

French and Swedish students' perspectives on second-class citizenship in educational contexts – shared experiences and questioned values

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Abstract

Mobility in the world in general and in the European Union in particular is a highly discussed and controversial subject (Château 2015). We often see on television NGO boats carrying shipwrecked migrants stranded in the Mediterranean Sea without a shared agreement between European countries to receive them. This phenomenon is observed at the same time as there are discussions about the problems of receiving refugees and homeless people, particularly Roma. These situations are therefore becoming major challenges today, both in our societies and in our educational institutions. In several schools in Europe, teachers indeed find themselves in difficulty when it comes to supporting pupils from different cultures and sometimes not speaking the same language. Since Germany, France and Sweden are three of the most popular destinations in these contexts, we wanted to understand what French and Swedish students think about this situation. What perceptions do they have of immigrants and the poorest people whom we can call "second-class citizens"? Do they realize their difficulties both in terms of access to fundamental rights and in their exercise of citizenship? What do they think of the role of the school and teachers in supporting students from vulnerable communities? In this study we will present the results of the exchanges between French and Swedish students.

Regard des étudiants français et suédois sur la citoyenneté de deuxième classe dans les contextes éducatifs : expériences partagées et valeurs remises en question

Résumé

La mobilité dans le monde en général et dans l'Union européenne en particulier est un sujet très discuté et controversé (Château 2015). Nous voyons souvent à la télévision les bateaux d'ONG transportant des migrants naufragés et bloqués en mer Méditerranée sans un accord partagé entre les pays européens pour les accueillir. Ce phénomène vient s'ajouter aux problèmes d'intégration des réfugiés et des personnes sans domicile fixe parmi lesquelles des Roms. Ces situations deviennent donc aujourd'hui des défis importants aussi bien dans nos sociétés que dans nos institutions éducatives. En effet, dans plusieurs écoles en Europe, les enseignants se retrouvent en difficulté face à l'accompagnement des élèves issus de cultures différentes et parfois ne parlant pas la même langue. Étant donné que l'Allemagne, la France et la Suède sont trois destinations

plus recherchées, nous avons voulu comprendre ce que pensent les étudiants français et suédois vis-à-vis de cette situation. Quelles représentations ont-ils des immigrés et des personnes plus démunies que nous pouvons qualifier « de citoyens de seconde classe » ? Se rendent-ils compte de leurs difficultés tant en matière de l'accès aux droits fondamentaux qu'à leur exercice de la citoyenneté ? Que pensent-ils du rôle de l'école et des enseignants dans l'accompagnement des élèves issus des communautés fragilisées ? Dans cette étude nous allons présenter les résultats issus des échanges entre étudiants français et suédois.

Perspektiven französischer und schwedischer Studenten auf die Staatsbürgerschaft zweiter Klasse im Bildungskontext - gemeinsame Erfahrungen und hinterfragte Werte

Zusammenfassung

Die Mobilität in der Welt im Allgemeinen und in der Europäischen Union im Besonderen ist ein viel diskutiertes und kontroverses Thema (Château 2015). Im Fernsehen sehen wir oft Boote von NGOs, die Migranten auf dem Mittelmeer transportieren, ohne dass es eine gemeinsame Vereinbarung zwischen den europäischen Ländern gibt, sie aufzunehmen. Dieses Phänomen verschärft die Probleme der Integration von Flüchtlingen und Obdachlosen, einschließlich der Roma. Diese Situation stellt ohne Zweifel eine große Herausforderung sowohl für unsere Gesellschaft als auch für unsere Bildungseinrichtungen dar. In der Tat haben Lehrer in vielen Schulen Europas Schwierigkeiten, Schüler aus verschiedenen Kulturen zu begleiten, die nicht selten der jeweiligen Landessprache nur ansatzweise oder gar nicht mächtig sind. Da Deutschland, Frankreich und Schweden drei der begehrtesten Destinationen sind, wollten wir verstehen, was französische und schwedische Studenten über diese Situation denken. Was halten sie von Immigranten und Menschen, die stärker benachteiligt sind und die wir als "Bürger zweiter Klasse" bezeichnen können? Sind sie sich ihrer Schwierigkeiten sowohl beim Zugang zu den Grundrechten als auch bei der Ausübung der Staatsbürgerschaft bewusst? Was halten sie von der Rolle von Schulen und Lehrern bei der Unterstützung von Schülern aus gefährdeten Gemeinschaften? In dieser Studie werden wir die Ergebnisse eines Austausches zwischen französischen und schwedischen Studenten präsentieren.

