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Introduction

Almost all anthropologists working on Iran, and all Iranian students doing fieldwork for an anthropology degree have been directed towards research among pastoral nomads. The original system of education of these populations has never been studied anthropologically, but we see the system of education which has been installed to change their society, applauded in various articles. This is not surprising, since all attempts to study and then "modernize" pastoral nomadic areas ever since Reza Shah's period has been through forced sedentarization. The government never had a reasonable economic project to replace this nomadic mode of life with a sedentarized one. If under Reza Shah forced sedentarization was exercised, under Mohammad Reza a more delicate measure had to be adopted. It was a more manipulative measure as will be seen in the following article.

"Par quoi se transmet encore l'héritage d'un peuple? Par l'education qu'il donne à ses enfants...."
Albert Memmi (1973).

An ex-peace corps officer calls the tribal schools,"the most exciting successful eduacational experiment in modern Iranian history" (Barker 1981: 141). Clarence Hendershot (1965) in "*A Report on the Tribal Schools of Fars Province*" published by AID says, "The development of this system of moving schools is one of the miracles of modern Persia". This school system, about whose foundation some words will be said shortly, was established in the early 1950's and in the school year 1977-78 (the Iranian year 1356-57), it boasted of 111,819 students (32,406 girls and 79,413 boys, according to Census of Department of Education, Iranian year 1356-57). It was apparently an educational system adapted to a pastoral nomadic mode of existence, but as clearly noted by P. Barker (1981) it also had very distinct political ambitions. Similarly C. Hendershot (1975: xiii) stated, "The Technical Assistance Program was born in politics and was weighed with politics throughout its two decades of existence". The chief executive of the program in 1976 claimed that the project impinged upon the economic life of the people (Bahmanbegi 1355: 16). I am very far from knowing the economic and political magnitudes of this educational system, but what I would like to do in this article is to unravel the mystifications which lent glamour to this system, and see it as it was intended, *i.e.*, as an oppressive pedagogy. Inspired by Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970), I define oppressive pedagogy as (1) one which decides people's mode of existence for them, but lies about it to them; (2) One which serves the dominating class in the society at large; (3) One which prevents authentic thinking and orders what is to be learned. The project of the tribal schools succeeded phenomenally in pursuing this scheme. Interviews with young men and women who

attended these schools will substantiate this paper and provide revealing insights.

