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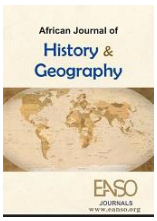

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Original Article

Schooling and New Representations in Kabiyè Land from 1926 to 2004

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ABSTRACT

Introduced in Kabiyè Land in 1926 and then popularised in a context of domination, the school has become the model for education and the place where new representations are disseminated. This school proceeded, firstly, by separating the child from the family, from whom it stole most of his prerogatives, and then by dividing individuals, families, communities and ethnic groups, to which it however allowed to communicate by the medium of the foreign language, French. Borrowings from French break down the Kabiyè language discourse and prevent it from transmitting the cultural values which it constitute the vehicle. The fact that Kabiyè people adopt French, which is different from Kabiyè, their mother tongue, is a sign of a gap, a cleavage. The initiation rites to which the educated are subjected deepen the breach separating them from this still illiterate multitude, whom they henceforth treat with disdain.

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INTRODUCTION

The school is one of the institutions that have significantly altered representations in Kabiyè society. It is both the main agent of change and an instrument of acculturation and penetration of foreign models in this region. Colonial administrations and Christian missions had used it to compete with, and even supplant, the traditional cultural system, by opposing it with their own training. Since the end of colonisation, Western-style education has become the means by which,

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in the space of a generation, people have risen from peasantry and poverty to the pinnacle of the local social hierarchy. The parents resigned at first and came to desire more and more actively the generalisation of modern education. Their motivations were based on the realisation that the endogenous culture was crumbling and that school was the only way to prepare for the new system that took shape in the 1960s and 1970s.

So, since its introduction in Kabiyè land in 1926, the school's activities have chiefly concerned cultural values. How did the school institution create representations in Kabiyè land from 1926 to 2004? The aim of this research is to reconstruct the process of schooling in Kabiyè land from 1926 to 2004 and then to describe the impact of schooling on representations in this region over the same period. This article is based on documentation consisting of general works, theses, dissertations and official documents. In order to guarantee the validity of the study, the information drawn from these documents has been critically analysed.

The geographical area covered by this study is the “Kabiyè land”. This region is located 450 kilometres from Lomé in north-east Togo and covers an area of between 1,000 and 1,200 km². It lies between 90°30 and 10° north latitude and 1°5 and 20° east longitude. Today, Kabiyè land is made up of the prefectures of Kozah and Binah and borders the prefecture of Doufelgou to the north, the prefecture of Assoli, the prefecture of Bassar to the west and the Republic of Benin to the east (A. Baféi, 2010, p. 18-19).

The Process of Schooling in Kabiyè Land (1926 to 2004)

Until 1925, there were no Western schools in Kabiyè land. It therefore remained in a traditional education until 1926, when the French administration felt the need to train managers for its service. Like the other localities in northern Togo, Kabiyè land was marked by a delay in the establishment of both state and religious schools.

Schools in Kabiyè Land, a Necessity for the French Administration and the Christian Missions (1926-1967)

In contrast to the view that the French, in their fight against illiteracy and ignorance in Kara and the surrounding areas, created the first school in 1926 at the residence of the Kabiyè superior chief, Palanga (P. Possoli 2007, p. 18; B. Gnaro Sama, 1999, p. 73), the real reason for this work was the administration's concern to have auxiliary staff in the administration[1]. For C. N. Kakou (2007, p. 214), "school education in the colonial era was not a response to the desire to educate illiterate populations, but rather to the need to train indispensable junior managers in their administrations". As far as the Christian missions were concerned, "schools constituted a reliable recruitment base for the church" (R. Cornevin, 1959, p. 326) because the Christian missions used schools to secure adherents.

