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Conceptualisations of Citizenship among Educational Stakeholders in Newly Independent Madagascar[1]

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Abstract. After independence from France in 1960, there were different views on how to educate newly independent Malagasy citizens. This article asks what kinds of citizenship was to be promoted and to whom should Malagasies learn to be loyal as citizens of their village, the newly independent nation, and a global world. Through a framework for critical citizenship education and perspectives on citizenship and transloyalities, this article analyses national, international, public, and private (religious) conceptualizations of citizenship education post-independence. The analysis is based on four reports: a 1960 Protestant conference report, a 1963 UNESCO mission report, a government document from 1964, and a 1968 report from a student organization conference. The analysis reveals that different stakeholders within newly independent Malagasy education promoted different conceptualizations of citizenship, some more critical than others.
Keywords. Citizenship, Madagascar, Education, Independence, decolonisation.

Introduction

Following Madagascar's independence in 1960, educational reform was needed. The existing educational system was impacted by more than 60 years of French colonial educational policy and a century of Protestant and Catholic mission education. A key aim of education is to educate citizens within both a national and global framework. Thus the central question is: What kind of citizenship was to be promoted post-independence, and to whom should Malagasies learn to be loyal as citizens of their village, the newly independent nation, and a global world? The key interest in this article is conceptualizations of Malagasy

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citizenship among educational stakeholders and loyalties promoted. Of further interest, from a critical point of view, is what Malagasy educational stakeholders primarily promoted post-independence and what was lacking in conceptualizations of citizenship. The aim is to create awareness of past conceptualizations of citizenship to increase an understanding of what contemporary conceptualizations are built upon and which loyalties they promote.

In this research, educational stakeholders include international, national, private, and public that played a role in forming the Malagasy educational system at independence. Some research has been conducted on the actors in this context (GOGUEL 2006; KOERNER 1999; RAKOTOANOSY 1986; ROSNES 2019; RAKOTOANOSY & ROSNES 2016). Recent research on decolonisation of education from a more transnational and global perspective help to contextualise decolonisation within a larger international framework (e.g. BAGCHI, FUCHS & ROUSMANIERE 2014; MANIÈRE 2010, MATASCI 2017; MUSCHIK 2019; PEARSON 2020; ROSNES, GUIDI & MARTINEAU 2024). The contribution of this article is its inclusion of different perspectives and the combination of various sources and voices, including local voices. This enables an analysis of the ways in which different educational actors thought about education and citizenship in the postcolonial age.

The international United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), created after World War II, has played a key role in promoting the right to education for all and global citizenship. UNESCO's engagement in fighting illiteracy, reducing inequality and globalise the right to education was not always appreciated by the colonial powers. In the postwar era, they feared that the weak educational conditions in the colonies would be revealed and that they would lose their colonial territories (MATASCI 2017: 45; MUSCHIK 2019; PEARSON 2017: 527). France's strategy was to build institutions, to replace the French empire with the French Community (Union française). Educational institutions were key and through them the metropolitan educative system was copied in all former colonies. In fact, in the period of independence, according to Laurent Manière, "never had the African and the metropolitan educational system been so closely interconnected" (MANIÈRE 2010: 163, authors' translation).

The First Malagasy Republic was born out of the 1958 referendum, which was a French decision for its former colonies. This referendum could be regarded as a masquerade organized by France to fulfil its UN charter obligations to restore independence in Madagascar which was given through international sovereignty in 1960 (URFER 2020: 233-266). During the 1960s, UNESCO sent experts to assist the implementation of post-independence educational

systems (MATASCI 2017: 43-44). This article shows that the Malagasy government continued the former colonial power's scepticism towards UNESCO, due to its continuing close relations with the former colonial power. As other presidents and governments in former French colonies, President Philibert Tsiranana, elected May 1st, 1959, and the First Republic had close ties with the former colonial power (MANIÈRE 2010). Cooperation agreements (Accords de cooperation entre la République française et la République de Madagascar) were negotiated on April 6th, 1960, and signed the day after the proclamation of independence on June 27th, 1960. This continued close connection led to questioning the detachment from French colonial policies (GOGUEL 2006).

Other important stakeholders within education were private institutions, mostly Catholic and Protestant churches, of whom Protestants are included in this study. To meet the needs of education in this newly independent country, the First Republic was dependent on private actors (ROSNES 2019: 69). Both Catholic and Protestant missions and churches were impacted by global Christian networks and mission movements. Another group of stakeholders were teachers and students, represented in this study by the student organisation Fédération des associations d'étudiants de Madagascar (FAEM). FAEM was a socialist association inspired by international student organisations in the 1960s. The leaders of FAEM were mostly former students in France who were members of AEOM (Association des Étudiants d'Origine Malgache), an association with close ties to communist groups in Europe. AEOM worked for independence and advocated for the release of Malagasy deputies in the French National Assembly[2] from the Democratic Movement for Malagasy Rejuvenation (MDRM) political party, who had been imprisoned in France after the 1947 uprising[3].

