn were adapted from a typical metropolitan education. This did convert many liberals who could not identify with the people. Quandt provides the reader with some significant examples about the role of social status as a sponsoring yardstick for some Algerians, who were able to attend the best schools (Quandt:1969:46).

The very first operation achieved by schools was one of sociological isolation which extended to sexual segregation. While some Algerians males were making their way through the educational channel, females were left aside by the system. Perville estimates that in 1954 there was only one schooled girl out of four males in primary education. The female ratio decreased with level, where one girl was included in a group of
seven in secondary schools and just one out of twenty in higher education (Pervillé:1984:23). Henceforth, it is plausible to advance that colonial education was granted according to socio-political criteria, set up by colonial officials to limit the total numbers of enrolments and allow an already selected group to benefit from it. The double impact of such organised policy becomes clear: to alienate the educated group from a sociocultural standpoint, and to utilise them for subservient activities from a political angle.

Colonial education in Algeria did not present a single case, as in every colonial situation, schools have the same aspects and aims to the established objectives of stratification and selection (Altbach:1978P:3-4). Under the weight of such educational circumstances, the population had been carrying feelings of discontent and resentment, not only because the elite was to be assimilated in the French cultural life, but because they remained illiterate for generations. However, the point to be highlighted concerns the fact, that in such a situation the majority of the population remained unaffected as education was not expanded to its members on a large scale. As a result, colonial education did limit the diffusion of French ideology.

In effect, Moore, rightly remarked this unilateral impact of education '(...) French education was the most obvious sign of elite status in the modern sector of colonial society. To be a member of modern elite (...) a French education was virtually mandatory' (Moore:1970:47).
Through education France was capable of creating an intellectual aggregate and disengaging an Algerian group to rule indirectly. 'Thus according to this assumption, even though French colonial officials never ruled the Algerians directly, they at least seem to have successfully replaced the traditional tribal elite with their own body of nameless, faceless underlings' (Von Sivers:1982:116).

The majority of the population was left aside and took refuge in other types of educational institutions that had quite different openings, curriculums and structures. A close confrontation of the basic studies in both systems indicates the constant intellectual conflict between the members of both systems with specific reference to their hierarchical structures (See Diagram 4).

The striking aspect of stratification is often related to social organisation, type of education, its openings and prospects, which in turn, enabled students to ameliorate their social position or even lift it at higher levels of the hierarchy within the family, the group, the tribe or the society. This is in contrast to the French protectorates in North Africa, namely, Tunisia and Morocco.

It is argued that the traditional elites in these countries owed their existence to a double factor: In the first instance, to the passivity of the members of the elite or the overall domination by French officials. And in the second instance, to the French protection of all the existing elites who joined the fractions of indirect rule. '(...) rather than
Diagram 4: Hierarchical structure of colonial and reformist systems in education.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social origin</th>
<th>Start of schooling</th>
<th>Openings</th>
<th>End of schooling</th>
<th>Careers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Colonial elites</td>
<td></td>
<td>Lycees</td>
<td>Universities</td>
<td>Liberal jobs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Army officer, caid...)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land aristocracy</td>
<td></td>
<td>High school</td>
<td>High certificate</td>
<td>Administration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Important owners</td>
<td>French school</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Teaching</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Primary certificate)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Magistracy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Important peasants</td>
<td></td>
<td>Complementary courses</td>
<td></td>
<td>Technical jobs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public sector employees</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small tradesmen and artisans of towns</td>
<td>Xoramic school</td>
<td>Reformist school</td>
<td>Arab universities</td>
<td>Teachers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Sixty chapters of</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Imams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor peasants and agricultural workers</td>
<td>the Koran)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Journalism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Theology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Administration</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adapted from Colonna (1975:87).
destroying traditional elites [Tunisian and Moroccan] as in Algeria, the French protected them and gradually won them over, conditionally to their side, to act as agents of indirect rule' (Moore:1970:44).

Moreover, the Algerian case was aggravated by a total colonialism (Bourdieu:1974:5) characterised by '(...) an unrestrained domination of the whole society at all levels based on the negation of the social, cultural and economic order of the colonised country' (Hermassi:1972:57-8). In the same sense an official of the French administration described the colonial activities in the following words as quoted by Moore:

"Everywhere we have put our hands on these revenues [land and religious institutions] (...) we have ruined charitable institutions, dropped the schools and dispersed the seminaries. Around us lights have been extinguished, and the recruitment of men of religion and men of law has ceased. In other words, we have rendered muslim society more miserable, disorganised, ignorant and barbaric than it was before knowing us" (Moore:1970:42).

It may appear paradoxical that the policy of alienation was not compatible with the general policy of the French mission in Algeria. However, Frenchmen did have an effective placement in education which selected a small entity of the liberals - vulnerable- who were accessible from a socio-political standpoint. All the influence was unilateral and had behind it major sociological factors that made it operational on the one
hand and had other activities that made it short lived on the other. These activities were led by a religious opposition organised and structured within the general religious life. Therefore, the liberals were under two kinds of influence that can be expressed in the following diagram.

**Diagram 5.** Structure of the bicultural influence upon the liberals.

Since the earliest days of French establishment, such a policy was always borne in mind and constituted the motor force behind colonial educational policies. They were basically intended for social stratification, and consequently, fostered socio-linguistic cleavages. Within this framework, there is a total consensus among observers that the Algerian student population was homogeneous, in the sense that it originated from the same sociological stratum, because secondary education was not universally extended to the masses. Taouti gives the example of
the first accountant whose father enabled him to be trained in the first public school in Algeria at that time, because he was a teacher promoted to school headmaster (Taouti: 1981:42).

What sociologists tend to lose sight of, is the striking fact that in imposing a sponsored education and highly selective school, there always was unilateral impact and a negative response from the masses. That is to say, there was a limit to the reproduction of the dominant ideology. That is not to say, that there was not an influence upon the cultural structure, especially with regard to language. However, the questions that must be debated concern the failure of the liberals to rally the people. Why did they advocate moderate reforms at first and, then joined the public mobilisation?. How did the other groups prevail and dominate the political sphere?

The very selective structure of French schools resulted in a new system of stratification within Algerian society, previously based upon traditional traits. As French education became a prerequisite to be a member of the elite -during the constitution of the liberals- the cultural conflict was intensified and a compromise with the masses was likely to happen. Because, even the former benefited from the privileges of French culture, it was deprived of an authentic culture to be identified with, as shown in the following contrasting notes.
### Liberals

- Urban socialisation
- Modern education
- French schools, Lycees, Liberal function; urban clerical jobs teaching, technical training
- Socio-cultural assimilation and equal rights with French men
- Rejection of Liberal's demands
- Change in the political demands

### Ulemas

- Rural socialisation
- Traditional and religious education.
- Mektebbs, Medersas, Zauia universities, Charia'a, religious imams, rural, clerical jobs.
- Arabic is my language, Algeria my country and Islam my religion.
- Masses of people joined.
- Maintain total independence

Both groups joined the FLN in 1954

Under such circumstances, it is rightly remarked that political reforms were established according to various parameters that could constitute a limit to their spread. The previous examination of French education tends to show that this device contained the seeds of the limit of its usage within the sociological spheres, because it never gained mass support nor an intensive rallying of the culturally oppressed fractions. As a result, the school contributed not only to the failure to create political tension - succeeded in cultural terms by creating linguistic cleavages - but also in the awakening of the feelings of resentment of the mediation group, namely the liberals.
Selective School: Mechanism of Social Stratification

Wartime was characterised by social variations in the emergence of political elites. Everyone was linked to a specific cultural background and was channelled into a tendency, advocating different demands, reforms and transformations. This is due to socialisation and formal education that played an important role in social stratification and had divided the society into spheres of interests. Hence, students of the Algerian elites place a strong emphasis upon the immediate role of education in shaping the political tendency and stratifying the society from a social point of view (Moore: 1970: 56-57) (Ydroudj: 1984: 15-18).

In effect the official charter of Algiers divides the Algerian society into four different social strata, including the intellectual class which is the consequential result of colonial policy in education. This social stratum maintains a key argument which places it in the forefront of society. This argument concerns the solution to the economic and social life of the country that could only be in the hands of its members (Charte d'Alger: 1964: 34-37). This group was a 'social priority' of French policy, which concentrated on training a minority group to ensure socio-political hegemony and perpetuate the exercise of power within a certain fraction of class (Nkrumah: 1972: 44).

Contact of some Algerians with French culture meant social differences and a new life-style around the 'commune mixte', where there was no lack of job possibilities and social opportunities. This was not the case for the zones where the
majority of the people lived. The division of the country into compartments of interest revealed that there were differences between Frenchmen and Algerians on one hand, and between Algerians themselves on the other.

At this point, it might be rightly noted that the curriculums of French instruction reflected separate objectives and aimed at specific ideological goals. In effect, some intellectuals who attended these schools displayed typical French cultural patterns in all their dimensions. Moreover, they identified themselves with France, until they realised the brutal repression and the practices of unrestrained colonialism in May 1945. The writer Kateb Yacine expressed the psychological impact of the massive killing, as quoted in Humbaraci:

"My humanitarian feelings were first outraged by the ghastly sights at Setif in 1945. I was sixteen years old and I have never forgotten the shock of that merciless butchery which took thousands of muslims lives. There at Setif the iron of nationalism entered my soul. There have been, it is true, other factors: the economic and political alienation of my people in their own country, for instance. But, it was particularly this betrayal of values which the French had given us which opened my eyes" (Humbaraci:1966:45)

The academic milieu of education was organised in such a way that many Algerians left schools, narrowing the range of choice for their careers, because 'to each level of education corresponds a specific degree of freedom. In a society in which
87 percent of the people have no certificate of general education and 98 percent no certificate of technical education, possession of a trade proficiency diploma or a certificate of primary education give an enormous advantage in economic competition; a minute difference in level, such as that between someone who can read and also write, produces a quite disproportionate difference in chances of social success' (Bourdieu:1979 (a):34).

This is the model of school established in colonial Algeria whose purposes were to train a 'sub-intelligentsia' (Bourdieu:1979 (a):35) and use them as agents for indirect rule. It was also intended to manipulate it according to French values and culture.

3′) Essence of an Algerian electorate and a class of mediation

Various consequences followed from the establishment of colonial schools. The striking one, is that of the social stratification based upon the monopoly of knowledge. In effect, some Algerians were ready at hand to be trained and appointed to the administrative apparatus. Consequently, their appointment at the middle level of administration provided them with the keys to running society's affairs. The dialectics of elite emergence is viewed by Von Sivers from two parallel perspectives:

On the one hand, selection by French of some members linked to them by education and social status, and on the other hand by self reproduction of the elite itself.
The French colonial officials may have successfully manipulated the Algerian elite through their control of the selection process, but the elite in return successfully manipulated the French by renewing itself continuously in ways which were beyond the latter's control and by maintaining its monopoly of local power (Von Sivers: 1962: 117).

With significant opposition from religious sources, the elite was able to establish its entity within a conflictual context and cultural struggle. However, its hegemony did not expand to important dimensions and was limited to certain areas of the social sphere, within pre-determined geographical zones. Indoctrination of that elite reached its peak, as the 'évolues' displayed a strong will of co-operation with colonial officials whatever the matter at stake, to receive in return social privileges related to education and economic activities. It is argued, that the educational policies set-up by Frenchmen must be explained by the very socio-political exigencies to dominate the prevailing tribal order, whose structure prevented colonial expansion. Therefore, such groups were greatly needed to overcome social difficulties contained within the socio-political organisation of Algerian society. Needless to say, that schools did respond to colonial prospects of control and domination and were supposed to be the only medium through which the recruitment of agents was ensured and successfully maintained (Turin: 1983: 257).

Overall, this is the main and common situation in many, if not
all, colonies where education is often confined to the elementary level and foreign values and culture intrude so as to eradicate any form of resistance and to dominate the colonised societies. However, in Algeria, like in the other North African countries there was a cultural phenomenon that confronted the emergence of colonial elites. It is referred to as the 'free school phenomenon' or the religious institutions (17) (Damis:1974).

4°) Religious institutions versus colonial schools

Having examined the structure of colonial schools and revealed the ideological limits they contained, for they were not intended for all social classes, with regard to their socio-political basis and objectives they aimed at. In other words, French officials created schools where the 'needed elite might be trained' in order to rule, because 'France could not control Algeria without the co-operation of at least some Algerian elites' (Heggoy:1979:430).

The following section tends, also to approach the social stratification French officials operated through the same device. The emergence of religious institutions is often connected with the emergence of the 'Association of the ulema's and more specifically with the person of the scholar Ibn Badis. In effect, the idea emerged in 1924 when he contacted some of his colleagues to found the 'Intellectual Fraternity' that could group all the Arab-speaking literates, harmonise their efforts to establish Arabic education and unify their religious
The socio-cultural conditions were adequate for the ulemas' to establish their own "religious party" whose aims were adequate to counter the French policies of cultural alienation and the true diffusion of religion through the available means (Merad: 1967:125). Henceforth, they established an exclusive education for people from humble social origins, but there were also some elements from the high social classes whose religious conservatism prevented them from attending colonial schools (Merad: 1967:346-347).

The aim of this school was clear and simple: Inculcation of religious principles that would be the guidelines for daily life and collective behaviour. The means of communications were limited, and the staff lacked scientific knowledge. Thus, the curriculum, even if it contained some scientific subjects could not challenge colonial education. Nonetheless, these schools contributed to providing the people with the basic skills of reading and writing, and sometimes trained future teachers. (Damis: 1974:443)

The religious elite was traditionally organised and had the moral responsibility for quelling the spread of French ideology by providing students with the adequate and true Islamic doctrine. Thus, religious education differed from that provided by colonial administration in modern schools. As a result, it needs a close examination in order to consider its impact upon the formation of nationalism and to contrast it with the French education in many aspects: organisation, curriculum, enrolments
and the like. Above all, this education was not established for stratification purposes or social differentiation, because it contained the seeds for equality and co-operation between all its members.

Koranic reading places had existed in Algeria since the earliest times. However, instruction in these premises did not go beyond memorising the holy Koran and its interpretation according to 'fikh'. According to Merad, the main aim of the reformist movement throughout the islamic world concentrated on 'preaching the moral rearmament of the community, driving [the community] to the real faith and the restoring of the tradition of the prophet' [peace be upon him]... (Merad: 1984:17-18).

Above all, the ulema established an educational network through which they achieved the basic objectives and threatened the French education. As a result, French officials retaliated and even closed many of the 'free schools'. Prior to further discussion, it is worthwhile presenting the premises where education was carried out and cultural sets transmitted. Like elsewhere in the islamic countries, there existed in Algeria three different kinds of schools. In other words, the academic process was pursued through complementary institutions with differential intellectual hierarchy with respect to knowledge.

First, mektebs were the starting point of religious education, and they were linked to 'mosques' which performed a socialising function at this low level. Second, and more important than mektebs, were the Zaouias which were established as an equivalent of religious training centre. It performed the
duties of pure religious studies in the Arabic language until French officials included French as a second language (Heggoy:1979:430). So as to encourage enrolment of the deprived and help them to ameliorate their condition and ultimately swell the outputs of educated people, these schools provided their students with the necessary educational materials, including occasional meals.

Advanced Islamic studies were performed at a higher level, namely, medersas whose students were graduated 'tollubahs' and whose curriculum was much more varied and advanced. Besides, Koranic and religious studies, maintained in the medersas, other subjects were included, i.e.: grammar, logic, geometry, and arithmetic. In other words, it was an encyclopaedic institution given to students under very difficult circumstances, such as the dearth of qualified teachers in scientific subjects (Merad:1967:346-347).

It is worth noting that at this level of studies instruction was graded and individualised, since each talib (student) could advance according to his own intellectual abilities. According to foreign observers, this graduation was intended to reproduce the corps of the Ulema at a rapid pace, so as to supervise the practices of Islam and to extend education as far as possible to the masses (Eick:1965:28).

The structure of the medersa is well documented in the thesis of that author in his comparative study of French influence in Tunisia and Egypt. To quote him:

'Although there were grades or levels of competence to be
passed; it must be understood that no grade was of fixed duration, there were no specific examinations and passing from one grade to another was a purely individual matter. Students were free to listen in on whatever lectures and lecturers they chose. When a lecturer or a teacher was satisfied that a pupil had mastered the book or books pertaining to that level, a licence [Icaza] was issued and the pupil was eligible to try the next licence (...)’ (Eick:1965:30).

As stated, most of these schools were modest institutions for they were not involved with modern education for many reasons, because they lacked trained teachers in the scientific field and were short of adequate references. The basic courses taught in most medersas were structured as in the following chart which also shows the intellectual ladders in the training of religious scholars:
### Chart 2. General organisation of a Medersa. (Eick:1965:31)

(Religious Seminary in 18th Century)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pupil Ladder</th>
<th>Basic Curriculum-Teacher Ladder</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12 levels=Muderris</td>
<td>Commentary of the Koran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 at which licences were issued</td>
<td>Koranic exegesis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 licences</td>
<td>Jurisprudence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 issued</td>
<td>Sacred law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 issued</td>
<td>Theology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 by teachers</td>
<td>Traditions (Hadith)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 teachers</td>
<td>Intonation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 after mastery</td>
<td>Rhethoric</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 writing</td>
<td>Grammar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 of materials</td>
<td>Writing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 textual methods</td>
<td>Seven methods of reading the Koran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 materials</td>
<td>Recitation of the Koran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Highest class of teachers 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Middle class 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lowest class 5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Parallel to the existence of reading places, mektebs and medersas, there were rural Zaouias. These were the very traditional premises that existed in every region. They were the medium of contact between religious men to exchange techniques of organisation and collaboration. Moreover, they were the basis of the constitution of religious brotherhood throughout the country. Thus, they were known to be the platform of religious resistance and 'source of intoxication against the coloniser's school (...) and against any measure taken in hand' (Colonna:1975:29). For these reasons, French officials put these institutions under close surveillance which
resulted in closing many Zaouias because they were always involved in political matters. They were the political meeting places, the premises of political information and centres of consultation for political actions.

Their socio-political activities were closely controlled by the French administration and many of them saw their actions ended by colonial pressure and military measures. As an example of the dynamics of these institutions, suffice it to say, that the enemy of France, namely, the Emir Abd-El-Kader was socialised, trained and educated in one of the zaouias of the west. The double effect of colonial control upon zaouias, bred more mektebs and medersas where the majority of the people attended and completed the informal curriculum. The second effect was one which enhanced the cultural position of the assimilationist policy of French schools until the 1930's, when this concept became a 'dead' one (Entelis:1986:39).

With respect to the number of students enrolled in the 'free school', it is very difficult to give detailed figures. The only ones available are provided by Damis who has estimated the statistical situation as follows:
TABLE 8. Total number of schools and number of students (1930-1956).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>No of Schools</th>
<th>No of Students</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>School closed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>833,000</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934-35</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>3000-5000</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936-37</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>4000-7000</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Many</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>6000</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>9802</td>
<td>6545</td>
<td>3257</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>16,679</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Damis exposes the situation of the 'free school' in 1950 in the statistical form as compiled by the author:

TABLE 9. Number of religious schools in Algeria according to status and region.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Opened</th>
<th>Closed</th>
<th>Teachers</th>
<th>Students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Algiers</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>5889</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oran</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constantine</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>8366</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>14472</td>
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(Damis:1974:448). (Figures compiled by the author according to region and not to towns as given in the reference).
The difference in the structure of these 'schools' and the contrast in the curriculum went beyond the realisation of a cultural autonomy. Thus, their influence penetrated all social classes with respect to the formation of nationalism. That is why, the liberals advocated the same solution to the situation and demanded independence for Algeria (Hermassi: 1972: 93).

To make their policy more influential, the Ulema's issued many newspapers where they voiced the people demands, and recalled the history of Algeria. Through the media, the reformists could bring together religious men and muslim politicians without any ideological distinction through the following process of education:

**Diagram 6. Process of religious formation.**

- Socialisation in Zaouias
- Reading in mektebs
- Education in medrassas and specialisation in religious and general Curriculum

Above all, the impact of the reformist intellectuals who successfully managed to finalise their stated objectives was due to two factors:

'Gaining political ground without loosing cohesion, the reformist school had to be organised in two parallel lines. The organisation had to create in itself an authority for the direction of the medersas, and in the
second line, that it conferred to this organism the real powers' (Chevrillon:1950:9).

Henceforth, the French intention to create an elite in order to rule and through which it could 'make religious life' obscure and malpractised (Hermassi:1972:72) was limited and confronted to the contents of the Ulema's education because, mektebs, medersas as well as Zaouias were interrelated institutions, which performed counter cultural actions. Thus, it is estimated that they were the adequate and the commensurate 'means of reforming Islam and receiving an interest in Arabic language and culture' (Entelis:1986:44).