History and Extension

In 1948 the construction of three boarding schools for children of pastoral nomads started in the city of Fasa. In 1950 this project was stopped because of budgetary cuts. In 1949 in a project called "*Seven-year Development Plan for the Plan Organization of the Imperial Government of Iran,*" the overseas consultants suggested the formation of "moving schools, designed to accompany the tribe while in its annual migration" (Hendershot 1965: 7). By 1951 when "historians" of the tribal school project (Barker and Hendershot) spoke of a man called Mohammad Bahmanbegi becoming interested in an educational project, the Point Four consultants and advisors were already in Iran. Glen Gagon, a graduate of Bragham Young University, was the Point Four Education Advisor for Fars. A meeting between the two men, Gagon and Bahmanbegi, started years of cooperation. Practically, what Bahmanbegi (1355: 9) needed at this time for the realization of his project were tents, teachers and classroom supplies. G. Gagon promised the first and the last which would cost a total of US$ 200. Bahmanbegi was to search for teachers and their salaries. After the collapse of the school project at Fasa, the ministry of education was not likely to respond positively. Another possible source of help would be the Qashqa'i khans. It was through their initial help that Bahmanbegi provided the teachers with their first salaries. Hendershot (1975: 23-24) says that for the "1953 fiscal year program" tribal education was one of the five fields of concentration . . "On August 1st, 1953, 109 teachers met for six weeks of training" (Hendershot 1965: 9). Teaching began in autumn 1953 with government approval of the project. Different dates are given for the foundation of the tribal school; Hendershot (1975: 14) gives 1955 in one publication, but October 1956 in another publication (Hendershot 1975: 90). Bahmanbegi himself, writing in 1976 (1355: 3), gives the date of foundation as 1957. In any case, this school started by training 60 teachers, and the first school was set up in the Qashqa'i area in 1953. By 1956 there were six tribal schools in five *ostans* [provinces] with an enrollment of 172" (Hendershot 1975: 90). In 1957 the Boyer Ahmadi Tribe received the white tent school; these white canvas tents themselves stood out as something new in an area where tents are otherwise of black goathair. Statistics for the school year of 1973-74 indicate their presence, additionally in the provinces of Fars, in Azerbayejan, Kurdestan, Chahar Mahal-e Bakhtiari, Khuzestan, Sistan and Baluchestan, Kerman, Kermanshah, Ilam and Lorestan. At this time the total number of students was 53,814. From this number 37,033 were from Fars and the rest from other provinces. For the school years 1974-75 to 1977-78, their respective numbers are 61,948 /. 80,485 / 96,645 and 111,819. Here again the total of students from Fars was 63,072 (C.D.E 1356-57). It should be noted that more than half of the "tribal schools" had permanent locations. The number for the school year 1977-78, for example, was 1253 tribal moving schools to 1587 tribal permanent schools. As often noted by scholars who work with statistics from Iran, figures should not be taken very seriously. Cross references help to show the errors which exist, although one cannot be sure of either reference! For example, for the school year 1976-77 the number of students from Boyer Ahmadi and Kogiluyeh areas is given to be 4954. For the same period 2757 is given as the total at the Plan Or-

ganisation Seminar (Taheri 1355: 28). For Kerman, for the same date, again the ministry of education gives a higher number, 3306, than a report from the area, which gives 2500 as the total of students having been taught at these schools (RPN 1355 Vol. I: 15). Finally for the province of Lorestan, the total number of 6940 is given for the students of five grades, while 9100 is given as the possible number of students to be taught by the end of the year in three grades (*ibid*: vol II: 37).

Aims

> *"All domination involves invasion at times physical and overt, at times camouflaged, with the invader assuming the role of a helping friend"* (Freire 1970: 150).

It is significant to note what Barker discusses as the four elements important for the early 1950's as the "climax of the Qashqa'i struggle for autonomy": "(1) Nationalist movement built around the figure of Mohammad Mossaddeq; (2) American fears that the world's largest proven oil reserves fall into communist hands; (3) The farsighted dreams of an idealistic young tribesman; (4) the ambitions of a young shah to consolidate his control over a divided and rebellious country" (Barker 1981: 144). It is difficult to understand what Barker means by "struggle for autonomy" in the above four points. There is no consideration given to the powerful Qashqa'i khans, to what comes to the Qashqa'i people. What is definitely to be avoided, however, is a threat to the oil reserves by the Qashqa'i being attracted towards communism. In a few paragraphs the above author refers to the "abundance of communists in the ranks of the teachers" as one of the major problems "plaguing the Iranian educational establishment" (Barker 1981: 145). Thus the author very clearly portrays U.S. economic and political interests in the program. A few words on the other three points quoted above are necessary. During this period the U.S. had decided to help the young shah to consolidate his control over a divided and rebellious country." The idealist young tribesman, Bahmanbegi, will be the local means to this end; finally the "nationalism" of Mossaddeq will be otherwise incorporated into the program (will be discussed later).

"Nomadic tribes throughout the Middle East have frustrated the efforts of numerous central governments to modernize their societies, centralize their powers, and develop national consciousness among all segments of their populations" (Barker 1981: 140). The efforts of Reza Shah to brutally sedentarize the pastoral nomads not having attained the desired aim, this time education is to be used as the means toward sedentarization. This is why Bahmanbegi is so useful for the Point Four education project:

> "It was the strong belief of Mr. Bahmanbegi that the only way for the Government to make useful loyal citizens of the tribal people was to educate them. It was also the surest way of promoting the Government's objective of getting the tribes to settle" (Hendershot 1965: 8).