This study's primary data consists of four reports written by key 1960s national and international educational stakeholders in Madagascar: a 1960 Protestant conference report for their school principals, a 1963 UNESCO report on the situation of education, a 1964 government document on the development of primary education, and a 1968 FAEM conference report (FAEM 1968; FPM 1960; MEN 1964; UNESCO 1963)[4]. These reports were found in archives and libraries in Madagascar and France and are non-exhaustive. The

[2] From 1945, after the 1944 Brazzaville conference, citizens in French colonies were able to vote for deputies to the French Assembly.

[3] The 1947 uprising was fighting for independence and against foreign domination. The uprising lasted for several months in all parts of the island, resulting in the deaths of more than 100,000 Malagasies and 550 French (RAJAONARISON 2018; TRONCHON 1986).

[4] The Protestant report was written in Malagasy and the others in French. Citations from the reports in this article are authors translations.

documents are analysed using the framework for critical citizenship education developed by Laura Johnson and Paul Morris (JOHNSON & MORRIS 2010) and the concept of 'transloyalities' (LUDWIG et al., in press), that we will present in part 2. In part 3, we present a general history of education in Madagascar, providing context for the actors, positions, and perspectives of education at independence. Part 4 highlights perspectives on citizenship and citizenship education in the four documents. Lastly, we discuss and contextualise the findings and compare the different conceptualizations of citizenship found in the reports, thereby identifying citizenship types that were promoted in the newly independent Malagasy context.

1. Theoretical approaches to citizenship and transloyalities

Citizenship can be regarded as a shared responsibility and way of behaving: "In its most foundational or perhaps traditional constructions, citizenship is about the lives of citizens who act in a given national space on the basis of institutionally or otherwise agreed upon rights and responsibilities" (ABDI, SHULTZ & PILLAY 2015: 1). The traditional role of education has been to construct and strengthen identity and citizenship in a national context (JOHNSON & MORRIS 2010; OSLER 2011). Despite the primary focus on national contexts, a secondary aim is to promote a more global citizenship through Global Citizenship Education (GCE) that, according to UNESCO, "support learners of all ages to become ethical, empathetic and respectful human beings who can adapt to the world rapidly moving forward, even amidst its most complex challenges and threats" (UNESCO No date-b). Critical approaches to citizenship focus on its potential to foster reflection on "how we came to think/be/feel/act the way we do and the implications of our systems of belief in local/global terms" (ANDREOTTI 2006: 49). A need to decolonize citizenship has been raised as there are "different perceptions and practices of citizenship" (ABDI et al. 2015: 3). Morongwa B. Masemula describes the different conceptualizations of citizenship in pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial education in Africa (MASEMULA 2015). She argues that it is challenging for formerly colonised peoples to thoroughly decolonise citizenship as they are educated within the same system. If there is no awareness of historically embedded understandings, education will ensure a continuity of power relations.

The data analysis in this research is inspired by Johnson and Morris' framework for critical citizenship education (JOHNSON & MORRIS 2010: 90) (See Table 1). Johnson and Morris compare and contrast the fields of 'critical

thinking' and 'critical pedagogy'. They argue that there are different understandings and descriptions of 'critical thinking', and "From the citizenship educator's perspective, this ambiguity opens up the space for the term 'critical' to be interpreted from the standpoint of critical pedagogy, which stresses the need for political engagement" (Ibid.: 78). Developing the framework revealed 'spaces' for critical pedagogy within education. Based on the work of Paulo Freire (FREIRE 1972) and others, Johnson and Morris identify four elements that distinguished critical pedagogy from critical thinking: "the ideological/moral; the collective/social; the subjective/context-driven; and praxis (reflective action)" (JOHNSON & MORRIS 2010: 80). The first is focused on identifying and fighting the roots of injustice (not only learning about injustice), the second with collective dialogue (in contrast to an individualistic and competitive focus), the third with the subjectivity of reasoning (self-awareness), and the fourth with agency (how to change for a better world). They relate these elements to terms typically used in curricula, namely knowledge, skills, values, and dispositions which represent both individual attributes and culture (Ibid.: 87). In the selected data material for this study, due perhaps to its political rather than pedagogical character, the elements of knowledge and values are most relevant for the analysis.

Table 1: Table based on Johnson and Morris' framework for critical citizenship education (JOHNSON & MORRIS 2010: 90).

	POLITICS/ ideology	SOCIAL/ collective	SELF/ subjectivity	PRAXIS/ engagement
Knowledge	Knowledge and understanding of histories, societies, systems, oppressions and injustices, power structures and macrostructural relationships	Knowledge of interconnections between culture, power, and transformation; non-mainstream writings and ideas in addition to dominant discourses	Knowledge of own position, cultures, and context; sense of identity	Knowledge of how collectively to effect systematic change; how knowledge itself is power; how behaviour influences society and injustice
Values	Commitment to values against injustice and oppression	Inclusive dialogical relationship with others' identities and values	Concern for social justice and consideration of self-worth	Informed, responsible, and ethical action and reflection

Inspired by the framework, we identified the following questions to guide

our content analysis: What kind of *knowledge* were post-independence Malagasy pupils supposed to learn? Is there any focus on injustices, power, macrostructural relationships, interconnections between cultures and alternative perspectives? Is self-awareness a topic, as well as the possibility to collectively work for change in this newly independent context? When it comes to values, are values against injustices and oppression promoted? In a context where colonial power had been promoting *la politique de races* (race policy) for several decades, is inclusive dialogue with others' identities and values a topic? Can we find any concern for social justice and self-worth leading to informed, responsible, and ethical action and reflection?

