CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION
The *Maghreb* is an Arabic word meaning ‘where the sun sets’ and it represents the Far West of the Arab world. The term *Maghreb* officially includes Libya and Mauritania, but for most of the French people it refers to the three central countries of Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia. However, in this research work the term *Maghreb* represents only the three countries of Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia. For centuries North Africa has been invaded by many diverse cultures. The influence of these invasions is enormous, and is reflected in the shaping of the native culture and society. Although, about 99 percent of the population is Muslim, and the three countries are the members of the Arab League, the region is much closer to Western Europe than to Mecca, the heart of the Arab-Islamic world. Only a few miles of the Mediterranean separate Northern Morocco from Gibraltar. Its geographical location shows that it has always been something of a crossroads between Africa, Europe and west Asia, and has received cultural influences from many sources (Barakat, 1985; Jabri, 1985, 63).

Contemporary North Africa is characterised by considerable social cohesiveness that is based on predominance of Sunni Islam and Arabic as the universally spoken language. The social cohesiveness is derived from the patriarchal/neo-patriarchal social order, which is prevalent in the region, as also in the rest of the Arab world. French influence is also very substantial which can be witnessed in the three *Maghreb* countries and the former French colonies namely Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia. French language, therefore, is widely understood and spoken by the elites and the middle classes here.

In spite of the relative homogeneity within the *Maghreb* region there is also country specific diversity. North Africa possesses a long-standing ethno-religious homogeneity, a ‘strong sense of cultural unity, a shared colonial experience, and relatively comparable agriculture based socio-economic systems. Yet in the post-independence period the three states of *Maghreb* have shown much variety in the degree and quality of their socio-cultural development as a result of French presence in the region and the impact of French education on their social orders (Ruedy, 1985, 90).
Table 1.1: Population Distribution in Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Morocco</th>
<th>Tunisia</th>
<th>Year *</th>
<th>Algeria</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>15.310</td>
<td>5.127</td>
<td>1977</td>
<td>16,948,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>17.305</td>
<td>5.668</td>
<td>1987</td>
<td>23,038,942</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>19.382</td>
<td>6.469</td>
<td>1998</td>
<td>29,100,867</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>21.995</td>
<td>7.357</td>
<td>2003</td>
<td>31,848,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>24.564</td>
<td>8.207</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>32,364,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>26.839</td>
<td>8.950</td>
<td>2005</td>
<td>32,906,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>29.108</td>
<td>9.519</td>
<td>2006</td>
<td>33,200,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>30.566</td>
<td>9.832</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


* Years for Algeria only

The Historical Backdrop

The original inhabitants of the Maghreb were the Berber tribes and the Berber language still survives today. Since there is no trace of history before the Berber settlement in the region, they are considered to be of Canaanite or Phoenician origin (Kashani, 1996; Ilahiane, 2006, 54). The Berber population accounts for around half the population of Morocco and Algeria. They traditionally lived in the mountains and had no political or other organisation, which left the area open to various invaders, including the Romans who occupied the Maghreb for about five centuries. Phoenicians and Carthaginians traded with Berbers but never managed to penetrate inland. Romans found them unconquerable and gave them the name ‘Berbers’. Berbers called themselves ‘Imazighen’, which literally means ‘The free men’ or noble people. The Berbers called their language ‘Tamazigt’ and in the southern part it was known as ‘Tashilhit’ (Wingrove, 2005; Abun-Nasr, 1987; Barbour, 1965, 19).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Major Religions (% of total population)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Algeria</td>
<td>Sunni Muslim – 97, Christians – 2, Jewish – 0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>Muslims – 90, Coptic Christians – 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Roman Catholics – 51, Unaffiliated – 31, Muslim – 4, Protestant – 3, Jewish – 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Libya</td>
<td>Sunni Muslim – 97, Other – 3,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td>Muslims – 98.7, Christians – 1.1, Jewish – 0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>Roman Catholics – 80.4, Atheistic/ Agnostics – 17.2, Other – 2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Tunisia</td>
<td>Muslims – 98, Christians – 1, Jewish and other – 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>Roman Catholics – 80.4, Atheistic/ Agnostics – 17.2, Other – 2.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: The data are based on World Development Indicators & World Development Report retrieved on 10th March, 2008

- Percentages are estimates, there are no available current statistics on religious affiliations, all mosques and churches were closed in 1967 and religious observances were prohibited. It was only since November 1990 that Albania began allowing private religious practice.

The Maghreb region’s strategic location has shaped its history. Beginning with the Phoenicians, many foreigners were drawn to this region including Romans, Vandals, Visigoths, Spanish and French who successively ruled the area. Arab forces began at first with the occupation of Morocco in the Seventh Century A.D. (Cohen, 1966; Ayache, 1956), bringing along their civilisation and Islam. The first Arab invasion was in 640 A.D., and by 670 A.D. they had established their capital in Qairouan which became the first city of Islam in North Africa, Tunisia. But it was probably another century before they really controlled the region, after quelling a number of revolts from Berber tribes (Brett, 2001). The process of Arabisation and Islamisation of the region was slow but lasting, with the result that today it is more or less true that to be a Maghreb is to be a Muslim, and despite varied ethnic origins, most Maghrebians would call themselves Arabs (Abun-Nasr, 1987; Montagne, 1973, 5). France, which has an ever lasting impact
in the region, showed a strong interest in *Maghreb* by as early as 1830. It succeeded in leaving a long lasting mark on the area that is still predominant.

**French Colonisation**

Before the French venture in the *Maghreb* region the other colonial powers had already established themselves there. Trade deficit and the conflict within the region gave French an opportunity to establish itself as an imperialistic power rather than only a trader. In common with other Western European countries, France was also interested in enlarging her boundaries at par with other developed countries in the era of industrialisation.

France showed keen interest in the *Maghreb* since about the beginning of the 19th century. On the morning of 14th June 1830, Algeria was attacked by the French and brought under its control by 4th July 1830. But Tunisia and Morocco became protectorates of French in different situations. Tunisia was made a French protectorate on May 12, 1881 after the Bey (The local dynasty technically subordinate to the Turkish Sultan but independent in practice) signed an agreement with the French government, which came to be known as the treaty of Bardo. By this treaty France was given the right to military occupation and control over foreign affairs and finance. The French protectorate over Morocco was established on 30th March 1912 to resolve the Agadir Crisis of July 1911 (Bidwell, 1973; Confer, 1966; Knapp, 1970, 101).

The French control over the region was not an easy task as it might appear now. When French came to the region it had to face oppositions from different sections of the society, be it natives or the pre-existing power groups of European origin. It also had to face the opposition from the tribal groups who were already segregated from the main stream of life (Confer, 1966; Abun-Nasr, 1987, 271). Threat to their culture and communication gap between the natives made it difficult for the French to establish their dominance evenly throughout the region. But in all probabilities the French succeeded in their motive with the help of new technologies and warfare. Now the French aimed at creating
a small elite group who would think and speak like them in order to make their control over the region grow more strong and smooth.