The school in Lama-Kara, which opened its doors to children in November 1926, was the result of a request from the Paramount Chief Palanga, supported by certain other Kabiyè chiefs. When it opened, it welcomed 55 pupils. As a sign of his determination, at the meeting of the council of notables on 10 November 1926 in Sokodé, Palanga promised to provide "food for children who did not live in Lama, but reserved the right to be reimbursed by their parents" (C. N. Kakou, 2007, p. 218). On the same occasion, Djiwa (or Djoua), the chief of the canton of Kouméa, also asked for a school to be built in his canton. Planned for 1928, the Kouméa school did not open until 1929, with just over 50 pupils. But it suddenly closed its doors after a year of operation,

[1] Administratively, the Kabiye were attached to the circle of Sokode and came under the absolute authority of the commander of that district. In the day-to-day management of the ethnic groups in their administrative districts, those in charge of colonial power took account of their classification on the scale of values devised by them. The Kabiye were classified at the bottom of the scale, at a so-called primitive level. They were among the most backward of peoples, and as a result schooling was introduced very late, with a derisory number of beneficiaries until the Second World War. Priority should be given to providing schooling to populations considered to be more advanced (C. N. Kakou, 2007, p. 121; 293).

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probably because of management problems. These schools were in a way "gifts" granted to the two chiefs who had first represented the Kabiyè-Losso at the council of notables in Sokodé. They had themselves asked for them for their respective cantons.

In the 1930s, the economic crisis that hit France had repercussions on Togo. In accordance with the decree of 19 September 1936, administrative expenditure had to be reduced. This limited the number of schools in Kabiyè land to two. This number, already insufficient, hardly changed up to the end of the 1939 school year. At the Lama-Kara village[2] school, training lasted only two years; the first intake had already been released. The administration reduced recruitment according to its needs for junior clerks, interpreters, etc. (C. N. Kakou, 2007, p. 219). This first school was not very popular because the students were usually sent there by force.

In fact, during this period, school was a synonym for deprivation of freedom for the children themselves and their parents, for whom it was a symbol of the reduction of the rural workforce. As in many parts of North Togo, the school was not welcome in Kabiyè land. Ignorance of the usefulness of the white man's school put forward as an explanation for the rejection of this institution, is insufficient and all too banal when one closely analyses the obstruction of the populations and the strategies of the French coloniser in terms of schooling in the said region. In fact, the unfavourable reaction of the population depends on the image they have of the school. The Kabiyè had a bad image of the white man's school. As schooling was not introduced early enough, the local people did not hesitate to equate the prison (a place of torture) with the school (a place for beating and humiliating children). Like prison, school was established by the coloniser and the missionaries, i.e. the oppressors; it was deemed too restrictive. Other economic, religious and cultural factors were added to this image (A. Baféi, 2017, p. 82-95). The clear difference between school and endogenous education irrevocably resulted in a loss of income for the Kabiyè, who were mainly farmers. This is because, with the division of labour in traditional societies, at a certain age, children no longer constitute a burden to the family, but rather an important economic factor because of the work they do, mainly farming. Culturally, people are keen to preserve their children's identity. Parents' fear of losing their children stems from the widespread mentality that a child who goes to school is considered lost to the family.

In addition to the so-called public or official schools set up by the colonial powers, Kabiyè land was home to many Catholic schools. The Catholic Church, like the other missions, used a well-thought-out and systematic strategy. As the station was based in Tchitchao, Catholicism had to be firmly established in Kabiyè land, where other Kabiyè people had not yet been touched by Islam. The school was put to good use by the missionaries. Its role varied and evolved according to the needs of the time. Despite the difficult situation at the time, the Catholic Church did not give up its efforts to open schools. In total, from 1931 to 1956, Kabiyè land had around thirty Catholic[3] schools (A. Baféi, 2010, p. 33; 83).

As for the Protestant and Evangelical churches, they had certainly distinguished themselves in the establishment of schools, but very belatedly[4]. The evangelical mission was more confined to the south of the country and the Protestants had been working in the Mango-Yendi circle since the division of north Togo in October 1912 by the imperial government; nothing major was done in

[2] The village school formed the basis of education; it was attended by children aged between 7 and 14. According to the decree of September 4, 1922, which organized education in Togo, the school system comprised three levels: elementary primary education, higher primary education and vocational primary education. The village school and the regional school constituted elementary primary education (E. Assima-Kpatcha, Y. Marguerat and P. Sebald, 2011, p.133-137).