The concept of transloyalties enables an analysis of the multifaceted processes through which identities are transformed and contested (LUDWIG et al., in press). The term 'trans' is inspired by transnational perspectives in migration studies (SCHILLER, BASCH & BLANC-SZANTON 1992). 'Loyalty', according to Bernard Gert, is about having a faithful adherence to a lawful government, but also to one's own community (GERT 2013). Navigating between loyalties connected to different contexts, institutions, norms, and traditions can be called processes of transloyalties. As the following pages will demonstrate, stakeholders within education in Madagascar at independence had different conceptualizations of citizenship, some more critical than others. Identifying conceptualizations of citizenship, rooted in the country's history of education, illustrates the processes of transloyalities that teachers and pupils in Malagasy schools in the post-colonial age were subject to.

2. The history of education in Madagascar

Although Arabic writing (*Sorabe*) was introduced in Madagascar under the Antemoro Kingdom around the 15th Century, orality remained a strong feature of Malagasy societies. Oral tradition still plays an important role in the transmission of values and the development of individuals. In families, memory is maintained by the stories elders tell their children, who in turn preserve them. One should not understate oral tradition as a source of knowledge of Madagascar's past and it is common family practice to raise children in the world of imagination. A concrete example is the importance of tales and legends (*angano*) in the education of children. The same is true for the collective memories of communities, found in ritual songs and collective celebrations. Tools of education include proverbs, *kabary* (speeches), and oratory of different kinds, depending on the region (*hain-teny*, rija, ôsika, tôkatôka, etc.), and

which are presented as entertainment. These collective practices have been and continue to be an important part of children' learning.

During the 19th century, the Merina kingdom, reigning in the island's interior, came to be politically dominant among several kingdoms. In the 1820s, under King Radama I (1810-1828), British missionaries brought a western form of education to the island. From 1835-1853, missionaries were expelled from the island, after which British missionaries returned, and other Catholic and Protestant missions joined them. Many among the Merina aristocracy converted to Protestantism and this period was considered a promising period for missions.

France colonised Madagascar in 1896 and a few years later the colonial administration took measures to tighten their control over education by introducing regulations. The missions found it difficult to adhere to the regulations, particularly that education should be secular and in French, which led to the colonial government taking over as the dominant provider of education on the island. Protestant and public schools had different approaches to education. For the colonial power, educating citizens loyal to the French empire and training bureaucrats for the colonial administration were key objectives (ROSNES 2019: 154). For the missions, the objectives were primarily Christianisation, educating Christian citizens, and church building in which the Malagasy language was key. A dual system of education, for indigenous and European (French and French assimilated) that dated back to the start of the colonial period, was removed through the educational reform of 1951 (RADAODY-RALAROSY 1951-1952). This was in line with the French post-war educational policy promoting more equality of education within the French Community. French remained the language of instruction, but local history and language was at least included again after having been removed at the start of the century.

The president of the first Malagasy Republic, Tsiranana, was a moderate socialist and anti-communist from the Party of the Disinherited of Madagascar (PADESM), created by the French Republic to counterbalance the nationalist party MDRM (GOGUEL 2006: 19, 116-117). Primary education came under the responsibility of Malagasy authorities in 1958 and higher education in 1960. Nevertheless, as in most of the French former colonies, cooperation agreements sealed the fate of the newly born nation (RAJAONARISON 2014). Regarding education, the aim was to provide French teachers to former colonies, construct school buildings and enable education across French-speaking countries (MANIÈRE 2010: 167). Many of the bureaucrats negotiating Malagasy interests in discussion with French cooperation partners as well as high-ranking bureaucrats possessed French citizenship (GOGUEL 2006: 19, 116-117: 21-22, 39). The French historian, Anne-Marie Goguel, argued

that there was no real national educational system at independence because it was highly dependent on "former and present decisions taken in different ministries in Paris" (Ibid.: 21, authors' translation). There were also some attempts at processes of adaptation, such as rural primary schools, bilingualism in primary school, reforms in history, geography, and natural sciences. But, since diplomas should be valid in France, there were limitations on the processes of adaptation. The Addis Ababa conference of 1961 recommended the promotion of an everyday language for communication and a language of wide currency in education (UNESCO 1961: 49; MATASCI 2020). However, the Malagasy educational system, as part of the French Community, had their ambitions directed towards French universities and thus French continued to have a dominant place in education (ROSNES & RAKOTOANOSY 2016).

