

Crossing Views on School and Non-School Learning The Javanese Village of Bejiharjo (Indonesia) and The Gypsy of Perpignan (France)

Juliette Sendra*, Puji Yanti Fauziah

Universitas Negeri Yogyakarta, Indonesia
*Email: juliette.sendra7@gmail.com

Submitted: 2021-07-03. Revised: 2021-12-04. Accepted: 2022-02-21

Abstract. This article proposes a reflection on the relationship between the school and its reference social environment based on two contexts: the Javanese village of Bejiharjo (Indonesia) and the gypsy community of Perpignan (France). In both places, there is a discrepancy in the logic of action and value systems between formal and non-formal education. The educational goals put forward by national guidelines are not always in coherence with local and community educational logics. The school for these two populations is still generally perceived by families as an institution outside the village (knowledge and aims). This article therefore proposes to look at educational practises and family strategies for (non-) schooling of children within a broad educational context (school and non-school). It will also be a question of uncovering the relationships that are established between the modes of learning developed at school and out of school, both at the level of practice and at the level of the underlying aims. In the Javanese village of Bejiharjo, collective activities involving adults and children are organised in a collaborative manner, while at school the individual action of children is highly valued through competitions or championships, for example. In the gypsy community of Perpignan, learning outside school is based on forms of advanced autonomy or implicit solicitation of the child by the parents. School as a particular form of education brings into play exogenous norms and references within a given social context. We will therefore look at learning modalities and value systems as they emerge on these two terrains and examine how children adapt, negotiate and experience these dissonant logics between the school and non-school space.

Key words: informal education, schooling, learning, social and cultural environment, family strategies

How to Cite: Sendra, J., & Fauziah, P. Y. (2022). Crossing Views on School and Non-School Learning The Javanese Village of Bejiharjo (Indonesia) and The Gypsy of Perpignan (France). *Journal of Nonformal Education*, 8(1), 97-105.

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.15294/jne.v8i1.31016>

INTRODUCTION

In the North as well as in the South, the school is the privileged institution for providing training and a certain form of socialisation for pupils. The process continues and "universal primary education" is accepted by governments as a way of caring for, training and socialising children. The school as a concrete institutional framework is historically constructed and attached to a particular society and culture. Culture is understood in the anthropological sense, i.e. "The distinct and shared way of symbolically organising the world that a particular group or society has created in the course of its history" (Bouju, 2016). It was in the 19th century that school and public education in Europe gradually became established, with the aim of achieving cultural, political and linguistic homogeneity (Akkari, 2012). From that time on, its organisation was based on the determination of specific issues that fit into a given social framework: 'the eradication of local particularisms goes hand in hand with the dissemination of the modernity values modernity and the exaltation of national sentiment' (own traduction, Barthes, Blanc Maximin, Alpe, Floro, 2014: 3). The Western school model is spreading

throughout the world and spreading the belief in education that promotes equal opportunities. This relatively recent and culturally marked paradigm is now becoming a matter of course almost everywhere in the world. The evaluation of school systems is carried out on a numerical basis, leading to their systematic prioritisation. It is through it that the school model, legitimised by the humanist discourse of 'education for all' as proclaimed by Unesco (Filiod, 2007), is imposed. However, on a global scale, its application takes many different forms, making it necessary to take into account the phenomena of internationalisation and globalisation.

Today the school has a universal vocation, successive international conferences mark the desire for an education for all considered indispensable for integration into the so-called "modern" world. The Jomtien (1990) and Dakar (2000) conferences established a consensus on the need for all children to have access to a minimum school education of good "quality".

Indonesia is close to achieving universal primary education (OECD, 2015: 126), and is now turning to the priorities of quality education to meet development requirements. The Indonesian education system, which is huge and diverse, is administered by two

ministries that are responsible for its management: the Ministry of Education and Culture (Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan), which is responsible for 84% of schools, and the Ministry of Religious Affairs (Kementerian agama), which is responsible for 16% of schools.

The French system is the responsibility of the Ministry of Education, which is in charge of the entire school system from kindergarten to high school. The French education system is based on principles - some inspired by the Revolution of 1789, laws passed between 1881 and 1889 and under the 4th and 5th Republics as well as the Constitution of 4 October 1958: "the organisation of free and secular compulsory public education at all levels is a duty of the State" - namely, freedom of education, free, neutral, secular, compulsory schooling. (Ministry of National Education, 2020).

In this approach, the process of imposing international and national standards must be put into perspective by analysing the expressions of school demand and social representations of school. In fact, the production and reproduction of social and cultural norms that are autonomous from educational policies confront the trend towards uniformity of systems and the triumph of school ideology.

