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Citizenship crisis in France, education citizenship crisis

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Abstract

This paper explores the notions of French 'laïcité' and French citizenship to understand what is at stake when the French speak of identities. It is based on surveys carried out in schools in underprivileged areas. Our approach is ethnographic and consists in the interactive and participating observation between young people whose parents are migrants and professionals related to education (school, associations). Our survey highlights the discrepancies between some form of "laïcité" considered as a superior social link serving neutral universal values and the different ways young people participate in school: asserting differences, seeking recognition for identity... Indeed, the French school believes in the construction of individuals against particularisms, at the core of the paradigm that opposes the individual model (Reason) to the collective model (private interests, the irrational): it is the picture of citizenship that actually excludes the picture of the community (cultural community, the peers). In France this model is now questioned for its possible opposition to a religion, Islam. Moreover social injustice increases at school in particular with migrant populations. They are not equal in terms of self-esteem, access to public participation, or in relation to political or economic weight in the city area. We have observed that young people are less prone to listen within an educating discourse that overwhelms (or patronizes?) them. The challenge is thus to value diversity without giving up education. If modern societies are submitted to a "disheritage" process (the loss of linkage with a preceding state of these societies), then what traditions are to be passed over? Our research leads us to think that the teaching of morale laïque, decided for 2013 start of the new academic year by the French State implies that it may be seen as hostile to the migrant communities who have not inherited "laïcité" in their culture.

Keywords: *citizenship, secularism, citizenship education, disheritage*

Introduction

After the Second World War, European integration aimed to develop economic and cultural exchanges between countries. The intention was to make old Europe a place of peace and prosperity. But today, this set consists of subsets sometimes lacking coherence between

them: 28 countries in the European Union and a list of applicant countries but only 17 countries in the euro zone. The Council of Europe has 47 member states, not to mention the European Economic Area. How to feel a European citizen? The crisis of citizenship may come from the abandonment of citizenship to States alone. Therefore, the definition of citizenship would refer more to the 19th and the first half of 20th century Europe, while the movements of decolonization and globalization have profoundly changed the idea its inhabitants make of it. Continuing the work that started within CiCe (*Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Education for Democracy*), we will try to see how, in France, the differences are widening between a historically constructed citizenship and a sense of multicultural membership. The consequence of these phenomena can be seen in the school where citizenship education has been in crisis. We have chosen the size of the school to enable us to observe and discuss the accepted efforts to make education for coexistence more consistent. The clash of ideas and practices highlights the need to renew the national paradigms while trying to converge towards a European representation of citizenship that could finally unite practices in schools.

1. Epistemological and methodological references

1.1. *Citizenship, secularism ('laïcité') and identity in France (CiCe DEED)*

Citizenship is marked by its historical origins during the French Revolution of 1789. Two words were chosen to separate the human rights and those of the citizen. Indeed, citizens belong to the national community, which means that they can contribute to the making of the law either directly or indirectly (hence the fact that you become a citizen only at the age of 18) by electing and being elected according to the principle of universal suffrage. French citizenship is thus based on the exclusion of those who are citizens (women were granted that right in 1945) and those who are not. This does not mean that these people do not have rights, but that citizens have more, including everything from politics and administration, to public service, which in France has represented up 30% of jobs. Indeed, every citizen has free access to all dignities, places and employment. The application of international treaties to citizens of member countries of the EU expanded that right. Finally, merit has become and remains the main criterion to decide for individuals wishing to access the same public office employment. This results in a strong selection for entry into the public service that is offset by the guarantee of lifetime employment.

Laïcité (French word for secularism) is difficult to translate into most languages because it is related to a feature of the history of France that gave birth to a principle that wants to be a universal concept, separation of state from religion. France has been presented as the 'elder daughter' of the Catholic Church until the end of the nineteenth century, hence a struggle throughout this century until the republic could impose its state schools in all municipalities.

To do this, the ‘school war’ ended with a compromise between supporters of a school called “free” (that is to say, in France, organized by the Catholic Church) and those who wanted to impose a single state school. Since then, the state and its civil servants (in 1882 for school and in 1905 for all republican institutions) have respected all political, philosophical and religious beliefs and adopt a strict neutrality in all three areas. However, religious institutions must not meddle into state affairs, even though they may receive a delegation of public service, as it was the case in 1958 with the passing of the Debré law that funds the salaries of teachers of private schools under contract of association as long as they respect ‘freedom of conscience’ of their students and parents. Important to remember is this double principle of neutrality for the state and its civil servants and its non-intrusion of religion in state affairs, starting with education first.