In this post-independence context, citizens were to be educated within the framework of an independent nation. A major principle in the Malagasy constitution was the right to education: "Every child has the right to education and instruction. This is assured by the parents and by the teachers they chose" (TSIRANANA 1959, 1197, authors' translation). Parents had the right to ensure the moral, physical, and intellectual education of their children. Public education was the responsibility of the state, but private education, in compliance with the laws of the state, was accepted. The initial post-independence Malagasy educational policy was ambitious with an aim to increase the enrolment rate over a ten-year period, for first cycle school-aged children from 44% to 78%, and for the second cycle to 62% (MEN 1964: 12).

International trends connected to the protests of 1968 also reached Madagascar. In May 1972, a revolution erupted, inspired by students aiming for a real independence from the former colonial power, more equality, and better conditions. The revolution led to the end of the First Republic. After a transition period, Didier Ratsiraka came to power in 1975. His regime (1975-1992) was marked by socialism and *Ny Boky Mena* (The Red Book), aiming for true independence and malgachisation, including all levels of the educational system (RATSIRAKA 1975).

3. Different conceptualizations of citizenship in Madagascar at independence

This section presents conceptualizations of citizenship from the 1960s in Madagascar found in the selected four documents. Inspired by the theoretical approaches presented in part 2, it aims to describe which kinds of knowledge

and values were important for educational actors to transmit to pupils post-independence.

3.1. Protestant's conceptualisation of citizenship

During the colonial period, Protestant missions and churches adapted to the colonial secular and assimilationist educational policy while simultaneously guarding their own specificities: teaching in Malagasy and teaching Protestant religion (ROSNES 2019). At independence, a new political climate encouraged Protestants to reconsider their aim of educating Malagasy children and youth. In July 1960, one month after Madagascar gained independence, a conference for Protestant principals was arranged in the capital to discuss the future of Protestant schools in the new nation (FPM 1960; ROSNES 2019: 76-77, 127-128). In the report we found in the archives of the Lutheran Church (Fiangonana Loterana Malagasy – FLM), it is not mentioned who were present in the conference, but most probably they were principals in private schools run by the two key Protestant church actors within education: The Church of Jesus Christ in Madagascar (FJKM), that was a merge of different religious orientations with the French and British Calvinists being most influential, and the FLM following on from the Norwegian and American Lutheran missions. What made Protestant schools Protestant was, according to the report, that they "spread the Gospel to the children to become prepared for all good work" which should be accomplished through "teaching of the Bible" and "the dedication of teachers as witnesses" (FPM 1960: 1). Teachers should regard themselves as workers of God and consider their mission as a call from God.

The report argued that there was a need for Protestant schools. In the city schools, the religious component should be strengthened through religious studies and the relationship between the school and the church to "foster the love of religion" (Ibid.: 4). Village schools, where reading, writing, and counting in the local language were considered key knowledges to be taught, should be established in rural areas without primary schools. Boarding schools were also considered an important place for Christian education "where you develop a good and successful person who will have the spirit of service and who would like to take responsibilities" (Ibid.: 7).

Regarding the language of instruction, the report was clear: "Malagasies should know that "CEPE" [the primary school exam] in fact is a level of knowledge that has to reach everybody. This should be in French in FRANCE. And it should be in MALAGASY here in MADAGASCAR [original capital letters]" (Ibid.: 10; ROSNES 2019: 150-151). The local language was the best tool to

transmit both knowledges and values. A political argument, that it contributed to the independence of the nation, was also put forth as a reason why teaching should be in the mother tongue:

> 1) To defend the Malagasy nation not to vanish, or not to disappear under the influence of other countries.
> 2) Malagasy language proficiency makes learning other subjects much easier, particularly the learning of national language.
> 3) If we want pupils to understand well and quickly what we teach them, we must teach in Malagasy. Otherwise, they only learn by heart without any comprehension of their lessons. Teaching in Malagasy is a way to well-educated and shaped young Malagasy minds (FPM 1960: 10).

The report highlighted that Protestant schools had been using the Malagasy language for decades. They had worked to preserve the language and fought for it not to disappear. For them, "The Malagasy language is the root of identity formation in a country" (Ibid.). At secondary level, Malagasy language and content were also to be strengthened. Parents should be informed that, "In taking care of the child, it is more important to focus on developing the heart and reflections, than to, at any cost, obtain the diploma" (Ibid.). Citizenship education was more than transmitting knowledge. It was, first and foremost, about values and 'shaping' youth.

3.2. UNESCO's conceptualisation of citizenship

In 1963, a UNESCO educational planning committee had their first mission to Madagascar (UNESCO 1963). The committee was led by the Belgian specialist in comparative education, Mr. Marion Coulon, and other members were the Vietnamese economist Mr. Lê Thành Khôi, statistician Miss Deblé, expert and Director of UNESCO Madagascar, Mr. Jean-Claude Pauvert, Mr. J.J. Deheyn from UNESCO and FAO expert Mr. Botelho Neia. According to the report, the primary aim of education was to strengthen the level of education and teaching and promote national awareness. Planning education should reinforce nationalistic feeling (Ibid.: 21).

