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The Psychosocial Effects of the French Republican Model of Education

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Abstract

Using a Bourdieuan methodological approach to qualitative analysis (Mills & Gale, 2007), this research explores the lived experience of students under the French Republican model of education. This study took place in the city of Metropolis, France, and included the participation of students at the University of Metropolis. Qualitative methods of online questionnaires and interviews were used to complete this study. The participants for the online questionnaire included 37 teachers and 88 students. Three teacher interviews coincided with online questionnaire data collection. A structural analysis revealed the complexities involved in the relationship between teachers and students, and subsequent student identity formation. Along with a model for identity formation that includes anomie, this study posits a means-deficit approach to understanding identity formation rooted in the forms of human capital (Bourdieu, 1986). Other considerations are made toward Multicultural and Intercultural Education examined through the dialectic between assimilation and pluralism.
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To my wife Andrea

and to our children Isabelle and Mattéo, whose love encourages me daily.
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Chapter 1

Introduction

“…the will to truth had its own history…like the other systems of exclusions, [it] relies on institutional support: it is both reinforced and accompanied by whole strata of practices such as pedagogy-naturally…”-Foucault, *The Discours on Language* (1970)

Historical Perspective

During my third year of undergraduate work in French, I took a class called *La Civilisation Française*. Professor Sanford Ames willed French History upon his students making us all come to the realization that France today can only be understood through a deep understanding of how France evolved historically up to present day. Prof. Ames’ recounting of the French revolution sent shivers down one’s spine, and as a French teacher I never missed an opportunity to educate about the nuances of that incredible historical event. I began to wonder if there would be revolutions of this scale in this century. I also began to ask the question of why people would resort to violence to solve certain social situations.

Then in April of 2001, I had firsthand experience of a mini-revolution. The African-American community of Cincinnati, Ohio, after years of prejudiced engagement with the Cincinnati Police Department, violently reacted to the latest in a long line of shooting deaths. The latest was the story of an African-American named Timothy Thomas who had 59 misdemeanor charges pending against him and a warrant for his arrest. This may have seemed like an inordinate amount for an individual; however, only two were for minor assault crimes and the majority were for parking violations. At 2 o’clock in the morning on Saturday April 8th, a
A white officer named Steven Roach chased Timothy through the dark alleys of an impoverished area of Cincinnati called Over-the-Rhine. Timothy was shot once in the chest and was pronounced dead an hour later (Vela, 2001). Timothy Thomas was 19 years old.

The Cincinnati riots made me reflect even more about my career path of becoming an educator. I wanted to make a difference to correct the social injustices and violence that manifest right in my own backyard. I wanted to make a difference in how people interacted with other people, how groups interacted with other groups, and how different ethnicities viewed and interacted with each other. In the meantime, I moved to France the next year to teach English. There was so much going on in France. They were mourning September 11th like the rest of the world. They were protesting the United Nations and America for beginning a war on Iraq. And, they were trying to figure out what to do about the remnants of a case of 3 Muslim girls, who in 1989 tried to go to school with their religious veil on their head. The girls were denied access to school, and the fallout became the law described below:

Art. L. 141-5-1. – Dans les écoles, les collèges et les lycées publics, le port de signes ou tenues par lesquels les élèves manifestent ostensiblement une appartenance religieuse est interdit.

(French Government 2004)

In schools, public high and jr. high schools, the wearing of symbols or outfits by which students conspicuously profess a religious affiliation is prohibited.

The proposed law, which took effect at the beginning of the 2004 school year, affected a certain portion the Muslim community because of their religious obligation of young women to wear a “foulard”, which is a veil or scarf. Keep in mind that this only affects Muslim women who strictly adhere to their religion and must wear a scarf on their head while in public.
The obvious ramifications of this law are clear. First, Muslim girls who are required to wear a head covering are not able to go to public institutions of learning, thus forcing them to go to private institutions where, incidentally, teachers’ salaries are paid by the state as well. Secondly, the effects of this law are felt predominately by women although much has been done throughout Europe to promote equality among genders. Feminist syndicates took positions on both sides of the fence including the C.E.R.F. (Cercle d’Étude de Réformes Féministes) who called for the banning of the veil in all public buildings. And on the opposite side, La Ligue Trotsky, who has also been known to fight for free abortions for all. Finally, lesser publicized yet equally relevant, this law affects immigrants settling in France in a most unsettling way. Basically, the law sets up a boundary to all immigrants looking to find work for themselves and education for their children. Effectively, this law could indicate to them that if they want to practice their religion or find jobs, they had better go somewhere else. Thus, leading one to presume that liberté, égalité, and fraternité are ideas only applicable to natural French citizens.

At the school level, public school teachers seem to be impervious to the law. On a BBC radio interview an English teacher in a Paris lycée stated that the law would be enforced like any other dress code violation would be. The wearing of religious symbols or clothes was essentially associated with that of sexually explicit/perverse attire, or a baseball cap. The students, however, were very adamant (prior to the school year) in opposition to the law. The JMF (Young French Muslims) and the EMF (French Student Muslims) organized protests in six major cities throughout France. The chants of the youth were:

“Qui a cette idée folle, un jour d’interdire l’école?”

“Dans tous les quartiers, dans tous les regions, un seul droit à l’éducation!”

“Première, deuxième, troisième generation. On s’en fout, On est chez nous!”
“Une école pour tous-tes” (Ternsien, February, 17th 2004)

Who had this crazy idea to prohibit schooling?
In all the neighborhoods, in all the regions, a right to education!
First, second, third generation. We don’t give a damn. We are at (our) home.
School for all (boys & girls) (Author’s translation)

The following year, on October 27, 2005, two French youths of North African descent were electrocuted as they fled the police in the Parisian suburb of Clichy-sous-Bois. The two boys were part of a group of boys who were returning home from a pick-up soccer game at the local park. In the area, police were investigating reports of a break in and as the police patrol came near them the boys scattered so they would not be questioned or detained. It was, and is still not uncommon for immigrant French youth of their skin color and background to go through extensive and long detainment periods complete with background checks and parental involvement. Identity checks of individuals from these areas routinely spark suspicions of criminality and guilt, (Crampton, 2005; Waquant, 1993, p.211). The electrocuted boys were 15 and 17 years old respectively.

The events which occurred in Cincinnati and Paris ignited a well-spring of tension and anger which erupted in violence aimed at the oppressive mechanisms of control. The results of
the riots in Cincinnati\(^1\) were relatively calm compared to those of Paris. The deaths of the two young Muslim boys sparked nearly three weeks of rioting in 274 towns throughout the Paris region and in other parts of France. The rioters were mostly unemployed teenagers from destitute suburban housing projects who caused over €200 million (approximately $350 million USD) in damage as they torched nearly 9000 cars and dozens of buildings, daycare centers, and schools. “The French police arrested close to 2,900 rioters; 126 police and firefighters were injured, and there was only one fatality – a bystander who died after being struck by a hooded youth” (Sahlins, 2006). Of course, the total economic impact of the riots in both Paris and Cincinnati can only be speculated, but it is feasible to assume tens to hundreds of millions of dollars of losses to the local economies of each respective city.

**Statement of Problem**

The project of navigating individuals through academic and career paths, and further integrate students into democratic societies is given to the education system. As the needs of the pluralistic society change the role of education must also change so that students may become

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\(^1\) In the case of Cincinnati, the Cincinnati’s City council was approached and did not react sufficiently. The mother of Timothy Thomas, and Rev. Damon Lynch III met with City council to demand an investigation and action regarding her son’s death, and the death of 9 other black men. City Hall was packed and when council failed to react, the situation quickly escalated. An overcrowded City Hall emptied onto the streets and the riot began; violence ensued. Radios and televisions reported people being struck with rocks and bottles. Cars were hijacked, and later burned. Store window-fronts shattered in frustration and in an attempt to reach the merchandise they guarded. Rioters were confronted with a police force dressed in riot gear on several occasions. The police began firing rubber bullets at individuals thus prompting the crowd to become violent tossing bricks into cars and windows, overturning trash cans, looting, and setting fire to some cars and establishments (Wilkinson, 2001). Hundreds were injured. Interestingly, curfews were enacted downtown and in the surrounding areas as far out as to where the bus lines stretched. The riot which began with racial overtones was now showing economic undertones as low SES neighborhoods were placed on lockdown. About $290,595 worth of property damage was incurred, 120 stores and businesses were damaged, (Alltucker and O’Neill, 2001) and over 700 people were arrested throughout the week long riots and city curfew.
active participants in society. Perhaps nowhere is this more evident, and perhaps controversial, than in France. In France volatile social and school climates made acute by government stances on immigration contributed to manifest violence in the form of the youth riots in 2005, and 2007 (Schroer, 2009). These examples, coupled by sheer numbers of immigrants entering France, should serve as reason for any country to invest in some form of culturally sensitive/responsive pedagogy. So, as a burgeoning peace educator, I began to question what the French education system was doing to combat the manifest social violence. Through a literature review I began forming an understanding of, and asking questions about the French educational system. These preliminary questions were: Does the French educational system espouse multi- or intercultural educational techniques? How is the French immigrant acculturated into French society? And finally, what are the effects of this acculturation?

In order to see a clear picture of what occurs in France, I have been perpetually tempted to compare France to America. This idea has been further complicated by the research itself. For example, when it comes to immigration America has always been viewed as a land of immigrants, and France could be viewed as the modern day America of Europe with an immigrant population totaling upwards of one-fourth of its total population (INSEE, 2007). Another similarity is the concern facing France and America regarding school segregation. As Wacquant notes, Ghetto and banlieue are both territories ravaged by deindustrialization, where ethnically marked populations tend to be concentrated, and where households suffering from unemployment and low income accumulate, translating into high rates of poverty and social dislocation (2008, p.147). In other words, de facto segregation in France and America manifest in ghettos and banlieues has social repercussions. Most of these repercussions are outside of the
scope of this research; however, manifest social violence in segregated communities (e.g. riots), and academic results of segregated schools are the focus my research.

Another example of the complications surrounding a comparative analysis is that the academic results show a dissimilarity that exists between the two countries. According to Wacquant the academic inequality between ethno-national groups in France has decreased since the 1970s with the generalized lengthening of secondary education, and students of foreign origin have increased their representation at all levels of the educational system. In fact the higher they climb, the better their results compared to those of native French children (Wacquant, p.195, 2008; Vallet & Caille, 1996). The work of Bouteyre is particularly engaging in this matter as she has shown through clinical psychology how children of immigrants use coping strategies that reinforce resilient behavior that ward off depression (Bouteyre, 2004).\(^2\)

With the thought of comparing France to America put aside, the only other way to truly analyze the situation in France was to go to France. This story begins in the first semester of my first year in doctoral school. I was determined to defeat the odds against a working class former French teacher from the Midwest and go to Paris, France on a Fulbright scholarship to work with one of the pre-eminent scholars on immigrant issues in schooling; Élisabeth Bautier. During my wait for a response from the committee, Dr. Michelle Vialet of the French department at UC, approached me about a partnership that UC has with another French University, not in Paris. She said that this could be an opportunity to go to France and complete the work for this

\(^2\) In America, research concerning the academic success of immigrants has yet to reach this mark. It is hypothesized that academic differences in America may be the product of a language barrier (Schnepf, 2006), which actually turns out to be key in understanding why French immigrants cannot necessarily be held in comparison with American immigrants. France’s colonial history must also be taken into account as a reason why language is not the overriding impediment to immigrants, yet socioeconomic status is considered an impediment (Smeding & Parson, 2007). Immigrants in France are socioeconomically and ethnographically sorted in the same manner as African-Americans are in America. Therefore, a sociological comparative analysis could be made in this manner (see Wacquant, 2008), but it is out of the context of this study to make this comparison.
dissertation, if the Fulbright didn’t work out. I agreed, but for a different reason. I realized that this would be a chance to do research on French schools not in Paris. I was very excited about this and when the scholarship didn’t come through I packed my bags, and my family, for Metropolis.

Life in Metropolis was great because of the people I met and the relationships built during my stay. When I was not reading or talking with people about my research, I taught English to some of the kindest and most intelligent people I have ever met. One group of retirees that met twice a week for the entire academic year had 4 former teachers and one school headmaster. They were great resources for understanding the historical background of the story of life in French schools. I taught English majors, sociology majors, communication majors, and even professors perfecting their English for conference presentations and article submissions. Informal discussions with these individuals helped give me a profound insight into the lived experience of students and teachers in the French academic system that gave me an enormous advantage as an American attempting to do research in France.

Relevance to theory.

The debate around the magnitude and causes of the educational success of the children of immigrants is still open in France (Brinbaum & Cebolla-Boado, 2007). The academic formation of students would also seem paradoxical to an American multiculturalist’s viewpoint considering that within the formal educational system; the cultural codes of migrants are overwhelmingly marginalized in favor of those prevalent among the majority population (Hargreaves, 2007). In fact, immigrants in France have historically been subject to several forms of discrimination.

We can point to discrimination in access to housing which, although not studied in France, is clearly an important reality; to the mechanisms of segregation which are in action, often on a huge scale, in access to employment; to the education system which
tends not only to produce, but also reproduce inequalities of which children of immigrants are the principal victims. (Wieviorka, 1998:8)” (Freedman, 2004, p. 146).

With all of the inequalities that French immigrants historically and currently face, a qualitative analysis that takes the lived experience of students into account may yield fruit in understanding why French immigrants succeed. Moreover, as described in the paragraph above, the social stigmas placed on schooling in segregated spaces also become an important consideration in developing research around this topic. For example, the stigma associated with living in a bounded urban area publicly regarded as a place of relegation, and widely equated with social failure, destitution and crime is a common feature between the ghetto and the banlieue (Wacquant, p.147, 2008)3.

Therefore, theory development analyzing correlations between dimensions of integration and dimensions of formal education need to be undertaken. A qualitative study examining the lived experiences of students and teachers could help elucidate answers for the preliminary questions previously proposed. The research undertaken herein is concerned with the psychological and the social. It is rooted in a view of the space and place of education that takes place at the crossroads of identity formation and social interaction. Niewiadomski writes;

Why ‘psychosocial’? Because the suffering they [social workers defined elsewhere as educators] must encounter today brings into question psychological malaise that finds its roots in real social situations that in turn influences the psyche of the individuals for which there are no legitimate classical categories of reference in the psychopathological domain (Niewiadomski, 2006).

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3 Interestingly, special stigmatizations weigh more heavily on members of the French working class banlieue than the ghetto of America (Wacquant, 2008).
This is the contribution to educational theory this research hopes to provide. The fact that this is a qualitative experience will also fill in a gap in the research on this topic. This will be discussed further in the subsequent literature review.

Finally, it has been shown through this terse historical analysis that the French cultural landscape is ripe for understanding the integral connections between school, culture, and violence. It will be seen through the subsequent chapters that the French education system lends itself well for a subjective incorporation of objective social inequalities and their individual and collective results on student orientation and behavior. The understanding found by this research complicated by the psychosocial dimensions of school and social integration has direct instructive benefits to teachers and the educational foundations of the French Republic. This examination is hoped to have positive and peaceful effects on the classroom with respect to pedagogical methods employed by teachers in the classroom.
Chapter 2

Literature Review

France and the Republican model of societal integration in schools

La dynamique démocrate rend illégitime toute forme d’exclusion ou de discrimination: le projet de la modernité démocratique est d’intégrer tous les individus dans la société nationale en tant que citoyens libres et égaux-

Dominique Schnapper (2007).

The democratic dynamic illegitimates all forms of exclusion or discrimination: the project of a modern democratic society is to integrate all individuals in a national society as free and equal citizens- (author’s translation).

Immigration and Acculturation in Schools

The advent of the 21st century has brought the successes and tribulations of the global economy and a global society to the forefront. The education systems of many internationally minded countries have responded through the pedagogical lens of Intercultural Education (IE). As a global extension of multicultural education emphasizing the relationships between cultures and focusing on cooperative learning, IE has opened the door wide to the ever-growing and needed field of Peace Education (see Stomfay-Stitz and Hinitz, 1996). In France specifically, IE has met with mixed reviews. On one side are pedagogues who firmly believe that there is a crucial need to address social and cultural diversity in the classroom (see Abdallah-Pretceille, 2004 for a French perspective of IE). This perspective takes a macroscopic approach of the situation from the point of view of the European Union and is perhaps best evidenced in the ERASMUS program.
On the other side of the aisle, many see the goal of IE as being inherently anti-republic chipping away at the notion of equality upon which French society is built. It is important to note that France is politically well integrated into the European Union even though the primary goal of French education is to integrate all of its individuals into the republic. So, the question becomes what exactly does integrative education resemble in France?

To aid us in forming our perspective, several films have been made as social commentaries depicting the climate in French classrooms. L’Esquive (Games of Law and Chance, 2004), and the more recent Entre les Murs (The Class, 2008) have gained critical acclaim for their realistic portrayals of the classroom. These examples also portray a dynamic tension between students and teachers that results in several instances of symbolic and physical violent behavior. However, the dominant republican education model assumes that multiculturalism leads to ghettoization and increased racism, as evident in the U.K. (Haddad and Balz, 2006, p.26). As one teacher told me, “teacher preparatory programs (or UFM)s prepare teachers to pay attention to the diversity of the students and individual learning differences, but not individual cultural differences. The French school is above all laic!” (Marie, line 72).

It is important to remember that the French republic was established to counter rule by monarchy, therefore putting the power into the hands of democratically elected government officials who oversee the organization of life in society; ensuring the principles of liberté, égalité, fraternité. This is in contrast to the democratic model which is predicated on elected representatives functioning within a system of checks and balances designed to prevent majority law from trumping individual freedom. This conception becomes important as we approach lessons learned by students about autonomy and their own personal identity formation.
**The Role of Education**

The French school, laic and free, is the main conduit of republican principals. According to Limage (2000), the French public school maintains its primacy concerning legitimate knowledge and the means to transmit it in the name of republican ideals of neutrality, secularity and equality. The notion of individualized instruction or co-operative learning, or making the school more responsive to the child’s culture has met with little response as social diversity remains an out-of-school matter - a liberty accorded to the family. In the classroom, the three essential goals reading, writing, and speaking are espoused as the means by which children develop their identity and are able to express themselves. Ostensibly, Multicultural Education, IE, and Peace education, do not play a significant role in today’s curriculum.

Pedagogical methods such as individualized instruction and cooperative learning are still very new in French teacher training programs. In order to individualize instruction for those that need extra help, the government does provide special French language classes for immigrant students, and they have recently begun a new after school tutoring program designed to equalize educational chances and prevent doubling a grade. These moves clearly show the government’s interest in individualizing instruction, but not at the detriment of group and classroom time.

The effect is at the same time uniting and repressive. On one hand, republican principles have created a highly educated and scientifically driven academic agenda, which has carried on into this technological millennium. On the other, this move has inflated and devalued general academic titles while increasing the difficulty of obtaining them, therefore increasing the value of obtaining titles from the *grandes écoles*, or upper echelon of French universities. Because of this contradictory hierarchical structure within the republic (intended to ensure equality within society), social rupture evident in school and social violence has permeated certain social spaces. The agenda of the French education system has not only been unsuccessful at slowing the trend
of social violence, but has also been slow to curb school violence. As we can see from Table 1.1 below, the average number of violent incidents reported in French schools, since the government began keeping the statistic, is either rising, or shows no statistically significant change.

Table 1.1: The average number of violent incidents reported per type of establishment recorded between 2001 and 2006.

This is coupled by the fact that of the 82,000 incidents reported, 10% of the establishments reported 48% of the total and 5% declared more than 33% of the total (SIGNA, 2007). This concentration of violence has steadily increased since the inception of SIGNA (the governmental agency in charge of this statistical collection). This means that there is a concentration of schools, particularly in ZEPs (Educational Priority Zones), where the culture of violence is not only prevalent, but increasing. This surprising result is also confirmed by the statistics. Seven out of every ten violent incidents reported, where the teacher is the victim, are the result of a violent or menacing attack (SIGNA, 2007).