This is the conclusion that one might reach in analysing the formation of the traditional elite which effectively countered colonial education and homogenised culture in Algeria.
Notes

Chapter Two:


(2) In 1587, the Ottoman empire expanded its rule to the Hafcid kingdom settled in Tunisia (Lacoste and al: 1960:141).

(3) Sociologists acknowledge the fact that they face enormous problems in translating the original concepts used for Ilm El-Omran: i.e. social life, culture, science of civilisation etc... (Lahbabi: 1968:17ff).

(4) In 1934, the French Baron de Slane translated it [Assabiyah] by "esprit de corps". The Ottaways refer to it by "clannishness".

(5) Noushi and al shares Lazreg point of view and present the various measures used by France to appropriate arable land. See (Noushi and al: 1960:195-210).

(6) Saadallah estimates that the 'fan event' undermines the real causes that fostered the French aggression. He states quite categorically, that France invaded Algeria for: a) Gain of popularity for the 'unpopular' regime, b) refusal to pay the debt contracted by France, and c) competition with other powers to get overseas colonies (Saadallah: 1983:9).

(7) The well known French historian has documented this subject by historical facts providing the reader with an objective analysis of the socio-political conditions that were behind the military expedition. See Emerit (1951).

(8) Many historians have devoted their interests to the study of the Emir's religious resistance, his effort to build an

(9) Quandt considers this group as an aggregate of liberals and radicals. He refers to them as being the politicians (Quandt:1959:151).

(10) Entelis considers that the acquiescence dated from the last suppressed uprising of 1871 until 1919 (Entelis:1986:32). However, this statement neglects the military resistance of the south whose domination was completed after that date (Gordon:1962:14).

(11) An analysis of the biography of Ferhat Abbas, for instance, shows that the type of socialisation and education were very important in shaping his views and political demands. In this respect see (Ageron and Bulares:1987:71-79).

(12) Political conflict bred revolutionary consensus between the different fractions of the Algerian wartime elite. Revere's work has documented this political tendency in his research about Algerian consensus (Revere:1970:46-143).

(13) Legend for Table 5:

1) Including agricultural training - 2) Number of students at Nov. Probably 500 remain to be registered -3) Students not registered at the faculties - 4) Excluding auxiliary teachers at professional centres.

(14) Amongst those who encouraged this socio-political tendency was Hardy with his book 'la conquête morale'. For sociological analysis of cultural alienation refer to (Benabdi:1980:37-44) and (Ibrahim:1981:11-24).
(15) This is true in all colonial situations, where the dominant group always tries to diffuse its own culture and ideology and simultaneously oppresses 'native' culture. For example, England had carried similar actions in colonial Burma and many attempts have been made in this respect. See (Tipton:1974:1-8) (1976:19-29) and (1981:22-32).

(16) Legend for Table 16:

a) Incomplete, b) One girl, c) Six girls, d) Source: Egalite no. 60 Jan 1947. (Source: Statistique Generale and Annuaire Statistique de l'Algerie)

(16a) Legend for Table 16(a):

a) Source : Expose de la situation Generale en Algerie. b) Including Tunisians and Moroccans from 1954 to 1958, c) From 1958-59, the figures consider students registered at university centres of Oran, Tlemcen and Constantine.

(17) For comparative purposes on the emergence of Koranic schools and religious institutions in the Maghreb, namely, Algeria see Merad(1967) and Heggoy (1979), about Tunisia and Morocco Damis(1974) and about Libya Shebani(1986:151).

(18) Probable figure (Damis:1974:442)

(19) Merad estimates the total number in 1934 to be 30,000 (Merad 1967:338).

(20) In his study on Islamic reformism Merad cites some newspaper titles printed by the Ulema's association to voice their demands and echo them to the people. Among the newspapers: El-Muntakid (The Critic), El-Shiheb(The fire), El-Bassair(The seeings), El-Islah(The reform) (Merad:1967:185).
CHAPTER THREE

SECTION ONE:

1 INDEPENDENCE AND UNIVERSAL EDUCATION

1) Administrative vacuums and urgent solutions.
2) Investment in human capital,
3) A tripartite dimension of development,
   a) Industry,
   b) Agriculture,
   c) Culture.
INDEPENDENCE AND UNIVERSAL EDUCATION

This chapter focuses upon the situation of Algeria after independence and the socio-economic implications which resulted from the colonial policies with respect to the social, economic, political and cultural milieus. It is important to approach the structural situation of Algeria, to understand the political current that influenced the governmental reforms. For instance, prior to the radical reforms in the sectors alternative procedures had been introduced to meet the needs of the economy and to face the colonial heritage. For this, an examination of the economic activities and the solutions undertaken will be highlighted to consider the colonial impact on both economic and cultural structure of independent Algeria.

The second point that will be debated concerns the policies of investment in human capital. Another equally important point in the general analysis, is the reforms viewed as part of the tripartite revolution covering the vital sectors of the economy, deemed important for any country that emerged from an intensive and extensive colonisation.

1) Administrative vacuums and urgent solutions

Following independence, Algeria was faced with numerous and serious problems relating its economy, society, administration and educational structure. Specialists in economics explain the situation from which Algeria emerged by two interrelated facts:

In the first instance, it was intended to be a colony 'de mise en valeur', that is to say a source of income that could
contribute to the process of the accumulation of capital for
the Metropole.

Second, Algeria was just a colony of settlement developed
wherever a small minority of colonists settled (Raffinot and
Jacquemot: 1977:26-27). In this sense, the number of colonists had
been increasing: There were 410.000 in 1881, 752.000 in 1911
and 922.000 in 1948 (Murray and Wengraf:1963:16). Pautard
estimates their number in 1962 to have been 1,320.000 in the

As a result of these two parallel aspects, the inherited
situation is always labelled 'disastrous', because no real
infrastructure was set-up to develop or modernise the colony
(Benhouria:1980:224). Writing before independence, Dumoulin—a
French economist—considered the Algerian economy as being an
'asymmetrical structure'involving two contrasting sectors
(Dumoulin:1959:18-24). The same statement is made by Fanon—who
voiced a total independence for Algeria—arguing that one
Algeria has become two Algerias with respect to politics,
economics, culture etc... because 'for settlers, the
alternative is between (....) an independent Algeria and a
colonial Algeria...’ (Fanon:1963:70).

This dual situation is defined by Amin as a structure
characterised by the existence of two opposed sectors: On the
one hand 'a rich and dynamic modern urban sector' and 'an old
fashioned stagnant and impoverished rural sector' on the other
(Amin:1970:28). Given this image, it is very difficult to
divorce the economic aspect from the French policies in
Algeria, because colonists did not invest in industries for the production of goods. They limited their concentration upon extractive industries to achieve capital accumulation (Raffinot and Jacquemot: 1977:20 and 30-33). This economic aspect is true for many, if not, all colonial situations because, as Ake notes, its process seeks the penetration of the local structure so as to accumulate capital for the Metropole (Ake: 1981:32). Moreover, the Algerian case was considerably aggravated by the last defenders of the French mission in the central part of the Maghreb.

Indeed, they organised themselves and founded a terrorist organisation, namely 'L'Organization de l'Armee Secrete'. It was a right wing organisation whose objectives were to paralyse the very few vehicles by which life and development were sustained.

In 1962, it established numerous strategic and dynamic targets: i.e.: public administration, hospitals, schools, colleges etc... had been blown-up in the capital and other cities. Moreover, the university of Algiers—the unique at that time—was burned down, its books destroyed and every single statistical record and historical archive taken. In addition, it is this organisation that played an important role in convincing the settlers to flee the country in droves. It was also this organisation that performed terrorist actions within the civilian community.

The first president has well documented the economic situation and the chaos inherited after the massive exodus of europeans
some months after independence:

"Every one remembers the situation we inherited. Everything was deserted—communication centers, prefectures, and even administration—so vital to the country. When I entered the prefecture in Oran I personally found just seven employees instead of five hundred who had previously worked there. The departure of the French attained a proportion of 80 percent, even 90 to 98 percent in some services such as the highway department. And to all that you must add the loss of all statistical records burned or stolen" (Ottaway and Ottaway:1970:10).

At this stage, it may be stated that when the new government took over the direction of economic and political affairs, they found a disorganised economic structure; shortage of administrative and technical manpower, inert educational institutions and paralysed economic establishments at different levels of activity. Henceforth, it was estimated that the departure of the settlers had a negative impact on the solutions and the alternative procedures taken later on, and deemed indispensable for the "reanimation" of the socio-economic infrastructure.

Lucas observed this phenomenon and argued that in order to face the administrative deficiencies, the government resorted to transitional procedures. With respect to industrial sectors he noted the nomination of the military personnel at the head of the enterprises so as to maintain their circulation and sustain
the economic life at least at the national level (Lucas:1970:300). The same situation was noted in education. Haddab's analysis and description in this matter remains very relevant. He estimated that the only alternative in the short term was to nominate some "moniteurs" to reopen the educational buildings. Their number increased between 1963 and 1970. There were 10,988 in 1963 and almost 17,000 in 1970 (M. Haddab:1979:128).

Similar actions were undertaken by the government on the socio-political, front in order to get popular support and remedy the situation: First, the action of mobilising the entire natural resources and second, the recuperation of natural resources which were deemed to be the major source to finance of development plans. Indeed, nationalisation began as early as 1963 with the creation of the 'Societe Nationale' in the mining sector and ended with the recuperation of hydrocarbons on February 24. The process of control was a channel towards the institutionalization of new type of industrial relations because' (...) nationalisations institutionalise a type of social integration with the working class' (Granou:1977:44).

In the Algerian case, as in most developing countries, the statement put forward by Entelis is very plausible when he states that the ruling class was profoundly 'convinced that true national independence could only be realised through control of national resources and through industrial development' (Entelis:1986:112). Because the whole programme was traced in the Soumam platform, Ottaway points out that 'Algeria
was already clearly committed to a socialist revolution before it became independent' (Ottaway: 1972: 268).

Other students argue, that in the absence of a capable bourgeoisie to invest the state was the powerful institution to do it because, it was the only class vested with political power (Lazreg: 1975: 37). Benhouria shares this point of view in marxist terms as he considers, that the capital of the Metropole was hegemonic. For this, he states that the Algerian bourgeoisie was subordinate and had no real chance of evolution in the important economic sectors. Thus, after independence the state was the 'unique' institution able of control and invest because resources were public and not private (Benhouria: 1980: 223-238).

For their part the authors of "Le Capitalisme d'Etat Algerian", consider the context and the implications that resulted from the absence of a strong bourgeoisie. Hence, they estimate that the Algerian bourgeoisie was petty and relatively non-existent because it could not develop its competitive potentialities for economic participation. Moreover, they argue that the 'massive settlement had bred the decay of wealthy families and the emigration of the learned bourgeoisie', and they conclude that the result was 'to deprive the country of an essential element for social integration and national continuation' (Raffinot and Jacquemot: 1977: 39).

Overall, there is a universal assumption concerning any country that emerges from a colonial situation when it comes to economic investment. It is argued that any action taken in
this respect should be known as the 'indigenization' of the economy in an attempt to'(...)) protect their political independence and control their economic destiny' (Adedeji:1981:31).

At this stage it is important to grasp the general context in which those actions were developed in a such short period. Entelis notes that the commitment of the state to a rapid and centralised development run by the national firm is due to the fundamental socio-political context in which the process of the actions evolved. He referred to this as being 'a radical nationalism' (Entelis:1986:112).

Leca attributes the whole process to another concept, namely, 'populism' since 'populism' explains Leca 'is one [system] of a society unified by the general will and [is] in conflict with other societies that it accuses of domination'(Leca:1975:124).

Hence, populism is based upon two major principles:
a) 'the supremacy of the will of the people, which is identified with justice and morality, over all norms' and, b) 'the importance of a direct para-institutional relationship between the people and their leaders' (Leca:1975:121). However, Leca emphasises that these principles rely on other components in order to be operational in the social structure. Among these, the most important for Leca is the religious factor that groups and link all the social strata in Algeria, because there are no ethnic differences (Leca:1975:121).

2) **Investment in human capital**

Proponents of the theory of investment in human capital tend to
place a strong emphasis on the role of human capital in the process of development and economic growth as well as the improvement of one's social status, through the various and interrelated policies of human resources. For instance, Harbison argues on many occasions that the development of nations is equated with the development of human resources. To quote him:

'Capital and natural resources are passive factors of production. Human beings are the active agents who accumulate capital, exploit natural resources, build social, economic (...) organizations, and carry forward national development' (Harbison:1973:3).

In another instance and in collaboration with Myers, Harbison seems to emphasize more the important aspects of human resources, as he defines progress in these terms:

'Progress is basically the result of human effort. It takes human agents to mobilize capital, exploit natural resources, to create markets, and to carry on trade (...). Human resources development, therefore, may be a more realistic and reliable indicator of modernization or development than any other single measure. It is one of the necessary conditions for all kinds of growth, social, political, cultural, or economic' (Harbison and Myers:1963:13-14).

The focal point in this theory is quite clear and does not need further comment. What is worthwhile noting is that other
proponents of this theory have expressed the individual dimension of human capital investment. In this sense, Dubois has demonstrated the vital role of education in improving one's social status and ameliorating his professional position in the hierarchy of the society or the industrial enterprise (Dubois:1971:56-58). This opinion is quite spread amongst other specialists. Patten's view takes into account the importance of investment in human capital in both its individual and collective dimensions (Patten:1971:12-13).

Although, there is a constant conflict between technological transformation and human resources as technology is limiting the total amount of manpower, the latter remains a key factor in modernisation and one of the important vehicles of social change because manpower is always 'equated with "labor" in the sense of a factor of production'(Patten:1971:15).

This model of development recalls the importance of planning and organising the available materials and resources in order to maximise profits. For this, the model insists that development must be based upon a 'policy of organisations' which must be strictly followed because it, in turn, takes into account the different policies by which the process is sustained in terms of organisation and planning. Harbison refers to these policies as being the 'economic policy', 'education policy', 'military policy', and 'labour market policy' (Harbison:1973:15-18).

Because of the importance of the previous policies, Patten insists on studying these policies by all countries in order
to avoid any misuse or underutilisation of the existing manpower (Patten:1971:37-38). This statement is very relevant for Third World countries where poverty, disease, ignorance, and dominance by stronger nations, and they are no longer disposed to entrust their future exclusively to the forces of the market, the whim of nature, or the judgement of colonial rulers' (Harbison and Myers:1964:1). Algeria is one of those countries that emerged from profound colonial backwardness and which invests in human capital in order to 'catch-up with development'.

For the purposes of the present study, human resources are equated with education even though they are interrelated elements. However, it is formal education that accounts for the accumulation of knowledge and skills in the first stage of training: 'The accumulation of human capital may start with formal education, but it does not end there. It is a continuous, lifetime process, and the knowledge and skills acquired during employment are often as valuable as those acquired in school' (Harbison and Myers:1964:17).

It is clear from this statement that the process of investment in human capital is an integrated one, where the actions of many institutions are evolved. But the starting point remains school because any country needs educated political leaders, lawyers and judges, trained engineers, doctors, managers (...) to spur its development' (Harbison and Myers:1964:13). However, the situation differs from region to region and some countries may face crucial problems in investing in human capital. These
problems are related to two 'broad categories': First, problems related to the dearth of 'high level' manpower with the requisite technical competences to run industries and services. Second, those which concern the underutilisation of the existing qualified human capital in the various sectors (Harbison and Myers:1964:15).

Indeed, these are the two basic problems facing developing countries in modernisation. In other words, the situation in these countries is most of the time aggravated by the lack of cadres to be in charge of the increasing number of economic establishments (Tevoedjre:1965:17). Henceforth, it is not surprising to note that they embarked on a massive policy of education as it is a substantial resource for developing the environment. Such a point is made by economists who see training and education as an effective medium for preparing the young to run the socio-economic services (Temmar:1974:52).

The aspects of education contained in the continuous process that takes place in both school and workplace do contribute to modernization and to providing technical guidance in the work situation. Thus, Algeria embarked on universal instruction to; a) minimise the inherited illiteracy, b) to train the young for the take-over in the economic sphere.

Indeed, spectacular efforts have been invested in formal education and industrial training. After three decades the World Bank estimates that, the total percentage of the schooled population has been steadily increasing since 1965. For primary education it was 68, secondary education 7, and higher
These figures shot-up in 1983 to 94, 43, and 5 respectively (Magistad:1987:18). The following table gives a general view about the evolution of the student population for different years.

Table 10: * Total number of Algerians in primary, secondary, and higher education.

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<tr>
<td>Primary educ</td>
<td>750.000</td>
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<td>Secon educ</td>
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<td>Higher educ</td>
<td>1.000d</td>
<td>70.000a</td>
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<td>Total</td>
<td>783.000</td>
<td>2,970.000</td>
<td>4,508.000</td>
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* Compiled by the author.

These statistical records show some fluctuations in the figures concerning secondary education. Indeed, in 1977-78 the total number of students was 596.652 falling to 249.396. The explanation lies in the method of calculation. The second number excludes student in the previous system of secondary education who graduated between 1977 and 1981. That is to say, the difference is entirely contained in primary education in the fundamental school of nine years, which contain the first
cycle of secondary education i.e. ex-average education (First stage of secondary education).

The first striking observation which can be drawn from the figures is that the quantitative aspect is satisfactory, because it enhances the universalization of literacy whose percentage is over 95% of the total population at the age of school. Thus, Algeria faced some problems of spatial order, as a class may be crowded with an average size of 35 to 40 students, despite the increase in the overall number of buildings. (See appendix no 2). With the introduction of the fundamental system, that planned more academic premises and more teaching staff many problems have been overcome.

Governmental spending on education is in parallel with the increasing number of students giving priority to new classes lycees, institutes and universities, as well as professional training centres. (El-Moudjahid: 9th, 10th: 1986). In this sense, all the possibilities have been exploited to achieve an industrial integration between the outputs of schools and the professional milieu, utilising a complementary cycle of formation in the industrial enterprise (Guechtouli: 1987: 39).

Education in Algeria is controlled by the government. Two ministries are in charge of it, namely, the Ministry of Education and that of Higher Education and Scientific Research. Organisation and administration of those institutions are centrally performed by the government that finance and reform according to certain needs. In this respect, it is worth noting that in 1976 a new reform was introduced at the primary level
which consisted of ensuring a continuous process for nine a year-period. It is a polytechnic education that seeks modernization and performs the formation of skilled manpower at an early stage. Such a measure is very important for Algeria whose aim is to develop at a rapid pace and in a short time. Thus it is considered to be an effective instrument for the quest of knowledge and modern technology, and as a technical process to master new techniques and implement them in the socio-economic milieus.

Henceforth, it appears important to contrast the structure of the colonial system and that introduced by the reform and illustrate the interrelation of the latter to other institutions. We shall also demonstrate the inter-disciplinary integration of the fundamental school with respect to the economic activities deemed vital to development.
Chart no 2: Contrast between colonial system and fundamental school:

Elementary educ | Intermediate educ | Secondary educ | Higher
--- | --- | --- | ---
Age 6-7-8-9-10-11-12-13-14-15-16-17-18-19-20

C.E.M

Elementary school

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LYCEE

Preschool

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* Adapted from Ministere de l'Education Superieure 1977

Long before the institutionalization of the fundamental school some pilot experiences had been tried to test the efficiency of the new system. Its first ignition started in 1976 with some 532,000 pupils (Balta: 1976:15). This number went on increasing to reach 701,000 in 1987 in the first year of primary education (Chabouni: 1987:13). Progressively substituting itself for the French system, the fundamental school covers three basic cycles of formal education and proposes a new adaptational process for
handicapped pupils.

The cycles of teaching are divided according to the capability of the pupils and their personality as well as their psycho-sociological abilities: First, there is the 'basis cycle' (cycle de base), then, the 'awakening cycle' (cycle d'eveil), and the 'orientation cycle' (cycle terminal et d'orientation). These are not intimately interdependent as they constitute a continuous process of a complete education during nine years. The first cycle is entirely devoted to a basic acquaintance with Arabic language and basic arithmetic, reading, writing and a polytechnic initiation.