The Malagasy post-independence educational system is described rather negatively in the report. Above all, teaching imitated a French educational model (Ibid.: 33-34). The educational system was not adapted to the rural realities. Also, technical education was not relevant to the needs of the Malagasy agricultural or rural environment (Ibid.: 85). Moreover, textbooks were

not adapted, did not correspond to Malagasy realities, and did not value local cultures and realities. The colonial legacy was observed in exams and the curriculum. Arts education was said to be non-existent although Malagasies had a great taste for art (Ibid.: 108). Due to Madagascar being an island, isolation was considered a challenge to communication and circulation of knowledge, revenue, and people. Another issue was the low salary of teachers who, in remote areas, were tempted to leave. In addition, few Malagasies had posts with responsibility as there were not many qualified candidates.

The report was critical of the scope of higher education, specifically Humanities and Social Sciences which, in their view, should promote national values, such as local history:

> Instead, they preferred to keep intact the content of French education and to relegate to the side degrees with no French equivalent, thus considered not prestigious. – Degrees such as the specialisation of Humanities and civilization of Madagascar - everything that had to do with the country and its history. This regrettable state has nothing to do with the intrinsic value of this degree and the studies that are done there, but only with how it is regarded from the outside (Ibid.: 113).

According to the UNESCO report, political democracy is based on informed citizens and therefore also promotes adult education (Ibid.: 224). Teachers in rural areas were considered informed citizens who should be mobilised to share knowledge with the masses.

Education in Madagascar was, according to the UNESCO report, in dire need of reform to become relevant for economic, rural, and social development. Malgachisation should take place at primary level and higher levels, in content as well as in language (Ibid.: 249). Planning was needed, not only for the content of education, but for administrative structures, budgeting, and teacher training. The objective proposed was to offer education inspired by national realities, taking into account Malagasy cultures (in plural). An authentic Malagasy school should be "an integral malgachisation, a uniting factor for planning and for the union of the nation" (Ibid.: 21). Despite clear recommendations, the UNESCO experts realised their study was too partial to draw conclusions (Ibid.: 132). According to Goguel, this report was confidential, and remained so for many years, probably because of its open support of malgachisation as a unifying factor, which could be used by the political opposition against the French friendly ruling party (GOGUEL 2006: 256).

3.3. The Malagasy government's conceptualisation of citizenship

A report from the Ministry of Education on the development of primary education in Madagascar was published in 1964 in relation to the second Conference of Ministers of Education of French-speaking African and Malagasy countries (CONFEMEN), held in Antananarivo (MEN 1964). The aims of CONFEMEN conferences were to evaluate challenges for educational systems in independent nations (MANIÈRE 2010: 169-170). In the Malagasy report's introduction, the Minister of Education, Laurent Botokeky, argued that educational authorities should aim to provide an elementary education that enabled people's contribution to the development of the country. The report includes a speech given by the Minister during the inauguration of the first training centre for rural teachers in 1962. It reflects on the development of national education in the 1960s, recruitment procedures for primary school teachers, the role of teachers and primary schools, and educational funding. Botokeky's speech was later criticised for being provocative and not totally aligned with the educational policy at the time. It is therefore important to distinguish between the minister's words and other sections of the report.

In his speech, the minister emphasised that the educational system in Madagascar was not adapted to the reality and needs of the Malagasies as it was an "almost complete application of French primary education to Madagascar" (Ibid.: 2). He described primary education thus:

> theoretical instruction is provided that further distances the young Malagasy from the realities of his country. This teaching does not take into account, or only very little, the individual and collective psychology of the Malagasy people. It neglects too much the relationship between the individual and his/her civilization and, what is very serious, it does not place sufficient emphasis on the relations which must exist between individuals and the various social groups. Finally, this teaching has remained too alien to the problems of development, thus neglecting to show young Malagasy people the true face of their country, and consequently not encouraging them to make efforts for the economic and social progress of the island (Ibid.: 2).

Another challenge that the minister mentioned was that individual values needed among Malagasies had been suppressed by ancestral beliefs and the lack of experience in taking up responsibility. What was needed was to develop specific values: " - the sense of human dignity, - the sense of responsibility, - the sense of challenging oneself, - keeping a favourable enthusiasm towards

development of own physical and intellectual dynamism to implement individual qualities" (Ibid.: 2). In the context of a newly independent country, the Minister of Education believe in citizenship education on different levels:

> This new independent Malagasy state is young, and it is necessary to help individuals adapt to the different levels of social structures. To this end, efforts must be directed towards the development of a sense of social responsibility and a sense of civism. This need for civic education is at the heart of all the pressing problems facing the country. Nothing will be done without this conscious, voluntary, and unbiased adherence of the individual to society, to the fatherland. Therefore, our education has to
> – develop mysticism
> – educate citizens who are aware and responsible without fear to be able to say that the best must become apostles
> I firmly believe that until we manage to acquire this sense of citizenship, our education cannot reach its essential task: to promote the development of the country by integrating all intellectual and technical organisms, official or private that work accordingly. This has been one of our major concerns and it is where the novelty of our system, its revolutionary side, is to be found (Ibid.: 3).