The Role of Space

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4 This result is confirmed by several teachers that I have interviewed as part of my research. One teacher said that, “in these schools, there are fights every day. Students insult each other and the teachers. They have no respect for the teachers. They tutoyer them, they insult them, attack them, they even throw rocks at their cars. I’ve even heard of them menacing them at their homes” (Participant 14).
ZEPs represent the poorest neighborhoods in France with, coincidentally enough, the largest concentration of immigrants. By focusing resources on areas in need, the creation of these zones in 1981 was the government response aimed at equalizing residents’ chances of academic success in relation to the rest of France. Several researchers have concentrated on the juxtaposition of immigrants in schools within these milieus including, pioneering work by Barthon (1986) and van Zanten (2001). The work of Oberti (2007) is especially influential in defining these social spaces as the causation of segregated educational spaces reflecting, and reproducing social inequalities. In essence, Oberti’s work paints the picture of stigmatized neighborhood schools populated by poor/immigrant families who can neither transport to a different school, nor use private schools because of the cost. The effect is also seen in the cité (public housing complex) where animosity, violence, and disillusionment exist as aspirations for social mobility dissipate (Bonelli, 2008). Moreover, there are significant obstacles facing students in ZEPs whose wish is to enter the grandes écoles, even though most universities are accessible with a bac and at minimal cost (Hargreaves, 2007). Even if they do enter an elite school these students may still face the resentment of teachers and peers (Haddad and Balz, 2006).

Much of the focus of French social and educational research over the past 20 years has been in relation to academic and social integration of immigrants. Among others mentioned in this paper, Vallet and Caille (1996) published the most comprehensive empirical analysis of the educational attainment of the immigrant population in France, using the 1989 Panel of Students in Secondary Education. A different study of immigrant families’ expectations confirmed the argument that there are no differences in the tracks offered to native French and immigrants, yet differences were seen between ethnic groups according to their geographical origin (Brinbaum
and Cebolla-Boado, 2007). Van Zanten’s (1996; Payet and van Zanten, 1996) seminal account acknowledged 5 challenges to the Republican model moving forward into the 21st century. The questions posed by van Zanten have been pondered for several years; yet continue to be a fairly litigious source of research among French education and sociology researchers. (These are examined later in the dissertation under identity formation.)

Worthy of note is the fact that the French Republican model of education has actually seen 2nd and 3rd generation immigrants succeed in relation to their language acquisition (Bouteyre, 2004). The fact that the system has served the immigrants of France quite well through the 20th century would give credence to its founder’s call for “l’unité sociale”. Jules Ferry saw the generalizability of education as having organizing and integrative qualities, which saw to the limitation of each person’s natural égoïsme and to the integration of everyone into the collectivity; according to their means (Lelièvre, 1999).

At the beginning of the 21st century the French system finds itself at the crossroads of wealth and poverty. The impoverished, who often practice auto-exclusion, deviance, or violence perturb the ordinary functioning of the system yet are often ignored when they position themselves into devalued social mechanisms or educational options (van Zanten, 2006). The work of Bonelli (2008) found that the difference between the minority of banlieue- working class and petit bourgeoisie- adolescents and the wealthy adolescents who succeed is that the poor must look for material or symbolic supports in their familial, local, or educational environment. Whereas, through school choice (ie. Private schools) and weighted access to the grandes écoles, the wealthy must simply adhere to the culture of knowledge and education mandated by their class.

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5 Author’s translation of the French word « condition ». Ferry’s vision directly stems from the Kantian and Tocqueville approaches to education in the Republic scheme of things. Kant, incidentally saw the Republic form of education as the most peaceful (Farago, Vannier, & Brisac, 2002). This Kantian notion of peace will be discussed in the Chapter section on Peace education.
In 2007, a quantitative analysis of school leavers conducted by Silberman, Alba, and Fournier investigated ethnic differences in the processes of labor-market entry. They found that groups who come from former French colonies and/or are dominated by Muslims are substantially, if not severely, disadvantaged (Silberman, Alba, & Fournier, 2007). By and large, they enter the labor market with educational credentials that are on average below those of the native French, however their much higher levels of unemployment could not be explained by educational differences. Rather, they have suffered from discrimination in the hiring process, and their reports have a strong plausibility.

The same general finding was put forth in the qualitative study conducted by Vienne (2003). He found that immigrant students, already relegated to professional schools, also had difficulties being placed in apprenticeship situations. His conclusion also fleshes out the prejudicial and discriminatory practices of the French marketplace, and complicates Brinbaum’s findings regarding tracks from 20 years ago. Before they reach the marketplace, what is the experience of students in French schools? The main question that has evolved through the literature exposed in this section is: what are the psychosocial effects of an education system that is rooted in Republican ideals?

Identity

Most of the previous research has centered on the social environment, but in order to fully examine the psychosocial implications of schooling an examination of identity formation would be worth our time. Again, work on identity formation has focused on French immigrants. As was noted earlier, the French education model is not without flaws. Van Zanten (2002) acknowledged 5 challenges to the Republican model moving forward into the 21st century.
Consequential research has answered many of these challenges. The following paragraphs examine these questions directly.

First, How will it accept immigrants from increasingly diverse and distant populations? According to the Thierry (2004), the number of immigrants from the Maghreb (Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco) and sub-Saharan states of Africa rose between 1995 and 2002. But this is not the whole picture. Safi (2007) notes that while the numbers of immigrants have risen; the number is actually proportional in relation to the population as a whole. These are coincidentally individuals who come from states in which the Muslim religion is the majority. Maghrébins and Africans seem to illustrate the case of inferior assimilation notably when we compare their economic assimilation (very weak) with their acculturation (relatively strong). Dubet (1989) underlines the fact that Portuguese, Asian, and Turkish communities are less assimilated culturally, less victimized by racism and more economically mobile (Safi, 2007, p371).

Secondly, how will the Republican model respond to immigrants whom are no longer guest workers, rather they ostensibly belong to minority groups? Structured analysis in the work on integration of immigrants seems to suggest that the integration of immigrants is more a progressive process of removing obstacles to integration (Safi, 2007, p.376). Safi (2007) also found through her work that the Republican model must react through the progressive elimination of 3 major obstacles. The first of these are discriminatory practices levied against immigrants searching housing and work. They also include judiciary obstacles raised between foreigners and France. Finally, they include perceived inequalities of treatment of immigrants according to their origin.
Third, van Zanten asks how will the model respond to 2nd and 3rd generation *jus soli* immigrants born in France? Through the work of Oberti (2007) and Safi (2007) we can surmise that unless immigrants take on French last names their plight remains daunting. Fourth, what is the level of socio-economic integration, especially in times of recession and growing unemployment as we are experiencing today? 6 Lastly, how will the model respond to growing numbers of ethnic segregation? This question is responded to in the work of Oberti (ibid).

The preponderance of the questions posed by Van Zanten have been answered, and continue to be a source of research among French education and sociology researchers. For instance, in a quantitative analysis of school leavers, Silberman & Fournier (2007) were able to investigate ethnic differences in the processes of labor-market entry. They found that groups who come from former French colonies and/or are dominated by Muslims are substantially, if not severely, disadvantaged. By and large they enter the labor market with educational credentials that are on average below those of the native French, but their much higher levels of unemployment could not be explained by educational differences. Rather, they have suffered from discrimination in the hiring process, and their reports have a strong plausibility.

Statistically, immigrants of North African dissent are the most prevalent group of immigrants in France (INSEE, 2007). It is also a group that has formed its own subculture and identity manifest through music (Prevot, 2007), and through the uprisings in 2005 and 2007 (Haddad & Balz, 2006; Schroer, 2008). Interestingly, a key point to this *beur* identity was that these young people had French nationality and should therefore have enjoyed the same rights as

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8. The only tangible reality that comes from statistical analysis is the inferiorization of immigrants in the work market and in housing market, an inferiorization that is particularly strong for immigrants from the Maghreb and from sub-Saharan Africa (Constant, 2005; Fougère, 2005, Silberman & Fournier, 2007).
other young French people, however, the continuing discrimination that they experienced because of their ethnic and religious origins, meant that they could not exercise their rights in the same way as others. The need to express a French Arab identity stems in part from these feelings of exclusion and alienation from French society (Freedman, 2004, p.153).

Identity formation arises under the umbrella of psychosocial work undertaken in this study as it pertains to understanding the behavior of French students and the success of French immigrants. Identity is defined as the pattern of meaning and value by which a person structures his or her life clearly involving a dynamic process rather than an immutable position (Eldering, 1996). The evolving nature of identity is what is so intriguing in this instance. Several questions can be raised with regards to the research lens undertaken in this study. How has the beur identity evolved, or has it, and how does this relate to educational attainment?

Freedman (2004) gives us one piece to the puzzle making up beur identity. She tells us that immigrant children are taught that education is the passport to better jobs than those held by immigrants. “At the same time, many parents are initially anxious to ensure that the cultural codes inherited from the country of origin are sustained by the younger generation. Their children are therefore expected to profit instrumentally from school while remaining affectively distanced from cultural norms dominant in the receiving country” (P.83). In a cathartic manner, as children mix (immigrants and natives), they want to accumulate the culture norms of the country, not simply as a means to an end but as desirable objects in their own right. Schools, in this context, have a function in preparing children for their public role, but at the same time, by transmitting cultural values they have an impact on the private lives of the pupils and their families (Eldering, 1993, 1996).
We have a glimpse of the impression societal norms have on immigrant identity, but we need to go further to find out how do French schools transmit cultural values, and how deep is this imprint. According to Limage (2000), French teachers ‘instruct’, parents ‘educate’, and pupils receive, successfully or otherwise, ‘knowledge’. Teachers are accountable only to their hierarchy. Student’s poor results on examinations or performance in class are resolutely the child’s fault or due to the parents’ lack of support. “Teachers are in no way accountable” (Limage, 2000).

The cultural values are very clear in this regard, and yet it is blurry as to impact on immigrant families. The literature presented thus far would point to an acceptance of this academic policy, but to what point do the youth accept this, and might this be caused by an identity split like that seen in white identity (Croll, 2007), Or, is this the result of constant transformation as noted in works on African-American identity formation (e.g. Costa Vargas, 2008).

Multiple factors have led second and third generation Muslims of Algerian origin to develop new identities and a certain pride. *Beur* culture is a combination of distant ties to North Africa and current search for identity between an official French society and the reality of disadvantaged suburbs characterized by insecurity, violence, unemployment and new forms of solidarity in gangs or community-based associations (Limage, p.83, 2000)

**History of the Concept of Anomie.**

The purpose of this portion of my dissertation is to fill a gap in understanding left acute by American educational research relating to the concept of *anomie* as correlated with educational delinquency and violence. This concept has been alluded to throughout this
dissertation, and begs illumination as it is central to the explanation of educational performance of 2\textsuperscript{nd} and 3\textsuperscript{rd} generation immigrants.

The relationship between the individual and society may be conceptualized as \textit{social integration}. Hughes and Gove (1981) outline social integration as an attribute of social situations arising from the density of social interaction. It is also characterized by strong common sentiments, by intensifying and strengthening the meaning of life, social regulation, and constraint. Individuals interact within, and are obviously affected by the social superstructure. Practically speaking, norms, rules, and laws prescribed in institutional and cultural structures create a \textit{psycho-social} effect that guides individual behavior. Indeed, the role of the family structure and the school environment is key in determining the degree of severity of this effect.

As individuals integrate into society the process of integrating can create psychological conflicts that arise generate a state of, for lack of a better term, “integrative disequilibrium”, or anomie (this, along with the concept of habitus will be better defined later in the paper). In Bourdieu’s terms, the difference in \textit{habitus} constructed between that of the family and that structured by a multiplicity of societal interactions; education, media, peers, etc…gives rise to a sentiment of “\textit{l’incompréhension}” (Bourdieu, La Distinction: Critique sociale du jugement, 1979).

Interestingly, this is most pronounced in Maghreb immigrant culture, especially in the 2\textsuperscript{nd} and 3\textsuperscript{rd} generation where cultural conflicts, notably religious, are evidence this difference between the two \textit{habitus} formations (primary and secondary) (Bonnevitz, 1998, p.73). Codol (1982, p.277) also notes the particular cognitive conflict faced by Megreb immigrants in France, “caught as they are between two noticeably different cultural models and torn between what they
experience in their families, and what they experience at school, or in the street.” Codol goes on to illuminate that the cognitive significance of this “inconsistency” as being detrimental to the formation of his or her self-image. We will come back to this concept later in the paper.

So, the question becomes, how do we conceptualize and respond to this incomprehension, or integrative disequilibrium? It is important to first categorize these notions under the concept of anomie because, as it will be shown, anomie is the concept that many of the “giants” of educational research have described without actually using its name. This is probably because of the sordid theoretical development begun at its inception. We must therefore, define this concept at its empirical and theoretical roots in an attempt to uncover its hidden nature.

The word itself comes from the Greek and is comprised of two parts. First, the prefix a-, which means no, absence of, without, lack of, not, and second, nomia- which means law. Although anomie was used by philosophers such as Plato and Plutarch, it was not until Jean-Marie Guyau used it in his 1885 book *Esquise d’une morale sans obligation ni sanction* (Sketch of a Morality without Obligation or Sanction) did the sociological world become aware of the term (Orru, 1983; Besnard, 1988). Anomie’s birth in sociology is usually attributed by most scholars to Emile Durkheim as he first referenced the term in his *Division of Labor in Society* (1893), and later in *Suicide* (1897), which is perhaps the most popular source of the word in the field of Sociology.

In order to properly define the construct of anomie, one must wade through over 100 years of attempts. I say attempts because anomie is fairly easily defined etymologically (a person in a condition, or state, of lawlessness or meaningless), but it is more complicated because it

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involves the relationship of the person to society, or the absence of a relationship, and that person’s sentiment, or psychological perception of that relationship, and to some, the resultant action by that person. Let’s begin with the first to coin the term. Guyau’s explication of anomie

Jean-Marie Guyau was a French philosopher and sociologist who was greatly influenced by Nietzsche, which superficially means that he saw a decline in religion (secularization) and a rise in individualistic morality (Fouillet, 2005). Moreover, he was philosophically countered by Durkheim, however, Guyau died in 1888 leaving no opportunity for a theoretical confrontation between the two (Orru, 1983).

In reference to the difference between the two philosophers, Guyau did not see the individual at constant odds with society. He saw the two as complex, and as equal. Both the individual and society contain hierarchical structures within their complexity which lay the groundwork for individuals’ “tendencies” within society. For Guyau, the individual is in a constant state of ordering his or her “values” as he or she adapts to an ever-complex, evolving, society. It is in this ordering and reordering, evaluation and re-evaluation, that an individual finds one’s self in an anomic state. With this understanding it is difficult to imagine a non- “anomic space” (Fouillet, 2005).

There is one more point to interject here. Guyau used anomie to elaborate his theory of ethics (Orru, 1983). This is important to understand because at this point in history the advent of the Industrial Revolution was imposing itself upon modern societies. Organized religion was in decline with the advent of secularization of states, and the fear of the decline of moral ideals was feared by many. In contrast to Durkheim, who in 1897 viewed anomie as an illness or evil of modern times, Guyau presented the intellectual risk of moral anomie as the challenge of the new
era (Orru, 1983). It is assumed, however, that Guyau’s neglect of the resultant class structure of society in this new era, vis-à-vis Marxism, is the reason that most sociologists denounce Guyau’s interpretation of anomie. Otherwise, it is a lack of knowledge about his principles.

As previously mentioned, Emile Durkheim first used anomie in *The Division of Labor* where anomie is defined in terms of the absence of a body of rules governing the relations between social functions (Durkheim, 1902). Anomie is most apparent in individuals during times of industrial and commercial crisis, and in the conflict between labor and capital. In my opinion, these forms of sub and superstructure antagonisms are rather Newtonian. Durkheim saw a necessary equilibrium between the levels of societal structures; an action and an equal reaction. As the needs of society evolve, so too must the government. This idea is underscored by Talcott Parsons. His examination of value patterns, or cultural norms reinforces the idea that, “it is in the nature of the type of process of change we have been discussing that there should be a continual reorganization of the normative system. Unfortunately, this does not occur as an instantaneous adjustment to the major innovations, but is a slow, uneven, and often painful process” (Parsons, 1962). We will discuss more of Parsons later in the paper.

It wasn’t until *Suicide* that the concept of anomie was elaborated upon in terms of its psychosocial characteristics. Later, in the 1930’s Robert Merton applied Durkheim’s definition

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8 The notion of anomie was abandoned in 1902 when he cut out the 30 page introduction to his science of ethics. He did, however, add a second preface which contained the following thought on anomie. “If anomie is an evil, it is above all because society suffers from it, being unable to live without cohesion and regularity. A moral or juridical regulation essentially expresses, then, the social needs that society can alone feel” (Division of Labor, p.5).

9 This Newtonian view is also seen in the writings of Bourdieu, “You cannot cheat with the law of the conservation of violence: all violence is paid for, and for example, the structural violence exerted by the financial markets, in the form of layoffs, loss of security, etc. is matched sooner or later in the form of suicides, crime and delinquency, drug addiction, alcoholism, a whole host of minor and major everyday acts of violence. (Bourdieu, 1998, p. 40).
of anomie to modern industrial societies with an emphasis towards the United States, specifically. According to Merton, anomie is the form that societal incoherence takes when there is a significant detachment “between valued cultural ends and legitimate societal means to those ends” (Akers, 2000, p. 143, 161). The “valued cultural ends” of society are what is culturally valued within the superstructure. These ends translate into an individual’s goals, and therefore affect the behavior of the individual. In other words, Merton saw the goals of individuals intimately connected to the resultant behavior, or means utilized to achieve the ends. These means can either be under the laws and regulations of society or outside of these boundaries. Merton wrote;

> Whatever the sentiments of the writer or reader concerning the ethical desirability of coordinating the means-and-goals phases of the social structure, one must agree that lack of such coordination leads to anomie. Insofar as one of the most general functions of social organization is to provide a basis for calculability and regularity of behavior, it is increasingly limited in effectiveness as these elements of the structure become dissociated (Merton, 1938, p.679).

Unlike Guyau, Merton saw behavioral integration of society in terms of conventional cultural values and class structure involving differential access to opportunities afforded to individuals toward the pursuit of their goals (Merton, 1938). To Merton, anomie is an individual’s feeling of internal disequilibrium resulting from the perception of the valued goals of the cultural structure and the means at the individual’s disposition to attain those goals. This is still unclear, however. Is anomie the individual’s disequilibrium, or is it his or her perception of unattainable goals given the institutional means at his or her disposal?

