

# TAKE THE *ISLAMIC HEADSCARF* OFF FOR A BETTER FUTURE

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## Abstract

France is a secular country with a high number of immigrants from around the world. Most of them come from Maghrebi countries. As young people and being citizens of France, the immigrants have to attend school. Since the suit worn by girl students is different from their friends, those wearing *Islamic headscarf* can potentially cause a problem in relation to the government effort in realizing national integrity and enforcing secular principles. For this reason, the government ratified a law dated March 15, 2004, to not allow students from Public Schools, (Elementary Schools, Junior High Schools and Senior High Schools) to show their religious identity at school. The problem is related to the girl students wearing *Islamic headscarf* in public areas, including at school, despite this being an obligation for Islamic women till the Day of Judgement.

In responding to this situation, the girl students are choosing to take off their Islamic headscarf in order to get a better education and future. The current paper is based on the data collected over a period of four months (September-December) in 2013, in the Ile-de-France province. Following Van Kaam's Phenomenological Method data was collected through ten participant observation and well as in-depth interviews with Muslim high school girl students of Maghrebi descent who wear *Islamic headscarf*. Bourdieu's social theory framework has informed the analysis of the data.

**Key Words:** *Laïcité*, Islamic Headscarf, School, Strategy, Pierre Bourdieu

## Background

France is a *laïcité* country settled by residents of various origins, starting from the French until more recent immigrants coming from the number of countries throughout the world, both European countries, and countries in other continents. The majority of immigrants in France have come from its ex-colonies, especially Maghrebi countries (<https://www.insee.fr/fr/statistiques/zones/>). Maghrebi countries are those located in Western Africa, bordered in the north by the Mediterranean Sea, the south by the Sahara Desert, the west by The North Atlantic Ocean and the east by Libya. Such Maghrebi countries are referred to as Aljazair, Tunisia, and Morocco (Encyclopedia, le Monde d'Aujourd'hui).

The immigrants entering the destination states also bring their own cultures. So do the immigrants from Maghrebi countries with an Arab Islamic culture. Kim (2005) states that the process of individuals to get rules, procedures or culture starts at the beginning of life. Through

the process of socialization and education, cultural patterns are imprinted into the impulse system and are united into individual acts. This internalized-education process permits an individual to interact with other cultural members. The process to get into the pattern is called enculturation (Kim,2005). The individual enculturation process will be repeated if she/he lives in another culture permanently as an immigrant. The second enculturation process for the immigrant is called acculturation. *This is a process of adapting and accepting the native culture, which in the end is referred to as assimilation. It is the highest level of acculturation that theoretically might happen. Most of the immigrants say that assimilation is a goal they want to achieve* (Kim, 2005).

France's Muslim population during the 1980s comprised about four million inhabitants. At that time, this represented the largest Muslim community in Europe (Rusmawati, 2009). The acculturation process of people of Maghrebi origin to the *laïcité* culture does not run smoothly. Among other things is when their daughters are to attend school, they would wear a different outfit from that of other girls, and they wear Islamic headscarf. That kind of outfit will surely draw attention, both from their friends and the teachers. Some teachers feel disturbed by what their wear, but others have no problems with it. The different opinions among the teachers is not confined to one school. There are many schools dealing with the same problem. This condition confused the head master in relation to whether or not the school should meet the teacher's requirement of not agreeing with Islamic headscarf, by issuing a new regulation on wearing of the school uniform (Rusmawati, 2009)

The Ministry of Education of France therefore proposed the problem to the government, and on 27 November 1989 the government introduced a new regulation to give autonomy to the headmasters. Surprisingly, the government decree did not overcome the problem, since each headmaster makes a different decision. For instance, the Headmaster of *Guztave-Havez de Creil Junior High School at Oise Département* decided to did not approve the Islamic headscarf and dropped three students out who were not able to take off their Islamic headscarf. A similar decision was made by the headmaster of *Henri Wallon d'Aubervilliers Senior High School at Département Seine-Saint-Denis*, and two students had to withdraw from the school. However, the Headmaster of Poquelin Senior High School at Saint-Germain-en-Laye did the opposite thing, permitting a female student wearing Islamic headscarf to register herself to attend an English test (Seljuq, 1997) (Bourget, 2008:72-73). Approval was also given for a married woman who wanted to take the test, to be accompanied by her husband. Even though Government Regulation dated November 27, 1989, does not provide a solution to the problem, the regulation remained valid until Luc Ferry proposed the draft of the *Laïcité* 2004 Law (Seljuq, 1997).

