Constructing a resistant education system in a logic of dependency:
The production of a national curriculum in conflict ridden Western Sahara

- MA Education Policies for Global Development -

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Abstract

Refugee education is a central topic of research and in the developmental sector. However, refugees are not a homogenous group, often perceived as victims and of need of assistance. Instead, this thesis envisions refugees as agents of change holding agency in a context of dependency. In this line, the aim of this research will be to understand the way in which education is performed in the context of the refugee camps of Western Sahara, particularly its resistant character an its relation with the dependencies by answering the following research question: How does a resistant education system and its curriculum construct in a logic of dependencies? To do so, the research was based on a qualitative enquiry of 33 semi-structured interviews and document analysis of policy documents and textbooks. The results of the research suggested that dependency takes various forms and impacts in various manners in the performance of education, taking the form of material, symbolic, direct and indirect dependencies providing space for the performance and development of various forms of resistance in the organization, performance and curriculum. The resistance in education takes the form of a reaction to hegemonic values in education, of anti-colonial discourses and critical pedagogy closely related to the political struggle for self-determination.

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1. Introduction

It is 3rd of December in Al-Aiun, in the refugee camps of Western Sahara in Tindouf, Algeria. Children in the local secondary school are preparing for a parade; today the *wilaya* (region) is celebrating their culture and their traditions. We all walk to the regional centre, men, women, children and old people… a large amount of foreigners are also there, mostly Spaniards. We all gather to see the children of the *wilaya* parade, sing national songs, and perform their national dances. The region has also set up traditional tends, *jaimat,* to exhibit their nomadic origins; women gather in these tends to show the traditional arts and crafts and the artisanal chores. It is a day of gathering, of celebration, but we must remember that we are in the South West of Algeria, in the hostile Saharan desert, in a refugee camp. Today, it is a day of bonding with the homeland, it is a time, where children grow on their identity, memories are shared between generations, it is certainly a time of gathering. The role of schools is central in coordinating children, teaching dances, songs and organizing the parade; with pride all schools compete for the best performance of the traditions. The large presence of foreigners, takes us back to the reality. Foreign delegations on the microphone, speak about the solidarity to the cause for self-determination, the success of numerous cooperation projects and the role they play in the many activities in the camps. Indeed, it is also a day to thank and attract foreign solidarity. Since the establishment of the refugee camps in 1975 as a result of the unlawful occupation of the territory of Western Sahara by Morocco, Sahrawis are dependent on foreign aid for their survival. In these hard and difficult conditions, the cause for self-determination keeps them united.

This story is the point of departure of this research: a refuged population, dependency, resistance, political commitment and education. Indeed, this research enters in the further literature about refugee education, particularly in relation to this case study of Western Sahara. Numerous authors have focused on the analysis of this particular education system, in the refuge for more than 40 years. Omar (in Pulch Ortega & Schröttner, 2012) has identified the relation between education and the construction of identity in the camps and in the diaspora. Particularly, examining the various transnational ideas of identity constructed by Sahrawi away from their homeland. In this line, Farah (2012) has examined the role of education not only in the construction of identity but as crucial element in the commitment in the cause for self-determination and nation building. She argues that education in the refugee camps is at the service of the cause. Finally, Fiddian-Qasmiyeh (2009, 2010, 20011a, b, c, 2013, 2015) has lengthily studied the population of these camps, particularly the South-South cooperation in education and the potential renewed dependency emanating from this strategy. However, no one (of my awareness) has focused on the analysis of the elaboration of the national curriculum in the dichotomy of resistance and dependency as two indivisible categories.

This research intends to fill the gap of the previously examined literature, by focusing on the dichotomy between resistance and dependency in the creation of the education system, particularly focusing in the production of the national curriculum. In fact, the sustainable and general production of the national curriculum is a relatively new implementation in Western Sahara, which has taken place since 2008 coming from a long-lasting project formulated in the late 1970s. The process of the elaboration of the national curriculum is indeed a central element of the education system, the process of state formation and of identity. This research will therefore attempt to answer the following research question:

How does a resistant education system and its curriculum construct within a logic of dependency, in conflict ridden Western Sahara?

Specifically the study will attempt to respond to these sub- questions:

1. How is this national education system constructed (what are the elements, objectives)? What is its relation with nation-state formation?
2. What is a resistant education system and curriculum and how does it construct?

3. What are the logics of dependencies in this context and what role do they play in this construction and in the curriculum production?

To do so, the thesis will firstly present the historical context of the case study, particularly the historical account and provide a summary of the evolution of the education system related to the described historical account. In a second chapter, this thesis will provide the theoretical framework for this research. This framework will be articulated around four concepts: state formation, resistance, dependency and curriculum, with two other transversal theoretical grounds, the relation between globalisation and education and the anti-colonial knowledge literature. This theoretical framework will enable to set the bases for the presentation of the results and their analysis examined in chapter 4 of this thesis.

Before that, in the third chapter of this thesis, the methodological design will be described and explained. The methodological chapter will firstly focus on explaining the issues of accessing the field and will then explain the rationality behind the decision to adopt qualitative methods for this enquiry. During this research 33 semi-structured interviews and document analysis of policy documents and of textbooks were conducted. Finally, this chapter will discuss ethical issues and positionality considerations.

Chapter 4, aims to present the results of this research enquiry and their analysis. This will be done, in four moments. Firstly, the chapter will examine the process of state formation in relation to the development of the education system embedded in the context on this study. Secondly, the focus will be put in the resistant character of education, in the organization of education and then, in the process of elaboration of the curriculum. In a third section of the chapter, the resistance character of education and curriculum will be put into tension with different dependencies that emerge out of the context and impact the education system and the curriculum. The last section of this chapter, briefly examines dissonances between the resistance-dependency dichotomy, providing space for a more complex understanding of the relation between resistance and dependency. And finally the last chapter of this thesis will present the conclusions and provide with new lines for research.

1.1. Historical context:

In order to grasp the scope and intention of this thesis, one must understand the history and context of Western Sahara. Western Sahara is a forgotten country, an

unresolved conflict. The historical trajectory that will be provided is my lecture of history, one of the many. As Carr (1987:23) claimed "the historian will get the kind of facts he wants. History means interpretation". Indeed, there is not a single, universal history; each story of history is contextual and marked by individual interest, experience and positionality (Kempf, 2006).

Western Sahara, is a country in the West coast of Africa, bordering Morocco in the North, Mauritania in the South and Algeria in the East. It is a land rich in natural resources. In the history and geography textbooks of Western Sahara, which are the scope of this study, one can find a list of the attempts of colonisation of this coveted territory since the earliest times of our history (from history book, 1st grade of secondary school p.8, own translation):

Year	Colonial Attempts
1444	The Portuguese
1444-1572	First Spanish exploratory missions from the Canary Islands
1583-1670	The Moroccan
1638	The Dutch occupied the "Golden Valley" (one of two provinces of Western Sahara) and in 1727 the French arrived.
1864	The Italians
1872	The British
1875	The Belgians
1880	The French
1884	The Spaniards

The people of Western Sahara are the Saharawi. This nomadic people, often called the "sons of the clouds", use to follow their camel flocks in the desert. They were probably not aware of the richness of their territory, however it already had a functioning political system: the so-called "Council of the forty" (Briones 1997:15). The Spanish colonial time started formally in 1884, with the Conference of Berlin, in which the African territory was split between most European countries as the following map shows (from history textbook of 1st grade of secondary school, p. 9).

الوثيقة 1 : المستعمرات الأوروبية في إفريقيا

Legend within map:

فرنسا
بريطانيا
البرتغال
المانيا
بلجيكا
اسبانيا
ايطاليا
الدول المستقلة

Legend of the map (own translation):

Blue: France
Pink: Britain
Purple: Portugal
Yellow: Germany
Orange: Belgium
Light yellow: Spain
Light blue: Italy
White: Independent countries

During the Spanish colonial rule only limited number of Saharawis managed to access education. The Spanish colonial rule left the territory with 99% of illiteracy rate and significantly few qualified professionals (one doctor, one commercial expert, and four teachers) (Briones, 1997). During the Spanish colonial time, most schools followed the mainland curriculum, transforming Spanish into the second language.

The need for education for Saharawis was one of the main claims in 1969 of the newly formed liberation movement: the OVLS ("Organización de Vanguardia para la Liberación Saharawi"[1]) whose leader was Mohamed Sidi Brahim Bassiri (currently considered the first martyr). This movement gave birth in 1973 to the POLISARIO (Frente Popular para la Liberación de la Saguia el Hamra y Río de Oro[2]) led by Luali (El Uali Musstafa Sayed), the liberation front which fights for the right for self-determination and is the internationally recognised representative of the people of Western Sahara.

As a result of the anti-colonial movement and under the pressure of the United Nations, Spain promised a referendum for the self-determination of the people of Western Sahara and created in 1974 the first reliable census in the territory of 73.497 people. However, in 1975, Spain abandoned Western Sahara and unlawfully granted

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[1] Organization of vanguard for the Sahrawi Liberation
[2] Popular Front for the Liberation of Saguia el-Hamra and Río de Oro

the territory to Morocco and Mauritania. The same year, on the 16th of October the International Court of Justice claimed that the territory of Western Sahara before the arrival of the Spaniards was not a *terra nullis*, instead nomadic people lived in the land under an organised social and political system independent from any kind of Moroccan or Mauritanian rule. That same day, Hassan II, king of Morocco organised the so-called "green march", a mass-civilian march of 350.000 Moroccan people that occupied the territory of Western Sahara from the North and a military occupation (25.000 soldiers) from the East (Briones, 1997) that culminated in the well-known Madrid agreements (14th November 1975, unlawful agreement under which Spain handed over the territory of Western Sahara to Mauritania and Morocco) and the declaration of war between the POLISARIO front and Morocco and Mauritania (in December).

These events led to the mass-exodus of the Saharawi people and to their settlement in refugee camps, in Tindouf (Algeria) that lasts until present day, under extreme conditions and limited resources. Indeed, the entire population of the refugee camps of Tindouf is dependent on foreign aid for survival. In this time of war and challenges, the 27th February 1976, the POLISARIO front proclaimed the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR), and started the construction of the nation-state in the exile, while fighting for liberation and the recognition of their right for self-determination. The construction of the nation-state and its institutions prepared itself for the celebration of the referendum and the liberation of the territory. In 1985, pushed by the African Union, the Secretary-General of the United Nations initiated a mission for a peaceful settlement between Morocco and the POLISARIO (Mauritania renounced to its claim in 1979) called the MINURSO. The aim of the mission is the celebration of a referendum for self-determination established under the Security Council Resolution 690 (1991) which clauses were agreed:

- The options in the referendum: self-determination or annexation to Morocco
- The constituencies: the people included in the Spanish census of 1976

The resolution established the ceasefire and the celebration of the referendum. However, the referendum has not yet taken place, in spite of the ceasefire, the MINURSO and the UNSC resolution. This event is designated by the people in the camps as the "trap". Indeed, in 1991, people were ready to return home, to leave the hostile desert and construct their state in their territory. Instead, Morocco argued to modify the constituencies and the conditions for the referendum

were never met. Twenty-seven years later, the MINURSO has just been renewed and Sahrawi still live in the exile. The rest of Sahrawi that remained in the occupied territories since the occupation, are still subject to systematic violations of human rights[3]. The population of Western Sahara are located in the occupied territories and in the refugee camps of Tindouf principally, divided by a 27027 km long berm (as shown in the map). A Significant number of Sahrawis also live in the diaspora, particularly in Spain and Algeria. The liberated territories also host a significant amount of population (nomadic) mainly during the rainy season.

Chris Scoot, 2018 retrieved from: https://sahara-overland.com/western-sahara/

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[3] For more information about the history of Western Sahara please refer to the specific bibliography

1.2 Evolution of education system in Western Sahara

This section will attempt to identify the various phases of the evolution of the education system of Western Sahara from the nomadic times of the population to the times in the exile, including the colonial period. This will set the bases to build on the subsequent analysis.

The nomadic populations in the territory of Western Sahara organised themselves under a working social (and political) system (the "*hand or Council of the forty*") since the XVIII century. During this period, families with their *jaïmat* (tend) travelled in the desert looking for grazing and fertile lands. Once found, they settled down gathering a number of families and *jaïmat* for an amount of time. The *friq* (gathering of *jaïmat*) would then built a *zriba*, a crescent directed towards Mecca for praying. It is in this place where education took place. The groups of families travelling together normally hired an instructor who would travel with the group and teach Koranic Education. The teachers held a higher status in Sahrawi society and were normally highly remunerated. Teachers were chosen by the religious body and normally stayed with the nomadic families for long periods of time. Teachers used the stars and a wooden board (made of a particular wood originally

El-Aiun, Tindouf, 2017

coming from Western Sahara) to teach children. In the camps this board is still used to teach (see picture) (Perregaux, 1987). An employee of the Ministry of Culture explained to me:

> The families used to give [the teacher] some sort of support to make sure the children would learn classical Arabic, grammar and the Koran. Some of these teachers would go abroad to specialise because we did not have a stable culture at that time, we did not have mosques, nor universities, we carried our homes with us.

The Spanish colonial rule in Western Sahara started in 1884 with the Conference of Berlin. The Spanish rule created urban settings for the nomadic populations who started to become sedentary, transforming the social contract and organization already present in the territory. Sedentary Saharawi people depended on the production system and low salaries of the Spaniards. Sahrawi women argue that it is this change in the division of labour within the population that affected their independence and equality. Previous to colonial times, women and men contributed equally to the *jaïma,* however with the establishment in urban centres and the introduction to the labour market, roles shifted and women relied on men's income.

Spanish rule did not succeed in providing access to education to the Sahrawi people. The few people who settled in the urban centres attended the colonial education institutions, however most schools were too far to be accessed by the entire population. In addition, as Perregaux (1987) rightly explains, the colonial education system failed in including and representing the local populations. Instead their values and traditions were pictured as subordinated to the Western, Spanish, Catholic values, particularly the values promoted by Franco's regime. Along side with the education system, a number of Francoist institutions were put in place, such as the OJE (*Organización Juvenil Española[4]*). The OJE is a youth-led organization, which aims to promote regime's values and norms, in order to pass on to youth the sense of unity and connection to the metropolis (in particular through the organisation of trips to Spain for young people). A large amount of the Sahrawi population showed resistance to the colonial education promoted by Spain and failed to send their children to school, instead they continued with the traditional Koranic School system and the inter-generational informal education in the *jaïma*. The high price of education, particularly due to uniforms, constituted a further obstacle to guarantee access to education to the local populations. The colonial period was then marked by the resistance to education from the Sahrawi people, in which a number of individuals stood out and gave the first steps towards the creation of the liberation movement in the late 1960s.

In 1975 with the occupation of the territory by Morocco the people of Western Sahara had to escape from the war and mass killings, and settled in refugee camps in the Algerian border (Tindouf). There, started the construction of the Sahrawi state with the proclamation of the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic on the 27th of February of 1976. In these times of mass exodus, war and political changes, the

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[4] Spanish Youth Organization

POLISARIO front held the 1ˢᵗ congress on Education. This congress aimed to set the bases of the national education system of the newly proclaimed state. The conclusions of this congress were that the Saharawi education system must be African, Arab, marked by the colonial times and its memory (teaching of Spanish from primary school) and based on present and future needs of the population (Aljalifa, Almami & Hamadi, 2012). In these early days of exodus and settlement, education took place under the shade of a tree, under the stars or in trenches in order to be protected from potential Moroccan attacks. During one of my interviews, the participant told me a story the Head of the University of Tifariti had told him.

> He [the Head of the University of Tifariti] is one of the founders of the Saharwi education system and of the first schools. He was very young, very thin and had nothing special, one of these young Sahrawis that came with the POLISARIO and left their families for the country. He was with some children, teaching them the numbers using the stars, creating shapes in the sky, when El Luali Said Mustafa, the funder of the POLISARIO front, arrived and asked him what was he doing. He replied that he was writing numbers and words in the sky, teaching children. El Luali looked at him and said, "Here starts the defiance!"

In this difficult time for Sahrawis, the construction of schools and formation of teachers began. In the meanwhile, the SADR came into agreement with their main allies to send the majority of the children to study abroad. The first destinations were Libya, Syria, Algeria and Cuba, where children stayed 5-10 years away from the camps. Children were sent in groups with a tutor/guide in charge of the education of the group, to make the connection with the homeland and to pass on norms, values and even identity of their society of origin (Fiddian, 2011; 2015; Farah, 2012). This agreement enabled the generation to acquire adequate education in times of exile and war. A number of students of the first generation in the camps were also sent abroad to pursue higher education; it is the case of the secretary general of the Ministry of Education.

> I had the chance to be part of a group of 20 students that were not sent to the military, they sent us instead to Algeria to continue studying. In our time, real men went to the army, I went to Algeria until 3ʳᵈ grade of high school and we were then sent to become teachers. We had a one-year formation for that. And then we came back to the camps to work as teachers at the national

schools "9th of June" and "12th of October". We were the first group of qualified teachers.

In the camps, the construction of the education system continued setting its bases and main principles, such as the need to provide free and compulsory education, develop the formation and inspection of teachers, increase the number of schools in the camps or the implementation of literacy campaigns (from Sahara Libre Journal dec. 1985 in Perregaux, 1987). In the early 1980s the Saharawi education system already had pre-schools, primary school in each of the provinces, two national boarding secondary schools "*9th of June*" and "*12th of October*" and the women centre "*27th of February*". The education system had a formal structure directed by the Ministry of Education and its various departments (formation and human resources, foreign languages, school equipment including schoolbooks, infrastructure, furniture, the department of studies abroad and of cooperation) at national level and at regional level.