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10 « le terme d'anomie renvoie a un certain type de déséquilibre interne a la structure culturelle, a savoir une forte valorisation des buts et une faible définition normative des moyens utilisables pour atteindre ces buts. Mais l'anomie est-elle le résultat de ce déséquilibre ou bien en est-elle constitutive étant la contrepartie nécessaire de <l'exaltation de la fin> qui engendre une << désinstitutionalisation des moyens >> (Besnard, 1988, p.136).
Enter Leo Srole. In 1956, Srole developed the first scale of anomie. His goal was to expand upon the theoretical underpinnings laid by Talcott Parsons (1951), among others, in relation to Durkheim’s definition of anomie, and levels of social integration (Srole, 1956). He believed that by placing anomia opposed to eunomia (a well ordered condition in a state or society) on a continuum he could then measure individuals “integratedness” as they are viewed, “in the total action fields of their interpersonal relationships and reference groups” (p.710). Although the Srole Scale has been extremely popular in social science research ranging from anomie in the ghetto (Wilson, 1971; Kapsis, 1978; see also Wasef, 1967), to anomie of police chiefs (Hayes, Rigolli, and Hewit, 2007), it has yet to be proven consistent.\footnote{Consistency was chosen instead of reliable because statistically, the scale is reliable and is therefore statistically useful, it may be less useful sociologically. Others have chosen to use pieces of the scale, but not the entirety. “The Srole (1956) anomia scale is another candidate for inclusion in this review. However, though it contains an item or two relevant to social isolation, more of the items deal with feelings of futility, meaninglessness and despair. One attempt to associate it with social involvement (Bell, 1957) showed only a weak relationship. In any case, studies with this scale have had mixed and largely negative results in correlating it to urbanism (e.g., Nelsen and Witt, 1972; Mizruchi, 1969; Killian and Grigg, 1962; Nelsen and Frost, 1971). On Urban Alienations and Anomie: Powerlessness and Social Isolation Author(s): Claude S. Fischer Source: American Sociological Review, Vol. 38, No. 3 (Jun., 1973), pp. 311-326 Published by: American Sociological Association}

In my view, there are several inconsistent factors inherent in the use of the Srole scale. First, the population tested was predominantly white. So they were asked about their views of how integrated immigrants or persons of color were in American society. Obviously, this may be interesting, but it has nothing to do with how immigrants, or minority citizens themselves feel about integration. Secondly, the scale was constructed based on notions from Merton’s means-end analysis, which has already been shown to be ambiguous, and was treated as such in Srole’s piece. Lastly, Srole reasoned that he could construct his opinion-poll as a, “measure of interpersonal alienation or "anomia"” (Srole, 1956, p. 712). Alienation is not anomie, and vice-versa. In short, Srole may have been very adroit at constructing the poll, but he was less skillful in his theoretical foundation. In fact, Besnard affirms these interpretations of Merton and Srole;
Durkheim's anomie differs considerably from Merton's concept of anomie. As you know, Merton's concept refers to, or seems to refer to, the lack of means to reach a determined and even prescribed goal. Even more opposite to Durkheim's anomie are the various anomie scales which have been so popular, and especially the anomia scale elaborated by Leo Srole (Besnard, 1988).

Following Merton and Durkheim, Talcott Parsons sought to ameliorate the educational system utilizing sociology as a tool for understanding the problems facing youth in the United States. Correspondingly, he saw the human condition as committed to exerting maximal effort in the interest of valued achievement under a system of normative order (Parsons, 1962, p.101). What is perhaps most interesting is that he saw the system, consisting of morals and laws, in sluggish and irregular state of continual reorganization. This movement opens the door to ill-defined expectations which require individuals to make autonomous decisions, “but also in the sense that, where people feel there ought to be guidance, it is either lacking altogether, or the individual is subject to conflicting expectations that are impossible to fill at once” (Parsons, 1962, p. 113). It is this condition that Parsons defines as anomie. Furthermore, it is this condition, manifest in schools, which affects those most in need of structural guidance.

In the case of the school, there is a markedly greater acceptance of the evaluation of good school work and its importance for the future. This, of course, is associated with the general process of educational upgrading, particularly with the competition to enter good colleges and, at the next level, especially for students at the better colleges, to be admitted to graduate schools….The main exception is in the lowest sector\(^{12}\), where the pattern of delinquency is most prominent and truancy a major feature. This is partly understandable as a direct consequence of the upgrading of educational expectations, because it puts an increased pressure

\(^{12}\) [inserted by author] lower sector refers to SES, which has been shown in several studies to be a causal factor in anomie See, Reimanis p.247. Leonard (1977) found that education, work status, occupational prestige, and yearly income were strong correlates of anomie.
on those who are disadvantaged by a combination of low ability, a nonsupportive family or ethnic background (Parsons, 1962, p.115).

Parsons goes on to illuminate several other concerns affecting the school structure including, race relations and identity. Parsons believes that problems of identity formation are, "wholly natural and to be expected in the light of anomie" (p.119). The problems he discusses relate back to the original definition of education espoused by Durkheim. He astutely sees the problem of identity formation resting on the shoulders of the teachers (adults) who transmit old, for lack of a better term, socio-cultural knowledge. The role of identity formation is extremely pertinent to this discussion, yet must be tackled at a later time as time permits.

The present work is on how anomie serves as a link between delinquency and violent behavior in schools and poor social integration. Parsons has opened the door to a critical analysis of the school system as a segue to a criticism of the larger society; a considerable amount of the literature on the relationship between schools and society sees schools as perpetuating pre-existing social inequalities. Bowles and Gintis’s correspondence theory (1976) proposes that schools function as socializing agents in preparing students for their placement into the larger status-hierarchy; those with larger amounts of human, social, and cultural capital will be sorted, prepared, and credentialed for leadership positions and professions, while those with lesser amounts will be prepared for subservient, powerless (working class) positions (Bowles and Gintis, 1976; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Eckert, 1989). Collins’s Functional and Conflict Theories of Educational Stratification (1971) maintains that the main activity of schools is to teach the particular status cultures of the larger society; the social stratification and inequality apparent in the larger society, then, is reflected in the academic institutions. Schools do not
‘introduce’ inequality, but instead validate and reinforce pre-existing arrangements of the larger society.

Inequalities are therefore imbedded in social structures and are perpetuated by the structure. Structural violence is defined by Galtung (1969) as, “violence that is built into the structure as unequal power and consequently as unequal life chances” (p.171). The structure is predicated on the idea that those with power have control over resources such as education and health care. Moreover, those in power are also the decision makers in the distribution of those resources. The effect is later manifest in internal violence and external violence. Wacquant elucidates three main components of structural violence;

1. **Mass unemployment**, both chronic and persistent, amounting, for entire segments of the working class, to *deproletarianization* and the diffusion of labour *precariousness*, bringing in their wake a whole train of material deprivation, family hardship, temporal uncertainty and personal anxiety.
2. **Relegation to decaying neighborhoods** in which public and private resources diminish just as the social fall of working-class households and the settlement of immigrant populations intensify competition for access to scarce public goods.
3. **Heightened stigmatization** in daily life as well as in public discourse, increasingly linked not only to class and ethnic origin but also to the fact of residing in a degraded and degrading neighborhood (Wacquant, 2008, p.25).

The final component of structural violence is the socio-cultural reproduction of stigma. This means that structural violence also has an obvious impact on an individual’s perception of their environment. The psychological impact of structural violence is further clarified through the work of Frantz Fanon in his book, *The wretched of the Earth*. Fanon tells us that, “when the native is confronted by the colonial order of things, he finds he is in a state of permanent tension” (Fanon, 1963, p.52). The psychological understanding that Fanon posits is the foundation for a source of *intrapersonal violence*, an unconscious self reflexive form of violence,
which results in other forms of violence within the ghetto and against the external power structure. It should be noted that intrapersonal violence is the extension of psycho-social form of anomie.\textsuperscript{13}

**Identity model formation.**

If anomie can be defined as a person’s ill-defined perceptual view of socio-cultural disequilibrium then, person’s perceptual view becomes ill-defined when their perception of symbolic violence reaches its pinnacle. It is at this point that psycho-social bonding cannot occur, and other paths are taken. In her influential study, Goldstein confirms that students and teachers could name the dehumanizing symbolic and institutional power and violence in schools (2005, p.46). How individuals consequently define and react to what they perceive is dual in nature and is instrumental in peace identity formation. This can be likened to the state of social alternative paths founded in the literature pertaining to white (Knowles & Peng, 2005; Croll, 2007) and African-American identity (Moore, 2008; Wiggan, 2008) in the United States.

It is in fact, a reflection of and by the individual of the socio-cultural norms regulating an individual’s behavior. This is most predominant in delinquency statistics related to schools, yet is not strictly confined to schools. Anomie is, as defined earlier, grounded in the evolution of society. It is therefore as ever-changing as the current state of socio-cultural disequilibrium. In Durkheim’s time it was the advent of the Industrial Revolution; Merton the Depression; Parsons Civil Rights; today the advent of Environmental Sustainability, financial crises, cultural upheavals, migration-integration, and social injustice. Current states of social injustice are

\textsuperscript{13} Herr & Anderson (2003) state that, while violence and school safety are near obsessions in today’s schools, the origins of violence are undertheorized, and that it is this lack of theorization (and understanding of current theory) that leads to the perpetuation of structural and symbolic violence. Vorobej (2010) also concurs with this statement through his work on structural violence.
perpetuated by 4 forms of violence; physical, psychological, structural, and symbolic. The former two can be conceptualized as personal direct violence. The latter two can be characterized as personal indirect violence. Indirect in the sense that the violence perpetrated is the result of socio-culturally constructed norms, regulations, and laws (see, for example, Quema, 2006). None of the models and figures mentioned account for the effects of structural and symbolic violence. Identity process models\textsuperscript{14}; moreover, reduce resistance and increase support for learners (McAlister and Irvine 2000). Therefore, based upon Knowles and Peng’s empirically based model of identity formation and social consequences, and the empirical and theoretical foundation presented in this paper, the following theoretical model can be formulated.

\textbf{Figure 2.1. Model of the formation and effects of self-norm group identification: Social Regulation}

\begin{itemize}
  \item Social Exposure to norm’s race
  \item Gender, class, & familial expectations
  \item religious perspective
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
  \item Linking concepts of self & norm
  \item Linking of Self and norm-group evaluation
\end{itemize}

Relational power

\begin{itemize}
  \item Action
  \item Integration/division distinctions
  \item Peace & Social Justice $\neq$ violence reaction
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{14} Further, research by McAllister & Irvine concluded with several recommendations for teacher educators regarding teaching identity process models. One of their conclusions includes constructing multicultural education courses, “using process models to decrease resistance and increase support for the learner” (2000, p.20). This further supports the above model as it is intended as an aid in understanding the psychosocial process involved in identity formation. So when educators subsequently speak of helping a child develop his or her identity they actually have a concept of how that comes about, and will be able to focus on concepts of positive self-image development.
According to figure 2.1, as an individual integrates into society anomie (indicated by the broken lines) plays a role as the psycho-social reflection of socio-cultural facts represented in the individual’s environment. It plays a role in regulating identity formation and individual behavior as evident in the bonding between the self and norm-group. Anomie is further regulated by an individual’s sense of relational power over one’s material and social environment. Theoretically, a positive self-image results from a strong sense of relational power, and low anomie. Moreover, a negative self-image resulting from an extreme anomic perception, poor identity antecedents, and low relational power, could result in depression, which has been shown to be a key factor in school violence (Favre 2007). In this sense, anomie becomes intertwined with Durkheim’s notion of social regulation, in which societal facts place limits on individual’s aspirations through normative or emotional definitions. I would argue that social regulation and anomie mediate the influences between the dialectic of social integration and deviant behavior.

**Peace Education under the Republican Model**

In France, the notion of peace has been at work since at least the 16th century. Epic writers and political figures such as Crucé, Castel de Saint-Pierre, Rousseau, Voltaire, Victor Hugo, Saint-Simon, and the *encyclopédistes* worked to lay the foundation for perpetual peace in a country that has been the backdrop for many of the great European wars, and of course revolution. It was at this time of revolution that one of the great theoretical works on peace was written by Immanuel Kant, *Perpetual Peace* (1795). This work, typically seen as the backbone for democratic peace theory, has been exulted (Oneal and Russett 2001), scrutinized (Henderson 2006), and transformed (Gartzke, 2007) into the very tangible peace theory it was intended to be.

Kant clearly saw the Republican constitution as the most important condition for a lasting peace. Under this system the country would retain its sovereignty while the citizens would remain free and
equal; creating a sort of social contract. As Mertens puts it, “every subject of a political community must be regarded as an autonomous co-legislator whose consent is required in order to legitimize the laws of a nation” (1995). The necessity for war is therefore no longer in play since all citizens are seen as equals. It is important to remember that the French republic was established to counter rule by monarchy, therefore putting the power into the hands of democratically elected government officials who oversee the organization of life in society; ensuring the principles of liberté, égalité, fraternité. For the French, the concept of peace can only be based on justice and human equality; the enlightenment of the people is both an instrument and a goal (Kende 1989).

Today’s France is a prime example of the interconnection between politics and education; and how the education system can be used as a tool of the state. According to Limage (2000), the French public school maintains its primacy concerning legitimate knowledge and the means to transmit it in the name of republican ideals of neutrality, secularity and equality. The main mission of the school is not only to instruct, but to produce enlightened citizens who develop an attachment to the Republic, while promoting economic and social progress (Prost 1968). Furthermore, moral and civic education, which replaces religious and civic education, leads each citizen to self identify with the common imaginary to which he or she belongs (van Zanten and Duru-Bellat 2002).

French public schools are seen as places where civic identity should be nurtured free of antidemocratic influences of the Catholic Church in the past and Islam in the present (Karsten 2006). Paradoxically, however, the practice of democracy and participation has virtually no place in the institutions where children spend so much of their time (from the ages of 3-16).

Ndura (2007) affirms that, “school violence at any level is symptomatic of a larger and more complex problem in schools and society.” While this literature review has attempted to shed a better light on these complexities, I would be neglecting praxis if I did not mention the central role of the teacher, and his or her pedagogical beliefs and actions. Reframing current states of injustice into forms of violence
allows us to understand the central role of the teacher as a peace educator who is charged with fostering the positive self-image of individuals in the classroom. In a resolution passed by the European parliament on juvenile delinquency point 13 states that it is imperative for states to offer suitable education to educators so they may better deal with heterogeneous classrooms that is preventative, and founded on solidarity- preventative of the production of stigma and marginalization of delinquent minors, and their classmates who are among the victims (Parliament 2007).

In France, there are glimmers of hope that peace education will become more prevalent in the future. The school Hélène Boucher located in the Lilloise banlieue is one success story of a ZEP school that 7 years ago only knew violence. Today, thanks to the proactive peaceful approach of the Freinet pedagogy, this school, which according to test scores, has made remarkable progress is now on par with departmental and national averages, even achieving above average in several areas. While utilizing student centered curriculum and notions of democratically formulated classrooms, what the Freinet pedagogy has done is to give students their positive self-image and a respect of others that is not normal in ZEPs (Noguès-Ledru, 2008).

The social milieu of school may provide a route for peace education efforts of this century. The work of cognitive psychologist and peace educator Daniel Favre is grounded in constructing respect in the classroom. He has come to the conclusion, through his work in the poorest French jr. high’s and high schools, that to recognize the student is to recognize him or her in each stage of their process of learning, and to help other students to give them this recognition (Favre, 2007). Each class is begun with a “what’s up” session where students can discuss whatever they want really. They may have researched a topic pertaining to the previous session. Students may have an amendment to their previous argument, or they may have new questions that can be approached in the classroom discussions and research. The teacher’s role is to provide guidance for specific research areas, act as a notetaker in order to “publish” the discussions for the class, and to, of course, keep the peace. The role of the teacher, who guides the class balancing standards and student driven content, is really that of a learning mediator.
In an influential chapter, Garnier (2006) asks the question: “Can the teacher be a mediator?” He believes that the teacher-mediator can bring more cohesion to a class by reducing the chance for equilibrium to be distorted. This action in turn puts more of an emphasis on the group dynamic and provides an escape from the “personification of conflict”. In this way, he says that conflict can be “envisioned as a social construct and not uniquely as a psychological problem” (Garnier, 2006, p.64).

Favre’s methods of argument include a goal statement that is posted in the room and every child knows; We all have good reasons to think the way we think and to act the way we have acted. A step further than what the previously mentioned studies have done, Favre incorporates guiding rules for argumentative sessions. These are:

1. Reaffirm that each person has good reasons to think what they think, having chosen their solution to the given problem.
2. We will discuss the minority positions first so they may have a chance to address their reasoning.
3. Some will be asked to restate in their own words the positions and reasons of others. This will be done to the satisfaction of the author (Favre, 2007).

The goal of these points is to truly immerse the students in a peaceful, respect oriented classroom in which the students are focused on making a sincere and deliberate effort to understand another student’s argument. Therefore, a peaceful classroom ecology is developed incorporating principles and goals for argumentation learning that pertain to listening and communicating effectively, and peacefully. More stemming from the field of peaceful argumentation will be elaborated upon in the future research section of this dissertation.
Chapter 3
Methods and Procedures

Type and design of study

This research employs a qualitative method of research following methods outlined in Bogdan & Biklin (1998). It involves an anonymous 13 question online and paper questionnaire as well as interviews of two focal groups; students with a focus on 2nd and 3rd generation French immigrants over 18 years of age, and teachers in the public education system of France. The respondents were voluntarily obtained through campus recruitment efforts at the University of Metropolis, and at schooling establishments within the Metropolis metropolitan area respectively.

The use of interviews in qualitative methods and interview steps is reinforced by Maxwell (2005). He states:
Decisions about research methods depend on the specific context and issues you are studying, as well as on other components of your design...Qualitative data are not restricted to the results of specified 'methods'; as noted earlier, you are the research instrument in a qualitative study, and your eyes and ears are the tools you use to make sense of what is going on (Maxwell, 2005, p. 79).

This quote reinforces the fact that a qualitative methodological approach was taken for this study. I wanted to immerse myself in the French culture, see classrooms and school building, and listen to teachers and students discuss their academic formation so that I could ask questions and find more interesting results. Although qualitative methods lend themselves to a subjective lens, I also thought it important to try and reach a separated state of objectivity, to treat the words of my data, and my own views as objectively as possible, as will be explained later in this chapter.

The use of a questionnaire and interviews was also supported by Galtung (1967) as he reiterates the point that questionnaires offer standardization to the social research process thus allowing for the analysis of “relatively homogenous samples,” (p.116). Where questionnaires are inflexible, interviews are just the opposite. Interviews allow for follow-ups, subtleties and non-verbal acts. This allows the interviewer to be sensitive by adjusting to the interviewee as warranted. It also allows the interviewer the unique chance of correcting misunderstandings. Galtung also makes it very clear that utilizing one of these methods does not exclude the other. He outlines that this is really an example of the importance in social research of not being undesirable, but rather finding the adequate method for the problem at hand or restructuring the problem so that methods can be fully exploited for their strong aspects (Galtung,1967).

This study employs the use of the online questionnaire where full paper questionnaires were difficult to distribute (e.g. small teacher mailboxes). The use of online questionnaires is not only practical, but has been recently shown to be effective for as a means of securing opinion on
process, content and philosophical issues (Glover & Bush, 2005). Using the online questionnaire was also very practical in the course of this study because it allowed for data collection even when I was not physically in France. In addition, it aided at several levels of analysis because I was able to see emerging themes as the participants began responding to questions. Any problems regarding translation issues or lack of responses due to ambiguity or lack of clarity were almost immediately remedied.

Positionality

To do fully understand the complexities of this situation and the people within the educational context, I decided that triangulating student and teacher perceptions through interviews and open-ended questionnaires would yield fruit as a way to uncover truth that others have not previously seen or understood. In order to do this I felt it important to take a Bourdieuan stance as a methodological perspective. Bourdieu is a structuralist and I take this stance as well. This means that the methods of study and data examination emphasize the importance of cultural-structural-institutional and functional relations as providing a large part of the social world in which humans live, and this structure is key in determining meaning and influencing human behavior. Boudieu’s perspective is that researchers need to recognize their own personal biases and take a position of what I have termed critical objectivism. Mills and Gale (2007) reflect this perspective as they note that, “Bourdieu transcends the seemingly antagonistic paradigms of objectivism and subjectivism by turning them into ‘moments of a form of analysis designed to recapture the intrinsically double reality of the social world’ (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, pp. 10-11)” (p.439).