In France, identity is unique and universal, whereas in other cultures, communities and political constructions (Belgium and Switzerland) acknowledge and respect the most singular identities linked to various affiliations that can be combined (religion, language, ethnicity). In France, the national identity card only allows to identify the citizen from his/her physical characteristics (photo, size, sex, date and place of birth). Identity is secondary in the construction of citizenship since it is only weakly connected to the public domain, the affairs of the city as it is related to the private area and entirely at the disposal of the persons for those who do not seek to impose their vision of the world to other people who live with them.

1.2. Research method

To study the crisis of citizenship through the crisis of citizenship education implies a strong methodological approach in order neither to betray the object (citizenship) that cannot be reduced to some kind of behaviour nor to take refuge in a purely prescriptive vision. In our work, we have chosen an anthropological and ethnographic approach that requires working on both a period of time (several years) and from an information gathering angle, a focal length, that neither allows to ‘get lost’ in individual characteristics nor be ‘fooled by’ the aggregation of heterogeneous data. For us, the relevant level is the school (Ballion, 1991 and 1998; Etienne, 2000). We draw on our work in 17 French schools between 2003 (Amiel et al., 2004) and 2013 (Etienne) and draw a comparison between 35 secondary schools in Montpellier in the early 2000s (Visier & Zoïa, 2009).

To be more precise, we have made the choice of participant observation and clinical approach (Etienne, 2010) which can be transcribed as follows: it is to work with the people involved in schools (from kindergarten up to university) and to participate in their activities as well as on their common projects. Acting as researchers but also conducting collaborative work. We do not exactly work as advocates of action research, but rather like people who are doing research on the action. The assumption is that the intelligence of the action is to be

found in people who act, but to understand and formalize it, it is essential to organize a co-analysis between school participants and researchers on the basis of the co-analysis traces of the action (Ancely, 2010).

At the end, we have opted for a research option consisting of changing citizenship activity to investigate into citizenship activity. We put our foot on a trail which is developed as an 'uncertain horizon processing clinical activity trail' (Kostulski *et al.*, 2010, p. 130):

The intervention analyzed here did not go as planned. The constraints of a difficult situation have changed the course of our own business. But intervention never takes place 'as planned'. The unexpected obstacles, remodelling help illuminate the situations we encounter, and are at the heart of the clinical methodology that we develop.

We have conducted our research by participating to the workshops , sometimes by directly influencing like those on the project to learn democracy and make it live in school, sometimes indirectly, as an actor in meetings or in the workshops. We believe that in Social Sciences, more than elsewhere, the presence of the researcher influences the results and that it is him or her individually or collectively to avoid this bias.

2. The reasons for the crisis

2.1. Results emphasizing 'Citizen divide'

Even if we make hypotheses, we cannot establish that the crisis of democracy in France is due to a form of organization based on representation. In a country of 66 million inhabitants, it is impossible to use direct democracy with regular and heavy physical voting procedures but computer and internet could rehabilitate lighter procedures and would be less marked by the abandonment of power to a 'political class'. However, in a school of 300 to 3,000 students, with an organization by classes from 20 to 45 students, it is a surprising choice to use delegates to educate students to democratic practice. This delegation leads to excesses in learning citizenship, parallel drifts to those put forward by the media: oligarchy, nepotism and monopoly of 'fine talkers' (Étienne, 2010). Reducing to one vote for the election of delegates promotes two practices that are equally dangerous for the image of democracy: the first is to make fun of adults in electing the most unruly pupils, which does not facilitate attempts to co-management, and the second is based entirely in the reelection of one class to the same delegates who become true democracy professionals. In France political leaders have often begun their careers within their institution and in their students' union before joining a political party movement.