In rural Javanese areas, although the populations show their support for the school project, their perceptions of the right to education sometimes seem distant from universal concepts. In France, for the gypsy community of Perpignan, compulsory schooling is not particularly well received and underlines some shortcomings of the French school system and its challenges. Indeed, schools introduce individualisation processes which often appear to be at odds with local social conceptions and values. School education, historically and culturally constructed, reveals a way of thinking that is attached to the normative contours of the social (Escobar 1995,2020, Rist 2007). As a consequence, the modern school imposes an exogenous model that interferes with pre-existing relational modes and social structures, which modifies the forms of transmission of values (de Grave, 2012).

In the Javanese village of Bejiharjo, the configuration of out-of-school learning suggests that it is generally not individualised but collective. Today, while school tends to be the only education mode for children, inside it, holistic types of relationships are reproduced.

This article proposes to discuss the different learning modalities and value systems as expressed in Bejiharjo on the one hand: one in which the relationship to time, space and others is integrated, the other in which the individual is first and foremost separated from the local environment and aims to be part of an

extra-village economic market. And on the other hand, to consider in a comparative way the stakes linked to gypsy schooling such as can be found in Perpignan.

The aim is to identify local educational logics and parents' schooling strategies on the one hand and, on the other, how children adapt, negotiate and cope between these logics, which tend to be contradictory. The questions will focus on the interpenetrations and ruptures of the school - as an external institution - in relation to the environment in which it is established. In this sense, it is necessary to determine the configuration of education outside school or informal (Brougère, Bézille, 2007) as it is found in these two different cultural and social contexts.

In order to fully understand the ins and outs of the reflections that will be put forward here, it is first of all necessary to explain the theoretical approach on which the studies are based in order to highlight the definite contributions of the social sciences - anthropology more precisely and the method of ethnographic investigation - to educational issues. Secondly, the aim will be to understand the discrepancies between informal modes of learning and the transmission systems linked to childhood and the school institution - which - as for it - is characterised by an a priori advanced formalisation of learning.

The comparative analysis of these two contexts should enable us to draw out reflections on the adaptation of the school to the social and cultural environment in which it is embedded, and to grasp the issues at stake in educational action. Beyond this, the critical perspective adopted should lead us to question the educational aims of schools in general and to reflect on how to sustainably revalue the locality on the social, educational and environmental levels in relation to politics and economics.

METHOD

Ethnographic methods and theoretical approach : what is meant by education ?

For anthropologists, school is considered above all as a particular form of education (Filiod, 2007). The 'school form' determines a number of characteristics understood as inherent necessity in the act of teaching: 'impersonal rules and hierarchical structure in the classroom, a single teacher responsible for a group of pupils sorted by age, the existence of a distinct and closed place' (Barthes, Blanc Maximin, Alpe, Floro, 2014: 3). This school form also applies to school content and imposes a division of knowledge into 'school subjects' on the basis of reference scientific knowledge. It implies a control of the transmission process and its results (examinations, diplomas, in-

spection) and a cumulative nature of knowledge (Barthes, Blanc Maximin, Alpe, Floro, 2014: 3).

Since the beginning of the 20th century, Durkheim has been analysing the socio-political functions of the school, thus underlining the presence of values or even ideological positions.

As such, the learning of informal elements outside the framework of the school curriculum remains active in the constitution of a given value system, as Emile Durkheim (1922) pointed out. He defined education as "the action exercised by adult generations on those who are not yet mature for social life. Its purpose is to arouse and develop in the child a certain number of physical, intellectual and moral states demanded of him or her by the political society as a whole and by the special environment for which he or she is particularly destined" (1922, own traduction).

While this definition reveals a porous border with the concrete and daily life of the group, it underlines the entirety of education that the major international institutions seem to have forgotten. With the extension of access to school education, priority will be given to the content of knowledge to the detriment of the place of social values, which are shrinking. The development of the sociology of education with the 'theory of reproduction' (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1970) calls into question the functions of the school and denounces a system understood as a factor of social conservatism which legitimises inequalities and thereby endorses the cultural heritage. Generally speaking, Pierre Bourdieu underlines the *cultural arbitrariness of pedagogical action* which, through the social and linguistic codes it requires, enhances the *cultural capital* and *habitus* of the dominant classes; exercising symbolic violence in this way, the school legitimises a bourgeois culture that is far removed from the working classes. The habitus is a "system of durable and transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, i.e. as principles generating and organising practises and representations [...] one learned by body and one made to be" (own traduction, Bourdieu, 1980: 88). It does not correspond to a mechanical determination but to an anticipation at the practical level. This concept is dynamic and includes the movement of social life and individual experiences.