I believe that my background and experiences have led me to fully embrace the Bourdieuan methodology put forth. It is intrinsically scientific as I am well versed in science
and scientific methods. It also allows me to be a balanced researcher. In other words, I am able to act as an agent within the context of study (subjectivity) and as a removed observer (objectivity). This is an important piece to my study as I, an American, will be attempting to uncover truths about a country other than my own, which although I feel adopted by the country and people of France, I do also realize that this outsiderness could have put me at a disadvantage. Therefore, it was important that I understand this and at some points embrace this notion as a sort of naïvité in order to afford participants a sense of power in the learning process. On the other hand, my background has also allowed me to engage with participants in their context with relative ease. The language, cultural references, and mannerisms were not new to me so, I felt comfortable in my approach to potential participants and participants alike. There were of course several moments of language ambiguity, however, these were consistently seen as reflective moments for the participants, and viewed during data analysis as important moments translating into a deeper understanding of the game (or jeu, in Bourdeuian parlance).

Another characteristic of a Bourdieuan methodology concerns its politics; in particular, Bourdieu’s insistence that researchers recognize personal biases that may blur the, “sociological gaze and acknowledge that these, as well as the historical, ideological moment in which they live will influence the direction of their research” (Mills & Gale, 2007, p. 441). What is therefore important is understanding how the cultural and political climates I have engaged in have influenced the questions I have asked participants in my study. Holding an historical and ideological mirror up to my thoughts in preparation for this study shows that the ecology of my past did influence the lens through which I examined the problems of the present. Consequently, my research will also reflect thoughts in the same vein in which the study was conceived, namely a study interested in correcting social injustices and promoting a culture of peace and
understanding in the world. This is yet another reason why I must walk the fine line between participant objectification and contextual subjectification as demonstrating methodological reflexivity will lead to fruitful results.

**Research questions**

A review of the literature has surfaced the problematic of finding the resultant complexities created by immigrants in French schools. There are three relevant and guiding questions for the current research that are proposed.

1) What are the psychosocial impressions left by social integration on identity formation?

2) What is the perceived role of teachers in acculturation of immigrants?

3) What notions of peace, conflict resolution, and mediation are taught in French schools?

**Participants**

The total number of individuals recruited for this study was N=125. For the questionnaire portion of the research, I recruited 88 University students to complete an online questionnaire. The fact that I worked at a University allowed me access to a student population that was eager to network and participate in the study. In addition, I planned on interviewing 15-20 teachers. Through my classes, recruitment efforts, and networking I was able to distribute over 5,600 recruitment flyers to all but one of the high schools, middle schools, and professional high schools in the Metropolis metropolitan area (defined as how far the city buses travelled). Further, I was able to informally discuss my research topic with almost 30 teachers, effectively piloting several questions I had constructed before going to France. However, I was only able to formally interview 3 teachers on record. In contrast, I collected 37 online questionnaires from
teachers throughout the Metropolis metropolitan area. This collection of data came from 4 out of
the 5 ‘academic’ high schools, 3 middle schools, and 2 professional high schools.

Data collection ceased when the data became redundant. Lincoln and Guba (1985)
recommend sample selection:

to the point of redundancy…In purposeful sampling the size of the sample is determined
by informational considerations. If the purpose is to maximize information, the sampling
is terminated when no new information is forthcoming from new sampled units; thus
redundancy is the primary criteria (p.202).

Eligibility for the teachers included the following; they must have been French citizens
and have taught for three years. Only three respondents out of the 40 total were eliminated
because they had taught for less than 3 years. In fact, the average respondent had 15.2 years of
experience. Students had to be French citizens and attend French middle and high school.
Recruitment material reflected a preference for immigrants and children of French immigrants.
91 students responded to the survey. Again, only three were excluded because they had not
attended a French middle and high school, or were not French citizens. Three teachers agreed to
a tape recorded interview. All interviews were conducted in confidentiality, and the names of
interviewees are withheld by mutual agreement. All translations from French to English were
made by the author.

Entrée

Metropolis, a pseudonym for the particular site of research, is a metropolitan city
conveniently located in the Eastern portion of France just two hours from Paris by high speed
rail. The city is also close to Luxembourg and Germany lending to a more international feel.
There are 123,000 individuals living within the city limits of Metropolis, with over 400,000
included in the surrounding suburban areas (INSEE, 2011). This site was chosen for three main
reasons. First, it’s not Paris. Almost every study focusing on the plight of immigrants in the French education system has focused on the Parisian banlieues. So, I wanted to go to a city that was large enough to have an urban and suburban population that was experiencing roughly the same affects on schooling that Paris was, but was also accessible.

Secondly, I chose this city because of its approximation to Alsace; a region of France that I lived in during my undergraduate days as a burgeoning French teacher. Teaching English in a high school in that region and interacting with the community members through sports and events really helped me build a rapport with the Alsace and Lorraine community. In fact, my French has had me mistaken several times for an Alsatian. This is important when interacting with French men and women because many of the people of Alsace and Lorraine – former German states- are very closed off to newcomers and warm slowly. However, when they warm to you they are some of the most gracious, helping, and welcoming people I have ever met. My command of the French dialect of this region was very important in surmounting the first hill.

The final reason why this site was so suitable, and the most important, was that through the efforts of Thérèse Migraine-George, Michèle Vialet and the French department at the University of Cincinnati, I was able to secure a position teaching English at the local University for a period of one year. This gave me access to a population of students over the age of 18 that would be helpful in my efforts to accumulate data. I was also fortunate to make connections with several professors, which afforded me greater distribution of flyers. Although the student population could be viewed as convenient, the college students were purposefully chosen based on their unique position as reflective individuals who have progressed through the French education system. It was important for this study to have participants who could provide a different point of view, who could describe their experience within the educational institutions.
High school students could not have provided the type of mature responses I was looking for because of their position inside the institution. It must also be noted that efforts were made to elicit the participation of a second local university, a teachers college, with access not granted. So, efforts were made to stretch the confines of the study.

Now, before I distributed any flyers or approached anyone about completing surveys or interviews, I first had to have approval of my sites. At the University of Metropolis I was granted access in short order, but for the high school teacher population the process of entrée took a bit more legwork. Within bussing distance, which I defined as the metropolitan area, there were 6 high schools, 3 professional and 4 academic, and 5 middle schools. I chose to focus on these 2 levels of schooling because the statistics on violence in schools were published on the web through the INSEE (National Institute for Educational Statistics) for these types of schools. I was granted access to distribute my recruitment forms in the teacher mailboxes in 3 academic and 2 professional high schools and 3 middle schools. This was accomplished only after speaking sometimes 2 or 3 times with the director of each school. In total I distributed over 5,600 recruitment flyers to students and teachers in Metropolis.

In order to be a little more specific, these recruitment flyers outlined a brief detail of my study. They contained information about me, the goals of the study, as well as the website for the online questionnaire. Once participants accessed the site they were provided with the full consent document approved by the Institutional Review Board at the University of Cincinnati. There was then a link provided to the questionnaire at a surveymonkey.com web location. Since all participants were over 18, and they were participating in an online questionnaire, there were no issues regarding participant consent as they give consent by completing the study.
After completing the questionnaire, participants were provided with my contact information and asked if they would like to discuss their experience in education in further detail. This was an invitation to an interview. Only 3 teachers, and no students consented to take part in the interview portion of the study, which is not surprising due to the open-ended nature of the questionnaire.

I communicated with the 3 teachers that did consent to participate in my study via email and phone calls. Consent forms were communicated electronically. Further, as I was no longer in France, a Skype interview was set up at the convenience of the participant, and electronically recorded. These interviews were immediately transcribed and analyzed for preliminary coding. After the third interview no further efforts were contrived to elicit more data for the study. This was because of the physical space that separated me from France, and the rich, yet redundant data collected through the online questionnaire. For this study, time and resources were limited. The research could have really benefited from one more year of interview collections in France, however, many other informal discussions confirmed the reliability of the interview and questionnaire data collected.

Each of the interviewees will be sent a transcription of their interviews. Responses will be encouraged in order to foster an interactive and almost collegial dialogue about the data. This part is important to me as I would like to not only make sure that my transcription of the French is accurate, but also it will be an attempt to allow for further clarification and detail regarding any specific areas about which the participant may have wished to speak further. As each interview ended I also told them that I would share any findings with them, although I would have to translate the dissertation or perhaps a synopsis of it. They were happy to help with the study.
Procedures

After reading the information sheet or recruitment form, potential participants were provided the paper questionnaire or the web address of the web-based survey http://etudiantsMetropolis.blogspot.com. In this case, it was possible through my professor contacts for some classes to receive the paper form of the questionnaire. If they chose not to complete the paper form they also had the opportunity to go to the website at their convenience. From there, filling out the questionnaire was taken as the participants consent to participate in the study.

Participants were informed upon completing the questionnaire that they may complete a follow-up interview if they desired. If they chose this option, posed at the end of the questionnaire, a consent form for the interview was provided via a reply emailed attachment. The potential interviewee was instructed in the email to read and bring the consent form with them to the interview. The interviews were arranged through email at a public location, and time, convenient to the interviewee.

Data collection and Analysis

Given the paucity of qualitative studies on French schools, it was difficult to find exemplars of qualitative research on French schools. Specifically for this study, I focused on the multisite approach by Eric Debarbieux et al. (2000), and to a smaller extent the qualitative work by Vienne (2003). These studies, along with the work on mediation supported by Garnier (2006), provided many of the theoretical categories questions were designed to answer. The intent of this design was not to explicitly match up students and teachers remarks; instead it is focused on obtaining the perspectives of those engaged in the middle/high school situation and those
recently removed in order to compose a larger representation of social life within the schooling establishment. The complete questionnaires are located in the appendix.

The results of the questionnaires, interviews, and field notes were first analyzed through a constant comparative method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), which is a research design for multi-data sources. The goal of this method to help develop an understanding of the interaction between the social milieu, identity formation, and the role of teachers seen through a lens of peace.

According to Glaser (1978 in Bogdan and Biklin 1998), there are six steps involved in the constant comparative method of theory development. First, I began to collect the data. Second, I looked for key issues, recurrent events, or activities in the data that become categories of focus. Third, I collected data that provide many incidents of the categories of focus, with an eye to seeing the diversity of the dimensions under the categories. I wrote about the categories I explored in the relevant literature, attempting to describe and account for all the incidents I have in my data while continually searching for new incidents. Fifth, I worked with the data and emerging model to discover basic social processes and relationships. Lastly, I engaged in sampling coding, and writing as the analysis focuses on the core categories.

With the sheer amounts of data and space covered to collect data for this study, it was also important to develop connections among categories. This connecting step is essential for building the resultant theory from this work (Maxwell, 2005). In other words, it is not enough to solicit data, code, write, and categorize (and repeat). In order to form a better understanding researching my questions through qualitative analysis, I had to be able to reflect upon the connections within and between the categories formed through the data analysis. This type of analysis leads to meaningful theory development in which all data and voices can be accounted for under the context of the social milieu.
After completing the initial analysis as described above using colored pencils, data from the questionnaires were inputted into a code frequency matrix. The use of matrices is desired as a means to developing quality criteria parallel to quantitative processes (Huberman & Miles, 1994). It is also thought that this type of analysis would yield a clearer structural view of the data. Matrices were used to organize the frequency of codes given within the participant data. Once the number of different codes was exhausted for that particular question, then the data was examined a second time for the purpose of relabeling and organizing the codes. In essence, the frequency of the codes was obtained and the codes were analyzed against the questions asked for further theme development under the theoretical concepts of identity, systemic effects, and peace. These themes were then analyzed under the auspices of Bourdieuan methodology developed previously in this paper. This structural analysis guided the examination of the data and was instrumental in the discussion.

Validity

I was also concerned with the concept of validity especially considering this is a qualitative design that cannot readily enjoy a statistical treatment that explicitly shows whether assumptions were validated. According to Maxwell (2005), validity consists of strategies you use to identify and rule out alternative hypothesis (p.106). This “ruling out” is done after the data has been collected and theoretical propositions have been made. It must also be noted that before the data was collected, I thought it important that the data sample be indicative of the population. Therefore, I began researching the physical layout of the city and Metropolis to find out as much as possible about the different school venues. I wanted, and as evident in the numbers of schools, teachers, and students who participated in this study, and I achieved as close to a large breadth of sampling as I could possibly obtain. It was apparent from a study of the
social landscape and informal teacher interviews that the educational space a teacher worked in, or a student came from, would possibly make a difference in the kinds of data I would receive. I could have imagined a very in-depth qualitative analysis of only the 3 teacher interviews; however, a more valid picture was painted with the balance between breadth and depth (see Patton, 2002).

Maxwell also proposes two specific threats to validity: researcher bias and reactivity. In the case of this study, I felt it important to extensively review literature related to my topic in the context of the cultural milieu. Otherwise said, the literature review present in chapter 2 greatly reflects the current understanding of schooling in France, and most of the research was read in French. This was done purposefully as to reduce the American, or English influences on the data collected. For instance, it was apparent through discussions before delving into the literature that views on multicultural education between America, the United Kingdom, and France were going to be different. Therefore, I had to separate myself from the views of my own country, and those of the English speaking research landscape, because I assumed, and was correct, that this cultural research bias would be born out in the literature.

Conversely, the French literature gave very little mention to the multicultural fixes to problems of social integration by immigrants employed across the pond (and Channel). In fact, as outlined earlier, the fixes were economically based, social structure and family oriented, and cognitively sensitive. This view may not have been discovered if bias had been there. The same is true for the results and discussion chapters of this dissertation.

**Triangulation**
Lastly, considerations were made toward triangulation in order to best improve the validity of the interpretations of results. Patton (2002) notes that, “one important strategy for inquiry is to employ multiple methods, measures, researchers, and perspective – but to do so reasonably and practically” (p.247). This means that one needs to be aware of utilizing multiple methods to strengthen a study, but to be conscious of the restraints one may have. For this study, spatially I was constrained to one city in France so, it became important to gain multiple perspectives from multiple endroits in order to confirm or disprove this social data. Further, data was collected from teachers and students in order to elicit multiple perspectives on the same social context of school. The questionnaires were worded in such a way that allowed the teacher and student to reflect upon that context. The questionnaire and interview methods provided a multiple methods approach for data collection and further data triangulation.

Participants in the study were asked to review findings and give feedback during the course of the study in an effort to validate the accuracy of the information and determine whether it matches reality (Merriam, 1988). Member checks were conducted throughout the study through telephone and e-mail correspondence in order to clarify any conflicting statements or confusing data.

**Methodological Reflection**

The methodology proposed in this study provided a chance for me to reflect upon my subjectivity in an effort to reach a level of objectivity that allowed for closeness to the participants, their establishments, and their country while providing distance in between my thoughts and their words. In other words, the structure of the methodology allowed me to at once gain proximity and distance to the research. I also believe that the clarity of the procedures would allow for reproduction of the study in another town in France, or context in the world.
The rigors of conducting a study in a foreign country without any in-country faculty support necessitate a very simple methodological approach that has inherent structure that allows for an analysis that does not leave a lot of question as to the direction of the study. As for the direction of this study, the next chapter focuses on data analysis. This analysis was handled in two parts; first the teacher’s experience was taken into consideration in order to get a top-down view. Then, the student experience was analyzed to obtain a bottom-up view. Lastly, analysis within these experiences was broken into three sections of identity, systemic effects, and peace.
Chapter 4

Analysis of Findings

Data analysis for this project took place over about a year and a half. After the first round of descriptive analysis and preliminary coding, I began to see three emergent themes of identity, systemic effects, and peace. These themes moved forward into the second step in my data analysis, which was to apply an etic perspective within these themes. A Bourdieuan methodological lens approach (Mills & Gale, 2007) for coding and data analysis was appropriate given the context of the research: France, and my desire to examine structural connections to student *habitus* formation. This approach also allowed me to reveal issues related to social justice with a focus on peace within the educational context. The use of matrices under the structural approach of Miles & Huberman (2005) provided a structure for code frequency and concept mapping. I further categorized codes into Bourdieuan themes of *habitus*, cultural capital, economic capital and social/symbolic capital as appropriate.

Analysis began with the teacher’s experience. The teacher’s provide the crucial top-down analysis that is pivotal to understanding *habitus* as presented by the system. The teachers answered the question of what psychosocial content is presented, and to a larger extent, how is it presented. The second section of this chapter relays the student experience. The data presented herein are meant as a piece of the method of triangulation of the teacher data. How well does the student data corroborate with the teacher data? The last section under the heading of teacher and student experience is the theme of peace, which has become another reinforcement of the triangulation used to validate data contained herein. I began with the teacher data because it is
the teachers who are the first line between the state and the students. In order to form any theory about the effects of the system I felt it best to begin with those that teach the system.

**The teacher’s experience**

Teachers described their experiences in French schools through open-ended questionnaires (N=33). Three teachers also consented to interviews. All participants had to be born in France, and have more than 3 years of teaching experience in order to guard against the influence on the data of new teacher difficulties (Monde, 2011). Teachers who participated in this study had an average of 18.2 years of experience, 9.08 average years at their current building. Only three teachers who completed the online questionnaire were excluded from the data analysis because they had less than three years of experience. The description of teacher experiences revealed a pattern in their interactions and their view of the school ecology.

Through the coding of the data several themes emerged pertaining to teachers’ experiences: Identity Formation, Systemic Effects, and Student/Teacher Relationships. These larger themes were further broken down into smaller, yet significant concepts relevant to understanding the educational experience of French teachers and students.

I coded data from the questionnaire in a code frequency matrix. This matrix was used to organize the frequency of codes given within the participant data. The rows corresponded to the online questions listed below. The columns were not labeled with a particular label; instead the codes were written in the matrix in the order in which they surfaced through the data analysis. These codes were first found and labeled according to the participant data. Once the number of different codes was exhausted for that particular question, then the data was examined a second time for the purpose of relabeling and organizing the codes. In essence, the frequency of the codes was obtained and the codes were analyzed against the questions asked for further theme
development under the theoretical concepts of identity, systemic effects, and peace. These themes were then analyzed under the auspices of Bourdieuan methodology developed previously in this dissertation (Chapter 3). This structural analysis guided the examination of the data and was instrumental in the discussion. (See appendix A for the online questionnaire questions and interview guide.)

Identity.

The concept of identity was defined in Chapter 2 through the notion of *habitus*. As a reference point, *habitus* was defined through the work of Bourdieu as the dialectical cognitive construction of self-image. Further, the difference in *habitus* constructed between that of the family and that structured by a multiplicity of societal interactions; education, media, peers, etc…gives rise to a sentiment of “*l’incompréhension*”. Based upon this definition, several questions were asked of the teachers that attempted to flesh out how they affected the *habitus* of their students, and to what extent, if any, this created *incomprehension*.

There were two questions that pertained to the concept of identity formation which were questions three and five. Codes for the two questions are relayed in Figure 4.1 below. This figure shows the codes associated with teacher rapport. These codes are put on a line continuum that at one end has codes associated with negative rapport between teacher and students. And at the other end are codes associated with a more positive rapport seen through the eyes of the teachers. After the code label is the number of participants whose data aligned with that specific code. The data for question three is analyzed in depth following the figure.
The third question asked related to the rapport between the teacher and the student. This was asked in order to determine how the teachers interacted with their students. Overall, teachers had what they termed a pleasant or *bon rapport* with their students, and even their colleagues. However, responses from the open-ended questionnaire showed more nuances in their dealings with students. For example one teacher wrote, “Rapport relatively pleasant. Some of the students in difficult situations (especially for the CAP’s\(^\text{15}\)) but who wait for help, from where some rapport is often nice. Some students, on the other hand are always rebellious, and believe themselves to have nothing to do with high school, and who constantly show their aversion” (Participant 11, Lycée Professionel). This notion was echoed in the interview with Marie when she was asked how students express themselves in her class:

Let’s say that they take the place sometimes with violence or in some sort of anarchic way like that. They want to talk about themselves. We have some students that are very different. The problem is that they take all of the place in a class, and it’s necessary to have a little bit of place for each person so that’s a bit

\(^{15}\) CAP is a 2 year Professional High School degree geared toward academically weaker students.
Marie’s words speak to two profiles of student. One is a student whose boisterous identity overshadows the rest of the class, and one is a student who is overshadowed, and who already regulates their behavior. It is very interesting that Marie sees the act of identity formation as a social act that plays into the formative needs of a minority of students and vice-versa with the majority. Moreover, her comments show the problems faced by teachers who must control the educational space. In other words, teachers have the responsibility of allowing each student to grow yet, unruly, bordering violent, students force teachers to interact more with them than the majority of the students who Marie feels bad for because she cannot provide the same amount of individual attention as demanded by the more needy students.