The period that encompasses from 1986 to nowadays is what Aljalifa, Almami & Hamadi (2012) call*, "the period of establishment and expansion".* Indeed, the bases of the education system were set up in the early days of the refuge, from 1976 to the 1980s. In the second half of the 1980s, the education system developed and expanded, until its present shape. Due to the demographic pressure, the number of school has increased significantly in the past years. There are at the moment in each *wilaya* (region) 1 or 2 lower secondary schools, in each *daira* (smaller than wilaya, i.e. province) and a pre-school in each *haiy* (neighbourhood). At national level only one school offers higher secondary education, the Venezuelan-Cuban led school "*Simón Bolivar*". There are also at regional level pre-school teachers training centres and a national women training centre the so-called "27th of February" and the national teacher-training centre "9th of June". Access to education in the camps is therefore ensured until the end of lower secondary education; afterwards students continue their studies abroad, normally in Algeria, in Spain, in Cuba or Venezuela, among others. The host countries for students have changed significantly from the beginning of the establishment of this strategy in relation to the situation of the host country and its relation to SARD. For the nomadic people living in the liberated territories (normally during the rainy season) in the past years the Ministry of Education has created nomadic schools in each of the military centres of the territories to ensure education of all Sahrawi children.

The period going from 2000 to 2008 has been one of the highest point of expansion and strategic development of the education system, counting with larger amounts of foreign aid. It has been the period of the construction of the school "*Simón Bolivar*" in collaboration with Cuba and Venezuela, the implementation of the idea of the construction of a National University of Tifariti and the creation of the pedagogical centre Aminatou Haidar (where textbooks are elaborated).

During the process of the construction of the education system the use of textbooks has been at the centre of the discussion. In the early 1980s, in the first years of the exile, a group of qualified members of the POLISARIO wrote the first Sahrawi curriculum, influenced by the times of war and the hopes of construction of the new nation-state and were marked by the colonial history of the country. In fact, the books of sciences, Spanish language and mathematics were written in Spanish, the rest of subjects were in Arabic. Interestingly a book on national citizenship education was also elaborated collecting the principles of the newly constructed State.
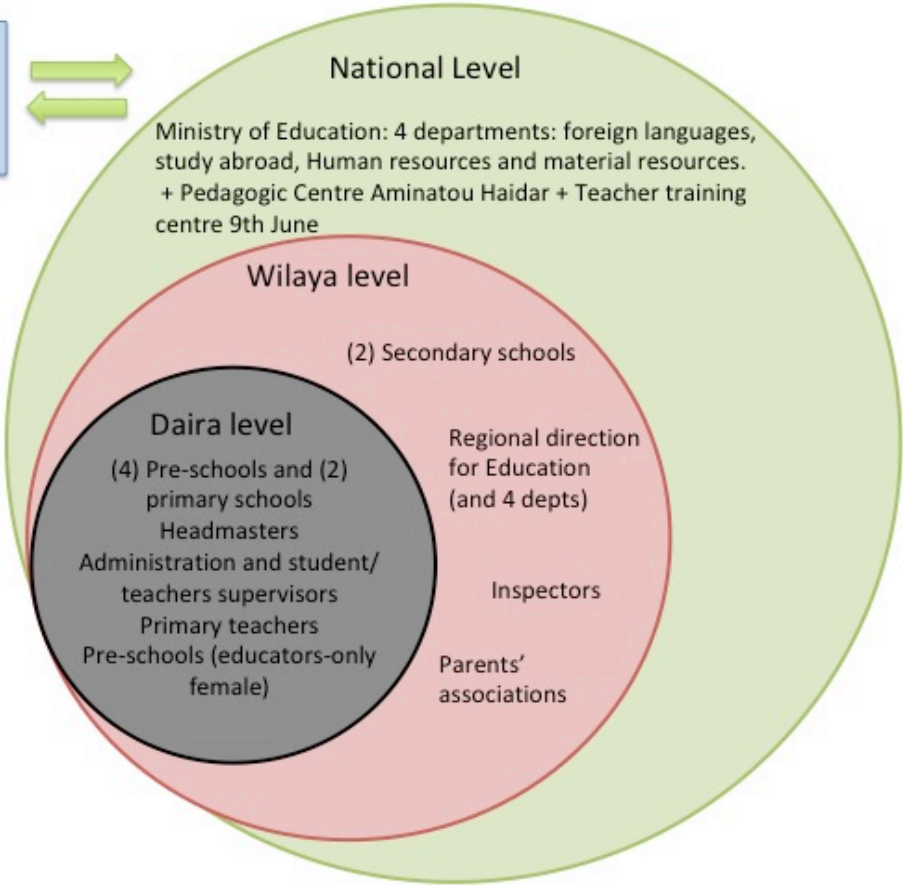
First Sahrawi textbooks of 1980s: from left to right and from top to bottom: reading textbook 3rd grade, National Education, Nature 5th grade, Spanish language 6th grade.

In the 1990s, as a result of the demographic push, the first books were not able to meet the needs of the population being difficult to copy and counting with limited resources to re-edit them. For that reason, with the support of foreign organizations, first the North-South Austrian Institute and afterwards UNICEF/UNCHR and AFAD (Algerian NGO), Sahrawi used the Algerian curriculum and textbooks in all their schools until 2008. In order to compensate the lost of relevant and national textbooks, the Ministry of Education asked teachers to dedicate each day ten minutes to teach history, geography and citizenship education. In 2008 the Centre Aminatou Haidar was built and its team created. The aim of the centre is to bring back the idea of the early days Sahrawi textbooks and elaborate accessible and relevant textbooks for all Sahrawi children. The project of the centre is a Sahrawi initiative, however the Spanish NGO ANARASD has supported it since the first moments. At the moment the Centre Aminatou Haidar has been abled to publish the history, geography, citizenship education and Spanish for lower secondary students, for the rest of the subjects students still use the Algerian curriculum.

This summary of the evolution of the education system and the different attempts of the elaboration of a national curriculum set the bases for the research objective of this thesis. Indeed, in this recapitulation crucial elements have been highlighted and must be taken into consideration for the following analysis: the impact of conflict in the evolution of the education system, the role of foreign allies, the origins of the resistance in education (from colonial times), the colonial era and the main phases and intentions of development of education. The following organization chart aims to provide clarity in the actual situation and organization of the education system in the camps.

Relation with other ministries (i.e. M. Of culture)

National Level

Ministry of Education: 4 departments: foreign languages, study abroad, Human resources and material resources.
+ Pedagogic Centre Aminatou Haidar + Teacher training centre 9th June

Wilaya level

(2) Secondary schools

Regional direction for Education (and 4 depts)

Inspectors

Parents' associations

Daira level

(4) Pre-schools and (2) primary schools
Headmasters
Administration and student/ teachers supervisors
Primary teachers
Pre-schools (educators-only female)

2. Theoretical Framework

The following theoretical framework is articulated around three concepts (State, Dependency and Resistance) and in relation two main levels of analysis (global/local educational policy level and curriculum production). In order to respond to the formulated research question, this chapter will provide theoretical tools to firstly conceptualise, State formation and State power (basis of the construction of national education systems). Then, from this framework, it will be analysed the manner in which State formation is related to globalisation and other actors of the international sphere. This analysis enables to conceptualise Resistance and Dependency in the world system. Thirdly, the theoretical conceptualisation will focus on the relation of State formation and the dichotomy resistance/dependency taken to the educational ground. That is to examine how are education systems built in relation to State formation and their place in the world system. This part will examine two main approaches in education and its relation with the world system; these are the GSAE and the CWEC. Finally, this theoretical framework will aim to analyse the role of education in liberation struggles, particularly in conflict situation. This will be done by focusing in curriculum production and history teaching. This last section focuses in resistant education and anticolonial discourses in education.

2.1. The State: An institutional ensemble or a relational abstraction?

The construction of the education system in Western Sahara started in 1976, with the proclamation of the SADR and the construction of the nation-state. In fact, as

Bourdieu (1977) argues, Education (as education system) is one of the fundamental institutions of the State. In addition Hay& Lister (in Hay, Lister & Marsh, 2005), argue that the development of some institutions enabled the development of the State. However one must first understand what is the "State" to then be able to understand the construction of one of its core institutions. Hay & Lister (2005), depart from Weber's idea of the state, and define it as "an institutional complex claiming sovereignty for itself as the supreme political authority within a defined territory for whose governance it is responsible" (2005:5). In order to examine and further develop this definition of State, one should first examine Weber's thought on the State as a starting point. Weber was probably the pioneer in providing of a complete definition of the concept of Modern State. He defines it as "a human community that claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory" (Weber 1948:78). This definition provides us with key concepts that must be further analysed. Firstly, the concept of territoriality, this element allows to provide with unity, centralisation and limits the spread of the State. The territoriality however cannot be regarded exclusively as geographical (De Sousa Santos, 2013:18); it must be additionally related to identity in Castells (2010) terms (identity of project, legitimising identity and identity of resistance, see bellow) and culture (De Sousa Santos, 2013). That is, a limitation of the scope of the State and the legitimate use of force in Weberian terms to the human community that relates to a territory and not necessarily within a territory. Additionally, the restriction of the outreach of the State to its territory generates a false boundary between the domestic and the international sphere (Jessop, 2009 in Clegg and Haugaard and Rosenberg, 1994), which in reality is significantly more blurred. That is to say, that oppositely to Weber that contemplates the use of force uniquely within the territory, Jessop argues that a State, its actions, institutions must be legitimate as well internationally, in relation to other states and actors. Taking the anarchy of international system of Waltz (1979) in which states are not governed by a "higher power", and therefore must balance their power to secure peace, Jessop believes that the legitimisation and exercise of power cannot be restricted to the territory of a State, instead it enters the international sphere, and the anarchical world system. For that reason the construction of States is fundamentally relational and structural.

Jessop's views contrast the fundamental definition provided by the General State Theory (Allgemeine Staatslehre) (in Jessop 2009 and Porrua Pérez, 2005) which contemplates that the State is constituted by a "state apparatus", a "state

population" and "state territoriality", that is in relation to the internal legitimacy analysed by Weber. The state apparatus refer to the development of a set of institutions able to exercise power over the territory and its population. Hay & Lister (2005), trace back in history the role of particular institutions in society related to the construction of the modern state, it is the case of the Church and then the military for instance. They argue that the development of these institutions goes hand in hand with the development of State (Hay & Lister, 2005). When considering the modern state, Jessop (1982) provides a list of core institutions that constitute what the General State Theory considered the state apparatus, these are: the legislative, the political executive, the judiciary, the army, the police and the public administration, however Jessop rightly points out that the list it is not exhaustive instead, there are other institutions that could be perceived as central to the state formation, these could be "the education, trade unions, mass media, religion, and even the family" (Jessop in Clegg and Haugaard, 2009:368). The problem then lies in the identification of these core institutions for each of the contextual processes of state formation. For that reason Jessop, contemplates that the "state apparatus can be defined as a distinct ensemble of institutions and organizations whose socially accepted function is to define and enforce collectively binding decisions on a given population in the name of their 'common interest' or 'general will'" (Jessop 1990: 341). This "common interest" or "general will" is what Castells (2010) might call the "identity of project". The identity of project refers to an organization based on a common history directed towards a common objective or project; this might be the state construction from a national identity for instance. In opposition to the identity of project, Castells presents the legitimising identity. This type of identity departs from the State and its institutions in order to construct the nation-state, and legitimise it.

These two approaches to the State enable us to claim, as Hay & Lister do, that the concept of state is two sided: structural and relational. That is to say that the State is surely constituted by a set of institutions, and that, their development impact on the nature of the State and that it is also constituted in relation to the international structure by a process of mutual recognition between states as well as through a process of internal legitimisation. However, it is important to note, that the concept of the State, as Jessop (in Clegg and Haugaard, 2009) argues, is not a thing, it is an abstraction, a conceptual tool, and I would further argue that it is not a fixed concept. In fact, Hay & Lister (2005:1) in the first page of their handbook *The State: Theories and Issues* pose two questions to guide the conceptual analysis of the state: "*what*

this state is" and "*how it is developing*". The second question, invites the reader to believe that the conception of the state is not static, nor fixed, instead it evolves through time and space. In addition, many authors that have focused on the conceptualisation of the State, often talk about the differences between the modern state versus the pre-modern state (Jessop, 2009:398), and in recent times of the erosion of the nation-state with the introduction of new actors in the international arena and globalisation (Sorensen, 2006). All these considerations imply that there must be an evolution of the State. This must be present when analysing the construction of the SARD, which might in some case fit into the definition of the modern-state provided in this theoretical framework, however some other considerations of the construction of the state are more related to other concepts such as dependency or the contextual conflict situation.

Another dimension central to the analysis of the concept of State is State power. In Weber's definition of the State, the "use of physical force" is understood as one form of power. Lukes (2005) distinguishes three dimensions of power. The first dimension that Lukes examines is based on Dahl's analysis of power that is a decision-making approach of power. This dimension identifies the decision-makers, the actors that influence others in their decision-makings, and leads on the possibility of conflict when actors have conflicting interests and capacities. Following this dimension, Lukes examines the second dimension of power, what he calls the "control of the agenda". This dimension focuses on the decision making, not in the actors, and in the issues that are not in the agenda, the issues that might be purposely excluded from the agenda. The analysis of these two dimensions leads to the third dimension analysed by Lukes, the "power over". This dimension of power is related to the concept of hegemony analysed by Gramsci, which perceives the power of a State over something (such as, another state or society) on the basis of domination. Lukes highlights the distinction in this extent between the "power to" and "power over" and identifies the mechanisms by which the powerful dominate the others. Jessop rightly argues that power is not the exercise of this power, instead power are the liabilities and capacities of the exercise of this power (Jessop, 2009). When analysing state power however, one should not radically separate it from class power, Jessop argues (1990:45). Indeed, "the state and the state power must assume a central in capital accumulation" (in Clegg and Haugaard, 2009:16) dictating the social relations between persons established by instrumental things (Marx 1886:717). Dale (1989) instead argues that state formation is inherently capitalist,

outlining three main problems that the state faces. These problems of the capitalist state are to support capital accumulation, the internal cohesion (formulated as control) and the external legitimatisation of the state. These problems indeed correspond to Jessop's relational and structural definition of the state (Bonal, 2003; Jessop 1990; Dale, 1989).

2.2. Dependency and resistance

It has been previously argued that the state formation and state power are relational. From there it can be argued that state power and state formation have an impact on states relations and on the structure of the international system. In this system according to Lukes' third dimension of power, some states exercise power over other states, on the basis of domination. This implies that there are "dominating" states and "dominated" states, which under the second dimension of power provided by Lukes, the dominating states have a impact on the decision making and in the setting of the agenda. That is to say, there are dependency mechanisms that emerge out of the power relations of the states and their formation in the *anarchical international order* (lacking of a central enforcer) (Waltz, 1979). In line with the argument made earlier, by which the boundary between the domestic sphere and the international sphere is blurred, the dependency dynamics of the international system have a notable impact on the formulation of domestic issues and institutions. According to Dale (2000), the dependency dynamics are the result of the triumph of Capitalism as an international system over its potential alternatives. He argues that globalisation is a political-economical phenomenon in which power relations are dictated by the search for profit and the establishment of agreements that allow this pursue. In this sense, international organizations play a central role in providing a space for the establishment of such dependency mechanisms and reproducing the interests of the most powerful states (Dale, 2000). The clearest example of this is surely the Security Council of the United Nations constituted after World War II by its victorious states. This is also the line of argument provided by the Dependency theory of Cardoso and Faletto (1979), Quijano (1967) and Gunder Franck (1969) in relation to the context of Latin America particularly. They argue that on the basis of colonialism after their independence, the former colonies remained in the margins of the international system. These former colonies at the margins of the international system have a subordinated role in the international agreements, in the

international market and in the power relations, producing master-slave relations (Jessop, 2009). The basis of the dependency also lies on the fact that those countries in the peripheries are the providers on natural resources of the countries in the core, perpetuating even further the subordinated position of the countries of the peripheries. The subordination analysed by the dependency theory does not simply lie on the power relations in the international order, it also perpetuates in media, education, culture, social relations, economic relations and politics. However, it is central to focus on the economic dimension of the dependency dynamics of the international order. In fact the Dependency theory emerged in 1982 after Mexico defaulted on its debt, clearly illustrating the subordination of this country in the international order as well as its de facto dependency on other states (mainly the United States) and international organisations (IMF). This aspect of dependency will be particularly useful when analysing the mechanisms of dependency which might or not impact the construction of the education system in Western Sahara, taking into account that this country dependents entirely on foreign states and entities for its survival, and whose natural resources are directly exploited and colonised. Dependency can therefore conceptualised as a dual dichotomy symbolic and material and direct and indirect phenomenon. This dual dichotomy is dictated by the capitalist international system and its power relations that emerged from the pursuit of the maximization of profit of some actors in the detriment of others.