[3] Many of them were not well known. To be precise, there were twelve officially recognised schools and around twenty not known to the colonial administration. Others were closed during the same period. These included the Catholic school in Karè and the one in Sodoa.

[4] To find out more about the few schools set up by evangelical and Protestant churches, see P. Possoli's 2007 master's report, pp. 20-23.

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the Lama-Kara circle until the end of the Second World War (P. Possoli, 2007, p. 24).

In the school year 1960-1961, 7,656 children were enrolled in Kabiyè land (R. Cornevin, 1988, p. 393). The rest of the schooling process in this region up to 1967 remains poorly known due to a lack of statistical sources. An analysis of school enrolment cannot be carried out without reference to the statistical data that make it possible to carry out initial analyses and answer preliminary questions relating to the number of schools and children enrolled, etc.

Nevertheless, it is known that after Togo's independence on April 27, 1960, the country's new authorities, who considered schools to be an instrument of economic development, allowed schools to spread widely. They were quick to express the desire to put a new nationalist stamp on the country by making a radical change to the colonial education policy that had been applied until then (A. Baféi, 2017, p. 109). It was in this context that the town of Kara was gradually transformed into a school hub. To meet schooling needs, several primary, secondary and third-level schools were built throughout the town of Kara. All districts have at least one primary school with several complete cycle groups, and the bigger districts have a general secondary school. These are Kara-Sud, Ewaou, Tomdè, Dongoyo and Chaminade (B. Gnaro Sama, 1999, pp. 120-121). The Chaminade area alone has two colleges: Chaminade College and Ste Adèle College. The first, which trains pupils from the sixth form to the final year of secondary school, opened its doors in 1956. The second, founded in 1963, trains pupils from Form One to Form Four.

The Years of School Expansion (1967-2004)

After independence, the attitude of the people of northern Togo towards school changed radically. Given the spectacular success of many people thanks to school, for the great majority school was no longer "the white man's thing". As a result, there was a strong demand for the prestige of schooling, and hence its value among a population that had previously been hostile to the institution (A. Baféi, 2017, p. 115). Kabiyè land has seen a marked increase in the number of schools since 1967, as shown in the table below.

Progression in the number of schools and school enrolments (all levels) in Kabiyè land: 1966-1967, 1971-1972 and 2004-2005

All types	1966-1967		1971-1972		2004-2005	
	Schools	**Headcounts**	**Schools**	**Headcounts**	**Schools**	**Headcounts**
kindergarten	02	154	04	198	-	-
Primary	54	11 870	60	16 549	283	55 206
Secondary I	03	-	06	1 789	59	21 035
Secondary II	-	-	02	278	12	5 412
Total	**59**	**12 024**	**72**	**18 814**	**354**	**81 653**

- Data not available.

***Source**: Table based on Togo school statistics 1966-1967, 1971-1972 and 2004-2005.*

The growth in the number of schools and the increase in pupil numbers were significant from 1967 to 2005. In less than forty years, the number of pupils rose from 12,024 to 81,653, an increase of 69,629. This represents 579.08% of the initial enrolment. The region benefited from Etienne Eyadéma's accession to power in 1967. The new government undertook to rebalance the country's development by enabling the North to make up the economic and social shortfall caused by colonial policies. With this in mind, access to education for a section of the population that had hitherto been excluded from schooling became one of the main challenges for the government (M. F. Lange, 1998, p. 200).

In addition to primary education, there was secondary education provided in the Complementary Education Schools. These establishments provided a short modern education, culminating in the Brevet de fin d'étude (A. Baféi, 2017, p. 112). In 1967, Kabiyè land had three complementary courses: the official

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complementary course at Lama-Kara, Collège Chaminade at Lama-Kara (Catholic) and Collège Adèle at Lama-Kara (Catholic)[5]. The three were increased to six at the start of the 1971-1972 school year with the creation of the official complementary courses of Pya, Kétao and Pagouda.