Table: 1.3, Population Distribution by Ethnicity in the Mediterranean

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Ethnic Composition of Population (% of total population)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Albania</td>
<td>Albanian – 95, Greek – 3, Other – 2 (Vlach, Gypsy, Serb, Macedonian, Bulgarian), (1989 estimates)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Algeria</td>
<td>Berber-Arab – 98, European – less than 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Croatia</td>
<td>Croat – 89.6, Serb – 4.5, Bosnaik – 0.5, Hungarian – 0.4, Slovene – 0.3, Czech – 0.2, Roma – 0.2, Albanian – 0.1, Montenegrin – 0.1, others – 4.1, (2001 estimates)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Cyprus</td>
<td>Greek – 77, Turkish – 18, other – 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>Egyptians – 94, Nubians, Berbers, Bedouin Arabs, Beja, Dom – 4, Others – 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>France</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Greece*</td>
<td>Greek – 93, other foreign citizens - 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>Jewish – 75.79, Israeli Arab – 19.86, Unaffiliated – 4.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Italy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Lebanon</td>
<td>Arab 95%, Armenian 4%, other 1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Libya</td>
<td>Berber Arabs – 97, Greeks, Maltese, Italians, Egyptians, Pakistanis, Turks, Indians – 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Malta</td>
<td>Maltese – 95.3, British – 1.6, Others – 3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Monaco</td>
<td>French – 47, Monegasque – 16, Italian – 16, Others – 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td>Arab-Berber – 99.1, Jewish – 0.2, Christians – 1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>European – 92, Amerindian/ non white groups – 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Syria</td>
<td>Arab – 90, Kurds – 5, Armenians, Assyrians and other Christians – 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Tunisia</td>
<td>Arab – 98, European – 1, Jewish and others – 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>Turkish – 80, Kurdish – 20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: The data are based on World Development Indicators & World Development Report retrieved on 10th March, 2008

* Percentage represents citizenship, since Greece does not collect data on ethnicity.

Despite opposition by the native population, the French control lasted until the independence of these countries. The main motive of French control on Tunisia and Morocco was to have safe eye on its colony, Algeria (Confer, 1966). Unlike its forceful approach on Algeria, French moderately adjusted themselves in Morocco and Tunisia. French came to the region complete, with their language and culture. Many of the French
families got settled in the region, which led to the diffusion of culture. The French rule affected positively the various sectors that helped these countries modernise and develop. But at the same time it hampered the tribal system that existed there since centuries. Tribes were forced to leave their place of origin for the colonial settlers. This displacement of population aggravated many problems in the region (Wingrove, 2005, 2).

Though the total indigenous population increased greatly under French rule, over a million European colonists moved in. Mostly French, the colons also included large groups of Italians and Spaniards, who took land from the native groups. Despite the fact that they added to the total acreage by initiating irrigation projects and other accomplishments, the native peoples hated them. Notwithstanding, this the colons ventures in the Northern part of Africa cornered the ethnic groups and deprived them of their basic rights in their own land. Though these countries had experienced the foreign control long before the coming of the French, they had never adjusted with the colons population.

The conflicts with the French had resulted in the killings of thousands and thousands of tribal population, especially in Algeria (Alwan, 1959). Moreover, even after the French had left these countries, their condition remained the worst. The poor population of the unskilled labourers, who were the fighters against the imperialistic power, could not get their identity even after independence. They are still fighting for their linguistic identity. Since most of the tribal call themselves Muslim and have shifted to different parts of the region, their ethnic identity remains only with their language as a linguistic identity (Zartman, 1985). Therefore, undoubtedly the linguistic identity prevailed in the minds and hearts of these people.

The linguistic problem, which was one of the major area of differences between the natives and the Arabs and which further elongated in the early days of French control was very well manipulated by the French governorates. The administration system which was applied by the French in the Maghreb region had succeeded in minimising it to a great extent.
Administrative Changes

The establishment of composite system of administration in the *Maghreb* that exists till date is one of the major achievements of the French colonisation. Though the Berbers possessed a common language and common residence in the given area for over two thousand years seems to have never given them any conception of national unity in a political sense (Barbour, 1965, 19). It was only through the newly established administration that they had created their own space in the region. But one cannot deny the importance of French education as an important instrument that made their presence everlasting. It was the system of education introduced by them that gained the solidarity for the French and among the sections of native population which, no doubt, made it easy for the imperialist power to rule for more than 100 years in the region (Knapp, 1970, 113).

The earlier administrative system in the region was based on the tribal laws and customs that varied from tribe to tribe. The uniform administrative system as such never existed before. However, with the coming of Arabs the Islamic laws were introduced in the region. Though the Arabs tried their best to impose the Islamic system on the natives they could not succeed in their motive completely (Montagne, 1973, 9). For their smooth administration, the French government correcting its earlier mistakes came prompt in Morocco in 1914 and declared tribes to be referred as being of Berber custom. Further, they would be governed and administered in accordance with their own tribal laws and customaries, under the supervision of the authorities (Pennell, 166). For the first time it was the French who introduced the uniform system of administration in the region, thereby bringing certain amount of coherence among the different tribal groups.

Though it is long since the countries of *Maghreb* region got their independence, the system of administration in these countries reflects the shadow of its colonial past. The French occupation had to come to terms with the complicated system of Islamic laws of which one was the land ownership. This was necessary even for the limited purpose of the establishment of military camps, more so with the growth of colonisation. Relatively
little *Maghreb* land was owned privately as it belonged to the personal domain of the Bey, Fez or to rich families, many of them of Turkish origin. The tribal lands belonging collectively to the named tribes of the south were waste lands and the major part of the useful lands was owned under a system known as *habus* land, where the profits were collected by the religious foundation (Lawless & Findlay, 1984; Abun-Nasr, 1987, 294).

One of the first actions of the French protectorate was to establish a legal framework for the acquisition of land in a European manner. It was made possible by an Act of 1885 (Berlin Conference). The Act essentially drew the borders of colonial Africa and most of those borders continue to the present day. It defined the face of modern, international Africa. Many of these borders were often drawn along administrative lines or from political concerns, often with little reference to geographic considerations, and none at all to ethnic boundaries. Majority of the European countries was the participants where as there was no representation from Africa itself. This has resulted in considerable ethnic strife since decolonialisation began in the 1960s (Bidwell, 1973).

In the *Maghreb* the French established a system of administration based on the framework of their country. The governing bodies at different levels were formed. Appointments were made to appear for the welfare of the common people (Ganiage, 1959). Before becoming the protectorate every tribesman in the region was very conscious of his individuality and identity of his own group. Each fraction was fiercely independent and proud of its own traditions and customs. The French weakened these links by modifying tribal boundaries, *tolba*, for smooth administrative purposes.

These newly divided regions had great variation in their administrative practices. The system of taxation was not evenly implemented; different areas had to pay different types of taxes. Adding to it, replacing the earlier metric system, that differed markedly from tribe to tribe by *dhaia*, a common metric system was introduced by the French administration. It had further helped in the loss of tribal individuality. Earlier, the measures varied from *souq* to *souq* (area or regions), even within the tribes. This meant that it was difficult to establish trade links between one tribe and another, and convenience forced each man to rely on his own *souq*. But the use of *dhaia*, the metric
system, by the French erased these types of differences, which brought people of
different tribes and regions closer. Further the vacuum created by the weakening of tribal
bounds was filled with the new forces (Anderson, 1976, Cohen and Lorna, 1966).