Dependency is further understood when put into tension with the concept of resistance. Indeed, taking the concept of hegemony of Gramsci (1982), the counter-hegemony forces are perceived as resistant movements to the hegemonic capitalist system. Castells (2010) describes the identity of resistance as a emerging from the historical bases of the individuals, actors in the margins. When thinking of the international order, the dynamics of dependency might allow the peripheries to develop this sense of resistance and react to the established power relations. Taking resistance in contraposition to dependency dynamics will be particularly useful in the analysis of the data of this particularly case highlighting the fact that movements of resistance emerge as a reaction to dependency. Resistance therefore implies self-sufficiency, or a least the aspiration towards it. The aspiration and the implementation of actions in a sense of resistance towards domination is the degree of agency of the nation-states in the international order. This agency, which transforms the victims in resistant bodies, passes through a process of empowerment, of awakening. Freire in the *Pedagogies of the oppressed* (1968; 2000) describes this process as departing

from an awareness of the oppressed of their subordinated position. In this process of awareness of oppression, resistant groups or states might put forward not only claims for equality and emancipation, but also they might create counter hegemonic alliances (as advocated by Quijano and Grunder Franck, in the Latin American context), sense of uniqueness, local particularities and identities, amongst others. This is also the stand taken by de Sousa Santos (2016) that advocates for *Epistemologies of the South*. With this concept, he highlights the hegemony of Northern led knowledge, and the need to resist this dynamics by emphasising the urge to learn from the South. It is important to firstly critically understand the South, not as a geographical category, instead as a relational, oppositional and political concept (de Sousa Santos, 2014). The South represents the people in the margins, suffering from oppression. Engaging with Southern epistemologies therefore refers to the resistance of all forms of dependency through Indigenous knowledge, Anti-colonial knowledge and Southern critical engagement with Northern theories. This resistance to Northern knowledge can be done from education, as argued by Freire (1969), through critical and social education. In Freire's understanding these resistant forms of education take place outside the national education system, instead they originate in alternative spaces for critical and social education (Tarlau, 2013). For the purpose of our analysis of the education system of Western Sahara, it will be of interest to identify the possibility of a resistant national education system and curriculum (the latter will be exposed in detail in section 4). In regard to the resistant education system, Tarlau identifies the extent in which the MST has created resistant education systems within the education system of Brazil in her analysis of the MST (Landless Workers Mouvement) in Brazil. Indeed she argues that "public schools are both an important part of the state's ideological apparatus and a civil society institution where resistance can be organized" (2017:121). Muhr (2015), in this line argues that public schools not only are a place where resistance can be organised, they can themselves be resistant in relation to other education systems. He particularly illustrates this construction of resistant educational policies and systems with the cases of Cuba and the ALBA. For Muhr (2015:129) the essence of this resistant education policies are the aspirations for "emancipation and transformation towards a socially just and democratic world order". This construction of a resistant education system is therefore marked by the dependency dynamics and colonialisties previously exposed. For this reason, this framework, which opposes dependency to resistance, is particularly useful for the analysis, in the extent that it allows to perceive the contradictions of this dichotomy (dependency/resistance).

Tarlau (2017:120) indeed argues that "the contribution of a Gramscian approach is to analyse reproduction and resistance as going hand in hand- even within a single institutional space-not as binary opposites".

2.3. Education systems and Globalisation

Taking into account the institutional and relational state formation and power as well as the dependency mechanisms that emanate from the international system relations, this section will focus on the relation between globalisation and education. Looking in particular into the impact of the world system in the construction of national educational system. To do so, this section will concentrate in two main theories, the Common World Education Culture (CWEC or WCT World Culture Theory)(Pope & Meyer, 2005) and the Globally Structured Educational Agenda (GSEA)(Dale, 2000).

The CWEC as its name indicates, claims the existence of a Common World Culture. That is to say, a set of values that is universal and standardised (Pope & Meyer, 2015). These values according to Meyer (1987) are of Western origin and are gradually acquired by the rest of regions in the world. This transfer of values occurs in a world system where supranational forces enact and enable the proliferation of such values. Meyer furthers argues that, "as a result of this diffusion, nation-states have come to display some striking formal similarities that are not bottom-up reflections of local circumstances" (Pope & Meyer, 2015: 282). In fact, going back to the institutional dimension of state formation, according to Meyer, states due to the World Culture display similarities in their institutions, in their goals, in their data systems, organization charts, ministry structures and policies (Kim and Jang, 1996). The isomorphism between states is the result of a voluntary process undertaken by the states. In CWEW nation-states are perceived as rational actors who voluntarily emulate these structures and policies under a justification of "lesson learning" or modernization. Indeed, these universal values are marked by the imaginary of being rational, modern, leading to progress and in which scientists and professionals play a central role in their support. The World Culture Theory therefore generates a superiority and hegemony of sciences, of progress and modernity as desirable characteristics for each state and systems. The role of international organisation is equally central in the diffusion of these values and the implementation of the World Culture. IGOs provide with assistance local states to put proper policies in place and

the conformity with the recommendations and world policies dictated by these international organisations enable states to be treated as "real states" (Dale 2000:447). This element of legitimisation constitutes a central argument of the WCT. For Meyer et al (1997) the implementation and diffusion of the common culture internationally occurs on the basis of the will of states to be legitimated. Going back to the relational dimension of state formation advanced by Jessop, states need to be legitimised, in addition to internally, internationally and externally in their process of formation. In this extent, world culture according to WCT enacts as a legitimising process of nation-states, which aspire to modernity and progress. This means that for WCT states are uniquely built from the external legitimisation process, making evident the dependency dynamics that undergo between states. In fact, "local variations in a universalistic society become anomalies or deviations unless they are justified in terms of general cultural principles" (Meyer et al. 1997:170). This means, that in the process of legitimisation by the adoption of the common values, the failure to do so or the enactment of local particularities is perceived to be deviant, or non-legitimate. However this need for legitimisation and appropriation of world culture does not a priori lead to a lost of sovereignty from states, oppositely, this process takes the form of a voluntary process and enactment. In fact, "these institutions embody universalized claims linked to rules of nature and moral purpose. Economic, educational or political action is legitimated in terms of quite general claims about progress, justice and natural order" (Meyer et al. 1987).

Under this approach, education is perceived as a rationalised and scientific instrument for progress and improvement of populations; and therefore follows the same mechanisms previously examined (Meyer & Kamens, 1992:171). This means, that education is permeated with this set of values in which science, rationalisation, modernity are perceived as desirable and superior qualities for an education system. In addition, education is perceived as a vehicle of the world culture. The adoption of universal western values in education allows states to legitimise their education system and their state apparatus as well as enables the diffusion of the Common World Culture. The similarities previously described regarding the isomorphism in state structure, institutions and policies are reintegrated in the educational arena, finding internationally similar organisational, structural similarities between education system as well as curriculum resemblances or even a degree of "curricular homogeneity" (Dale 2000: 430).

GSEA emerged as a critic to the CWEC and WCT, focusing as well on the

relation between education and globalisation. GSEA however believe that the common world culture is a tool for the legitimation not of nation-states as Meyer et al argue, instead a legitimation of the capitalism system per se. Indeed, Dale perceives globalisation as a set of political and economical arrangements enabling the establishment and reaffirmation of the capitalist system, and the pursuit for profit. The world values described by Meyer, according to the GSEA respond to the interest of the hegemonic powers and favour accumulation of resources, the maximization of profit and the establishment of exploitative structures (Dale, 2000). Education, in this understanding, frames the agenda for the capitalist system and does not originate uniquely by imitation or mimesis as Meyer (1987) argued. Another critic that GSEA formulate towards the WCT is the theory of agency advanced by Meyer, which explains the proliferation uniquely occurs in the reason of state legitimisation. However, CWT misses to unfold the causal dynamics and the points of origin of these norms and values. GSAE instead perceive capitalism as the causal form that generates this power structure.

2.4. Curriculum production and conflict

Coming from the analysis of education and the construction of education systems and its relation to globalisation, this section will concentrate in the production of curriculum as an essential element of education. Indeed, under the 4A framework of Tomasevski (de Beco, 2009) education should be: generally available, accessible to all, its content should be accepted by the population (understood as curriculum) and adapted to the needs of the population. "This framework appears to be the best way to classify state obligations relating to the right to education" (de Beco, 2009: 11). Indeed, in order to comply with the right of education, states should secure these four elements of their education system. In addition to the 4As, Tomasevski conceptualises immediate and progressive objectives for education. We highlight within these, the obligation to ensure free and compulsory primary education as an immediate obligations of states. Focusing in the third "A", acceptability of its content, one should be looking at how the curriculum is produced and delivered in order to ensure that it represents all members of the community. Apple (1979) however analyses the formulation of curriculum by the state under a Gramscian lent. For Apple (1986) the national curriculum enables the establishment and maintenance of the dominant ideology. By the preservation of the ideology the school curriculum enables the survival of the state, (re)producing state values,

norms, identities and lives styles (Bonal, 1998). He furthers examines the process in which curriculum is formulated by large editorial businesses, having an impact in its content, homogenisation and bureaucratization. In this line, Young (1971) argues that power and knowledge are closely intertwined, conceptualising two key elements*: the knowledge of the powerful* and *the powerful knowledge*. He refers as the *knowledge of the powerful* what socially counts as knowledge, what is perceived to be the knowledge. The *powerful knowledge* instead refers to the curriculum itself, what is that makes the knowledge. Curriculum therefore, according to Young, is embedded of social power relations, in relation to what is or not included in it. The *powerful knowledge* is for Young, the knowledge that is not available at home (at least to a part of society), generating a hierarchical social order on the basis of knowledge access and content. This is also the line of argument made by Berstein (1971) who through the analysis of linguistic identified the different social classes and power relation within society. Taking to the ground of school education, Berstein (2000) identified how schools structure (*framing*) and content (*classification*) are both reproducing social inequalities. In the sake of this analysis it will be particularly pertinent to focus on the content of knowledge, the curricula and as Young (2009:8) argued it "has to take account of the everyday local knowledge that the pupils bring to school", not to be fundamentally embedded in such social power relations and give room to power transformation. In this sense, Freire in the *Pedagogy of the oppressed* argues that education can also serve to emancipate the marginalised (1968). The pedagogy of the oppressed, "engages in the struggle for personal and collective liberation, where the oppressed unveil the world of their oppression" (Murphy and Omar, 2013: 349). Education plays a central role in this process of liberation when reformulated towards a critical approach to knowledge and leading to a process of empowerment. In this line, Dei (2008) conceptualises anti-colonial education as an education transformation enabling liberation and abolishing the structures of oppression, particularly colonial structures in knowledge and education. He conceptualises anti-colonial education, which he refers to as indigenous knowledge, in tension with the international knowledge. As argued by the CWEW theory, Dei argues that there is an international common understanding of what education should be and that this international knowledge perpetrates a political economic structure of subordination (GSAE theory). He argues that knowing about colonialism is key for resistance, and in this line he formulates 13 principles for an anti-colonial indigenous knowledge discourse (Dei, 2008:9-10). These are:

1. Land, history, culture and identity, are important elements in order to understand the contextual situation of communities.

2. History, cultural and spiritual identity are sources of asymmetrical power relations

3. Land and spiritual identity are salient elements for understanding the lived experiences

4. Land and spiritual identity should not be reductionist traits or perceived as essentialist differences

5. Land and spiritual identity are effective when intersected with other dimensions such as religion, or conflict in this case

6. Colonialism is the denial of history and identity that creates inequality between groups, leading to situational variations of different identities. Central to decolonialisation is the urgency of regaining our spiritual power and strength.

7. Western knowledge is based on what Dei calls, "epistemological racism", which designates the perceived superiority of Western thought based on concepts such as "reason", "progress", "rationality" and the "Enlightened discourse".

8. This superiority of Western knowledge only has a sense when understood within a competitive culture, inherently resulting in the production of "othered subjects".

9. This Western and Eurocentric dominance can be subverted by indigenous knowledge.

10. Indigenous knowledge is about resistance, subjective agency and collective politics and empowerment.

11. The transformation of "otherness" source of differences and marginalisation to "otherness" as source of power and emancipation.

12. Spirituality and spiritual ontology as sources of knowledge enabling a questioning the understanding about politics, culture and history.

13. And last but not least, an anti-colonial production of knowledge critics the independence between "scholarship", "politics" and "activism", generating spaces for political production of knowledge.

These 13 points presented by Dei, enable to identify the key elements for emancipation and their relation to education and knowledge production. This framework can be useful to decide the degree of their presence in education system

to determine their degree of decolonial discourse and perhaps the degree of emancipation of a society. This framework shall not be used as a tick-box toll, instead it should be used as a basis for analysis enabling to conceptualise some processes, tools and elements of resistance. The framework also enables to understand, the relation between the hegemonic knowledge and the capacity of resistance. From these points, it is important to pay particular attention to "land, history and identity", in the extent that these are central in the perpetuation in one hand, unequal structural power relations and reproducing colonial relations; and in the other hand they might as well enable a process of emancipation and resistance (principles 1-6 mainly). Indeed, Kempf (2006) explains that history is a tool for reproduction for colonial power system and for that reason he stands for the necessity of an anti-colonial teaching of history. He, indeed, argues that teaching always is done for a purpose, and he thrives for an anticolonial struggle from education. In the context of conflict, this is even further reinforced in conflict situation, where teaching of history place a crucial role in the prolongation and intensification of conflict as well as the possibility for conflict resolution (Psaltis, Carretero and Cehajic-Clancy, 2017). Martínez Guzmán (2003) argues that in conflict situation, as it is the case of Western Sahara, peace making passes through the empowerment of the "excluded". In order to reinforce the conceptual relation between conflict and education, it will be of use the analysis of Bush and Salterelli (2000) on the two-faces of education in conflict situation. They argue that education can generate spaces for conflict resolution and oppositely they can generate further animosities between the parties. Focusing on the positive face of education examined by Bush and Salterelli (2000), education in conflict can generate greater educational opportunities; it might equally sustain an ethnical tolerant climate, a de-segregation of the mind, linguistic tolerance, cultivation of inclusive citizenship, the disarming of history, the implementation of education peace programmes and finally education can also be a response to state oppression (Bush and Salterelli, 2000:21). In this thesis, the focus will be on the analysis of "history, land and identity" in Dei's terms, recollected in history, geography textbooks, which reproduce the same mechanisms of the historiography described by Kempf (2006).

3. Methodology

The aim of this chapter will be to examine and describe the methodological design and implementation of the present study. This chapter will start by restating the aim of the study, to then describe the methodology used for data collection and analysis. Afterwards, it will discuss the limitations, ethical considerations and positionality issues related to the methodological choice and the object of study.

3.1 Research question, objectives and methods

The objective of this study is to understand the manner in which the education system is constructing in the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic in refugee setting. The research aimed to answer the following question:

How does a resistant education system construct in a logic of dependency?

In order to respond to this central research question, the study concentrated in three specific sub-questions:

1. How is this national education system constructed (what are the elements, objectives)? What is its relation with nation-state formation?
2. What is a resistant education system and curriculum and how does it constructs?
3. What are the logics of dependencies in this context and what role do they play in this construction?

The objective of this research was to understand the temporal, conceptual and contextual evolution and process of construction of the education system in this particular setting. In particular, the aim was to focus on the tensions surrounding this construction and the perceptions of populations and policy makers on these tensions. To this aim, qualitative methods were at use in this research, collecting life experiences, perceptions and personal role in the process as well as the understanding of the population on structural power relations. Indeed, the objective of the research was to identify the resistances and conflicts within education as well as dependency dynamics at global and local level. This objective is closely related to the contextual space in which the research was conducted, deeply embedded in political and resistant discourses and perceptions of dependency and isolation. The choice of qualitative methods is the result of an understanding of research as a bi-directional process, an interdependent relation between the researcher and the "object of study" (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003). In fact, this distinction was blurred during this research; instead in line with Gimeno (2012)'s understanding of research, this study took the shape of a dialogue, a conversation, an interdependence.

To this aim, the data collection took place between November and January 2017 in the refugee camps of the people of Western Sahara, in Tindouf, Algeria. The location is a central element to take into account when examining the methodology of this study. Indeed, the choice to conduct the research in these refugee camps, is due to the fact that the construction of the nation-state is taking place exactly there, constituting the so-called *state in the exile*. The refugee camps indeed host a large part of the Sahrawi population and the institutions of the self-proclaimed Sahrawi State. In fact, the construction of the nation-state began in the refugee camps as a result of the Moroccan occupation and the forced exile. Conducting the research in the refugee camps allowed capturing the evolution of the nation-state and its education system. In addition, refugee education is a field still in need to be explored, particularly in cases such as the present one, where the refugee camps are managed by local and legitimised representative (here the POLISARIO front).

The data was collected by two main means, through 33 semi-structured interviews and through document analysis of policy documents and school textbooks. The use of semi-structured interviews provided me with the needed flexibility to accurately identify the main topics in the exploratory phase of the research, and then guide the participants towards the information needed (Seidman, 2006). The format

and length of interviews varied in relation to the time available and the participant, however the majority of interviews lasted between 90 minutes to 180 minutes. I believe this is due to the interest of participants in the research, the trust relation constructed as well as the conception of conversations in the Sahrawi context. Conversations and oral tradition are, indeed, central to the Sahrawi culture (Gimeno, 2016). Although interviews were flexible from one participant to another, I used the same interview scripts in all interviews (see annex).

The document analysis, gave me the possibility to trace back the foundations of the education system, the intentions and its relation with the state building. In addition, the analysis of textbooks enabled to understand the nature of the education system and triangulate with the intentions manifested by their elaborators during the semi-structured interviews. As part of the analysis of textbooks, I compared the first textbooks elaborated in the camps, in the 1980s with the new edition and enabled to understand the process of this evolution, the different stages and the origin of the new textbooks. All materials were translated on field with the support of several translators, in order to avoid (to some extent) the interference and bias of the translator.

The research was conducted in two levels. Firstly, in order to grasp the manner in which the national education system and national curriculum develops; and to identify the key actors and the institutional discourses, the focus was to inquiry at national level the policy formulators and policy documents, the bureaucrats and the elaborators of curriculum. These interviews were conducted in the ministerial centre in the camps (Rabuni), in the Pedagogical Centre Aminatou Haidar or in the *jaimat* (tends) of the participants. At national level, I also decided to interview the headmaster of the only school in the camps offering higher secondary education, the Cuban-Venezuelan secondary school "*Simón Bolivar"* as witness of a unique case and central element in the evolution of the education system.

The research was also conducted at local level, in order to capture the perceptions and discourses of teachers, headmasters and local education community of the lower secondary schools (including parent association, women association and one former secondary school student). The choice of lower secondary schools teachers and headmasters is related to the project of elaboration of textbooks, as it is the educational level where most textbooks were already elaborated and published.

The chosen local context was the *wilaya* of El-Aiun, where I lived with the family of my gatekeeper, Mahfud, enabling me to build trust and to get personal relationships, facilitating access and interpretations of interviews. Here, the majority of interviews took places in *jaimat*, in the participant's home, surrounded by children, cats and sometimes, even goats. And always tea. *Tea is sweet like love and bitter as the life*, people say in the camps. Tea is synonym of long hours of sharing, talking, stories and poetry. Interviews were conducted in Spanish or in French and some in Hasanía with the support of a translator. In this *wilaya* (El-Aiun) there are two lower secondary schools, and therefore only two headmasters, after conducting the interviews I decided that the sample was not sufficient so I decided to conduct 2 supplementary interviews of headmasters of lower secondary in the *wilaya* of *Ausserd* and to the regional director of education of this *wilaya*.