The following stage is organised for technical initiation with practical experience and learning various subjects including religious education and foreign languages. The last period of the process is a specialised learning in scientific and technical studies as well as humanities. This stage is crucial for students as they are oriented towards a specific career in accordance with their skills and intellectual aptitudes to avoid underutilization of the trained manpower, and perform the technological integration sought through the following chart of the regulation system of education, training, qualification and employment.
Chart No 3:

Architecture of the regulation system: Education – Formation – Qualification – Employment

Source: Commission Interministérielle de l’Emploi (1986)
A systematic analysis of the fundamental school's curriculum provides evidence that Algerian schools have made a clear-cut break with the colonial system of education. Describing the first experiences of the fundamental school Martinez has written about his socio-technological observations in the following terms:

'The fundamental and polyvalent school plays the role of a compulsory educational structure since the age of six for a period of nine years. It has the objectives of dispensing a global knowledge based upon the "development of the individual potentialities" giving to each [individual], "equal chances of promotion and perfect his talents and vocations". Fundamental school, achieves the demand of the whole nation that want a model of formation which can be qualified as"authentic". (Martinez: 1976:58).

In the previous system, pupils were under intellectual pressure especially those who were unable to pursue 'normally' the various educational cycles; from elementary to higher education. Indeed, the system was very selective and highly competitive for a limited percentage to be taken every academic year. The strain was particularly visible in secondary education that qualifies students to go on to higher education. During the "processing" of individuals(3) schools which do not take into account the intellectual talents and abilities can easily distort the delicate process of learning, because pupils at the earliest stage of mental development cannot assimilate
advanced subjects. Moreover, the aspect of competitiveness in the former system had left behind large groups of unqualified population, because every cycle of instruction was characterised by an eligibility examination, which in turn had been fatal to a high percentage of the student population, notably in secondary education (4).

All these educational 'imperfections' were behind the introduction of the reform, and were the basic concern of the authorities when scheduling the present system, which involves a process of inter-disciplinary work in its theoretical and practical dimensions. Overall, within the nine year period, one might expect relatively qualified outputs, for students are acquainted with terminology and training without the challenge of eligibility to graduate from one grade to another. That is to say, the fundamental school eliminates the initial competition for graduating from primary to average because, the curriculum extends from the the first year to the ninth with internal assessment avoiding dropouts and deschooling. Such new characteristics are an educational innovation that seeks an original cultural identification, scientific integration and a technological development of the major guidelines of modernization which are to be analysed in the coming section.

3) A tripartite dimension of development

As seen in the theory of human capital investment, every process of development relies upon a strategy itself relying on various outcomes which guide and plan the way of modernization. The Algerian process is no exception. Indeed, it relies on a
threefold dimension constituting a basic strategy leading to three fundamental issues: i.e. Industry, agriculture and culture. In the official discourse they are known as 'revolutions' since they seek radical changes in the economic, social, political and cultural structures of the society (Grimaud: 1976: 47-59).

These are the axes of development that Algeria undertook as a new nation for the quest of modernization. Hence, each of these axes is to be given particular attention in order to understand their relation to the new educational system, and grasp their impact upon the people and the society.

a) **Industry**

Lazreg remarks that after independence the Algerian state was in a 'better position than any other single class to mobilise the necessary resources to promote industrialisation' (Lazreg: 1975: 2) which was expected to produce the elements and create an adequate environment for other economic activities, especially agriculture and the light industries.

The desire of the state to industrialise at a rapid pace is often explained by the expectations of the people to be satisfied, and their needs fulfilled. Leca argues that every state which emerges from a colonial situation commits itself to such public demands (Leca: 1975: 129). Thus, throughout the years of independence (1962-80), Algeria undertook an intensive phase of industrialisation which resulted in the emergence and the establishment of an important public sector. This latter
became a model of development for many Third World countries (5) (Farsoun:1975:3).

Due to the uncontrolled situation of 1962 and its chaos and disorganisation, the workers in a spontaneous movement took over the charge of running factories, farms and other economic premises. This movement was known as "auto-gestion" (self-management), which was criticised for enhancing the colonial (capitalist) relation in work and management. For this, Clegg estimates that the movement was rather a consequential event of industrial and economic vacuums than an organisational structure.

His argument is based upon the absence of legitimate authority and a political direction from above (Clegg:1971:45). Henceforth, it is not surprising that the state initiated political programmes to run the collective sectors which encompassed 'the nationalized industries (...) and the mixed companies involving state and national or foreign capital'. 'This sector' notes Bourouh 'also incorporated the industrial self-management sector after 1965' (Bourouh:1985:85-86).

This short lived experience bred other forms of industrial organisation: i.e.: 'Gestion Socialiste des Entreprises' [Hereafter GSE] and 'Statut General du Travailleurs'[SGT]. It is the organisational imperfections of every charter that fostered the launch of the other. They aim to reinforce the legitimacy of ownership of the means of production, in order to make them public and ultimately encourage participation of the workers in the internal matters of the sector. However, this transitional
stage faced a major structural problem of the enterprises themselves. The problem referred here to is the administrative structure of the industrial milieu which was not fully participatory for the workers.

As a strong entity the bureaucratic elite maintained its place in the hierarchy of the institutions, arguing that it can ensure a steady development for the country, because it had the technical requirements and the 'savoir faire' which other groups lack (Farsoun: 1975:25). However, the real objective of the bureaucratic elite was to minimise the participation of the workers in the management of 'their' factories, farms and administrations.

It was not until 1980 that a breakthrough in the 'heavy' bureaucratic structure was attempted by implementing rational social relations of work, decentralising decision making and, above all, restructuring the national firms to achieve a high standard of production in both qualitative and quantitative terms (Entelis: 1986:116 and 124-126). Ghiles shares this point of view, and explains it by the fact that these reforms were—and still are—needed for economic growth and industrial efficiency. He sees them as 'the most radical [reforms] Algeria has witnessed in over two decades', because 'the principal aim of the government is to "develop a flexible and efficient system of planning which can ensure ever growing productivity, which is the only engine of economic and social development"' (Ghiles: 1988:17).

For instance, with the SGT there is a guarantee of minimum wage
for the workers, to which a bonus is added individually according to the level of production achieved. Because of the new stimulus the whole 'industrial production has gone-up 11 percent' (Entelis:1986:127). Moreover, both GSE and SGT have managed to minimise the industrial disputes over wages and work conditions, to a very low level.

It is not the purpose of the present study, to deal with the conditions of the implementation of the industrial reforms. Sufficient to say, that industrial efficiency and economic growth have been of specific interest in elaborating their texts. By doing so, the government has cut down the intensive exploitation of hydrocarbons and balanced the budget for equal rations between the different economic activities. Ammour, Leucate and Moulin note the financial discrepancies between industry and agriculture and the effect of such policy on the Algerian economy as well as the structure of the working class (Ammour, Leucate and Moulin:1974:65). As an example of the financial disequilibrium, one needs to cite public spending.

The percentage in industry was 52 in the preplan (1967-69), 45 in the first quadriennal plan (1970-74), 43 in the second plan and less than 40 in the 1980's. As a result of this intensive process Algeria has implemented a strong platform for development through the control of economic resources as well as the establishment of a new industrial sector, but it has also neglected other branches of the economy.

Observers estimate, that industrialisation in Algeria has bred a tremendous social change, contributing to lifting the
standard of living, changing some traditional traits and transforming the structure of the society. But the drawbacks have to be noted. Entelis has well summarised them. To quote him:

'Intense industrialization during the Boumediene [late president] era when the emphasis was on the development of the hydrocarbons and capital, intensive industries to the detriment of agriculture and consumer goods has caused a serious fractionalization of Algerian society. Extensive urban decay, derelict social services, substandard education, severe housing shortage, inadequate food supplies and a general low level of the quality of life have been the consequences' (Entelis: 1986: 102).

These were the unexpected consequences of the intensive process of industrialisation. Thus, the current government was faced with many complex situations and is trying to implement 'corrections' and reforms for 'a better life'. It is necessary to approach another economic branch with some assumptions because although it is not the focus of the study to analyse it, some insights will be given because it is worthwhile showing their impact on society and examining its interrelation with the theory of investment in human capital.

b) Agriculture

In order to meet the ideological necessities and complete the socialistic programme established in the charter of Algiers in 1964 and the National charter of 1976, the government launched
an agrarian reform known in the public milieu by revolution. Its institutional context differs from that of industry because it was not launched until the means of capital accumulation were secured, namely hydrocarbons. This 'revolution' came some months after industry to give the latter the necessary time to establish itself and contribute in developing the former (Glasman and Kremer:1978:119-122).

This statement is the first argument to the speculation made by some scholars. Indeed, they consider that the Algerian state relies on the exploitation of the working class to achieve an accumulation of the capital. (See Madi:1981)

Sari(1978), Benachenhou(1978) and Smith(1975) have well documented the agricultural situation inherited after independence. They have also analysed the colonial policies involving the alienation of fertile and arable land, to conclude that it was vital that a 'revolution' must be undertaken. Smith evokes the economic, social, and political ambitions for such an enterprise and estimates that it is an ensemble of efficient and practical measures intended for radical changes in Algerian society (Smith:1975:259-263).

Indeed, November 1971, remains a historical date for the Algerians peasants who witnessed the official arrangements to launch all the programmes contained in the charter with the contribution of the students in rural areas. The agricultural programmes are viewed by Smith as 'the most considered and ambitious' in the Maghreb (Smith:1975:260). Economically speaking, the reform tends to make an effective
redistribution of land according to the slogan "the land to those who work it". Ultimately, the notion of class conflict is avoided and practically suppressed.

The author gives a political explanation for the agrarian reform because, it contains the seeds 'to institutionalise support for national government as genuine political stability and long term economic growth' argues Smith depend greatly 'on a mobilised and participatory peasantry supporting the institutions of national government' (Smith: 1975:259).

Overall, the agrarian reform has three basic and complementary aims, deemed to be a contribution to social change. They might be summarised in the following points:

a) Transformation of social relations in work and life, through new forms of organisation in structured socialist villages provided with all social services including, schools, hospitals, cooperatives and the like... The programme intended to build one thousand such villages,

b) organisation of the system of production through adequate policies of commercialisation and pricing and, combating bureaucratic 'disease' by all means.

c) modernisation of the techniques and methods of production, through industrial output, in order to achieve an economic integration by combining the available means and resources (Charte Nationale: 1976: 283-297).

Like the industrial revolution, the agrarian policies contained new types of social relations in farms, public domains and
agricultural cooperatives. But during the process of application it faced some problems relating to population growth. In effect, Algeria has one of the highest rate reaching 3.2% of annual increase (Brisset:1987:13). Inevitably, such a rate of increase in population 'puts severe strains on agricultural development' (Farsoun:1975:21).

It is very important for a developing country that the exploitation of resources matches the number of the people so as to be able to achieve a good standard of life. In the Algerian case, population growth is one major obstacle before development and planning. For this, the authorities have embarked on a special programme to 'espace' births among the families whose culture is known to be very 'natalist' (Brisset:1987:13).

c) Culture

Parallel to the previous revolutions, the ruling leadership was committed to another important reform that concerns the socio-cultural structure, profoundly affected by the French presence, especially in terms of culture, language and education. Some sociologists see its importance and argue that the objective of newly independent nations must be the 'promotion of mankind' because it is through mankind that development can be completed (Doucy and Monheim:1971:208).

The leading force of the cultural revolution is the Arabo-Islamic civilisation in terms of religion, language, education and social life etc... These factors have been the incisive
parameters of the Algerian cultural resistance against the colonial policy of assimilation and integration (Lacheraf:1976:7-45 and 69-87).

Although, Islam is not the fundamental source of Algerian legislation, it remains the indispensable element around which life is organised and a basic reference for both the elite and the people, for '(...).Islam is in the centre of social life' (Cubertafond:1981:20). Hence, it is worthwhile to note that the 'conseil of the revolution' has an islamic political culture which is inspired from the religious reformist movement lead by Cheikh Abd-Elhamid Ibn Badis in the 1930's (Entelis:1986:191), (Doucy and Monheim:1971:210-213).

In defining the word 'culture' in the Algerian context, a French scholar estimates that it covers three major and integrated issues. The most important is undoubtedly 'Islam' which he considers as '(...).the religion [of the nation] and the way of life. It is also a fundamental element of national history as well as cultural identification' (Cubertafond:1981:19).

This cultural tendency is very common amongst the majority of Arab countries which experienced a colonial situation for decades and where traditional elites were overwhelmingly dominant. For this, Islam in Algeria 'emerged in from 132 years of European colonialist rule in good condition' (Benabdi:1980:1).

All in all, the 'good condition' of Islam is due to the supremacy of religious knowledge represented in the corps of
the Ulema's whose concern was the transmission of correct teachings and Islamic beliefs as well as the correction of malpractices (Milson:1972:17-19).

The second element that Cubertafond considers in his analysis is Arabic, a factor strongly linked to Islam. The place given to Arabic is very important in sociological analysis that deals with an Islamic context. Benabdi has illustrated this perspective: '(...) along with Islam [Arabic] had been one of the banners and rallying points of the revolution...' (Benabdi:1981:1). Although, Arabic had suffered severe distortions and undergone linguistic changes, it had remained an efficient instrument for national unity, for it was the unique language utilised in religious education as well as, a medium of popular communication. Henceforth, it is not surprising that a cultural conquest went hand in hand with the military one. French attempts are made clear in the following quotations, taken form a cultural and a linguistic study:

'If the Turks had done little in affecting linguistic changes in Algeria, if they had left the process of education and cultural life alone, such was certainly not the case with their successors, the French. Although, occupied with military conquest for the first twenty years of their dominance, the matter of their relationship with native Algerians was seriously considered from the very beginning, along with the related problems of education and language management' (Benabdi:1980:32).

Above all, French officials invested in the cultural sphere to
dominate and distort the very specific social organisation and ultimately, create cultural conflicts and social cleavages between Muslims. But they faced a major structural point that was difficult to penetrate. As already mentioned, the Algerian community maintained a social order organised around the mechanism of 'Assabiyah' which rejected foreign factors of cultural aspects.

Etienne has illustrated the cultural distinction between the two cultural models. On the one hand, the Algerian model of organisation, structured in a traditional way which has its own mode of socialisation and, on the other and the French bureaucratic model based on educational stratification.
Although there are differences in the process of socialisation in both systems, they joined in the result of the social formula, for they were both intended for social integration. French schools were in great jeopardy of becoming isolated.
Indeed, their mission was aggravated by the existence of a traditional system which rejected categorically foreign patterns of social life. Overall, by adopting defensive methods against assimilation and total integration, patterns of cultural life were saved. This, often, resulted in a social outcome that social scientists tend to lose sight of. It concerns the limit of the diffusion of French ideology within the local community, which was organised in a self-contained and self-sufficient structure.

The final factor debated in Cubartafond's thesis, is that of nationalism which has been investigated in the light of the historical approach (Cubertafond: 1981: 28-30). However, it must be said that nationalism relied on Islam which played a crucial role in politics during the colonial era and has recently become a chief vehicle of modernisation (Voll: 1983: 111).
CHAPTER THREE

SECTION TWO

II INDUSTRIALISATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE

1) Critical approach

2) Indicators of social change.
When Algeria adopted the strategy of 'industries industrialisantes' pioneered in the seventies by the French theorist Debernis, it was expected to lift the level of production and modernise other sectors by introducing new techniques of production and organisation. Moreover, it was also intended to be the yardstick of the measurement of development. In effect, sociological and economic enquiries in this respect are enormous. They attempted to analyse the implications of the Algerian model of development and its relation to the sociological structure of the society.

Economists are most concerned to demonstrate the contribution of industry to production and productivity, to find out the degree of achievement of the best result at a minimum cost. Sociologists, however, are mostly concerned to evaluate the results of modernisation in the society in terms of social change. This perspective can be estimated by grasping the different indicators of that concept in terms of social life, traditions, ways of organisation, distribution of knowledge and the like. This sort of literature about Algeria is varied and enormous.

The initial purpose of this study, is to approach the Algerian model of development in critical terms so that, it might be demonstrated that the Algerian process did have some outcomes in the society. This section also intends, to indicate the various indicators of industrialisation.
1) **Critical approach**

The model of the Algerian process of modernisation was advocated before independence in the platform of the Souman which presented an ambitious plan of industrialisation. The charter of Algiers, 1964 articulated in its outline that industry should be the motor of development in order to progress. It has also contained the perspectives of the Algerian social structure and its aspects.

It is, often, argued that the application of new techniques contribute on a large scale to social, political, and cultural improvement of life because, industrialisation opens-up new options for emerging nations in development terms. For this, it is deemed to be an efficient strategy that takes into account the genuine needs of these countries (Raffinot and Jacquemot: 1977:187).

The transformation of the traditional infrastructure is a continuous process where reforms evolve. The objective of the latter, is a fundamental issue for any government to fulfil the growing needs of the population and provide them with the necessities, i.e.: goods, social services, health and education. Algeria, has heavily invested in this sector but it has also neglected other branches of economic activity. Hence, to achieve economic equilibrium the current government is concerned with practical reforms, viewed as the most radical that the country has witnessed. All this, to make life better, lift the standard of living, to make a better use of the existing resources and reintroduce the vitality of the
neglected sectors in the economy such as agriculture.

Economic reforms started by rescuing the administration from the hold of increasing bureaucracy. In this context, Entelis estimates that state reforms to decentralise the administration 'are beginning to have some preliminary results' in the field of agriculture (Entelis:1986:151). The basic concern of the ruling class is to construct the priorities and then fulfil them in order of importance. Indeed, it 'deferred further heavy industrial investment until a later date', because '(...) Towards a Better Life became the principal theme of the FLN special session. It was meant to signal the shifting away from the previous emphasis on heavy industry to a concern for the social needs of the people, notably in the field of education, health and housing and on developing food and consumer industries' (Entelis:1986:124).

A major breakthrough of these reforms may be the new agricultural policies that have achieved an unexpected efficiency in a short period. They preached economic rationality, modernisation of the means of production and tackling the numerous problems facing the economy. They are intended to meet the needs of the people and reach an adequate standard of management (Fritscher (b):1987:6).

Djeghloul's analysis of the Algerian socio-economic situation shows the real limits of the 1970's strategy. He argues that the 'over valorization of economism' was not at all followed by a 'mutation of the mentalities' in their relation to the new industrial environment, as well as to the state and culture
(Djegloul(b):1986:33). Henceforth, that decade was not of much profit as it was not exploited rationally in cultural terms, and not amplified in the results.

It is not the task of this section to go through an economic evaluation of the present economic transition, but it is worth considering the indicators of social change bred by the tripartite revolution.

2) **Indicators of social change**

It is not an easy task to evaluate the degree of social change in absolute terms because it is equated with the evolution of the society itself. The dynamic of social change produces the quantitative and qualitative criteria of the evaluation of change. That is to say economic reforms are important parameters to evaluate the degree of achievement in terms of progress.

Change is viewed from different angles and is estimated by various scales. In this brief section, the researcher introduces three of the general rubrics known as indicators of social change in Moore's and Sheldon's theory which have been reviewed by Land.

Indices of modernisation are of great importance in evaluating the degree of change in terms of the specific indicators of social, economic and political life... With specific reference to Algeria, three dimensions capture the focus of this section. a) 'major components, including the production of goods and services, the labour force, knowledge and technology, the family and kinship, religion and the polity.
b) distributive features, including consumption, health and education...

c) aggregative features, including stratification and mobility and cultural homogeneity and diversity' (Land:1975:9-10).

Some of these features have been investigated and studied in detail, but it might be worth recalling that observers have evaluated Algerian social change in positive terms, despite all the difficulties the strategy has faced and the different drawbacks. For instance, Entelis sees that modernisation through its emphasis on the multifarious policies of development has resulted in one of the highest rates of urbanisation in the Arab world (Entelis:1986:4). Writing even more recently Horne shares this opinion, estimating that Algeria is one country in the Third World which has achieved a high rate of development in the last 25 years of political independence (Horne:1987:13).

One of the great problems in development, remains population growth. Indeed, during the same period -25 years- the total number of inhabitants of Algiers -the capital- has tripled. There were just 500,000 but today there are more than one and a half million.

This 'crisis' is not specific to urbanised areas, towns and cities but is rooted in the very natalist mentality, Algerians have. This situation hides a sharp conflict between religion and modernity. From a cultural standpoint the official discourse argue that modernisation needs the full exploitation of human and natural resources, including cultural aspects of
religious life. That is to say, limitation in the number of births per family is in no way sinful. However, in Islamic jurisprudence this point is very delicate, for it concerns the basis of beliefs and behaviours. A compromise is still to be agreed upon in the society.

This situation is also rooted in Algerian history. In fact, documentary research establishes the evidence that the population flow and concentration was stimulated by colonial policies of 'regroupement' and 'cantonnement'. Colonial officials set-up these policies since their earliest settlement in order to prevent the people from assisting the 'Mudjahidines' (Sutton:1977:285).