According to the texts of the 1975 education reform (MEN, 1975, pp. 27-28), several Secondary and Secondary High Schools and Lycées were planned, especially during the first years of application of the reform. In the 1976-1977 school year alone, seven (7) Secondary Schools opened their doors under Order No. 2/MEN creating General Education Colleges: five (5) in Lama-Kara and two (2) in Pagouda. This marked the beginning of a real boom in lower secondary education, as the number of upper secondary schools stagnated. This situation is due to the government's desire to limit secondary education.

The reform provided for at least one Secondary High School per administrative district. But as early as March 1970, the town of Kara had its first public Secondary High School, which opened on the premises of the “Cours complémentaire de Lama-Kara”. Like the Secondary Schools, the Secondary High Schools generally opened with the FormV classes; FormVIand FormVII classes only became operational gradually. In other cases, Secondary Schools are transformed into Secondary High Schools. Moreover, other Secondary High Schools operated (at the start of the reform) on the same premises as the pre-existing Secondary Schools. At the time, it was tempting to speak of school complexes (A. Baféi, 2017, p. 129).

The town of Kara is also home to several technical education establishments, including the Centre régional de l'enseignement technique et de la formation professionnelle (CRETFP) (1994), the Institut Polytechnique Ricardo (IPR-Kara) (1999), the Institut supérieur Monseigneur BAKPESSI (2004), etc.

Creation of Kara University and the End of the Exodus of Undergraduates from Northern Togo

It was probably with the aim of stopping the spiral of violence that seemed to be taking hold at the University of Lomé that the Head of State of that time, Gnassingbé Eyadéma, created the Kara University by decree no. 99-11/PR of 21 January 1999. This decree did not clearly specify the reasons for the creation of this new institution. However, given the situation at the time, there were two main reasons for setting up the new institution. On the one hand, the aim was to reduce the concentration of the student population, which was conducive to socio-political movements, by removing part of it. On the other hand, the creation of this institution in northern Togo brought some of the students closer to their families, enabling them to be easily assisted by their relatives if necessary (A. L. Yekplé, 2009, p. 64-65).

Although the University of Kara is officially presented as a university with a national and sub-regional vocation, "*a wonderful tool for consolidating national unity*"[6], the fundamental reason for the creation of the University of Kara is the political will to diversify education in Northern Togo. Indeed, since his coming to power in 1967, Gnassingbé Eyadéma's regime has always demonstrated its desire to rebalance the country's development. Whatever the reasons for the creation of this University, it must be said that its geographical position makes it important for the entire population of northern Togo. The opening of its faculties by decree no. 2003/PR of 03/12/2003[7] marks the end of a historic exodus of undergraduate students wishing to pursue higher education. A public scientific and cultural institution with legal status, the University of Kara

[5] Service de la Planification Scolaire : statistiques scolaires du Togo 1966-1967, p. 40.
[6] Speech by Prime Minister Koffi Sama at the opening of the Kara University on Friday 23 January 2004 (Togo-Presse, 26 January 2004, p. 10).
[7] However, Kara University was solemnly opened on Friday 23 January 2004.

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solemnly opened its doors on 23 January 2004 with 1,537[8] students divided between three (03) faculties (the Faculty of Arts and Humanities, the Faculty of Law and Political Science, and the Faculty of Economics and Management) and a permanent teaching staff of twenty (20).

The teaching provided in the schools, which was inappropriate in its general conception, methods, syllabus and content, changed the Kabiyè people's perceptions.

The Impact of Schooling on Representations in Kabiyè Land (1926-2004)

In 1957, the authors of the French government's annual report to the United Nations General Assembly, pleased with the constant and significant progress, both numerical and qualitative, made in primary education, wrote the following:

Elementary education is increasingly penetrating the mass of the population with ever greater effectiveness. The primary school is steadily pursuing the goal it set itself in this country: the emancipation of man through the acquisition of the knowledge essential to an evolved nation.