Introduction

Mobility in the European Union is a much discussed and controversial topic (Castle 2015). The current situation with asylum seekers and refugees is a challenge at a general level in many respects for European societies and more specifically for educational institutions. In teacher education programs across Europe, how to meet the demands of children in a multicultural and multilingual society is an issue. Countries in the European Union have different approaches and policies which make the questions of integration and cultural differences in countries useful to investigate, particularly among student enrolled in education programs who will be working with children of newly immigrated families. Some countries are more desirable to go to than others, and are regarded to welcome and accept newcomers. Since it is claimed that Germany, France and Sweden are the three most desired destinations (BBC news, Sep 22, 2015), it is relevant to look closer at the attitudes among student teachers in two of these countries, namely France and Sweden.

What are the student teachers' perceptions of disadvantaged immigrants who can be described as second-class citizens? Do these students realize the difficulties faced by these groups of people, both in terms of access to fundamental rights and their citizenship? What role do schools and teachers play in supporting children from these communities? In this study, we will present the results of the university student exchanges between France and Sweden focusing on street people, in particular Roma people. Before presenting the results of our work on the students' perceptions in relation to these poor street people, it is important to analyse, beforehand, the attitude of European students towards the issue of immigration in Europe. In other words, would students have a different perception of so called favoured migrant groups in comparison with poor and disadvantaged immigrant groups such as the Romani?

1. Students' attitudes in international communication: Migration in Europe

Investigating student teachers' attitudes is particularly relevant since student teachers will be the role model for norms, values, and rules for new generations as highlighted in a study on Ukrainian and Belarusian student teachers' attitudes (Husakivska, 2014). In the present study, Swedish and French student teachers' attitudes to second-class citizens are therefore investigated.

When it comes to changing attitudes among student teachers, additional experiences outside the classroom setting are effective means to make them challenge their views on current issues. It can therefore be argued that it is necessary to make students experience and discuss the conditions of people who they do not meet on a daily basis. This was tried with 68 undergraduate students who experienced direct contact with people with disabilities in combination with studies of a course in psychology at a mid-Atlantic university. The study shows that after these experiences the students were at an advantage when discussing and interacting with people with disabilities (Carlson & Witschey 2018). Making student teachers interact with student teachers from other cultures on second-class citizens does not only make them aware of cultural differences but can thus challenge their values and ideas and in this way better prepare them for meeting these challenges in their future classroom.

In addition, there is a general interest to investigate differences and similarities in young people's apprehensions and values on migration and mobility. The aim of these investigations can be to determine what factors can be used for different actors in order

to strengthen tolerance as well as the prevention of extremism and conflicts among young people. The need for tolerance and the prevention of extremism and conflicts is not limited to the European Union but is also of interest in other regions in the world. In a Russian study, Ustinkin & Samoylova (2016) claimed that there is a need to build a scientific base for contemporary forecasting of intercultural communication due to the multi-ethnic character of the Russian population.

Rygiel's (2017) study on Polish and Spanish students' attitudes to strangers in society shows that university students in their 3rd and 4th years in Spain generally had a more positive attitude than their Polish fellows. Rygiel therefore concluded that the Spanish students were more open to acceptance and integration. According to the results in this study, Spanish students are more used to a multicultural society due to the arrival of immigrants from previous Spanish colonies in Africa and South America whereas Polish students have little experience of travelling and meeting strangers. In addition, current political slogans and media coverage of the situation in Poland is put forward as an explanation to the identified difference (Rygiel, 2017). Being exposed to multicultural settings and discussions is thus a factor that can influence students' attitudes.