The minister was clearly aiming for a change and his main concern was that the school needed to "awaken citizens who are conscious of the difficulties of the country and the necessary efforts for development; thus, she [the school] should stimulate the attachment to the Malagasy fatherland, helping in this way to fully realise independence" (Ibid.: 5).

As the minister's speech was inaugurating the first training centre for rural teachers adapting primary education to the local context, it is natural that adaptation was a central theme in his speech. Rural schools were a cheaper alternative to ordinary primary schools, as municipalities were expected to support teacher salaries and construction of buildings. They used Malagasy as the language of instruction, recruited teachers without pedagogical training, and focused on local participation. The local environment was to be the basis for courses in history and geography. Rural schools were considered necessary to achieve educational aims, and people's own engagement in the education of their children was seen as a positive outcome (MEN 1964: 12). As stated by the government report, the objective of rural schools was, "To give as many children as possible a general elementary instruction" and to "love their country more" relying on the following elements:

- Reading, writing, and using the mother tongue
- Practical calculation
- Useful knowledge obtained through observation
- Initiate knowledge about the Malagasy nation
- Prepare young people for a new spirit, new attitudes; it is about developing in them a civic spirit: a sense of belonging to a free nation which is broader than the limits of the village or the region; a sense of effort required by everyone and in all areas; ability to cooperate, to work with others for common tasks.
(Ibid.: 39-40).

According to the government's report, teachers in primary school should acquire knowledge about the Malagasy nation and key historical impacts on the nation:

- the study of the Malagasy civilisation
- the problems of national unity and
- the contact between Madagascar and foreign civilisations
- the implication of the colonial period
- the access to independence and entrance into the concert [of nations] (Ibid.: 29-30)

In the 1966 educational reform, it was planned that the first four years of all primary schools should be aligned with the pedagogy of rural schools (GOGUEL 2006: 204-205). The implementation experienced delays, and according to Goguel, one of the reasons was that some parents were concerned that the lack of French teaching would deprive their children of opportunities to climb the social ladder.

While the UNESCO report determined that higher educational levels should give more weight to Malagasy issues, the government report stated that, "In this field, thanks to the very important effort made by the French Republic, the next decade will see the completion of a university complex likely to provide the country with the elites necessary for the construction of a truly independent state" (MEN 1964: 13). A critical question that went unasked is, which citizenship education these elites attained in Malagasy universities? Did the fact that the Malagasy government was dependent on financial resources from the former colonial power impact its opportunity to become truly independent? This was a question that Malagasy students and teachers in FAEM were concerned with.

3.4. Students and teachers' conceptualization of citizenship

A more critical view can be accessed through the student organisation FAEM. In 1968, they had their fourth national seminar on the subject, "Malgachisation and democratisation of education in Madagascar" (FAEM 1968). Teachers, professors, students, and leaders of youth movements participated in the seminar. The report from the conference described the educational situation in Madagascar as "a failure at all levels, and especially the prominent use of the French language" (Ibid.: 7). The main selection criterion in the school system was mastery of the French language and, in reality, only privileged children had access to education whereas poor children became "failures of a system that opposes their aspirations" (Ibid.: 7).

Malgachisation and democratisation were related according to FAEM (Ibid.: 2-3). Democratisation was described in two aspects: equal access to education and an education that responds to people's aspirations and the needs of society. The former needed to be ensured through a free and secular compulsory primary school, education adapted to the needs of pupils in different environments and preparation for working life. The latter needed to be ensured trough a transmission of cultural heritage, open education that responded to the socio-economic development and political consciousness among people, and was open to collaboration with different countries and the whole humanity. Malgachisation was understood in that education should be adapted to the economic situation in Madagascar, to use the Malagasy language, favour a collective spirit, have a content that rejected uprooting pupils from the realities of national life, and that was in favour of the young Malagasy personality in their group.

In 1962-63, 47.4% of children were enrolled in school and the FAEM report emphasized disparities between regions as a challenge (Ibid.: 4-11). The education budget was diminishing year by year and external aid for primary education constituted in total 42%, while at higher levels it was 82%. Furthermore, there were concerns that technical assistance from abroad hindered training of national teachers who were, in fact, less expensive. The report argued that the presence of foreign workers was a 'camouflaged neo-colonialism under the name of technical assistance'.

Education in Madagascar was not, according to the report, promoting a general development of the country as it was not adapted to the national realities, but instead favoured higher economic classes. This was illustrated by how teaching of history and geography was conducted in higher levels. 'Is it then surprising that the failures are many?' they asked. French was the criteria for success and the content was unfamiliar to most of the children who lived

in non-French speaking areas. The report suggested rural schools were promising and often obtained better results than urban schools: however, they were financially disadvantaged by being dependent upon local support and finance from the municipalities (Ibid.: 7).