The start to the draft of the *Laïcité* 2004 Law was proposed in 2003 by Luc Ferry, The Minister of Youth Affairs, National Education and Research France. The reason influencing the submission of the bill was still existing problem even though the French government had issued the Government Regulation dated November 27, 1989. In responding to the submission of the bill, the government of France formed a commission lead by Bernard Stasi to consider the issue. This commission was obligated to directly conduct research into the community over a six months' period (July-December 2003). They did a field hearing involving all societies, including

the chairmen of the political parties, government officials, representatives of all religions, philosophy experts, the head of union board, organizations or institutions extending human rights and also other organizations related to life in the cities and the surrounding areas. The interviews were conducted by proposing open-ended and closed-ended questions. The research was done with field agents like headmasters and teachers, directors and public hospital employees, the head and warder of a correctional facility, the chief of police and his personnel, directors of a company and its employees, etc. In order to get another set of input, this commission also conducted a fairness hearing with several students from junior and senior high schools, including religious or public schools and private schools. They also conducted a comparative study to achieve an understanding of secularism performance in other European countries. The research output of the Stasi commission identified the presence of cultural and ideological friction among the French, both among immigrants and between immigrants. This friction existed not only at a local community level but in schools where there was some friction similar to racial discrimination, in relation to students wearing Jewish kippa<sup>4</sup>, etc. The friction was resulting from the *laïcité* principle at school by letting students show their belief identity in the form of symbols or what they wear. The government validated the Draft of the *laïcité* 2004 Law into a Law on *laïcité* 2004 Law (Rusmawati, 2009). According to the *laïcité*, the Islamic headscarf is one of the religious symbol. Using the headscarf, they look different from the other friends. By taking the headscarf or other religious symbol off, they will look the same, and the frictions caused by religious can be avoided at schools.

*Laïcité* 2004 Law started being applied in September 2004, at the beginning of the school year 2004-2005. The Minister of National Education of France, François Fillon, visited several public schools in France, emphasizing that the implementation of the law was the best solution for schools having a problem with their students wearing Islamic headscarf, while also providing an affirmation that France is a secular country. The government, through François Fillon, underlined to all headmasters, the need to prioritize a dialog if there is a student who insists they do not want to follow the law, before taking more assertive action (Blimann, 2011).

Two or three months before applying the law, the headmasters invited all parents of school children to inform them about the implications of the application of the law. The reaction of students and parents from the Muslim immigrant families to the application of *Laïcité* 2004 Law, varied. There were some who agreed and who asked their children to take their Islamic headscarf off. But there were also some who disagreed and choose to send their children to a private school where the law is not being applied. However, there are also female students who insist of wearing Islamic headscarf and who take it off just when they enter the gate of school, and wear it again when they leave school to go home. This was the explanation of François Tomasi, the headmaster of Voillaume di Aulnay-sous-Bois Senior High School, France (*Ibid*, Blimann, 2004).

Since the introduction of the *Laïcité* 2004 law or what the French have called *Loi du 15 mars 2004*, the government of France says that there have been no issues or occasion of conflict. While there are female students who wears and takes off their Islamic headscarf in front of the school yard, the government wishes that this phenomenon will not be adopted by many students for families. In fact, after approximately 10 years of the implementation of the

*laïcité* law, there are many high school Muslim female students, especially those coming from Islamic-culture countries, including Maghrebians who wear Islamic headscarf, showing their identity/religion in public spaces and who take off their Islamic headscarf when at school. Several researchers in France have reported that the number is getting higher. This phenomenon raises several questions; firstly, is their attitude truly the influence of their original culture or because of the influence of friends, religious teachers and their environment in France; secondly, what actually is their intention in removing their Islamic headscarf while they are at school.

### **The Process of Secularization of Education in France**

Historically, educational institutions are one of three important areas (the other two being health-care institutions and civil code) where the French *laïcité* principle must be upheld. From history, we know that educating the younger generation of France, which was originally the responsibility of the Church, since the French Revolution, has gradually shifted to become the responsibility of the Government. The figures of the France Enlightenment Century teach people to no longer believe in religion, including in educating the younger generation. The government's way of doing this is to abolish religious subjects and replace them with subjects of character and citizenship (*instruction morale et civique*) and forbid religion to be taught in schools (Baubérot, 2010).