It is therefore necessary to consider, following Pierre Bourdieu (1971), the internal dynamics of the school system and the relationship established with the pupils' social environment. The habitus concept (Bourdieu, 1972) makes it possible to account for social practises and the interpenetrations or breaks between school and the reference social model of families and the environment. Indeed, various elements come into play in the transmission processes.

Following on from Vygotsky – a Russian psychologist from the beginning of the 20th century who developed an approach to learning based on the ecological and cultural dimension of cognition – (1978,1987), the work of Etienne Wenger and Jean Lave (1991) on "situated learning" within a "community of practice" - defined by its social and cultural dimensions - points to the importance of participation and relationships in the learning process. In this perspective, school is not the central norm of learning but represents one cultural institution among others. Learning is linked to a posture of "peripheral legitimate participation" in activities defined by their social and cultural dimensions. Learning as a situated activity has as a central defining characteristic a process we call peripheral legitimate participation. As explained by Lave & Wenger : " By this we want to draw attention to the point that learners inevitably participate in communities of practice and that mastery of knowledge and skills requires the newcomer to move towards full participation in the socio-cultural practice of the community. (...) This concerns the process by which newcomers become part of the community of practice. "(Lave & Wenger, 1991: 29).

These authors give us an epistemological basis. Indeed, this theoretical background supports a broad analysis on education as such, and the survey methodologies of social and cultural anthropology are integrated in a relevant way into the analysis. Namely, the method of ethnographic enquiry which is primordial in order to identify the modalities of informal education in each cultural context. Moreover, whether in Perpignan or Bejiharjo, we will see that the school is still perceived as an institution outside the village and gypsy community. The family educational logics, the informal education of children do not correspond to the institutional educational logics, the perceptions of childhood and education. What can be the discrepancies between families and school?

Beyond that, there is a permanent to-and-fro between learning and social facts. Different elements come into play in the processes of transmission - such as the content of knowledge or relational modes - and allow us to glimpse the social system in which they are embedded (De Grave, 2014). This social system is based on an implicit ordering of values that refers to an underlying higher order that Louis Dumont (1983) defines as constitutive of ideology. The orientation of ideas-values - as defined by Louis Dumont (1983) - contribute to shaping local transmission systems (knowledge and practises) and modes of relationship with the natural and social environment. In this perspective, both the school and the processes of economic development correspond to the imposition of an exogenous model which disrupts pre-existing relational modes and social structures. The processes of

formalisation and standardisation relating to the formal education system modify the forms of transmission and values (Pierrot, 2012) and participate to a rearrangement of value hierarchies inside society outside the individualist ideology as defined by Louis Dumont (1977). Thus, on the basis of this theoretical basis and a comparison, this article proposes to reflect on the questioning of the possibilities of integrating the school into the social environment and the relational context on the one hand, and on the other hand, those relating to values and educational purposes. Adopting an anthropological approach would make it possible "to shed light on educational issues in relation to a broader understanding of the social" (De Grave, 2012).

The two cases presented in this article correspond to stays on ethnographic plots of land, one recent one in the village of Bejiharjo carried out successively in 2017, 2018 and 2020 and the other from a plot of land in 2013 in the city of Perpignan - places where I also live. Using the classic methods of ethnography (immersion, participant observation and interviews) and a micro-social approach - for the village of Bejiharjo - I have identified the informal educational methods and associated knowledge as found in rural Javanese society. In a second step, I will also analyse the actual impact of the individualised mode of functioning that the modern school establishes in relation to the general ambient community mode of functioning (Koentjaraningrat, 1984, 2007). Consequently, the comparison made with the schooling issues of the gypsy community of Perpignan allows us to renew our viewpoint and identify the imponderables linked to the schooling issue.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Bejiharjo village: aspects of Javanese rurality and informal learning

The village of Bejiharjo takes up the forms of Javanese rurality, i.e., a predominance of small-scale farming, an authority belonging to the older generation, a marked ritual culture closely linked to the natural environment and the definition of village social space and community values of self-help and solidarity characteristic of Javanese villages (Hefner, 1990, Lombard, 1990). In this village on the remote margins of Indonesia, formal education mainly concerned only village elders. The elderly date back to the arrival of the Koranic school 20 years ago in the district town, and the Western-style school was present sporadically and far away from the settlements. Thus, the older generation remains far away from the formal educational framework and traditionally the non-formal education of the younger generation is linked

to a mode of learning within the family and community environment (Geertz, 1961).