In order to analyse the discourses of donors, perceived to be the main source of dependency two interviews were conducted to NGO employees directly related to the education programmes and education provision. These interviews were conducted in the base of NGOs in the field, a cooperation camps highly secured and isolated from the daily routine of the refugee camps. I intended to conduct interviews to two other organisations involved in the provision of education in the refugee camps (ANARASD and UNICEF) however, in reason of lack of access these interviews were in the end not conducted, which might affect the interpretation of the results related to the display of dependencies by donors.

The following table summaries the data collection:

Number of participants interviewed	Semi-structured interviews
National level	
7	Members of ministries (education and culture) involved in the elaboration of textbooks and the educational planning
2	Pedagogical Centre Aminatou Haidar (director and technician)
1	Headmaster of Secondary school Simon Bolivar
3	Social sciences inspectors involved in the formulation of textbooks
2	Foreign NGOs employees working on educational projects in the

	field
Local level: El-Aiun	
8	Lower secondary education teachers of social sciences (history, geography, citizenship education and Spanish)
2	Headmasters
1	Regional director of Education
1	Parent association representative
1	Women association representative
1	Youth association representative
1	Former secondary school student
Local level: Ausserd	
2	Headmasters
1	Regional director of education
Document analysis	
4	Textbooks from the first edition 1980s
9	Textbooks (history, geography, citizenship education and Spanish) from the new edition (From Centre Aminatou Haidar)
1	1991 Constitution of SADR
1	1976 proclamation of the SADR
1	Internal documents of the Ministry of Education

Living in the camps and participating in the daily chores and activities of the house I had the opportunity to observe several educational settings however, I preferred not to include these observations in the analysis, in order to preserve the intimacy and privacy of my host family and their environment. I felt uncomfortable in the position of observer, so I decided to reduce the analysis to the data gathered during interviews and document analysis. Observations however, did represent a fundamental advantage for the contextualisation of the data collected and their interpretation.

3.2. Data analysis

The data analysis was approached under a classical content analysis and some elements of grounded theory (Ryan and Bernard, 2000). Indeed, the interviews were transcribed and coded in relation to some created codes and dimensions that

emerged from the literature as well as codes and dimensions that emanated from the content itself (see code list in the annex). The data analysis was therefore two sided, coming from the literature and the theory and from the data itself. The reformulation of the research question during the data collection is the result of this two-sided analysis, which enabled to integrate the flexibility of the field relating them with theoretical concepts. Indeed, as Bryman argues, qualitative methods are exploratory and therefore inherently dependent on the results and the context (1984).

The data analysis could be triangulated and checked thanks to the various phases of analysis in the field after the field and during the writing process, as well as by the observations which, although not included into the analysis, facilitated the understanding and verification of the accuracy and contextualisation of the interpretation (Robles, Gimeno, Awah and Laman, 2012 and Gimeno, 2016).

The help of the members of my Sahrawi family, particularly their daughter Hayat, which travelled several times to Spain, supported the interpretation and help me understanding the reality of the camps. Knowing her reality and mine, she helped me to better navigate and interpret the results. In general terms, the close members of my host family although not necessarily representative of the whole Sahrawi population provided me with some cultural and local codes to entre the field.

3.3. Ethics and positionality

As French and Spanish citizen, the cause for the self-determination and recognition of the Western Sahara people has never been disconnected to me. It has always, and more importantly recently, constituted a just cause, a cause to fight for, a cause that I feel to belong to; and yet, a cause where I find myself in the bench of the guilty ones, or at least the accomplices. My two countries of origin, which I am not sure to fully identify with, Spain and France, have and still do contribute to the non-recognition of the rights of Western Sahara and the continuous violation of human rights. My relation with the cause and with the topic of the research has therefore an emotional and personal component.

For this reason, I take extremely seriously the validity and motivation of this research, trying to conduct it in the possibly most ethical and rigorous manner. As Gimeno (2016) argues in the context of Western Sahara, the social research must be empowering, I intended to apply this in its widest sense. That is, an empowering research for all of its participants: the actors and myself, and the cause for self-

determination as an inherent actor. In line to the object of study, the methodological plan has taken into account the logics of dependencies and allowed for resistance and agency, acknowledging the independencies between the researcher (me) and the participants. We, humans, are interdependent, and it has been the intention of this research to undertake a relation based on collaboration more than a study "on" people.

In addition, the research has been conducted taking into account the ethical guidelines and good practices in research of the UAB. When conducting the research, I took special care in the design, data collection, data analysis and dissemination to follow the codified guidelines as well as the ethical measures that I felt pertinent at each of the stages in relation to the context. Before going to "the field" in November I elaborated consent forms for participants to sign before the interviews (in order to have written consent from them) (see annex). However, once conducting interviews, the forms created a lack of trust and discomfort within participants, reluctant to sign and feeling tense. I therefore decided to ask for oral consent instead, with regular requests of reiterated consent. In some of the interviews, some content was not included in the transcription upon request of participants. The majority of the interviews were voice-recorded and posteriorly transcribed; however four of the interviews were not recorded upon request of the participants. When consent was requested, a significant number of participants referred to the participation in the study as a national duty, as being representative of the whole population of the refugee camps, these two elements were also taken into account when analysing and interpreting the data.

It is also important to mention, that the Research Question was modified during the process of data collecting, the initial aim of the research was to determine the role of education in the political commitment in the cause for self-determination. However, once conducting the interviews and analysing some of the responses the Research gradually changed. This although guaranteed a central element of validity in the methodology and the accuracy in the research (Agee, 2009) it rose challenging considerations in regard to the ethicality towards respondents. Indeed, in the initial research question functioned as a gate-opener in a context where the topic of the political commitment and the struggle is central, therefore changing using the data collected for another aim that the one initially formulated was an element, which I took into consideration during the analysis. To limit this contradiction, I contacted

some of the participants in order to re-address consent and accuracy in the interpretation of their discourses.

3.4. Limitations

Language is an important element to take into account, because it limited the access to some information, missing the off-record conversations and depending on a translator. In order to limit the bias of the translator I managed to change translator and my basic knowledge of Arabic enabled me to check on the accuracy of the translations. The lack of access of the off-record conversations enabled me to exclusively collect the information intentionally provided to me and providing with intimacy and protection the participants.

Another limitation worth highlighting is directly related to the context and my position. As activist of the cause, the contacts I had before entering the field where closely related to the political struggle, particularly my gatekeeper. The relation and position of my gatekeeper could have influenced the sampling and access of participants that is why, to limit this shortcoming; I decided to gain access to additional participants through daily encounters and through other participants. Furthermore, my position as outsider and foreigner might have influenced to some extent the responses of the participants, however the presence in some cases of local translators limited this phenomenon, enabling verification. Additionally, my position as outsiders and the limit in time period had certainly an impact in the interpretation of the results (Bourdieu, 1992).

4. Results and Analysis

Using as a reference the previously presented theoretical framework, this section will expose and analyse the findings responding to the formulated research question. To do so this part will firstly focus on the construction of nation-state going hand in hand with the construction of the national education system. After that, this chapter will analyse the manners in which the education system and its curriculum could be regarded as resistant. In a first moment, it will be the aim to examine in which manner the resistant education system is placed in a logic of dependence and to what extent. And finally, this section will highlight the contradictions, synergies and dissonances in these two approaches (resistance and dependencies).

4.1. How to construct a national education system

4.1.1. The construction of a nation-state

The construction of the national education system in Western Sahara in the exile is directly linked to the construction of the nation-state itself in its conflict situation. As described in chapter one, after the occupation by Morocco in 1975 of the territory of Western Sahara, the Sahrawi people proclaimed the SADR and started to construct the bases of the new nation-state. Farah argues that, "education has played a critical role in building the new polity and society" (Farah, 2010: 30). For this reason it is important to analyse the ways in which the nation-state has developed and constructed, in order to understand the construction of the education system.

The proclamation act of the SADR states that:

"SADR (Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic) is a free, independent and sovereign state, governed by an Arab democratic national system, with unionist aspirations and of Muslim progressive faith. In accordance with its doctrine and orientation, this state is Arab, African and Non-Aligned" (SADR proclamation, 27th February 1976).

This quote sets the basis for the analysis of the construction of the SADR, under the analytical tools provided in the chapter 3, particularly the relational and institutional nature of the nation-state (Jessop in Clegg and Haugaard, 2009). Taking into account the contextual situation of the construction of the Sahrawi state, its relational nature has played a fundamental role. The conflict situation, the struggle for independence and self-determination as well as the territoriality constitute key elements in the internal legitimacy of the state. Indeed, after the mass exodus resulting from the forceful occupation, the people of Western Sahara, gathered in the refugee camps and proclaimed the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic. The people aim to fight together, resist the occupation and defend their right to self-determination. Territoriality is key in understanding the internal cohesion and unity of Western Sahara, all Sahrawis under the SADR relate to the original territories of Western Sahara that now are constituted by the liberated and occupied territories. However, the population and the state formation take place in the exile in the refugee camps of Tindouf, as hosts of the Algerian state. If, taking Weber's definition of the state, territoriality places a central role, however, in this case, the concept of territoriality has to be understood more widely. The geographical sense of territoriality does play an important role in the construction of the nation-state as it is the base of the "common interest" or "general will" described by Jessop, in the struggle for liberation and its relation to the "home". The sense of territoriality, therefore builds what Castells calls the "identity of project". Indeed, Sahrawis legitimise the SADR under the premises of a common interest, a common territory, a common struggle and a common culture. A member of the Ministry of Culture explained this in this line:

"The homeland is the culture, the tradition, the language, the set of traditions and habits".

The internal legitimacy and recognition also passes through a high level of representation and participation of society. In the Sahrawi refugee camps, participation is central in the public life, taking the shape of open public debates at the various administrative levels, participation of representative groups of all sectors of the

population (especially youth and women, are well represented and organised) and elections (Wilson, 2010, Zunes, 1988).

Internationally, however the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic is recognised by approximately 80 states, but not recognised by the United Nations. For instance, for the MINURSO (the United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara), the POLISARIO front is recognised as the representative body of the Sahrawi and not the SADR. In fact, the SADR and the POLISARIO are often used interchangeably (Wilson, 2010), to designate the abstract concept of the state that may exercise legitimate power over its population. The internal cohesion is then based on the "identity of project" (Castells, 2010) more than in a concrete, fixed idea of the state. The external legitimacy, in Western Sahara's case passes by the creation and preservation of bilateral alliances. This is what Jessop (in Clegg and Haugaard, 2009) describes as the continuation of social relations in the world system. The first degree of alliances in this case is the formal recognition of the SADR as a self-proclaimed state, mainly by African and Latin-American countries. The second degree of alliances is the formal support of the "project" of the people and its representatives; it is the case of Algeria, Cuba, Venezuela, Libya, Syria and South Africa, among others. The change in these social relations changes the position and level of legitimacy of the country internationally, argues Jessop (in Clegg and Haugaard, 2009). In 1984, the relations with Libya changed dramatically when the latter changed positions and undertook commercials agreements with Morocco. This second degree of social relations also takes the shape of adhesion to regional unions or communities, specifically the adhesion to the African Union. The presence in such organisations and their events do constitute a fundamental source of legitimacy. During my time in the camps in the data gathering, the summit Europe-Africa took place hosted by the African Union in Abidjan. This summit constituted a crucial event for the legitimation and recognition of SADR. At this event attended key African and European heads of states. During the followings weeks a photo was in the hands of all, in the refugee camps (retrieved from RFI on the 30th November 2017, http://en.rfi.fr/africa/20171130-Abidjan-Summit-Joint-task-force-be-launched-free-migrants):

European Union and African Union heads of states pose during the opening ceremony of the fifth AU-EU summit in Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire on 29 November, 2017.

The picture shows all the heads of states present at the summit, between them, Brahim Ghali the president of the SADR. The presence of the Sahrawi head of state meant its recognition as a legitimate representative of a legitimate state internationally recognised, in presence of African and European head of states.

In addition to the relational nature of the state, it is important to examine the state as an institutional ensemble. Wilson (2010) and Briones (1993) point out that the SARD has developed a complex and sophisticated set of institutions in the exile, basis of the institutional nature of the State. The first Congress of the Sahrawi National Council (Parliament) was held in 1976 and since, they are held every 18 months. This parliament has representative groups of each of the segments of society and days prior the Congress public open discussions take place to shape the sessions and propositions of the Congress. During the Congress the president is elected and the government formed, constituting two of the core institutions of the State described by Jessop (in Clegg and Haugaard, 2009), the legislative and executive bodies. In addition, the SARD counts with a judiciary and military body along with a police force and penitentiary centre. Briones (1993), Wilson (2012) and Zunes & Mundy (2008) describe in detail the political system of Western Sahara and its set of institutions. It is however, worth noting that the political system is highly centralised and describes itself as a democratic and social republic. The core institutions in the refugee camps are located in *Rabuni*, the administrative centre of the refugee camps. The rest of the camps are organised in five *wilayat* (singular

wilaya): *Smara, Elayoune, Ausserd, Dakhla* and *Boujador*. Each is divided into sections called dawair (singular daira), and each daira into a neighbourhood (haiy) (Wilson, 2010: 425). At each of these levels of administration, there are representations of the states' institutions, in order to guarantee the highest representation of citizenship nation wide. Jessop (in Clegg and Haugaard, 2009) adds to the list of possible institutions that constitute the nation-state, the family, the education system or religion. All these institutions play a central role in the SARD. In fact the SARD constitution, in its article 4 states: "*Islam is the religion of the State*" and in article 6, "*family is the essential base of society. Its values are religion and morality*".

Having examined the relational and institutional nature of the state of Western Sahara, it is worth highlighting that the concept of the state is not fixed, instead it changes in nature and through time. Indeed, internal and external social relations of the state change, evolve hand in hand with the development of the core institutions.

4.1.2. The construction of the national education system

Using this analysis of the construction of the SADR, it will be the aim of this part to look at the construction of the education system, core institution of the nation-state on the basis of the institutional nature of the nation-state. Indeed, Farah, argued that the basis of the education system was formulated around the following statement: "educated refugees could better serve the causes of liberation and nation building" (2010:30). Education is perceived as necessary to build the modern society and was declared mandatory for males and females at the elementary, preparatory, and secondary levels under article 25 of the SADR constitution. In addition, education as core institution of the nation-state is perceived to be source of power and legitimisation in the international system (Meyer, 2009), it is the position taken by the secretary general of the Ministry of Education of SADR:

> *Before people use to ask how was your army, how were your weapons to value the situation of your country, now they ask for the curriculum of your schools to determine your future in fifteen - twenty years.*

The education system since its early time has evolved and changed in shape and nature, in relation to the social conditions, the context and the availability of resources, these different phases have indeed being described in section 1.2. of this

thesis. In order to understand the construction of the actual education system, it is crucial to have in mind the different steps this construction has been trough, the different shapes the education has taken, before becoming a national education-system in due form. Using Tomasevski's (2006) 4As framework the SADR seams to guarantee the right of education for its population. Indeed, SADR fulfils its *immediate obligations* of guaranteeing free and compulsory education, for all children in the camps and has developed alliances to guarantee upper secondary and higher education to all students even abroad. In the first congress of education, in 1975 it was stated that: *"the educational policy should focus in the importance of guarantying free education to all segments and ages of the population"*. In addition, as stated in chapter 1.2, in the description of the evolution of the education system, one can see that there are pre-schools in each *haiy*, 2 primary schools per *daira* and 1 or 2 lower secondary schools per wilaya, guaranteeing the compulsory, free, available and accessible education until the end of lower secondary school. In order to continue higher secondary education and higher education, agreements are put into place to send students to ally countries, mainly Algeria that guarantees the access to education as well as accommodation in boarding schools. Since the decade of 2000s the Venezuela-Cuban school allows a part of students to continue their education in the refugee camps, as an alternative to study abroad. There are as well options of vocational training in the camps such as a nurse school. Furthermore, it can be argued that the education system adapts to the needs of the population and the society as a whole in the line with the *Adaptability* criteria of Tomasevski (2009 in De Beco). One member of the Ministry of Education explained to me the rationale behind the construction of the education system and its objectives:

> *A scientifically educated person, with civic education, that wants to work, is self-sufficient, open-minded, and tolerant, and is against any type of discrimination of gender, race or religion. It is a person prepared to help his/her family and fight for the liberation of the homeland.*

The centrality and levels of organization of the education system are important to look at, in order to seize the levels of development of the system. The secretary general of the Ministry of Education describes this organisation and its mechanisms, in the following way:

> *The ministry is like a staircase; there is first the ministry, and then the regional director in each wilaya and from there to the schools. We hold meetings*

with the headmasters and we gather their suggestions, problems and concerns. Themselves hold prior regular meetings with the inspectors and the teachers.

When interviewing teachers and inspectors about their work, they always referred to ministerial guidelines, illustrating the centralization of the education system. This per se is not necessarily a characteristic of a national education system, however, in this case it allows us to understand the planning of the education and its professionalization (see graphic in chapter 1.2. evolution of education system).

Teacher formation is likewise a central feature of an education system. Under Tomasevski's 4As framework, we could argue that teacher formation is one of the facets that render education *available*. In Western Sahara teacher training takes place mainly in the national centre *"9th of June"*. In the early days of the exile, this was a boarding school now re-converted in teaching training centre. A number of teachers however have been trained in Algeria (mainly before the *9th of June* was converted into a training centre), Cuba and Spain. In the case of pre-school educators, the formation takes place in the pre-school training centre in each of the *wilayat*. In general terms, teacher training is always a priority in the planning of the education system, and it is one of the requests most frequently made to external donors.