Under the French supervision the large territories were divided into small sub-units of
provinces and districts. For the proper governing and control of these sub-units deputies
were appointed. Algeria’s juridical system in 1854 gave more power to the military but
later on in 1881, for the first time in the region, a new penal code was issued in Algeria
by which the military power was replaced by administrative and civilian political power
(Ageron, 1980; Pennell, 2000). Later on the French carried it to the rest of their colonies.
The establishment of French courts and enactment of the 1873 land law dispossessed
rural families and communities of ancestral land that was not alienable under the existing
Islamic and customary laws. The tribal judges had no jurisdiction on any dispute in
Algeria (http://www.enotes.com/genocide-encyclopedia/algeria). But in Algeria and
Morocco the French remained liberal in implementing policies. The French delegates
were there only for supervision and avoided interference in the personal laws of the
region. Legislative authorities were there to prepare, promulgate and enforce the decrees.

In the later phase of its rule, the French helped the natives to establish political
institutions in their respective countries. The ministers of the council were comprised of
French directeur and administrators of native origin. The model of political system
introduced by the French still exists after almost 60 years of French departure from the
region.

**Education System: Structure and Influence**

In the Maghreb the French rule had a great leverage on the Arab educational system. In
the early Maghrebian society there was no question of theoretical education, as the
Berber language had no written script. The elders used to teach their children orally about
the things necessary for their tribal life. But after the coming of Arabs the formal
education was started by them in Arabic. But still only religious scholars were to receive
more than an elementary school education in Maghreb region. The girls remained deprived of their school education.

After the French control in the region the monopoly of religious schools run by the Arabs was questioned. The French took over the control of these religious schools and adopted modern approaches for their improvement. The French provided adequate number of teachers and financial aids to them. Muslim students were also taught in French schools. French authorities opened new schools at different places based on their own European model. It also introduced the co-education system that was ethically and religiously not acceptable to the Maghreb society. Though this education system remained restricted to certain classes, it raised the enrolment number and minimised the social and gender gap.

In September 1912, a commission to study the educational need was formed and the first school was established in Morocco in 1912. However, the first girls’ school was established later in 1933. In later years more schools for natives were opened. In Algeria a new decree was passed on 6th June 1917, which required, for the first time in the colonial history, compulsory attendance for all the Algerian children who resided within three kilometres of school building. Though it benefited few peasants’ offspring, still the number of enrolment increased. It rose to 100,000 in 1942 and to 700,000 by 1954. In Tunisia, French schooling was indispensable for the advancement under the protectorate, although it was available by as late as 1940, to less than 10 percent of the children of school going age (Knapp, 1970, 127).

The French in the region introduced compulsory education system. The French tried to modernise the earlier established educational institutes like Sadiqyya College (1857) and reformed Kuttab (Islamic school, 1906) by introducing French curriculum to them. The introduction of French language made the people come in contact with the rich French culture, literature, art and new ideas. This created an intellectual class which utilised this opportunity to address the problems of people and at the same time showed to the world poor conditions of life under the colonial rule (Smolicz, 1999, Abun-Nasr, 1987, 357).

Just after the independence the possessiveness about the Arab language and culture caused the disapproval of the colonial language. Most of the private institutes run by the
missionaries were taken under the government control. The native French teachers had been replaced by the Maghreb natives but the instructions were still in French (Heggoy, 1976). The compulsion of modernity did not allow the authority to neglect the French language for long. The need for teaching science and engineering subjects made the French language compulsory in technical institutes. Till date French is the compulsory subject at school level and one opts for it for pursuing higher studies. Although after independence the education system has undergone various reforms it remains still more or less the same, based on the French model.

Migration Dynamics

The introduction of French education in the region acted as one of the major components responsible for the migration dynamics in the region. The French education led to the exposure of the other world outside the region and hence led to the way to migration within the region and international migration. Migration in the early days of the French colonization of the region was the essential means responsible for the population dynamics in the Maghreb region. The process of migration was unnoticed or say relatively unimportant until the war of 1914-1918. A large number of human resource was adjusted in the French army from the Maghreb region; Algeria alone provided 173,000 men, Tunisia 63,000 and some 40,000 Moroccans (Bidwell, 297; Abun-Nasr, 1987, 354, Algeria, Vol.II, 12-13) for the services and about 120,000 workers for ammunition and other factories in France. Even today we can find people from Maghreb mainly of Algerian origin in almost every part of France, and especially in the largers towns and industrial centres.

The French policies towards the colony was very liberal in the beginning. Since 1865 under extreme pressure, all the Algerian Moslems were declared French subjects without 'loss of personal status'. However, by 1938 only 8,000 Moslems availed this opportunity and became French citizens. Again in 1919 a law was passed which gave automatic citizenship to ceratin natives who were more than twenty-five years of age and who had
served in the war of 1914-1918, or were landowners or farmers who could read and write
and were monogamous. Around 1930s this figure fell down due to the lack of employment in France. (Algeria, Vol.II, 45-46.)

Migration has been one of the major elements that have shaped the society of the region and no argument denies the French educational contribution in that. Before the coming of the French in the region, the tribal population had their settlement near the source of water concentrated mostly in the most fertile patch of the region. The French after coming to the region got settled around the most fertile areas of the region. This resulted in the shifting of earlier settled population to different areas towards the cities leading to the break-up of the tribal unity. But due to the excess of migration they were again forced to break up the small unit to even smaller. Lack of housing and other facilities compelled the earlier tribal practice of extended families to come to an end. In the extended family, parents and children lived with their grandparents, aunts, uncles, and cousins. This norm was replaced by nuclear family that comprises of only parents and their children.

Other than the socio-cultural dimension of the French presence in the region we can analyse the impact of modern education on the youths. The education system which was based on French model not only helped the population in getting the theoretical knowledge of modernity but also gave them opportunity to compete with others in every field. In the beginning of 20th century we can observe that migration had a shifting trend from labour migration to knowledge migration. In the mid of the 20th century there was a great proportion of Maghreb students, who were educated in French schools, joined higher institution in France. Later on they were able to get good placement in France only and got their life settled. Even during the period of crisis these French educated youths were welcomed by the French government.

The coming of the French in the region not only affected the basic structure of the society but also had great impact on the basic habits of the Maghreb population. In the traditional Maghreb society the life of people was very simple and likewise was their food habits and clothing. The people did not have much choice and were dependent upon few
agricultural products and fruits, and sometime meat. Flat breads and other products made from grains were the basic food. Couscous, which consists of cracked grains of wheat and cooked like rice, was a common dish in much of the *Maghreb* society.

The food habits of the *Maghreb* families changed with the change in the social structure and their contact with the colonial powers, especially French who had added to their taste for food. In the urban areas almost all types of European cuisine are available and the *Maghreb* families have added some of these into their daily menu. Despite all this, couscous dominates in the food habit of *Maghreb* population not only in the rural but also in the urban areas.

In the traditional *Maghreb* society, apparels were one of the identity marks of the tribal population. The clothes used were bright and multicoloured. The women wore long and simple dresses and on the other hand men wore long, loose robe or shirt-like garments. Men also carried a turban or skullcap. In the present society too the rural populations still dress in the same traditional attire. Due to urbanisation and cultural diffusion at the urban centres and cities, their clothing sense has witnessed some form of metamorphosis. Very often one can see people wearing European as well as traditional clothes in a common domain.