Consistent with students showing their open dislike for school in the school environment, 8 teachers noted a certain level of conflict present between themselves and the students. The majority of these teachers were from the professional or suburban high schools. This was not necessarily surprising, although disappointing, considering the number of immigrant and low SES students attending these schools. Within this data, however, the notion of confidence was mentioned by 3 teachers working in ZEPs (Zones d’Éducation Prioritaire, or Educational Priority Zones) who mentioned that they had a good rapport with their students. The data consistently showed that even the teachers who have historically had good relations with their students have had more difficulties over the past several years. This may relate to the lack of motivation shown by the students, as was expressed by 5 of the participants. For example, Participant 7 explains, “So, over the past few years, I’ve had more and more classes or students
that pose problems of work, discipline, indifference vis-à-vis the education system” (Participant 7).

As hypothesized and reviewed in the literature, several teachers have noticed students in ZEP or unfavorable educational establishments as exhibiting a form of anomie. Anomie was defined in Chapter 2 as integrative disequilibrium. In other words, this is the name for the gap, or variance in *habitus* created as individuals attempt to acculturate into French society. It could then be said that when there is a low level of relationship built between students and teachers in ZEPs then there are motivation, discipline, and possibly violent reactions that occur as a result. This could also be mediated through confidence building and through shared cultural experiences. Both Marie and one of the participants reflected on the cultural understandings, or lack thereof, between themselves and their students. Participant 25 stated that it’s, “unequal: I have to succeed in interesting students that are more and more difficult [:] we have less and less cultural references in common.”

On the other hand, Marie exalted in learning culture and ideas from her students. Her courses, as a *centre d’accueil*, a welcome center, afforded her the opportunity to work with 1st arrival, or *primo arrivants* students. She explains that, “the students that we have, I believe that they also have a culture different from mine for example and I would really like for them also to bring something of who they are” (lines 216, 217). Marie reveled in learning more about the cultures of her students; “this cultural exchange is very important !” (line 215). From this we can see that because she was working specifically with immigrant students, and only immigrant students in this class, her mindset was that she was giving them a culture into which they were acculturating through their learning of the French language. As a means of valuing the identity of these students, Marie was willing to allow them to teach her something about their culture.
The dichotomy seen between the teaching styles of the participants and Marie is potentially at the heart of understanding how French teachers at once interact peacefully with their students while under the curricular heavy thumb of the French education system.

In order to gauge the extent to which this assertion rings true, I also directly asked the question of whether or not it is important to develop students’ identity, if so, how is this done and what role the teacher plays (Question five). The codes for question five were again organized in a structural chart that provides a better visual to understanding the data.

The figure shows that there were three tiers, or levels to teacher directed student identity formation. The top tier shows a clear and conscious understanding of teachers developing student identity. The two codes associated with this were an *esprit critique* and respect. While the former of these two codes might be associated with academic path high schools, the latter is most definitely associated with professional schools or educational priority zones (ZEPs). Tier two identity formation is what I would term a more systematic approach to student identity.
formation. It is apparent here that teachers do not try to go outside the boundaries of the curriculum, which is done by design and is also not surprising considering the teacher’s view of their role in the formation of students, which is mainly to transmit knowledge (see an analysis of question four). Finally, the third tier represents the lowest form of teacher intervention in student identity development. It can be surmised that these participants view themselves in a very detached role from the way in which students form their identity. A level of recognition is involved, but there is a definite lack of response.

I hypothesized that French teachers would be the exact opposite of American teachers when it came to a focus on the identity formation of the students. Once again, my assumption was incorrect for the majority of the participants in the questionnaire. Only 8 of the participants pointed to a negative response concerning a focus on identity formation. Half of these simply thought that it is too difficult to develop each student’s identity when there are too many students. These participants focused on their objective to be careful as to not create a too individualistic classroom, “la progression du groupe avant tout” (the progression of the group above all, Participant 15). This may be a result of the teaching methods utilized in the French classroom.

Most of the participants, 13 out of the 33, believed that the classroom methods they use provide an inherent framework for developing the identity and creativity of the student with several of these discussing the notion of speaking in class. To this point, teachers build in oral expressive outlets for the students so they feel confident, and have the opportunity to give and receive respect in the classroom. As one participant noted, “Usually speaking takes a lot of place during the class and I watch over how everyone expresses themselves and above all extend their ideas, justify them. It is a way to gain confidence” (Participant 14).
The immigrant question

One of the major questions raised in this study is how then are immigrants integrated, or acculturated into French society. The literature review showed that French immigrants are acculturated into society, which means that they must learn the societal norms of their host country while keeping their own customs in their personal life. It was found through the previous section that in the eyes of the teachers, identity formation is part and parcel of the learning process, whether it is built into the curriculum, or in the social interactions present in the classroom pedagogical methods. Therefore, it was pertinent to ask the question of what teachers have done to help immigrant students succeed in the classroom.

I asked the question, how do immigrant children do in your class, and what do you do to help them? Overwhelmingly, the theme that was evident in the data was that these teachers do not do anything special to help immigrant children. There were a combined 27 codes within the data that alluded to the participant either doing nothing in particular, or purporting the fact that these students do not need help. This to me was a very surprising find, but one that is consistent with the notions of identity formation. One participant’s remarks really summarized these findings. “They are considered no different from the others, without discrimination. If they wish to have some specific help then I give it to them in however possible” (Participant 6).

Even though there were a few codes that came up mentioning that the participants clearly re-explained ideas, provided a syllabus before the class started, or felt that it was their duty to integrate all students, these codes were drowned out by the participant’s blind eye to racial, or ethnic stereotypes. In fact several participants stated specifically that they either do not see any differences because they treat all students the same, or as one participant put it, “if I feel that it’s an alibi, I ignore it, I have the same attitude with the rest of the class” (Participant 13). In fact there were obviously several participants who stated that the immigrant students needed no extra
help at all, excepting the specific French courses. This was born out in the literature review as
well through the work of Bouteyre. Her work showed that the French Republican model of
education has actually seen 2nd and 3rd generation immigrants succeed in relation to their
language acquisition (Bouteyre 2004). This research not only confirms this, but actually shows
who these 2nd and 3rd generation immigrants are, and how exactly they are successful.

The interview with Marie provides more insight into this situation. In her interview, she
explained not only who these immigrants are, but also the role that the French education system
must play in helping them succeed. She gives us a little more insight than the questionnaires in
that the foreign student dérange the teachers, “they disturb them because they perturb the
teacher” (Marie, line 273). Students who cannot comprehend their teacher are obviously going
to make teaching a little more difficult on a daily basis, and need to have some form of
remediation. Or, as Marie says, “the educational system must make an effort in the sense that it
must welcome this student” (line 280).

From a pluralistic, American standpoint, this welcoming would have something to do
with language education and some form of multicultural education. In reality though it is not
through pluralistic notions of multicultural education that immigrants are succeeding in
acculturating into French society. It is through the assimilationist model that students from
European countries are succeeding, and in fact surpassing native French students. However,
there are more immigrants attempting to integrate into French society than just students from
European countries like Croatia, Bosnia, Albania, and the Balkans. There are also 2nd and 3rd
generation Muslim families from North Africa. However, it is prudent to conclude from this
research that the teacher participants truly see no differences in their classrooms. In fact, the data
show that they tend to view all of their students as French, and as one participant noted, “I don’t
know who is the child of an immigrant or who isn’t, I don’t want to interpret their last name” 
(Participant 20). This issue will be further discussed in Chapter 5.

As noted previously, the work of Oberti, van Zanten, and others, found that there are major economic constraints on students in ZEPs and professional schools. The impoverished, who often practice auto-exclusion, deviance, or violence perturb the ordinary functioning of the system and are often ignored when they position themselves into devalued social mechanisms or educational options (van Zanten, 2006). Silberman, Alba, and Fournier (2007) and Vienne (2003) have shed further light on the discriminatory practices of the French marketplace. Through this research and the work of others (see Bonelli 2008) we find that the difference between the minority of banlieue- working class and petit bourgeoisie- adolescents and the wealthy adolescents who succeed is that the poor must look for material or symbolic supports in their familial, local, or educational environment.

This notion however is further complicated as immigrants are not coming to France for economic purposes apart from the “potential” for a better life. After the great wars, during the industrial revolution, France needed immigrants to work in the factories and fields. And, the immigrants came to work. Now, “immigration has become immigration to bring people in and not when there is work at the end” (Marie, line 261). In other words, immigration to France is focused primarily on humanitarian efforts of organizations bringing individuals in from war torn countries, or the focus is on uniting family members. Therefore one can conclude that there is an inherent lack of local support, and familial support (Safi, 2008). It has fallen upon the shoulders of the education system to aid these individuals psychologically and socially. The former simply cannot be accomplished under the current complexities of teaching in the French Republic.

Whether or not teachers must bear the burden of specifically nurturing each student’s identity so
they are better prepared to acculturate life in France is debatable and better left for Chapter 5. The latter, social development will be fleshed out in the next section examining the systemic effects.

**Systemic Effects.**

« *En tous cas, on est français!* » - Marie, line 257.

“In any case, we are French!” - Marie, (authors translation).

The French education system is a top-down oriented system. This means that the schools are literally directed by congressional government actions which inform both teacher practice, and student knowledge. The effect of government action is clearly seen in the almost perpetual movements and strikes carried out by workers for the SNCF (the train workers), and other government ran companies like the post office, and Air France. Teacher strikes are common as well. During my two years teaching in France, I have had at least a combined 2 weeks of work stoppage due to unrest created by the teacher’s union. What is ostensible in the adult world contains less clarity when it involves the students.

As has been seen through the previous section, all students in the France classroom are viewed as French. There were several reasons noted for this ranging from the view that this is less discriminatory to keeping the focus on the progress of the group as a whole. It is easy then to imagine that this blind eye to differences amongst students has some sort of effect on the student. One positive effect that has been mentioned is that a specific immigrant population of new arrivals is actually outperforming their French peers. A reason for this could be that the students in this situation have already learned a certain amount of knowledge and they are able, once they learn French, to take advantage of a system that is laden with opportunity.

Marie explains that:
It is more the *la fait humaine* that the educational system must bring to a foreign student, an immigrant, than the establishment of knowledge. And I believe that that is how he should be integrated. So, he must live in an academic system that doesn’t interest him. The system does recognize what the students live. They have a plan for foreigners. One can obtain a diploma in France, and take courses at the University. (lines 288-293)

As an outside observer, and one who is analyzing the context, it seems to me that teachers are an extension of government will. And, it is the content, or modes of instruction that are demotivating for students. This analysis is really too simple though because Marie points out that the system does understand the lived experience of the student, even though from a systemic point of view all they have provided for students to succeed academically are remedial French language classes. From her interview it was clear that beyond language acquisition, compassion and understanding were key factors in student integration. This would seem to be extremely important in a socialist system that takes care of its citizens, and working immigrants, the way the French system does, which is really well. Another interesting part of this quote is an apparent lack of motivation inherent in the system. This fact points exactly toward what this research intends to provide; the lived experience of a French student. I hope to provide through the subsequent paragraphs a conceptualization of the systemic source of this demoralization. So, what is the lived experience of French students under the system from the teacher’s perspective?

*Lessons learned*

The French student first learns distance. When teachers were asked to describe their rapport with students, 3 teachers referred to keeping their distance from the student, which one teacher described as, “absolutely indispensible” (Participant 3). The effect of this is that students learn that there is little or no compassion between themselves and the state. Considering that immigrants have lower language skills that native French, and possibly different cultural and
religious expectations than what they encounter with their friends at school, immigrants may only have interactions with their teachers.

The distance created by the teacher may lead to conflict situations. Eight teachers related that they had students that pose problems in their class. As one teacher from a ZEP school noted in reference to his/her students, “they are often turbulent, but not violent” (Participant 21). Another participant from a professional school shed more light on the subject by stating that, “students in the LP [Professional High School] are from a disfavorable milieu, often poorly educated and one has to teach them how to act in society” (Participant 6). This means that students at professional high schools are barely taught their profession. The implication by this participant is that professional schools, populated by a majority of 2nd and 3rd generation immigrants, are in fact teaching students how to behave themselves in French society. This directly relates to Bourdieu’s claim that French schools educate concepts of cultural capital.

French students learn cultural capital. Cultural capital, while very complex, can be summed up as an individual’s way in which they see and experience the world (Mills & Gale, 2007). It is composed of an individual’s educational, social, intellectual, and artistic knowledge, which is continually utilized by the individual and evaluated by others within social structures, like the classroom. Bourdieu focused on cultural capital in his analysis of gout, or “taste”. In other words, individuals of higher cultural capital have a more refined taste for food, wine, art, etc…, and a person’s taste in these things, or lack thereof, leads to advancement in society or conversely to the person’s detriment (Bourdieu, 1979). As Bourdieu explicates in La Distinction (1979), immigrants in today’s France face steep odds in their quest to achieve the credentials necessary to legitimize their cultural capital and climb the social ladder. Cultural capital
accumulation in the school is also instrumental in social reproduction, as examined in Chapter 2 (see Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977).

In the case of school, the system wants students who are knowledgeable. This is evident in the huge amount of cultural capital obtain through the BAC (or bacalauréat). This credential provides for the student, and the teacher as the former must pass it to move forward in society and the latter must get the students to pass it in order for them to view their job done as successful. “The teachers must reach a certain point in the curriculum,” Marie tells us (line 78).

The effect on the student is that there is, again, very little time for identity formation. Perhaps better said, there is little time for a positive or complete identity to be formed. This point will be examined further in the conclusion.

The system wants hard-workers. The system does not receive hard-workers. There were 4 teachers who, when asked what they would change about the educational system, noted that they wanted to do something different that would make students more hard-workers. One participant said that he/she would change the system, “to be more demanding with students that don’t want to work” (Participant 13). The lack of motivation of students is directly related to this conversation as it came up again and again in the teacher data.

*From lessons to motivation*

Participant 7 wrote, “the past few years, I’ve had more and more classes where students pose problems of work, discipline, and indifference vis-à-vis the scholastic system.” This participant speaks directly to the problems posed in this research as students, especially recent classes, have shown a lack of hard-work and self-discipline. I think it is extremely interesting that the teacher was quick to point out that the source of these student problems is in relation to the system itself, and not simply his/her classes. The participant clearly sees the larger picture,
which is the direct effect that the system has on the students. Moreover, several of the effects are indifference, lack of motivation, and a lack of discipline.

Several other teacher participants remarked at the differences they have seen in the students over the past few years regarding a lack of motivation. “You have to interest the students and it’s becoming more and more difficult. We have less and less of common cultural references” (Participant 25). The participant not only reinforces the notion of the changing student population, or psyche of the student population, but also brings up the idea that having common cultural references seems to be important in motivating the students. Regarding the student population, it is clear from the data that an already demotivated student is entering the classroom. One could surmise that either something has changed in the lives of these students that has devalued the work done at school. Or, when the cultural reference data is also included, perhaps students are being de-motivated by school.

The lack of motivation expressed by Participant 7 was echoed by Participant 11 who taught at a professional high school. This participant spoke about what a nice rapport he/she often had with his students, but “some students on the other hand are always rebels and who believe that they have nothing to do with high school and who show themselves as fighters” (Participant 11). We can see that it is not all students who lack motivation. The same could be said from my experience in public high schools in America. However, the fact that the previous participant discusses this in relation to his rapport with students means that this behavior is significantly manifest at his school to relate this to this study.

The problem of motivating students is not new to educators, but in the case of France we can see through the data that there may be clear structural causes – related as forms of structural violence defined in chapter 2 – that can be taken as causal determinants of student achievement.
For question 10, I asked teachers to reflect upon what changes they would make to the French education system. Marie stated that, “the system must adapt to real life. I find that sometimes school lags behind real life, reality. How will school prepare them to become autonomous?” (lines 362-364). This sentiment was echoed in the online questionnaire data collected. Participant 1 wanted the daily school structure to become closer to that of companies. Participant 2 believed that, “in order to interest the students one must do experiments in science, and utilize informatics (internet, computer equipment).” Participant 9 noted that the system has to, “evolve with its public and follow the evolution of society.” Participant 5, who had 25 years of experience, wrote:

   Society changes and our teaching changes little, the students are bored and do not handle the work effort. Everything is done for a society of leisure and we force the youth to work. More and more they know that unemployment is waiting for them and its anxiogène. It would take more teachers, psychologists, etc... to talk with the youth and motivate them.

   This quote really reflects the overall concepts talked about in the previous paragraphs. The participant exhibits the dialectical tension that takes place in the interaction of students and school. Students are not motivated to succeed in school because the promise of the credential, passing the BAC, is not motivating enough to some students who are aware of the societal constraints, or lack of opportunities present in the awaiting job market. Additionally, this data suggests that the lack of motivation is more pronounced in the ZEP and professional schools. On the whole, this makes sense in the light of Oberti’s work defining these social spaces as the causation of segregated educational spaces reflecting, and reproducing social inequalities. In essence, Oberti’s work paints the picture of stigmatized neighborhood schools populated by poor/immigrant families who can neither transport to a different school, nor use private schools
because of the cost. The effect is also seen in the *cité* (public housing complex) where animosity, violence, and disillusionment exist as aspirations for social mobility dissipate (Bonelli 2008).

Van Zanten states that the educational experience in the “mauvaises classes” of segregated establishments exists because there is a “chahut anomique”, or anomic disarray, that teachers are powerless to control (2006, p.251). In Bourdieu’s terms, the difference in *habitus* constructed between that of the family and that structured by a multiplicity of societal interactions; education, media, peers, etc…gives rise to a sentiment of “*l’incompréhension*”. A number of teachers questioned and interviewed in this study proved the veracity of Van Zanten’s statement, however, what was most interesting within the data was that teachers made a distinction in the rapport they have with individual students and with a class of students. In other words, teachers focused on the poor actions of specific students resultant from class socialization. Therefore, the process of integrating into the classroom environment can create psychological conflicts that arise generate a state of “integrative disequilibrium”, or anomie. Anomie is fully explored in the second section of Chapter 2.

**Peace**

*One cannot know peace, if one does not know war*” - M.K. Ghandi.

Thus far I have written about two of the central themes of this research, namely identity formation and systemic effects on students in the French educational system. It cannot be lost that while the research undertaken is viewed from a Bourdieuan perspective, it must also be known that viewing the data from a peaceful perspective is equally important because it gives us a lens through which there is methodological reinforcement of the analysis. The focus of this research now shifts into this theoretical lens in order to discover notions of peace taught in French schools. It must be said that the hypothesis before doing this research was that there
would be little or no notions of peace taught in schools, even though the French have shown themselves to be generally opposed to war, at least within the last two decades. The aversion to war could have been simply political, but as someone who lived in France at the beginning of the second Gulf war, I saw something more.

The question guiding this research is what notions of peace, conflict resolution, and mediation are taught in French schools? The point to asking this question is to gain a better insight into what, if any, notions of peace are espoused by the Republic. In order to answer this question I asked the teachers two questions that directly related to the topic at hand, although the entire data set was analyzed from a standpoint of peace I wanted to ask a clear and upfront question about peace. The first question was, “do you teach notions of peace or peaceful conflict resolution? Why, why not?” Almost half of the participants denied outright teaching any notions of peace, which was not surprising as the data became clear. As one participant said, “this is not part of my teaching content” (Participant 2). It is, however, part of the program for French, History/Geography teachers (Participant 1, 7, 10, 21, 22, 27), and Business classes (Participant 26).