Whatever, the result of the cultural conflict and the relation between tradition and modernity, it must be said that the latter has bred tremendous social change, but limited in the cultural dimension. This may be due, to the fact that tradition remains a strong setting for social patterns as well as a 'general reservoir of experience' (Eisenstadt:1973:3). For instance, industrialisation contributed to reducing the drastic figures of unemployment and that of the lumpen-proletariat which emerged prior to the armed struggle (16). The impact of modernisation has reached all aspects of socio-cultural life, social order and education. In the mid 1970's the government restructured the schools and their curriculums (Ministère de l'Education Nationale:1984:7-11) (17).

Other indices of modernisation can be traced during the period of investment in other economic activities. As an example,
agricultural reforms can be cited as a policy that stems rural migration to big cities especially coastal ones. Its programme consisted in building modern premises for the peasants and their families. As a result, the traditional social order of rural life has been greatly affected and a new notion of work has emerged within the family. In this respect, Boutefnouchet considers the influence of modernisation in rural zones and, estimates that tradition has been 'victimized' in order 'to gain a type of progress or a certain type of modernity' (Boutefnouchet: nd:111).

The last two features of social change will be examined in detail in the interpretation of the statistical data collected by the survey in the case study. The data may provide the yardstick as to whether there is an intellectual homogeneity or a class diversity in the structure of Algeria's new intellectual stratum.
Notes:


(2) This is one of the various classical issues in industrial sociology, which has long been debated. A large literature has been devoted to this specific topic, suffice to cite Friedmann (1961), Braverman (1976).


(5) Benhouria's economic study concludes that in less than fifteen years (1962-1975), the industrial infrastructure had multiplied by eight times and can be considered as one of the most developed in Third World. (Benhouria:1980:338-339).

(6) There are many studies about self management in Algeria and its implications on the organisation of the economy. Details can be found in Laks (1970) and Nellis (1977).

(7) Historical background, emergence and application as well as the impact of the juridical texts of the industrial charters can be found in Madi (1981).

(8) Industrialisation in Algeria has captured the interest of researchers. Indeed, it has been under close scrutiny: Doucy and Monheim (1971), Temmar (1974), Debernis (1975) and Benissad (1979, 1980), Ydroudj (1984).


(10) Burgat presents a detailed analysis of the impact of the
agrarian village upon the social structure of rural zones Burgat (1979:56-62).

(11) See chapter two.

(12) To refer to some studies dealing with such a topic: Benhouria (1980), Bourouh (1984) and Entelis (1986)

(13) See the Soumam platform (1956) and the charter of Algiers (1964).

(14) Almost, all contemporary research about development and modernisation in Algeria devotes a great deal to industrial investment.

(15) These reforms have been approached by the media. Indeed, since April 1987, local and foreign papers have analysed their contents and the eventual expectations. See El-Moudjahid September 29th, all the weekly issues of Algerie -Actualite (April 1987), Le Monde March 4th, 1987, and South December, 1987.


(17) There were some reforms before the fundamental school. Remili notes that an education committee was constituted in December 1969, to implement new programmes of education and produce new textbooks and manual Remili (nd: 13).
CHAPTER FOUR

SECTION ONE

I  INTRODUCTION TO 'LYCEE MIXTE BOUATTOURA'

1) Geographical situation,
2) Administrative structure,
3) Teaching staff,
4) Teaching facilities,
5) Distribution of students in secondary education.

SECTION TWO

II  SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE

1) Age,
2) Gender,
3) Geographical origin,
4) Family structure.
CHAPTER FOUR

SECTION I

1 INTRODUCTION TO LYCEE MIXTE BOUATTOURA

1) Geographical situation,
2) Administrative structure,
3) Teaching staff,
4) Teaching facilities,
5) Distribution of students in secondary education.
INTRODUCTION TO LYCEE BOUATTOURA MIXTE

This section provides basic information about the lycee where the survey was carried out. It gives a brief presentation of the general features of the educational institution, with respect to its geographical position, administrative structure and the distribution of the staff, as well as the teaching facilities that it provides for students. Moreover, this chapter considers the sample's social characteristics which are important to understand the division of the branches of studies with specific reference to some factors e.g: age, sex, geographical origin, parental situation or matrimonial relations within the Algerian family. In other words, it is an analysis that presents the very specific aspects of each branch of study and its relation to the sample social background, so as to grasp the objective influences and achieve a comparison between all the actors. By the same token, one can make some assumptions concerning urban schooling by studying these social characteristics.

1) Geographical situation

The lycee Bouattoura is situated some four miles west of Algiers. Inaugurated at the start of the 1977 academic year, its opening coincided with the second year of fundamental school. The progressive substitution of the former system in 1986 reached the first grade of secondary education and will 1989 be in the final year. In other words, the fundamental school is to provide the university with its own outputs in different studies.
Because of its geographic position it may be regarded as broadly representative of a typical sample of Algiers lycees, where the fundamental system is fully in practice. Indeed, students come from different parts of the city. For this reason, the sample itself can be regarded as broadly representative of Algiers urban schools. Another equally important point for such an assumption is the fact that the students in the sample come from different educational establishments in the capital. Hence, their educational background and geographic origin make it typical at least for an urban analysis.

2) Administrative structure

The lycee administration does not differ very much from other administrations in its general form. Indeed, it operates according to an established chart where the principal has under her authority many subordinates. To start with, the principal has two secretaries from which derive four substructures i.e.: a director of studies, general educational supervisor, an administrative secretariat and the teaching committee, which groups both the teachers and the educational supervisors. Its chart can be designed as follows:
Diagram 7: Administrative structure of the lycee

3) Teaching staff

There are seventyfive teachers in the lycee who serve the functions of teaching and the transmission of knowledge, for the different existing levels of secondary education. The following table illustrates their distribution according to the subjects and the language of teaching.
Table 11: Teaching staff's distribution in the lycee according to courses and languages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Languages</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>French</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maths</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physics</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sciences</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemistry</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabic Lit</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French Lit</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hist-Geog</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philosophy</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. Culture</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sport</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is noteworthy that there are eight educational supervisors whose duties are mainly supervision of the students and replacement of teachers in case of absence as well as administrative tasks. In effect, they run cultural activities in free periods or during a teacher's absence, because their academic qualifications entitle them to perform such activities in relation to the students' level of education. Most of the educational supervisors are either students at university graduating for their first degree or who have failed to get their Baccalaureat in secondary education. However.
their recruitment is subject to the fulfilment of the three year secondary education.

4) Teaching facilities

Interviews were conducted with some officials of the Ministry of Education, mainly the Director of General and Technical Secondary Education (DGTSE) and his close colleagues as well as senior staff of the lycee. These interviews were not formal, but intended to get some information about the internal facilities given to such an educational institution that performs the training of the future intellectual stratum of society.

In this context the principal acknowledged the dearth of scientific equipment in laboratories and some textbooks relating to scientific studies because of the governmental attempt to produce them locally. He argues that this lack may affect the students' achievement and stem the initiative for research. However, he explains that the state has invested a good deal to cover any future deficiencies. This shortage has been given another explanation by the DGTSE:

'We are aware of the importance of scientific equipment in educational institutions and we know that their lack strongly influences practice in laboratories, and, therefore, the training in specific terms. The economic crisis interfered with the renewing of the materials. This situation has been aggravated by the fact that we are dealing with an international
fluctuating market and that any equipment has a limited life'.

It is explicitly understood that technical education is still tied to the foreign market, for the country lacks the production of such materials and equipment. Although the lycee experiences this situation, officials try to compensate with other facilities and provide the students with the necessary materials deemed indispensable for good achievement. For instance, they provide students with all textbooks for a modest sum of money. Besides, the lyceum owns a library for both internal reading and external borrowing.

With regard to leisure, students have a compulsory session of sport once or twice a week. It is regarded as a good break from the continuous and 'boring' courses. One student confessed that 'in all the courses, I look forward to the session with enthusiasm because, I am thinking seriously of following a career in this field' (Lettres: age 16).

5) Distribution of students in secondary education

Internal records of the lyceum show a steady increase in the yearly enrolments in secondary schooling. For instance, in 1985 the overall number of students was 1278, rising to 1432 in 1986. In the 1986/87 academic year their number reached the figure of 1566. The distribution of this number in secondary education is illustrated in the following table with regard to branch of studies and gender.
Table 12: Students in secondary education according to level, branch and gender.

(Percentage of year)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section Levels</th>
<th>Maths</th>
<th>Sciences</th>
<th>Arts</th>
<th>Chemis</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First sec ed</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second sec ed</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third sec ed</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>369</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first observation that can be drawn from the internal records of the lycee is the inequality of the distribution of education between boys and girls in secondary instruction. From previous research concerning secondary education in Algeria (Dufour: 1978) (Boutefnouchet: n.d) and (Kennouche: 1983), it was expected to find an underrepresentation of girls in the lycee under investigation.

Sociologists tend to explain such a situation by the rigid traditional social system, which does not allow them to carry on with their education, though Islam requires everybody to look for science and knowledge and does not make any difference in this matter between boys and girls. The expectation to find a small number of girls is falsified if one refers to the previous table which shows the opposite in terms of figures. The overall percentage of girls in the institution reaches 57.40%.
Explanations for such a situation will be given at a later stage in the light of the objective parameters that influence the structure of the intellectual stratum with respect to gender. For the present moment, it is necessary to consider the language of teaching in Algerian schools and the efforts invested for a complete arabisation of the curriculums. Such an objective seems to be a long term procedure because the cultural paradigms in Algeria—especially language—is still influenced by the French culture. In this context, Sraieb notes that this problem—along with others—is not specific to Algeria but emerges throughout the Maghreb whose aim is to achieve a renaissance of their cultural personality which had been ignored for a long period of time (Sraieb: 1975:63).

For his part Grandguillaume argues that the colonial implications are notable in the 'reality' of Arabic which covers three different cultural concepts, closely interrelated by the mechanisms of culture 'in the process of socialisation that drives any individual from "nature to culture"'. Hence, arabisation is no more than a part in the natural constituency of the individual (Grandguillaume:1979:3-4). Indeed, the present author equates Arabic with a threefold notion in the Maghreb.

The first notion that emerges is that of community (Qawm) where the people are socialised by the mother tongue in order to share the same characteristics in terms of linguistics and culture. As for the second concept, it concerns the nation (Umma) which refers to an international dimension of the
language since it groups all Arabic speaking countries linked by the same medium of communication. Finally, the author refers to (Watan) which is the specific geographical limits of each country. In other words, it is the area of individual countries where the dynamics of culture take place for regeneration in order to build a greater Umma.

According to Grandguillaume the vehicle of modernisation is French language -for historical reasons- but it is not established nor institutionalised in the Qawm or the Umma concepts but taken just as an instrument for modernity, development and its functions (Grandguillaume: 1979: 21-24).

This is true for Algeria, where arabisation has been fully encouraged since the first years of independence. As a matter of fact, arabisation has reached most parts of the culture including education and administration. The creation of a national commission at the governmental and regional levels testifies to the will to implement an operational device to reach the socio-economic spheres.

In this respect, one has to consider the spectacular results achieved by the commission. For instance, at the educational level the National Institute for Pedagogy produces all textbooks and materials for both fundamental school and secondary education in Arabic. The former has successfully covered the local needs. For the moment, efforts are directed to secondary and higher education, where a full arabised network was experienced in the 1980's ending with the institutionalisation of the local language as the major
language of teaching in the Humanities, Social Sciences and the majority of the training centres as well as some scientific studies.

In addition, the literacy centre concerns a large number of the population. It is estimated that more than 350,000 have taken part in its programmes including 80,000 in functional literacy and 270,000 for mass literacy (Dufour:1978:45). Moreover, since the establishment of the fundamental school there has been a full arabisation of the French speaking teachers because courses are solely transmitted in Arabic. Hence, French is no longer the official language of instruction in the new system, but just considered as a foreign language like any other: e.g. English, German or Spanish.

Furthermore the new system has to serve the economic, social and cultural needs of development according to the Arabo-Islamic civilisation. This point has been strongly emphasised by the Ministry of Education two years before the official instalment of the fundamental school in Algeria (M.E.P.S: 1974:9). The same ministry has made the socio-cultural environment ready and was helped by the overall percentage of Algerians speaking Arabic, that is estimated to be over 82%. As a result French lost its place and significance in the educational milieu, but is important in education as demonstrated by the following table that concerns the lycees under investigation.
Table 13: Distribution of the students according to the language of instruction.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language Level</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>French</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st year</td>
<td>481</td>
<td>30.70%</td>
<td>481</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>30.70%</td>
<td></td>
<td>30.70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd year</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>394</td>
<td>554</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>10.20%</td>
<td>25.15%</td>
<td>35.35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd year</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>531</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>13.90%</td>
<td>20.05%</td>
<td>33.95%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>858</td>
<td>708</td>
<td>1566</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>54.80%</td>
<td>45.20%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Percentage of total)
SECTION TWO

II SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE

1) Age,
2) Gender,
3) Geographical origin,
4) Family structure.
II SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE

Every survey means that there is a sample to be investigated in order to answer the problematic questions of the research because every sample presents specific characteristics which are peculiar to the group investigated, e.g.: group of students, workers, civil servants, women etc...

In order to comply with the classical rule of presentation of the sample, this section deals with the background characteristics of the actors who have been interviewed, i.e. age, sex, geographical origin, etc...

The presentation of the sample's features is believed to be an important factor in understanding the degree of influence of the external environment in shaping the students' future and achievement. Bourdieu and Passeron rightly remark that, 'in a student population, we are dealing with the final outcome of a whole set of influences that stem from social origin and have been exerted for a long period' (Bourdieu and Passeron:1979:14).

1) Age

Stratification has been investigated from an educational point of view in various studies. Bourdieu's opinion is cited, in order to infer the importance of age in the shaping of behaviour and positions in a particular group. The following quotations illustrate and emphasise this point:

'(...). In a system which sets a pre- eminent value on precocity, -age and, more precisely, seniority,- do not have their usual significance. No doubt there are
behaviors, attitudes and opinions in which the generic influence of ageing can be detected' (Bourdieu and Passeron: 1979: 9).

This point of view is also shared by Halsey, whose study with Heath and Ridge uses the age factor to document and trace the impact of a long period of educational expansion and change on the fortunes of the successive generations of children who have passed through the schools' (Halsey, Heath and Ridge: 1980: 22). As far as the sample is concerned, the age factor is presented in the following table.

Table 14: Distribution of the students according to age.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section Age</th>
<th>Maths</th>
<th>Sciences</th>
<th>Arts</th>
<th>Chemistry</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15 years</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.60</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 years</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 years</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>20.50</td>
<td>23.50</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ 17</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>24.60</td>
<td>25.15</td>
<td>26.65</td>
<td>23.60</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The age of students in the sample ranges from fifteen years to over seventeen. These age groups vary in number. While the overwhelming majority are aged seventeen and some under this age, students under sixteen and over seventeen are represented in a small group whose total percentage is just 5%. The mean age among the sample is 16.74, meaning that the majority did have a regular schooling, that is to say, they did not repeat
any grade during their education.

As for those aged fifteen, this means that they have started their education earlier than their peers, and did not repeat any grade. However, students aged over seventeen find it difficult to keep up with their peers. They may face 'expulsion from the college' by the administration, especially if the committee of teachers study their records in a negative perspective. Moreover, the committee have the authority to decide rewards and sanctions at the end of each term.

In the fundamental system, nine years of education is compulsory 'scholastic age'. If a student fails in the final exams after the schooling period the council of teachers decides whether he can resit them or should be oriented towards a vocational training. The director of studies mentioned these 'irregular' cases:

'There are some students still in secondary education, while they should be at university for their first degree. They have been given another chance to obtain their eligibility certificate to graduate at university. Though their age is over the normal range of secondary education, we have decided to allow them another year. Such an alternative is put forward on the condition that the student must be disciplined (1) and does not cause trouble for his peers'.

The age factor has another role outside school. that is the
social sphere which itself starts from the family. The normal age is the traditional reference around which social life is organised. For instance, respect for an elderly person is part of the islamic culture of socialisation within the family. An aged person's decision is unquestionable and his moral position is vested with power, unless education is involved between the family. Moreover, there is an economic aspect of the scholastic age which opens a wide range of choices, if it is long enough in the educational institutions. According to Bourdieu '(...) to each level of education corresponds a specific degree of freedom. (...) Possession of a trade proficiency, diploma or a certificate of primary education give an enormous advantage in economic competition; a minute difference in chance of social success'.

The social success to which Bourdieu refers in the Algerian situation of the 1960's is still apparent in the 1980's, because education is still viewed as:

a) the symbol of advantage in the modern sector, b) an instrument to 'enjoy an incomparable privilege', and c) the way leading to "nobles" (high) placements in the social structure which are due to the prestige accorded the scholar (Bourdieu:1979(a):34-35).

Henceforth, the social situation is built according to the level of education achieved and which can be a major device to reverse the organisation of social life, because the higher the degree one might obtain, the better his social position is likely to be within the family and the community, enjoying
the 'delights' of education which in turn enhances the spiritual and moral values contained in the system and reflected in the cultural curriculum of education.

Another equally important point is that age is often regarded as an important criterion for professional recruitment. Indeed, in previous research it has been established that the industrial administration tends to recruit an older person rather than a younger. Its argument lies in the sense of responsibility which comes with age (Kechad, Ydroudj and Zeddam:1983:68)

The second characteristic of the sample to be debated in this section concerns a topic that has bred an enormous literature in sociological research. Overall, it has constituted its own perspective of research in the sociology of education; that is to say a feminist approach which will be given further attention in the next chapter.

2) Gender

In the past two decades, there has been a growing interest in the study of school achievement and gender to grasp and determine the mechanisms of academic success and school enrolments at the first stage, and then the factors affecting achievement for both sexes. Evidence that such problems exist in the study of gender differences related to school includes the smaller number of females in education at different levels of instruction. Thus, this fact has fostered a considerable amount of research and has demonstrated that the ratio of

Participation and school performance with respect to gender, is a new perspective that has captured the attention of contemporary sociologists, whose work has previously neglected the study of sexual inequalities. 'As a consequence', writes Burgess, 'of such neglect, feminists have developed much research that explores gender differences and education in general as well as research on the education of girls and women in particular' (Burgess:1986:18-19).

There is a stereotyped idea about the hegemony of the male in education in the general context of culture. Thus, the latter may be viewed as a brake for female participation in the economy as a whole. With respect to Algeria, these problematics have been under active investigation. As far as the lycee under investigation is concerned, the statistical data show that the total number of boys and girls vary from one section to another. The following table expresses both numerical positions.
Table 15: Distribution of students according to sexes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sexes Sections</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maths</td>
<td>11.94</td>
<td>12.97</td>
<td>24.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sciences</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>16.35</td>
<td>25.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arts</td>
<td>11.94</td>
<td>15.09</td>
<td>27.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemistry</td>
<td>7.59</td>
<td>15.72</td>
<td>23.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>40.27</td>
<td>59.73</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is quite clear from these figures that the number of girls is overwhelming and show the change in parental attitudes for female education. Accordingly, the ratio of boys has dropped drastically to lower figure in secondary education. This statement concerns only urban schools because, education of girls in rural areas is still behind as demonstrated by Kennouche's study (1981). This situation may be due to complex socio-economic reasons.

Another conclusion that can be drawn from the previous table is that, there is a tendency among girls to register in very specific branches of education especially medicine, arts, and above all, teaching since it is socially regarded as a 'clean job for a woman' (Student in sciences: age 15). Indeed, this division of labour through education is even illustrated in primary textbooks and teaching manuals. Haddab's study has shown that their contents establish a traditional division of labour between males and females. As a result females' careers are
affected by maintaining such social features and boys hegemony is lifted to higher dimensions (Z. Haddab:1979:8-10).

In addition, cultural productivity reinforces this situation in a 'closed' system of rural areas where a central conflict exists i.e: between religion and tradition which is heavily involved in the high 'mortality' of girls in rural areas. Moreover, tradition influences the choice of students in their own careers. For instance, out of a total number of 899 girls in the lycée, there are 661 in scientific studies and only 238 in Arts. This tendency of enrolment can be explained by the social paradigms that maintain specific positions for females since, as they are socially 'allowed' to teach later.

Another quantitative aspect can be inferred from the previous reading of the table. This concerns the reduced number of boys in secondary education, basically in urban zones. Indeed, sociological enquiries into sexual differences have established that on the one hand, there is a decreasing representation of boys in schools in general compensated by an increasing representation of girls in urban schools. On the other hand, there is a large number of boys in rural schools and a minority of girls in those institutions.

