

A Republic Divided?

Slavery Reparations and the Limits of France's Unitarian Republicanism

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Abstract: This paper examines the tensions between the French slavery reparations movement and the foundational principles of France's unitarian republicanism. While the French Republic is built on ideals of universalism, equality before the law, and national indivisibility, these values often conflict with group-specific demands for historical recognition and material compensation. The paper begins by outlining the key features of French republican political culture, including the centrality of the rejection of identity-based claims in the public sphere. It then traces France's involvement in the transatlantic slave trade and the historical context of abolition, highlighting the absence of reparations for formerly enslaved people. Drawing on contemporary movements such as CRAN and international frameworks like the CARICOM Reparations Commission, the study explores how reparations are framed not as foreign or geopolitical demands but as domestic claims by French citizens. The paper argues that while the republican model resists such claims, the state itself selectively deviates from its universalist ethos when politically expedient. Ultimately, the reparations debate forces a reconsideration of how French republicanism can or cannot accommodate calls for historical justice, and whether true equality requires confronting the legacies of slavery within a republican framework.

Keywords: reparations • slavery • republicanism • France

1 Introduction

Few nations grapple with their history as profoundly as France, a country whose Republican ideals were forged in the Enlightenment and the French Revolution. These ideals – universalism, secularism, and the indivisibility of the Republic – form the cornerstone of French political culture, yet they stand in stark tension with the legacies of colonial exploitation and the transatlantic slave trade. In recent years, organisations such as CRAN have continued to use legal and political channels to draw attention to slavery's enduring legacies, while CARICOM has intensified diplomatic pressure on former colonial powers, bringing the issue of reparations back into both national and international debates.

While the Republican model emphasises equality and unity, demands for slavery reparations by descendants of enslaved people who are now French citizens – including but not limited to those in France's overseas departments – highlight persistent inequalities and systemic injustices rooted in this history (Shepherd, 2024, pp. 8-11). Although there are no longer any direct witnesses to the

transatlantic slave trade and colonialism (Cottias, 2024, p. 4), France's involvement has left a deep and enduring imprint, not only on the societies that were colonised but also on the fabric of French identity. The challenge of reconciling this past with the ideals of liberty and equality has led to contentious debates and rising public interest (Cottias, 2024, p. 4). These debates are particularly acute in the context of the slavery reparations movement, which calls for recognition, accountability, and compensation for historical injustices.

At its core, the tension arises from a fundamental clash of principles. The Republican model's universalist ethos resists identity-based claims, striving for a vision of citizenship that transcends race, religion, and historical divisions. Yet, reparations advocates argue that addressing the material and symbolic harms of slavery is essential for achieving true equality and justice (Forsdick, 2015, pp. 426-427). This contradiction forces a critical examination of how French political culture navigates the demands of justice for historical wrongs without compromising its foundational values. It raises the broader question of whether acknowledging group-specific harms and implementing targeted measures – comparable to affirmative action policies in other Western democracies – inherently threatens these values or could instead be a means of realising them.

This is not a uniquely French dilemma. Across the West, societies wrestle with how to reconcile the redress of historical injustice and structural discrimination with a commitment to equal citizenship. Yet the French case is particularly acute because equality and unity are not merely constitutional guarantees but normatively enshrined state principles.

This paper examines how the French slavery reparations movement exposes the limits of France's unitarian republicanism. It first outlines the origins and key features of the French republican political culture, then provides historical context for France's involvement in slavery and the slave trade. It subsequently analyses the demands of the reparations movement and the contradictions these demands reveal in the republican framework before concluding with reflections on whether universalism can accommodate the recognition of historical injustice.

2 Definition of the French Republican Political Culture

The model of French republicanism is fundamentally rooted in the French Revolution (Schor, 2001, p. 43). During the Revolution, “a nation of equal citizens replace[d] the king as the source of political power” (Béland, 2003, p. 66). At the heart of republican culture stands the citizen, conceived as an autonomous, rational individual capable of freeing themselves from social, religious, and cultural constraints (Laborde, 2017, p. 136). Therefore, republicanism is closely tied to the values of the Enlightenment, which had a profound influence on the French Revolution.