The first characteristic of oppressive pedagogy now becomes evident. Planners decide people's mode of existence for them, and they lie about it to them. In the case under study, the planners actually want to sedentarize the pastoral nomads, but they say they want to give them education. They want to keep communism out of the region and they want to have access to the oil reserves, but they say they want to give education to the people. More than twenty years after the foundation of this project when Bahmanbegi and the peace corps officer

speak about their successful enterprise (in different articles) some very significant observations are made. Barker (1981: 156-7) writes:

> "...there is no doubt but that the overall impact of the schools has been to encourage settlement ... The schools do not give the students tools with which to become better managers of a livestock-based economy, but rather those which they will need in order to successfully make the transition to a settled life and urban employment".

Although Barker writing from the U.S. in 1981 speaks very enthusiastically about the job possibilities that these schools have opened up to the children of pastoral nomads, Bahmanbegi writing from Iran in 1976 says:

> "Tribal people's attraction toward settlement, and the development of villages have increased the people's need for specialized workers in construction working, electricity, carpentary etc." (Bahmanbegi 1976: 12).

This is a second way in which the people are given wrong information. While the students grow up expecting to become doctors, teachers, government employees and so on, what awaits them is a different future. This adds to the first characteristic of oppressive pedagogy. It has been necessary to indulge in giving long quotes from the organizers of the tribal school project because it has always been praised as a purely educational project. No serious academic consideration has been given to it as a political project and one which has had aims other than its name obviously indicates. My use of data from the organizers themselves must prove to the reader the objectivity of my point, while a rapid reading of such writings padded with a mass of propaganda hinders the comprehension of facts.

The project largely attained its aim through "manipulation".

> "By means of manipulation, the dominant elites try to conform the masses to their objectives ... Through manipulation, the dominant elites can lead the people into an inauthentic type of "organization," and can thus avoid the threatening alternative: the true organization of the emerged and emerging people" (Freire 1970: 144-5).

Having mentioned the aims of the tribal school project and its achievements, it is now necessary to consider the means through which these aims were attained. The first means is the person who helped in its realization, the second is the method this school system used to convince the people of its utility.

Means A: Mohammad Bahmanbegi

It has been U.S. policy to intervene in the affairs of other countries under the rubric of aid. The following which is written from the American perspective, and must be read with a critical eye, shows the initial steps for the Technical Assistance Program:

> "Barely two months after President Harry S. Truman signed the Act for International Development on June 5, 1950, Dr. Franklin S. Harris was dispatched to negotiate an agreement to provide technical assistance to the Government of Iran. Conditions in Iran were critical economically, socially, and politically, as a result of a growing crisis with the British over their oil concession, and becoming steadily worse. Haste was important. Consequently when the President's signature was affixed to the Act, Iran was one of the first countries to receive attention. Dr. Harris arrived in Tehran in mid-August. Early in September a draft agreement was sent to

> Washington, and on October 19, Ambassador Henry Grady and Prime Minister Ali Razmara signed a Memorandum of understanding providing for American technical cooperation for a rural improvement program, the first Point Four international agreement"
> (Hendershot 1975: 1).

I do not know exactly how the project started, whether it was first Bahmanbegi who "used" U.S. economic aid and ideas (1949 Overseas Consultant suggestion), or whether the idea and interests were already there, and the advisors in Fars were only waiting for the ambitious man to arrive on the scene. At any event, Bahmanbegi was identified as the local person to cooperate with, and, "to facilitate American assistance, Mr. Bahmanbegi was placed on the Point Four payroll" (Hendershot 1965: 11). Mohammad Bahmanbegi, born in 1920, son of one of the Qashqa'i khan's cooks, finished his law degree in 1945. During this same year he published his book *Orf o Adat dar Ashayer-e Fars* (*Moeurs et Coutumes des Tribus du Fars*). Already in this book signs of a feeling of "superiority" of the educated tribesman vis-à-vis his fellows are evident. His description of the Boyer Ahmadi below shows the complex psychology of the "colonized" who in hope of a prosperous future uses the logic of the "colonizer" and thus misrepresents and depises his countrymen (and of course part of himself too):