The evolution of the education system, its centrality and the mechanisms of teacher training have an impact in the social order of the Sahrawi society. In fact, the educational employees hold a high status in society, which can be traced back to the nomadic times (see chapter 1.2 evolution of the education system). This status in society generates competitive dynamics in the education sector. Indeed, a number of teachers, headmasters and inspectors manifested their pursue for an improvement of their rank in the educational scale. Teachers are not remunerated (they only receive a symbolic contribution from UNICEF) so the competitively is not related to a change of income, instead it is related to the status and position in society. One inspector explains to me how she ranked up to be an inspector:

Here the Sahrawis we have a competition to rank up. I cannot be a primary teacher for more than 17 years. I cannot stay in this place. I want to be a secondary teacher, an inspector or a headmaster. If they give me more points, other teachers with more experience will complain. But there have been periods where there was a need to send educational guides to Algeria with groups of

high school students. They [Ministry of Education] told me that if I went, it could give me the possibility to be a headmaster that is why I went and stayed for one year in Algeria.

Finally, the *acceptability* of education is related to the construction of a national curriculum relevant to the population. This element will be analysed in detail in the following sections. It is for this case study of central importance as the SADR has had various attempts of elaboration of local curriculum, and since 2008 has been a priority of the education policy. Knowledge is indeed at the origin of power, state-formation and allows understanding the nature of the state formation and its aspirations (Young, 2007).

4.2. Resistances in education

Resistance from a Gramscian understanding emerges as a reaction to the dominant hegemonic system. Taken to the ground of education, resistance takes various levels of analysis and dimensions, which must be looked at in detail. It will be the aim of this part to analyse the extent of the resistant nature of the system, firstly looking at its construction and organisation and then, focusing in the educational production of knowledge through the elaboration of the national curriculum.

4.2.1. Resistance in the education system and school organization

Resistance in education emerges from the condition of subordination and the process of its awareness towards emancipation (Freire, 2000). Resistance in education often takes place outside or reacting to the national central education system being a central part of state ideological apparatus (Taralau, 2010). However, education systems sometimes give room for resistance within the system and in relation to other education systems. It will be indeed the aim of this part to identify how the structure and construction of the education system is in itself resistant and in which manners resistance articulates.

The first element of the resistance of the education system of the SADR is directly linked to conflict and to time. The people of Western Sahara settled in the Algerian desert 40 years ago, and from the first days of the exile they started the construction of their education, which has evolved, transformed and developed through time, in

relation with the various phases of conflict and the relation with the allies and foreign aid (see chapter 1.2, evolution of the education system). In these conditions they have been able to generate an education system and a literate society. In this sense resistance takes the meaning of survival, of continuation and perseverance. In relation to conflict, Education plays a central role as motor of emancipation of society fundamental step for conflict resolution and peace building (Martínez Guzmán, 2003; Bush & Salterelli, 2000).

The process of emancipation is key for construction of a resistance in Western Sahara particularly, and directly related to anti-colonial discourses. Indeed, the three pillars from which the education system is constructed are: the African origin of the SADR, its Arab Origin and its colonial past. All three elements under the premises of the first congress on Education in 1975 ought to be essential part in the education system. This allows recognising the subordinated position and identifying the legacies of colonialism in society in order to build a solid emancipation through education. In the introductions of the first Sahrawi textbooks (1980s) one can read:

The [Sahrawi] personality with its characteristics has been able to resist all forms of colonialism and attempts to change our personality that fights against colonialism. National citizenship education textbook, 4th grade of primary school

In addition to the explicit reference to its colonial history, in the core of the education system and its textbooks, the memory and embracing of the colonial past passes by practices such as the teaching of Spanish since primary school and its recognition as co-official language of the Sahrawi people. Enormous effort are put towards the preservation of Spanish in society, teaching it in all schools, sending young children to spend the summer with Spanish families, and through alliances with Cuba and Venezuela. Indeed, it is a priority of the SADR to preserve Spanish language as symbol of the colonial history, which serves the struggle for self-determination differentiating their history from Morocco's French colonial past (Candela Romero, 2006). This intentional distinction from the colonial past, is clearly linked to the conflict situation but it is also a will of self-positioning of the education. Indeed, as mentioned earlier under the SADR proclamation, the State identified itself as Arab, African and Non-aligned. The intentional self-positioning of Western Sahara's state constitute a central element of resistance, taking into account the geopolitical climate of the Cold War. The positioning as a non-aligned state embeds

the idea not only of resistance to the two major geo-political blocs, it also integrates a discourse of self-sufficiency, of social justice in the international order, of anti-colonial and anti-imperial struggle. This movement that emerged in the 1970s, promoted what de Sousa Santos (2012, 2016) call "Epistemologies of the South" that is a valorisation of the knowledge that emerged form the South. That is in fact the aim of the construction of the education system of Western Sahara. Following the pillars set in the SADR proclamation, the education system built under the same premises:

- *"The SADR is an African country and for that reason the education system should take into account the education experiences of other countries in the African continent.*
- *The SADR is an Arab country, for that reason exhaustive research should be done of the educational programs of Arab such as Algeria, Syria, Egypt and even Morocco.*
- *The SADR is a country that suffered colonisation and this must stay in Sahrawi's memory".* (Aljalifa, Almami & Hamadi, 2012)

This self-positioning and the anti-colonial aspiration in education are directly linked to the political agenda of the state and of the struggle of self-determination. Indeed, in the line Taralau's (2015) argument on the important role of education in the MST movement, in our case study, education also plays a central role in the contribution to the political movement and struggle for liberation. As mentioned above education's intentions are to pass on the memories of the colonial past, core values and tools as a mean for emancipation and strive for liberation. In the line of Freire's (2002) theory of emancipation in education, a member of the parent association stated:

> *We cannot be refugees twice, refugees of our land and refugees of our minds.*

In the case of SADR the emancipation of the mind, passes by the creation of key alliances enabling the continuation of education and ideology, the transmission of norms and values and the professionalization of a combatant society. The relation of the political struggle with education is a common feature of the so-called "revolutionary" education models. Interviewed respondents referred to this category

of states and their education as having in common the fight against colonisation, states or societies that identified as Non-aligned and are or were in a struggle for independence. Policies makers in SADR explicitly stated that their aspirations were often "revolutionary" education models, such as the Cuban, the Venezuelan, the Algerian or the Syrian model among others. This relation to "revolutionary" models took the form of adopting the structure, the content as well as the creation of alliances for the continuation of education ensuring a continuity of the transmission of values and path for emancipation, similarly to the Muhr's (2015) analysis of the Literacy Campaign "*yo sí puedo*!". This element of resistance is further reinforced by the set of durable alliances to these "revolutionary" countries, but not only, in order to resist to the long lasting difficulties and resources limitations that emerge from the 40 years of exile. These alliances in the case of education, provide opportunities for students to study abroad, teacher-training support or support in the elaboration of the curriculum. These alliances could to a large extent be labelled as South-South cooperation (as most of the allies are part of the so-called Global South), and a way to resist and generate a counter-hegemonic bloc of alliances (Fiddian and Pacitto, 2013). Even when abroad students still preserved their identity and the relation to the struggle for liberation. Students were sent abroad with an educator who taught all students history, geography and religion in order to preserve the connexion to the homeland. In addition, in the case of some countries some of the local formal curriculum was adapted to fit with the aspirations an identity of Sahrawi students. A member of the Ministry of Culture told me the case of Cuba where the Marxist curriculum was replaced by an Islamic course.

> *When we were in Cuba, as we are Muslims we did not receive Marxist classes. They did not teach us the communist ideology because it is contradictory with Islam. So they allowed us to receive religious and cultural education; we organised events, we dressed up with the Melfa and the Draa[5] and each weekend we had cultural activities to preserve the connexion thousands of kilometres apart.*

This urge for emancipation and contribution to the struggle for self-determination within the educational state apparatus also emanates from the society itself. Indeed the totality of the education employees (in fact all public employees) are voluntaries, there do not receive any compensation for their labour (aside of a

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[5] Female and male traditional costumes

symbolic aid provided by UNICEF of 30€ every three months). The work departs from a will to contribute to the state project. The headmaster of one of the secondary schools explained to me:

> *People know that they are working out of their own will and they are at peace, because they do it for the Sahrawi people. Everything is for and by the people.*

Another element that enables to believe on the resistant character of the education system and its contribution to the cause for self-determination, are the number of activities organised within the education settings, but aside from the formal curriculum which primary aim is to pass on the core values of the construction of the nation-state and the struggle for self-determination. Indeed, national schools organise at national, *wilaya* and *daira* level competitions between schools, in different subjects. The most highlighted subject by participants was the one of Sahrawi's history and tradition's, which weights for a highest score than other subjects. During these competitions children are expected to master history and geography of the homeland as well as their natural resources, the key dates of colonisation and of the war for liberation, the names of the key martyrs in the struggle (El Luali Mustafa Said, Bassiri, among others) and key elements of the mores and traditions (such as being able to build a *jaima*). These competitions are set up in the aim to preserve the relation to "history, land and identity" promoting an anti-colonial indigenous knowledge in the line of Dei's thirteen principles (2008). In addition to the school competitions, school participate in national festivities under the same rationale. For these key dates, (such as 27th February, the day of proclamation of the SADR, the 10th of May the creation of the POLISARIO front, 20th of May its first battle) all schools celebrate them, talk about them, and national or regional parades are organised. In these parades children dress with their traditional costumes, hold hundreds of flags, chant patriotic and revolutionary mottos and songs (RASD17TV, 2011 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4sy1hyyDfxs) or even recite poems.

Regional parade, El-Aiun November, 2017.

Poetry also constitutes a central element for the transmission of the indigenous knowledge. Poetry is embedded in education although it main source of transmission and production is the *jaima* and the private sphere. Poetry is related to the ritual of the tea and the long hours of discussion. However, the public sphere has constant references and performances of poetry, such as in the competition mentioned earlier, in the parades, in official political acts as well as in the textbooks. Poetry is often related to the homeland, the territory and the struggle for independence (Robles Picón et all, 2015) and constitutes a key element of the Sahrawi oral tradition. The following poem clearly shows the relation between poetry, education, the anti-colonial and self-determination struggle.

Saharawi Child

*Saharawi child, take hold of a paper and pencil
and learn literature, math and science.*

*Saharawi child, sit closely by your elders
and listen carefully to the wisdom; this is the way which in the
future will come to your rescue.*

Saharawi child, have your mind open to understanding.

*Let wisdom be your best friend.
Let wisdom be your professor.
Let wisdom be your Father your Mother and your Brother.
Let wisdom embrace you; its path will never let you down.*

*Saharawi child, open your eyes to the world around you;
choose your friends wisely, let every choice be guided
by a good counsellor.*

*Saharawi child, take advantage of every opportunity
wherever you go, but don't forgot your principles, language or
culture, or that you are "Saharawi!"*

*Saharawi child, accept every nation, every race and
every language and the door of blessing will be opened to your
house and to your nation. (Western Sahara)*

*Saharawi child, don't be afraid of making mistakes or
be afraid of correction because that is where the lesson is and that is when
you will learn who you are, because you are valuable.*

*Saharawi child, share your seat with justice and reconciliation that
you may become the turban of peace.*

Saharawi child, let the truth be the foundation of your dignity.

It will let your light shine and will build the walls of your generation and your nation.

Saharawi child, be independent!

*Be strong
Be humble
Be kind
Be patient
Be honest
Be joyful
Be just
Be trustworthy
Be righteous
Be generous
Be diligent
Be faithful*

and the favor of life will always be yours!

*Saharawi child, listen, learn, grow, laugh, teach, forgive, love, share, trust, heal, hope, dream, sing
and dance; do this and you will never lose your smile.*

Agaila Abba Hemeida, 2007, A voice for the Saharawi people

In schools similarly to the celebration of national festivities, key local figures often intervene to pass on the commitment to the cause and the struggle for self-determination. The head of the League of Sahrawi students in Spain, explained to me that he was in 4th grade the first time he understood *that something was not right.* He was in school and a group of men came. The men explained to the class to be careful with the anti-personal mines spread around the liberated territories. They told them how to recognise them, not to play with them and what was the protocol to follow in case of seeing one. This was the first time the young man was faced with the reality of his people, to his reality. It was through education that he became aware of his condition and the first seed of commitment for the cause for self-determination was planted.

Another aspect of the resistance in the education system are the various strategies put in place to resist the logics of dependencies from allies and International foreign aid and their pressures (which will be further analysed in the following section). The relation with Libya until 1984 illustrates well the self-sufficient and resistant character of the Sahrawi education system. From the early days of the exile until 1984, Libya for its revolutionary model constituted a central ally, main host of Sahrawi student and donor. However, during the decade of the 1980s Libya pressured continuously Western Sahara to support their military operation as compensation to the help received. As a result of the negative of the SADR, Libya signed a commercial agreement with Morocco in 1984, which ended the collaboration and support from Libya. Although the resistance to pressures constituted a central turning point for survival of education, Saharawi remained firm in their position of self-positioning. In the context of exile, self-sufficiency and ownership in the formulation and implementation of projects plays a central role. Indeed, one of the workers of the NGOs implementing education projects in the camps explains to me:

> *At the end of the year, we go to the Ministry of Education and they give us a list of priorities for next year. They are the ones identifying the needs. [….] In the rest of Algeria, we do not work like this, we are the ones identifying the needs and formulating the projects.*

Indeed, the SADR has a strong pillar on self-sufficiency and ownership in the projects implemented in the camps, one member of the Ministry of Education strongly

states:

> *The international agencies and NGOs, such as UNCHR, find the open gates here in the camps to work in education. They say that they want to work here but under their conditions. Here we have schools, there is people that work in them, there are students that study in them, but there is not a stable education. But there is something, which is better than the best education under the conditions of others.*

The secretary general of the Ministry of Education illustrated this fight for self-sufficiency with the story of the search of allies for the printing of the Islamic education textbook. In the decade of the 1990s, the Ministry of Education formulated the content of the Islamic education textbooks and seek for an ally to support this project with the edition and printing of the books. Iran, responded positively to the demand. However, after examination of the content of the textbook, the Iranian government asked the SADR to modify some of the *surahs* to a more *"extremist[6]"* vision of Islam. Under the refusal of the SADR, Iranians changed themselves the content, printed and sent to the camps the modified textbooks. Upon their arrival, Sahrawi noticed the changes and decided not to use these textbooks. Today, there are still containers full of never used books in the middle of the desert.

The aversion for the pressure and creation for dependency is latent in the camps and in the relation between Sahrawis and foreign donors. In the discourses it was regularly emphasised when a project was totally Sahrawi formulated and implemented as sign of success. In the relation with foreigners, although always welcoming this aversion was always present. In addition, in the implementation of projects, Sahrawi formulated projects are preferred and prioritises. It is the case of the formulation and production of their own curriculum. This old project, which first attempts took place in the early days of the exile, started to take a concrete shape in the late 2000s, lacking of funding and support. In 2008, while the first steps of the implementation of the project were already taken, ANARASD (a Spanish NGO) decided to support the project and its implementation.

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[6] Term used by the respondent

4.2.2. The construction of a resistant curriculum

The above-mentioned project, of the construction of a national curriculum, will be the focus of this section. It will here be argued that the construction of the national curriculum in refugee situation is moved by resistance dynamics and logics.

The elaboration of the national curriculum was since the 1970s a priority in the development of the education system however as a result of the lack of resources and the contextual obstacles (which will be further examined in the following section) the project was not successful until 2008 when the SARD was able to construct for it solid bases. It is firstly relevant to highlight the fact, that the July 2015 UNCHR report recommends refugees to adopt the curriculum of the host country instead of teaching their own curriculum. This position, although probably more pragmatic, is ethically problematic not viewing education as a factor of conflict resolution in refugee settings and not perceive refugees as possible agents of change. In the case of Western Sahara, from the 1990s this pragmatic position was put into practice and students in the national schools were taught the Algerian curriculum and still are to some extent. UNICEF in collaboration with AFAD (local Algerian NGO) bought (and still buy) the Algerian textbooks and brought them to the camps to ensure curriculum for all students and facilitate the continuation of education for Sahrawi students of secondary and higher education in Algeria. In fact, Algerian curriculum was chosen for two main reasons, firstly for its common colonial past and "revolutionary" identity and secondly to allow the smooth continuation of student towards secondary and higher education. However, in resistance to use of foreign curriculum and to mitigate its effects, the Ministry of Education provided teachers and headmasters with guidelines to adapt the Algerian curriculum to the reality of Western Sahara. With this practice the Ministry of Education, intended to balance the effects of teaching a foreign curriculum and incorporate into education key elements of what was considered the fundamentals of Western Sahara's education. These educational fundamentals were primary focused in the teaching of history, geography and political culture, as well as Sahrawi's norms and values. Adaptation therefore, used the ideological similarities with the Algerian curriculum and its history to introduce elements of the Sahrawi's reality. One teacher explains the process:

If the Algerian book talks about the Algerian liberation martyr Benahmed Saadi Youssef, we changed it to a Sahrawi martyr.

Another adaptation and coping strategy used by teachers and education employees, was to dedicate ten minutes at the beginning of each day to speak about the national days, their history, the geography of the homeland and of the conflict. The intention of these strategies, argued the members of the education sector is to give students, *the seeds of their history*. The strategies of adaptation are dictated from the MoE to the teachers and headmasters, leaving them however a large amount of autonomy. This meant that the different cooping strategies were embedded with community knowledge in the line with Dei's indigenous knowledge (2008). The same happens in the Simón Bolivar secondary school. This Cuba and Venezuelan education project in the camps, is the unique institution that provides education until the end of secondary education. In this school student follow the Cuban curriculum, except of history and geography, which are adapted to the Sahrawi reality and are now starting to use the newly elaborated textbooks.