One of the key achievements of this tradition is universalism attributing fixed and shared characteristics to all human beings, such as human reason and inalienable human rights (Jennings, 2017, p. 147). These rights include inter alia the right to life, liberty, security, as well as freedom of expression, religious practice, and conscience. Furthermore, citizens are considered politically equal. Every individual enjoys human and civil rights and participates democratically in collective decision-making based on the general will (Laborde, 2017, p. 138). This general will reflects the universal public interest rather than private or particular interests (Laborde, 2017, p. 138). Consequently, individual cultural, religious, ethnic, or historical differences are irrelevant in the public sphere, as all free citizens are regarded as equal before the law.

These republican principles are enshrined in foundational documents like the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen (1789). Its 17 articles define the inalienable and inviolable rights of all people. Article 1 states: "Men are born and remain free and equal in rights. Social distinctions may be founded only upon the common good." Furthermore, the document emphasises that particular interests are excluded from the public domain because "[t]he law is the expression of the general will." Today, these principles are explicitly articulated in the Constitution of the Fifth Republic. Article 1 affirms that "France shall be an indivisible, secular, democratic and social Republic. It shall ensure equality before the law for all citizens, without distinction of origin, race or religion."

The Enlightenment's influence on republican universalism is particularly evident in the role of education. Republicanism views education as central to fostering rational individuals and ensuring social and political integration. By providing equal opportunities and promoting a collective identity based on a shared language and universal values, education seeks to separate the public sphere from private identities (Béland, 2003, p. 66).

Another cornerstone of republican culture is the principle of *laïcité*. This constitutional principle mandates the strict separation of church and state, ensuring that religion is confined to the private sphere (Jennings, 2000, p. 578). Enshrined in the 1905 Law on the Separation of Churches and the State, *laïcité* guarantees freedom of conscience and prohibits the state from officially recognising or favouring any religion (Baubérot, 2017, p. 127). In the educational sphere, schools are expected to remain neutral. This includes promoting individual autonomy, equality, and solidarity without endorsing any specific religious, cultural, or ethnic identity (Jennings, 2017, p. 149). Religion is thus excluded from public education, with the aim of shaping free, rational, and tolerant citizens through secular ethics (Jennings, 2000, pp. 578-579). Through these principles, French republicanism has established a framework that seeks to balance individual freedom with collective equality, emphasising the unity and indivisibility of the public sphere.

3 Overview of the French History of Slavery and the Slave Trade

The transatlantic slave trade is widely recognised as a major historical injustice, characterised by immense human suffering and exploitation. Between the 16th and 19th centuries, an estimated 15 to 18 million Africans were forcibly deported to work on sugar, coffee, and cotton plantations in the Americas in order to supply the European market (Stenou, 2004, pp. 42-49). France played a significant role in this trade, which had far-reaching consequences in terms of duration, scale, and impact.

French colonies such as Guadeloupe, Martinique, and Saint-Domingue (now Haiti) were sources of immense wealth, forming the economic backbone of the French colonial empire (Forrest, 2020, pp. 3, 60). This prosperity, however, was inseparable from the brutal exploitation and dehumanisation of enslaved Africans. The Code Noir of 1685 was the legal foundation for this system, which classified enslaved Africans as "movable property" (Stenou, 2004, p. 49). French ports like Nantes, Le Havre, Bordeaux, Marseille, and La Rochelle became major hubs for the transatlantic slave trade, profiting extensively from the trafficking of human lives (Forrest, 2020, pp. 60-61). This codification allowed for the systematic transport of Africans to the Americas; between 1716 and 1793 alone, French ships transported approximately one million individuals across the Atlantic (Forrest, 2020, p. 60).

The Haitian Revolution, which began in 1791 in the French colony of Saint-Domingue, played a decisive role in France's first abolition of slavery in 1794 during the revolutionary period. The uprising ultimately culminated in the establishment of Haiti as the first independent Black republic in 1804. However, in 1802, slavery was reinstated in the French colonies, reversing the earlier abolition. It was not until 1848, under the Second Republic, that slavery was definitively abolished across the French Empire (Stenou, 2004, p. 62).