Secondary and technical education aims to train the elite of Togolese society and give them a culture that is exactly comparable to that provided by establishments in metropolitan France. (...) However, it became apparent that there was a risk of a rift developing between these elites and the masses, depriving Togo of its middle-level managers, who form the most solid foundation of any nation.[9]

The colonisers were aware that the French school, as it had been brought to Togo, was both a powerful factor of social differentiation and, above all, an acculturating and alienating institution due to its European content.

The Emergence of New Socio-Professional Classes and Social Representations

The school institution has challenged the pre-colonial social organisation in Kabiyè land. On the one hand, the school has expelled the child from the adult world in a way and to an inconceivable degree in an oral culture-based society. The school does this firstly by separating the child from the family, from which it steals most of its prerogatives, and then by dividing individuals, families, communities and ethnic groups, which it has nevertheless enabled to communicate through the foreign language (French). Through its myth of the diploma, its cultural, political and economic valorisation of the particularised individual, its idealisation of intellectual knowledge, and the fact that it transmits knowledge over which the family has no control, the family tends to regard the school as superior and all-powerful (O. G. Kéyéwa, 1997, p. 268).

On the other hand, the new division generated by the school further fragmented the Kabiyè society and led to conflicts between the different classes, with the emergence of the "advanced" class in particular, whose lifestyle influenced and dominated the rest of society. They feel "superior" and tend to "look down" on popular attitudes and manners. Added to the fact that they have a command of several Western languages (French, English, German, etc.), these well-educated people are civil servants with considerable economic power. As a result, the youngest son or daughter can, thanks to their success at school, be held in higher esteem than their illiterate elders. From then on, the views and decisions of the latter are of no importance in the family (A. Baféi, 2017, p. 152). But how many Kabiyè had managed to integrate into the privileged strata as civil servants or other office workers? How many were left behind during the colonial period? It's hard to answer these questions with any certainty. Nevertheless, the first Kabiyè schoolchildren to gain access to secondary education (at the Cours complémentaire de Lomé between 1930-1947) as the beginnings of the elite class were Méatchi

[8] Division de la Planification et des Études / DES-MESR/Lomé.

[9] Rapport annuel du gouvernement français à l'Assemblée générale des Nations unies sur l'administration du Togo placé sous tutelle de la France, 1957, p. 207; 210.

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Antoine (an agronomist and vice-president of the Second Republic) and Nabédé P. Alexandre (a health worker) (Y. Marguerat, 2003, pp. 397-398). With the expansion of the school system, it would be pretentious to list all the educated Kabiyè.

Since the 1960s and 1970s, school attendance has become the new fundamental criterion for social differentiation. In addition to the traditional social classes, the school created others: the class of "Mbapowoba Anzaayı Sukuliyɔ" (the educated) and "Anzaayıtʊmlaɖaa" (civil servants or wage earners)[10]. These two new classes were characterised by their Western-style intellectual training and their regular, high incomes. This gave rise to mental and social representations in the sense that not only did "Kabıyɛ Kpacaa" and "Kabıyɛ Nakaa" designate the illiterate, but they also became insults in Kabiyè society. However, schoolchildren who are unable to express themselves properly in their native language are linguistically cut off from their social environment. The fact that Togolese people in general, and Kabiyè people in particular, adopt a language (French) that is different from that of the community in which they were born, is a sign of a gap, a cleavage. The initiation rites to which the educated are subjected deepen the gulf separating them from this still illiterate multitude, whom they now treat with disdain.