The religious pluralism of France embodied in the Concordat agreement (1801)<sup>5</sup> made all religions and beliefs recognized by the State in that year to thrive. Furthermore, each religion felt entitled to educate the younger generation because all religions and beliefs were recognized by the State. But the revolutionaries and the anti-clerics disagreed. According to them, when education is left to religion then the younger generation will be confined in ancient thought, not based on reason and will remain within the clutches of clerical groups. Therefore, education must be neutralized (*Op.cit*, Rasmawati,2009).

This debate continued until the reign of Louis Napoléon Bonaparte (1808-1873)<sup>6</sup> who became President of the Republic II in 1848-1851. When he made himself the second Emperor of France, he continued to enforce the law and adhere to the influence of the conservative church to control society. To overcome this problem President Bonaparte asked the Minister of Education, De Falloux, to establish a commission in charge of formulating legislation on primary and secondary education. On March 15, 1850, finally a law was formulated that gave full authority to the church in the field of teaching. The rule is famous for the Falloux Act of 1850.

But then Victor Duruy, Minister of Public Teaching (1863-1865), made changes by reducing the church involvement in education and Victor Duruy's policy was supported by Emperor II. These policies were: Firstly, starting in 1856 non-monk teachers were forbidden to be replaced with monastic teachers. Secondly, diversion of the status of private schools (managed by the church) into public schools. Thirdly, starting from 1850, monks teaching in schools were exempt from conscription. Fourthly, giving the opportunity to the women of young generation to continue their education to secular secondary school.

Victor Duruy's policy was followed up by the opening of secular schools in Lyon that did not provide religious subjects. It was similar to in Paris, from October 14, 1870. The 11th Arrondissement mayor, Mottu, stipulated that schools in his government area become secular schools by abandoning religious attributes. Thus, what Victor Duruy did was to invalidate the Falloux Act of 1850. This also meant that the right to educate young people was transferred to the state.

The birth of Government Republic III made the process of secularization in a society increasingly visible. In addition to the word *laïcité* that was for the first time entered in *Littré* 1877<sup>7</sup>, there were also three laws that determined the basic features of public education in France, these words being: secular, free and compulsory. The first two laws are called Les Lois Ferry (Ferry Law). The name Ferry was taken from the name of the French Minister of Education and Art, Jules Ferry, who co-signed the law. The first Les Lois Ferry Law (1881) contained the provision that State Elementary School (*Ecole Primaire Publique*) is free (article 1). This law was signed on 16 June 1881. The second Les Lois Ferry Law (1882) contained provisions stipulating that primary education was other than mandatory for all children aged 6 to 13 (article 4), as well as *laïque* (secular). The term *laïque* is not found in the text of the law, but this law clearly stated that “character and citizenship education” (*instruction morale et civique*) is one of the subjects of basic education, not religious education (art. 1). The law signed by Jules Ferry on 28 March 1882 prescribed the replacement of religious subjects with subjects of character and citizenship (Coq, 2003), and instead provided a free day during the week for those parents who wanted their children to receive religious instruction outside school (Akan, 2017). The third law was called Goblet Act (*La Loi Goblet*) Like Les Lois Ferry, the name Goblet was taken from the name of the French Minister of Education and Arts who was in charge and signed the law, René Goblet. This law continued the secularization of education by arranging that it is only *laïque* (non-believers) who may teach in public schools. With the law signed on October 30, 1886, it meant that clerics were prohibited from teaching in state schools.

## Methodology

In order to study this phenomenon this study used Bourdieu's (1980, 1994, 2014) social theory (Bourdieu in Fashri, 2007). The study was conducted within a qualitative paradigm and reviewed in relation to the meaning for the action of taking off and wearing Islamic headscarf, as practiced by some high school Muslim female students, in particular the immigrants of Maghrebi origin with an Arab-Islamic culture, wearing Islamic headscarf at school, especially. The study further uses phenomenology strategy (Denzin: 2009, p.257) and (Creswell: 2012, p. 19-21).