Following this abolition, the French state compensated former slave owners generously for their losses, while the formerly enslaved received no reparations (Stenou, 2004, p. 57). This decision underscored the enduring structural inequalities that continued to shape post-abolition societies in the French colonial world.

4 Demands of the Slavery Reparations Movement

Within the French Republic, the slavery reparations movement demands recognition and compensation for the immense harm caused by the transatlantic slave trade and slavery. Proponents argue that the wealth of many states was built on the systematic destruction of countless racial and ethnic communities, cultures, and societies (Shepherd, 2024, p. 8). This historical debt must be addressed, among others through material reparations (Forsdick, 2015, p. 426). The consequences of slavery continue to affect the descendants of enslaved people to this day. A 2024 report by the Battle Group consultancy estimates that France's responsibility alone amounts to \$9.288 trillion in damages for Martinique, French Guiana, Guadeloupe, and Grenada, with an additional \$1.4 billion for Haiti (Shepherd, 2024, p. 10). The reparations debate includes voices from across the Republic, with particular resonance in France's overseas territories, where large portions of the population are descendants of enslaved individuals and are French citizens.

Historically, many nations that benefited from slavery have avoided addressing their role or fulfilling their historical responsibilities. This lack of accountability has perpetuated systemic inequality, racism, and social disparities in both affected states and those that profited from slavery (Cottias, 2024, p. 5). In response to the need for both political and financial reparations, various advocacy groups have emerged. One prominent example is CRAN (Conseil Représentatif des Associations Noires), founded in 2005 by Black activists from anti-racist organisations (Lotem, 2016, p. 289). CRAN focuses on combating structural racism in France and has pursued legal action, such as its 2013 lawsuit against Crédit Agricole, a bank that profited from slavery (Lotem, 2016, pp. 292-293). CRAN's work is emblematic of how reparations claims are made by and on behalf of French citizens. These are not international claims, but domestic ones rooted in the continued marginalisation of citizens within the Republic. Internationally, the CARICOM Reparations Commission, established in 2013 by Caribbean governments, seeks a unified voice to advocate for reparations (Forsdick, 2015, p. 423).

These movements assert that reparatory justice is a legal and moral obligation for the states responsible. Reparations are envisioned in multiple forms. Countries must formally recognise slavery and the transatlantic slave trade as crimes against humanity. Symbolic measures, such as erecting monuments and integrating the history of slavery into educational curricula, are seen as vital for reshaping historical narratives and fostering public awareness (Cottias, 2024, p. 7). However, symbolic recognition alone cannot resolve systemic racism or economic inequalities (CARICOM Reparations Commission, 2013, pp. 1-13).

Financial reparations are viewed as indispensable for addressing the structural inequalities that stem from slavery. CARICOM's ten-point plan outlines specific demands, including debt cancellation, economic aid, and development programs aimed at reversing the long-term effects of exploitation. These initiatives also call for cultural restoration by establishing institutions and centers for historical and cultural research, which would help descendants reconnect with their heritage. Direct economic support remains a central component of the reparations agenda, targeting both the descendants of enslaved people and the affected states. Proposed measures include monetary compensation for individuals as well as debt cancellation and structural assistance for states, aiming to restore dignity and address the underdevelopment caused by centuries of exploitation. (CARICOM Reparations Commission, 2013, pp. 1-13).

For the descendants of enslaved people, reparations represent more than material compensation. They signify moral recognition of historical injustices and offer a pathway to redress economic inequalities that persist to this day. In addition to addressing economic challenges, reparations foster a sense of identity by highlighting historical and cultural links to slavery (Forsdick, 2015, p. 426). They also serve as a catalyst for a critical examination of France's colonial legacy, promoting broader societal reflection and accountability.

5 Contradictions between the Republican Political Culture and the Slavery Reparations Movement

5.1 Value Conflict: Universalism vs. Collective Recognition of Historical Injustice

The tension between the slavery reparations movement and French republican political culture stems from the fundamental principles that underpin the latter. French republicanism is built on the ideals of universalism, equality before the law, and an indivisible, secular national identity. These principles often appear incompatible with the particularised and identity-based claims advanced by the reparations movement.