Migration in Europe has been a current topic of debate that has had great influence in societies and on the political situation in Europe. European citizens are consistently made aware of the present situation with immigrants and refugees in everyday situations. In a study of 334 Turkish students, their perceptions of migration were investigated through their use of metaphors and cartoons/pictures. The results show that most of the participants regarded migration as "compulsion", "continuity" and "cause of separation" associated with "time-dependent differentiation" and "unhappiness" (Cetin, Kilcan, Günes & Cepni, 2015).

Language barriers and cultural distances are frequently regarded to be the common obstacle in international communication (God & Zhang 2018). When a common language can be used and the educational or professional experiences and backgrounds are shared, there are prerequisites which may facilitate intercultural communication of mutual interest. The English language has this role in many cases and is a common tool for the exchange of experiences between students. Using student-interactive video conferences may provide a setting where intercultural discussions are fruitful without the need of mobility. Student teachers evaluated their interaction and communication in English in video conferences in a previous study at Uppsala University, Sweden in 2018 and the results show that many subjects could be debated with exchanged views on a wide range of didactic topics (Sundh 2018).

2. Methodological considerations – development and construction of a system to facilitate exchanges

2.1. Text selected for exchange of ideas between students

The exchanges presented in this study are with French and Swedish students enrolled in programs for a degree in Educational Sciences. To facilitate and encourage students to enter this process of exchange and comparison, they were invited, as a part of their education, socialization and citizenship courses, to study an article by Mäkinen (2013) that discusses some of the legal and moral dilemmas of street beggars, mainly Romanian Roma people in the Nordic countries. The objective of this choice was to allow the

exchange of ideas between students and make them discuss the situation of street people in their respective countries. In what follows, a short summary of the article is provided with the focus on the most relevant issues for the exchange of ideas in the present study.

The historical overview in this article states that beggars have constantly been regarded to threaten public security because of their anti-social and sometimes even criminal behaviour. Recently people in the EU experienced an increase in number of East European Roma people who hoped to find a better life by begging in the streets, which has led to vivid discussions about how one should react to the presence of these beggars in the member states. This discussion should be seen in the light of fundamental human rights, free movement in the EU, and Christian ethics of alms-giving, and dignity. The perspective in the article is limited to Roma beggars as a pan-European and cross-national ethnic group and touches on issues such as the marginalization of groups, and in this case second-class citizens. There are 10 to 12 million Roma people in Europe and Mäkinen (2013) claims that these people are one of the most discriminated-against ethnic minority groups in Europe. Furthermore, the concept of begging is given attention to, for instance in terms of passive and aggressive begging.

The EU member states do not have a common strategy for the present situation. This meant that, for instance, France applied a strict immigration policy towards Roma beggars and deported thousands of them back to Romania and Bulgaria in 2009 and 2010 which was criticized in the European Parliament. In addition, the European Commission considered taking legal actions against France for applying the directive on free movement in a discriminatory way. In 2010, Sweden deported some 50 Roma beggars due to theft allegations. Another means of treating the issue has been to criminalize begging which has been a controversial topic in political debates and in media in Sweden for a number of years. Some municipalities are now planning to do so. When looking at the view on the beggars in the EU member states, Mäkinen argues in the article that there are some national differences; in the Nordic countries and thus Sweden, people tend to blame the state or society for the occurrence of poverty whereas in Eastern Europe the blame is placed on the individuals themselves.

In Mäkinen's (2013) article, several perspectives on begging are thus described with historical, ethical, religious, legal, contemporary and regional considerations. As a result, the article was a relevant starting point for interactive discussions between French and Swedish student teachers about a controversial topic which, in addition, the students experience in their daily lives. To put it more precisely, there were two clear reasons for choosing the article:

Firstly, the article concerns a group of people who often live on the streets and are excluded from our European society, which attracts the curiosity of both French and Swedish students. This text allows these students to share their cultures, their representations of street people and the methods and practices used to help and support street people often referred to as Roma in Europe. Secondly, it highlights the issue of second-class citizenship and shows that the fundamental rights and moral values of street people, which are the basis of citizenship, are often not respected. The text also facilitates communication through the English language used by students from these two countries. The focus is on street people, particularly their fragility and limitations in the process of enforcing their rights as citizens. The French and Swedish

students read the text in advance and were asked to exchange ideas with each other, through Facebook and videoconferencing, in English.