The initial approach involving ten potential respondents was not easy, as female respondents tend to be alert and suspicious of strangers. The respondents were High School Muslim girl students of Maghrebi origin who were wearing Islamic headscarf, but taking it off when entering the gate of the school and wearing it again when they left the school to go home. They tended to keep to themselves since they did not want their personal life outlined to

the mass media, as they were often visited and interviewed by a reporter. Data collection started by a single respondent who was willing to participate in this research and further helped the researcher contacting other respondents. The Law from March 15, 2004, is valid at public schools, from the elementary level to senior high school, but the respondents were only senior high school students since they had become adults (*akil baliq*), which meant they were religiously required to observe the practice of wearing the headscarf. In Arab-Islamic culture, those who have become adults are obliged to wear the Islamic headscarf in their daily activities. In addition to being an adult, the senior high school students are considered to stand out in relation to their own attitudes and establishment, which is actually different from the children at junior high school and elementary school.

The research was undertaken in Ile-de-France Province, in Paris. Like many other capital cities in other countries, Paris is the destination city for many immigrants seeking to earn money. In addition, the first Great Mosque, built and recognized by the French government, is also found in Paris. La Grande Mosquée de Paris, located at Place de Puits de l'Ermite, 2bis, Paris 75005, is the symbol of French government's recognition of the Islamic culture and religion.

The data for the study was collected through in-depth interviews with the ten respondents, non-participant observations and participant observations of the respondents' activities, with data logging through Field Note. The data was analyzed using Van Kaam's Phenomenology Data Analysis method (Kuswarno, 2009).

## **Discussions and Result**

Based on interviews with the respondent, it is known that the internalization processing of the Maghreb culture and French culture was performed since the respondents were still children, and lasted continuously over a long time, more often in an unconscious way, as the internalization process is objective and follow the path or family culture movement as well as the culture of the social community where they live. Like Bourdieu's concepts on Habitus (Bourdieu in Mucchielli, 1999) that Habitus is not formed suddenly but goes through a long process in the form of individual experiences when interacting with the social world. Habitus was built through the education process; Bourdieu divides it into three parts, these being family education, social education, and education at school (Wempi, 2012), (Bédard, 2003).

*Habitus* consists of a number of dispositions, intervention schemes or perceptions that individual have accepted through social etiquette. From the various experiences and events, they have been through, every individual gradually unites a number of ways of thinking, feeling and behaving that become obvious in the long term. Bourdieu believes that these dispositions are the individual praxis resource of the future, since habitus will guide the individual to reproduce automatically what has been accepted before (Ritzer, 2012)

The dispositions are in the form of values, morals, customs, religious culture, lateral thinking, and lateral action internalized with respondents. Firstly, through the family

environment, values, morals, customs internalized come from the original culture of great-grandparents or their parents, namely the Arab-Islamic culture. Even though they might have been born and brought up in France, the values, morals and custom internalized by their parents and family, are those of the Arab-Islamic culture, since their belief is same as their ancestors, even though there maybe one or two of their relatives or parents who are practice and do not practice religious rituals. In addition to religion, the language they use to communicate every day is the Arabic language, and their closeness to their country of origin is proven by all the respondents who had visited the country of their grandparents, that is Maghreb. From the interviews, it is known that Amina, one of the respondents, was born in the country of origin of her parents. Amina (pseudonym)<sup>8</sup> is a fourth generation immigrant and her mother who lives in France intentionally went home to Morocco to deliver her. In addition, Chanez, the one and only respondent who had been married, had married in Algeria, the country of origin of her parents. They came back to Algeria just because they wanted to marry and celebrate the wedding party together with all the family and then return to France.

Secondly, through the home environment; the internalized culture is still the same, namely the Arab-Islamic culture. From the data, we know that the respondents live in a low-cost apartment called HLM (*Habitation à Loyers Modérés*) or a residence with low costs located in a suburb of France. They live in particular regions commonly categorized into ZUS (*Zona d'Urbaines Sensibles*)<sup>9</sup> and form a group according to their country of origin. Even though they were born in France, the environment in which they live now supports their attitude to keep holding their original culture. Referring to this kind of phenomenon, several experts of social science refer to them as "living in the ghetto". The similarity is in relation to the applicable laws and rules in the home environment which tends to be specific, and different from the laws or rules of the country where "ghetto" is located. The real "ghetto" shows that the applicable laws or rules are the laws or rules from the Jewish, while even the "ghetto" is in Germany. The rules or laws practiced at HLM are Arab-Islamic laws or rules even though the HLM is in France. However, other sociology experts in France do not agree with that perception (Marchal, 2010)

Thirdly, through the wider environment, that is when they attend school. Almost all respondents come from a pre-prosperous family whose economic status is below the standard of prosperous family. In this context, when the time to enter school comes, they choose to attend a public school since it is free. At public schools, the children of immigrant descent start learning French's *laïcité* culture. This is known from the interview results that most of them learnt the term *laïcité* from school. *Laïcité* is one of five principles of the public school education system in France, that is: free (*La Gratuité*), secular (*La Laïcité*), obligatory (*L'Obligation Scolaire*), neutral (*La Neutralité*) and freedom of establishing education (*La Liberté d'Enseignement*) ([www.education.gouv.fr](http://www.education.gouv.fr)).