The social integration of the young person involves participation in village activities (agriculture, ritual, politics) and is therefore intimately linked to the local relational system. At the same time, or with very little distinction, systems of transmission of "javanity" are emerging, based on village socialisation and genuine initiation (especially for young men), in which natural sites take on their full importance.

More generally, within the socialisation process, the knowledge they acquire is very strongly linked to the locality (cosmology and value) and is dependent on the relational systems attached to the restricted or extended social space (family, kinship, hamlet, village, region, etc.). This involvement of children and young people in adult activities is based on a trust relationship.

The children accompany the village activities, they play, imitate the adults and can be called upon for simple tasks (bringing tools, replacing a parent at a meeting in Arisan (Tontine). They learn by observation and impregnation by participating in the parents' activities. In this context, informal education is also of community benefit and involves particular relational models (peer and intergenerational). Knowledge is indistinguishable, or very little, from the social environment in which it evolves and is dependent on the social and relational context in which it exists. The child gradually acquires a way of being, and more generally a way of being and conceiving of the world intimately linked to rural javanité as found in this village.

In this context, school education may appear to be at odds with the village educational forms and the social integration of the child within the locality. This cultural discrepancy with which the child is confronted - within the school itself - will be particularly salient in the Catalan gypsy community in the Perpignan region.

The Catalan gypsy community of Perpignan : Social environment and cultural context faced with the school institution

Gypsies have been settled for many years in the eastern Pyrenees. Arriving from Spain at the beginning of the 20th century, they experienced all the successive policies of rejection, assimilation and then discrimination. After the persecution suffered in Spain throughout the 17th century, the law of Charles II gave them the possibility to move around, and with the French Revolution, it was made possible for them to carry out activities on the other side of the border. In 1790, the first wave of gypsies arrived in Perpignan. The second wave took place between 1808 and 1814 when Napoleonic troops occupied the territory,

which led to a relaxation of border surveillance (Laruy, 2021).

The 1930s represented a prosperous period of the gypsies on both sides of the border: In Barcelona, Girona (Spain) or Perpignan (France) the professions of antique dealer, itinerant art dealer, those related to horses, horse trading, leather work in saddlery and footwear, and the presence of traders in the large markets for fabric sales, enabled families to gain access to land ownership (purchase of bourgeois buildings in the central districts of these cities for example) (Missaoui, 2018 : 3). The prevailing European fascism of the time (Francoism for Spain and the Nazi occupation for France) forced or even paralysed their economies, and the trades based on particular know-how gradually disappeared (Laruy, 2021, Tarrus, Missaoui, 1997).

In Perpignan, from the beginning of the 10th century, gypsies were forced to settle down - which led in 1951 to the provision of two plots of land for the installation of gypsies on the outskirts of the city - or placed under house arrest in the case of the St Jacques district in the urban centre. As a result, in the 1950s, the traditional horse-related trades lost their *raison d'être*: bootmakers, saddlers and horse dealers disappeared.

Today and for many years now, the gypsy population of Perpignan has remained on the fringes of society (they represent 2.5% of the population of the department). They are grouped together in well-defined areas of the city. There are three of these districts: two are isolated outside the city and constitute an enclave in the industrial zone, the third is in the Perpignan centre. Today they form a quasi-ghetto. The living conditions are difficult: promiscuity, saturation of the housing supply, precarious economic situation (allowances, scrap metal recovery, discrimination in hiring). The institutions are called upon to act to change this situation and agree to recommend immediate action in terms of health and economic assistance, and to devise, in a longer time, strategies for integration at school, learning knowledge for the social and professional integration of young people. Faced with this situation, schooling has become the watchword of public action, but what are the underlying logics inherent in these processes? How can we understand the discrepancies experienced and the broader educational logics?

Between a heavy history and a difficult present, gypsies are marginalised and represent a population that is excluded and that excludes itself. School is the fateful moment of the encounter between two cultures.

It is a group with a marked sense of belonging based on extended family mutual aid and which designates anyone outside the Roma (or "Gypsy") world

as "paio", i.e. the dominant culture and therefore the school.