> "Le courage et le dénuement d'un Boyer Ahmadi, par exemple, sont inégalables: il va nu-pieds ... déguenillé ... et nourri de glands.... Comme il ne fait rien, tout attise le feu de la misère et de la violence – ce qui accroît la proportion de querelles, de meurtres et de banditisme, tandis que la franchise, la simplicité et le courage des nomades reduisent de beaucoup le nombre des tricheurs et des félons"
> (translation by Monteil 1966: 119).

The theme of the "lazy native" is nothing new to anthropologists (and fortunately good critical analyses of the subject have already appeared (*e.g.* Leclerc 1972: 17-18), and the idea has repeatedly been used by colonizers to justify towards their own countrymen their activities abroad. But, of course at the same time some of the colonized accept this concept.

> "For cultural invasion to succeed, it is essential that those invaded become convinced of their intrinsic inferiority. Since everything has its opposite, if those who are invaded consider themselves inferior, they must necessarily recognize the superiority of the invaders. The values of the latter thereby become the pattern for the former" (Freire 1970: 151).

At any event, Bahmanbegi with such a mentality returned to the Qashqa'i area, stayed there for five years and then in 1951 he went to the U.S. for the first time. Hendershot (1965: 7) comments on this visit, saying:

> "In 1951 Mr. Bahmanbegi visited the U.S. where he took a keen interest in social process. He was particularly impressed by the public schools. The following year he returned with a mission".

Two phrases are ambiguous. It is not clear what the author means by "social process"; the "mission" with which Bahmanbegi returned is not evident. The author does not specify. After beginning his work with the Point Four (perhaps in 1953), Bahmanbegi revisited the U.S. "to observe with special attention the schools for American Indians" (Hendershot 1965: 7). I cannot exaggerate the importance of this man for the tribal education project, as there are statements that the Point Four officers and the peace corps officers considered him as a charismatic leader who was one of the few

crucial elements necessary for the success of the "miracle", which was "the result of the dreams and plans of one man" (Hendershot 1965: 32, Barker 1981: 153, 155). Bahmanbegi was the missing link to domination:

> "In their passion to dominate, to mold others to their patterns and their way of life, the invaders desire to know how those they have invaded apprehend reality – but only so they can dominate the latter more effectively" (Freire 1970: 150-1).

In affirmation of the above:

> "His tribal origins and intimate knowledge of tribal customs and problems made him uniquely able to communicate with tribes people ... Bahmanbegi's thorough understanding of tribal `psychology' enabled him to appeal to tribal values in order to sell his program to the tribes..." (Barker 1981: 153).

This point about knowing the psychology of one people in order "to sell" them something is furthered by the statistics given above. These indicate better success of the program in the province of Fars. Of course other reasons might have added to greater interest in sedentarization in this area, but "in 1975 he attempted to repeat the high school experiment in Sanandaj for Kurdish students, but when he examined the students at the end of the first year, he was dissatisfied and closed the school". (Barker 1981: 154).

Means B: The School System

Although Iran never became a colony, yet certain programs had definitely the character of colonial institutions. In the case of the tribal school program, the pastoral nomads were treated as the "primitive" who is dangerous, whose land has resources which the colonizer cannot neglect. This educational institution was the means toward colonization of a kind. In this same line of thought Gérard Leclerc (1972: 39) writes: "Le colonialisme n'est pas seulement expansion et domination économique, mais aussi ethnocentrisme culturel. Le colonialisme suppose la croyance en une seule culture ...". This supposition is best exemplified by the benevolent colonizer who was formerly often the missionary; today this benevolence comes in the form of technical assistance programs which are based on the belief that the "primitive" is at a much lower technical, cultural and spiritual level, and in order to have him progress to a higher level, he must be educated. In keeping with this line of thought Bahmanbegi (1355: 12) wrote,