The *Maghreb* society was once considered as the melting pot of culture due to its long history of imperialism and dominance by different imperialistic powers at different points of time. Of them French were the ones who had great influence on the *Maghreb* society. The trace of history can still be found in the region after almost 50 years of their complete independence. The influence of colonial powers can be easily seen in the practices and social activities of the present *Maghreb* society. Although the modern society condemns the French presence in the region, it still carries the traits of French culture.
### Table: 1.4, Literacy and Urbanisation in the Mediterranean

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Literacy in %, 2003 (age 15 and over who can read and write)</th>
<th>Level of Urbanisation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Albania (2001)</td>
<td>98.7</td>
<td>99.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Algeria</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>78.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Croatia</td>
<td>98.5</td>
<td>99.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Cyprus</td>
<td>97.6</td>
<td>98.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>57.5</td>
<td>68.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Greece (2001)</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>97.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>95.4</td>
<td>97.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>98.6</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Lebanon (2005)</td>
<td>72.63</td>
<td>70.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Libya (2006)</td>
<td>95.4</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>Morocco (1995)</td>
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<td>Spain</td>
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<td>Syria (2006)</td>
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<td>18</td>
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<td>Turkey (2004)</td>
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<td><strong>Average</strong></td>
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<td><strong>86.79</strong></td>
<td><strong>90.18</strong></td>
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Source: The data are based on World Development Indicators & World Development Report retrieved on 10th March, 2008

### Social and Cultural Transformation

Being tribal in nature and without the concept of nation the region was not able to gain uniform identity. The ethnic population was divided into different clans or tribal groups and had different social traits that distinguished people of different groups. The Berbers consolidated a living pattern that was rooted in the family, usually an extended grouping called vein (Ilahiane, 2006, 54-55). The tribes’ identity was individual’s identity, and the community feeling was more important. One could not think of going outside the group for any purpose. The institution such as kinship was very much prominent throughout the region.
The modernisation theory which simply involves a fundamental proposition that people in traditional societies should adopt the characteristics of modern societies in order to modernise their social, political and economic institutions seems to be true after the coming of French in the region. French in 19th century came to the region with the tools of industrial revolution, hence, resulting in shifting of population from rural to urban areas. During this transition phase the region witnessed the weakening of social norms. Consequently, the traditional kinship structure of the society lost its value (Brett and Frentress, 2001).

Further, in the early 20th century, various new social groups emerged in the region. They had nothing to do with the traditional societies. They identified themselves with their nature of job. Most of them were the natives who were working for the French. Inter marriage among different groups also commenced. In some cases the merchants groups began to intermarry with the old upper stratum of families. This led to the formation of society based on class. Their children were educated in French schools, at home or in France, to become the new western-oriented elites composed of lawyers, physicians, teachers, administrators and political leaders.

Before the coming of colonial powers in the region, at one point of time, Islamic traditions governed the social institutions like marriage practices, throughout the region. These traditions included polygamy – the right of a man to have more than one wife. They also required a bride’s family to give a dowry of household goods or money to the bridegroom. The marriage outside the community was forbidden. But during the French rule these practices were criticised and during that period inter-group marriages took place largely in the urban areas.

After the independence pro-Arabisation feeling within the Maghreb community led back to the older tradition. In the contemporary society polygamy remains legal in every northern country except Tunisia, but few people still practice it. After almost 50 years of independence the rural Maghreb remains the same as it was in the early period. This does not mean that the influence of French opposition to these practices was eroded. Among
the urban population inter-marriages still takes place and the dowry and marriage arrangements by the parents of bride are less common than in the past.

**Conflict of Traditional and Modern Beliefs**

The long presence of French in the region was bound to give rise to cultural conflict between tradition and modernity. Since Independence Arab-Islamic culture has been promoted as the only 'authentic' culture for the *Maghreb*, and French culture is denounced as the culture of the colonial oppressor. Nevertheless popular opinion and actual practice among all social classes indicates that at least an ambiguous attitude exists towards French culture and practices.

There is a tendency on part of both French and *Maghreb* commentators to view the cultural issue as a simple opposition of modernity versus traditional culture, with different connotations. For French observers, French culture, which is perceived as typical of Western culture, is modern, democratic and therefore good, whereas Islamic culture is traditional, anti-democratic and therefore bad. *Maghreb* observers on the other hand may make similar polarisations but draw different conclusions: Islamic culture is traditional, authentic, religious and therefore good, whilst French (Western) culture is modern, licentious, irreligious and therefore bad. For *Maghreb* French culture is primarily the culture of the former colonial oppressor, and to acknowledge that it has had any positive influence in the *Maghreb* would be tantamount to saying that colonialism was good for the region, so it is safer to denounce it or simply ignore it. Official discourse in all three countries consistently emphasises their Arab-Islamic identity.

This polarisation of the two cultures is an unfortunate consequence of the colonial era, a fact which is often overlooked, as there is a tendency, on both sides, to assume that Islamic culture is intrinsically backward and traditional, and French culture intrinsically modern and liberating. It is important, however, to stress the cultural impact of the colonial experience itself. Zakya Daoud, a Moroccan sociologist, describes colonisation as the ‘confiscation of historical initiative’ (Daoud, 1993), suggesting that, if the Arab-
Islamic world appears to be culturally backward, it is at least in part because it was not allowed to grow up at the same time as Western countries.

All cultures change and develop, at varying rates, but colonisation interrupted this natural development in the Maghreb, with two important consequences: firstly, Maghrebians find themselves confronted with a second culture, one which is perceived as being forced on them but at the same time as being attractive and desirable. Secondly, they tend to have an excessive loyalty to their 'traditional' culture, which would probably not be so strong if it had been allowed to develop naturally. This leads to a kind of identity crisis for many Maghrebians today. They want to be ‘authentic’ Maghrebians, faithful to their own traditions, yet they see the value of many aspects of French culture.

In terms of culture then the repercussions of the colonial experience are twofold. At societal level there is a widespread belief that for Maghrebian society to progress and become truly modern it must reject its own cultural traditions and adopt those of an outside culture, as it appears that Islamic society is unable to change and modernise, whereas French culture is already modernised. At a personal level, people often felt that they must chose between the two cultures, and cannot integrate elements of both.

There was a feeling that French (Western) language and culture is anti-Islamic per se, and to be a ‘true’ Maghrebian, and good Muslim, means rejecting them completely. This polarisation is accentuated by the fact that most Maghrebians have relatives or friends or neighbours who live in France (or another Western European country) and thus are keenly aware of the different standards of living. It is easy to compare the two countries and to conclude that Islamic culture is associated with a ‘traditional’, backward lifestyle, whilst French culture is associated with a modern, more comfortable way of life, and one must choose one or the other.

The same polarisation is frequently made in France too, where groups such as the Front National make much of the cultural differences between France and the Maghreb, and spread fears that the presence of a large Maghrebian community on French soil will lead to a loss of ‘national identity’ and a weakening of traditional French culture. Images of thousands of Muslims at Friday prayers in large French cities, run-down suburbs where
young people are being recruited by Muslim extremist groups and teenage girls wearing Islamic head scarves in mainstream schools appear fairly frequently in the media and are disturbing many French people.