Generally speaking, the community space as it is organised does not overlap with the urban norms of the city of Perpignan: authority belongs to the older generation (Giband, 2006), territoriality is marked by old systems of representations of nomadic origin - in particular the occupation of public places by men and their surveillance, endogenous relational systems based on kinship defining a social hierarchy between families and marked forms of identity which re-actualise the border with the "dominant" group. The outside represents a remarkable exteriority. The interstitial space marked by the border between the two groups is re-actualized and is occupied by children. They have relative autonomy and freedom and walk through the neighbourhood with their parents and elders looking on. "They can rub shoulders with the roughness of the world, burn their wings and get lost on the margins of gypsyism, facing the world of the "paio" (Olive, 2003). In this context, the socialisation of children is developed in a communal way and is not attached to the nuclear family alone. The child is not or hardly subjected to parental constraint and informal educational methods tend towards an implicit solicitation on the part of adults towards the acquisition of new experience. This leaves the child with a great deal of freedom to confront the demands and constraints of the school environment.

Thus, in the Catalan gypsy community of Perpignan and in the Javanese village of Bejiharjo, children's socialisation and informal educational modes are strongly linked to the locality and its activities and to the groups to which they belong (modes of functioning, relational systems and cultural elements). The child acquires knowledge, codes, and particular social norms linked to a value system strongly anchored in the locality, which will come into confrontation with the system within the school systems. In this article, I will not go into further ethnographic details and anthropological analysis of the transmission-learning phenomena of the two cases selected. Let us simply remember the gap that emerges between the school context and the cultural, family and social context to which the child belongs.

Thus, how is school going to be invested by families? What are the relationships to knowledge and the processes of interweaving knowledge and its relevance to the locality? In the case of Bejiharjo, schooling will be heavily invested and valued. The first difficulty in continuing to high school or even university is primarily financial. In the other, we will see that schooling, although increasing, is not so well accepted or even refused at secondary school level.

Schooling strategy and local educational logics

The generalisation of school education has become reached in this region of Bejiharjo, in particular with the implementation of international EFA policies. It is free of charge up to secondary school level (SMP). Thus, for today's young generation, schooling continues at least up to lower secondary school and high school for the 18-25 or even 25-35 age group: mainly vocational high school. In Bejiharjo, schooling is now generally well accepted, with young parents getting involved in their child's schooling. However, it is still perceived as an institution outside the village (knowledge and objectives). Educational conceptions and representations are far removed from the proponents of state economic and educational policies, and do not always correspond to a logic of individual and rational investment. In fact, the school system, a state construction with its own aims (enrollment in an extra-village market, overall objectives of increasing economic growth, etc.), proposes modes of learning and transmission of knowledge following an a priori advanced formalisation.

For families, schooling can be perceived as a loss, representing the prospect of a future far away from the village and its activities: "young people no longer know how to work the land" (especially true for elderly parents who are far from the school system). Indeed, school education as currently practised contributes to a process of 'deskilling' of rural youth in which agricultural skills are neglected and agriculture itself degraded as a profession (White, 2012:3).

Schooling can also be a gain. For some, It could enable social upliftment and in this way give prestige to families (deep belief in social upliftment) even if there is always an inevitable reproduction. Successful pupils are chosen to be sent to the best high schools in the region and the best "sections" (such as the scientific section in France), to the detriment of the child's choices, for example.

With the gradual entry of the economic market into the village (new tourist activity), school education will be increasingly invested and the relationship of families to school tends to become individualised/decollectivised. Where previously the choice of whether or not to send a child to school was a collective decision; with the increase in the financial capital of families, schooling continues automatically up to high school. If children used to follow their parents or grandparents in their agricultural activity, this is no longer the case today. Beyond that, local knowledge attached to the territory and javanité are losing their content or are no longer considered as such.

The school is going to be an exclusive mode of training and tends to impose itself as an essential.

School education, by coming to occupy the first place in the socialisation of children, has a direct

impact on intergenerational relations. Schooling contributes to capturing intergenerational links. Roles are recomposed. Imported formal education plays a decisive role: it is both a symbol of elevation and social recognition involving relations of domination and a hierarchy of knowledge and values, a strategic issue in social and political power relations.

With regard to the educational requirements and professional qualifications expected by young people, we are witnessing a defection of the knowledge acquired by parents, which invalidates their judgements and sometimes even their advice on the one hand, and on the other hand favours individual action logics.

Yet local knowledge and agricultural lifestyles are essential elements in moving towards greater social and ecological sustainability. The situation of the gipsy's community is different - certainly the school also ignores the knowledge and values of the locality - but more, in Perpignan, there are forms of refusal or rejection of schooling in a French context where schooling is compulsory and free.