Concerning teaching methods, the FAEM report argued that they did not develop a critical spirit and an intellectual training. It was argued that "teaching French as a mother tongue is more than contrary to common sense" (Ibid.: 8). The educational system encouraged pupils to memorise rather than learn, and, by using the French language, children could not secure support in their own environment. This was called "intellectual pressure", and the consequence was that Malagasy children faced retardation in school (Ibid.: 8). Education should contribute towards progress for the whole society, which required people "to be ideologically and politically armed for fighting and reacting", developing the Malagasy personality (Ibid.: 11). In this conceptualization of citizenship, and in the FAEM report in general, the critical approach and focus on identifying deeper causalities is present. According to FAEM education must be based on "the use of the Malagasy language as an instrument of work and rooting the education in the realities of the Malagasy world" (Ibid.: 11).

4. Discussion of different perspectives of citizenship

The question for this study is what kind of citizenship was promoted in post-independence Madagascar and to whom should Malagasies learn to be loyal as citizens of their village, the newly independent nation, and a global world? In this section, we will discuss how the four reports promoted 'knowledge' and 'values', as described by Johnson and Morris (2010, see section 2), in the education of Malagasy pupils.

The four reports agreed in criticising the education system of the First Republic by stating that it was strongly impacted by the French model. There were, however, differences in their critical approaches to the issue. Before we proceed, it is important to underline the weight of the French presence in Madagascar's connections with the outside world. The links between the First Malagasy Republic and the French Republic underpinned national policies. France did not want to let go of its interests in Madagascar and independence was subject to the agreements binding the First Republic to France. France pretended to detach itself by creating the French Community, organizing the referendum, and drafting the Cooperation Agreements. Finally, it is important to understand that the president of the First Republic, Tsiranana, was a product

of the French system and leader of the French supported PADESM political party. He was accountable to the former colonial power.

There was also support for Tsiranana's educational policies. Among others, civil administrator Rabearison argued that the Tsiranana government was focused on effective and rapid development to educate Malagasy youth (RABEARISON 1974). As a former teacher, the president was well acquainted with the educator profession, according to Rabearison. He based his argument mainly on the number of schools, technical high schools, and pedagogical centres that had been established, and the increased enrolment rate. An interesting point is that Rabearison blamed the minister Botokeky for his speech (analysed above). Apparently, Botokeky proposed new direction for education which had shocked the public. This illustrates that within the government itself, there were different ideas and perspectives regarding educational policies.

France's biased attitude was the origin of UNESCO's strong criticism of the French shadow in Madagascar. The implementation of French Cooperation Agreements impacted the entire education system. To question this system was equivalent to questioning the very foundation of the regime: that it never cut ties with France, but on the contrary, nourished them. The UNESCO report noted that Malagasies in general (without considering the nomadic population) had a passion for education. The educational system was, however, inadequate. It was removed from local realities and teaching professionals needed training. The objective was to offer an education that promoted the Malagasy people's passion for education and a teaching that strengthened national feeling and loyalty to the independent nation. Malgachisation should be the unifying force. And education, a foundation for informed citizenship, should be available to all.

We would argue that through their focus on the nation, national awareness and national feeling, the UNESCO report promoted knowledge that, in the context of independence, partly falls within the critical framework for citizenship education. It was loyalty to the nation which was key. In their conceptualization of citizenship, Malagasy pupils should have knowledge and understanding of their history, their own position, culture, and context. What seems to be lacking is a clear focus on oppression and injustices, alternative approaches, and how to collectively work for change. Even though the report mentions Malagasy cultures in plural, from a critical perspective on promoting the value of an inclusive dialogue between identities and values, what is lacking, for instance, is constructing this national feeling between different social groups. The UNESCO experts themselves admitted that their analysis was only partial and an awareness of the complex situation when it comes to different identities in the Malagasy contexts was perhaps one of their biggest lacunas.

The Minister of Education argued that what pupils learned in school was not relevant for them to become active citizens working to change society and navigate the newly created national space. For the minister, the lack of emphasis on the relation between the individual and 'social groups' and 'their civilization' hindered development. In other words, he seems to endorse inclusive dialogues with others in what he sees as a diverse society. An important sentence in the minister's speech is that "efforts must be directed towards the development of a sense of social responsibility and a sense of civism" (MEN 1964: 3). He talks about awaking citizens to contribute to development. The focus is on promoting citizenship to develop the nation where the sense of belonging to this nation is key, but there is also an awareness of pupils' sense of belonging to the village and the region. The minister even points to the sense of citizenship as the potential 'novelty' and 'revolutionary side' of the Malagasy educational system.

While one could argue that conceptualizations of citizenship in the minister's speech value local language, history, and culture (local knowledge), inclusive dialogue with others, commitment, motivation, and responsibility to collectively work to change society, there is still a lack of critical perspectives focusing on injustice, power, and interconnections. Especially concerning the education system itself, its roots in French colonisation and its role in creating and reproducing power structures. In the section following the speech, it is uncritically stated that a higher education funded by France would provide the country with the elites needed to construct an independent country. Teachers in rural schools were encouraged to learn about critical issues in Malagasy history. Yet for the pupils, it was only stated that they should learn about the Malagasy nation. Not taking critical perspectives clearly into account in this context of independence would not promote skills to analyse deeper causalities and enable imagining a better world for Malagasies in their villages, in the nation, and as citizens in a global world. We would argue that this period of independence where the new nation struggled to cut ties with its former colonial power is an example of a context deeply impacted by negotiations of loyalties and processes of transloyalities. Not freeing the nation from its close ties with France through a deep revision of the content of education while simultaneously cultivating a national belonging exposed Malagasy learners to different kinds of loyalties which were difficult to negotiate.