> "Before twenty four years ago these people (pastoral nomads) did not have any kind of culture and educational institutions, and for long years they existed in ignorance. Twenty four years ago following his Imperial Majesty's benevolent intentions, I who am of pastoral nomadic origins, established the tribal school"

Note that in the above quotation, lack of institutions of formal education is equated with the absence of culture and the presence of ignorance. How did this school system operate in order to attain its aims? The first characteristic to be considered is bilingualism. The pastoral nomadic populations of Iran have ethnic names which are also the names of their languages: Baluch, Kurd, Turk, Lor, Talesh, etc. The Qashqa'i, who are Turkic, speak Qashqai'i Türki. Other important tribes in Fars are Lor and Arab. Therefore the studies of bilingualism done in colonial contexts can very well apply to these tribal schools.

> "Le colonisé n'est sauvé de l'analphabetisme que pour tomber dans le dualisme linguistique ... La possession de deux langues n'est pas seule-

ment celle de deux outils, c'est la participation à deux royaumes psychiques et culturels. Or ici les deux univers symbolisés, portés par les deux langues, sont en conflit: ce sont ceux du colonisateur et du colonisé" (Memmi 1973: 135-6).

During my own fieldwork in the Mamassani (a Lor population) area, I was confronted with the same phenomenon. The children who had gone to school would make fun of their elders and mostly those less exposed to Persian, *i.e.* women (Shahshahani 1366, 1981: Ch. 5). In my interviews with university students who had gone to tribal schools I found their language still a source of discomfort. They felt inferior because they did not possess fluency in Persian. In the tribal school project great emphasis was laid on Persian, and in high school, on English. The second major element of education and a very important one which does not favour autonomous thinking, is the method used for learning, *i.e.* memorization. The aim of the program was not to make sure that the students had understood their lessons, but rather to have them respond word by word and very rapidly. "Two times two, *befarma*." If the "*befarma*" ("please answer") was left out, the student would not know the answer. If the student hesitated in the middle of a poem he was reciting, or a geographical description he was giving, then he could not continue, and had to start from the very beginning. "At the end of elementary school," one student told me, "all I knew was how to multiply and divide like a fast moving tape, and recite the story of *zaq o kabk* as swift as thunder, and become the thief, the beast or the king in plays we were ordered to stage for the monitors who came to examine us."

The curriculum of these schools was entirely the same as that of other Iranian schools, but the teaching methods were very different. Perhaps at the time it would have been possible to measure the diference, but to try and do so today would only be speculative. This is why I cite the students themselves, and try and recall their red cheeks while trying to recite in as high a voice as possible all their courses, from geography to poetry. This technique was not practiced in urban or rural schools, and was in my opinion part of a process of trying to divert the tribal temperament. The reasoning went like this: the tribal people are mountain people, used to self-expression in a rough and courageous manner and in loud voices. These qualities must be rechanelled in such a manner that the energy is spent, but the tribal spirit is not strengthened. Both in school and at annual celebrations the students had the opportunity, within a very well defined structure of school programs to spend their young, "tribal" energy, without strengthening tribal cohesion.

The school year was arranged according to the mode of existence of the population, that is to say according to the cycle of transhumance. Those who transhumed did not have classes during their migration period. Otherwise school started in fall and ended in late spring. The tribal school system tried to keep the students for as many hours as possible at school. Depending upon its location and the season, children went to school from approximately 7 to 11.30 and from 13 to 18hrs, that is for as many as 8½ hours daily (with recess), while schools run by the ministry of education held classes for no more than 6 hours per day. The project adapted itself to the basic mode of existence of the community it was inserted into, but it tried to occupy the children for as many hours as it could. The hours were not marked by the bell; so the school allowed for certain flexibility, but when the student was at school, his greatest concentration was demanded. A

teacher could be absent for a day, but then he had to make up for his absence another day. These adaptive measures to the pastoral nomadic way of life demanded the students' cooperation in another domain too:

> "The concentration of mind, the alertness to every development, the complete absorption of their minds in the learning situation make for a speed of accomplishment not found in many schools" (Hendershot 1965: 17).