After returning to their homes from school at the end of the week, the respondents commonly learn to recite Al-Qur'an and Islam, as well as its culture in Mosques or Islamic schools in the area of their home. They also attend Islamic learning forums for women, even though not on a regular basis. Through their teachers at the informal schools and the Islamic learning forum moral values and the Arab-Islamic culture are strengthened again. Islam development throughout the world is getting higher in recent times especially since 911 attack,

the series of four suicide attacks have been set against several targets in New York City and Washington, D.C. on September 11, 2001 (Rusmawati, 2006), including in France. In Paris it is easy to find space in an Islamic school, the place for children to learn to recite Al-Quran. In addition, women in the Muslim community often hold Islamic learning forums. This phenomenon started developing since the government verified the Law dated March 15, 2004. This is reflected in the comments of two respondents in the following interviews:

**Lara** (18 years old): *“J’apprends à lire le Coran et sa traduction depuis environ deux ans. J’apprends également la langue arabe classique, à l’écrire, à analyser ses versets ainsi que l’histoire des prophètes et l’Islam”. “Mon sénieur m’a dit qu’il y a des lieux où on pouvait apprendre l’Islam parce qu’il y a de plus en plus de gens qui sont curieux sur l’Islam après l’application de la loi du 15 mars 2004”.*

"I started learning to recite Al-Qur'an and its meaning since about two years ago. I am also learning the Arabic language, reading and writing in Arabic, and analyzing verses of Al-Qur'an. In addition, I am also studying the history of the Prophets and Islam". "My senior said that there are several places where we can learn Islam since there are many people who want to know Islam since the application of the Law dated March 15, 2004".

**Ihsen** (17 years old): *“J’apprends à lire le Coran et l’Islam du professeur à la mosquée près de chez moi depuis à peu près deux ans. Mon professeur m’a raconté qu’il y a beaucoup de gens qui s’intéressent à étudier l’Islam depuis l’application de la loi du 15 mars 2004.”*

"I have learned to recite Al-Qur'an and [learnt about] Islam from a teacher in a mosque next to my house for about two years. My teacher said that there are many people who are interested in studying Islam since the application of the Law dated March 15, 2004."

There are many building or spaces, even though their shape is not like that of a general mosque but where they have mosque functions, not only for worship but also to provide space to study Islam and its culture. This development of Islam influences the younger Muslim generations to become motivated to relearn Islam and related history and at the same time practice Islamic cultural rituals. This was observed also in relation to this study's participants, both those who have been pratiquant (performing Islamic practice like prayers, zakat, and fasting) since coming from a pratiquant family, and those who were not. Commonly, the respondents choose to wear Islamic headscarf after they learn about Islam and its culture, not because of the influence of their parents or another family. This was also known from the interview results. It was also concluded from ten respondents there are only three people whose mothers also wear the Islamic headscarf in their daily activity. The mothers of the other seven respondents do not wear Islamic headscarf. In addition, eight of the ten respondents have a sister, and just two of them (Amina and Ihsen's sister) also wear the Islamic headscarf.

The interest of Muslim high school girl students of Maghreb origin who wear the Islamic headscarf, and who take their Islamic headscarf off when entering the school, and wear it again when they leave the school is to acquire the certificate of Senior High School. If viewed from Bourdieu's capital concept, an official education certificate is part of a cultural capital. This capital will then be used to achieve or retain their positions in other champs that require that