In the second half of the decade of 2000, when the project of building a national curriculum started taking shape, decision makers decided to centre the efforts and prioritise the elaboration of the curriculum in social subjects, these are history, geography, citizenship education and Spanish, resulting from the insufficient resources to covert the totality of the subjects. This decision was made in relation to two main arguments. First, the choice of social subjects is related to the teaching of indigenous knowledge as analysed under Dei's framework. Indeed, the land, history and identity are key elements to understand the lived experiences and source of anti-colonial knowledge. In addition, the prioritisation of history and geography in the elaboration of the national curriculum is related to Kempf concept of *Historgraphy*. The teaching of history, as Kempf argues has a purpose, and in the case of Western Sahara the purpose is to teach an anti-colonial education. The choice of these over others is also related to the perception of the particular and unique sense of history and geography subject in relation to some subjects that could be perceived as universal. Indeed, one of the inspectors in charge of the elaboration of the curriculum argued:

> *Subjects are different; history and geography are of the Sahrawis, whereas mathematics or biology are the same everywhere, what is taught here can also be taught in China or Japan.*

In the same line another inspector pointed out that:

The subjects of history, geography and political and national history, we have our situation. A Sahrawi is not an Algerian, nor a Mauritanian and children must receive the information of their geographical, social and political environment. It is not natural that children learn from a foreign curriculum. Algerians are our brothers, our allies, but we are not Algerian, we are Sahrawis.

The aim of the adaptation of the Algerian curriculum and the elaboration of a national curriculum prioritising the social subjects particularly history, geography, cultural, social and political principals is to contribute to the construction of the national identity, the re-connexion to the homeland and the desire of emancipation in the line with Dei's tenth principle on indigenous knowledge that states that indigenous knowledge is an act of resistance, collective politics and empowerment. Taralau (2015) and Farah (2012) also argue the role of education as a key element of the political struggle and fostering commitment.

The process of the elaboration of the curriculum can also be understood as a resistant process in itself. Indeed, this process started by the constitution of a group of educational professionals in charge of the selection of the content and the formulation of the books for the different school grades. The group was initially formed of 4-5 people, actual employees in the Ministry of Education who had a long experience in the education sector and worked in the project of the new national curriculum voluntarily like all state employments. The group started the elaboration of the curriculum in a context of lack of resources, using a extremely old computer, downloading pictures and information with one cell phone with internet, sometimes they had to wait for a picture to download the whole night. Their resistance and awareness of the importance of the project kept them going and supported the project. One of the elaborators of the curriculum explained to me the first days of the project:

The minister of Education at the time was the one who put again on the table the idea of the elaboration of our own curriculum. We then, started thinking about how and where this could be done. We needed a lot of information on how to create our own books, a lot of research. They asked me to be part of the team. At the beginning I did not want to, because it was too much responsibility. But at the end I accept it, because it is important. We started alone, under difficult conditions, and then ANARASD joined the project.

The group of elaborators created by the Ministry of Education worked on the elaboration of the curriculum, based on two fundamental ideas:

Firstly, the belonging of a human community, the Sahrawi community, who have their race, their roots and in the other hand, a community part of a regional collective group and part of the human specie.

Beside these pillars, elaborators were left to total autonomy in the creation of the new national curriculum. They used as a reference the first Sahrawi book of the 1980s, perceived to be the ideal to be met. Elaborators also they went to different wilayas and consulted key education actors and traditional figures. One of the elaborators told me that in areas of disagreement, they often referred to elderlies to confirm a version of history, geography. In some occasions, they travelled to the liberate territories to confirm elements of the geography and the topology of the territory. These references to the land, the common past and history, and the inclusion of key figures of the community are symptoms of the ownership and collective sense of the formulation of the curriculum. In this sense, the curriculum is articulated around the bases of indigenous knowledge (Dei, 2008), relating to the territory and common history under a process of social consensus. Indeed, the process of elaboration of the curriculum can be understood as two-sided. Firstly a top-down approach of the elaboration by which the fundamental basis, guidelines and organizational dynamics are dictated by the Ministry of Education and secondly, a bottom-up approach marked by the agency of the formulators and the inclusion of community in the process of formulation. Looking closer at the organization and logistics of the elaboration of the curriculum the ownership is further reinforced. Indeed, formulators explained that once a first draft is achieved; the Ministry of Education reviews it, then after edition it is reviewed by other ministries such as the Ministry of Culture, and finally presented to the president and to the government. Only once approved, the textbooks are published and distributed in the schools. This process of approval enables representatives to make sure the textbooks are relevant for the population and gave a sense of ownership to the people. In addition, in the past years the initial group of elaborators dissolved as a result of lack of resources and need of a faster elaboration. The responsibility of the elaboration was then given to a number of inspectors in each of the *wilayas.* This widening of the elaboration team and giving it to inspectors that work on daily basis in the schools, next to students and teachers, enabled an even further inclusion of the reality of the camps and its population. Indeed a member of the Ministry of Education argued that:

Our social sciences textbooks are the most sincere; they are based on the reality of the life in the camps. And this is very important to bring the Sahrawi culture to the children. This message has to be passed on from one generation to another. The generations that have been born here, they must know that this is not their land, that our land is occupied and that we must return to it.

Looking closer at the content of the Sahrawi elaborated curriculum allows believing in an intention of the construction of resistance. Resistance is here understood as the process of awareness of subordination and history of colonisation in the aim of emancipation and struggle for liberation (Dei, 2008 and Taralau, 2015). Education is clearly destined to the nourishing of the liberation movement; this is done through a clear and constant reference of the colonial past as funding historical moment of the nation-state and identity. The content of the curriculum follows Dei's framework on indigenous knowledge and anti-colonial education. Indeed, as previously argued colonisation, land and history play a central role in the curriculum, in addition in line with principles three to five, of Dei's framework, spiritual identity and religion are source of indigenous knowledge. When intersected with other sources of knowledge and contextual elements, these elements become more effective sources of knowledge (principle 5, Dei, 2008). In our case study, religion and traditional norms and values constitute central elements in education as vehicles of behaviours and identity. Indeed, as previously stated, Sahrawi identity is based on their African, Arab and Muslim origin. In addition, when asked, participants put forward the existence of a Sahrawi version of Islam basis of the identity and embedded in education. Reinforcing this argument of the intention of promotion of a local and own knowledge. A crucial element to be highlighted is the constant reference in textbooks to natural resources in the territory, their way of exploitation and location. As shows the following map retrieved from the geography textbook of 5th grade, page 31.

الوثيقة رقم 7
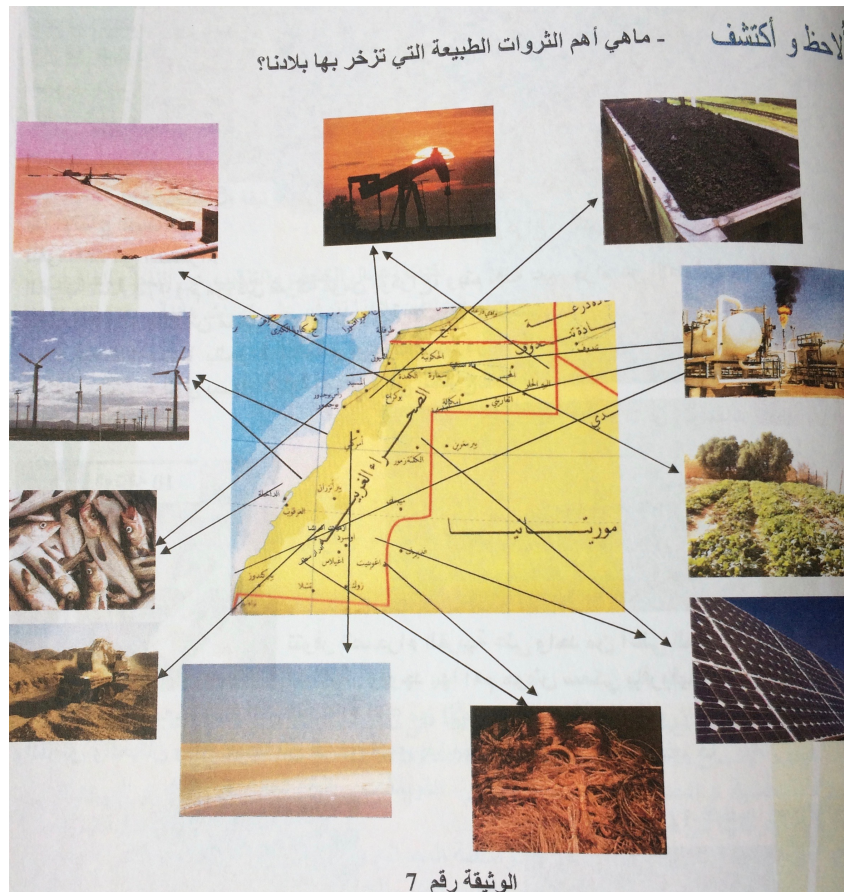
The awareness of the possession of natural resources, from the exile serves for two purposes. First, it nourishes the commitment of population to the struggle for self-determination in the hope of a richer future. And secondly, in the logic of Dependency theory, the awareness and ownership of natural resources enables the repositioning in the power relation in the world system (Cardoso and Faletto, 1979 and Gunder Franck, 1978).

A final element that allows highlighting the resistant character of the construction of a national curriculum is the sense of success and uniqueness repeatedly mentioned by the respondents. Indeed, when asked about the process of elaboration of the national curriculum, participants referred to the various attempts, the long lasting idea and the perseverance of the population in the project of the national curriculum. They refer to the actual textbooks as the greatest of successes of the last times in education, as a turning point in the provision of education in the camps. This sense of success is closely related to the sense of ownership and relevance of the curriculum, particularly emphasised by headmasters and teachers in the different *wilayas*.

4.3. In a logic of dependency

After having examined the resistant character of the construction of the education system and the national curriculum, this part will examine the mechanisms of dependency that have lead to this reaction of resistance. The logics of dependencies are articulated around two dichotomies of dependencies, from direct and indirect dependencies to material and symbolic dependencies. In order to understand the manner in which these forms of dependencies impact and shape the construction of the education system, its organization and the elaboration of a national curriculum, this section will firstly examine what is here being called the formal logics of dependencies. The formal dependencies refer to the dependency mechanisms that affect the nation-state and its construction.

The first source of dependency will be categorised as material and direct dependency. It refers to the direct economic dependency of the state of Western Sahara to foreign allies. This is due to the lack of access to the natural resources in the occupied territories and their exploitation by Morocco and other foreign powers. The material dependency is therefore related to the refugee situation and the lack of economic resources for the development of the population. This situation of subordination and lack of access to the natural resources generates a dependency towards foreign powers, who own the means of production and become the only source of income for the population (Grunder Franck, 1978 and de Sousa Santos, 2012). This mechanism of dependency originated in the times of colonisation, generating locally and internationally the power structure and the subordinated position of this population and its territory. Based on the distribution of power, numerous direct material dependency logics have developed. These logics of dependencies take the form of dependency on foreign aid, towards Southern allies, Northern allies, International agencies and NGOs. The dependency towards Northern allies and IOs, constitute stronger mechanisms of dependency often linked to pressure mechanisms and wiliness to set the agenda as argued in Lukes' second dimension of state power (2005), by which power is defined as the capacity to impact and set the agenda of a state. In this extend, the dependency on foreign aid is directly related to the capacity to exercise power of the state. Furthermore, the dependency on foreign aid, generated discourses of subordination by donors and by recipients themselves. Indeed, the subordination generated by the material dependency on foreign aid is marked by discourses of lack of expertise from recipients, continuous references to lack of capacity and lack of formation in the side

of recipients. In the other side, donors and employees of NGOs and of International agencies, display a discourse domination and expertise using technical vocabulary (buzzwords) (Cornwall & Brock, 2005) making clear the capacity holding and the self-attribution of project design and implementation. In contrast the dependency mechanism generated with Southern allies take a different and complex logic. Indeed, the South-South cooperation is articulated as a mean to avoid the earlier examined dependency to Northern and International organizations, to generate alliances in the South to counter the hegemony from the North in the line of the regionalism advocated by the dependency theorists (Grunder Franck, 1978; Escobar, 1995). However, in the line of the previously cited example of the Iran Islamic books or the political relation with some allies such as Libya, the South-South cooperation generate to some extent similar dependency logics. Furthermore, as argued by Fiddian (2011) the South-South cooperation can tentatively generate further dependencies as she explains with the case of the Cuban formed doctors that do not return to the camps, instead travel to Spain looking for better life opportunities and generating dependency on foreign doctors in the camps.

In relation to the logics of material dependency, a new source of dependency has emerged in the past 5 to 10 years in the refugee camps generating serious difficulties. This new source of material dependency is the economic market in itself, the dependency on money and income. Since the early days people of Western Sahara in the refugee camps, were dependent on foreign aid, aware of the lack of possibilities of generating their own economy. Due to this dependency on foreign aid, people was committed uniquely to the cause, to the struggle for self-determination and worked voluntarily on the common project. However, since the failed referendum in 1991 the hope in a peaceful solution decreased, and the perpetuation of the exile became a plausible option, even unavoidable. Under this certainty and the prosperous economic conditions in Spain, the flow of foreign Aid increased having its highest point in 2002. One participant explained this change in the perceptions of people:

Of course everything changed after 1991. Before we only had the war in our heads, we did not know what was money, no one looked for money, because we were all dying. But after 1991, with the ceasefire in this situation of not peace nor war, people started to have more contact with Spain, with the caravans, families sending money… and people became aware of what a car was and a all of these things.

As a consequence, an internal economy started and people became dependent on the search for money, and capitalism started to some extent in the camps. This was also particularly marked by the significant decrease of foreign aid resulting of the world economic crisis, and the decrease on the capacity to send foreign aid from European countries, especially Spain. This instead of fostering self-sufficiency creates an obstacle of the development of state institutions, lack of personnel in the camps and high levels of un-satisfaction.

Dependency in our case study takes equally the shape of direct symbolic dependency, particularly tied to the conflict situation and the geopolitics of the state construction. As illustrated in the earlier quote, the 1991 failed referendum represents a turning point in the situation of Western Sahara, its state construction and the situation in the struggle for self—determination with the initiation of what people in the camps call the "status quo", or the "time of not war nor peace". The non-resolution or development of the conflict due to the lack of action of the United Nations and foreign powers for the possible solution of the conflict generated a sense of powerlessness and lost of hope feeling completely dependent on the decisions of foreign countries. This status quo can be understood under Galtung's concepts of negative peace and indirect violence (1990, 1976). Indeed, the actual situation of the people of Western Sahara is not of constant armed offenses from Morocco or intense times of war such as from 1976 to 1991, oppositely the population has adopted a non-violent approach to protest, marked by numerous occupation (such as Gdeim Izik in 2010-2011, in Omar and Murphy, 2013) or hunger strikers (such as the well-known hunger strike of Aminatou Haidar in 2009). The indirect violence is related to the structural forms of violence to Western Sahara, such as the refugee condition, lack of access to natural resources, the dependency on foreign aid and above all, the isolation and lack of awareness of the condition of the population and their conflict situation. Indeed, in this case study the lack of awareness of the general public, as well as academics and political figures on the conflict of Western Sahara, constitutes in itself a further burden of dependency that passed by the process of recognition and dissemination for a possible construction of positive peace. In this regard, the continuation of the MINURSO (UN mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara) has represented a turning point last year. It has been question of discussion whether after 26 years of non-celebration of the referendum and non-resolution of the conflict, the mission should be continued or interrupted. The decision of the Security Council

was finally to continue the mission (United Nations news, July 2007 retrieved from https://news.un.org/en/story/2007/07/225252-security-council-welcomes-planned-continuation-western-sahara-talks). Oppositely the interruption of the mission would have meant the complete lose of hope for a peaceful resolution of the conflict and a lost in trust in international law, as well as an uncertain future for the people living in the camps. This material and symbolic dependency on International Agencies, particularly the United Nations, is strongly illustrated by the following quote of one of the members of the Ministry of Education:

The United Nations does not want to tell us that our children have the right to education, that they have the right to live. They tell us you are refugees; you only have the right not to die.

Directly related to the structural and relational conception of state formation, the regional relations of the state are source in themselves of dependency. Indeed, as argued by Jessop (1990) state formation depends on the recognition and social relation to other states. This is even further applied in this precise case study, where recognition represents an element of survival of the state. Regional recognition and integration in regional cooperation spaces, such as The African Union, are means of legitimation as well as source of economic security with the creation of allies. Indeed, the change in the social relations of the SADR represents a difficult element for survival, as it was the case with the relation with Libya until 1984. The same happens with the alliances generated in Latin America, which through changes in government and geopolitics have changed postures in regard to the Western Sahara case (Jessop, 1990).

4.3.1. Logics of dependency in the construction of the education system

Taking the logics of dependency to the construction of the education system, this section will highlight the different forms in which these logics of dependencies are articulated in education. The dependency in education takes firstly the shape of an indirect symbolic dependency towards other educational models. In fact, members of the Ministry of Education, curriculum formulators, teachers and headmasters, referred in numerous occasions to the aspirations of taking the shape of other education systems. Some of the participants also referred to the existence to a universal knowledge, a world culture in education in Meyer's sense. This

understanding of the existence of a universal knowledge passed by the belief of superiority of rationality and of scientific subjects, particularly mathematics. One regional director of education, explained:

History and geography are subjects of the Sahrawis but other subjects such as mathematics and physics are universal.