Anyone who has visited a tribal school is amazed by the enthusiasm in the classroom. As soon as a question is asked, everyone raises his hand to respond. When there is a recitation to be done, the student raises his/her voice as loudly as he can; his face becomes red. When I questioned a tribal school teacher about the reason for this behaviour, I was told that "tribal people are a courageous and independent people. In keeping with this spirit, the children have to express themselves in loud voices, not timidly like urban children." In my opinion, this is giving the children (and their family and their society) the false myth of continuing their traditional way of life. This is preserving a characteristic, emptying it of its original meaning, and filling it with another content. Another example, perhaps more clear, of this use of traditional cultural traits for accomplishing other ends is the following:

> "Another tradition of tribal warfare upon which Bahmanbegi drew was the war camp or ordu. In previous generations the ordu had been a large gathering of khans and warriors to make war preparations. In the Qashqa'i collective memory these were times of great excitement and tribal pride. Under Tribal Education, ordus underwent a metamorphosis and became a sort of education inspection festival. School children from a large radius were bused to the white tent camp so that the students might be tested by Tribal Education officials, participate in dancing, and share in the large meals and general excitement" (Barker 1981: 154).

Another basic point must be considered in this discussion about method of accomplishment and that is the functioning of the school through the teacher-student relationship and the monitor-teacher and monitor-student relationship: "the whole school structure was like military camp," I was told by a teacher. To an outsider the teacher gave the impression of working with the students, and he did not have a special place apart and above them. C. Hendershot (1975: 91) remarks, "A high degree of cordiality was shared by the children, their teachers and the supervisors". But "a peculiar fear existed between the teacher and the students," an ex-student told me. "Between the teacher and the students no friendly relationship existed, there was a great distance between them ..." another said. "The teacher did not care if the student really understood the lesson, he only wanted us to respond very quickly." The teacher had great power over the student because he could greatly humiliate the child who did not study well, and praise one who did well. News of both was easily carried outside the white tent into the heart of the community. The place of the school within the community was marked by the promise of the future of the children. "My sister wove carpets to pay for my school accessories," remembered one Qashqa'i student. The children received cakes and cookies (something also appreciated by the parents), and some other aids such as free books and pens. Also, as university students who had attended tribal schools explained,

> "People had realized that their production of sheep and goat and all their hard work was not bringing a good life for them. Therefore, they did

not want their children to do the same. They wanted them to sit in offices like government employees and do nothing and gain their lives."

This is why they insisted that their children study well. The traditional economic system had been undermined, and hence the community turned to the school as the possibility of securing a future for their children. The school became the link with the future: As one ex-student put it, "Before the children were in the service of their elders, now all the community was in the service of the children's education." Naturally, a child was keen on getting the approval of his parents, his teachers and his community. Besides, the teacher who examined and had power over children, there were monitors who often visited the schools. They examined both the teacher and the students. Monitors had cars at their service and they travelled to different tribal schools. Besides guiding the teachers, their performance was noted and reports were sent to the administration, at the pinnacle of which was Bahmanbegi. "His spirit was always four meters above everybody's head." Another ex-student said, "We were under strict control. In high school we knew that because of the turmoils in the tribes, we were under strict surveillance. I dare say all the important figures of our school were working for the intelligence service." Thus a spirit of terror and suspicion reigned and this is why, "everything was done by force and obligation; studying was obligatory, eating was obligatory, dancing for the feast was obligatory ... perhaps our fear too was obligatory.". The teachers also felt terribly observed:

> "The teacher knew that Bahmanbegi was as apt to humiliate a poor teacher in front of his students at an ordu as he was to praise a good one. They believed him when he said that he would beat any teacher who beat his students" (Barker 1981: 154).