Furthermore, history class in the Republic is shown through the data to fully embrace the notion of peace. Several participants noted that they explicitly taught notions of peace within the context of learning about wars. “the teaching of peace is one of the fundamentals of teaching in France in history/geography” (Participant 21). Other participants who demonstrated firsthand knowledge were even more specific about how they approached the subject they taught from a peaceful perspective. In teaching about international relations, one participant teaches students to, “look at denouncing unequal, forceful relations” (Participant 22). The same participant helps students see through film critique and analysis how, “war is degrading and that it deprives those
that conduct it, and those that suffer it of their humanity.”  The conclusion we must make is that these participants, who almost without reservation teach history/geography, have a special insight into war. They have demonstrated through their words an understanding of the need to talk about peace the same as one talks about war (Participant 10). They have further demonstrated an emotional understanding of the atrocities of war. This understanding can perhaps only come from either living in the middle of conflict, or receiving firsthand accounts of the results that war has on a people. To this end, Marie noted that many of her students, the *primo arrivants*, come from Balkan states and Croatia (line 229). These students escaped the atrocities of war in search of a better life. As Marie says, “they arrive with a *vécu* [lived life]” (line 233).

What was interesting was that even if participants did not have notions of peace in their curriculum agenda many saw other opportunities to discuss how they indirectly teach peace. Most of these notions focused on building respect and tolerance of others.

As participant 6 states:

> The priority is the dialogue and mastering tensions without violence. The educator must for himself, as an adult and *détenteur* of certain knowledge and maturity that students do not possess, comport themselves as a model, particularly in this domain.

This quote is so powerful because it speaks to the teacher interacting with the students as a model of peace. While it is not clear from this remark the extent to which there is conflict in the classroom- although we can surmise from other participants that there is, “daily conflict that must be managed” (Participant 18), And, it is a priority to this participant to teach a general notion of peace that can be extended further into the community and in other social environments in which conflicts take place. This is exactly at the center of our understanding of the psychosocial effects of the French system. The participants viewing notions of peace taught in
their classroom as being transferable to other social situations is very important. As noted earlier, one participant wanted their students to examine international current events from a critical perspective of peace so they may denounce situations of force (Participant 22). Another participant wrote, “yes [affirming their teaching of peace], because it’s the base of life in society” (Participant, 25).

Participant 25 writes as if this view is a given in society- that this view is shared by all of French society. But, is this true, and if so where does this come from? Is it because France has survived so many wars that the people have finally had enough and learned their lesson? The data suggests that there is more to the story than that. In the data above, one participant (22) spoke of humanity, and how war strips the humanity of participants within the conflict. Marie also related her understanding of the world on a human level. She said about immigrants that they bring more to the conversation, “they light a different pre-established relation, … it’s a relation that is more humaine, more humanistic” (lines 220, 221). The notion of treating fellow humans as brothers (or sisters) is not only one of the cornerstones of the French Republic, fraternité, but it is also a key component in peace. Most view the French Republic as promoting freedom, but not when that freedom impinges of freedom of individuals especially when it comes to religion. They also see the Republic as promoting equality while restricting individuality. This research concurs with this understanding. But, what all of the research to date has not done, while being critical of the Republic, is find a glimmer of positive, which is that the Republic also stands for brotherhood; respect for others because we are all of the same race, the human race. As one participant wrote, “tolerance and opening the mind, the understanding of others are some of the values that have never been more urgent to defend” (Participant 24).
Conflicts in the classroom.

The follow-up to the question of peace was a question aimed at finding out the practice of peace in the classroom. So, as the first question dealt with the theoretical stance of the teacher in relation to teaching peace, then the second asks how do teachers practice peace in the classroom? Specifically, I asked teachers how do you resolve conflicts in their classroom (question 8).

Again, there was no shortage of responses to this question. There were found to be two main forms of conflicts that arose in class with several subcategories. The following figure illustrates the responses.

![Figure 4.3. Teacher Perception of Classroom Conflict](image-url)
Figure 4.3 is first divided in two sections by a line that represents the separation between physical and oral altercations in class. Physical space represented by the worlds is important in the figure because it represents the proclivity of the data. For example, couple fights, fights occurring between boyfriend and girlfriend would only occur between students. There are 6 actions placed on the oral side of the line, while there were only 3 on the physical side. Concepts discussed with greater frequency were placed in polar opposition in perpendicular relation to the line. For instance, reporting a physical conflict to the C.P.E, or class principal, was mentioned several times and only in relation to physical altercations. Conversely, teaching knowledge of self-control was described in detail and only in on stances of oral altercations.

Let us first begin with the types of altercations. Types of altercations that are on the line are types in which students or teachers would engage in oral or physical altercations. According to the data, the only type that was mentioned to be clearly associated with physical altercations is fights involving girls (Participant 16). While this is a little out of the realm of this research, it is interesting to note that physical violence among girls in the classroom setting, which is a current topic in American educational research, is not being discussed in France. Further research would need to be completed to find if this is a significant finding of this research.

Other types of altercations include sources like stealing, or fights between couples (Participant 3, 10). The former relates to a common occurrence of petty theft that occasionally takes place in any school. Students bring in their newest electronic devices, leave them somewhere, and someone, who is perhaps not as fortunate as the other person takes the device for their personal use. The latter, which from personal experience occurs on an almost daily basis in any classroom, is a little more interesting because it speaks of conflicts that begin outside of school and spill over into the classroom. The most interesting comment for this
research was placed in the middle of the line. Participant 5 wrote that, “some conflicts happen between students of different countries or between impoverished who provoke the richer.” This speaks to the heart of matter that has been exposed in the previous section referring to the social effects of the Republic in that, students are manifestly aware of the structure of society. Further, they react to this structure with violence meaning that they believe the structure to also be violent. In other words, the violence structure of society is manifest in class conflict that occurs in the classroom. Secondly, this conflict extends to a conflict of identity. The participant mentioned that students from different countries were also involved in these conflicts, which is interesting considering the fact that the teachers purportedly turn a blind eye to the ethnicity of students, however, in this case the ethnicity of the student- the identity of the student- was the central focus of the conflict. This further relates to the concept of anomie discussed previously.

The final type of altercation to occur in French classrooms is the contestation between teacher and student (see Participant 6). There were no mentions of exactly how this conflict took place, either as physical or verbal. In point of fact, the data presented in Chapter 2 confirm that there have been many physical acts of violence or aggression aimed at teachers or their property, ie. cars. The present data neither confirm nor deny the existence of any physical violence directed at teachers, or the nature of that violence. One can only surmise that acts of aggression against teachers are not entirely out of the realm of possibility.

**Actions**

Teachers responded to conflicts in the classroom with many different reactions. The number of different reactions was fairly limited when examining their reactions to physical violence. These reactions included; reporting the matter to the *provisieur*, or principal, talking calmly yet firmly, and holding the student after class. The first reaction is probably the reaction
that makes the most sense in a classroom setting and most participants stated this reaction. Participant 2 surmises the reactions of the participants by stating how he/she tries to, “separate the protagonists, and in any case, I have to regulate the problem either by a penalty or by going to the CPE [principal] if it has gone too far.” These sentiments are not as cut and dry as the participants’ notions of classroom content. How teachers handle conflict in the classroom is seemingly not regulated by some sort of governing course of action or rules.

In fact, the next two reactions might seem to some as being too *laissez-faire* in the scheme of handling a violent conflict in the classroom. The act of talking calmly yet firmly to students engaged in a conflict seemed to be very important to the participants. Several noted how they try to re-establish calm in the classroom (Participant 10, 12, 20, 23, 27). In fact, one participant said that they put themselves, “between the students, I get them to explain what is happening, I try to understand and if the situation justifies it I penalize the student at fault” (Participant 20). This idea of putting one’s self between the students in a decisive manner is extremely pertinent to the theme of mediation espoused by Garnier. As exposed briefly in Chapter 2, Garnier’s (2006) understanding is that the teacher-mediator can bring more cohesion to a class by reducing the chance for equilibrium to be distorted. This action in turn puts more of an emphasis on the group dynamic and provides an escape from the “personification of conflict”. In this way, he says, conflict can be “envisioned as a social construct and not uniquely as a psychological problem” (Garnier, 2006, p.64).

So, as I further examine how the teachers react to conflict in the classroom I will be focusing on the notion of mediation. By placing his/herself in between the participants, trying to understand the conflict, and then enacting a decision, this teacher was acting as a mediator. Other participants showed a proclivity toward mediation as well especially as teachers turned to
verbal interventions. Participant 3 noted that, “to resolve or try to resolve conflicts, there is only dialogue it seems to me.” Participant 4 said that even though he/she rarely had conflicts, “I first calm the conflict and then try to privilege argumentative speech.” “I privilege always dialogue,” (Participant 7). “I can hold off the concerned students, and dialogue with them at the end of the hour, or take 5 minutes during class” (Participant 9). “In general, I regulate the particulars at the end of the hour” (Participant 14). “I dialogue conflicts in groups” (Participant 13). “I try to appease them as quickly as possible either by dialogue, or by authority (this depends on the degree of the conflict)” (Participant 26). Teachers for this study are clearly focused on the material that needs to be covered in their classroom. Several participants said that they push the conflict to the end of the class (see Participant 14 above), “in class I cut them short, I don’t have the time!” However, we can still see that the participant, like most of the participants, does see the value in some sort of verbal mediation.

Again, and again, the participants stated how they, using the “I”, were in a position to mediate any conflict that arose during the class period. This type of mediation was used in more oral conflict circumstances, and usually concerned conflicts between students. The participants definitely had a sense of power in their interactions with those promulgating a conflict. They not only would mediate the conflict, but they also used the conflict to teach notions of respect and tolerance- “I make it known to those interested that the reoccurring theme of tolerance that we approach together is not just a subject for discussion, but applies itself daily” (Participant 24).

Concepts like tolerance and respect are inherently peaceful. Moreover, from a Bourdieuan perspective, teachers are also teaching concepts related to cultural capital. On the street, or in the banlieue, students may resort to verbal and physical conflict as a way to cope with conflict situations. However, as one participant put it, conflicts arise as the “refusal of a
student to respect the rules of life” (Participant 17). What is so interesting about this is that teachers are at the same time modeling peaceful concepts of mediation, tolerance, and respect for human life, as they place verbal and physical conflicts in a category of lower class associated with disrespectful attitudes toward humanity. What does this mean for students who continually resort to verbal and physical violence in the classroom? What happens to students who do not internalize the lessons of peaceful argumentation they learn from the teachers?

Mediation.

The follow-up question to the question of conflict and how participants handle conflict in their classroom was a question on mediation. Following Garnier’s work, I wanted to know whether or not teachers saw themselves as mediators of knowledge or as mediators of conflict. I also extended the question to find out if the participants saw themselves as mediators in the school and in society at large. The reason for asking this extension was to see how teachers positioned themselves in society. Do they see themselves as Bourdieu, and others would see them, as reproducers of social and cultural norms.

The participants were not as forthcoming as they were with the previous two questions. Their answers were very court, in some cases only offering a “yes” (Participant 14), a “no” (Participant 11), a “not really” (Participant 2), or a “a little” (Participant 4). These responses led me to believe that my question was not well suited for the online survey format. However, some responses were insightful.

Participant 10 explains:

In the class, I try to never make things worse. When they have a problem with a student or a colleague, I invite them to find a solution to the problem with the person concerned. If they so desire, I offer myself (according to the gravity of the situation and only if it concerns a colleague) to be the intermediary. In school, I don’t feel that I am particularly a mediator. In society, I defend my role, but we often suffer from a bad image branded upon us: over paid, too much vacation, always on strike, always sick and never replaced.
Within this quote, I think that we find what others didn’t want, or have time to write. I also think we have someone who is particularly conscious of their position between students and between students and teachers as an intermediary. In the first sentence the participant notes that they never try to make things worse. This speaks volumes to the participant’s care for those involved in a conflict. They have a sentimental connection to the students and teachers with whom they work. The feeling of connectivity and caring is the beginning of peace. By stating that he/she invites concerned parties to find a solution, the participant is promoting peaceful measures of conflict resolution by bringing conflicting individuals to the same table to voice their concerns. Those involved must learn from this that as problems arise they must discuss what their problem is, and that the problem does have a peaceful solution. The participant further volunteers his/her time as a 3rd party mediator in order to facilitate peace.

What is probably most interesting is that the participant doesn’t see himself to be a mediator at the school. I would submit that the participant sees himself as a mediator of persons at a more humanistic level. He doesn’t get involved in every conflict, as evidenced by the quote in parentheses, “I offer myself (according to the gravity of the situation and only if it concerns a colleague).” Lastly, the participant does see himself less as a mediator and more on the defensive side of his societal role as a teacher. He has placed himself in on the side of the teachers-being a teacher-and therefore finds it difficult to take a neutral 3rd party stance. Along with the reasons why he defends this side of the aisle, he also shows the negative accounts of the opposition. He is obviously a skilled arguer because he not only sees the reasons for maintaining his position, but can also speak to the argument of the other position. It is of further interest that he puts teachers on the defensive, as being attacked. This has many social implications to be discussed in Chapter 5.
The Student Experience

Students for this study were also asked to complete an online questionnaire. The questions for this questionnaire were worded differently in an attempt to verify the details given by the teachers. Some questions were altered almost entirely so that students could reflect on similar topics. The teacher and student data, along with the current research literature provide the best efforts at triangulation of the qualitative data. The fact that the data come from students of all ages and backgrounds would facilitate the fact that data is as clear a representation of French students who were on an academic track through the French education system in the city in question. As a reminder, students were recruited from the University of Metropolis located in the same city as data collected from teachers for the current study. All students were over eighteen years old and they had to have attended high school in France. This was to eliminate students that only came to France to attend University as they would not be able to discuss their experience in the French education system.

Identity.

It was found through examination of teacher data that the majority of teachers turned a blind eye to the specific identity of students especially when it concerned the identity of immigrant students. While individual identity formation is not at the heart of the French curriculum, it was found that more teachers were inclined to aid students in developing their social identity than teachers who did nothing at all even though they recognized its importance. This means that teachers helped students learn notions of respect and self-presentation in order for students to be able to interact in society. It was also seen through Marie’s interviews that she desired to learn more about students; however, the curriculum did not lend itself to this type of
student self-actualization in the classroom. Through the teacher data we found that identity formation is synonymous with content knowledge, and learning what it is to be French and being able to interact in French society. In other words, teachers promote the forms of cultural and symbolic capital needed for success in French society.

While teachers are at the switch tracks of the Republican education system, students are on the train. Students were asked how much teachers helped them construct their identity. As found with the teacher data, many students noted that some teachers really had an impression on them. As one student wrote “some made a great impression on me; they established a dialogue with the students” (Participant 6). “Some professors helped me a lot by making me like the subject they were teaching. Others absolutely never tried to find ways to help me construct my identity” (Participant 7). These participants illustrate the varied nature of the interactions in the schools. On the one hand there are teachers who really help a lot. These teachers help the students “gain a love for the subject” (participant 27), and “develop an *esprit critique*” (a critical lens; participant 21). The teachers also “answer questions” (participant 18) and even helped one student “have faith in myself” (Participant 19). As participant 73 sums it up “it depends on the teacher but some do not show a lot of interest in our success, those who are truly interested are not numerous.” And on the other hand, some teachers didn’t help at all. “No teacher, I myself chose my lens and constructed my identity” (participant 56).

*Student-teacher rapport*

As a result of this analysis I felt it necessary to validate what students were conveying about their personal identity formation with the rapport they had with their teachers. Teachers’ comments from their survey questions revealed that their rapport with students was viewed as overall positive yet; the teachers also saw some problems with uncompromising and unmotivated
students manifest in anomic *habitus* formation. The teachers’ comments communicate a desire on the teacher’s part to develop a good rapport with students in the classroom through work in the content area, but to not develop any other sort of personal rapport with the student. Further, if there was not a good rapport it was more the fault of a lack of common cultural and social capital needed for discourse in the classroom. This final comment will be expanded in the student data below.

The student perspective suggested a sometimes good relationship, but also a relationship contingent on distance and social capital. Participant 75 termed her relationship as “classic”- “They teach us things, we listen and we question- no conflicts and no contact outside of class.” This comment implies that rapport means building a relationship with the teacher. “There is no real talking with the teachers” (Participant 9). “In middle and high school there are strict teacher student relations” (Participant 72). These quotes reveal a very impersonal classroom rapport, a rapport that centers on the role of the teacher and of the student as one who teaches content, and one who learns content. Furthermore, participant 5 was one of many who commented about the distant rapport that he had with his teachers, “there is kind of a distance with them.”

Conversely, there were students who commented about the “good” rapport they had with their teachers (see, Participant 2,4,6,10,12,15,…). The numerous good rapport responses were not without some conditions. Several of the students noted that good rapport was not shared with all teachers; “good with the ones who are nice and friendly” (Participant 40). “They are nice, some teachers are very close to use and try to help us succeed in our exams and some are colder” (Participant 39). Another participant ventured a guess as to the conditions necessary to have good student teacher rapport, “it depends on the attitude of the teacher in opposition to his class and the ambiance of the class itself” (Participant 46). These quotes unveil a student
perspective of teacher rapport that is laden with conditionality, which thus far seems to be predicated on academic success and student attitude in the classroom. These observations are not unlike the teachers’ responses which focused on academic success and the level of motivation of students.

There is, however, more to the data. As previously mentioned, it was put forth that one deficiency in the building of rapport between teachers and students was a lack of common social and cultural capital. This finding was also born out in the student data. In the case of participant 21, she saw that “teachers are in an inaccessible social category to middle and high school students.” The distance that teachers keep is seen as a measure to keep distance between social classes, measurable in cultural capital. Another student stated that she had a very good rapport with her teachers, “since I am socially mature” (Participant 37). The specifics of the student’s social capital are not given, but this quote again speaks to the social contingencies of good teacher-student rapport. Overall, teacher-student rapport was hit or miss. Students felt as though they were kept at arm’s length while still able to ask questions regarding the content. Students were also positive about their interactions with some of their teachers; they interacted with their teachers in a positive manner, which is not unexpected because these participants were all university students. This means that their progression had to this point been academically successful, which is assuming that they have had a positive enough experience with school to desire to continue on an academic path.

At this point it, as the data became redundant, I found it very difficult to make sense of an overall picture of what the data was telling me because of a need of further details. Surveys lend themselves to a lot of data that is easily accessible, but even open-ended questions can yield short-sighted, non descriptive data simply because there is no recourse for asking more probing
questions. Regarding identity formation, the data showed that there were a wide range of accounts of students who were helped a lot, students who were helped in certain ways that related to the curriculum, and students who were not helped at all. As one student noted “there were only a few of them [teachers] that I could call ‘mentor’ because they somehow illustrated my ideals and conveyed the values I believe. But after all I am a self-made man” (Participant 20). It is this concept of autonomy toward which students were pushed that was revealed time and again in teacher and student data. Some of the teachers believed in this concept to the point of closing off dialogue and emotional ties between themselves and the students. Others showed that fostering an identity forming relationship with the student would help the student grow into an autonomous individual. This is such a paradoxical situation that it is difficult to say why teachers would act in one fashion or the other. What influences a teacher’s decision to interact more personally in an identity forming relationship with students? Why were there differences in student accounts of middle and high schools, and in the transition from middle to high school? Could the answers lie in taking a larger view of the system as a whole?

**Systemic Effects.**

Using a Bourdian methodological approach allowed me to look at the interaction of the larger system in order to answer the preceding questions. In order to see an explanatory pattern for teacher student interaction and identity formation, I am afforded the opportunity to examine the interactions from a wider structural perspective. The teacher data suggested that teachers want to motivate students to be competent in several areas including; knowledge of course content, French culture, diligence, and autonomy. It was found that these system effects can lead to a gap in individual student *habitus*, or identity formation, which could theoretically lead to
violence especially, in the case of 2\textsuperscript{nd} and 3\textsuperscript{rd} generation immigrants who have less cultural, economic, and symbolic capital support within their familial and cultural milieu. Obviously, this fact was born out more prevalently in professional high schools, which leads to a limitation of this study that will be further discussed in the conclusion (Chapter 5).