However, in France, schools have an official discourse of inclusion. It promotes social advancement with a view to integration into an economic market and is based on the principles of equity, equality and diversity. The integration function of the school within the "national community" is clearly stated. The French state is the main educator of the younger generation, and no one should escape this. It should be noted that in either case - school is strongly linked to the Nation-States and their national construction. Gipsies will put the values of the French Republic to the test, and it will be difficult for the French Republic to come to terms with the cultural differences within the education system.

So, Bourdieu's shadow is never far away, and let us not forget the social determinism inherent in the school question, which puts an end to the idea of generalised social ascension. With moderation, we can still underline the fact that school culture and its codes are those of the dominant class. We are therefore not all equal when it comes to educational success. With a situation of impoverishment and a cultural context of their own, gipsies are far from the school norms and its logic of action. Efforts are being made to provide appropriate teaching and bridge structures, but the relationship between gypsy parents and the school is still tinged with apprehension because of their experiences. These parents who have lived through exclusion and segregation: "They put me in a corner of the classroom, and I did nothing all day"; "once, on the school door there was a sign on the door saying, 'dirty gypsy'" (parent's interview). As a result, like the children, they cope very well with the lack of mixity. The case of the Miranda primary school located in the heart of the St Jacques district --

mostly gypsy -- of Perpignan, where the pupils are 100% gypsy and where the problem of absenteeism has been buried, remains that of co-education.

They implement schooling strategies to avoid the school map in order to send their children to schools where the gypsy population is predominantly represented. School appears necessary for the construction of the child but is not the first in education. Thus, continuing to attend secondary school is only rarely done - to the great displeasure of the French state, which redoubles its strategies to force children to attend school (withdrawal of family allowances, for example).

Schooling is rarely seen as a gain because it distances and individualises the child from the rest of the community. The dissociation of the group belonging to the family or community is more global and more true when a member has "succeeded", i.e. has risen economically and socially. In this way, the actors (institutions, teachers, parents, associations and active members of the gypsy community) are confronted with the problems of interculturalism with a view to promoting living together and also to promoting modern knowledge linked to school and to the locality. In both contexts, the school remains an institution outside the village or group. In both places, there is a gap in the logic of action and value systems between school and non-school education. Thus, how do the children make up between these two relatively distant environments?

Children and the school institution: adaptation, rupture and reappropriation

In the Javanese village of Bejiharjo, collective activities in which adults and children participate are organised in a collaborative manner, whereas at school the individual action of children is highly valued through competitions or championships, for example. In Bejiharjo, all children of school age are enrolled in school and at an increasingly early age. The school remains the place where individuality is learned, in particular through the imposition of personal work. However, within the school itself, we observe the perpetuation of solidarity and mutual aid between children, which puts the principle of competition and the grading of children into perspective. Homework is done in groups outside the school, which overlap with the children's territorial affiliations (family, neighbourhood). We find the forms of autonomy of the children's groups concerning school discipline. The parents remain relatively behind the scenes and leave the children quite a lot of room for manoeuvre. Within the school itself, holistic types of relationships are reproduced, with spontaneous collective participation or encouragement among themselves, for example.

From the point of view of a gypsy child, the school has an exteriority typical of the world of the "païos". It is the place of confrontation between two systems of meaning that it will crystallise. Within the institution, the dichotomous structure is activated in the social relations between non-gypsy and gypsy children as well as with certain teachers. The child - in his discourse oscillates between devaluation and identity pride. He often adopts provocative attitudes and finds it difficult to accept the constraints of schooling. Generally, in a situation of failure, school represents the fateful moment of confrontation with the other.

Faced with this situation, structures have been put in place, in particular: pre-schooling located in the very heart of the gypsy districts - such as that of the Bellus housing estate. This is a bridging structure integrating mothers, which aims to accustom the child to the school situation and its codes. Mothers are sometimes trained to take an active part in these structures and encourage their integration into the community space.

In the Bejiharjo village and in Indonesia in general we find these bridge structures aimed at familiarising the child with the school codes - in what interests us: The PAUD (pendidikan anak usia dini). There are few physical and temporal constraints, no break with the educator (often a trained village woman), and the mothers always accompany the children. Often, we gather to eat together. The learning content is limited, and we repeat the same things from one day to the next because what is most important is the relational dimension, which is itself integrated into time, space and others. Finally, we can see how the informal comes to energise the formal because it is linked to the social environment and the close relational context. Consequently, the approach which is developed here suggests giving greater importance to the informal aspects of education in several respects: from the point of view of understanding the discrepancies which may occur between the school institution, the parents and the child, than from the point of view of taking into account and revaluing the local transmission systems and associated knowledge by the school.