On the other hand, recent research by official French research institutes (INSEE, 2001) indicates that in actual the vast majority of ‘second generation immigrants’ are culturally far closer to their French peers than to their *Maghrébian* parents. Although elements of Islamic culture are retained and passed on, it is inevitable that most young people who have grow up and educated in France identify closely with French culture. This is hardly headlining news, however, and so is not much talked about in the media.

**The Process of Urbanisation**

Urbanisation is one of the basic elements of the society where French impact and its intensity is clearly visible. Before the coming of the French in early nineteenth century, the people in *Maghreb* were divided among a few ancient cities and a sparsely settled countryside where subsistence farmers and nomadic herdsmen lived in small, ethnically homogenous groups. The different groups did not form a cohesive society because the framework of tribe or clan circumscribed individual behaviour and action. But the French colonialism brought considerable degree of cohesiveness in each *Maghreb* countries by developing urban city centres.

The main ethos of tribal living in community was their own security but when these tribes were disarmed by the French and brought security to the mountain, this fact transformed every aspect of tribal life. Earlier the tribal people had restricted themselves to their tribes for everything because of tribal conflicts in the region (Prengaman, 2001). But under the French rule they began to enjoy free movement. Later on urbanisation further accelerated the transformation process.

Tribal homogeneity got weakened because it was no longer vital for the safety of each individual where the group stood united, and many of the more active and more intelligent people left for the cities. By 1952 about one-eighth of the entire population of
the region lived in a narrow strip which extended along the market area. The major chunk of population shifted to the urban areas. Urbanisation in North Africa is largely a post-colonial phenomenon. During this phase of transition it has been estimated that by 1950 about 25 per cent of the rural population shifted to the urban areas. After independence the figure rose to about 37 percent in 1970 and 54 percent in 1992 (Philip, 1991; Jain, 1998, 65).

This change brought the natives close to the French people and it further helped in understanding one another better. Security and the possibility of travel, added to the other factors. The necessity of having money led to the mass migration to the towns. This security that was provided by the protectorate aided in breaking the tribal bonding, thus, the French accelerated the process of urbanisation. This process of urban orientation of the population gradually paved the way for modernisation.

The urbanisation, which is considered as one of the steps for the development of a country, later became a problem for the independent states. The over populated cities could not generate enough employment to cope up with the growing population. And most of the working populations were educated elites of different origins. Lack of job opportunities and lack of educational qualification to compete with the elite population led to the problem of major unemployment in the region. The discrimination in education, jobs, and other facilities brought the feeling on nationalisation that gave birth to militancy in the region. The natives and unemployed youths joined their hands to fight against the colonial rule (Samers, 1997, Salmi, 1990).

**Emergence of New Social Groups**

With the acceptance of imperialist education and language the *Maghreb* region witnessed a certain degree of social transfiguration particularly in terms of social stratification, family structure, status of women and religion. Thus, there was the weakening of social norms, and values as well as the traditional kinship and family structure. Further, in the first half of 20th century, various new social groups emerged in the region based on
professions and class that were different from those in the traditional society. Education was a dominating factor in this process.

These new social groups were composed of modern educated population. Some of those, who were educated in French schools, at home or in France, turned out to be new western-oriented elites, mainly composed of lawyers, physicians, teachers, administrators and political leaders. Similarly, due to the modern education the status of women somewhat got uplifted and there was certain amount of liberalisation and secularisation in the field of religion.

**Status of Women**

In the early nomadic tribal societies women played an equal role to that of male. They used to contribute to their household income and their contributions were acknowledged. But after the coming of Arabs the Islamic laws were imposed on the Maghreb society, which segregated the women’s role to domestic territory only. At household gatherings womenfolk used to share folk-tales and anecdotes among themselves and children. This has become a life long routine of the Maghreb women.

The views on the status of Maghreb women were raised under the French rule. The earlier role of women, restricted and segregated from the main stream of life was criticised by the French. The French socialists focused on the education for girls and their rights. The French helped the Young Tunisians and Young Algerian groups to fight against social problems such as polygamy, the segregation of gender and dowry system. These groups were the young new generation with French education.

The educated and working French women became the role-model for the Maghreb women. African women got their political as well as economic status under colonial rule, mainly under French rule. This social contact of French and native women created a move in the region, which helped them in their progress. Though it was the women from the higher class or rich families who were first to get influenced, slowly and steadily it took in grip the rest of the society.
But contradictory views also prevail. Such as Leacok, Rodney, and Boserup have categorically asserted that colonialism resulted in the deterioration of the status of women relative to that to men. Van Allan sees the deterioration in the status of African women as bound to the disruption as a whole through colonialism’s imposition of a social structure based on stratification by class and sex on their labour, as well as considerable freedom and independence. One of the results of colonisation is a tendency to believe that to be ‘authentic’ Maghrebian society must return to how it was before the colonial era, and assume that it would not have progressed or developed by itself during this period. For women this would mean being confined to the home, unable to exercise any sort of profession or even to go out for other purposes very often. There is no positive image of the Maghrebian Muslim woman to follow, and the French model is seen as emancipated but also immoral.

Ghita El-Khayat, a Moroccan psychologist, suggests that the rupture of colonialism means that Maghrebian women must reinvent a new way of living as Muslims (Khayat, 1992). It is no longer enough to be simply a good wife and mother; many women now embrace a more active, even aggressive form of Islam. These women are not submissive, but wish to reject western feminism and assert themselves as Muslim women, taking part in all areas of society, including politics, protected by their veil (Daoud, 1993). Not all women wish to follow this model, however, and in practice a new model is evolving which is a compromise between traditional Islamic and modern French.

For women like Fatima Mermassi, who grew up during the colonial era, French dress symbolised the modern woman who went out to work instead of being confined to the home. Mermassi (1995) recounts how her mother insisted that she, as a girl, must wear French clothes, even though Moroccan garments were more comfortable and practical. Yasmine Tazi, a psychologist, claims that, as a Moroccan, she does not feel that dressing in Western fashion leads to a loss of identity, but at the same time neither is it necessarily a sign of freedom.

One can very well wear a mini-skirt and not be emancipated at all psychologically and conversely, wear a jellabah while still being totally liberated inside (Femmes du Maroc,
April, 1996). If fashion mirrors society, then, *Maghrebian* society is a veritable melting pot of East and West, where women can feel comfortable in a variety of styles. *Maghrebian* women’s magazines reflect this in their fashion pages, where the same unbearable Western fashions which grace the pages of European women’s magazines alternate with ‘special issues’ on new designs in caftans and *jellabahs*.

### The Impact of French Language

The cultural approach, referred to as “the core value theory”, is adopted by Smolicz (1992: 279). This approach argues that language is recognised by its native speakers as the core value of their ethnic group’s culture. He considers the language as a cultural facet and considers it to be so important that its preservation implies the survival of the speech of the community concerned, and its loss means the disintegration of this group (Pregaman, 2001).

This approach is very much true in case of certain groups in Algeria and Morocco. These groups, after the coming of French, adopted the market language which was French and in due course the new generation lost its touch with the native language and slowly lost its group identity. At the same time few groups of Berber community maintained their domain of speech and as a result this community is the largest group among the native tribal groups (Salmi, 1990).