capital. According to Bourdieu (Durand, 2014), there are four kinds of capital namely *cultural capital*, *economic capital*, *social capital* and *symbolic capital*. **Cultural capital** is all cultural resources that can determine an individual's position in the arena. Cultural capital can be obtained by individuals through self-formation and internalization since their childhood, particularly through family education and the influence of family environment. Moreover, cultural capital can be achieved through formal and non-formal education or family inheritance and can be materials related to art. Bourdieu himself classified cultural capital into three dimensions, namely *embodied cultural capital* (*Capital culturel incorporé*) including general knowledge, skills, derivative talents, cultural values, religion, norms, and so forth; *objectified cultural capital* (*Capital culturel objectif*) including the possession of high-value cultural objects. Such possession can be achieved by buying or getting an inheritance; and *institutionalized cultural capital* (*Capital culturel institutionnalis *) including degree, level of education, certain skills acquired through education level (Bourdieu, 1979). **Economic Capital** is all individual economic resources or any form of material wealth owned by an agent including income, inheritance, investment or savings in the form of money, giro, gold or jewelry, stocks, land, houses and other luxury goods. Economic capital can also be in the form of production tools and materials. The components of economic capital are real, visible and touchable or able to be held (Coulangeon, 2012). Meanwhile, **Social Capital** measures all the resources associated with the possession of a sustainable social network of all relations and all known people. Thus, the essence of social capital is a social relationship existing in the society that reflects the results of social interaction in a very long time so that a pattern of cooperation can be made, generating a social network and exchange (*social network*) and mutual trust (*trust*). The values, norms and rules underlying such social relationships are also included in social capital (Bourdieu, 1980). On the other side, **Symbolic Capital** shows all forms of capital (economic, social or cultural capital) that receive special recognition from the public. Symbolic capital refers to all prestige, popularity, honors which are built on knowledge (*connaissance*) and recognition (*reconnaissance*) (Durand, 2014). The capital possessed by the agent is used to fight in the arena.

Bourdieu describes society as an arena (champ) with intertwined arrangements. Agents, either actors or institutions, do not move in empty space but in a champ. Champ or the arena of struggle is a real social situation organized and controlled by objective social relations (Ritzer-Goodman, 2011: 525). Champ is a network of relationships between objective positions within it. The relationship is separate from the consciousness and will of the individual (*Ibid*, Ritzer-Goodman, 2011)

### **Layered Analysis of the Education Arena**

The term champ in this study refers to educational arena. There are three ways to analyze champ; firstly, by looking at how the champ and government relationships exist; secondly, by looking at how the positions between agents competing in the arena and it is described through champ and agent's analysis; thirdly, by looking at how the habitus agent operates (Mucchielli, 1999). The first analysis: in the *champ* of education in France, the government is the champ of power because education in France is centralized. It is the government that controls the champ of educational through the Minister of National

Education, Teaching of Universities and Research (*Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale, de l'Enseignement Supérieur et de la Recherche*) (<http://www.education.gouv.fr/>). As mentioned earlier, in carrying out educational services, the central government of France holds five principles of the educational system and the principles apply to all public schools throughout France and private schools that work together with public schools, from the kindergarten level to the upper middle level.

The function of familial socialization is about the values and morals for a child because the first life of a child begins in the family environment. In the family environment, children start learning about everything, including religion, because religion should be taught to children as early as possible. Therefore, the role of educational institutions in religious learning is secondary to the role of the family. In the context of secular countries such as France, educational institutions are secular regions, religious instruction is not given in schools. Therefore, the French government dismisses the one day a week (every Wednesday) aim to give parents the opportunity to provide religious education for their children according to their beliefs. However, the latest development reveals that parents use the day off, for cultural, sports and arts activities (<http://www.mulhouse.fr/fr/periode-scolaire2/>).

In the second analysis, maps of objective structures are illustrated by champ analysis of the reality of a Muslim girl students group wearing Islamic headscarf. They are in a subordinate or dominated position in the educational champ whose legitimacy principle is based on the ownership of political capital and symbolic capital. French education is centralized. The hierarchy in government, which is a political capital, has the same structure as the hierarchy in education. On the other hand, *laïcité* is a very strong symbolic capital and in this study, it is seen in the school environment.

In the third analysis, Habitus agents, are high school Muslim girl students who take their Islamic headscarf off when entering the school environment and wear it again when leaving school. As mentioned earlier, the first internalized habitus of respondents is Arab-Islamic in nature. Furthermore, the second internalized habitus of the respondents is Arab-Islamic and *laïcité* because at school they undergo the internalization of *laïcité* principles.

Based on the results of the champ analysis above, it can be concluded that the interaction of respondents in the educational arena is not a struggle to get a position, but to get bigger capital. The educational champ is ruled by the government as the supreme ruler of a country. Therefore, the position of the government in the educational champ will not be displaced. While in the educational champ, respondents are in a dominated position. They have no bargaining status in term of not having enough capital to be able to fight in the educational champ. Moreover, in addition to public schools, France also has private schools, where the Law dated March 15, 2004, is not enacted, so the government assumes that if students in public schools cannot comply with the public law, then they can move to private schools.