2.2. Facebook and videoconferencing as tools to facilitate the exchange of ideas

Before the student-interactive video conference exchange, the lecturers in the courses first created a Facebook group so that the students could begin to exchange ideas. To facilitate contact and discussion between these students, the article by Mäkinen (2013) on street beggars was available at the Facebook group's website and the students were asked to read it and discuss questions prepared by the lecturers such as: What do you think about the content? What is it like where you live in France and Sweden? The students were in addition asked to discuss other situations of street people in their countries and to develop preparatory questions for the discussion in the student interactive video conference. It was therefore necessary to design and exchange a list of comparative concepts between the two countries, in order to clarify and deepen the specificities of the treatment of street people, more particularly their difficulties limited to exercising and enforcing citizens' rights.

After reading the text, the short introductory exchanges on Facebook and the preparation of the questions, the French and Swedish students exchanged ideas in the student interactive videoconference. The exchange time in the student-interactive video conference lasted for two hours. This video conference made it possible to discuss or deepen various points already discussed on Facebook, such as the content of the text, the situation of street people in these two countries, the representation of these students in front of street people, the measures put in place to help and support them, as well as the teaching and education of children of street people.

3. Methodology: Epistemological issues and methodological tools

3.1. Participants

The French students engaged in this study were enrolled in 2017 in a Bachelor 3 level in Educational Sciences had the plan to work in the social or socio-educational sector. These students had chosen a course on education and citizenship. The Swedish students studied an English language course which comprised analyses of the social aspects of the international citizen in a multicultural society. In these two courses, the content taught consisted of specifying and questioning the preparation, socialization and integration of future citizens into society, but also of analyzing the pedagogical mechanisms used by educational institutions and teachers to achieve these objectives. The two Swedish groups consisted of 12 first-year students enrolled in a four-year program to become upper primary school teachers with children aged 10 to 12. The groups consisted of 11 females and one male and the age range was 24 – 45 years. The students study at a separate campus of Uppsala University: Campus Gotland.

The seven French students had already completed several internships (minimum 12 weeks) in schools or centers and associations, and had participated in analyses of professional practical work in the socio-educational sector. The 12 Swedish students had completed an internship (5 weeks) at a primary school. All students had therefore already in their training dealt with and encountered issues related to the profession of

primary school teachers or socio-educational professions, more particularly the integration of people with special needs.

3.2. Data collection framework

During the discussion and sharing via Facebook, before or after the video conference, students were invited to communicate freely, both in the writing of questions and by answering the questions. The objective was to let them deepen their thoughts and encourage them in their exchanges of ideas of the subject. The teachers therefore did not interfere in this communication.

After this time of interaction and sharing, the study was developed. Focus groups in each country were arranged at each university to encourage the students to express their opinions and feelings after the interaction and communication in Facebook or in video conferences. This is in line with what is described by Kitzinger, Markova and Kalampalikis (2004, 237), namely that “focus groups are open group discussions, organized in order to identify a relevant topic or set of such issues”. The aim was, through these interactions, to gather new information, i.e. what may have impressed or fascinated them, what they thought and understood about street people in France and Sweden.

3.3. Data collection and processing methods

The first step was to collect data from the exchanges through students’ arguments and reflections. In the analyses of the data the approach was to consider the students’ comments without questioning whether they were telling the absolute truth and without questioning their appropriateness. This meant that the issue was not to check on how far the students’ discourse could be from reality, nor how much there could be misinterpretations. However, when the students gave their presentations in the presence of others, it seemed that they had presented “some form of truth” or elements closer to the truth. As Guilhaumou (2001) points out, “the author’s truth at this moment, in this situation of interaction is that what is said is proven by the mere fact of being said”.