This ordering about in the process of learning is what at the beginning of this paper I called the third quality of oppressive pedagogy, one which prevents authentic thinking and orders what is to be learned.

Before concluding this article, there is one more point I must raise and this is in relation to "nationalism", also referred to earlier. While among the four points quoted from Barker's article, the "nationalism" of Dr. Mossaddeq was mentioned, in another quotation, the Shah's regime is projected as a nationalist one. Hendershot states the American position more directly when he portrays Mossaddeq as a prime minister who wanted "dictatorial powers", the Shah as a benevolent monarch who "could no longer see his people being killed in the streets," and the Americans as innocent victims who were passing "a trying period ... For several days United States personnel were confined to quarters ... Walls were plastered with 'Yankee go home' signs and the safety of American personnel was imperiled" (Hendershot 1975: 10-11). Such use of the term "nationalism" once again constitutes its appropriation by political organizers according to what they wanted it to mean. This is a false use of the term, just as the tribal school project was in fact a colonial enterprise. Its aim was to make future urban dwellers and its first method was to humiliate those leading a tribal way of life. It praised urban ways of life, the climax of which was the American lifestyle. One of the first measures of humiliation used for the teachers themselves concerned cleanliness.

> "Mr. Bahmanbegi has his own ideas of education for the tribes ... the first lesson the prospective teacher needed to learn was personal hygiene ... Household and camp sanitation followed ..." (Hendershot 1965: 9-10).

When I was doing fieldwork I was amazed by the constant remarks on cleanliness made by local physicians and urban visitors to children and even more so to women. This was a subtle but effective means of humiliation. Finally, if the government had a nationalistic character its education program would emphasize knowledge of the country and national heroes. Speaking of the French colonial school Albert Memmi wrote

> "L'histoire qu'on lui apprend n'est pas la sienne. Il sait qui fût Colbert ou Cromwell mais non qui fût Khuznader; qui fut Jeanne d'Arc mais non la Kahena. Tout semble s'être passé ailleurs que chez lui; son pays et lui-même sont en l'air ..." (Memmi 1973: 133-134).

An eight-year old girl who had doubled the first grade was still trying to memorize the words for "iron," "fan" "oven" and so on. She had never seen any of them. "Students know about the Western world, but they do not know their own heroes or the mountain peaks or the rivers one kilometer away from them," a teacher told me. Barker (1981: 139) corroborates this: "The school has peddled the Shah's version of Iranian nationalism and contributed to the undermining of some of the bases of tribal society".

Thus, very clearly, this system of education was at the service of the pro-American regime, and was meant to serve the interests of the dominating class of society. This completes the definition of oppressive pedagogy as defined at the begining of this article. As a postscript I should add the following information which I obtained from Mr. Shahbazi, a PhD student as personal communication, in 1994: after the Islamic revolution this school program was briefly interrupted, but was resumed thereafter. The change in curriculum in these as in other schools consists of greater attention being paid to courses in religion. The number of teachers is the same, but only a minority (100 out of 1200) are still transhuming; the rest are teaching in tribal schools in rural or urban areas.

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Résumé

Cette étude porte sur le système d'éducation appliqué aux enfants de nomades pasteurs iraniens sous le régime monarchique. L'auteur montre le degré d'aliénation qui existait dans ce système et décrit le contexte politique dans lequel cette pédagogie oppressive fonctionnait.

Resumen

En el presente estudio se estudian las características y el impacto del sistema de educación sobre niños pastores nómades en el Irán bajo el regimen monárquico. El autot muestra el grado de alienación existente en el sistema y describe el contexto político dentro del cual funcionaba esta pedadgogía opresiva.

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