Champ which is analogized as a battle champ or game champ, raises the understanding that in the arena there are players, rules, goals, and results. Competitions between players that occur in the champ raise the strategies used to achieve goals. Strategy acts as a way for players

to improve and/ or maintain their position in the game champ. Champ is also a battleground to fight for a variety of capital items, such as economic, social, cultural and symbolic capital. In principle, the proportion and amount of capital of an agent can provide an opportunity for movement of agency positions within the community. But the field facts indicate that not all agents have all four types of capital at the same time.

The agent performs a strategy according to the habitus, arena/ champ of a competitive place and the amount of the capital owned. Bourdieu mapped the strategy into two types: Firstly, reproductive strategy (*des stratégies de reproduction*), is a collection of practices designed to maintain or enhance the agent's assets with a view to the future. This strategy is based on the agent's ownership of the composition and amount of capital. Secondly, redevelopment strategy (*des mécanismes de reproduction*) deals with the dynamics of the overall movement of capital and the formation of dominating and dominant capital types in champ or the arena (Fashri 2007: 103).

In this study, the first habitus of respondents is Arab-Islamic in nature, while the second habitus is Arab-Islamic in nature by wearing Islamic headscarf in daily activities and the principle of *Laïcité*. Through the lessons they learned at an Islamic school, respondents said that the wearing of Islamic headscarf by adult Muslim women is mandatory. Therefore, they do not want to take it off in daily activities, including when they go to school. But they have to keep going to school to get an education.

Champ is an educational arena with the principle of *laïcité* where the law dated March 15, 2004, should be applied. Among the four modalities in the Bourdieu concept, research subjects have only social capital, no economic capital, or cultural capital, let alone symbolic capital. The social capital held by research subjects is the Declaration of Human Rights and Citizens (*Déclaration des droits de l'Homme et du citoyen*). This declaration implies the most basic basic human rights and citizenship, namely the right to equal treatment before the law. Then, the Jules Ferry Act of March 28, 1882, which explains that every young French generation who resides both domestically and abroad (France) is entitled and obliged to receive an education. This obligation applies to children from the age of six years to 16 years. In addition to children of French citizens, this duty is also applied to children of foreign nationals living in France. The Law, constitution, rule or declaration, become part of social capital because it is the rule that underlies social relations (Bourdieu, 1980).

In order to obtain higher capital, in this case it is the culture of institutionalisation in the form of a *baccalauréat* diploma, which with the diploma, the respondents can continue their education to a higher level, they practice a reproduction strategy (*des stratégies de reproduction*) by taking their Islamic headscarf off in front of the gate before entering the school environment and wearing it again when leaving school. Two respondents confirmed this.

**Ihsen** (17 years old): «*Je suis obligée d'enlever mon voile en entrant dans le lycée et je sais bien que c'est à cause de la loi du 15 mars 2004*», elle ajoute: «*parce que la loi l'a décidée. Pour garder mon voile, je ne veux me rendre en sortant du lycée, parce que je sais en effet ce que le gouvernement souhaite ; pour que je ne puisse pas étudier*»

"I am required to take off my Islamic headscarf when entering the school environment and I know for sure, this is because of Law dated March 15, 2004», she gives an explanation: «since law has established it. In order to defend her Islamic headscarf, "I do not want to be lost by leaving school, because I actually know what the government wants; they want me to not be able to attend school."

**Chanez** (18 years old) also said something similar:

*«Je partage l'avis de Ihsen. Les Français ne veulent pas que nous soyons aussi intelligentes qu'eux. Je suis obligée d'enlever le voile en entrant dans le lycée, car la loi française l'impose, le voile est malheureux dans les lycées publics. Nous nous sommes renseignées à Internet sur cette loi»*

"I agree with Ihsan's opinion. The French do not like us being as smart as them. I am obliged to take off my Islamic headscarf when entering school since the regulation forced it; Islamic headscarf is really pitiful at public schools. We find out via the internet (about the Law dated March 15, 2004) "

Through the statements of two respondents above it can be concluded that they prioritize education. To get an education they have to go to public school because the tuition is free. Almost all respondents answered that their parents did not have money to send them to private schools. In addition to the ten respondents, there were eight people who will continue their education to a higher level. Through this explanation, it is increasingly apparent that the practice of taking off and wearing the Islamic headscarf is their strategy to continue to attend school and achieve a better future.