Secularism (*Laïcité*)-won against the Catholic Church (1905) it applied to the state and its

officials, not to citizens. Community and religious tensions were heightened from the 1980s and peaked in 1989 when in September three students were excluded from the school for wearing ostentatious religious signs, but in November 1989 the Council of State indicated that it was an abuse of power and that neutrality is required from the State and not from the users of public services. There is a period of several years during which exclusions and reinstatements by court order followed each other. In 2004 a law was passed that put an end to these hesitations excluding the wearing of 'conspicuous' signs. An in-depth analysis can detect the reasons for wavering: in fact, secularism has been designed to wrest the Catholic Church's monopoly from education or public services. It is not designed to deal with what we call the 'rise of communalism': 'The growing communalism with accommodation requests of different types to accommodate religious practices or suspected as such. In addition, the cultural divide that may exist between some immigrants and the vast majority of the population creates deep misunderstandings about the mission of the school in terms of social and cultural integration into the French nation' (HCI, 2011, p. 9).

Finally, the communitarian claim marks a radical change in the ratio of immigrants with the French State since, even in the 1960s the aim of these groups was rather to integrate, even to deny their cultural values and languages, which was the case with Armenians, Poles and Portuguese. But the Algerian, Moroccan and Tunisian communities, after starting to adopt this behaviour saw the second and third generations feel more Algerian, Moroccan and Tunisian than French. The urban realities of creating ghettos that are ethnically marked and the weakening of the idea of nation lead to tensions on both sides. We saw it in the case of the veil. But we are also seeing the 'reversal values' in the political class. Secularism, traditionally linked to the left-wing and its willingness to eject the Catholic Church from the political game, is taken up in a hard version of the right-wing and the French far-right that pre-empt that principle by deforming it. It is then, under the pretext of 'containing Islam', to demonstrate an intention to deport immigrants, even though most of them have been actually French for two or three generations. This complicity between adversaries who have nothing in common undermines an organising principle which cannot comply with all the adaptations that each would like to do.

2.2. The obsolescence of universalism

The French model (but also in Turkey, or, more recently, in Quebec) is based on universalism which now lacks credibility insofar as the development of individualism (Singly, 2005) and multiculturalism (Abdallah Pretceille, 2004) led to two concerns, first the rights of the human person that comes first in France, as elsewhere, the notion of the 'common good' and respect for religious and cultural diversity, without legally defining what separates religion from sectarian drift, or even a private practice from a fundamentalist approach. The subtleties were easier to determine when religious practice depended on the

private sphere and when the individual had to conform in public to model apparently stripped from all singular membership. Appeals to the European Court of Justice lead to condemnations of France which are justified on human rights violations against human beings.

We do not use the conspiracy theory which suggests that the Anglo-Saxon world has organized a plan to subvert the Greco-Latin rational thought in making it disappear in favour of pragmatism. In fact, universalism proclaimed by the thinkers of French citizenship has never really existed and French colonialism has been slow to recognize the citizenship of those 'native' to its' colonies. It was not until the time of decolonization in the 1960s that General de Gaulle wanted to unite the remnants of the colonial empire under the name of 'French community'. This term, adopted in the 1958 Constitution enshrines the renunciation of hegemony and the desire to work in a more participatory way. This recognition of a different kind of conception of power is on his way, and is being crowned in education by the introduction of the 'educational community' (orientation law of 10 July 1989). Now, parents and students are no longer simply 'users' of public service but are being recognized status of co-makers. This progress can also be interpreted as 'jamming tracks' because the limits of the power given to them are not necessarily defined with rigor and clarity.

The forced march development of the European Union is undoubtedly a major event whose impact on the evolution of references and representations should not be neglected on the grounds that the European political construction has much less increased than the establishment of free trade. Indeed, Europe has worked extensively in the field of education so that it remains the responsibility of the States under the treaties. That is why large sums have been devoted to student mobility and individual projects (Erasmus, Socrates, Vinci). The very existence of CiCe network with 30 countries and more than 100 universities reveals the strategy of influence of the authorities in Brussels and Strasbourg. The humanist and federal project (eg, 'making Europe the leading knowledge society') requires the destruction of all the peculiarities that hinder this development. In other words, the entry into the European Union and 'globalization' mean to give up the singularity of the reference to universalism to transform European universities in an accounting model where the European Credit Transfer System (ECTS) is the new bank reference implying a counterpart in order to function : multiculturalism and respect of the 'cultures of origin'.