During the video conference, the French and Swedish students discussed the exchange, opposed and clarified their comments based on their experiences or representations. This made it possible to determine the common beliefs among students from the same country. In this contribution, as Wallenhorst (2013, p. 130) points out by quoting (Kaufmann, 2007), “we do not inscribe ourselves in a conception where reality exists as given, where representation is perceived as a reflection of this reality”, but “we do believe that reality is socially constructed”. In the data collection and processing methods, we therefore considered the participants’ comments as a “truth about themselves” and it seemed to us “that their discourse is not unrelated to reality”, especially since the exchanges between them show a strong similarity in the discourse with students from the same country.

By confronting the students’ ideas and feelings in the focus group discussions as described above, useful data were collected for further interpretations which were important in the analysis of the data. Notes were immediately taken about significant aspects expressed in the communication.

Furthermore, the students’ recorded communication in the focus groups was analyzed in depth in order to find patterns in the data collected and identify representations with

regard to the issue of street people. This approach allowed us to categorize the elements in the students' discourse. By presenting the data from our study in a thematic form, the aim is to make the presentations of the French and Swedish students' contributions consistent.

In conclusion, the students participated in student-interactive video conferences in small groups of some five to seven students. They first read the article by Mäkinen (2013) which was then the starting point for the discussion. The French students produced a paper as a follow-up to the interaction whereas the Swedish students were interviewed in small groups as a follow-up to the communication with the French students. These researchers then listened to and analyzed the recordings in order to identify the themes in the Swedish students' discussion. The French students worked in groups after the student-interactive video conference and their papers were analyzed based on what was considered to be the central themes in the interaction.

4. Results

The lack of English language proficiency hampered the intervention of some students, but on the whole, everyone followed and understood the topics covered. The students did not hesitate to ask for clarification from other members with a sufficient proficiency in English. The students appreciated the video conferences and constantly made comparisons between cultural and educational practices, pointing out similarities and differences. They were able to criticize or appreciate certain elements of one or the other system. Their exchanges were based, to a certain extent more on their personal perceptions because it was noticed that the students did not particularly know so many details at a deeper level about the problems of street people. It was clear that the majority of the students did not have much experience of exchange, collaboration or sharing with street people.

In the discussions between Swedish and French students about second-class citizens and begging, there were three themes which could clearly be identified: personal experiences, the social situation for the homeless people and children, and the responsibility of the school and teachers for these children.

4.1. Personal experience

The Swedish students' personal experience of and feelings about so called aggressive begging were issues that were discussed. The possibilities of actually having seen or being confronted with begging in the street thus influenced a few of the students in their discourse. Personal accounts were then presented when stories were told about unpleasant encounters and actions, such as spitting or kicking or other events that made the individual student react in some way. This fact led them to state that there are great individual differences in their attitudes but as a whole they concluded that "we do not mind it too much". Even though the article studied contains ethical, religious, and legal aspects of the problem of begging and second-class citizenship in the EU member states, the statements in the discussion were coloured by the individual student's emotions. This was particularly observed in the statements by the Swedish students.

4.2. The social situation for the homeless people and children

The Swedish students highlighted who has the responsibility of doing something about the begging in the streets and second-class citizenship. From a Nordic perspective, it is the responsibility of the state, municipality or “society” to do something about it, but with other perspectives the responsibility lies on the individual, and in this case on the beggar him/herself. The Swedish students had the dilemma of whether the responsibility of doing something about begging in the streets should be taken care of by the Swedish state or municipality or not, since the issue is so multi-faceted and demanding.

Second-class citizens in the streets in Sweden can be of either Swedish origin or come from other countries. The students claimed that there is a difference, as begging in the street by Swedish people tends to be more often related to problems such as drugs, alcohol and crime. For these people life “got the wrong way when they were younger”. The act of begging when it comes to people from especially south-eastern Europe is based on poverty in their home countries. The students emphasized that they see much more begging in the major cities and their surroundings than in small towns or in the countryside.