In the constitution and in the education policies of the state, in numerous occasions it is referred to the need to construct a scientifically based education system, understood of the need to construct a valuable and rational education. According to Meyer the aspiration to adopt this world culture serves as a mean of legitimation and recognition as a valid education system. This belief is indeed reinforced by the quote presented in earlier sections (p. 50) of the member of Ministry of Education who believed that state power was weighted by the capacity of the Education system of a state. This world educational culture has a legitimising power and Meyer (1987) argues is marked by Western norms and values. Indeed, the adoption of the universal set of values and the shape of the education passes by the adoption of Western values particularly with the support of International Organizations. As previously argued, the heavy dependency on foreign aid, makes sometimes difficult to resist to foreign pressures exercises by the NGOs and International Organization on site. The transfer of western values and norms into education responds to the aspiration to modernity and to progress. Numerous members of Ministry of Education indeed described the education system with the idea of an objective of modernity and progress; they often used terms such as "we are not yet there", "such as other systems" "like in the other world". These quotes give the sense of a perception of a linear evolution of the education systems, the progression in the development in the construction of the education sector shall culminate in a system recognised by other states and international organizations (Meyer, 1987; Dale, 2000). When looking at the formation of the education system, one could indeed believe in the similarities with other education systems and the adoption of a world education culture. Not only the discourses on the universal aspirations of the employees of the Ministry of Education allows us to believe in the presence of a universal culture in education and education systems. In fact, the organization chart of the education system in itself can be assimilated to any other part in the world, the discourses on the similarities in curriculum, as well as the modes of development of the education system. The sentiment of aspiration and of

the existence of a universal education system, as source of legitimation is significantly embedded with the Ministry of Education in Tindouf, as shows the following quote from one of the members of the Ministry of Education:

> *In 2014, I participated at a conference on education in Addis Ababa, at the African Union. I talked with the representative of the Ministry of Education of Algeria, an old men with good experience. When he asked me about the salary of Sahrawi teachers, I told him that there were no salaries. He then asked me about the books we were using; I told him we did not have any yet. He reacted aggressively; with no salaries and no books there is neither education system nor Ministry of Education in Western Sahara, he told me. And he was right.*

The representatives of Algeria and Western Sahara, in this quote corroborate the idea of a world culture in education enabling the transmission of norms, and values, which dictate the form and shape of the education system. In this case, the education system presented did not have the necessary elements to be legitimised as a valid education system, according to the perception of the universal criteria of the constitution of the education system. Meyer, argues that the similarities between education system were voluntary actions and changes of the different education systems to legitimise and for states to be considered "real states" in the international arena (Meyer, 1987). In the case here studied, this need for legitimation is further reinforced by the conflict situation and the situation of exile. This will of legitimation and construction of a valid education system passes by the adoption and aspiration to construct this similar education system. Respondents continuously referred to the need to learn from neighbour countries, from other education systems, in fact one of the rooms of the Centre Aminatou Haidar (where textbooks are elaborated) is filled with textbooks from numerous countries, countries of the Maghreb, European textbooks, among others.

Bookshelf in Centre Aminatou Haidar, Nov. 2017

The perceived isomorphism is therefore understood as success and as legitimate. Indeed, when asked about the particularities of the education system, respondents often reply defensively that their education system was not different from any other, that children were learning the same as everywhere else.

This will of resemblance and adaptation of the elements present in other education systems even go to the will of adoption of capitalist values and mechanisms. The presence of an editorial industry as a mean of production and dissemination is perceived to be the way to secure a higher quality in the production in the curriculum and as a crucial element to incorporate in the construction of a "valid" education system. One of the inspectors in Elaiun (who had participated in the elaboration of the curriculum) explains to me:

> *The independent states, with resources, they formulate the main guidelines of the textbooks and then it is the job of every editorial firm to do them. For example, in Spain you can find a large number of textbooks from different editorial firms. But here we do not have that, yet, we are not yet there.*

The adoption of capitalist mechanisms is directly related to the theory of Dale (2000) of GSEA (Globally Structured Educational Agenda), which according to the author is structured in order to support the development of capitalist norms and values. In this sense, the material dependency of the Sahrawi people, described earlier favours this

transmission of capitalist values and reinforces its subordinated position. In the will for adoption of the world culture in education, the logics of dependency towards foreign countries and international institutions are further deepened. Enhancing the implementation of capitalist mechanisms and relations in the construction of the state and the education system. Indeed, for Dale (2000), education is only a tool for the Global Agenda by which state construct and social relations in the international system are put into place.

4.3.2. Dependencies and the creation of a national curriculum

After having examined the ways in which dependency logics are articulated in the construction and organization of the education system, this part will focus on the dependencies that enact in the construction of the national curriculum. The material dependencies previously examined in the organisation and construction for the education system, are equally present in the process of elaboration of the national curriculum. The material dependency originates as earlier examined in the place of the Western Sahara in the international system, the lack of access to their natural resources, the conflict situation and the struggle for liberation, applied to the context of the elaboration of the curriculum, dependencies result on the lack of resources and the discontinuation of the project. Indeed, as explained in the introductory chapter, the evolution of the educations system in the refugee camps has always been closely linked to the elaboration of a national curriculum. However, due to the lack of resources the continuation of the project could not be secured until a source of founded could be guaranteed. Although the donor entities, in this case UNICEF and ANARASD (a Spanish NGO), generated logics of dependency in the implementation of the project, reducing the agency of the Ministry of Education. One of the members of the education system explained to me the extent of their dependency in the elaboration of the curriculum.

After talking extensively with UNICEF, they brought us a printing machine, which can also do 9000 books a year, so we can now do 18000 books per year. The problem is that they gave us the machine without paper, without the ink, just the machine, not even a stapler. They never bring complete sets, they make us die or they make you get angry. Now that machine is going to make letters and more letters to ask for paper and maybe the following year they will give us some ink. And that is how it goes.

This dependency on foreign donors and allies is further deepen by the dependency on the voluntarism of workers and on the commitment of the people in the project of curriculum elaboration. Indeed, as all civil servants in the refugee camps of the people of Western Sahara, in the project of elaboration of the national curriculum, every employee works on a voluntary basis. Inspectors in this project work additionally to their daily workload and in the case of other formulators this work is part of their voluntary work in the Ministry of Education. This is increasingly challenging as the need for an economic income has increase significantly in the past years, constituting an obstacle for the continuation of the project.

The elaboration of the national curriculum is additionally subject to a symbolic dependency force. Here the symbolic dependency is firstly understood as the pressure directly or indirectly exercised by donors and allies in the elaboration of the curriculum. During the interviews with the employees of NGOs on site, transmitted to a large extent this sense of pressure and of perceived superiority. In this project various organizations were involved in the founding and implementation of the project. Although, under an attempt of resistance the Ministry of Education is the sole designer and implementer of the project, power relations are generated between the NGOs, International Agencies and the ministry around the conception of expertise. Indeed, members of the education system expressed the lack of formation, of capacity to successfully develop the education system resulting in the force dependency on foreign agencies and organizations who were perceived to hold expertise and therefore a perceived decision making power in Lukes' sense (2005). This dependency is therefore dually articulated. On the one hand the local educators identify a lack in formation and expertise setting the ground for the participation of foreign organisations in the implementation of the projects in addition to their economic support. In the other hand, the foreign organizations enhance this believe of holders of expertise and therefore entailed to decision-making. One employee of the involved organisations explained to me her perspective on the project.

For the last two years the Ministry of Education is telling us that they are working on their own curriculum in all subjects. We have told them that they do not have the capacity to do so, nor for the content, nor for the printing. It is already very difficult for us, using the Algerian curriculum.

In this sense, expertise and trends in development push forward the need to promote self-sufficiency and sustainability of projects. In the case of the elaboration of curriculum, funding entities have formulated a strategy for self-sufficiency and sustainability of the project. In addition to the printing of textbooks, the centre Aminatou Haidar should destine, according to its sustainability plan, part of its activity for the printing of dissemination materials of the various organizations on site, which would buy the printing services of the Pedagogical Centre. This could indeed, be perceived as a way to secure materials and the progression of the project. However, it heavily depends on the organizations themselves, controlling the possible continuation of the project and deepen even further the logic of dependency.

The same logic of dependency applies to the implementation of projects with the support of ally's countries. The alliance with Southern countries can to some extent be considered as a way to promote resilience and resistance, however these type of relations are also strongly marked by power relations and dependency mechanisms. Indeed, the donor countries, exercise pressure on the basis of their economic power. Members of the Ministry of Education explained one of the attempts of the formulation of the curriculum with the support of Syria.

> *One time, we finished the content of the textbooks and we had to find where to print them. We made contact with one of our friends in Syria who agreed at the beginning. But when we sent them the reading textbook they asked us to change all the parts in the texts that in someway offended the royalty and sovereigns that are head of states. We instead are revolutionary against the lack of justice, against slavery, against the worship of people instead of to god. We have found difficulties with them, because we told them we did not want to change anything in the content of our textbooks, we ask them to let us live in our way and at the end they accepted our textbook and they did print them. But then the problem was that they kept the content and the next time they wanted to charge us more and we could not pay for that.*

Related to this perception of lack of capacity and expertise for the development of a relevant curriculum, the elaborators inspired themselves largely from foreign curriculum of allies and ideological aligned countries. The Algerian curriculum has been used not only as a substitute; it has additionally been used as a basis for the development of the national curriculum. Indeed, formulators explained to me that they followed the same structure and educational plan of the Algerian books,

following the same units and educational pace. In each of the units the Algerian content was replaced by the Sahrawi contents. The rationale behind this strategy was to adopt the structure of a working and tested curriculum to ensure the adequacy and quality of the curriculum. In addition, using the Algerian curriculum and its methodological bases enables a better integration of students to Algerian after the end secondary education. The use of Algerian curriculum as a basis however generates a symbolic dependency on the idea of the formulation of owned and relevant curriculum, which is directly based in Algerian's. Moreover, one of the employees of the supporting NGOs highlighted one further element of dependency. She argued that in order to truly facilitate the education continuation of students from the Sahrawi educational system to the Algerian one, Sahrawi curriculum must follow all evolutions and changes in the Algerian curriculum.

In the same sense of the intention to facilitate the continuation of students to foreign curriculums and education systems, the Sahrawi content and curriculum has had to adapt to include some elements of the foreign curriculums to prepare students in the camps contradicting the resisting, owned rational of the curriculum and contributing to the symbolic and material dependency. Earlier it was mentioned that Spanish is the co-official language in the camps and it is taught since primary school in the camps. However, under the perspective of enabling the continuation of the studies in Algeria, Sahrawis struggled significantly in relation to the lack of knowledge of French. Indeed, Algeria's second language in School is French and students acquire a high level from a young age. Sahrawis when arriving to pursue higher secondary education and higher education, struggle to catch up the language level of their peers. In order to solve this problem the Ministry of Education decided to include French as one of the compulsory subjects to be taught in Sahrawis schools. This element is not minor, as Spanish language is the colonial distinctive element from Moroccan's colonial history driven by French language heritage. The teaching of French therefore represents a threat to the ideological and self-determination movement; and at the same time a crucial element to enable educational continuation. The same happens in "Simon Bolivar" boarding school where students are taught Cuban history and geography in the camps 7.000 kilometres apart from the Caribbean island.

Finally and perhaps more evidently the direct reliance on the Algerian curriculum for the subjects that are still not nationally elaborated is a fundamental

source of dependence. At the Ministry of Education they stated this dependence in the following manner:

> *We decided that we were going to use the Algeria curriculum having the certainty that we were constructing a generation that is not Sahrawi, a generation that is more Algerian than Sahrawi.*

I would like to finalise this section on dependencies highlights some of the elements of this previous quote. Firstly, it is worth noting the awareness of the respondent on the consequences and results of dependency and the mechanisms of dependency itself. The possible identity disconnection and the role of the curriculum in this process of identity formation are clearly posed in this sense. However, the respondent uses two key words, "decided" and "we were constructing". These two word-phrases highlight the resilience entrenched in the dependency logic, the margin for resistant in an embedded dependent relation. This quote serves us to connect with the next section which focus is to highlight exactly this, the elements of contradiction, of synergy and dissonance between the dichotomy of dependence and resistance.

4.4. Dependence, resistance, synergies, dissonances and contradictions

Refugees are often perceived as victims, as subordinated, as dependent people needing of assistance and lacking agency. In regard to Western Sahara, a number of schools as well as cooperation personnel have emphasised oppositely the resistance, heroic and idealistic features of the refugees in the refugee camps (Fiddian, 2010). However, this thesis attempts to move away from these two contradictory positions highlighting the points of encounter between these two paradigms and enhancing the agency and complexities of the situation of the people of Western Sahara. This will be done through the identification of middle grounds and contradictions between the construction of resistance and the logics of dependencies in relation to our case study.

When looking at the construction of resistance and of a resistant education system, embedded with indigenous knowledge, involving the local community and the environment, it could be argued that an accessible and acceptable education system is being built (Tomasevski, 2006). However, this might not be satisfactory enough, and might constitute a further burden. Indeed, respondents have highlighted

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the difficulties tied to the constitution of a local curriculum and the fear to be isolated. The construction of a curriculum too centred on their selves was perceived as a weakness, fearing autarchy. One of the inspectors explains this point to me:

I remember that the group started elaborating the 3ʳᵈ grade geography textbook, and it has a book, in reality, too closed, too centred on the geography of the Sahara. And that is not good for us.

Indeed, this problematic is further reinforced by the conflict situation and the struggle for self-determination of the country, and the perpetual effort for recognition and not to be forgotten.

Related to the diverse mechanisms put in place to ensure resistance, South-South cooperation represents a strategy to secure resources and resilience. However, Fiddian (2011) argued that South-South cooperation in education, in the shape of study abroad generated additional dependency dynamics marked by the small return rate of Cuban formed doctors to the camps. Instead, it is here argued that some kinds of dependency logics give space for the construction of resistance. It is indeed crucial to differentiate between effective and ineffective dependency in this context. Some of the material dependencies limit the development, or difficult the implementation of the projects, pressure local decision makers and generate social power relations, constituting ineffective logics of dependencies. These ineffective logics of dependency are particularly characterised by a lack of coordination, transparency and collaboration between the different NGO on site and International Agencies. Effective dependency instead is articulated around the concept of interdependencies, that is a process of dependencies were the decision makers and the implementation makers are the people of Western Sahara, in the heart of the design of the project and in a frame of horizontal relations. It is for instance the case of the Secondary school "Simon Bolivar", where all activities are coordinated between the head of the Cuban brigade and the Sahrawi headmaster and teachers. They argued that decision marking came from both sides and where perfectly coordinated to unsure the success of the educational project. The selection of the headmaster is a witness of this, a Sahrawi educational professional formed in Cuba, enabling the coordination between the two parties. These dissonances and contraddictions between resistances and dependencies can be analysed under Presbisch's (1988) understanding of interdependencies in the world system. Under

this conceptual tool, the various strategies of resistances are recognised within the logics of dependencies, acknowledging the power relations in the world system between actors due to historical and material sources. However, this approaches enables to incorporate the contraddictions between resistance and dependencies, and examines the mechanisms of interdependencies. Presbisch rightly points out that under the logic of dependencies, there are actors more dependent than others, however all actors are dependent to one another. This understanding of interdependencies allows perceiving the spaces of resistances in dependent relations and the different limits of dependencies. This logic of interdependencies is aligned with the ecological earth centered approach of the Gaia theory (Lovelock, 2000). Under the Gaia theory, all beings, actors and institutions are part of the Earth, of Gaia, and part of the ecosystem and therefore interdependent (Waddock, 2011).

5. Conclusion

The objective of this thesis has been to examine the formation of the education system of the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic, that is, the manner in which education is provided in refugee setting and in conflict situation. To this aim this thesis has attempted to respond to the formulated research question:

How does a resistant education system and its curriculum construct within a logic of dependency, in conflict ridden Western Sahara?

First, it has been the focus to understand the nature of the provision of education in these refugee camps. In this case the education takes the form of a national education system, which constitutes a unique and rare form of provision of education in refugee setting. Indeed, in these cases, education tends to be managed and provided by NGOs and IGOs in the field, private providers or by the host country. However, the Sahrawi refugee education is solely provided and managed by the State. The SADR, also called the State in the exile, started its construction as nation-state with the establishment of the refugee camps in a borrowed land. The state formation was in this research analysed under the relational and structural understanding of Jessop, allowing to set the bases of the analysis of the national education system. Tomasevki (2009) provided some categories and characteristics of the education system. However, it has been one of the focuses of this enquiry to determine whether there is universal form, characteristic and criteria of what an education system should be. Or oppositely, determine the possibility of the creation of a unique, counter-hegemonic and resistant education system. Under this tension,

this thesis has examined the manner in which the education has developed particularly focusing on the production of its curriculum. Indeed, participants of this research have identified the curriculum has a crucial element in the provision of education and of the construction of the education system particularly in relation to the process of state formation. In addition, the production of the national curriculum is a new phenomenon and still a project in process of completion, which has allowed to examine the process of elaboration, the process of selection of content, the identification of intentions and actors in education. In fact, it has been the aim not to solely focus on the content of curriculum, but also in the understanding of the organization and dynamics that surround this production. To do so, it has been particularly useful to firstly examine the processes and dynamics in the construction of the education system as state institution to then, analyse the particular case of the production of the curriculum.

In this frame, the analysis has focused in the examination of the construction of a resistant education system and curriculum. The resistance in this construction is closely related to the sense of uniqueness and the process of state formation and its nature. Indeed, the formulation of objectives and intentions in education are directly related to the shape and nature of the State, which in this case aspires to be Arab, African and anti-colonial. These three elements play a crucial role in the construction and provision of education. The resistance in education takes the form of a non-hegemonic education system that is locally produced, relevant and connected to the population and the struggle for liberation. The anti-colonial character of education has been a central question in the analysis, related to the local and global identity of the population, the historical struggle and the connexion with the homeland. This anti-colonial production is found in the organization and nature of education as well as inherently present in the content and delivery of education. This analysis followed Dei's argument on indigenous knowledge critically looking at the relation of the land, history and identity in education. The resistant character of this indigenous anti-colonial education is clearly connected to the struggle for self-determination, providing in national education system room for political resistance. It is indeed, perceived as a tool for resolution and a mean for emancipation. Resistance is therefore understood as a complex and multilayer element, which shapes the organization, nature and content of education deeply, rooted in the needs of the population and their sense of ownership. Resistance is also market by the conflict situation and the material obstacles, which the education overcomes, generating

various strategies and alliances in the "South" to promote self-sufficiency. The resistance was reinforced in this case by the establishment of alliances and partnership with foreign countries, particularly countries from the "Global South" taking the form of South-South cooperation.