However, in Kabiyè land, school was and remains a place for discovering others. Undeniably, the school institution has encouraged the discovery of the other in the sense that it is the place where the students have learnt to recognise themselves as members of a whole that goes beyond the ethnic-cultural dimension. Indeed, schools have played a major role in the rural exodus. Young people who have attended school or graduated generally move to the town of Kara, which is host to renowned establishments such as the Collège Chaminade de Kara, the Collège Adèle, the Lycée Kara1 and the Kara University, to name but a few. One only has to consult the registers of these establishments to realise the diversity of the pupils' geographical origins (A. Baféi, 2017, p. 163). The cosmopolitan nature of the Collège Chaminade in Kara, for example, has brought together a diversity of cultures from several ethnic groups in the Kara region, other regions of Togo and neighbouring countries. This melting pot, brought about by attending the same school and by boarding, has helped to forge bonds of camaraderie, friendship, solidarity and fraternity between the pupils (P. Possoli, 2007, p. 60).

New Cultural Practices in Construction: An Incomplete Process of Westernisation

Until the beginning of the Second World War, the Kabiyè people were politically dominated, but culturally still preserved from outside influences. Only a tiny minority attended school. The few graduates were at most holders of the Certificate of Elementary Primary Studies (CEPE)[11].

The situation changed at the end of the 1950s and 1960s. From a cultural point of view, there is no doubt that in terms of content, the school brings new knowledge, but this is of course an apparent socialisation of Kabiyè children. In fact, it introduces Kabiyè children to culture and society that are still alien to them, since the forms of behaviour, thoughts, value systems and actions that the school instils in those attending are rarely accepted by their ethnic group and are therefore at odds with those of other members of the group (A. Baféi, 2017, p. 161).

As for religion, school is the area that has led the followers of traditional religion to show the most interest in Christianity. It was undoubtedly the most authentic forum for dialogue between the religious stakeholders, and the place of many compromises (K. Napala, 2007, p. 785). In describing the cultural changes brought about by conversion among the Kabiye, emphasis is placed on two important aspects: the adoption of imported first names (considered to be the names

[10]SimlakiDadja Hamah, 44, SPE and kabiyè teacher, interview in Soumdina, 07 February 2019.

[11] Nevertheless, they already formed the nucleus of future Kabiye cadres. Their positions, along with those of the canton and village chiefs, had a major influence on the Kabiye population during the period of nationalist struggle after 1945 (C. N. Kakou, 2007, p. 295).

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of saints) and the rejection of ancestral practices and beliefs.

The abandoning of first names by Christian converts and the adoption of new ones generally occur after water baptism. In Kabiyè land, for example, first names such as "Kpatchaa", "Hodalo", "Pyalo", "Nèmè", and "Tchaa", etc. are replaced by "François", "Marceline", "Rosalie", "Albertine" or "Fulbert". This change of surname or first name, however trivial it may seem, is in reality the result of another change in the mind of the person concerned. From this point of view, it constitutes an identity crisis (A. Baféi, 2017, p. 262). In fact, the adoption of baptismal names is a sign of spiritual and social evolution. Spiritually, it signifies a break with paganism, and socially it symbolises the assimilation of Western civilisation (K. Tchassim, 2006, p. 328).

The new ways of living and doing things learnt at school and/or church undeniably become places where ancestral conceptions are broken down. What, under the paternal roof, has the value of the sacred may be regarded at school or in the Christian missions as superstition or even non-existent (N. W. Mayeda, 2009, p. 326).

Raymond Verdier (1982, p. 151) rightly notes that Western ideology penetrated Kabiyè land after the Second World War, mainly through the mission and the school. It undermined the ethnic and religious foundations of the society, particularly in the areas of marriage and culture. With the expansion of the school system, cultural practices are being eroded as their sociological underpinnings gradually crumble, even though no one is openly fighting against the institutions of initiation.