A significant contradiction lies in the concept of republican universalism. This principle holds that all citizens are equal before the law and that the state must not discriminate based on race, religion, or ethnicity (Lotem, 2016, p. 284). Moreover, the indivisibility of the French nation envisions its population as a unified whole, not divided into subgroups or minority identities. Consequently, demands for reparations for colonial-era slavery are seen by some as challenging this national unity (Bessone, 2016, p. 186). Such claims are perceived as introducing a form of societal fragmentation by recognising particular minority groups – such as descendants of enslaved Africans – through their historical victimhood (Bessone, 2016, pp. 186–187).

While the French Republic officially resists group-specific claims in the name of universalism, this principle is not consistently applied. Various state programmes aimed at addressing social and territorial inequalities indirectly benefit specific demo-

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graphic groups without being labelled as “particularist.” For instance, affirmative action-like mechanisms such as the Zones d’Éducation Prioritaire (Ministère de l’Éducation nationale, de la Jeunesse et des Sports, 2025) or the Conventions Éducation Prioritaire at Sciences Po (Sciences Po, n.d.) seek to improve access to education for students from disadvantaged backgrounds – often including ethnic minorities – without explicitly acknowledging race or ethnicity. Similarly, urban renewal policies such as the Quartiers Prioritaires de la Politique de la Ville (Ministère de la Cohésion des territoires et des Relations avec les collectivités territoriales, 2024) target marginalised urban areas with high levels of poverty and social exclusion, which frequently correspond to neighbourhoods inhabited by racialised populations. However, these measures are framed strictly in socio-economic and territorial terms in order to remain compatible with republican principles.

In contrast, the reparations movement’s explicit invocation of historical injustice and group identity is portrayed as a threat to national cohesion. This asymmetry suggests that the application of universalist ideals can be selective and instrumentalised to uphold dominant narratives while marginalising demands rooted in postcolonial memory. This narrative is viewed as dividing French society by emphasising racial or ethnic distinctions tied to historical injustices (Frith, 2024, p. 2).

The legacy of slavery and the associated calls for reparations are thus marginalised in French public discourse and education. The state’s adherence to principles like laïcité further reinforces the notion that public spaces, including schools, should remain free of religious, racial, or ethnic differentiation (Baubérot, 2017, pp. 132-135).

5.2 Misappropriation of 1848 and the Taubira Law

The slogan of the 150th anniversary of the abolition of slavery, “Tous nés en 1848”¹, exemplifies this approach, celebrating the end of slavery as a universal achievement of the French Republic while bypassing the historical inequalities that persist (Forsdick, 2015, p. 421). By framing the abolition of slavery as a victory of Enlightenment ideals, the state diverts attention from its financial

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reparations to former slave owners post-abolition, a move that underscores the paradoxical nature of its historical accountability (Frith, 2015, p. 218). The focus is primarily on the abolition of slavery, as the National Memorial Day of Remembrance of Slavery and its Abolition and the Abolition Memorial in Nantes demonstrate (Cottias, 2024, p. 7).

The Taubira Law of 2001, which recognised slavery as a crime against humanity, is often cited as a step toward addressing France’s colonial past. However, its lack of legal provisions for reparations reflects the state’s reluctance to engage in measures that could undermine republican ideals (Bessone, 2016, p. 188). In 2013, France’s *Cour de Cassation* ruled that the Taubira

Law was purely declarative, thereby reinforcing the state’s position against financial or material reparations (Frith, 2024, pp. 2, 5).

¹ “All born in 1848” (own translation)

This legal stance underscores the republican principle that collective grievances tied to historical events do not warrant contemporary compensation. Various political actors in French society – including political figures from across the spectrum, such as Le Pen, Chirac, Sarkozy, and Hollande, as well as intellectuals and the media (Frith, 2015, pp. 217, 225–226) – have defended republican values against what they perceive as unnecessary and divisive reparations claims. Together, they are trying to link French national unity with the solemn end of slavery, thereby rendering the demands for reparations obsolete (Bessone, 2016, p. 187).