As a matter of fact Boutefnouchet reveals that, 13.5% are school dropouts for various reasons and cease the quest for knowledge before the age of fourteen. The rate of boys from the former figure is 56% in elementary and 19% in secondary education. As for girls their rate is estimated to be respectively 47% and 7% (Boutefnouchet: nd:135-136). This sexual
reversal calls for further investigation taking into account social background, gender and age in order to find out the factors which influence the structure of the intellectual stratum. The hypothesis that Algeria's future intellectual stratum will be overwhelmed by women, has to be taken seriously as further evidence emerges.

3) Geographical origin

Algerian society has evolved during the colonial period in its urban part. This evolution was fatal for rural zones which were totally neglected and considered as a financial income for tax collection (Von Sivers:1979:679). In the first years of independence big cities became 'landing' points for new comers who brought with them high hopes for good jobs, use of modern amenities and a good education for their children (Benachenhou:1979:12). For this, it is argued that the very reason of internal migration was the colonial exploitation of arable land. As a consequence, peasants were 'dispossessed of their land, plundered and driven back onto barren land. They had been proletarianized as a result of forced migration and expatriation in search of livelihood' (Benalleque:1983:703).

The situation of rural areas was aggravated by the process of modernisation which was unfavourable to 'rif'. As a matter of fact, previous research into the geographical structure of the working class has documented that the majority of industrial workers originated from rural zones. They immigrated to big cities in search of a well paid job (Ydroudj:1984:61).
This factor might not be very relevant for the case study within a young student population because, of the new policy of decentralization implemented by the state through which rural zones have enormously benefited in terms of social services, education and the like. But more important is the agrarian reform whose aim is to restructure social life with respect to modern amenities (Boutefnouchet:nd:47). Besides, there is the new system of the administrative organisation which makes the task of differentiation very difficult, as the term 'willaya' tends to indicate an urban district even if rural. For this reason, students were asked to give the exact place of birth. The following table is given for general information and not for sociological debate.

Table 16: Geographical origin of the students.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sections</th>
<th>Place of birth</th>
<th>Maths</th>
<th>Sciences</th>
<th>Arts</th>
<th>Chemistry</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Willaya</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>65</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daira</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commune</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>24.6</td>
<td>25.25</td>
<td>26.9</td>
<td>23.25</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is clear that this table reveals three types of geographical organisation, with an overwhelming majority representing the urbanized sections. While a Daira is a branch of a Willaya which is also quite urbanized, a Commune is a part of the former but very small in size and is situated in the suburbs of a Willaya. The proportion of the population having an urban
origin gives the idea that the students' families have settled in an urban area for quite a long time. The rank of Algiers as place of birth dominates the position. Some students were born outside Algiers but are registered in the school because their parents do not choose towns nor specific centres, they just follow the openings that others before have already traced and, which lead them to find a salaried job in the regions of industrial development' (Boutefnouchet: nd:47).

4) **Family structure**

Like the previous characteristics, family structure is important for understanding academic achievement. It is being actively investigated by social scientists in order to establish whether there is a relationship between academic success and the type of relation that exist within the family, or to set the different parameters that the latter may have in the process of education.

Social debate on this specific point is still apparent in social studies, but it is too soon to say whether the social background combined with social structure of the family affects the student's achievement in terms of either success or failure. So far it has been seen that the sample emerges as a group of students from various social classes divided in four basic branches of studies.

This sort of social investigation is lacking in Algeria, and the only previous reference to the study of social background dates from 1977. On this basis there are some social factors
and parameters that can play a role, in the process of academic success as far as the students are concerned (Glasman and Kremer:1977:173;ff).

For the present time, one has to consider the family relationship and its structure and assess the influence of its type of organisation with the type of studies undertaken by the actors in secondary education. But first of all, one has to mention that matrimonial relations in Algeria, as elsewhere in the muslim world, are sorely based upon Islamic jurisprudence. That is to say, marriage remains the unique device through which matrimonial relations are set. By matrimonial relations is meant the sort of relations which prevail within the family and its specific guidelines for social organisation: i.e.: married, divorced etc... For this, it is important to understand the type of social relations which link the members of a family as well as their social classification in the whole system. As an illustrative example, a boy always enjoys a better position and is looked after much better than a girl. Moreover, he is a source of 'glory' and 'income' for the family. The parental situation of the sample can be summarised as follows.
Table 17: Parental situation of the sample.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sections</th>
<th>Maths %</th>
<th>Sciences %</th>
<th>Arts %</th>
<th>Chemi. %</th>
<th>Total %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>22.65</td>
<td>20.13</td>
<td>17.63</td>
<td>22.65</td>
<td>83.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td>6.28</td>
<td></td>
<td>7.53</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowhood</td>
<td>1.88</td>
<td>3.77</td>
<td>3.14</td>
<td></td>
<td>9.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separated</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>24.53</td>
<td>25.15</td>
<td>27.05</td>
<td>22.65</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The institutionalisation of social relations within a family is a universal pattern of social organisation and a form of 'stations within a family is a universal pattern of social organisation and a form of 'structuring' the relations. Sociologists and anthropologists alike have shown great interest in this very complex social system, considering it 'as the fundamental form of social organisation' where various actions take place according to specific mechanisms (Cherlin:1978:634).

Within the Algerian context, the understanding of the structure of the family and its dynamics can only be achieved by the comprehension of the place and significance of marriage and social life. As Von Allmen puts it:

'We cannot fully take hold of the different manners in which social cohesion is produced without highlighting the matrimonial strategies related to the materialistic and symbolic means, as well as the interests which individuals and families held with
respect, to their position and trajectories in the social ground, and without taking into account the separation of sexes and familial units and the practical constraints which are bred. And more importantly, without knowing the existing power of parental relations in the matrimonial process'.

(Von Allmen: 1985: 49).

Other sociologists tend to evoke the role of women in contemporary Algeria and reassert the whole system on this basis, leaving aside the traditional pattern of social organisation Benatia, for instance argues that, the new position of women is basically due to technological changes and to the self assertion felt by women themselves in a unfavourable traditional system. (Benatia: 1980: 465)

The table that illustrates the parental situation of the sample is indicative of the social stability that characterises Algerian society in its form and structure. Bourdieu has demonstrated this sort of relations in its practices and influences on the matrimonial relations which group the members of the family and the social paradigms that organise Algerian society, in his theory of practice. (Bourdieu: 1972)

In another instance, the author explains that in any social identification which takes place in a group the individual has -himself- to be related to the whole structure because, the group has the role of 'identifying the individual with a collective identity that founds the 'esprit de corps', feeling of solidarity with the group itself, its honour etc... and with
its members who command the submission to the exigencies of the reproduction of the body, which means its identity, its solidarity'. (Bourdieu:1985:73)

From this perspective it seems, that a family is a static structure in its external relations to the society as a whole. In effect, the internal activities of a social organisation interrelate the members of the organisation in many ways. In the Algerian context, the cohesion of the group originates from the regular and continuous stability enjoyed by the members as shown in table 17 where 83.06% of the students' parents are 'regularly' married.

Lenoir shares this opinion, and takes into account the multifarious changes which occurred in the socio-economic environment and which have made of the family 'a very institutionalised form of social life' (Lenoir:1985:9). However, there are some exceptions in the organisation. These are isolated cases in the sample, but they could be found in the society which is experiencing a slight decline in the cohesion. Indeed, the first decline which can be mentioned is the break of the newly married couples from the large 'ayla which existed in the colonial period, and which was a unit of resistance against colonialism (Boutefnouchet:1980). Another reason for the decline is equated with modernisation and its rapid pace. The same author remarks that besides the beneficial effects of development, there are negative results which contribute to dislocating the stable life of the family. Among such results he cites the metamorphosis in the structure of the
family size. Hence, 'juvenille deliquency, increase of divorces, child neglect... and the role attributed and played by the members' have been the consequences on the social structure of the family. (Boutefnouchet:nd:42)

This sociological aspect needs further discussion to grasp the mechanisms of such paradoxical changes in a traditional organisation. Overall, social stability is very relevant in a child's socialisation and formal education. The question which the present study attempts to answer is to what extent this factor is important in the distribution of knowledge.
NOTES

1) Some sociologists make the distinction between 'ordinary ageing' and 'scholastic ageing' acknowledging the difficulty in grasping the importance of the latter in the students' life and the role of subjective influences. Moreover, 'seniority' may be a 'handicap' or the label for 'eternal student' (Bourdieu and Passeron: 1979: 9 and 12).

2) See Benatia (1980), Djeghloul(b) (1986) and Boutefnouchet (nd).

3) For the evolution of female education in primary and secondary education see appendix 4.

4) This figure excludes those eliminated by the system of examinations. For a statistical view about the different drop out rates in Algerian schools and universities see Fritzer(b) (1987).
I From social origin to universal education

We have seen in the foregoing chapters the process of selection in colonial schools through some established criteria, related to the socio-political sphere of the cultural environment in order to implement a Western process of social stratification between the masses. That system was maintained in independent Algeria, throughout the first decade but with continuous reforms which started as early as 1962.

It was important to maintain such a system in education for a newly independent nation that emerged from backwardness. The initial tasks of the new government were to structure other circuits to which the entire future was linked, such as state building, political reforms, industrial and cultural reforms etc... In other words, priorities were arranged in order of importance to prepare the ground for a new era of development. Parallel to these commitments, education had consistent measures to make it accessible to the existing social classes.

Entelis' statistical records illustrate the effort invested in this highly important matter, and in the light of those he predicted the total number of students to be 9 million in the year 2000.

What retains one's attention in the recent system of fundamental school is that the process of selection has apparently been abolished, since all students are given equal chances for graduation from one level to another for an equal
period of time.

In this respect, the system ensures a continuous education for nine years where students will be oriented to specific branches according to their own abilities, talents and their scholastic age. Moreover, the problem of adaptation has been taken into account for handicapped pupils who pursue a special curriculum according to their handicap.

In this chapter, the researcher attempts to approach the qualitative form of education and its distribution among the various social groups, bearing in mind that the sample is broadly representative of an urban area. First, it is worth presenting the cultural contrast of socialisation and education between the current structure and that of colonial Algeria.

Throughout the previous chapters, I have attempted to demonstrate the way in which French schools used a combination of sociological criteria to stratify the society by cultural and political devices. I have also attempted to analyse the involvement of the reformist schools in the political sphere, because the difference in structure is the basic concern for the study.

It is no exaggeration to say that the reformist movement found the idea of rallying the masses ready at hand to be exploited, because French officials limited the total number of Algerians in their schools and, therefore, social resentment was the result.
Second, the ideological factors were also in favour of the reformists who sought the total preservation of the fundamental elements of the people. Finally, French schools contained the very seeds of cultural rejection, because the curricula responded to the needs of the metropole and a few members of the liberal elite. Hence, the cultural discrepancies and the categories of enrolments differentiated the systems in use between the colonial school and that of the ulemas' (See diagram 4).

For the purpose of the present study, highlights will be placed on the analysis of the distribution of knowledge in a twofold dimension. First, the division of the society according to knowledge itself. Second, the distribution of knowledge among the groups of the classes, especially between sexes.

1) Distribution of knowledge among socio-professional groups.

Systematically speaking, every working situation implies social differences in terms of the position held in the group. It is the classification of the job that gives the very definition of classes in the social milieu. Hence, the basic differentiating aspect of work remains important for identifying the social strata. In the general classification, it must be noted that education is crucial parameter because it is education that gives the opportunity for work difference. It is true that experience can be important, but it remains of less importance as the industrial categories is based on certificates and degrees.
There always have been socio-political categories represented in the lists of formal education, as there have been difference in gender which are likely to remain for a long time.

Educational literature approaches such a topic from professional and sexual standpoints. It investigates the level of achievement, the prospects and the ways of social reproduction with respect to sociological factors. For instance, Segre who has inquired into the process of reproduction estimates that school transformations occur according to the needs of the leading class in the society. Moreover, educational institutions are shaped and fashioned by the class which has capital in its widest sense, including that of cultural and social capital. (Segre: 1976:32)

In another instance, the author argues that the state takes the tasks of carrying out reforms and organises the transformations of schools which may affect the 'federation of the students' parents in structure or degree (Segre: 1976:61). However, Segre does not make clear the difference of the level of capital among the social groups, nor does he demonstrate the influence of the transformations on the categories. Capital can exist under various forms within a group of students and the state is generally viewed as an independent entity. For this the distribution of knowledge is a matter of school's outputs.

The latter are defined by the type of school itself. In a system that encourages social difference, it can be assumed that the distribution of science will be uneven among social strata.
Hence, Segre argues that in educational reforms the situation is to change. In a system which contain equality of opportunity, the school's enrolment is to be realised through 'a council of orientation - [special educational committe] involving the decision of the families (Segre:1976:58).

Henceforth, one might exclude the process of selection included in the particularistic features of the system for work and school outputs, but the social classification of the groups performs another type of sociological difference. For instance, the chances of a civil servant's son are higher than that of a peasant to reach higher studies. What is more, is the reproduction of generations which cannot be abolished from the specific features of the system, even if the state is the first organiser of the school and not the leading capital in a democratic rule as Dore argues. (Dore:1976:15)

This perspective will not to be to approached in detail, because it has been dealt with in the previous chapters. What is important to note is the ways education is viewed among the groups, related to the various orientations.

While the first orientation can be described as purely a personnel matter that 'consists of looking at differences in the net earnings of people with varying amounts of education as evidence of the amount of personal financial gain that can be associated with the attainment of a given level of education'; the second aspect of orientation is the accumulation of the

This orientation is held among the groups of students who feel social deprivations and on whom pressures are exerted. In this context, the working class tends to display an instrumental orientation. Through this, the working class wishes an improvement in its social status and a lifting of its position in the social hierarchy. Using the same kinds of arguments, Baudelot and his collaborators see that a school's outputs are regulated by the mechanisms of the market and the system of hierarchization, because even in a working situation a student would not dare to follow unneeded studies in the market (Baudelot and Others: 1982: 32–36).

As an illustrative example, the Arts branch has got very limited openings for students who seek in this field a degree that might open for them an opportunity for good position. That is to say, the students concerned in the sample tend to register in that specific branch for two major reasons: First, it appears that an Arts' degree is easily achieved by students from different social strata. Second, and most importantly, students from lower social positions used education as an instrumental medium to get a degree in a short period of time. Secondary education is a very crucial factor for higher graduation. For instance, a student in sciences or maths can easily choose whatever field he likes in his graduate studies, whereas a letters' student is unable to register in subjects
outside the Humanities or Social Sciences, because 'the chances of entering higher education can be seen as the product of a selection process which, throughout the school system, is applied with very unequal severity' (Bourdieu and Passeron: 1979: 2).

While the reason appears to lie in the importance of social capital, the case of selection in secondary education can be one of systematic learning. Probably because an Arts' degree does not require scientific prerequisites and can be achieved easily, which is not the case for scientific degrees.

From this cultural point of view one might see the importance of the cultural capital in a student's career, and the relationship that occurs between the intellectual career and the social background of the student's group, because the volume of the property is fully transmitted to coming generations by the fact that knowledge is an accumulative entity, and can be inherited in terms of social gains.

In order to give meaning to this approach within the frame of the survey, the researcher attempts to analyse the socio-cultural context where the actions of distinction occur. This in turn might enable the study to explore the objective factors of influence upon the students' careers. The assessment starts with the importance of social background, as far as religion is concerned, since this factor was dealt with in the historical analysis.
While I shall explore this particular topic in detail, I can here say that class or group representation is apparent in the sample. It is assumed that its existence is basically due to the distribution of the cultural capital among the students. The proportion of the volume defines the degree and the type of studies one might do at university, because cultural capital within any class or group plays the role of differentiation and is the founder of the existing social relations.

Bourdieu considers it as existing in 'the whole set of resources, more or less, institutionalised... In other words [it means] the affiliation to a group, as an ensemble of agents who are not only endowed with common properties (...) but also united by useful and permanent liaisons' (Bourdieu:1980:3-4).

The previous quotations illustrate the dynamic of relations within a group linked by specific resources, that might be a sort of qualification, a job or a certain level of education. Hence, it seems that it is the role of the cultural capital—part of the social capital—to process the operation of distinction and stratification, because the nature of knowledge is different between the groups. Here, it is referred to the branches of studies. The nature of the latter is differentiated by the fact that society gives certain preferment to certain jobs. As a matter of fact, the position of a doctor is more highly regarded than that of a social scientist. Thus, it can be assumed that the role of education as an independent process
CHAPTER FIVE

SECTION ONE:

I FROM SOCIAL ORIGIN TO UNIVERSAL EDUCATION

1) Distribution of knowledge among socio-professional groups.

2) Gender and education: Chance or equality?

3) Cultural capital and social classification
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I FROM SOCIAL ORIGIN TO UNIVERSAL EDUCATION

1) Distribution of knowledge among socio-professional groups.
2) Gender and education: Chance or equality?
3) Cultural capital and social classification.

SECTION TWO:

II PROCESS OF SOCIAL STRATIFICATION IN EDUCATION

1) Social background and labour projection.
2) Education and social mobility.

CONCLUSION: Homogenisation of groups or search for status.
influences the range of studies undertaken, because the process contains another function which controls the actions and behaviour of the actors involved. Specialists refer to that process as being one of social control:

'The activity of becoming social is the activity of becoming accultured which always includes some means of acting back upon the culture which forms and controls. The culture in its turn is a product of and is a part of the economic, familial, class, religious, political and other aspects of society. Social control merges comprehensively with self and interpersonal control, cultural, political and other forms. And control exists end on with influence, facilitation, coercion, self impulsion and so on' (Davies: 1976: 23).

According to this sociological point of view, personal orientation is of minimal importance, because it is the social process that influences the future course of students. However, social strata in education are created by means of personal development, because involvement of students becomes important at certain level of secondary education.

Indeed, in the light of the present survey the findings reveal that there are 121 students who have made 'independent choice' for their careers, that is not to say, that the choices were completely free from any pressure. For this it is important to introduce the 'direct returns to education approach' that from the very outset of its foundation distinguishes between two
types of orientations; a) 'the personal profit orientation' and
b) 'the national productivity orientation' (Bowen:1972:23).
The findings also show that in all the branches students have
at least one sibling who has undertaken that branch and is
practising in his active life. This reveals that social
influence is apparent in the students' choices at different
degrees and that the social needs can define the personal
careers, in terms of the future job. Indeed, if a student has
many siblings in one branch he tends to follow a different one
to create a balance of social classification, but sometimes
this tendency does not exist and is maintained as a tradition
among the members of the family. (See appendix No 3)
The importance of sociological factors in education is of
concern for sociologists in the study of social success, for
they have a role to play in the general process of education.
We have already seen the importance attributed to the age
factor for instance. Indeed, it is important for students to
have a 'normal' scholastic age, in order to comply with the
rules of education. More importantly, age is determinant and is
an element of differentiation between the sociological
structure of the students, because generally speaking one might
state the origin of the student through his age and grade,
especially in the case of females. For instance, if she is over
17 and is still in the first grade of secondary education, it
is very probable that her family is very 'traditional' and is
from 'rural' origin, where there is a very high percentage of
schooling mortality among females. (See Chapter 4)
Table 19: When did you start your education?