In addition, resistance is understood in this context as a reaction to the various forms of dependency. Indeed, in Gramiscian terms, resistance is conceptualised as a counter-hegemonic and emancipatory action. Education therefore plays a central role in the awareness and consciousness of the various forms of dependency and in the formulation of resistance. Dependencies in this case study are material or symbolic and direct or indirect. These two dichotomies have enabled to conceptualise the typologies and impact of dependency in education and its curriculum. The first and main source of dependency is the result of the conflict situation and the colonial history. In fact, the refugee situation places the people of Western Sahara in a subordinated position, lacking of access to natural resources and materially dependent on foreign aid. This aspect is particularly important to put into tension with the resistance and self-sufficient character of education solely managed by the State. In line with the direct material dependency in education, this thesis has identified a symbolic dependency result of the subordinate position of the people of Western Sahara in the world system and the processes of Globalisation. Indeed, globalisation is marked by the power relations and hierarchies in the international arena and produces beliefs of universal standards in education grounded in capitalist values. The role of donors (IOS and allies) exercise pressure and push forward to adopt the forms and values of this "universal" education system and curriculum. The aspiration to adopt these universal values is also a result of the will for legitimatisation directly connected to the process of state formation.

This logic of dependency might suggest an incompatibility with the production of a resistant education system and the agency of the decision makers. However, it has been the aim of this thesis to identify grounds of contradiction and of manoeuvre to produce resistance within dependency and identify the limits of this resistance. Indeed, this analysis has particularly highlighted the various strategies decision-makers and stakeholders put into practice to limit the effects of dependency and resistance. This has been possible through acknowledgement of interdependences generated in the world system and the complexities that emerge from the dichotomy resistance-dependency. It has been intended to put forward the evidence of the

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existence of a world of interdependences marked by spaces of resistances and dependencies, hierarchies and power relations. This more complex understanding of the power relations and their impact in education provide with agency the actors in the subordinate part of the power structure, entitling them with strategies and mechanisms to navigate within the inter-connexions. This perceptive most of all allows reversing the analysis and picture of the powerful actors and pictures tem as dependent actors. This analysis is particularly powerful when brought back to the case of study of the refugee and conflict situation where "victims" become under these interdependencies, actors of change, decision makers and fighters for a new history.

From this statement, one could formulate further research directed towards the analysis of other refugee settings and their education provision understanding the manner these interdependencies and tensions between resistance and dependency are displaced and articulated. This analysis would allow a more profound and ethical perception on refugee education and the role of providers and recipients, providing grounds for more effective and empowering education provision. This research would allow to reflect on the role education plays in the process of emancipation and the change in the power relations at a larger scale in conflict settings.

Secondly, it would be of interest to conduct further research on the education of the people of Western Sahara, this time in the occupied territories by Morocco, to identify the manner in which these dynamics are perpetrated or put into place, particularly identifying the spaces for resistance within education. This research will also enable to identify spaces for conflict resolution and reconciliation particularly focus on the curriculum provided. This was indeed, a crucial element identified by respondents of this research.

6. Appendices

6.1. Guides for interviews

These guidelines were used as a basis during the interviews however they have been modified in relation to the development and context of each of the interviews.

I-   Interviews to teachers:

    a.   General description (biographical insterview)

1. Description of profile of participant: teacher of what, school, class.
2. Personal trajectory: formation, years of experience at the school, in education, family, household organization
3. Motivation behind the career of teacher
4. Biographical interview part about his/her life, to understand motivation, stand about education (career prospects, to understand how the hierarchies are created between teacher, "inspectors", head of studies, head of schools, families, government)
5. What does it mean to you to be a teacher in WS?

    b.   Delivery and routine

1. Day routine and preparation of classes
2. Use of material (books, guidelines from ministry, guidelines from inspector or head of school).
3. What is the best part of the work? The worst?
4. Conciliation with family duties.
5. Team work and support (members of the educational community, society, elderlies, families)
6. Role of community? Of families?
7. Coordination with other members of educational community?

    c.   Evolution and transitions
1. Do you know the new books? Where they have been elaborated? By whom?

2. What does it mean for you to have new books?
3. Adaptation from old textbooks (Algerian) to new textbooks (saharauis)
4. How were history, geo and civic education taught before the new books?
5. Were there any established mechanisms to teach history and geography from WS? Or autonomously? Individual?
6. What school activities do you relate to WS identity construction?
7. Evolution of education of WS (lived, experience or what has been told to them and their role)
8. How do you teach with the new books (support from any particular material, actors)?
9. Main difficulties when teaching?

II. Interviews to inspectors (the persons in charge of elaboration of the new Saharawi textbooks)

   a. General description (biographical interview about trajectory, profile)

1. Description profile of participant: job title, in which wilaya, which specialty,
2. Personal trajectory: formation, years of experience at the school, in education, why and how he/she became an inspector, family, sons or daughter, household organisation…
3. Description of duty and work and motivation
4. What does it mean to be an inspector? Status? Career prospects.
5. Explanation if applies the time when a teacher, a head of school, or in any other function. Or time in Syria, Libya or Cuba.

   b. Elaboration of books

1. Description of the process textbooks elaboration, team, actors, salaries, timetables, place, discussions, relation to other inspectors, hierarchies, degree of autonomy, time-lapse of the activity.
2. Role in the elaboration? Since when?
3. Identified key actors in the initiative (to map the actors)
4. Awareness of the development of the idea and its implantation (where does the idea come from? Who pushed forward the initiative?)
5. What does these books mean? What was the identified need for this elaboration?
6. What are the key elements that have to be present in the textbooks?
7. What did you though was particularly important to be present in the books?
8. Did you have particular guidelines from the Ministry of Education, president or other on the elaboration of the books? What were they?
9. What were the main difficulties of the process?
10. Why now? In your opinion why the elaboration started in 2010?
11. Support material used? Books, other textbooks?
12. Why do you think you took part in the process?
13. Did you enjoy the process? Why?

III. Interviews to head masters in schools

      a. General description (biographical interview)

6. Description of profile of participant: what school, which wilaya, family, household
7. Personal trajectory: formation, years of experience at the school, in education
8. Motivation behind the career of head master
9. Biographical interview part about his/her life, to understand motivation, stand about education (career prospects, to understand how the hierarchies are created between teacher, "inspectors", head of studies, head of schools, families, government)
10. What does it mean to you to be a teacher in WS? Head master?
11. Description of duties, work organisation

      b. Delivery and routine

8. Day routine and preparation of day, weeks, schools, activities, festivities
9. Use of material (books, guidelines from ministry, guidelines from inspector or head of school).
10. What is the best part of the work? The worst?
11. Conciliation with family duties.
12. Team work and support (members of the educational community, society, elderlies, families) Coordination with other members of educational community?
13. Role of community? Of families?
14.

      c. Evolution and transitions

10. Evolution of education system (experienced or told by others), highlights, important actors.
11. Do you know the new books? Where they have been elaborated? By whom?
12. What does it mean for you to have new books?
13. Adaptation from old textbooks (Algerian) to new textbooks (Saharawi)
14. How were history, geo and civic education taught before the new books?
15. Were there any established mechanisms to teach history and geography from WS? Or autonomously? Individual?
16. What school activities do you relate to WS identity construction?
17. Evolution of education of WS (lived, experience or what has been told to them and their role)
18. How do you teach with the new books (support from any particular material, actors)?
19. Main difficulties when teaching? As head master? As education community?

IV. Interviews to members of Ministry of Education and members of the Centre of Aminatou Haidar

      a. General description (biographical interview)

1.Description of profile of participant: work position
2. Personal trajectory: formation, years of experience at the school, in education,
3. Motivation behind the career
4. Biographical interview part about his/her life, to understand motivation, stand about education, political implication, family heritage, time in the occupied territories, abroad, language spoken (witness of the past: studies in Cuba, Libya, Syria)

    b. Work duty

1. Description of work, of working and organisation of Ministry of Education, relation to government, parliament, other ministries.
2. Guidelines for work? Laws? Acts? Resolutions of parliament? Relation with the POLISARIO front ideals.
3. Routine description
4. Evolution of the role of the Ministry of Education
5. Difficulties?

    c. Evolutions and transitions

1. Evolution of education from institutional point of view (the bureaucracy, organisation, resources, ideals, role of actors, development of foreign relations and agreements)
2. Description of the initiative of the elaboration of Saharawi Curriculum? Process? Actors? Timeline? Development?
3. Difficulties?
4. Why now? Why was there the need to elaborate own curriculum?
5. Relation to "donors" or collaborators? Evolution of relations?
6. Description of the process?
7. Role of teachers, head masters and families in the process? And relation?

V. Interviews to donors, International Agencies and NGOs

    a. General description

        1. Profile of the participant, who are they? Where from?
        2. How they came to work in Tindouf?
        3. Formation, career?
        4. Knew about WS beforehand?
        5. Activities and history of agency in the field? How? Why? Main activity? Experience?
        6. Activities related to education? Persons in charge? Collaboration? Networks?
        7. Relation to "locals"?
        8. Number of times per week/month/year that go to the camps? What for? Interlocutors?
        9. Relation to other foreign agencies?
        10. What is the budget? The project design? Process?
        11. Process of need identification? Evaluation? And monitoring?

12. Opinion of the education?
13. Awareness of the work of other Agencies and NGOs?
14. Bureaucracy and organisation of work between organisations and ministry?
15. Difficulties when working?
16. Best part of working as an employee of NGOS? Agencies?
17. Are you aware of the initiative of Saharawi textbook elaboration? Do you have a role in it? What do you think about it?

6.2. Consent form (in Spanish)

Estimada/o participante:

Mi nombre es Paloma Lainz, soy estudiante de posgrado del programa de Políticas Educativas para el Desarrollo Global, de la Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona. En el marco de este estudio, estoy desempeñando una investigación sobre el sistema educativo en los campamentos Saharauis en Tindouf y su relación con la lucha por los derechos del pueblo saharaui.

Si usted accede a participar en este estudio, se le pedirá responder preguntas en una entrevista. Esto tomará aproximadamente 60-80 minutos de su tiempo. Lo que conversemos durante estas sesiones se grabará, de modo que yo pueda transcribir después las ideas que usted haya expresado.

La participación en este estudio es estrictamente voluntaria. La información que se recoja será confidencial y anónima; y no se usará para ningún otro propósito fuera de los de esta investigación. Los datos recogidos tomarán la forma de un documento final de tesis y la potencial publicación de un artículo.

Si tiene alguna duda sobre este proyecto, puede hacer preguntas en cualquier momento durante su participación en él. Igualmente, puede retirarse del proyecto en cualquier momento sin que eso lo perjudique en ninguna forma. Si alguna de las preguntas durante la entrevista le parecen incómodas, o prefiere no contestarlas tiene usted el derecho de hacérselo saber al investigador o de no responderlas. Del mismo modo la entrevista puede ser interrumpida en cualquier momento. No dude en contactarme al teléfono (+34) 628 81 81 50, para cualquier duda o consulta.

Desde ya le agradezco su participación.

Acepto participar voluntariamente en esta investigación, conducida por Paloma Lainz. He sido informado/a de que la meta de este estudio es de investigar el sistema educativo saharaui en los campamentos en Tindouf y su relación con la lucha por los derechos del pueblo saharaui.

Me han indicado también que tendré que responder a preguntas en una entrevista, lo cual tomará aproximadamente 60-80 minutos.

Reconozco que la información que yo provea en el curso de esta investigación es estrictamente confidencial y no será usada para ningún otro propósito fuera de los de este estudio sin mi consentimiento. He sido informado de

que puedo hacer preguntas sobre el proyecto en cualquier momento y que puedo retirarme del mismo cuando así lo decida, sin que esto acarree perjuicio alguno para mi persona. De tener preguntas sobre mi participación en este estudio, puedo contactar a Paloma Lainz al teléfono (+34) 628 81 81 50.

Entiendo que una copia de esta ficha de consentimiento me será entregada, y que puedo pedir información sobre los resultados de este estudio cuando éste haya concluido. Para esto, puedo contactar a Paloma Lainz al teléfono anteriormente mencionado.

Nombre del Participante   Firma del Participante
      Fecha
(en letras de imprenta)

6.3. Code and concept list

Concepts	Dimensions	Codes	Illustration/quotes/ideas/references
State: Structural and relational	State power	3 dimensions of Power (Lukes)	Organization chart of education system (and government) Identification of allies (Algeria, Syria) Identification of other donors with perceived decision making Identification of decision makers (Dhal) Control of the Agenda (willingness to control): Pressure from donors Power through domination (hegemony, Gramsci)
		State power in relation to others (SRA, Jessop)	Recognition by regional institutions Reference to international laws
		Legitimacy as form of power (WCT)	
	State is an institutional ensemble (Jessop 1982: 21)	Legislative power Judiciary Executive Family Education Religion Traditions	Organization chart
	State is relational	Continuation or interruption of	Change in the relation with allies

	(Jessop)	social relations internationally (Jessop)	
		Internal legitimacy, cohesion (Weber, Jessop)	Independence Liberation Unity Peace Anti-colonialism Support of POLISARIO Common interest/general will (Jessop) Voluntarism Service to the cause/country
		External legitimacy, by other states and entities (in international order)	Regionalism Allies
State education system	Characteristics of education system	Centrality of education	
		Organisation/structure of education system	
		Professional trajectory of education employees	
		Curriculum and contents	
		Teacher formation/pedagogy	
		4As Accessibility, adaptability, availability, acceptability	
		Immediate obligations: free and compulsory education,	
	Construction	Evolution of education	
		Phases of the construction	
Resistance		Anti-colonial (Sousa Santos, Galeano) (Dei)	Community Identity Religion Geography Colonial times History Indigenous knowledge (local, oral, culture) (13 principles of indigenous knowledge)

		Resistant to the dominant model	
		Muslim and based on religion	
		"Revolutionary" model (T.Muhr, Taralau)	Decision making of revolutionary allies Research for independence
	Resistant education system	Control of the education processes	Decision-making in relation to allies
		Own principles, self-resilient	
		Resisting pressures, impermeable of pressures	i.e. Libya, Sirian books
		Self-positioning	Non left/right, non aligned movement,
		Uniqueness	Sense of success
		Resistant to economic conditions, methods of adaptations	Coping strategies in edu
		Resistant to conflict	
		Resistant to time	
		Service to the cause	Service own purpose
		Voluntarism	
		Strategies to limit dependency	
		Resilient relation to allies	List of priorities Ownership of projects
		Research of donors for already formulated projects	Centro Aminatou Haidar (Sur-Norte, Afad, Unicef, ANARASD).
		Rational choice of donors/allies	
		Extra-curricular educational activities	Championships national Workshops Story telling National parades Traditional costumes and learnings (Jaima)
		Relation with family and community	Transformation of the role of the family, of the State, community knowledge
	Resistant Curriculum	Teaching of colonialism	
		Evolution and	

		attempts to create curriculum	
		Owned/relevant curriculum	
		Adaptation of foreign curriculum to WS reality	Algerian history to WS history Strategies of adaptation
		Reference to personalities in the community	
		Selection of history/histography (Kempf)	History of colonialism, of occupation, of exile
		Based on religion	Myth of laic education system Religious based education
		Traditional norms and values	Behaviour Identity of Saharawi
		Based on the community knowledge (elaboration by inspectors)	Top-down and bottom-up process of elaboration of Curriculum
		Purpose / intention of Curriculum	
		Service to the cause	
		History and geography teaching and curriculum	Going to the liberated territories to create history and geography
		Citizenship education and National education	Intention of education Service to the cuase
		Based in other anti-colonial curriculum (revolutionary)	Algerian curriculum
	Formal dependency	Direct Material Dependency	Direct Economic dependency to allies of the South
			Economic dependency to the North, to OIs
			Introduction of Capitalism and money
			Attribution of WS projects by IOS Discourse of subordination by donors Expertise (use of buzzwords)
			Colonialism
		Direct Symbolic Dependency on Politics/geopolitics	Dependency on regional politics
			Symbolic dependency to conflict: Positive peace, negative peace (status quo) (Galtung)

Dependency			
Dependency			Status quo Continuation of MINURSO
		Indirect Symbolic Dependency	Implementation of relations between IOs in the camps and the decision makers
			Dependency to decision making of UN (and allies)
			Use of pedagogies Assimilation of practices Form of Edu system
		Indirect Material Dependency	Strategies to attract donors and allies
			Limits/challenges of resilient education system Autarchy, need to look like others, isolation, international aspiration
	Dependency in education systems	Indirect Symbolic dependency on other educational models	World Educational models (Meyer) Maths supremacy, rationality, universal education
			Symbolic dependency on alliances and dependencies of other actors/ self-positioning
			Aspirations for practices of other edu systems (perceived as superior)
			Aspiration for editorial industry
		Material dependency Scarcity/ Lack of resources and dependency (Political economy) (Jessop and dependency theorists)	Voluntarism
			Reality as an obstacle to ideal objectives of Education system: Ideals for resistance education system dependent on the context, on the reality on the ground. Unrealistic objectives.
			Reliable material dependency that enable the continuation of activities (effective dependency)
			Limits of dependency
			Lack of communication and coordination between allies/donors- ineffective dependency
		Symbolic dependency on allies	Recognition of education by other education system, continuation strategies, alliances, study abroad
			Structure of education system and organization chart
	Dependency in curriculum	Material dependency for production of	No sufficient funds to secure the production / Voluntarism and scarcity of resources

		national curriculum	Dependency on resources and supplies provided by IOS and NGOS: Printing machines
		Symbolic Dependency on foreign experts	CISP and ANARASD
			Perception of lack of formation and expertise
			Self-sufficiency promoted by NGOs promoted further dependency
		Symbolic dependency on international educational norms/other curriculum	Supremacy of scientific based knowledge
			Universal knowledge
			Fear of isolation
			Inspiration in foreign curriculums
			Copy/based on Algerian curriculum (strategy for AID) As a strategic choice for education continuation Same "history"
			Teaching of subjects of Allies Teaching of French (to adapt to Algerian curriculum) Teaching of Cuban history in SB to adapt to Cuba

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