Finally, the students themselves, at least those that Dubet (1991) called the 'new students', no longer refer to the 'universal law' (Kant, 1785) but that of their city and that of triumphant liberalism: the two main consequences are a tougher school competition and a relaxation of behaviour that is no longer first in relation to performance. Power relations are invited in school. Parents become 'consumers of school' (Ballion, 1981) and the growing importance of orientation in a school theoretically open to all makes it all the more cruel to the 'losers' (Dubet, 2004). When moral judgment is not the key driver which prevents taking

action, the issue of violence (Debarbieux, 1999) is, rightly or so grossly unfair, taking advantage on the process of learning and on education guidance. The 'decline of the institution' is a sign of a malfunction even if the references to an idealized past must take into account the precarious balance of a system that has merely contented itself for a century and a half (1802-1959) to impose a basic education to the children of the people who were carefully separated (they were confined to primary school) from the elite engaged in the merit race (with secondary education, preparatory classes for "Grandes Ecoles", selective schools of higher education and university). The 'secondary school for all' (1975) and the 'democratization' of the school led to finer strategies and 'hidden curriculum' (Perrenoud, 1993) whose meaning and subtleties escape immigrant families (Beaud, 2003) among others.

2.3. More and more visible inequalities

In the 1970s the bad news is that the spread of an educational system does not meet its egalitarian mission (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1970; Baudelot & Estabiet, 1975). The left-wing coming to power in France and its project 'changing life' explained a highly innovative policy, which is based on foreign experiments, from England in particular and leads to the creation of priority education (1982) on a pragmatic Anglo-Saxon model. To fight against inequality, it is considered 'to give more to those who have less' (Dubet, 2004). In the background of the 1980s, this policy is even less contested as other debates focus the attention of politicians but gradually this type of measure is unconstitutional because it is considered as "discriminatory" which is prohibited by the principle of equality between citizens. The president of the Republic in 2008, gives it up and sets goals of percentage of equity in the preparatory classes for "Grandes Ecoles" (30%). The principle of 'meritocracy' has been put forward at the expense of a French adaptation of affirmative action. Researches on the fight against inequality balances between two interpretations: the first claim to establish the ineffectiveness of a now 30-year old policy, while the latter emphasizes that success is achieved since social degradation has not resulted in a widening of educational inequality, even if the latest interpretations of PISA (2009) show an increase in the gap between the two halves of the school population. However, all sociologists agree to note extremely adverse indicators in terms of employment and level of education in these educational areas. The same applies to equal diploma, the rate of non-employment is twice as high, '10% of Zus (sensitive urban zones) with A-levels plus are unemployed, against 5% of the graduates who live outside these neighbourhoods. 20% of those with at least a CAP or BEP (vocational training certificates) are unemployed, against 9% elsewhere' (inequalities.fr, 2013).

One of the most questionable incarnations of republican egalitarianism lies in the settling of the school map matching the school location to the place of residence. Implemented in 1963, this measure introduces a school segmentation in order to save public money. All schools are equal (in principle), so students and families do not have to choose their school. Once again,

this principle has been chipped at the time of its implementation. The rapid urbanization of France has been accompanied by a very quick building of schools that hosted the ‘new high school students’ in the suburbs of large cities. The left-wing politicians have become the most ardent supporters of the school map for its main results were to enable sometimes some heterogeneity between populations from different parts of the cities, even if the less underprivileged classes could apply for exemptions by studying a rare language like Russian or by choosing a private school whose teachers are paid by the state but is not obliged to comply with school segmentation. In 2007, the President of the Republic decided to end this system of school mapping and researches immediately highlight the fact that the successive ‘crises’ developed urban ghettos that have become school ghettos (Visier & Zoïa, 2009).

In these circumstances, there is no wonder that violence and riots that flare up periodically affect these areas and also their schools which are attended by 98% of an age group up to 16 years old (2005, 2007, 2010). The scenario is well known and it is renewed in other countries such as England (August 2012) and Sweden (late May 2013): the police intervention is experienced, rightly or wrongly as brutal and unjustified. The reaction of the population focuses primarily on law enforcement and these are scenes of destruction and looting of shops. In all cases, the consequences are extremely destructive because the few opened stores tend to flee the area and public utilities leave those territories they only attend in the daytime. At night, then more and more during the day, they are colonized by gangs who organize a parallel economy based on the sale of gold stolen from the elderly or weak people, weapons and drugs involving children who start earning a real salary doing a job of lookout first, then switching to trafficking organization and wars between rival gangs (more than twenty murdered people in Marseilles in 2012 and 2013).