(Percentage of total)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Branches Date</th>
<th>MN</th>
<th>SN</th>
<th>LN</th>
<th>BCH</th>
<th>S Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>At 5</td>
<td>7.54</td>
<td>5.05</td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>13.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At 6</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>19.50</td>
<td>24.52</td>
<td>23.27</td>
<td>84.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.62</td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>24.54</td>
<td>25.17</td>
<td>27.02</td>
<td>23.27</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 20: Time spent in religious education.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Branches Time</th>
<th>MN %</th>
<th>SN %</th>
<th>LN %</th>
<th>BCH %</th>
<th>S Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- 6 mon.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.51</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8.49</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 mon.</td>
<td>7.55</td>
<td>11.94</td>
<td>15.10</td>
<td>2.51</td>
<td>37.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-1-year</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.88</td>
<td>7.92</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>8.70</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>37.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>24.54</td>
<td>25.03</td>
<td>27.42</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 21: Mothers' level of education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Branches Level</th>
<th>MN %</th>
<th>SN %</th>
<th>LN %</th>
<th>BCH %</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Illiterate</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7.54</td>
<td>3.77</td>
<td>16.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Read Write</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>6.95</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>2.51</td>
<td>6.28</td>
<td>10.06</td>
<td>1.85</td>
<td>20.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>1.85</td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td>2.51</td>
<td>6.39</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7.54</td>
<td>10.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>8.17</td>
<td>11.32</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.51</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>24.48</td>
<td>25.1</td>
<td>27.11</td>
<td>23.31</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 22: Mothers' occupation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Branches Occupation</th>
<th>MN %</th>
<th>SN %</th>
<th>LN %</th>
<th>BCH %</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Housewives</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>37.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi skilled workers</td>
<td>3.77</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employees</td>
<td>1.88</td>
<td>2.51</td>
<td>5.03</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>12.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil servants</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>.60</td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cadres</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.60</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberals</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2.51</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td>3.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>6.91</td>
<td>10.69</td>
<td>7.54</td>
<td>5.66</td>
<td>30.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>24.46</td>
<td>25.71</td>
<td>27.02</td>
<td>22.81</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 23: Fathers’ level of education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Branches Level</th>
<th>MN %</th>
<th>SN %</th>
<th>LN %</th>
<th>BCH %</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Illiterate</td>
<td>1.88</td>
<td>5.03</td>
<td>6.91</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>20.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Read write</td>
<td>.62</td>
<td>1.88</td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>8.17</td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td>9.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>5.03</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>9.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>6.28</td>
<td>3.14</td>
<td>7.54</td>
<td>25.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher</td>
<td>10.87</td>
<td>7.54</td>
<td>2.51</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>27.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2.51</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>2.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>24.8</td>
<td>25.13</td>
<td>27.01</td>
<td>23.39</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 24: Fathers’ occupation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Branches Occupation</th>
<th>MN %</th>
<th>SN %</th>
<th>LN %</th>
<th>BCH %</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Labourers</td>
<td>2.51</td>
<td>6.28</td>
<td>3.77</td>
<td>5.66</td>
<td>18.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employees</td>
<td>6.28</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>6.28</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>12.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil servants</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>10.09</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>2.51</td>
<td>25.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberals</td>
<td>2.51</td>
<td>.62</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>2.51</td>
<td>14.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cadres</td>
<td>5.03</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3.77</td>
<td>3.77</td>
<td>19.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>3.77</td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td>1.88</td>
<td>2.51</td>
<td>9.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>24.5</td>
<td>25.24</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>16.97</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These statistical records reveal the existence of classes in the school under investigation, and illustrate the social background of the students within an urban area. The first two tables concern the educational attributes of the students.
namely, the schooling age and the time spent in religious education. The first statement that one can make is that the overwhelming majority of students have a 'religious background', for they have been through a given period of religious education prior to the formal process. However, I hasten to say, that religious education is being dealt with in the fundamental school.

Indeed, there are 100 students who underwent a period of religious socialisation in mektebs, consisting of memorising the Koran. This demonstrates that education in Algeria is not secular and that religion is still a strong source of socialisation, because families are still tied to traditional education. The table shows that there are differences in the length of time spent in mektebs according to the branches of study.

In effect, the large proportion which have acquainted reading places, usually annexed to mosques, is from the lettres section whose percentage in the sample is 22.64%. This can explain in a sense, the fact of the importance of Arabic as a language in that branch, which becomes a cultural refuge for the students. To this can be added, the fact that their families are still maintaining traditional views of socio-cultural education and, therefore, are not affected by the Western current of civilisation, as is the case of biochemistry students who are represented in the lowest percentage (11.32%). The percentages of religious education per class can be illustrated in the
following figures:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MN</th>
<th>SN</th>
<th>LN</th>
<th>BCH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12.57</td>
<td>16.35</td>
<td>22.64</td>
<td>11.32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Leca and Etienne explain the importance of religion in the Algerian social milieu by the emergence of Islam in quite unaffected condition after centuries of colonisation. The former has maintained a 'cultural personality' for the masses who felt resentment towards the colonial administration (Leca and Etienne:1973:51). Moreover, the importance of Arabic and its significance might be further evidence of the divergence of enrolments in mektebs, because among 'arabophone' students, it occupies a crucial place. Their interests in the arts can be explained by the Arabic language through which subjects are taught.

Such a linguistic preparation for the courses, persists in many parts of the country, especially in rural zones. The muslim community's whose link with the sacred book is in most cases apparent in their daily life, because their acquaintance with the Islamic precepts is always combined with the very practice of the former. Its interrelation to academic schooling is verified by the high standard of Arabic within 'arabophone' branches, that is to say, Arabic amongst students of scientific branches is not as good as that in arts. That is not to say, that they are not arabic speaking but the inferior fluency of speaking was apparent, and very noticeable.
For instance, arts' students did not find any sort of difficulty in responding in classical Arabic, whereas science students tended to mix with Arabic some combinations of the local dialect, using most of the time some French syntax. The situation is understandable only in the light of the influence of French education on the structure of the language in some cultural spheres of society, but generally the Arabic language has been 'fully revived in the image of classical Arabic throughout the Arabic speaking countries. It has remained not only an auxiliary to Islam, which has been making great strides in many regions of the world, particularly in Africa, but has constituted the medium of cultural national revival in the Arabic speaking countries' (Chejne:1965:447).

This point of view is widely considered by specialists interested in the study of African history. In this context, the authors of 'The Middle East and North Africa' give an international dimension to such a factor, estimating that the importance of Arabic may be viewed as the linking element, and as 'an interacting force of particular significance' in the muslim world(Drysdale and Black:1985:18-22). Moreover, they equate this particular force to common attributes among the various zones scattered in different spatial parts of the world, with the practice of one common religion and language (Drysdale and Black:1985:224-229).

The remaining tables describe two interrelated variables, with respect to the students' background. Prior to further
Discussions, an initial statement should be made. It concerns the participation of women in economic activity that makes a clear break with the traditional position held by women in pre-war Algeria. Briefly, one might give the definition of work amongst this group. Previous research has demonstrated that the notion of work within this group has a very specific meaning, for they are generally considered as 'breadwinners'. They consider work as a limited concept, because they tend to equate it with a means to be able to go out at any time, and a source to prepare their costly weddings (Ydroudj: 1984:70). In the same tendency of argument, Benatia estimates that work for women is the forceful token for 'self assertion' in a country where 'changes do not occur suddenly...'(Benatia: 1980:465).

The reading of the tables, might give a clear idea about the universalization of education and the role given to women in the general context of social change. The argument according to which women in Muslim countries are neglected in terms of education becomes devoid of any sociological meaning, for they occupy some highly important positions in the hierarchy. A comparison between the parents level of education does show some differences, but women are also represented in all the different levels of education.

Indeed, there are 13 women who have achieved the first level of instruction (16.31%). 33 of them have reached the first stage of secondary education (20.7%) and 12% the final stage of secondary education. Higher education amongst female group is
represented in 10%. The category of others includes those who have undertaken vocational training for a specific job, which varies from secretarial jobs to teaching.

What is more, women are also part of the cadres category in which they are represented by the second high figure (30.8) after that of housewives (37.7). Women's category (cadres) among the sample is more than that of the fathers' which does not exceed 20%.
2) Gender and education: Chance or equality?
Contemporary research in social science is concentrating on a new topic of highly important issue in the study of gender and education, giving way to the emergence of a new perspective which drew us to consider its results and arguments. Indeed, scientific research has revealed the existence of gender differences in education in terms of enrolments and choices. Shuard(1986), Burton(1986). However, there are other findings that contradict the first in terms of the overall number of girls in secondary education.

It has been argued that the factors affecting females' schooling range from cultural elements to socio-psychological parameters. They act together in a combined manner to prevent girls from following a regular education. Sometimes these factors are aggravated by the rigid traditions which also have an enormous role to play in shaping one's social behaviour. These arguments are implied in a developing situation where attitudes are still closely tied to traditional factors. The consequential event does not need further comment. because negative attitudes towards girls' education results in a very high percentage of drop-out. Kennouche(1982)

A result of the feminist perspective is a newly established theory, which deals with the prospects of females' education. The sexual reversal found in the empirical research can be understood from the following quotations:

'(...) the findings reveal attitudes, values, beliefs and practices that engender a feeling of inferiority in girls
and the development of a negative self image. These undermine their self confidence and belief in their own capabilities which further make them shy away from difficult tasks. For example parents have higher expectations and aspirations for boys than girls' (Amara:1987:319-320).

Hence, it is strongly recommended for developing governments to invest every effort not only to involve women in the multifarious facets of development and economic activities in order to make a better use of their potentialities, but also 'to identify the root causes of the problem and implement appropriate remedial strategies', to provide equal chances for both boys and girls (Amara:1987:318).

It has been widely believed in Europe that equality in education between boys and girls can be reached by the intervention of the state in favour of the latter, because it is the state that plans, finances and organises. In effect, there are some situations where the government attempts to involve women in economic activities through their education. Parallel to those actions, sociological enquiries have reached the conclusion that is a sexual reversal in education. That is to say, the total number of girls has been increasing in the different fields of study. This tendency has been statistically documented in the empirical research of Klainin (1987).

However, the conclusion is not a full answer to the existing inequalities in the education of girls in many cases. It can
partly be due to the effort invested by the state, but enormously to the challenge taken by women to gain a better social position as suggested by a qualified educationist and quoted by Byrne: "It might be said that women have largely won the battle for equal educational opportunity with men... this is largely true..." (Byrne:1978:15).

The fundamental concern for the present moment, is to shed light on urban schooling and its structure with respect to gender. In other words, this section attempts to document the very causes of the sex reversal in Algeria, especially in urban schools, though the social order is relatively resistant to such changes. That is to say, traditional traits are the most dominant in the organisation of the patterns of social life. This statement implies a conflict between tradition and modernity in its widest sense, notably where religious misinterpretations can be exerted by false prophecy, but generally speaking where religious current is dominant and hegemonic (D'aeth:1974:110-111).

Statistics regarding female education in Algeria vary from region to region and are entangled between a combined set of tradition and social conservatism of the region, the family or the society. Unlike urban schools which have undergone drastic changes with respect to attitudes, female education in some rural parts remains very insignificant. Their schooling mortality is twice that of the boys in rural zones. (See Annuaire Statistique de l'Algérie). This is due to the false perception regarding female education, and the negative
attitudes towards their social integration in the male milieu (2) (Bruno and Leca:1973:58). Thus, education of girls is limited within the social context where the girl is socialised.

For instance, during the war of the liberation women were entirely involved in the process, and did contribute in different manners. Their work was applauded by the most conservative parties, but in contemporary times the same parties tend to limit the ratio of enrolment of girls in education (3).

While the situation in rural zones is unfavorable for the education of girls, schools in urban areas are being overwhelmed by girls, as the case study reveals some striking results. This might be explained by the massive enrolments in schools to 'produce' and train qualified manpower. Djeghloul describes this strategy as a 'revolution into a revolution' and argues that women have traced a spectacular path in the educational system whose output is making of them 'solicitor' 'magistrates', 'police officer' etc..... (Djeghloul:1987a:33).

From a cultural standpoint, one has to put forward the progressive and positive change of attitudes of the parents who expect education to open suitable job opportunities for their children, and consequently lift their social status in the hierarchy. Indeed, in 75% of the cases parents tend to help their children in their courses, either by simple contribution from them or by involving private tuition (See appendix 3).

The range of the help vary from branch to another. In the case
of 'important' studies parents are willing to give all the requested help their children need, in the subjects they master themselves. In the case of illiterate parents, siblings are the substitutes for the reproduction of knowledge.

The reason that leads to such a change in a rigid social context is basically contained in a wide view of the 'transformation of relationship between races, sexes, classes and peoples and such transformations are always in progress(...)'. So, given humanity's instinct for survival, the resistance of human nature, and the capacity of the human intellect, there seems no reason why we should not attain our image [that of Third World] and reach the society for which our universal culture calls' (Gopal:1982:77).
3) **Cultural capital and social classification**

It has already been asserted that the fundamental school is a universal institution in its organisational dimension, with regards to the origin of students whose social background varies from simple unskilled worker to high management official. In the same vein, it has been revealed that the ratio of girls was higher than that of boys in secondary education, as far as the sample and the lycee are concerned.

The present task of the study is an attempt to express the influence of the cultural capital upon the structure of the intellectual elite. Although, education in Algeria is free and compulsory for all, there still exist social differences in the type of studies one might undertake. Because, education is a competition between social groups differentiated by the existence of disproportionate cultural capital, class differences in education are likely to remain in the very core of every educational system. Every rank or position is maintained by the social derivation of the group or the individual whose view is not entirely independent from the will of the group.

In the discussion of the importance of cultural capital, one should include reference to an unequal distribution of knowledge, because the groups acquire different volumes of the element. In other words, 'reconversion strategies are nothing than an aspect of the permanent actions whereby each group strives to maintain or change its position in the social structure, or, more precisely -at a stage in the evolution of
class societies in which one can conserve only by changing— to change so as to conserve' (Bourdieu and Passeron: 1979: 94).

It has also been seen within each class that every fraction of class is by some very specific link to conserve the features of the group and create a mechanism of reproduction which maintains or improves the position acquired. The link is merely the whole set of relations or the volume of culture respective to each group of persons. Thus, the process of education realises differences in the overall achievement of the members of the group. Consequently, the position held by each group is the result of the amount of the cultural capital, as argued in the following quotations:

'The dialectic of downclassing and upclassing which underlies a whole set of social processes presupposes and entails that all the groups concerned run in the same direction, towards the same objective, the same properties, those which are designated by the leading group and which, by definition, are unavailable to the groups following, since, whatever these properties (...) they are modified and qualified by their distinctive rarity and will no longer be what they were, once they are multiplied and made available to groups lower down (Bourdieu and Passeron: 1979: 95).

It is, therefore, clear that the amount of the cultural capital determines the type of derivation of the groups. With respect to the sample, the actors tend to express their background with
enthusiasm.

In effect, the student from the arts branch like to speak about their siblings' studies in other disciplines and their professions in technical jobs to give meaning to their own studies, because they are convinced that the society 'misunderstand' their effort in the branch of arts.

Moreover, the survey revealed that, for instance, there were 15 students out of 43 in the arts branch who think they are not doing a course according to their abilities and talents, and that the eligibility exam which they are to undertake for graduate studies is not what they wish to do. Hence, finding a special training is their main preoccupation during the next two years. In contrast to the arts branch, students in scientific studies tend to be more precise about the prospects of their opportunities. Indeed, the social background they originate from is of great importance, because parents or relatives are involved in the orientation of those students.

The statistical findings confirm that statement and emphasise the argument, in the sense that 100% of the students in scientific studies expressed their concern for the future, and reported with great precision the type of the job they supposedly will be doing. Some of the students confessed that the source of their information is of "internal nature", that is to say, parents, siblings, relatives, friends and the like. For this the influence of the market and its organisation is of little importance for the students as far as their future is concerned. Moreover, the internal structure of the family
appears to be the most directive factor in shaping one's interests and prospects.

Cultural inequalities can, therefore, be determinant paradigms in the process of formal education and differences are highly visible in the structure of the schooling system in its particularistic features, because students tend to 'obey cultural determinisms more than the logic of individual tastes and enthusiasms' (Bourdieu and Passeron:1979:19).

Thus, careers and trajectories are more a result of social structure than a product of personal interests. That is not to neglect the latter which can sometimes define the whole future of the actors. The establishment of some specific features among the group is one of the direct contact between the members of the family, whose direct diffusion of knowledge is the very particular medium of reproduction, in terms of the formation of separated groups. For instance, students in arts have been engaged in religious education for quite a long time compared with other branches, because their parents are from lower social strata or have low intellectual qualifications. As a matter of fact, while there are only 3 couples of parents in the arts section who have achieved a degree, we find 54 in the other branches who have graduated at universities. Besides, it seems that the arts section is of 'liberal' tendency—such as small tradesmen, artisans— in their occupation, as the findings reveal in the parents occupation.

Religion is viewed as the strong token by which cultural patterns are maintained and transmitted to coming generations.
This statement finds a full expression in the study of the arts branch interests whose basic learning of Arabic is another piece of evidence. Because, for Muslim families, it is vital to educate their children with the precepts and teachings of Islam, students themselves have a liking towards the same trajectories, even though sometimes they may express their dislike.

The validity of this statement might be tested in cosmopolitan towns, where Muslims are a minority group. Indeed, social scientists argue that the Islamic teachings are maintained within Muslim families with great satisfaction and at high prices. The families tend to send their children to private schools in order to avoid a 'cultural diversity' (Bash and others: 1985: 102).

Although the fundamental school has aimed at mass enrolments, there are some class differences between the standards of the students whose relations are spontaneously organised within each branch. The derivation of these relations amongst them are not only due to the distinction of classes, but also to the distribution of knowledge, as argued previously. Indeed, the example of the wide range of opportunities given to a student from scientific studies, and that to an arts student is very relevant.

'(...) as intellectual apprentices, they [students] are defined by their relation to their class of origin, their situation and their practice, and as aspiring intellectuals, they strive to live out this relation
according to the models of the intellectual class, reinterpreted in terms of their own situation(...). The student, more than anyone else, looks for guides to orient his thinking and his lifestyle(...) he can only seek in the intellectual world; and often enough, in that section of the intellectual world with which his daily practice bring him into direct and permanent contact' (Bourdieu and Passeron:1979:40).

The researcher has recorded many statements backing the assumption given in the quotations. As an example, here is an extract of the type of relations sought by a student in science:

'I personally would like to know students from my section or in the maths section, because at least I will be able to discuss any scientific matter with them. You know we scientists [referring to scientific sections] are not interested in philosophy or literature'.
SECTION TWO:

II PROCESS OF SOCIAL STRATIFICATION IN EDUCATION

1) Social background and labour projection,

2) Education and social mobility,

CONCLUSION: Homogenisation of groups or search for status?
II PROCESS OF SOCIAL STRATIFICATION IN EDUCATION

Education has become a highly important subject for the study of social stratification in contemporary societies. A large number of studies have shown the importance of education and its significance in stratifying social groups, and have demonstrated that the scholastic age is a forceful parameter of occupational achievement and social success (Boudon:1977:186-196).

This kind of importance is closely related to the structure of the group in terms of social differences and inequalities that exist in the society. Thus, education occupies a central position in the analysis of social differentiation and upward mobility (Collins:1977:118). Indeed, these studies have concentrated in their analysis upon social mobility according to the period of time spent in school, college, university or training centre. Moreover, they stress the significance of the type of degree acquired. For this, they share a common explanation that focuses on the outcome and prospects of education.

Hence, their perspective in known as 'technical function' which assumes a reproduction of the educational requirements. In this respect, Collins argues that because of technological transformations technical skills are constantly rising and, therefore, 'larger proportions of the populations are required to spend longer and longer periods in school' (Collins:1977:119).
According to this point of view, the analysis that follows is concerned with the functional positions and industrial occupations that necessitate particular qualifications, and consequently the person must spend long periods on training, to be able to acquire the skills of performance. As a result the occupational classification in the hierarchy might be an important position which entitles the holder to some social and economic advantages.

The role of education in this particular materialistic feature is unanimously agreed upon and is sometimes, if not always, considered to the dimension of status which encompasses the moral position within the family or the group. That is to say, a reproduction of the specific elements of the elite which dominate the socio-cultural scene, in terms of cultural capital. Indeed, the monopoly of capital takes into account horizontal mobility, according to the concept of class which in turn plays a role in the classification of the groups according to their social capital. There is no intention for the moment to proceed with a marxist approach in the analysis, to give meaning to the class struggle concept. However, it is relevant to note the conflict that emerges between the groups in education, for it is a competition of achievement between different standards of culture.

In this sense, the findings have revealed that the sample differs in structure and, therefore, the members appear to be in conflict as the classification given to each branch is different from the other. This situation may be due to the
general will of the group, as it tries to maintain the position acquired or ameliorate it.

Bowles' analysis focuses on this very point, and considers education as a determinant factor of stratification as well as a yardstick of classification in the hierarchy in terms of status, income and autonomy. To quote him:

'One's status, income, and personal autonomy came to depend in great measure on one's place in the hierarchy of work relations. And in turn, positions in the social division of labor came to be associated with educational credentials reflecting the number of years of schooling and the quality of education received' (Bowles: 1977: 140).

Besides, it is argued that educational selection tends to be rigid whenever modernisation occurs, because societies that industrialise create new job opportunities of high qualifications and require high skills of performance. 'As modernisation proceeds, a) the societal role of education changes, b) the structure of education system changes and, c) the environment in which education takes place also change' (Benveniste: 1983: 345).

In this analysis, the researcher attempts to document the significance of education and the different meanings given to it by the actors who consider school as the mainstream to improve one's social position. Because whenever massive enrolments exist, selection prevails. Thus, I shall deal with
the determinants of educational achievement and the importance of the socio-psychological factors. The section concludes with an approach to the structure of the intellectual stratum in secondary education with the possible projection of class structure in urban schools.
1) **Social background and labour projection**

Algeria lacks the sociological inquiries that investigate the social structure of the existing classes. Some sporadic attempts have been made to analyse the components and the mechanisms of the working class and its differential aspects. Such an analysis can be very subtle within an environment of research yet to be explored.