When French came to the region it had not only to compete with the native language but also the ever-lasting Arab speakers. Unlike using force to maintain its dominance as they did in Algeria, the French changed its policies and compromised on curbing the issue in favour of the natives but Arabs remained their main targets. French employed the tribal in their army and fought with the opposition group. To make the population more comfortable, it started teaching French to the section of population and convinced their welfare in it. Through their language teaching they taught the notion of governance and their rights. French criticised the earlier education of Arabic based on Islamic.
fundamentalism. In various places new schools were established. The French took old Islamic schools under their control and French language teaching was made compulsory.

The introduction of Christianity and French language had profound impact on North Africa in the 19th century. The new religion and language introduced changes in social and economic relations, established links with a rich culture, and provided a powerful idiom of political discourse and organisation. Traditional leaders were eliminated, co-opted or made irrelevant, social structure were stressed to the breaking point. Nonetheless, this period saw the formation of new social classes, which, after exposure to ideas of equality and political liberty, would help propel the country to independence. During the years of French domination, the struggles to survive, to co-exist to gain equality and to achieve independence shaped a large part of the *Maghreb* national identity (Heggoy, 1976).

**French Language and Literary Discourse**

In the contemporary *Maghreb* region the use of French is still widespread in certain areas of cultural production, most notably literature, and in fact it is actually expanding for a number of reasons. Firstly, there are many more Francophones than ever before in the *Maghreb* due to the democratisation of education since independence. Secondly, because French appears to lend itself more readily to certain subjects, either because Arabic has not been found sufficiently elaborates (as in science and technology) or because the sacred nature of the language means that it seems inappropriate to use it.

It should be mentioned here, briefly, that the Arabic is not the language spoken by *Maghrebian* in their everyday life, but a form known in English as Modern Standard Arabic, which is closely related to Classical Arabic, and rather less closely to the dialects, is spoken throughout the *Maghreb*. This means that children must effectively learn a foreign language before they can read and write, and thus in some ways the written form of French is not more alien than the written form of Arabic. Even though state schools are
now totally Arabised, French is still taught from about the age of eight or nine, and so all educated Maghrebians master French as well as Arabic.

There is thus a wide audience for cultural products in French – books, films, television programmes – and the subject matter can be far more varied than in Arabic. There is a tradition of Maghrebian literature in French dating back to pre-independence days, which shows no sign of disappearing, despite the fact that for some ten years now schools have been totally Arabised and, in theory, French is an alien language for young people. Not only established authors such as Ben Jelloun (winner of the Prix Goncourt in 1989) and Driss Chraibi, continue to write in French, but younger writers also choose French rather than Arabic, as a more appropriate medium for literature.

Similarly, many new magazines, such as the women’s magazines mentioned earlier, are produced in French, even though they are aimed entirely at a Moroccan market. Such magazines in themselves often demonstrate a real blend of French and Islamic cultures in addition to the usual features such as relationships, working life and health and beauty. They also include articles on how to avoid putting on weight during Ramadan, recipes, especially for the ‘breakfast’ and advice on physical and spiritual health during the holy month.

The French education had a great influence on the Maghreb creative writings and other literary works. Through the use of French language writers have been successful in giving new vision to the traditional Maghreb society. Apart from being a more flexible language than standard Arabic, French is also a medium in which writers can express themselves more freely than in their mother tongue due to religious and linguistic constraints.

The French language provided vast scope for writings on issues such as religion, women, revolt, language and sex, and personal discourses, which was not possible in Arabic. French was used by not only the Maghreb-settled French writers (Frantz Fanon, Albert Camus, Susan Miller) but also by the native writers (Abdel Kader, Fatima Mernissi, Driss Chraibi, Mohamed Dib, Meddeb, Abdullah Laroui and others) who preferred that for serious writings as well as literary works. Not only established authors but younger
writers too preferred French to Arabic as a more appropriate medium of expression, which helped them to capture the wider readership outside the region.

The French education has penetrated into the *Maghreb* society to the extent that not only in the oral use but also in the writings we can see the French words in the Arabic language. Literary production in French has made it possible for the *Maghreb* writers to show their creation and expression in the fields of arts, music, films etc. Besides arts and literature, journalism too was influenced by the French colonisation in the *Maghreb* region. The popularity and circulation of French newspapers and magazines underline the acceptance of French and its influence on the *Maghreb* society.

The newspapers such as *Le Matin du Sahara et du Maghreb* (Casablanca, stated in 1972, 100,000 circulation), *L’ Opinion* (Rabat, stated in 1965, 60,000 circulation), *Liberation* (Paris, 1964), *Al Bayane* (Casablanca, 1971) and the periodicals such as *L’ Economiste*, *Maroc Hebdo International* and *Jeune Afrique* (published in France) in French have a large number of readers in the *Maghreb*. Even the French press has regional publications of French newspapers and magazines.

### The Growth of Nationalism

Nationalism in the *Maghreb* region took shape as a response to the French rule. The nature, structure and purpose of government in these *Maghreb* countries were influenced by their contact with the French. The ideals of self-government, which would surely have emerged anyway, took their particular form from contact with the France. Their ideology as part of France evoked counter feelings of the independent nature of the *Maghreb* society (Zartman, 1985). Although the *Maghreb* countries had undergone variable intensity of French influence, they shared a number of commonalities i.e. shifting of population, break up of tribal ethos and kinship structure of the society etc. (Brett and Fentress, 2001). Owing to the industrial development and colonisation in the region, urbanisation took place rapidly. Hence it led to the dislocation of population and
migration towards urban centres. This slowly transferred the population from rural to urban areas breaking the traditional ethnic bonding (Rousset, 1975).

The Maghrebian not only migrated within the country but also internationally, which had very significant impact on the society and culture. The French immigration policy was liberal with the result that large number of Maghrebians immigrated into France. The new job opportunities were the main attraction for the French educated migrants. The period between the World War II and the independence of the Maghreb countries witnessed the heavy volume of migration to France. But after 1970s there was a gradual decrease in the number of migrants to France from the Maghreb region due to racial/ethnic discrimination and violence in France (Philip, 1991).

Although the Maghreb community settled in France had tried to integrate themselves socially and culturally with the French population, the opposition by the French against migration showed the other side of the coin. Due to the discrimination a number of Maghrebians in France lost their jobs and were forced to return back to their respective countries which created a new problem for the returned migrant families and the governments (Mehani, 1982, 143-44).

The French deputed native people in their army and also deputed them overseas for war. Before their overseas operation they were made familiar with the French language. During their deputation the people saw France, and other European countries which were more developed and prosperous and this interaction in due course of time broadened their view. On returning home the comparison between the two societies raised among some the feelings of revolt for the imperialists, thus forming a class of revolutionaries. This difference filled the notion of nationalism among the Maghreb people. Fighting for other on other's land developed an instinct to fight for themselves. Most of the revolutionaries were either ex-army men or their family members who were French educated and had European societies as their reference point.

One of the major areas where Nationalism grew up to be a national movement for independents was the student community inspired by the Salafi nationalists. Slafis launched the movement ‘The Free Schools’ where the students were taught modern
education by the teachers of Ecole des Fils De Notables and the colleges Musulmans. The graduates from these schools went to different places for higher studies and these they formed on Association Des étudiants Musulmans du Nord de l’Afrique in 1927 with the help of socialist French intellectuals and students from Tunisia and other Maghreb countries. Through this association they were able to relate to each other and solidarity and development of the region led it to political sphere of Nationalism. When these graduates came home, they let up groups of like minded young men to develop their new idea further for the development of the region (Pennell, 2000, 205).