2.4. ‘You, the French ...’

Being confined in these neighbourhoods that are less and less heterogeneous and increasingly more racially-oriented by grouping people from the same country and the same regions eventually create an anti-French homogeneity: ‘*You, the French ...*’ is an expression that cannot escape the teachers working in these neighbourhoods. The hope of integration is quickly dissipated to the extent that we have already written, the people who fit into the French society in its diversity exclude themselves from these areas in which neither right nor work are acknowledged. Another expression often comes up in discussions: ‘You are a racist’. It does not matter if it is impossible to argue against this, since this expression is somewhat a perverse game in which some students are trying to involve teachers, knowing that the charge will especially touch the teachers as they will be shocked in their values and in their project to serve the school of the republic.

The only time we saw this phenomenon of disaffiliation to go backwards, that was during a European trip to Sweden. Dazzled by the performance given by the Swedish students to

welcome them, the French class developed an art project to reciprocate or to do better than the Swedes. That's when the teacher heard, not without a certain pleasure, this sentence: 'We the French, we'll show them.' Unfortunately, school trips are becoming scarce due to increasingly heavy regulations and the feeling that there are more and more risks to be taken, and less recognition from the families. Students have less opportunity to be ambassadors for their country abroad, giving them time to focus on the only identity they know and recognize that a country that failed to integrate or even to include promoting the expression of diversity.

Created in former days for other causes, the principle of secularism in the French way has many difficulties to renew itself, to adapt to the beginning of the twenty-first century, witnessing many other countries as Quebec, Sweden and Turkey who struggle with religions that claim to regulate the life of society. The first consequence of this procrastination is to strengthen centrifugal and extremist movements that occur in neighbourhoods but invite themselves more and more at school (wearing some religious signs, food features related to religions, refusal of some aspects of the school syllabuses). It is obvious that as long as concrete solutions to community pressures on schools and public services have not been found and implemented, proximity can play between extremists and those who live in the same place. The second consequence is giving up the theme to groups and gangs who have been the first opponents but who take them up in an opportunistic way to develop claiming the governments do nothing. The Stasi Commission in France, that of 'reasonable accommodation' in Quebec had an immediate and obvious advantage: to reduce tension in society between cultural and religious groups. But, paradoxically, they interrupted the debate at a time when it might have been better to push up an agreement, not on compromise, but on the basis renewing the 'social contract'.

Finally, the fight against crime in these neighbourhoods shows an unusual new and disruptive aspect. The inhabitants do not condemn firmly all the trafficking that develops. In times of social and economic hardships, the school cannot be the only shield against all trafficking. Collecting our data we have noted that traffickers are skilful in providing all kinds of work and remuneration for children or single mothers, who hide drugs in their apartments, while civil society has more or less neglected these neighbourhoods, although since the 2005 riots, major renovation and humanization of the buildings have been under way. But their implementation is subject to delays from the 2008 financial crisis on. Finally, taking a lesson from all previously successful integrations, it would be appropriate for the social promotion, if it exists (and it does!) that the neighbourhoods should not be neglected nor left in the drug dealers' hands. Successful people in these areas are certainly not forced to continue to live there, but they have a great social responsibility to pass on their example to the community. What is being done to mobilize on this project?

3. What new paradigms?

3.1. Neither universalism nor relativism: interrupting 'disinheritance' based teaching

The history of France is known and yet the history of the construction of France over a dozen centuries is unknown (Madaule, 1962). To paraphrase some historians, we could say that France does not exist but there are the French, very few originate from the Franks. However, every opportunity to build 'France' is due to conflicts Madaule develops this point about the crusade against the Albigenses. The first thing to understand France and Europe is probably not to give in myths but rather to understand the migration that marked the continent from *Iliad* to the most recent population movements that still concern the Mediterranean. Of course, this story cannot apply to the overseas countries such as the West Indies, French Guiana, French Polynesia or New Caledonia, with a reflection on what to be French means.