Educational researchers often assume that reproduction of elites is achieved in schools and universities, for they create an suitable place for the different classes to regenerate the elements of their elite or stratum. Dore argues that the assumption has been made in recent times and it concerns developed countries (Dore:1975:9). However, the assumption becomes true and valid in every country which undertakes development and engages in modernisation, for the latter requires high qualifications. Thus, it is imperative to educate and provide the workers with differential credentials and levels of qualification. Hence, the context of education contains the seeds of the existence of occupational differences, which exist in the structure of the groups of the sample. Moreover, it is the vehicle of techniques, the transmission of knowledge and skilled performances in occupational situations (Bowles:1977:137).

At this stage we do not need to argue about the theory of the market and its interrelation to education. The practice of manpower strategy and planning takes into account the future and plans accordingly to distribute new outputs in the market.
and fill any need for industrial enterprises. But as the economy becomes complex and transformed by the implantation of modern technologies, control of school outputs becomes difficult, especially in a developing country.

At the present moment the study is concerned with the reproduction of inequalities and social differences. Indeed, it is argued that due to the numerous inequalities that exist within a social group in terms of economy, the amount of the cultural capital, etc... differences are reproduced more profoundly through the existence of inequalities in school outputs. For this reason, schools and universities are an established system of distributing labour into a wider market (Hopper:1977:153-156).

This sort of selection is generated by the new trends in education and the intensive process of development. It is needless, to mention the reorganisation of the educational institutions to meet the growing demands of modernisation, because the fundamental concern of education is to produce qualified workers according to the industrial market, which can undermine skills, qualifications and aptitudes. Moreover, the situation in developing countries is often aggravated by the misuse of the trained and educated potentialities, because the latter can be totally disorganised in the absence of rational planning and economic organisation.

Economists have warned against economic misfortunes and encouraged the perspective of using the existing capacities in the best way. In their attempt to cover a subtle area of study,
the authors of "Essai sur les Cadres et l'Universite en Algérie" reached the conclusion that there is a social reproduction maintained in the Algerian university in the light of the following table:

Table 25: Social origin of Algerian students between 1965-66 and 1972-73.

(Source: Claman and Kremer:1979:182)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>% in the active population</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government officials &amp; liberals</td>
<td>0.92</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrative officials</td>
<td>1.76</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil servant and employees</td>
<td>10.06</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>15.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers (peasants excluded)</td>
<td>55.94</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade and industry</td>
<td>7.22</td>
<td>19.1</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>16.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed and others</td>
<td>22.57</td>
<td>35.9</td>
<td>40.6</td>
<td>34.9</td>
<td>36.5</td>
<td>27.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The table reveals the statistical structure of the Algerian elite, but it is not without critics. In effect, there are some data which remain unrevealed and do not tell the real social origin of the students contained in the two last categories. Second, it is not clear whether the administrative employees and civil servants are in governmental or private sectors. Because, it is important to grasp the occupational background of the students, one must take into account the methodological considerations to make a dichotomy between the two sectors - public and private - especially for economic reasons which are very important in terms of students' choices, stated by one student:

'Since my parents can provide me with the needs, I believe that I can follow scientific studies, though they require longer time at university' (Male: sciences: 16 years).

Overall, the previous table shows that the large proportion of Algeria's students have a working class origin which has made a good improvement in its position. But it must be noted that their percentage increased in all the branches, including scientific sections. Indeed, their percentage was 6.6, 5.9, 5.3, 6.8 in science, medicine, arts and law and economics respectively; and rose sharply to 15.8, 14.3, 14.5 and 14.

The new tendency of enrolments amongst working class students can be explained by the help provided by their families and social background which influences the structure of the members of the group and orients them to the 'essential' branches. This
orientation -through social influence- means a division of labour between the members of the same group. Bourdieu and Passeron have well documented the influence of the social background in the academic process (Bourdieu and Passeron: 1979: 7-8).

In the Algerian case it might be possible to argue that the Algerian university groups different categories which differ in the classification of the social hierarchy, because the importance of social background varies from one branch to another and particular cases of success can just be a result of '(...) schooling [which] would ostensibly be open to all, one’s position in the social division of labour could be portrayed as the result not of birth, but of one’s own efforts and talents' (Bowles: 1977: 139).

Individual determination is often used as an instrument to improve one’s social status in society. The situation with the working class is relevant in this matter, as they seek a better position out of the arts section which undermines their 'real' talents and abilities. For this, an inquiry into the instrumentality of education is needed to understand the various orientations held among students.
2) Education and social mobility

The use of education as an instrument for a career among students is, firstly, a consequential result of the relationship between academic qualifications and occupational hierarchies. Secondly, it is the result of the complex relationship between education and social status. For this reason it is not surprising especially in a country where there is a democratisation of education— to find that students make a great use of education to satisfy their socio-economic aspirations and prospects. For them, education is a determinant factor of social 'climbing' in the hierarchy.

A large number of studies have been devoted to the role and the significance of education in upward mobility and the improvement of one's social status (Boudon: 1977) (Dore:1976). To begin with this socio-economic aspect of education, it is important to question the actors about the concept of education and their expectations for the future. (See table 26)
Almost, all students share the point that education is a determinant factor for upward social mobility and the unique network through which they can have a degree. Hence, they maintain the will to gain a 'diploma', a 'certificate' or a 'degree', to be key document that opens the door for 'flourishing' future.

Their will is often subject to many influences that contribute in the final decision and consequently are shaping their lives according to the factors involved in decision making, because expectation change from one social context to another, and change according to gender. It is generally the case, for instance, that families expect their children to succeed in their education and consequently have a good job. One of the student has illustrated his family's (parents) expectations in the following statement:

'I have to work hard here [the lycee] to help my numerous family in the future. Now it is my turn, because I have some brothers and sisters who are married and cannot help my parents any more. As you know after marriage it is selfishness and they come to see us just as guests' (Male student: Science:16).

Another student illustrates the point that concerns social influences which can be exerted upon coming generations from an educational point of view:

'My father expect me to have good results because they open a wide opportunity for the future. He keeps giving me advices and insists that I must have a good job for my own
benefit. It is the case for all my brothers and sisters' (Male student: Science: 16)

These portraits have been repeated by a large number of students, mainly males who are the basic and fundamental elements for parents' aspirations, and the crucial yardsticks of social evaluation of success and failure. In effect in a society like Algeria, which is a masculine society, the place and role of men is very different from that of women. For example when the father is unemployed or dead it is socially unacceptable - in many cases - for a woman to go out to work if there are any males in the family especially in a rural zone. In this respect Kenniche argues that education is the mainstream of a female's success in social life, but it is also the reason for their under-utilisation because they challenge masculine potentialities in a masculine society (Kenniche: 1982: 314-315).

This social analysis of educational relationship penetrates the structure of the Algerian family and the mechanism of its functioning. It has been revealed that students do get enormous help from their parents, siblings and relatives in the course of their educational process. This shows that Algerian families still maintain relations of kinship and blood ties that have been previously described. Indeed, this individual identification leads to the common point of view which prevails in the society, not only as a characteristic but also as pattern of life inspired by basic religious guidelines.

This point will debated later. For the moment, the points which
must be highlighted are those of education and female employment. Education is highly significant in social success and determines the place of the individual in the ladder of the society through acquiring a certain degree. For them education is often -if not always- associated with upward mobility because their basic and major concern is the transformation of social relations. Moreover, parents see the education of their children in the long term as an investment, that they could enjoy when they need. In previous findings among officials of industrial factories this opinion prevailed among all the elements of the sample, arguing that they do their best and are willing to do everything possible to see their 'sons' or 'daughters' 'highly positioned' (Ydroudj: 1984:74).

There is a reciprocity in this type of relationship and the will to be at the late arrival of education as testified by the statement given by some students:

'If my parents have done something for my education, I think that it is my duty to try and do my best in my exams. In most cases every student wants to help his family for good living. Parents usually place an investment in our education. They may devote all their abilities for our sake.'

As argued in the previous sections, females' education in some regions has not been fully expanded to all social strata, but it must be immediately said that it is not due to the shortage of institutions. It is the rigid traditions which prevent girls from having a normal schooling. It was found that
out of a total number of 888 girls, in one rural area 7 were able to reach a higher standard in one rural area (Kennouche:1982:64).

Sometimes, female education faces its own limits. Indeed, a large majority of women in Algeria are unaware of their potentialities. For this reason it must be noted that 'there is a negative mentality in our country with respect to the role of women; everything conspires to spread the idea of their inferiority in various ways. Even women themselves are imbued with this age-old attitude [which calls for] an unrelenting struggle against social prejudice and reactionary beliefs.' (Benallegue:1983:712)

The foregoing statement is from an official source which states the situation of Algerian women and tries to get them involved in other activities, other than teaching. In this context the percentage of women who wish to undertake a career in this field is very important compared to that of men. The situation cannot be understood out of the social periphery, because the self limitation of women is contained in the traditional traits of the patterns of life.

The psychological impact on the formation of independence of female's is not of a single dimension. On the contrary it affects the whole network of development. The implication which one can retain is the negative consequences of spending on female's education if they are not to exploited to their full limit in the economic sectors. However, women aspire to get better positions through their education in the society, as men do.
All the students conceive education as the effective device to 'build' a good future in terms of social advantage. 'It is a tradition in the family to start with arts, because I can easily become a lawyer or a solicitor. Sincerely I do not want to break a "good" tradition in the family' (Arts student:16).

The researcher has recorded many statements of this kind during the interviews. To give other examples:

'For me being a doctor is not very important because I know that I can live with a wage of an administrator, but my family want me to become a doctor which is needed in the family. So, here I am in the science branch carrying out my parents' wishes'.

And another example:

'Before I came to this lycee I have discussed the different openings with my parents and siblings who are still at university. It is through this discussion that I am seriously thinking of following an engineering speciality'.

These statements echo the point of view shared between students in the four branches of study. Above all, the opinions held among the actors are contained in the following table that illustrates the expectations of students after finishing their postgraduate studies:
Table 26: Students' expectations from education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sections Expectation</th>
<th>MN</th>
<th>SN</th>
<th>LN</th>
<th>BCH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High salary</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social advantages</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social status</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical skills</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The items in the table have been classified by the students in order of importance. It is quite clear that the total number of students who show an interest in the improvement of their skills and abilities, in the future. For instance, there are only 19 students in the arts section who really seek a technical improvement in their careers, whereas there are 36 out of 39 in the maths section and 32 out of 37 in biochemistry branch.

It was surprising that some members of the sample did mention their commitment to be involved in the development of the country and be associated in the process. This attitude was not expected to be found among young students who are still in secondary education. This may be due to the new system of education which emphasises the technological aspects of education. Inkeles' inquiry has revealed the new tendency raised among students in developing countries. He argues that
the emergence of modern men in the Third World is, first and foremost, attributed to 'education has often been identified as perhaps the most important of the influences moving men away from traditionalism towards modernity in developing countries' (Inkeles:1970:212).
Conclusion: Homogenisation of groups or a search for a status?

The inquiry into the sociological structure of the Algerian intellectual stratum and the historical conditions of its emergence has revealed that the specific social order was dislocated by the French presence. As a matter of fact, this dislocation had taken various phases ending in the selection of local leaders to administer local affairs. Its first phase was to control the isolated group of people and implement devices of cultural and economic division—through geographical areas, such as those 'communes' where elected chiefs were integrated in the social process of socialisation similar to that prevailing in France.

The second stage consisted of depossessing the masses from their land by introducing laws and governmental documents and ordonnances whenever considered necessary, because Algeria was a colony of settlement and more importantly an economic market for the metropole which sought an accumulation of the capital.

Finally, French officials were determined to create cultural cleavages and social stratification by implementing a schooling system which favoured the local leaders used as intermediaries in the domination of the people.

Its principal aim was to educate the masses at a given level of instruction, and then to small a handful to administer local affairs. Prior to that period, it should be noted that Algeria was a Turkish protectorate that changed into a Turkish
province providing a financial source for the dominant entity. Taxes were taken from Algerians and the relationship between the latter and the former was based upon that income to better the process of taxe collection. Turks divided the country into three beyliks (department) upon which France relied to declare Algeria a part of France.

The dynamics of the colonials of social reproduction were not easy to implement in the society. Indeed, it faced a local hostility and resistance organised in traditional means of combat. The emergence of a free school did limit the objectives of the colonial schools joined by a minority of Algerians. The significance of the role played by the ulema in colonial Algeria was enhanced by the support of the people who effectively contributed to the financial aspect of the traditional educational institutions, starting with moktebs and ending with high medrassas.

With the emergence of religious institutions as official schools granted the freedom to educate the people, the total number of Algerians in the free schools raised to illustrate the refusal to join foreign education, with its values and attitudes. Consequently the French schools lost their character as productive institutions of the French ideology in the local community, and they managed to create linguistic differences, still existent in the current groups (See table 27). When independence was gained, the contradictions of schools have urged the government to proceed to reforms and undertake changes in the structure of the curriculums in order to
Table 27: Scale of spoken languages.

<table>
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<th>Sections</th>
<th>Arts</th>
<th>Sciences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Language</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very good</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>16</td>
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<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
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<tr>
<td>Very poor</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A= Arabic, F= French, E= English, S= Spanish, O= Other.
homogenise the social constituency of the schools. However, the particularistic features of the latter seem to be in all systems and inequalities in education may take different forms.

Although fundamental school is a universal institution that does not seek the reproduction of the members of the intellectual elite who are reproduced by social mechanisms of the division of labour, and school undertake the task to maintain them or aggravate them in many ways. In this context, for instance the education of girls is very relevant to say that the place pertaining to that sex is becoming of great importance in the society.

The constant evolution of girls in the Algerian schools (see appendix No 4) demonstrate that the structure of the intellectual is probably to be overwhelmed by girls in the future, especially if one takes into consideration the dropout rate of boys.

The competition within school is due to the fact that social classes are defined by the existence of differences between positions; as argued in the following quotations:

'(...) by situating the difference between the classes in the order of successions, the competitive struggle establishes a difference which (...) is not only the most absolute and unbridgeable (...), but also the most unreal and evanescent (...). What the competitive struggle makes everlasting is not different positions, but the difference between positions' (Bourdieu and
The specificity of classes can be defined by many criteria including the type of education and the level of instruction achieved. The interest of each class is in turn classified according to their aspirations and prospects which could maintain or ameliorate the social classification of the groups. It is important to recall that schools produce different type of classes and they could be a real brake on the group which does not invest in education.

The model of development in Algeria is defined by the official discourse and is supposed to enhance the democratisation of education in its quantitative and qualitative aspect. Indeed, with the fundamental school as the major structure the former was reached by the massive enrolments in the academic years. However, the state cannot control the latter for its paradigms are in the hands of those who held the materialistic features of culture. The desequilibrium between the branches of study testify to the importance and significance of cultural capital.

Above all, the aim of the new system is to produce a new type of workforce which can be able to master new techniques of production and modernise them with the available resources. Here the full economic function of the school is to be tested and evaluated in terms of economic growth and technological production.

The fact that this study has dealt with the social characteristics of an urban educational structure to uncover
the peculiar aspects of the Algerian intellectual stratum makes it possible to generalise the findings to urban schools, for the social structure of cities do not display differences in the sociological structure. The research lacks the grounds of sociological comparison between rural and urban schools, but it must be immediately said that the basis of comparison are the social mechanisms that rule the mechanisms of each region and not religion as is often argued.

Henceforth, sociological inquiry into this particular field is recommended to discuss the social reproduction and its basic rules in rural schools, for they are also structured in different ways and have their own mechanisms (Kennouche:1982:13-15). The significance of schools for the society is very relevant to understand the multifarious dynamics of different classes' interests.

The specificity of the fundamental school to eradicate social differences is also an area of study that needs further investigation and analysis, because in the next few years the first product of the fundamental school will be at university or practising as cadres in the industrial enterprises. Thus, to examine the official discourse researchers may find an adequate ground for sociological inquiry and empirical research.
Notes

(1) See chart of fundamental school.
(2) For a detailed statistical description of female education refer to appendix 4.
(3) Details about women's contribution in the revolution can be found in Benallegue (1983).
(4) In effect there only two studies dealing in detail with the structure of the Algerian working class Bourdieu (1963), Glasman and Kremer (1977). The latter is an inquiry into the Algerian intellectual stratum
(5) In another instance, Bourdieu and Boltanski have presented the sociological paradigms of influences exerted in the different milieus, like 'modern' and 'traditional', 'open' and 'closed', 'small' and 'large' etc... (Bourdieu and Boltanski: 1976: 39-55).
Appendix No 1
Table 7: Distribution of Algerian students at the University of Algiers between 1915-62 (in %).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sections</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Arts</th>
<th>Law</th>
<th>Medicine &amp; Pharmacy</th>
<th>Science</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>% Algerians</th>
<th>Total Students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1915-16</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>39</td>
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<td>422</td>
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<tr>
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<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>61</td>
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<td>479</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917-18</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>61</td>
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<tr>
<td>1918-19</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>41</td>
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<td>666</td>
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<tr>
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<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17a</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1428</td>
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<td>1414</td>
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<td>84</td>
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<td>15</td>
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<td>11</td>
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<td>1854</td>
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<td>2248</td>
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<td>23d</td>
<td>13d</td>
<td>102d</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>2355</td>
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Table 7 (a): Distribution of Algerian students according to sections and sexes. (16 a)

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<th>Years</th>
<th>Arts</th>
<th>Law</th>
<th>Medicine &amp; Pharmacy</th>
<th>Sciences</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>% Algerians</th>
<th>Total Students</th>
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<td>140</td>
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<td>3.9</td>
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<td>35</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>107</td>
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<td>189</td>
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<td>442</td>
<td>408</td>
<td>34</td>
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<td>4913</td>
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<td>489</td>
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<td>123</td>
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<td>128</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>684b</td>
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<td>67</td>
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<td>1956-57</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>267b</td>
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<td>5.6</td>
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<td>51</td>
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</table>
Algerian students registered at the University of Algiers between 1915-1965 in Science and Pharmacy studies.

Graph 1 and 2: Algerian students registered at the University of Algiers in Science and Pharmacy studies between 1915-65.
Number of Algerian Students in Law studies.

Number of Algerian Students in Literature studies.

Number of Algerian students registered at the University between 1915-1995.

Years:
Graph 5 and 6: Total number of Algerian students registered at the University of Algiers between 1915-1962.
Difference in enrolments between boys and girls and between Algerians and Europeans.
Graph 9 and 10: Algerian boys and girls registered at the university of Algiers between 1938-50.

Number of boys:

- Years: 1938-1950
- Number of boys registered at the university of Algiers between 1938-1950

Number of girls:

- Years: 1938-1950
- Number of girls registered at the university of Algiers between 1938-1950
Appendix No 2
Table 18: Evolution of educational establishments since 1966 to 1988.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Years Type</th>
<th>Annexes of fundamental school</th>
<th>Rooms utilised</th>
<th>Fundamental schools</th>
<th>General education colleges</th>
<th>Technical education colleges</th>
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<td>427</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>530</td>
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<td>7 376</td>
<td>36 462</td>
<td>545</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974-75</td>
<td>7 794</td>
<td>49 476</td>
<td>569</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975-76</td>
<td>7 793</td>
<td>43 555</td>
<td>584</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976-77</td>
<td>8 192</td>
<td>45 901</td>
<td>664</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977-78</td>
<td>8 500</td>
<td>49 029</td>
<td>789</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978-79</td>
<td>8 656</td>
<td>50 750</td>
<td>812</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979-80</td>
<td>9 034</td>
<td>52 804</td>
<td>872</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980-81</td>
<td>9 257</td>
<td>56 160</td>
<td>932</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981-82</td>
<td>9 399</td>
<td>59 029</td>
<td>1 056</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982-83</td>
<td>9 864</td>
<td>62 627</td>
<td>1 281</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983-84</td>
<td>10 264</td>
<td>66 005</td>
<td>1 267</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984-85</td>
<td>10 508</td>
<td>70 420</td>
<td>1 388</td>
<td>309</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985-86</td>
<td>11 344</td>
<td>74 361</td>
<td>1 351</td>
<td>342</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986-87</td>
<td>11 427</td>
<td>78 264</td>
<td>1 747</td>
<td>305</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987-88</td>
<td>11 843</td>
<td>81 511</td>
<td>1 929</td>
<td>440</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Graph 10 and 11: Total number of pupils in primary education 1963-76.