There is some awareness of deeper structures and critical reflections on power relations in the Protestants' report. It is agreed that through the Malagasy language, considered the root for identity formation, they would strengthen Madagascar faced with other countries (without naming a specific country).

Using the Malagasy language made learning easier and helped children understand and not only memorise. Seen from a citizenship education perspective, it would be easier for children to learn skills, dispositions, thoughts, emotions, and actions, not only knowledge, if they were taught in Malagasy.

To promote loyalty, and love, for the religion was a clear aim in Protestant schools, while giving pupils agency to work for a better world was framed within a Christian life inspired by Bible-based Christian knowledge. A focus in Protestant schools was fostering knowledge on social change and promoting informed and responsible pupils motivated to create a better world. There was, however, no focus on critical reflections and other perspectives on this issue. In the report from the Protestants, we find a focus on the importance of education in developing personalities in this new nation, not only on obtaining a diploma, which continued to be impacted by the French colonial educational policy. This is a question of value and self-worth, and the nation as a space for acting out citizenship. Seen from a loyalty perspective, loyalty to the Protestant religion suited well with loyalty to the new Malagasy nation. However, as long as Protestant schools had to comply with the public education system and public diplomas involving French language and content, their schools promoted transloyalities to the different institutions among Malagasy pupils.

FAEM's report is the most critical of the four. Here, we see a clear outspoken criticism of the French impact. The report calls the educational system "a failure at all levels" and for this they blame the French language (FAEM 1968: 7). The report uses the words "camouflaged neo-colonialism", openly addressing the reality of the French hold on the island post-independence (Ibid.: 9). In addition, the report openly asks for Madagascar to open up to the whole world, in other words not only France. FAEM is clear about the lack of critical spirit and intellectual training in Malagasy schools. They believed in critical citizenship and their aim was specifically to "educate humans ideologically and politically to be armed for fighting and reacting" (Ibid.: 11). In FAEM's report, there is a preoccupation with forming citizens with knowledge of injustice, power, and macrostructural relationships, who were informed and responsible for ethical action as citizens of groups, the nation, and a more global humanity.

For FAEM, self-worth was important, as they advocated for a Malagasy approach which promoted Malagasy language teaching. Teaching should be illustrated by Malagasy realities using examples from the Malagasy context. A malgachisation approach was to be developed by President Ratsiraka through his *Red book* in the period 1975-1992 (RATSIRAKA 1975). According to Ratsiraka, who was inspired by FAEM and was advised by its leaders, malgachisation was part of a Malagasy paradigm and highlighted local realities.

Malgachisation of the educational system, from kindergarten to university, should provide local answers to local questions, local needs, and innovations adapted to local realities (Ibid.: 79-87). The Malagasy language, in its different dialectal variants, should be used so that all Malagasy populations would feel included. President Ratsiraka realised that education was key for development and introduced a policy that aimed for an educational system built on democratisation, decentralisation, and malgachisation. The period under Ratsiraka did not solve the challenges of the education of Malagasy children and youth, and the malgachisation policy was reversed in the 1990s (SHARP 2002). Elaborating on the malgachisation period and its reversal is out of scope of this article, due to space constraints, but could be explored in another.

Conclusion

This study has shown that in the post-independence Malagasy context, different conceptualizations of citizenship were apparent among international, national, public, and private educational stakeholders. Through the four reports, we find that Madagascar's relation to the wider world was largely impacted by the country's relation to the former colonial power. Proposed solutions to malgachisation (adaptation) and democratization, that would first and foremost consider Malagasies as citizens of their village and newly constructed nation, were strongly present. They existed among international experts, national educational authorities, students, teachers, and private educational providers. The main difference between them, based on the reports analysed, was their different stances towards critical approaches. Considering France's strong impact on the education system, the post-independence period was a context where processes of transloyalities took place: loyalties to the community, the new nation, the former colonial power, and in private schools, to religious communities. We believe that an awareness of the embeddedness of these different historical conceptualizations of citizenship has the potential to inform contemporary approaches to citizenship education. This awareness will provide an understanding of colonial legacies that still influence how citizenship is taught in schools. This is important in countries still struggling with historically embedded understandings of citizenship integrated into their educational systems, ensuring the continuity of power relations in society (MASEMULA 2015).

Abbreviations:

AEOM - Association des Etudiants d'Origine Malgache
CONFEMEN - Conference of Ministers of Education of French-speaking African and Malagasy countries
FAEM - Fédération des associations d`étudiants de Madagascar
FJKM - The Church of Jesus Christ in Madagascar
FLM - Fiangonana Loterana Malagasy
FPM - Fampianarana Protestanta eto Madagasikara
MDRM - Movement for the Renovation of Madagascar
MEN - Ministère de l'éducation nationale
PADESM - Parti des déshérités de Madagascar
UNESCO - United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

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