To sum up, although France’s expansion across the Mediterranean has long since ended in the political sense in the Maghreb, the contribution of French education has culturally maintained its presence in the region. In their everyday life, Maghrebians are frequently coming face to face with varied aspects of French culture, which for various reasons continues to largely attract but at times repel them. However, it is probable that as the painful colonial era becomes increasingly a distant memory the French educational and cultural heritage will be more easily accepted by Maghrebian society.

Survey of Literature

Although there has been a lot of work done on the Maghreb related issues, the available literature lacked its grip on the influence of education and consequent social transformation in the region during and after the French rule. Against this background, the survey of literature has been discussed thematically under the following topics: Historical Background, French Settlement and Administration, Migration and its Impact, Social Values, Status of Women, French Education and its Impact on Maghrebian Literature and Language and Ethnicity.

Historical Background

Colonialism can be defined as the extension of a nation’s sovereignty over territory beyond its borders by the establishment of either settler colonies or administrative dependencies in which indigenous populations are directly ruled or displaced (Wingrove,
Colonisers generally dominated the resources, labour, and markets of the colonial territory and also imposed socio-cultural, religious and linguistic structures on the conquered population (Lawless and Findlay, 1984). In the latter half of the 19th century the Maghreb region saw the transition from the “informal” control of imperialism through military influence and economic dominance to that of “formal”, direct rule.

The history of the Maghreb countries has been profoundly influenced by the colonial rule (Wingrove, 2005; Abun-Nasr, 1987). To study about a country’s development, its historical background is essential to be studied. Apart from its history and geography, the life of the common inhabitants or natives is also important (Knapp, 1970; Ayache, 1956; Ageron, 1980). The ancient history of Maghreb has developed through different period of time. The Maghreb history witnesses the presence of various rules by different civilisations that have direct bearing on its contemporary socio-cultural structure. The region cannot be treated as a whole but as a collection of local units; it is the history of the men who lived in tribal society rather than that of a nation (Pennell, 2000).

French Settlement and Administration

The French period of colonisation which started in 19th century with the colonisation of Algeria in 1830, witnessed “formal” as well as “informal” colonisation. French in the region had interest not only for the natural resources but also for the first time they tried to establish themselves as a colonial power (Ruedy, 1985).

It was not an easy task for the French to establish themselves in the large Maghreb region. There was regular opposition from the natives and previously existing powers of European origin and landowners. The French not only suppressed the emerging oppositions but also got effective control over the administration (Ageron, 1968; Cohen and Lorna 1966; and Ganiage, 1959).

Apart from the nature and extent of French colonisation, it is also important to know the details of its influence on various sectors in Maghreb. The region witnessed positive as well as negative impact of French rule. The areas such as administration, education, health sector, women, family and various other sectors were of great concern. The
important matters of the time – the rise of nationalism in the cities, industrial progress and development, the activities of the colons etc. cannot be undermined (Bidwell, 1973; Confer, 1966).

Migration and its Impact,

Although the Maghreb countries had undergone variable intensity of French influence, they shared a number of commonalities, i.e. population shifting, break up of tribal ethos and kinship structure of the society (Brett and Fentress, 2001). Owing to the industrial development and colonisation in the region, urbanisation took place rapidly. Hence, it led to the dislocation of population and migration towards urban centres. This slowly transferred the population from rural to urban areas breaking the traditional ethnic bonding (Rousset, 1975).

The Maghrebian not only migrated within the country but also internationally, which had very significant impact on the society and culture. The French immigration policy was liberal, with the result that large number of Maghrebian immigrated into France. The new job opportunities were the main attraction for the migrants. The period between the World War II and the independence of the Maghreb countries witnessed the heavy volume of migration to France. But after 1970s there was a gradual decrease in the number of migrants to France from the Maghreb region due to racial/ethnic discrimination and violence in France (Philip, 1991; Oberhauser, 1991).

Although, the Maghreb community settled in France had tried to integrate themselves socially and culturally with the French population but the opposition by the French against migration showed the other side of the coin. Due to the discrimination a number of Maghrebian in France lost their jobs and were forced to return back to their respective countries which created a new problem for the returning migrant families and the government (Mehani, 1982).

Social Values

French influence helped in breaking of the traditional family structure and values of the extended family which was replaced by nuclear family comprising of father, mother and
offspring only due to the lack of facilities in the urban centres. The people were torn between the two cultural models, the traditional and European in the region (Zartman, 1985). This was one of the issues, which led to the feelings of Arab nationalism among the Maghreb population. The breaking of traditional social structure of the society led to the path of “modernisation.” At the same time ethnic values were hampered (Lawless and Findlay, 1984).

The Islamic culture of Maghreb that had its root in the 6th century found a syncretised influence in French modern colonial presence. After the independence once again the Islamic regime dominated the region. However, the policies adopted were more liberal and modern in nature as the population was more open to their rights and modern developments (Addi, 1992). Due to the pressure by the intellectual groups various reforms were made in different sectors by the government to sustain modernisation (Gasiorowski, 1992).

**Status of Women**

The role of women that was more important in the ancient tribal societies of the Maghreb region saw its downfall after the coming of Islamic forces in the region. They were not considered as a work force and their contributions were neglected. The Islamic laws had restricted their activities to household chores only (Mernissi, 1985; Djerbal and Hamou, 1992). In those families where the male member was a migrant worker to the European countries women had to go through mental trauma of loneliness. In the Moroccan society this was one of the major fears for unmarried women (Al Amin, 1968). But the French liberal ideas gave enough support to their cause through the mass medium.

**French Education and its Impact on Maghrebian Literature**

The introduction of French education and language in the region had a profound impact on the North African society in the 20th century. When the French language was introduced in the region it had to compete with the Arab and other native languages. To make the population more comfortable, they started teaching French language to the section of population and convinced their welfare in it (Heggoy and Zingg, 1976).
It is altruism to say that language affects the culture and culture affects the language at the same time (Smolicz, 1999). This is quite visible in the writings of Maghreb writers. Through French the writers were able to express and communicate their feelings and social conditions which were not possible through Arabic. Writers such as Albert Camus (L’Etranger, 1942; La Plague, 1947; Le Mythe de Sisyphe, 1942); Frantz Fanon (The Wretched of the Earth; Blak Skin, White Mask, 1952); Gisele Halimi (La Cause des Femmes, 1973; Le Programme Commune des Femmes, 1978); Kateb Yacine (Autobiographie au plurielle); Rachid Mimouni (Le Fleuve Detourne, 1978); Malika Mokeddem (L’ Interdite); Marguerite (Colline Oublie, 1952); Dris Charibi (Le Passe Simple, 1954); Farida Diouri (L’ Ange et la Misere, 2002) and others through their writings highlighted the issues which were not possible through Arabic.

Through their writings these writers brought the two societies close to each other. In the present Maghreb society French is a functional language used in writings as well as in inter-communal discourse. Being globally more accessible than Arabic, French language has allowed Magrebian Francophone writers to acquire a wide international readership. Today Maghreb society is not only multilingual, but also multicultural (Abu-Haider, 2001).