In order to further flesh out the data, I examined responses to question 6 on the questionnaire. Question 6 was a follow-up to question 5, which asked “In preparation for the university, what were your educational goals?” The answers to this question were varied across the spectrum. It behooves us to examine just a few responses now. Participant 25 wrote that “my goal was to have my BAC\textsuperscript{16} to be able to enter the university.” Another participant stated “to perfection myself in a precise domain in order to have solid knowledge behind me and be able to obtain an education resulting in a job that I like” (Participant 26). A third participant that exemplifies the data wrote “to benefit from learning in courses and to be free and autonomous in my studies” (Participant 36). Participant 57 also adds to this discussion “to learn to be more autonomous and to gain a better knowledge of other cultures.” Finally, Participant 58 tells us that “I think the teachers taught us respect.” The data for this question suggest that student goals seem to be well in line with teacher goals supported by data given in the Teacher’s experience section. That is, teachers wanted students to learn specific content knowledge while becoming autonomous learners. Students picked up on this through their social interactions with the teachers and formed psychological schemas, which through common \textit{habitus} incorporated into their own academic goals.

\textsuperscript{16} The BAC is the baccalaureat. It is the final examination, which if passed, allows students to apply for a higher level of jobs and move on to the university.
This result is not surprising taking the theoretical background that supports this data analysis. However, the results to the previously mentioned follow-up question – 6 – may raise more questions that it yields answers. Question 6 asked, “Do you think that the means for obtaining your academic goals were at your disposition?” In other words, students were asked if they had the means to obtain their goals. The responses to this question were again as varied as the results to the question of identity, and at least through the first descriptive analysis of the data there didn’t seem to be any overarching pattern that could fit the data. For example, many of the students were not descriptive in their writing. They would write a simple “yes” (Participant 10, 11, 15, 23, 43, 51, 53, 56), or a “no” (Participant 50, 55). In fact, the overwhelming majority that answered the question answered with an affirmative. Interestingly, however, those that answered in a negative manner went into greater detail about what means were lacking from their educational formation.

The negative responses were therefore more instructional in the richness of the data. The data was then examined to find out what exactly the means of educational goal attainment were for these students. Those means were included in the following data table with the participant number listed behind their contribution.
Table 4.1: The Field\(^{17}\) of student means analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cultural Capital</th>
<th>Economic Capital</th>
<th>Social/Symbolic Capital</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Library (1,5)</td>
<td>Money to go to “big schools” (7,30, 76, 77, 78)</td>
<td>Teacher advice (3,26,28,33,34,37,48,75,79)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Access to knowledge (16)</td>
<td>Job exploration (58)</td>
<td>Variety of courses (72)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technology (1)</td>
<td>Preparation for future job (4)</td>
<td>Good courses (6,19,44,48)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High quality materials (13,18)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Practical courses (8,27,28)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Good lessons (43)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.1 is broken down into three categories integral in this data analysis using the Bourdieuan methodology. We can see that the first column includes non-financial assets involving educational, social, intellectual and artistic knowledge in tangible and intangible forms (Bourdieu, 1973), or cultural capital. These items include places and materials that contain high quality knowledge. Students who responded with data that fit these concepts were generally positive in their comments except for the final concept regarding high quality materials, which students felt were missing from their education. A Student remarked “I’d say yes in a way. A big library, technical means, etc…but those technical means are growing quite old. Anyway it works!” (Participant 1). This quote succinctly sums up the feelings expressed by the students. Most felt that the means for accessing cultural capital were there, yet there was reservation on the student’s part to say that there was clear access, or high quality interactions when accessed.

The second column refers to students’ perception of economic capital means. Students were overwhelmingly negative in this regard as the concepts of money for university, job exploration, and job preparation were all written in a critical light of the educational structure.

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\(^{17}\) This is the first time that I have used field in this analysis. Field is defined as any dynamic social arena where agents or institutions compete and struggle to establish the valuable and legitimate capital within the field in order to maintain or alter the power structure (Bourdieu & Waquant, 1992).
One student addressed this topic “a lot of écoles supérieures in France are private, so academics are expensive” (Participant 7). Another affirmed this conception by writing that “the problem is that in France the government does not pay enough attention to student life (scholarships, lodging, cost of living…” (Participant 76). Although public universities are relatively “free”, students’ negative perceptions stemmed from their desire to enter private, more selective universities, or Écoles supérieur. This desire for money to enter a higher level institution but lacking the means to do so speaks to the social paradox of structural inequalities still present in a society predicated on égalité, or equality. “

The third column defined above as social/symbolic capital contains the means related to these Bourdieuan concepts. The concepts in this category are socially instituted symbolic exchanges that take place in physical space, or even in economic or social space (Bourdieu, 1988). These places are the field in which notions of symbolic and structural violence play out. As Wacquant affirms, “for Bourdieu, unlike for Kant, symbolic systems are not transcendental entities floating in the sky of eternal ideas, high above the din of history. Quite the contrary: they are historical constellations resulting from the accumulated effects of the classification struggles of the past (Bourdieu [1998] 2000)” (Wacquant, 2008). Therefore, symbolic capital is the historically grounded result of objective relations that can occur in the struggle for cultural, economic, or social capital. This definition further reinforces the structuralist treatment of the current data. I treat symbolic capital here as an agent within social capital. Again here, the students were relatively negative when speaking of the lack of these concepts. The students negativity related to means provided in field denotes an acknowledgement of the struggle against the violence that is poor classes, poor teaching methods, lack of courses, and a lack of practicality within the courses. The students are very critical of the courses offered by the
educational establishment even if the criticism comes in different forms. At a basic level, students care about the scope and sequence of courses they take, and the end result associated with completing these courses, and the field of education is seen as socially constraining. As one student said “I didn’t always have the means because the courses weren’t that good in high school/junior high” (Participant 19). “The classes are too theoretically oriented. There is no structure that takes charge of the students. Each person has to look for their own information” (Participant 28).

Bourdieu's approach is constructed from the point of view of students as actors, or agents, engaged in struggle in pursuit of their interests. Interpreting through this lens, students can be conceived of as agents in pursuit of defining their academic path (or academic capital) and their induction into higher education. In their quest for advice about their academic path, students are given des conseillers d'orientation. The position of these government workers uniquely enables them to see the larger career path of the student while giving practical advice along the way. Therefore, students place a lot of trust in the conseillers, which fits into the current lens of data analysis as “the volume of social capital possessed by a given agent ... depends on the size of the network of connections that he can effectively mobilize” (Bourdieu, 1986). Students need good advice from their conseillers because they are part of the network of connections that pass on, or guide students in their accumulation of social capital. The data in the current study overwhelmingly indicate a negative review of the academic and career path advice that students received. Participant 37 stated that “there is a lack of information on the part of high school concerning orientation.” Another student wrote “there is a huge gap between what we learn at the

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18 According to the CIDJ (a job research firm) le conseiller d’orientation listens, informs, and gives advice in reference to the student’s academic or career path. He works for the national education system (http://www.cidj.com).
university and what we thought we were going to learn. No one is capable of really giving us good information, in fact” (Participant 26).

The goal of examining data in this study through a Bourdieuan methodological lens- a structuralist perspective of symbolic interactions influenced by a desire for social justice- is to more easily facilitate an examination of inequalities in the French education system. The result of working with this data through a Bourdieuan lens is that there is a clear picture of cultural reproductive mechanisms inherent in the Republic. Inequalities shown along the academic path of these students are not uniquely the product of unequal possession of economic or quality cultural capital, but also, and principally the unequal possession of social capital mediated by symbolic mechanisms. The endgame of the student interactions, and their quest for different forms of capital, is an internalization of symbolic violence stemming directly from the system. Objective educational chances become subjective perceptions in the form of student habitus, which consequently gives rise to anomie.

Resolution of problematic.

The results of the systemic effects of teacher-student interactions reveal a clearer picture of the educational space and the formation of student habitus. They also reveal the internalization of symbolic interactions that could have negative outcomes in identity formation. The problematic posed at the end of the first section on identity formation was formed as a result of the dynamic tension surrounding the actions of teachers. Again, I wanted to know what rule, if any, governed the intervention of teachers as agents of student identity formation. It was hypothesized that through an examination of the larger structure of the French education system
– effectively broadening the perspective from teacher to system - that students may lack structural support in their quest for cultural, economic, and social capital because of the paucity of resources in these areas in their cultural background. Lastly, in order to test this hypothesis students were simply asked what their educational goals were, and if they had the means to obtain those goals. All of the means provided in the student data were indeed related to structural resources provided within the system. The following figure is the outcome of this analysis.

Figure 4.4 illustrates the intersection between the French educational system and student identity formation. The connecting lines going from each middle school to its corresponding
high school represent an academic path predicated upon the means available to the student. The plus sign (+) within the boxes represent a positive attribute of the student’s interaction with the institution, while the negative sign (-) represents a deficiency of the student’s interaction with the institution. The floating words are attributes to those institutions as related by the student data and the position of the words corresponds as codes, attributes of students at those schools. So, there is a strength in the position of the words for example students at the + means, - identity high school had a strong “family” code. Another example is institutions with a plus for means were also said by students to have interesting, diverse, and difficult courses. Another example concerns institutions where students relayed positive identity formation. These students also conveyed a higher level of teacher reciprocity at these institutions.

Let’s first examine students who had the means to achieving their academic goals. As related above, the means for students to attain their goals related to the diversity and level of difficulty of coursework. These institutions not only provided a challenge to the student, but also multiple avenues for students to explore varied paths in life. These students had more personal identity formation at the middle school level, which morphed into a liberating autonomy at the high school level. This freedom was seen as a positive when it came to coursework, but also a negative when it came to the personal identity formation of the student. A mediating factor in student identity formation at a means positive, identity negative high school may be peer relationships. This is one avenue of future research that this study brings to the surface since the formation of peer relationships was increased at the high school level from the middle school level where students were isolated in specific groups. It can only be hypothesized that these middle school peer groups were formed on the basis of student ability and achievement on elementary school achievement tests. It is widely accepted that students are separated at the end
of middle school in the French system by test scores on the *brevet* (Brinbaum & Cebolla-Boada, 2007), but this data would conclude that this separation occurs much earlier, at least by the beginning of middle school, which would point toward elementary school readiness as a factor in academic success of students- immigrant or otherwise.

Continuing with middle school, it is very interesting to note the big difference between the two types of middle school experiences related by the students. On one side a picture is painted of a middle school experience that provides students with the means to achieve their goals, a good environment, and teachers who are attentive to personal identity formation. On the other side, a gloomier picture is painted of a school that provides neither the means to achieve, nor a good environment, nor attentive teachers. Moreover, the student data reveals a restrictive and noisy school climate that is both not conducive to the formation of peer relationships, but is seen as lonely. The path for these students does change as they enter high school in the fact that they are greeted by teachers who are more attentive to their personal identity formation. However, these teachers seem to be more concerned with teaching notions of respect than raising the level of difficulty of the classes.

Consequently, one must consider how well these students are prepared for the academic rigor of the university. The research has shown that teachers are very cognizant of the inequalities present in the system in which they teach. This would indicate that teachers are also very aware of the background of the students that enter their classroom. Even though they may turn a blind eye to a student’s race, they are not ignorant of the cultural, economic, and social capital possessed by the student. This is evident in the *habitus* of the teachers through their interactions with the students, which was exposed through the teacher’s experience and classified and confirmed though the student experience presented in this study. The research further
demonstrates that teachers provide more social/symbolic capital to a group of students who are not provided adequate means for achieving their goals. This is the Means Deficit Theory of Identity formation. Redefined, this theory proposes that students are supported through specific teacher intervention aimed at providing students the opportunity to internalize one form of capital, in this case social, when other forms of capital are seen as insufficient. Students who are not supported in their personal identity formation were all students of systemic means who were able, as we will see in the following section, to form their identity through other means like, family and friends.

**Peace.**

A third theoretical line of this research was to examine notions of peace within the French academic system. For clarity purposes, it was hypothesized that there would be no notions of peace present in the French system as this would be characterized as outside the curriculum of study, much in the same view of identity formation. On the contrary, it was found that teachers were at the same time modeling peaceful concepts of mediation, tolerance, and respect for human life, as they placed verbal and physical conflicts in a category of lower class associated with disrespectful attitudes toward humanity. Is this true of the student data? Did students pick up on these important concepts of social and symbolic capital?

Question eleven of the student questionnaire asked, “What are your feelings on peace and the peaceful resolution of conflict? Whom or what influenced you?” Student responses were coded and organized in the following table.
Table 4.2: Students’ conceptions of peace.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Thoughts on Peace</th>
<th>Influences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anti-war (1, 2, 5, 42, 58)</td>
<td>John Lennon (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication (3, 13, 28, 49, 53, 68)</td>
<td>Ghandi (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human change (6, 9, 56)</td>
<td>Martin Luther King Jr. (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fight for peace (20)</td>
<td>Family (13, 27)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes impossible (21, 23, 36, 73, 76)</td>
<td>Teachers (13, 72)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Friends (27)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As I examined the student data from a perspective of peace, I found it interesting the number of times students had the phrase “with all that is going on in the world” as part of their response. As one student communicated, “The world situation is fairly tense at the moment. I am not sure if society will be ready to reconstruct itself” (Participant 23). This negative vibe toward the peaceful resolution of conflicts continued with the 5 individuals who believed that total peaceful resolution is impossible. “Violence toward a conflict resolves nothing, it [violence] only degrades morally and physically. Sadly, a world of peace will never exist” (Participant 73). The students showed a very unique world view of war and peace that was equally critical of both war and peace, or at least how people react in states of conflict and how they resolve – or don’t resolve them. To put it another way, students see conflicts that no one is resolving. International war, strife, and violence are seemingly continual which, at least in the view of the students, makes it unlikely that these things will end.

Conversely, there were students who communicated a belief that there is always a possibility for the peaceful resolution of any concept through the act of communication. As
participant 53 wrote, “Les mots peuvent tout résoudre.” Even more thought provoking were the words of participant 6 who wrote, “if conflicts had to be resolved PEACEFULLY, it would be necessary that MAN change first” (emphasis is that of the participant and not the author’s).

Again, on the part of the students there is a critical insight into the nature of war, peace, and the human condition that is put forth by a university student.

The list of influences on students’ perceptions of peace was varied among those that responded to the question. Only 5 participants responded to whom or what influenced them in their perception of peace. Influences ranged from the pop culture icon John Lennon to great peace leaders Ghandi and Martin Luther King Jr. to the closer social structure of family, friends, and teachers. With so few responses it is hard to discuss any conclusions that one could get from the data; however, it is interesting to note that the three participants who responded that their teachers, friends and family influenced them also believed that they did not have the means necessary to attain their goals. The two students who noted outside resources – individuals from mainstream culture – did have the means necessary to attain their goals. Consequently, these accounts further add to the means deficit theory of identity formation by illuminating how individuals who have the educational means at their disposal have internalized less of their teachers’ actions pursuant to a peaceful identity formation, while those without means have internalized more of their identity from their teachers. In total, there was a stark contrast in the data between the notions of peace that teachers believed to be inculcating into students, and the notions of peace that students related and to whom they attributed these notions. This leads me to believe that the concept of identity formation through content curriculum alone is not being achieved as teachers believe it to be.

19 “Words can resolve all” (Author’s translation).
Chapter 5

Conclusion

Discussion

There are several conclusions that stem from this discussion of the psychosocial effects of the French Republican Model of education. I began this dissertation simply trying to find out how French immigrants are acculturated into French society because I had hypothesized that not only did the education system have a lot to do with this acculturation, but that there were some negative effects stemming from what immigrants were experiencing. This second assertion stemmed from the riots that took place the previous years. I naively thought that France had perhaps been trying to employ some sort of multicultural education, and later as I was also learning more about Intercultural Education I came to the understanding that these concepts are not part of the Republican model. In point of fact, part of the role of the French education system is to ignore immigrant cultures while forming all students into highly functioning French citizens.

I found through the review of literature that 2nd and 3rd generation immigrants face definite psychological and social barriers that prevent them from obtaining a place in society that might be considered economically and culturally equal to that of native French citizens. The psychological nature of the effects of the French model was hypothesized to be anomic at worst and unmotivational at best. In other words, it seemed that whatever was being taught in French schools was not having a positive psychological effect on students whose last name did not sound or spell true French. A larger social examination redefined the stigmatized social milieu as having a great impact on the schools in poorer neighborhoods (Oberti, 2007). Other tributaries of this research also found inequalities in hiring practices that exist between 2nd and 3rd generation immigrants and native French (Belzil & Poinas, 2010; Fougère & Safi, 2009).
Even with these social inequalities, it was astonishing that some immigrants could actually academically outpace native French students in relation to their language abilities and their psychological coping mechanisms that lead them to be resilient in the face of adverse social and cultural situations (Bouteyre, 2004).

I then hypothesized that substructures of Occidental Europe such as legal, economic, educational, and so forth, rooted in a Judeo-Christian tradition have become, after secularization at least in its republican social imaginary, non-liberal. The imbalance generated by different legal identity, and ignorance of "the others" has caused some distrust and segregation among different hierarchical groups (e.g. SES, ethnic) within the different substructures. This could still be the case; however, the question still remained concerning the response of the educational system to the apparent distrust and psychological anomie present among immigrant students. I propose in this research that there is more to the immigrant question than just 2\textsuperscript{nd} and 3\textsuperscript{rd} generation North African Muslim immigrants. I had to include 1\textsuperscript{st} generation immigrants from the Balkans, Albania, and Slovakia because I found out that teachers were “colorblind\textsuperscript{20} to any and all immigrants. What began as a pilot study investigating specific set of immigrants turned into a dissertation study that had to step back a little in order to understand the larger effects of the system on students\textsuperscript{21}. Armed with a larger structural methodological viewpoint, I was able to illustrate the complexities of the psychosocial effects of the French education system. A discussion of these effects takes place on the following pages.

\textsuperscript{20} Berlowitz et al. (2006) discuss the nature of the delusion of colorblindness when examined in relation to the dialectic of race and class; “forms of structural violence such as segregation and subtle forms of racism, for example ‘microaggressions’ are pervasive in predominantly white institutions of public education and higher education.”

\textsuperscript{21} The study’s qualitative nature does not allow generalizability outside of the Metropolis metropolitan area concerning the middle, high schools, and university of Metropolis.
The following three research questions were posed in order to broaden the umbrella of understanding determining the direction of this study, and they will guide our discussion of conclusions of this study:

1) What are the psychosocial impressions left by social integration on identity formation?

2) What is the perceived role of teachers in acculturation of immigrants?

3) What notions of peace, conflict resolution, and mediation are taught in French schools?

Distance.

The first effect of the Republican educational model is a feeling of distance. I found through this study that there was an inconsistency in how teachers treated students. While some teachers formed personal relationships in order to help construct the personal identity of their students, others kept a great distance, only helping students construct their social identity through the course content. Course content was seen by teachers as formative of student identity regardless of personal interactions they had with the students. The student data confirmed these findings, yet further complicated them as their reflections were examined through a Bourdieuan capital means analysis. This examination provided evidence of a systemic driven teacher habitus, one that is unconsciously conscious of inadequacies of certain forms of capital held by the student. The ideas of habitus, capital and means will be discussed further later in this chapter.

The idea of distance is dealt with in academic journals of psychology as separation-individuation. The degree to which an individual is successful in progressing through these separation-individuation experiences is thought to determine the health of one's adult personality and social relationships (Blos, 1979). Specifically, how an individual learns to manage closeness
and distance in interpersonal relationships appears to have implications for a variety of adjustment and psychosocial outcomes, including self-esteem, quality of family relationships, success in peer relationships, and level of depression and anxiety (Holmbeck & Leake, 1999). This research would tend to support the findings of Holmbeck & Leake (1999) in that students who have less coping mechanisms to deal with the level of autonomy given by teachers exhibit higher levels of anxiety, stress, and loneliness than other students. These students are in turn more likely not to hold onto an academic track than other students.