The school schedule makes children less available; young people are leaving the rural world, the place par excellence where initiations are practised; age groups are being depopulated; the bullying customary in bush camps no longer corresponds to the style of the day and is no longer accepted (P. Erny 1987, p. 274). According to A. Baféi (2017, p. 311-312), the school has subverted initiation rites. Reclusion, if it still exists, is shortened, and reduced to the time needed for convalescence. Instruction has become more basic For example, the wake in the sacred *Kondona* forest in Kabiyè land has not existed for decades. Already in the 1980s and 1990s, the *Akpéma* and *Evalaa* initiations were subverted to such an extent that ceremonies took place in the absence of those concerned, whereas in the past this was unthinkable. For some time now," explains KélélęŋTchakada[12]. For school reasons or after a young person has categorically refused to be initiated, parents who are still attached to the traditions carry out their 'duty', calling out the name of the child being initiated.

Finally, schools have taken on greater importance in the eyes of young people and parents, stripping the elderly of their prestige as the ultimate repositories of knowledge. Respect for senior people in general, and for the elderly in particular, is being challenged. Technical knowledge takes precedence over their wisdom, the written word over the spoken. The educated generation is essentially nourished by literature, the press, radio and television, which are replacing the old means of expression: legends, tales, proverbs, maxims, songs and dances.

Other Changes: Clothing, Food and Housing

The adoption of Western-style clothing, food and housing is an outward sign of evolution. In contrast to colonial times, when the people of North Togo lived naked, the men wore a penis case or leather apron and the women dressed in a bundle of green leaves or plant fibres (R. Cornevin 1959, p. 81), from the 1960s onwards, the same people were able to adapt to the changes that colonisation brought. It should be pointed out that this change was the result of several factors, such as the intermixing of peoples through migration and trade, colonial economic policy and, above all, school education.

[12]TchakadaKélélen, aged 100, farmer, interview in Soumdina, on 03 November 2013.

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Indeed, the role of the school in the dissemination of these modern modes of dress is decisive. Those lucky enough to have gone to school were introduced to the dress codes that confirm their membership in the Western world. From an early age, they went to school with their loincloths tied around their necks or dressed in khaki uniforms after independence, not forgetting the distinguished dress of boarders, while adults and children who did not attend school were limited to wearing cover-ups made of leather, raffia or cotton, leather aprons or even green leaves or plant fibres.

If everyone dresses in this 21st century, not everyone dresses in the same way, especially those who have been to school. As in other regions of Togo, in Kabiyè land, luxury clothing is worn by the wealthy, especially those who have succeeded in school. The educated stand out from the crowd by their style of dress. They pay particular attention to fashion as it evolves over time. The baggy trousers worn by our fathers in the 1960s and 1970s are now tightly cinched at the waist, with a fullness at the bottom measured with a metre. Our mothers' dresses, wide and slouchy, are now cut to a precise size, with the fringes falling precisely to a line. In fact, ostentation and a taste for luxury are part and parcel of the everyday clothing style of the 'new Togolese' (K. Tchassim, 2006, p. 203). Since the cultural model is European, they have to adapt to it. The 'evolved' dress in European style and carefully avoid African dress for official functions.

The other element of social distinction available to those who have been to school after wearing clothes is their diet. Educated people are fond of imported products. Like their counterparts from other ethnic groups, the Kabiyè people are defined by their consumption of European products: bread, sardines, Maggi bouillon cubes, flavoured rice, tinned tomatoes, imported meat, not to mention alcohol, and so on. This is social differentiation through diet. The affluent classes consume rare and expensive foods, ostentatiously signifying their superiority. When the middle classes or working classes have a festive meal, they borrow these symbolic foods for the time being, to escape from the group to which they belong (D. Desjeux, 1991, p. 88). The food of the rich (i.e. the educated and civil servants) contrasts with that of the poor in two ways: the origin of the products and recipes, the quantity of dishes and, among the dishes, the quantity of meat. Local products such as okra, spinach, maize and cassava paste contrast with European products, or products brought in by Europeans such as rice, potatoes, peas and vermicelli. The advanced eat a variety of dishes, often cooked by using imported recipes learned from contact with white people or from television, the press or reading documents on Western gastronomy. For them, cooking for guests is always European-style cooking, with a touch of local cuisine. Imported products are there for ostentation; local products are for authentication (A. Ricard, 1987, p. 181). More than a mark of differentiation and social identity, the adoption of a superior diet is a real indicator of cultural change in this privileged class, because eating habits have a cultural dimension in any society.