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A prominent example of this approach can be found in François Hollande’s presidential speech on 10 May 2014, in which he commemorated the abolition of slavery by framing it as a triumph of France’s universalist and revolutionary ideals. He explicitly dissociated the re-establishment of slavery under Napoleon in 1802 from “la nation généreuse et universaliste de la Révolution” (Hollande, 2014)², reinforcing the narrative that abolition was not only a moral act but a reaffirmation of France’s essential identity. Hollande concluded: “La France n’est vraiment la France que lorsqu’elle défend des valeurs partout dans le monde.” (Hollande, 2014).³ By celebrating abolition in these terms, his speech promotes a vision of France as a timeless beacon of universal values. Yet this symbolic rhetoric bypasses the post-abolition history of colonial exploitation, the financial compensation paid to former slave owners, and the enduring socio-economic inequalities in France’s overseas territories – all of which might otherwise justify a serious debate on reparations (Forsdick, 2015, p. 421).

5.3 Deeper Conflict: The Threat to Republican Unity

Underlying these conflicts is a broader fear: Recognising historical injustices through reparations could destabilise the republican ideal of indivisibility, prompting a shift toward group-specific policies that many see as antithetical to French civic identity (Frith, 2015, p. 220). Therefore, the reparations movement is often framed as an external or minority-driven critique of French unity. Advocates for reparations are regularly portrayed as pushing an agenda that either threatens national solidarity or seeks financial gain, reinforcing a narrative that delegitimises their claims (Frith, 2015, p. 225). Proponents of the republican model argue that embracing reparations risks fracturing the social cohesion rooted in universal equality. As a result, calls for reparations are widely viewed as antithetical to France’s republican political culture, portrayed in public discourse as divisive and incompatible with the nation’s foundational ideals.

In the French context, the debate is primarily driven by citizens of the Republic – including those in mainland France and overseas territories – whose lived experiences of structural inequality give rise to such demands. So on the other hand, reparations could be framed to address historical

² “the generous and universalist nation of the Revolution” (own translation)

³ “France is truly France only when it defends values across the world” (own translation)

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injustices and structural inequalities, thereby realising the Republic's commitment to genuine equality. By tackling the enduring legacies of slavery and colonialism, targeted measures – such as investments in education or economic opportunities for affected communities – could be seen as reinforcing Republican ideals, ensuring equal rights and opportunities for all citizens. Recognising historical wrongs within a framework of Republican solidarity could foster national cohesion rather than division.

6 Conclusion

The contradictions between French republicanism and the slavery reparations movement stem from fundamental republican principles. French republicanism upholds universal equality, where all citizens are considered equal before the law, regardless of race, ethnicity, or historical background. It stresses the indivisibility of the French nation, where distinctions based on identity are rejected in favour of a unified national identity. The reparations movement, however, focuses on the specific historical victimhood of descendants of enslaved people who are French citizens, calling for recognition and compensation for the harm caused by slavery. This particularised approach challenges the universalist ideals of republicanism, as it introduces racial and ethnic distinctions into the public sphere, which republicanism aims to keep free from such divisions.

Additionally, the French state's resistance to reparations reflects its commitment to these republican values. While the 2001 Taubira Law recognised slavery as a crime against humanity, it did not provide provisions for reparations, signalling the state's reluctance to address historical injustices through financial compensation. There is a broader concern that granting reparations could fragment French society by shifting focus to group-specific claims, threatening the republican ideal of national unity based on equality and indivisibility.

However, the debate surrounding reparations opens new avenues for scholarly investigation. A comparative perspective on how other nations, such as the United States or Caribbean countries, engage with reparations could offer valuable insights into alternative approaches to addressing historical injustices while maintaining societal cohesion. Furthermore, the intersection of economic justice and moral responsibility raises important questions about the feasibility and structure of reparations policies. An important political question remains how reparative measures, such as debt cancellation, investment in affected communities, or symbolic recognition, can be reconciled with republican principles in public discourse and policymaking. This paper has shown that the demand for reparations within the French Republic is not an external geopolitical issue, but a domestic challenge that calls into question the limits of French universalism and its ability to recognise internal diversity and historical injustice.

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