Total number of pupils 1st & 2nd cycles

Total number of pupils 3rd cycle
Since 1977 to 1988 in the 3rd cycle:
Total number of pupils in Primary Education.

Since 1977 to 1988 in the 1st and 2nd cycles:
Total number of pupils in Primary Education.
Graph 13 and 14: Total number of students in general secondary education 1964-88 (general)
Total number of students in secondary education.

Total number of students in secondary years.

Graph 15 and 16: Total number of students in technical secondary education.
Appendix No 3
Table No 28 Siblings' occupation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>MN</th>
<th>SN</th>
<th>Arts</th>
<th>BCH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pupils</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cadres</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labourers</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberals</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employees</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table No 29 Siblings' studies in higher education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section Siblings' educ</th>
<th>MN</th>
<th>SN</th>
<th>Arts</th>
<th>BCH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medicine Vet &amp; Dent</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technology</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineer.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law &amp; Pol. studies</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economics</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Sciences</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 30: Do your parents help you?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sections Subjects</th>
<th>MN</th>
<th>SN</th>
<th>LN</th>
<th>ECH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Scale</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maths</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>16</td>
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<td>Sciences</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>34</td>
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<td>Physics</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>43</td>
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<td>Chemistry</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
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<td>Literature</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philosophy</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His - Geo</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Languages</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N= Never , O= Often , A= Always.
Table No 31 What do you do in your free time?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>MN %</th>
<th>SN %</th>
<th>Arts %</th>
<th>BCH %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stay at home</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>7.54</td>
<td>8.17</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Help in house work</td>
<td>6.28</td>
<td>9.43</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>6.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visit friends</td>
<td>9.43</td>
<td>16.98</td>
<td>11.94</td>
<td>7.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homework</td>
<td>13.83</td>
<td>22.01</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>21.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watch TV</td>
<td>19.49</td>
<td>18.23</td>
<td>23.89</td>
<td>18.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>14.46</td>
<td>11.94</td>
<td>16.35</td>
<td>9.43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"More than one answer possible"
Appendix No 4
Graph 17 and 16: Evolution of the number of girls in primary education 1962-76.

Female education 1st and 2nd cycles.

Female education 3rd cycle.
Graph 19 and 20:
Evolution of the number of girls in primary education since 1977 to 1987.

Female education in 1st & 2nd cycle.
Female education in 3rd cycle.
Female education in 1st & 2nd cycle.
Graph 21 and 22: Total number of girls in general secondary education since 1977 to 1997.

Graph 23 and 24: Total number of females in general secondary education since 1976 to 1996.

Graph 23 and 24: Evaluation of the number of girls in technical secondary education.
Graph 25 and 26: Total number of boys in general secondary education 1963-86.
Graph 27 and 28: Total number of boys in technical secondary education.

- **Years:** 1977 to 1986.
- **Boys in technical secondary education:**

  - 1977: 100
  - 1978: 150
  - 1979: 200
  - 1980: 250
  - 1981: 300
  - 1982: 350
  - 1983: 400
  - 1984: 450
  - 1985: 500
  - 1986: 550
Graph 29 and 30: Evolution of the number of boys in primary education 1962-76.

Boys in primary education 1st & 2nd

Number of boys in 3rd cycle

Years 1962 to 1976 in the 3rd cycle

Number of boys in primary education 1st and 2nd cycle since 1962 to 1976

Years 1962 to 1976

Number of boys in primary education 1st & 2nd

Years 1962 to 1976
• 3

1977 to 1987 in the 3rd cycle.

Number of boys in 1st & 2nd cycle.

Years


Number of boys in 3rd cycle


1977 to 1987 in the 1st and 2nd cycles.

Number of boys in primary education since 1977-78.


1977 to 1987 in the 1st and 2nd cycles.

Number of boys in primary education since 1977-78.


1977 to 1987 in the 1st and 2nd cycles.

Number of boys in primary education since 1977-78.
Appendix No 5
مديرية التعليم الشانوني
التعليمي
رقم: 454 م. من. ت. ت

خصصًا بحث تربوي

بناء الطالب المقدم من طرف السيد بدرج الأخضر
بتاريخ 4-11-1987 - أن مدير التعليم الشانوني التقني بوزارة التربية الوطنية يخرص للمعنى بالأمر بالقيام ببحث
تقديم في:

ialsaciones بوعشة البدنار

بالنسبة للعسامي الجهوي الحلالتي 1987/86 وذالك في
طيار تحضير شهادة الماجيسترات.

مدير التعليم الشانوني

الوزير ولغوي:
مدير التعليم الشانوني التقني

م: حساباوي
Questionnaire

1) In which grade are you this year?

2) In which school \ college were you last year?
   
   If you have changed school is it because:
   
   a- you have been admitted to a higher grade,
   b- you did not like your former school,
   c- your family wanted you to change,
   d- other (please specify)...

3) Which exam are you preparing this year?
   
   a- admission to next grade,
   b- Baccalaureat.

4) In which branch are?
   
   a- maths,
   b- sciences,
   c- lettres (arts).

5) Did you choose this branch yourself?
   
   a- yes,
   b- no.

6) What languages do you speak?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>V.well</th>
<th>Well</th>
<th>Reasonable</th>
<th>V.poor</th>
<th>Poor</th>
<th>Do not</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7) When did you start your education?
   
   a- at 5,
   b- at 6,
   c- after 6.

8) Did you attend any religious school before your schooling?
   
   a- yes,
   b- no.

9) How long did you stay?
a- less than one year,
b- one year,
c- more than one year.

10) Sex
   a- male,
   b- female.

11) Date of birth (indicate the month and the year).

12) Place of birth (indicate exact town).

13) Do you live in:
   a- house,
   b- flat,
   c- villa,
   d- other.

14) Do your parents own the habitation?
   a- yes,
   b- no,
   c- do not know.

15) Do you live with your parents?
   a- yes,
   b- no.

16) How many (if any) siblings you have?
   a- brothers,
   b- sisters.
17) Indicate in the table below your siblings' grades at school, college or university:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Siblings</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Section</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brothers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siblings</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

18) In the next table can you indicate your siblings (if any) occupations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Siblings</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Institution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brothers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sisters</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

19) Are they still living with your parents?
   a- yes,
   b- no.

20) What is your father's job?

21) Where does (did) he work? Give exact name of company.

22) What is your father's level of education?
   a- illiterate,
   b- know reading and writing,
   c- primary,
   d- average,
   e- secondary,
   f- higher,
   g- technical training,
   h- other.

23) What is your mother's job? Give last job.
24) Where does (did) she work?

25) What is your mother's level of education?
   a- illiterate,
   b- know reading and writing,
   c- primary,
   d- average,
   e- secondary,
   f- higher,
   g- technical training,
   h- other.

26) Are your parents:
   a- living together,
   b- divorced,
   c- separated.

27) What job are planning to get in the future?

28) Do you can get it?
   a- because you will carry on studying,
   b- your parents will help you,
   c- it does not request special level,
   d- anybody can do it,
   e- other, please specify.

29) What do you expect from your future job?
   a- good salary,
   b- social advantages,
   c- improve my technical skills,
   d- more opportunities for a good career,
   e- improve my social status,
   f- other, please specify.

30) Do you think that your course prepare you to cope with the future job?
   a- yes,
   b- no,
   c- do not know.

31) In both cases could say how and why?

32) Has your college taken you on visit to any administration or working institution?
   a- yes,
   b- no.

33) Have you written to any training company?
a - yes,
b - no.

If yes, did you write
a - once,
b - twice,
c - more than twice.

If no
a - do you intend to do it,
b - you are interested to get training,
c - you want to continue your studies?
d - other, specify.

34) Have you ever stayed down for a year in your studies?
a - yes,
b - no.
In both cases can say why by ticking the appropriate boxes?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Insufficient marks</th>
<th>Good marks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Problems of understanding</td>
<td>My parents help me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not taking extra courses</td>
<td>Taking extra courses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advanced courses</td>
<td>Interesting courses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My parents do not help me</td>
<td>Good understanding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of equipment</td>
<td>Good equipment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inhelpfull staff</td>
<td>Helpfull staff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dislike studying</td>
<td>I like studying</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I want to get a job</td>
<td>Not interested in work</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

35) If yes to the previous question, do feel that you need extra courses?
a - yes,
b - no,
c - do not know.

36) Do your parents help you in your home work?
a - often,
b - always,
c - never.
37) If your parents help you can you say in which subjects?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjects</th>
<th>Often</th>
<th>Always</th>
<th>Never</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maths</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural sciences</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physics</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Chemistry</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arts</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philosophy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History-Geography</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

38) If your parents do not help you is it because:

- a- they are illiterate,
- b- they pay you extra lessons,
- c- they both work,
- d- they do not care about my future,
- e- they are confident,
- f- other.

39) If you get through the Bac what is the discipline that you most probably going to register in?

- a- medical sciences,
- b- technology,
- c- pure sciences,
- d- social sciences,
- e- law and economic studies,
- f- other.
Could you say why you are going to register in that branch?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>My parents want me to</th>
<th>My parents do not want</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I want to do it</td>
<td>I do not want to do it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some of my family did it</td>
<td>Nobody did it before</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The country needs it</td>
<td>The country does not</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I want to carry on study</td>
<td>I want to work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It has good perspectives</td>
<td>No prospects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My Bac allows me to</td>
<td>My Bac does not</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

40) Have an idea about the subjects of the future discipline?

41) Did you get the informations from:
   a- your parents,
   b- in class,
   c- your friends,
   d- personal search.

42) Do your parents advise you about any particular job?
   a- yes,
   b- no.

43) If you are still at college is it because:
   a- you want to go on higher education,
   b- you cannot get a job at this stage,
   c- your parents want you to study,
   d- your parents are educated,
   e- your parents are not educated,
   f- your friends are at the same college,
   g- you do not want to stay at home,
   h- other, please specify./

44) If you find a job at this stage would leave college?
   a- yes,
   b- no,
   c- do not know,
   d- no response.

45) If yes, would you leave college because:
   a- you do not want to continue your studies,
   b- you are interested in money,
   c- your family want you to work,
   d- you do not mind doing a manual job,
e- other, please specify.

46) Are your parents member of the pupils association?
   a- yes,
   b- no,
   c- do not know.

47) Could say in few words what do you do after college?

48) Do your parents intervene in selecting your friends?
   a- yes,
   b- no.

If yes has this interference influenced your choices?
   a- yes,
   b- no.

49) Are your friends :
   a- generally from the same social standard,
   b- higher social standard,
   c- lower social standard.

50) If you feel that there is something to say, please feel free to do so.
استمارة موجهة إلى أولياء الطلب

الرجاء منكم أن تشكلوا المعلومات التالية، من أجل إتمام موضوع البحث

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>مستوى التعليمي</th>
<th>المهنة</th>
<th>الشركة</th>
<th>مكان العمل</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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</tbody>
</table>
استمارة البحث

في أي سنة تدرست
- السنة الأولى
- السنة الثانية
- السنة الثالثة

(1) إذا غيرت المدرسة هل يمكن أن تذكر سبب ذلك
- إلى السنة الأولى
- تغيير المدرسة
- على أن تذكر سبب ذلك
- آخر (حدد ...)

(2) أي اخترت تخصص هذه السنة
- تستلم إلى درجة عليا
- البكالوريوس

(3) في أي فرع تدرس؟
- الرياضيات
- الطب
- الأدب

هل اختيرت هذا الفرع أنت بنفسك؟
- نعم
- لا

(4) في أي لغات تجيد التكلم والكتابة

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>اللغة</th>
<th>جيد جدا</th>
<th>جيد جدا</th>
<th>متوسط</th>
<th>دون المستوى</th>
<th>شرط</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>عربية</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>فرنسية</td>
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<tr>
<td>الإنجليزية</td>
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<tr>
<td>آخر</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
كم كان سنك عند الدخول الأول إلى المدرسة؟

1 - خمسة سنوات
2 - ستة سنوات
3 - أكثر من ستة سنوات

هل درست في معاهد دينية قبل التحاقك بالمدرسة؟

1 - نعم
2 - لا

إذا كانت الإجابة نعم، كيف استغرق التعليم الديني؟

1 - أقل من سنة
2 - سنة كاملة
3 - أكثر من السنة

الجنس:

1 - ذكر
2 - أنثى

سنة الأزديـاد (اذكر اليوم والشهر والسنة)

مكان الأزـديداد (اذكرمكان بالضبط)

هل تسكـن نقـي؟

1 - منزل
2 - فـيـلا
3 - آخر

هل تملكون محل الإقامة؟

1 - نـعم
2 - لا

هل تسكـن مع عائلتـك؟

1 - نـعم
2 - لا

كم عدد الأخوة والأختوات (إذا كان لديك)؟

1 - عدد الأخوة
2 - عدد الأخوات
هل يمكن أن تشير إلى الجدول التالي، ومستوى ومستوى الأخوة والأخت؟

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>الفرع</th>
<th>السنة</th>
<th>المكان التعليمي (مدرسة ثانوية الغالب)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>أختوة</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>اختوات</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

في الجدول الموالي، أذكر مهنة ومكان العمل للأخوة والأخت؟

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>السنة</th>
<th>المهنة</th>
<th>مكان العمل</th>
<th>تاريخ البدء</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

امرأة 280
هل آخواتك مازالت يعيشون معك؟
1 - نعم
ب - لا
ما هي مهنة أبوك الأخيرة؟
(20)
أين يشتغل أبوك (أذكر الشركة، بالتحديد إذا أمكن)
ما هو المستوى التعليمي الأب؟
1 - ابتدائي
ب - متوسط
ج - ثانوي
د - جامعي
ه - تكوين مهني خاص
و - لا يقرأ ولا يكتب
ما هي مهنة أمك
(23)
أين تشتغل أمك
ما هو المستوى التعليمي الأمك
1 - ابتدائي
ب - متوسط
ج - ثانوي
د - جامعي
ه - تكوين مهني خاص
و - لا يقرأ ولا يكتب
هل الوالدين يعيشان معًا ؟ إذا كان الجواب لا
هل : 1 - هما مطلقة
ب - متزوجان
ج - أعقدهما أرمل
ما هو العمل الذي تريد أن تقيم به في المستقبل؟
هل تظن أنك ستتمكن من الحصول عليه؟
1 - لا يكاد ستواصل دراستك
ب - لا يمكنك مساعدة من طرف الوالدين
ج - لن العمل لا يتطلب مستوى عالٍ
د - كل شخص يعلى أن يقوم به
ه - آخر (جديد)
ماذا تنتظر من علك في المستقبـل؟
1 - أجراء جـيـدة
ب - نزاعاً اجتماعيـاً (كلاسن، ترقبة ....)
ج - تحسين احـصائيـن في الميـدان
د - تحسين الوضعية الاجتماعية
ه - امكانية تطوير حياتي العملية
و - آخر (حدد) ....

 هل تظن أن دراستك الحالية تساعدك على تحصيل تثبيتات الازمة للعمل؟
1 - نعم
ب - لا
ج - دون جواب
في كلتا الحالتين هل يمكن أن تعـبير عن الاجابة
هل قمت بزيارـات علاجية إلى أماكن العمل
1 - نعم
ب - لا

 هل كانت بعضاً مراكز التكوين
1 - نعم
ب - لا

إذا كانت الاجابة نعم هل كانت
1 - مرة واحدة
ب - مرتين
ج - أكرـر

إذا كانت الاجابة لا
1 - هل لنوك ستواصل دراستك
ب - لا يهمك أي تكوين
ج - تفكـرك في مواصلته
د - آخر

هل كتبتي أي منة دراسية
1 - نعم
ب - لا
في كلتا الحالتين 34. ما السبب و الأسباب بالوضع

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>نظاط جيدة</th>
<th>نظاط ضعيفة</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>أتابع دروسا جيدة</td>
<td>لا أتابع دروسا ضعيفة</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>مشاكل متابعة الدروس</td>
<td>لا مشاكل متابعة الدروس</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>أخذ دروسا ضعيفة</td>
<td>لا أخذ دروسا ضعيفة</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>مساعدة الأهل</td>
<td>لا تقدم مساعدة</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>والدي لا يساعدوني</td>
<td>دوسر ضعيفة</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>دروس محفزة</td>
<td>تعلم الواجب الدراسي</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تعلم الواجب الدراسي</td>
<td>استمتعة لا يساعدوني</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>أحب الدراسة</td>
<td>لا أحب الدراسة</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>أريد أن أحصل على عمل</td>
<td>لا أريد أن أبدأ العمل</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(34) إذا كنت الإجابة نعم هل تحس بأن الدروس الاضافية ضرورية لك
- نعم
- لا

(35) هل تلقى مساعدة من طرف والديك
- أحيانا
- دائما
- أبدا

(36) إذا كنت الإجابة نعم هل يمكن أن تضع في الخانة المناسبة:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>الوضع</th>
<th>أحيانا</th>
<th>دائما</th>
<th>أبدا</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>رياضيات</td>
<td>علم طبيعي</td>
<td>فيزياء</td>
<td>كيمياء</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>لغة عربية</td>
<td>فلسفة</td>
<td>تاريخ جغرافيا</td>
<td>علوم دينية</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(37) إذا كنت لا تلقى مساعدة من طرف الوالدين هل هذا راجع إلى:
أ - لا يجدون القراءة والكتابة
ب - يدفعون ثمن الدروس الإضافية
ج - كلاهما
لم يهمهما مستقبل المبتعث
- لم يساهموا في كميات
(38) إذا تحصلت على شهادة البكالوريا ما هي الفروع الجامعية التي تتعلق اهتماك؟
أ - علم طبيبة ( طبيب عام طبيب أطفال طبي طبي الخ...
ب - تكنولوجيا ( الإلكترونيك الخ...
ج - علم اجتماع ( علم النفس علم اجتماع الخ...
د - الآخرون ( عدد .....
هل ستسجل في هذا الفرع
أ - نعم
ب - لا
ج - دون جواب

في حالة نعم أولاً رتب أهم الأسباب
(39)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>والديا لا يريدان ذلك</th>
<th>الفرع لا يتجاوب مع مطالبتي</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>الفرع يتجاوب مع مطالبتي</td>
<td>بعض الأقارب درسوا فيه</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>لا أجد من الأقارب درس فيهم</td>
<td>لأن البلاد ليست بحاجة إلى ذلك</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>لأن البلاد ليست بحاجة إلى ذلك</td>
<td>لأن التعليم جيدة متاحة</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>لأن التعليم جيدة متاحة</td>
<td>أريد أن أواصل دراستي</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>أريد أن أواصل دراستي</td>
<td>لأن الشهادة لا تسمح بذلك</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>لأن الشهادة لا تسمح بذلك</td>
<td>لا بالأي لا يريدان ذلك</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(40) حاليا هل لك فكرة عن المواضيع التي ستدرسها
أ - عامة
ب - خاصة
ج - محدودة
هل ت hashmap أن تتحمل على المعلومات

1. من العائلة
2. في القسم
3. أصدقاء
4. بحوث خاصة
5. دون أجابة

هل تائج وأن أقترح عليك والديك عملًا معينًا؟

1. تعليم
2. لا

اذا كنت في المدرسة والثانوية هل هذا يعـود

1. تردد أن تكون في الدراسة العليا
2. لا ينصح عليَّ عمل في الوقت الحالي
3. والدك يريد أن يكون ذلك
4. والدك متعلم
5. والدك غير متعلم
6. لا أصدق أن تكون في الثانوية
7. تردد البقاء في المنزل
8. أخر (عدد).

إذا ت HashMap من الحصول على عمل هل تHashMap الثانوية؟

1. تعليم
2. لا
3. دون جواب

إذا كانت الإجابة تعليم: أطبق السؤال الموالي؟

هل تHashMap المدرسة؟

1. لا تردد أن تكون في الدراسة
2. أن يحتاج إلى مدخل تقني (دراهم)
3. والدك يريد أن يكون ذلك
4. لاっこ أن تقسم بعمل بضديوي
5. أخر (عدد).

هل والدك أعضاء في جمعية الطلاب؟

1. تعليم
2. لا

هل يمكن أن ت تعتبر في أسترول فلبلا في انشغالك بعد الدراسة
هل يتدخل الوالدان في اختيار أصدقائك؟

أ - نعم
ب - لا

إذا كانت الإجابة نعم هل اثنتين من اختيار أصدقائك؟

أ - نعم
ب - لا

هل أن أصدقائك
أ - من نفس المستوى الاجتماعي
ب - أعلى مستوى اجتماعي
ج - أدنى مستوى

إذا كانت لديك أي اقتراحات أو مشاكل خاصة بالإطارات العام، فلا استجواب
والتي تريده أن تعبر عنها - نتفق على مشكلتنا.
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