## **Conclusion**

According to Bourdieu praxis is the product of a relationship among the habitus, which is a historical product, and so is the champ (arena). Praxis of taking off and wearing Islamic headscarf within the school environment is the result of mutual relationships between the habitus of respondents and champ in the form of school or educational champ.

Habitus of respondents who are immigrants of Maghrebi origin is still closely related to the original culture of their respective parents, namely the Arab-Islamic culture. Although most of them were born in France their neighborhoods support their attitude to retain their original culture. In their immediate neighborhood, they still retain their native culture, and even the rules that apply in their immediate neighborhood are the same as their original cultural rules. Therefore, some French sociologists often refer to their residence as "Getho". In addition, the respondents add to their knowledge of Arab-Islam and its culture by way of re-learning of Islam and reciting the Qur'an, from teachers in the mosques located around their residence, from their own parents, from their friends who have more knowledge, as well as from Internet sites, whose activities or programs they are actively participating in.

Meanwhile, the respondents were born and grown in France, and when they start entering school, they went to public schools. Thus, in addition to the Arab-Islamic culture that is internalized from the family environment, home and social environment (where they relearn Islam and the culture), France *laïcité* culture derived from the formal school environment also forms habitus respondents.

The term champ in this study is a public school based on historical events, which is one of the three areas of implementation of France *laïcité*. Educational institutions are the place where the younger generation (the generation that will lead France in the future) is educated. In other words, the future of *laïque* France will be in their hands. Therefore, educational institutions must be neutral, not influenced by any political ideology or belief/religion.

The strength of application of *laïcité* principles and related laws, including Law dated March 15, 2004, within the Educational Institution led the respondents to take off their Islamic headscarf while in the school environment, but because the internalizations of the dispositions that make up the habitus are Arab-Islamic in nature, so that they do not take off their Islamic headscarf starting from their home, so that the praxis of taking off and wearing Islamic headscarf in front of the school gate arose from the practice of the respondents.

Their interest in taking off Islamic headscarf only when at school is so that they can graduate from senior high school and obtain a diploma of *baccalauréat*, an absolute prerequisite for continuing education at universities, where they can study the subject they want and as much as they want, without having to take off their Islamic headscarf because Law dated March 15, 2004, is not enforced at university colleges. Therefore, the praxis of taking off and wearing Islamic headscarf is a strategy they do in order to stay at school and get a diploma of *baccalauréat*. Then they continue their studies at university college in order to achieve a better future.

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<sup>4</sup> Orthodox Jewish men always cover their heads by wearing a skullcap known in Hebrew as a **kippah** or in Yiddish as a **yarmulke**. Liberal or Reform Jews see the covering of the head as optional. Most Jews will cover their heads when praying, attending the synagogue or at a religious event or festival.

<sup>5</sup> Concordat Agreement is an agreement between the Pope and the king or the state government to regulate mutual relations between the two sides on ecclesiastical matters in the country. One of the contents of this agreement states that Catholicism is a religion, mostly French, but not a state religion so it guarantees religious freedom including for Protestants

<sup>6</sup> Louis Napoléon Bonaparte or Charles Louis Napoléon Bonaparte also known as Napoléon III is the nephew of Napoléon Bonaparte I

<sup>7</sup> *Littré* is the name of a monolingual French dictionary published in 1977. The name adopted from the writer's name: Paul-Emile Littré

<sup>8</sup> The names of respondents in this article, are pseudonym

<sup>9</sup> The government maps out several regions in France into several zones, among other are ZUS (Zona d'Urbaines Sensibles) which means sensitive urban area. It is called sensitive since it is an area of many criminal acts. The reason why a region is categorized into particular zones is to reflect the issue of concern. Another zone is, for instance, ZEP (Zones d'Éducation Prioritaires), which consists schools which need to be paid attention since there are still final year students at the school who do not directly graduate. They have to tested twice to graduate. ZEP is changing its name into REP (Réseau d'Éducation Prioritaires). Another example of a Zone is ZRU (Zoned de Redynamisation Urbaines), with regions included in this zone needing attention for economic improvements and vocations (<http://www.letudiant.fr/>) (<https://www.data.gouv.fr/>).