Moreover, traditional housing has evolved towards a common type introduced by the Europeans. Today, round huts with conical roofs covered in straw are becoming rare in Kabiyè land. It is hard to find these round huts, built of banco and surrounded by granaries in the shape of an inverted cone; the roofs of conical huts are often topped with a canary with a hole in it, which acts as a weight and holds the straw together. Rectangular geometric buildings and villas with gardens are becoming increasingly popular among Kabiyè civil servants. The people who live in them are model families. Like Western clothing and food fashions, modern housing may or may not be deliberately revealing the intentions of the person who built it, and therefore reflects a mental change. The messages conveyed by this type of dwelling are visual and linked to the individual's rank and social class.

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Transforming lifestyles[13] imperceptibly but profoundly, architecture is also a symbol of social and cultural belonging. These model families are flourishing, generating exemplary and distinguished mental habits. They want to be beacons for the lower classes who, at the bottom of the social pyramid, may aspire to this enchanting world. We would like to see them as sources of emulation, the seeds of progress. So we feed them, and the resulting ferment of dreams, from which a thousand new needs are born, keeps the social dynamic going. The norms seemed to be well internalised and the dynamism guaranteed: the farmers entered the race, and they followed the movement. The villa imposed itself on them as a housing model (A. Baféi, 2017, p. 291-294).

CONCLUSION

The very late creation of schools in Kabiyè land, the fact that they were deliberately limited to the elementary level and the insignificant number of children enrolled at the outset slowed down the rapid emergence of a social stratum likely to provide the colonial system in place with a large number of Kabiyè salaried workers. As school was the best means of promoting open-mindedness and cultural exchange, limiting the number and level of schools created was intended to prevent the rapid emergence of elites likely to threaten the interests of colonial pressure groups. School education should be given as a priority to populations considered to be more advanced. What a curious way to fulfil the ″sacred duty of civilisation″ (C. N. Kakou, 2007, p. 265; 293).

After the 1960s, schools, as a model of education and a place for disseminating Western (French) cultural values, succeeded in Kabiyè land in "their work of ideological conditioning". The school institution created new socio-economic and cultural realities. In social terms, there was a new social stratification, the decline of parental authority and the emergence of individualism. In the economic sphere, there was the introduction of wage-earning functions, with a consequent disregard for primary activities, and the development of apprenticeships in manual trades. As far as cultural changes are concerned, we are witnessing the disintegration of marriage with the free choice of spouses, disrespect for the law and custom, contempt for and refusal of initiations (for reasons of shame or lack of time), the denigration of traditional religion following conversion to Christianity, the adoption of modern architecture and Western styles of dress, and the modernisation of funeral rites (A. Baféi, 2017, p. 408).

Particularly in the area of cultural practices, young "advanced" people soon lost interest in their culture and shunned the major initiation ceremonies. Missionary teaching in the period 1940-1960 contributed greatly to cutting young people off from their traditional environment. Few missionaries left their Christians free to attend so-called "fetish" ceremonies, sacrifices to ancestors, agrarian cults and initiation rituals; many young converts no longer dared to mingle with their "pagan" peers to go, naked or dressed in leather pants, to holy places.

Introduced and then popularised in Kabiyè land in a context of domination and power struggles, the school remains the model for education and the place where new representations are disseminated. It was through schools that French was imposed and established as the official language after independence: administration, justice, political life, etc. are almost always conducted in French. Borrowing from French breaks up the Kabiyè language discourse and prevents it from transmitting the cultural values that it conveys[14].

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[13] A new spatial environment means new relationships with objects and new human relationships.

[14]KoabikeBedouma Joseph, 55, Bible translation consultant, interview in Kara on 16 December 2013.

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