The type of anxiogenetic, or anxiety forming interactions, surfaced at all levels of this study. The data from teachers discussed how they have seen a great change in students over the past few years, and attributed this to lower economic prospects that accompany the current international economic climate. Many of the students were upset about the advice, or lack thereof, concerning their professional formation. In fact, most students, and several teachers, wanted a more professionally driven academic environment that mirrors the actions and knowledge of a chosen professional environment. Nowhere was the school climate so anxiogenetic than at the middle school level. This research supports that of Debarbieux et al. (2000) by finding that environment present at the middle school level is deplorable. It is during this formative time that 2nd and 3rd generation, as well as 1st generation immigrants and even native French, are labeled and separated. Further, as this separation occurs, internal notions of identity and exclusion combine within the student making for the breeding ground of auto-exclusion of certain ethnicities from academic tracks. “The stigma placed on students of immigrant origins can create an image of self that is devalued and trained into a spiral of negativity” (Debarbieux et al., 2000).
Habitus.

The second psychosocial effect of the French education system is an inconsistency in *habitus* formation. This second finding is central to this research, because of its illustration of the psychosocial interplay hypothesized to be most evident in the French education system. The findings of this study support research by Konstam (2007) who illustrates that there is less institutional guidance pointing to clear developmental pathways, which leads to a need for greater individual maneuvering that requires a strategic approach by students in planning a life course. Teacher and student *habitus* is formed through an unconscious conscious interaction with each other and with the larger cultural and economic system as a whole. Teachers provide students with personal identity formation assistance only when needed as determined by the teacher’s conscientious assessment of students within the fields of capital including; economic, cultural, and social/symbolic. Otherwise, students are left to form their identity on their own through diverse and interesting course content, familial and peer relationships. This finding is highly informative for two reasons. First, it clearly defines two roles of teachers: one whose role is to aid in the development of the personal identity formation of the student, and another whose role rests in the development of the social identity of the student. Both of these roles are clearly dependent and regulated by the course content.

Secondly, with regard to the immigrant question this study sheds light on the dialectical tension between pluralism and assimilation. In France an immigrant’s right of entry has been based primarily on the needs of the economy, and his or her access to citizenship has been more dependent on perceptions of cultural difference or distance (Frederickson, 2005). Historically and in actuality, immigrants are likely to be integrated into the institutions and subculture of the French working class, and subsequently they often substitute a class-based identity and ideology
(socialism or communism) for one based on national origins. Those of the second generation who had middle-class origins or do particularly well in school could benefit from the meritocratic quality of French higher education and public bureaucracies (see Bouteyre, 2004).

The lens that this research provides is from the teachers themselves. I found that there is a definite dichotomy inherent in the French system and the personal interactions of teachers with students. As participant 25 stated, “it is unequal: I have to succeed in interesting students that are more and more difficult [:] we have less and less cultural references in common.” In addition, a structural analysis in Chapter 4 revealed three tiers, or levels to teacher directed student identity formation. These ranged from the highest tier of teacher intervention, to the middle tier of identity formation recognized as inherent in the course content, to the lowest tier in which teachers had no recognition of identity formation present in their teaching. Another interesting result was that teachers present notions like respect, a clear behavioral identity formation in middle schools and lower SES schools (ZEPs and professional schools) while teaching a critical mindset to students in upper SES schools.

**Assimilation vs. Pluralism.**

A point of dialectical tension exists at the crossroads of where we determine if the assimilation approach of French schools perpetuates oppression of students with lower capital means. Brinbaum & Cebolla-Boada (2007) found that there exists a discrepancy between expected aspirations and real school careers of immigrants, but there were no differences immigrant & native in same class. Moreover a student’s SES, parent education, test scores worked as more precise determinants of immigrants’ school careers. They also found that immigrant students lack required system knowledge & cultural and socioeconomic resources. The aim of this study is to define the gap of what exactly are the required system information and
socioeconomic resources exposed but not defined in Brinbaum & Cebolla-Boada (2007).

According to Bourdieu, “all pedagogical action is objectively symbolically violent in its imposition, by an arbitrary power, of an arbitrary culture” (Bourdieu & Passeron, Reproduction in education, society, and culture, 1977 (1970)). Otherwise said, the scholastic system imposes and legitimizes the culture of the dominant classes by imposing the knowledge of the dominant classes and denying the existence of a different legitimate culture. This is exactly the case in the present study. When confronted by other cultures, teachers rely on behavioral modification in order to provide what they believe to be a required piece of social identity. Conversely, students from the dominant culture are taught to critique the world around them, which becomes part of their academic capital as they enter higher levels of academia. There is a process of deculturation, in a sense that students must subsume their culture for the French culture in order to guarantee their survival in the institution. Then, it becomes by default, the institution that will exclude the students.

As Bonnewitz (2005) puts it;

The most powerful system that separates them [students] from the academic institution is habitus. Product of the internalization of objective conditions, it provokes an auto-elimination of disfavored categories. Individuals learn to anticipate their future as conforming to their present experience, and therefore do not desire what, in their social group, seems eminently improbable.

This quote summarizes the psychosocial tension occurring as an effect of the Republican model. While the notion of anomie was thoroughly dealt with in Chapter 2 and resurfaced again in Chapter 4, it is again worthy of note that this study reinforces the studies of Bourdieu (1979) and van Zanten (2001). However, this study confirms that there is more to the story especially when one considers academic path high schools and the dichotomy of experiences present in these establishments. In addition to the academic identity formation present in academic path
high schools, there is a level of personal identity formation that reinforces social/symbolic capital in place of other underprovided forms of capital.

Bourdieu and Passeron’s (1970) work is first and foremost a work of redefinition of categories of inequality and capital with the goal of surfacing the mechanisms that create tension within the correlation between social inequalities and academic path (Merckle, 2005). In the tradition of Bourdieu, this study has endeavored to communicate the tension that exists within the greater systemic inequalities present in the French education system. This work has extended the work of Bourdieu by examining the work of teachers as mediators of *habitus* formation. The teacher’s unique place in between the system and the students affords them the awareness and ability to react to the abilities of the students, as well as their deficits. It has also examined the academic path experience of students who describe two different social paths on their way to the university. One path provides the structural, cultural, and economic means necessary for apparent autonomy and academic success, but lacks the personal identity formation the students also desire.

The other, the means deficit path, shows a different view of education. I believe it is clear how students are propped up by social capital given by the teachers when the means to attain academic goals are difficult to come by. Teachers try to create an equality of chance that is in direct opposition to the inequalities of access to higher education that was first observed by Bourdieu. The question still remains, however, if teachers are really acting in a way that helps students overcome the forces of structural violence and reproduction, or if they are playing into the hands of the symbolic structure by pushing students to gain credentials that may, or may not lead to economic success to a level higher than that of their parents, or even to a level
comparable to their own capabilities. Is France still the meritocracy that Frederickson (2005) would have us believe still exists in a post-industrial society of 2011?

**Motivation.**

In an outstanding qualitative work of students in juvenile retention centers for violent students, Vienne reinforces the perception of stigmatizations accumulated by students. He writes that “the influence of stigmas on student identities creates a significant *malaise* in communication between students and the personnel” (Vienne, 2003). This study has shown that differences exist between variable social and academic spaces and teachers respond in different ways. It makes sense that there are really at least three tiers of students and teacher student interactions brought forth in both the teacher and student experience analysis in this study. The top tier of students have the means necessary for academic achievement and therefore have less personal interaction with the teachers equaling more autonomy. The second tier of student has less means yet it supported through efforts of the teachers and is receptive. The third tier, more present in the teacher data, is the students who have internalized not only the lower economic, cultural, and social/symbolic capital, but this internalization leads to a unmotivated state that rejects the identity intervention and culture of the establishment’s personnel. As one student put it, “teachers are of a different class than us” (participant 67). These students are at risk for academic failure, for reproduction of the lower class, and for violence.

**Peace.**

When I first began this study, I did not have the structuralist theoretical lens that I developed through my interaction with the literature and the data. Although several authors guided my thought process insofar as data collection and methodology, I truly felt that I would
use a peace theory lens in my analysis of the data. I was ready to use a peace lens because it was the lens with which I was most comfortable.

As I began examining the data for which I asked specific questions in my surveys and interviews, I realized that peace was not a lens through which I could see the complexities of the French system. Peace became an exemplar of the type of identity teaching that really lent itself to being a point of triangulation within the data. As was elucidated in Chapter 4, only specific content teachers felt that they specifically taught notions of peace while many other teachers also taught notions of respect and tolerance and saw this as socially transferable. Another effect of the Republican model of education is that it promotes equality while restricting individuality. This is viewed by the teachers as a positive and peaceful point of view.

Nevertheless, the students were less than forthcoming in providing any information regarding their conception of peace. Several demonstrated an anti-war stance that accompanied a very humanistic worldview. A couple even mentioned their teachers as being the source of their stance on peace. It must be said, however, that the numbers did not add up. Since, there were a significant number of student that either mentioned nothing, or did not mention the teachers, I would hypothesize that even with the efforts of the teachers that there are other significant sources of peace knowledge that the French student internalizes.

A closer examination of the data herein reveals a very poor middle school environment in almost all cases. Students do not have the means to obtain their educational goals. They do not have interactions with the teachers or other peer groups, and they simply do not have a positive, peaceful environment: French middle schools are the weakest link in the French education system. This finding reinforces the work of Debarbieux et al. (2000) who affirm through quantitative and qualitative means that there is more aggression against teachers, more violence
in classrooms, and a loss of teacher respect in more a relational than in an educational manner. As a result, it would seem that violence that takes place in a classroom or any educational institution discredits any peaceful work or identity formation that teachers may be trying to accomplish. At a time when students are so impressionable in their identity formation, the middle school level leaves a very difficult impression to overcome. “Touching habitus, to this ‘learned by body’, according to the beautiful expression employed by Bourdieu (1997), she [violence] touches personal identity” (Debarbieux, Garnier, Montoya, & Tichit, 2000).

Emerging Theory

As previously described, teachers provide students with personal identity formation, habitus formation, assistance only as the cultural, social, and economic milieu warrant. Otherwise, students are left to form their identity on their own through diverse and interesting course content, familial and peer relationships, and the broader cultural context. The research further demonstrates that teachers are very cognizant of the inequalities present in the system in which they teach, which supports the work of Golstein (2005). This would indicate that teachers are also very aware of the cultural, economic, and social capital possessed by the student. This is evident in the habitus of the teachers through their interactions with the students, which was exposed through the teachers’ experience and classified and confirmed through the student experience presented in this study.

As was succinctly described in Chapter 4, teachers provide more social/symbolic capital to students who are not provided adequate means for achieving their goals. The Means-Deficit Theory of Identity formation proposes that students are supported through specific teacher intervention aimed at providing the opportunity to internalize one or more form of capital, in this case social/symbolic, when other forms of capital provided are seen as
insufficient. Furthermore, students who are not supported in their personal identity formation were all students of systemic means, who were able to form their identity through other means like, family, friends, and culture.

This theory would complicate the findings of Bourdieu & Passeron (1970) in their stance of the violent reproductive mechanisms of the education system. Bonnewitz (2005) describes *habitus* as fluid. It is an internal structure that is constantly restructuring itself. One factor that disturbs the continual cycle of *habitus* is the need for distinction, “that Bourdieu sees as basic to social identity: in order to assert our distinctiveness we constantly find, create and extrapolate ways to distinguish ourselves from others both within and beyond our communities of identity” (Holton, 1997). The student data presented herein reflect this statement. Some students sought out teacher interaction, others, who had the means, sought out interaction from other sources or created their own social identity through other means. The contradiction, however, still remains in that there is another level of interaction between students and teachers that attempts to transcend the bonds of class distinction and reproduction. Academic success in French schools hinges on an awareness of the means at one’s disposal, and the coping abilities of the students to the means provided by the system.

An understanding of the dialectical tension between assimilation and pluralism further clarifies the complexities found in this study. In her international review of multicultural education, Eldering stated that “schools have a function in preparing children for their public role, but at the same time, by transmitting cultural values they have an impact on the private lives of the pupils and their families” (1996). The presence of various ethnic and cultural groups in French society has stimulated a lot of public discussion on the society’s cultural identity, including the emergence of political organizations such as the Front national with its overt
exclusionist stances viewed as far from the “values of tolerance born of the Enlightenment” (Debarbieux et al., 2000). However, the use of multicultural or intercultural forms of education in its institutions has not materialized for very good reason.

Debarbieux et al. state that there is “no racism here [in schools], neither conscious, nor hidden, but the expression of cultural xenophobia has not been without consequence to the young ‘Maghrébins’ and to the academic climate” (2000, p.84). The auto exclusion previously referred to of certain ethnicities is not exclusively the consequence of the inherent structural violence in French schools; however the notion of forced assimilation contributes to the academic failure and existing social inequalities present in French society. In addition, this forced assimilation may be unnecessary because social and culturally conscious French students will seek assimilation in order to achieve economic success and social mobility. The data presented in this research reinforce that those students from means deficient socio-economic backgrounds invariably sought, and were given forms of capital intended to ameliorate the career and academic path of the student. Only those who believe themselves to be victims of discrimination who have given up on the possibility of economic and social mobility might be moved in the direction of pluralism. Eldering proposes that “pluralism in its extreme form implies that the society is comprised of groups whose distinctive cultures are maintained by structural pluralism” (1996, p.316). French law provides for the edification of private Muslim, Catholic, and Jewish schools with teachers paid by the state. So far only two Muslim based high schools are in operation today Le Lycée Averroès in Lille (BBC, 2003) and the college-lycée Al-Kindi in Lyon (Observateur, 2008).
Limitations

One of the limitations to this study is that teachers recruited for this study were from the gamut of middle and high school institutions representing all of the economic and cultural milieus of Metropolis. The student data was collected only from university students who attended the University of Metropolis. As previously exposed, students in France are separated at a very young age, even if they are not separated by building until high school. This means that students who attend university are on a primarily academic track, and have been since their identification at an early age. Therefore, the student data is not representative of students who attended professional high schools in France. Only the data from the teachers can be considered as representative of that population, however, it can still be said that student data confirmed or spoke to every notion raised in the teacher data.

Another limitation to this research is the lack of reference to the cultural ethnicity of the students. It is of course illegal to ask anyone on a questionnaire their ethnic origin or race in France. The system is set up to ignore any differences among French citizens regarding their ethnic origin because all people are considered to be French regardless. This study also took a blind eye to teachers and students ethnicity. Student questionnaires contained the question, “What is the culture (or cultures) that you feel close to?” The responses to this question were varied widely and included; French, British, American, European, German, Italian, French Polynesian, Irish, Moroccan, Algerian, and Senegalese. There were even a few very different responses like, “my own” (Participant 9), “all, none in particular” (Participant 20), and “music” (Participants 23, 28, 46). The majority of the responses was French or was multiple cultures, which is interesting in itself because these students feel a connection not only to France, but also several countries throughout occidental Europe and the world. One question for future research
may be related to the larger connectedness felt by French students. For students who have grown up in a system predicated on making good French citizens, it seems as though the culture, of what it means to be French, may be more assorted than just one French culture.

**Recommendations for Future Research**

Future research in this area should also focus on the inclusion of students who have completed professional schools. Considering the two types of middle schools, which include all professional high school students before they are separated, it would be significant to find out more about their impressions of the role teachers played in forming their identity and attending to capital deficiencies. What is their impression of the coursework they take? What complexities do they face when ending their professional-academic career? What kind of advice do they receive? How do these students view themselves in relation to other groups of students, and how was this view mediated by their middle and high school academic career and teachers? All of these questions become even more relevant as research continues to uncover discrepancies between education and career outcomes of immigrants in France (see, Belzil & Poinas, 2010).

Another future project of research might focus on following these same students to the finality of their academic pursuits. The preponderance of students in this study have been given, in one fashion or another, the great gift of symbolic capital, meaning they have succeeded at this stage of the game in their pursuit of cultural, social, and economic capital. Although they may have a lot of human capital – the summation of all capital – not all of these students will succeed in attaining their goals. In fact, the students who were not included in this study, but were on academic paths, would be the embodiment of academic failure. It would seem plausible then to pose the question as to what leads to academic failure if we control for theory under the umbrella of human capital.
References


Appendix A
Online Teacher Questionnaire en français

1. Depuis combien de temps êtes-vous prof ? Depuis combien de temps à cette école ?
2. Comment vous décririez la vie dans votre établissement ?
3. Comment vous décririez le rapport que vous avez avec vos élèves ?
4. Comment définissez-vous votre rôle de professeur ?
5. Dans le cadre de la salle de classe, pensez-vous qu’il est important à aider les élèves de développer leurs propres identités ? Comment ça se fait et quel est votre rôle ?
6. Comment est-ce que les enfants des immigrés font dans votre classe ? Est-ce que vous faites des choses pour les aider ?
7. Est-ce que vous enseignez avec des notions de la paix ou la résolution paisible du conflit ? Pourquoi ?
8. Qu'est-ce que vous faites quand il y a des conflits dans la salle de classe ? Quelles sortes de conflits y-a-t-il ?
9. Est-ce que vous voyez comme médiateur dans la salle de classe ? dans l’école ? dans la société ?
10. Le système éducatif est en train de changer. Que souhaitez-vous changer du système éducatif en France ?

Questions in English

1. To your mind, what are some positive aspects of the French Education system?
2. How would you describe life in your establishment?
3. How would you define the rapport you have with your students?
4. How would you define your role as a teacher?
5. In the classroom, how important is it for you to help students develop their identity? How does this work, and what is your role?
6. How well do children of immigrants succeed in your class? How do you support them?
7. Do you educate for peace or the peaceful resolution of conflicts? Why? How?
8. What sort of conflicts do you have in the classroom, and how do you handle them?
9. Do you think of yourself as a mediator in the classroom? The school? In society?
10. The French educational system is changing. What would you wish changed about the French education system?

Student Questionnaire (en français)

1. Quel âge avez-vous ?
2. Quand est-ce votre famille a intégré en France ?
3. Quel est la culture (ou cultures) dont vous vous sentez la plus proche ?
1. How old are you?
2. When did your family immigrate to France? What was their country of origin?
3. Are you a French citizen?
4. Did you attend a French high school?
5. With which nationality/nationalities do you most associate?
6. How many years have you lived in France?
7. Thinking about your educational experience, what have been some positive aspects?
8. In preparing for the University, what were some of the educational goals you set for yourself?
9. How has your educational experience, including your teachers, helped you form your “self”; your identity?
10. In school, how much did you learn about different cultures; including, your family’s country of origin, and France’s former colonies?
11. Why did you come to college? Who or what were your biggest influences?
12. What are your views on peace and conflict resolution? Who or what has influenced you the most?
13. Lastly, if you could, what would you like to change about your educational formation?

4. Est-ce vous êtes allé(e) au lycée en France ?
5. Pendant combien de temps avez-vous vécu en France ?
6. Pensant à votre formation éducatif, quelles sont les aspects positifs ?
7. En préparant pour l’université, quels étaient vos buts éducatifs ?
8. Comment ont vos profs et votre formation à l’école vous aidé à construire votre identité ?
9. À l’école, combien avez-vous appris des autres cultures y inclus le pays d’origine de votre famille, ou des pays colonisé par la France ?
10. Pourquoi avez-vous décidé à s’inscrire à l’université ? Qui, ou quel avez-vous aidé à décidé ?
11. Quels sont vos sentiments sur la paix et la paisible résolution du conflit ? Qui, ou quel avez-vous influencé ?
12. Si vous pouvez, que changez-vous de votre formation éducative ?