**Language and Ethnicity**

Colonisation leads to the spread and pre-eminence of the language of the colonial power. In case of North Africa (Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia, countries forming what is known historically as the Maghreb), French is still the predominant language among the educated. It is overwhelmingly the medium of instruction, especially at the secondary and higher levels of education. The spread of this language and the preponderance of French culture in North Africa are the most salient and long-lasting features of the colonial legacy. The mission civilisatrice that France, as the colonial power, felt it was carrying out in these countries resulted in the creation of francophonic and, to a great extent, francophile elites.

This process succeeded at the expense of the national language, in this case Arabic, which has been considered for centuries by the local populations as the most important
component of their identity as Muslims or, for the large majority, as Arabs and Muslims. The loss of the status of Arabic was extreme in Algeria, but less so in Tunisia and Morocco. This difference is the result of historical conditions – Algeria became a French colony after its conquest in 1830, whereas Tunisia and Morocco became protectorates in 1881 and 1912, respectively.

The regaining of national sovereignty (Morocco and Tunisia were granted independence in 1956; Algeria, in 1962) dictates the transformation or adaptation of inherited structures to suit the needs of the state. This also means the restoration of the intrinsic features of the national identity, features that have been used within the nationalistic discourse to rally support among the masses. In these circumstances, independence also means giving the national language the place it deserves in the national state: Arabic becomes the official language of the state and the Arabisation of the state apparatus becomes a means of legitimacy for the new ruling elite. Reinstating Arabic becomes a language planning issue that must take into account political, economic, social, and cultural conditions.

The colonial heritage has resulted in a de facto bilingualism in Tunisia and Morocco and a more accelerated francophonia in Algeria. Arabisation requires drawing new curricula. In short, it calls for a reform of the respective educational systems and state bureaucracies that will give Arabic its due place.

The contemporary Maghreb society is facing the problems related to ethnic identity of the Maghreb people (Kashani, 1996). The ethnic people are demanding equal status as Arabic and French for traditional Berber language. The language identity is closely related to their ethnic identity because the majority of the population has converted to Islam and has been settled in different parts of the region (Montagne, 1973). Their ethnic identity remains only with the ethnic language that they still speak.

A close scrutiny of the available literature reveals that the scholars have touched upon the constituting elements of the study in discreet manner. However, an integrated approach to the impact of French education on the social transformation in the Maghreb region is particularly lacking. It is due to this fact that this study has attempted to fill this crucial knowledge gap.
Conceptual Framework

In this research modernisation theory has been applied as the theoretical framework. This theory is well established in the field of social science. In the West, modernisation has largely been the product of industrialisation where as in the developing societies it has been the product of colonisation. Therefore, colonisation was to a great extent instrumental in partially modernising the present Third World societies. The modernisation theory assumes that the western model of modernisation exhibits certain components and sequences whose relevance is global. According to this theory increasing urbanisation has tended to raise literacy everywhere, rising literacy has tended to increase media exposure, and increased media exposure has furthered wider economic and political participation. It is under this conceptual framework that this study has been carried out.

Objectives of the Research

Following are the main objectives of the study: 1) The study examines the impact of French colonisation on the social configuration in Maghreb society, especially the process of social stratification and the status of women. 2) The study delineates the influence of French education on migration dynamics (out migration and return migration) and its impact on Maghreb society and culture. 3) Additionally, the study analyses the impact of French education on the Maghreb literature, films, journalism and other forms of cultural activities.

Hypotheses

The study is based on the following hypotheses: 1) The French introduced the system of modern education and administration in the region. 2) The French rule helped in raising the status of Maghreb women through apparatus of modern education and ideas. 3) Within the colonial/post-colonial context the French education was greatly responsible
for the migration dynamics in the region. 4) French colonisation was instrumental in relative modernisation of the Maghreb society.

Methodology

This study has adopted historical and analytical approach and is based on both primary and secondary sources. However, due to the historical nature of the topic, major source of consultation and perusal has been the secondary sources. In the primary sources, the study has relied mainly on biographies, speeches and official statements published by the governments and UN Agencies. The research work demanded both historical and analytical approaches. The resources available in various libraries in Delhi and concerned embassies along with the relevant material from numerous Internet sites have been used during the course of this study.

The social transformation has been analysed in terms of major social structural features of the Maghrebi society such as family, marriage and kinship, social stratification, status of women, religion, migration dynamics, and literature and journalism. To be more focused in analysing the aspects different chapters have been the parameters in which the impacts were examined and discussed. For the second chapter the social stratification was studied keeping in view the status of women and their rights, type of occupation, religious beliefs and family structure.

To look into the migration dynamics in the region time scale was one of the guidelines. Other than the job opportunities and type of migrants such as workers and professionals, their age groups were also ascertained at different periods of time. To see the impact of French education on the literature and writings in Maghreb different writers and their works were studied. The subjects and ideas were analysed keeping in view the writers' place of origin and linguistic backgrounds. Relatively more emphasis has been given on the French writings produced by the Maghreb writers and their impact on the Maghrebi society. Accordingly, the introductory chapter gives a historical analysis of the region,
which led to the development of French education in the Maghreb, and the last chapter has concluded the topic after analysing the rest of the chapters.

The Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is divided into six chapters. The first chapter, titled ‘Introduction’ provides an introduction to the topic. Besides briefly highlighting the history and geography of the region, the administrative, political and educational advancement of French colonisation has also been discussed. It has broadly covered the nature of French colonialism in three Maghreb countries mainly Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia.

The second chapter, titled ‘Development of Educational System in Maghreb: Colonial and Post-Colonial Phases’, mainly focuses on the education system in the Maghreb region. The impact of French colonial era on the basic framework of the educational structure in independent Maghreb has been highlighted. Various reforms in education reflecting the French influence on it and in turn contributing to the social transformation process in the region has also been discussed in this chapter.

The third chapter, titled ‘French Education and Its Impact on Social Structure’, has as its focal point the structural changes in the Maghreb society due to the introduction of French education. The impact of French on the family structure, status of women and religion have also been discussed and analysed here.

The fourth chapter, titled ‘French Education, Migration Dynamics and their Impact on the Society’, concentrates on the population and migration dynamics of the region. It presents an analysis of the impact of French education on the migration to France and return-migration from France and its impact on the Maghreb region. In this chapter various reasons for migration such as socio-political and economic has been looked into keeping in view the impact of French education on them.

With the introduction of new language and modern culture in the region the people came face to face with the new and modern ideas. The fifth chapter, titled ‘Impact on Magrebi
"Literature and Journalism", focuses on the reflection of these ideas on the society by analysing the literary works by the Maghreb writers. In the sixth and last chapter, titled 'Conclusion', a brief summary of the study has been presented and comparatively analyses of the findings of the study have been carried out.

On the background of above made discussion related to French colonialism in Maghreb region the research further analyses the impact of French education on social transformation in the Maghreb region. The research on topic related to French colonialism and their presence in the Maghreb region is not new as a number of works have been done on the political instability and conflicts in the three Maghreb countries before and after the formation of the independent Maghreb states.

The role of French in the formation of political as well as geographical boundaries in the region has been achieved in various literature by different writers. But this study has been a modest attempt to look into one of the major aspects which is education through which the French were able to establish themselves in the region despite the regular opposition from different sections of the society. The research analyses how the French education acted as a tool that grafted the present Maghreb society and culture leading to the social transformation as a whole in the region.