In both cases, several elements overlap, namely the individualisation of the child in relation to the type of schooling and the difficulties in taking account of the child's social environment within the institution. Consequently, Bejiharjo's knowledge and village learning methods are devalued - and the gypsy community is culturally devalued. However, in the face of today's world problems and in relation to the objectives of sustainable development, it seems necessary to take into account local knowledge linked to the natural, cultural and social environment.

In the context of the Bejiharjo village and that of the gipsies of Perpignan, the educational aims are not always consistent with local community educational logics. Focusing on the informal aspects of education and the practical configuration of out-of-school learning within the village suggests that learning is generally not individualised but collective. It does not lead to an accumulation of information but rather to the shaping of a 'specific world being' (Vermoden, 2012: 76) to which a system of self-worth is attached. Moreover, school is the place where two value systems that tend to be contradictory coexist: one where the relationship to others, to space and time is integrated (De grave, 2015, 2014, 2012) the other where the individual is first and separate from the local environment and aims to be part of an extra-village economic market.

In addition, in both cases the school introduces processes of individuation and individualisation linked to "modern" value systems that challenge the intergenerational link and undermine the logics of belonging and solidarity of the villagers on the one hand and the group on the other. However, beyond the advanced needs for integration into the national space on the one hand and into the economic market on the other, the forms of solidarity as found within these societies constitute a rich leaven to compensate for the anomic situations (loss of social ties) specific to urban and even rural areas in Indonesia and France.

CONCLUSION

The school as a particular form of education brings into play exogenous norms and references within a given social context. The school project is in fact underpinned by conceptions of education linked to national policies and international recommendations. The theoretical basis put forward in this article should enable us to uncover the relationships that are established between the modes of learning developed in and out of school, both at the level of practice and at the level of the underlying aims. Indeed, the facts of transmission-learning and the associated knowledge are intimately linked to the wider socio-cultural context from which they originate. Consequently, developing methods based on ethnography makes it possible to identify the modes of learning outside school, how they contribute to the child's social integration and to what extent they may be out of step with the school system as an institution outside the child's environment. In this way, relations to place, time and others are highlighted and must be integrated within a collective involving the intergenerational relationship and the participatory dimension. These elements are thought to be the main ones to enable the achievement of a sustainable socio-

environmental development through education to which the original Durkheimian meaning has been restored. The stakes of revaluing the informal aspects of education within a wider socio-cultural context are thus assessed.

REFERENCES

- Akari, A., & Dasen, P. R. (2004). *Pédagogies et pédagogues du sud*, l'Harmattan. 376.
- Bader, B., & Sauve, L. (Éds.). (2011). *Education, environnement et développement durable : Vers une écotoxicité critique*. PUL. 341.
- Barthes, A., Floro, M., Alpe, Y., & Blanc, S. (2014). Actes du colloque. Les "éducations à ...", levier(s) de transformation du système éducatif ? *"Les éducations à ..", levier(s) de transformation du système éducatif ?*. Rouen. France. 2015.
- Bourdieu, P. (1972). Esquisse d'une théorie de la pratique. *Genève*. 243.
- Bourdieu, P., & Passeron, J.-C. (1970). *La Reproduction. Éléments pour une théorie du système d'enseignement*. Éditions de Minuit. 284.
- Bregeron, J. (2008). *Rapport du groupe de travail interministériel sur l'Éducation au développement durable*. Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale.
- Brougère, G., & Bézille, H. (2007). De l'usage de la notion d'informel dans le champ de l'éducation. *Revue française de pédagogie*.158, 117-160. <https://doi.org/10.4000/rfp.516>
- De Grave, J.-M. (2012). *Introduction : Perspective comparative des questions d'éducation et d'apprentissage*. De Grave Jean-Marc (ed.), *Dimension formelle et non formelle de l'éducation en Asie orientale*, PUP. Aix en Provence. 27-49.
- De Grave, J.-M. (2015). Contenu d'apprentissage, environnement social et relation humaine. Une analyse comparative à partir de Java (Indonésie). *Métamorphose de la tradition, Cargo*, 3, 49-63.
- De Grave, J.-M. (2017). De l'initiation rituelle à l'éducation scolaire ou de l'éducation rituelle à l'initiation scolaire ? Cas d'étude comparés javanais. A. Pierrot (Éd.), *Domination et apprentissage, anthropologie des formes de la transmission culturelle*. Hermann. Paris. 183-198.
- Dumont, L. (1977). *Homo aequalis : Genèse et épanouissement de l'idéologie économique*. Galimard, Paris. 280
- Dumont, L. (1983). *Essai sur l'individualisme, Une perspective anthropologique sur l'idéologie moderne*. Seuil, Paris. 272
- Durkheim. (1992). *Éducation et sociologie*. PUF. Paris. 420.
- Durkheim, E. (2013). *De la division du travail social*. PUF. Paris.121