Europe has failed to emerge as the new horizon of citizenship and it is worth looking into and studying because there is haphazard in history. Some people made Jean Monnet say: 'If I had to start over, I would start with culture' (Chevènement, 2006, p. 152). But his choice and the choice of all the founding fathers of Europe were always to set coal and steel as a first priority; this is still valid nowadays when the debate focuses on the euro. But it can also be interpreted as a sign that fifty years is a short time to gather people who have fought each other for centuries. It is difficult. It may be wise to keep the national dimension of citizenship but how can we manage to avoid nationalism and its excesses?

Education has moved from a status of emancipation to an oppressive constraint for some part of the pupils, not just those who live on trafficking and whose horizon is the limited neighbourhood. But there are also all those students who are bored at school, who do not understand and do not make any sense of what they are doing. Those students live under the pressure of assessments and booklet skills, entering too soon and too fast a world that has nothing to do with their daily lives. Formerly, it was the role of the teacher to visit the family to tell the mason father or the saleswoman mother: 'Your daughter is talented, she must sit for the entrance examination to high school'. Today, the choice of a career or further studies has been delayed to the maximum and it is a good thing for families and students but who acts as an advisor to the student for his 'personal project' (Étienne, Baldy & Benedetto, 1992)? Is the crisis of citizenship to be solved through employability? Is it possible to imagine new founding myths or should we "rehash" (Levi-Strauss, 1962) concepts such as citizenship, identity or secularism to have them *shared*?

3.2. To learn and live democracy in school

To fight for the 'disinherited', we have brought forward history and myth, which is part of

the anthropological tradition of what makes us human beings. But we must go further and adopt a stance, a more negative assessment, stressing the balance sheet of an old anachronism two-century citizenship that is more in keeping with today's codes. The new 'legacy' belongs to a more critical and political education '*for all*' since the delegation or representation have demonstrated their inadequacy to the contemporary world both in society and at school. It's time to discover the new legacy came from the former in order to understand it but it also needs the present and above all the future to project oneself in a complex world where it will soon be impossible for years on to rely on men and women who will do their job and will only fear getting fired.. In a secondary school we have experienced that the simple fact of electing two delegates a year modifies attitudes because they must then explain and answer for their actions (Amiel, Étienne & Presse, 2003). Can the new '*heritage*' fit into a more critical and political education '*for all*' since student delegation has demonstrated its failure in school?

Instead of imposing a single reference, the work on diversity and principles such as subsidiarity help understand the society scale levels and build a new idea of citizenship. It is true that in France today, the name is mishandled and used in a sense that betrays its origin (related to the city). Talking of corporate citizenship is a nonsense in our view because the purpose of the company is registered in the degree of initiative that reflects the word While citizenship can well be used for all dimensions of human action directed towards the common good, from the group of students in the class project of ecological transition based on a responsible of land resources management. As it is probably too early in France and Europe to abandon the notion of citizenship linked to the nation-state, it is probably worthwhile to explore the track that makes the point of equilibrium between the simplest level of a human group and the improbable global governance.

The last track was offered to us by our experience, and our research focuses on exchanges and school trips (Étienne & Groux, 1992), which represent an opportunity for an intercultural society. This has been confirmed by both connoisseurs of Europe and of languages, Lacarrière Jacques and Claude Hagège who recommend a pedagogy of discovery, beginning with the discovery of the others, the others and their language. Confinement in neighbourhoods and schools built on a large scale in the years 1960 to 1980 contains a part of the crisis of citizenship: how come that some people have better academic architecture, and libraries with better books, older, more experienced and better paid teachers than others? How come that the beautiful neighbourhoods actually benefit from more resources than schools that are located in priority education zones? All these questions and many others are to be put with students so that they get an interest in the republic and its mysteries, but also about its evolution and finally move from a passive to an active citizenship.

3.3. For a 'secular' approach to religions

It is impossible to pretend that religious issues had not had their say in the debate on citizenship. Indeed, in modern society, tensions between requirements from religions and democratic decisions are inevitable and may go on expanding, the more so the number of religions increases. Indeed, the great monotheistic religions have in their 'genetic code' the claim to handle society issues. But the triumphant liberalism carries with it the potential for disruption and changing lifestyles and technological progress are also able to affect the dogmas that are prevalent in these religions, often competing, but sometimes willing to unite, to reject a new definition of a major issue of our society. Thus, marriage is no longer considered as the union of a woman and a man, but of two human beings it undermines the family and generational vision of the institution. French secularism ('laïcité') has decided to hold religions away from these issues within the law. But children who go to school also live in families who take a position on these social issues. In the name of neutrality, there is a strong temptation not to speak about such matters at school. But what was valid in a school that was aimed at children is hardly justifiable for teenagers and even adults: in June half of the students in French schools (upper secondary) are of voting age, therefore they are citizens and children. The public debate can give them the opportunity to argue on the cultural, philosophical and even religious fields. Thus the risks of conflict are likely to decrease or even disappear (technique of 'reasonable accommodation' or philosophical debate and concerned citizen, Tozzi, 2012).

The knowledge of the 'religious' facts (Debray, 2002) is a proposition that has come at an opportune time as it has revealed a big flaw in the French educational system in which keeping away from religions had eventually led many students to religious and artistic ignorance. Indeed, both are intertwined in the civilizations, especially in Western civilization which has lost count of the Virgin and Child sculptures, or the crucifixions, the annunciations and other parables of the Good Shepherd. The proposition of Régis Debray, who cannot be suspected of religious propaganda, met the approval of religions as in some institutions run by the "General Secretariat of Catholic Education" was a place devoted to this education for all. Catechesis falls under an adherence to Catholicism and cannot be imposed on anyone. The main advantage of this dichotomy is to understand what religions tell us, or even to know about it, without engaging anyone in any kind of submission. On the other hand, a proactive approach should lead managers of higher education to a comprehensive vision, even if it is superficial, designs of different religions are not limited to those that have spread to the European, African and American continents.

Finally, teacher training could be improved in this area of religious identities because they are increasingly drawn into a confrontation between knowledge and beliefs that are rooted in a religious tradition (creationism, genre, etc.). Their intervention in the classroom and in meetings with parents should be adjusted (Bucheton, 2009) depending on the circumstances and the context, including the age of the students who can lead a more neutral attitude or, conversely, it could be viewed as an opportunity, an invitation to critical thinking. It is only by studying some critical situations that teachers, school leaders and teams will find the right

tone to focus on knowledge while respecting the sensitivity of young children or the parents' whose relationship to religion must be clarified in the interest of their children and social peace.

Conclusion: coming out of the crisis and avoiding a return to the past

In France, the ministers of Education have appealed to the reference of secularism in order to advocate a return to a mythical past of the republican school. In fact, if one looks carefully, as Dubet did (1991, 1994 and 2004), school is built on a dual model: on the one hand you have the primary school with the minimum knowledge, all facing execution tasks, first religious and then secularized and on the other hand the elites who impose to organize a competition between the best by caring little for the fate of the 'losers'. Therefore, it is not surprising that when all pupils attend secondary schools, the second half of the curriculum has led to a crisis of citizenship based on equality and is presented as a *fait accompli* of a competition, even if it is 'hidden' today.

In 2014 fall, teaching of 'secular morality' (*morale laïque*) will be set up and it is not without questions about its content and methods. Most consulted experts suggested implementing a secular teaching of moral preferably to a teaching of secular ethics which would mean that there is a body of doctrine which we have shown how fluctuating it was and that it was based on more philosophical than historical references (Zoïa, 2013).

Our research has led us to believe that this teaching may appear as a threat to Islam and Muslims (Tozzi, 2012b). It took fifty years (1905-1958) to pacify relationships with the Catholic Church in France. The French school cannot afford to alienate the Muslim religion nor be ordered by it. If the crisis of citizenship has a French and European dimension, that of education for citizenship, must be resolved in the dual framework of school and society. We have proposed to modernize and update the references to citizenship in a double movement that denies both exacerbated reference to secularism that never existed, but also by offering to stop the process of 'disinheritance' which would tend to keep in perspective everything in an area where it is important to have clear references, even if they are multiple and complex and we think finally we have to replace the notion of *good behaviour* by *fair behaviour* (Rawls, 1987) and to (re)build a *common good* at school: the republic or the city (Ballion, 1993).

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