- Escobar, Arturo (2020), *Pluriversal Politics: The Real and the Possible*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 232.
- Escobar, A. (1995). *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*. Princeton university press, 600.
- Filiod, J.-P. (2007). Anthropologie de l'école. Perspective ». *Revue d'ethnologie française*, PUF. 37.
- Geertz, H. (1961). *Javanese Family*. The free press of glencoe. Inc. United State. 188.
- Giband, D. (2006). Les événements de Perpignan ou la fin d'un système géopolitique local. *Hérodote*, 1, 177-189.
- Hefner, R. (1990). *The Political Economy of Mountain of Java*. University of California Press. 352.
- Koentjaraningrat. (2007). *Manusia dan Kebudayaan Di Indonesia*. Jakarta: Djambatan
- Koentjaraningrat. (1984). *Kebudayaan Jawa*. Jakarta : PN. Balai Pustaka
- Missaoui, H. (2008). De part et d'autre de la frontière franco-espagnole: Trajectoires identitaires des Gitans catalans. *Ethnologie française*, 38, 333-343. <https://doi.org/10.3917/ethn.082.0333>
- Lange, J.-M. (2015). Éducation et engagement : La participation de l'École à relever les défis environnementaux et de développement ». *Éducation relative à l'environnement*, 12. <https://doi.org/10.4000/ere.441>
- Larruy, M. (2021). Éléments de caractérisation socio-historique du contexte gitan de Perpignan » In : *Enfants gitans à l'école et en famille : D'une analyse des dynamiques langagières en famille aux pratiques de classe*. ENS Éditions. <https://doi.org/10.4000/books.enseditions.24660>
- Lave, J., & Etienne, W. (1991). *Situated learning : Legitimate Peripheral Participation*. Cambridge University Press.
- Lombard, D. (1990). *Le carrefour javanais. Essai d'histoire globale: Vol. III*. Editions de l'EHESS.
- Ricklefs, M.-C.,. (2007). *Polarising javanese society : Islamic and others visions*. University of Hawai'i Press.
- Lange M.-F.,. (2003). École et mondialisation : Vers un nouvel ordre scolaire ? *Cahiers d'études africaines*, 169-170, 143-166.
- Ocde. (2015). Education in Indonesia, rising to the challenge. *Reviews of National Policies for Education*, OCDE, Asian Bank, 336.
- Olive, J.-L. (2003). Approche discrète d'un anthropologue au seuil de l'altérité. Conjugalité et parentalité, famille et communauté, le dedans et le dehors du monde gitan. *Spirale*, 26, 29-63.
- Pessès, A. (2012). Intégration des savoirs locaux en Thaïlande. Savoir-faire karen à l'école et "éco-tradition". De Grave Jean-Marc, *Dimension formelle et non formelle de l'éducation en Asie orientale*, PUP. Aix en Provence, 205-225.
- Pierrot, A. (2015). Introduction. *Métamorphose de La Tradition*, Cargo, 3, 5-17.
- Rist G. (2001). *Le développement. Histoire d'une croyance occidentale*, Presses de Sciences Po., Paris, 511.
- Tarrius A., Missaoui L. (1997). Gitans de Barcelone à Perpignan : crise et frontières. In: *Revue européenne des migrations internationales*, vol. 13, n°3, 99-119.
- Unesco. (2009). *Contextes et structures de l'éducation pour le développement durable*. Edition de l'Unesco.
- Vermonden, D. (2012). Apprendre à pêcher ou pêcher pour apprendre ? Dynamiques des communautés de pratique sur les rivages de l'Est indonésien. In *De Grave Jean-Marc, Dimension formelle et non formelle de l'éducation en Asie orientale*, PUP, Aix en Provence, 53-79.
- Wenger, E. (1999). *Comunities of Practice : Learning, Meaning, and Identity*. Cambridge University Press.
- White, B. (2012a). Agriculture and the generation problem : Rural youth, employment and the future of farming. *IDS Bulletin*, 43, 11.
- White, B. (2012b). Changing Childhoods : Javanese Village, children in Three Generations. *Journal of Ag-Rarian Change*, 12(1), 81-97.