What help can these beggars receive in Sweden? The students mentioned a number of organizations and churches, such as the Red Cross and the Salvation Army, that have people that volunteer. However, there is no specific organization that focuses on beggars but all organizations help people in need no matter their profiles or backgrounds. In addition, municipalities and the state were mentioned as possible sources for support. In this way, beggars can at least for short periods be offered a place to stay and receive simple meals for free. It is not common to see children together with begging parents in the streets in Sweden and if this is the case, the students claimed that the social municipal authorities were to be contacted.

The French students had different views on homeless French citizens versus foreign citizens from the Roma community in particular. Concerning French homeless street people, students explained that they often met them in major French cities such as Paris, Lyon, Nantes, and Angers. The causes related to the situations of being in the street were of different kinds as can be seen in the following quotation: “Some people find themselves in the street because of unemployment, divorce, alcohol, or drug addiction.” For these students, this category of marginalized citizens has no place to live, and they do not want offers for housing from the municipality or other organizations. This is why they can be found at supermarkets, railway stations, and other public spaces. The students explained that various NGOs and welfare associations try to organize structures that could facilitate the reintegration of these people. These university students highlighted that, for example, there are religious associations that provide shared housing for street people to help homeless people return to “a normal life”. However, French students confirmed that their impression was that the French state simply pays these street people a sum of money but they did not know the approach and methods used by the state to contact and support these people, when they do not have a permanent address.

As for the Roma people, the university students clearly showed that these people are not considered to be French and the students have the impression that they come from Eastern countries in Europe, especially Romania. Since they do not have French citizenships, the university students found it hard to believe that the French state could help them. They also mentioned the situation that they had observed during President

Sarkozy's time in office: "Look, during the period of President Sarkozy, they were expelled to Romania and other Eastern European countries". For these students, the specificity of Roma people is that they never stay in one location for a longer period of time. The view is that the Roma people travel from region to region, from city to city and from country to country. However, the students additionally pointed out that some French citizens and Roma street people share the same characteristics of being homeless, begging and living in appalling conditions. Regarding begging, the students had observed that Roma people were always with their children. Previously, they had the idea that they used the presence of their children "to soften up and make more money". However, after having read the article which was used in this exchange project and doing research on the subject, they had noticed that in their home countries, children go to school at the age of seven. Since there are no day-care centres or pre-schools in their home countries the parent of young children cannot work there and that is the reason they bring their children to the streets in a foreign country. In addition, these people were afraid of being deported and preferred to keep their children with them so that they were not separated. French students also described their image of the daily life of this Roma community. From their perspective, they are less integrated people who live in difficult situations, in poverty and in conditions without basic needs such as fresh water, housing and therefore do not have a chance to take care of themselves.

For these university students, the beggars of the Roma community are not citizens like other people, because their living conditions do not allow them to participate in a concrete way. These university students even questioned whether the rights, duties and conditions of these citizens really should concern them, since there is a barrier for the citizens to integration. This barrier prevents them from having access to their fundamental rights, hence the idea of calling them "second-class citizens".

4.3. The responsibility of the school and the teachers

The Swedish students described all children's right to good quality education no matter their background or previous schooling. At the same time, they recognized the demands that children of parents of second-class citizenship put on the schools in regards to their special needs. Since the children and their parents tend to be on the move, the educational plans may be disturbed or interrupted. There are also pedagogical difficulties for the teachers and the schools when children in Roma families are to be received on short notice. These challenges were considered to be very problematic, since there are great demands on the schools in Sweden to secure that the needs of every individual child are met. This was highlighted by the Swedish students. Furthermore, the Swedish students were fully aware that every child with another mother tongue than Swedish has the right to organized teaching of their first language (under certain conditions) in the Swedish school system. This was another challenge that the students had in mind when thinking about including children of Roma beggars in the schools on short notice.

As for the school integration of the children from these circumstances, the students highlighted that these children are viewed as all other children in Sweden with special needs. There are no specific actions or regulations for this group. These children are expected to go to school as all other children and be integrated even though it takes time. For the children whose parents are here temporarily, going to school is regarded

as a choice, since initiatives have to be taken as opposed to the situation for Swedish children when it is compulsory. Resources and strategies for handling non-Swedish children from foreign countries are available for these children as for all other multilingual children and the Swedish participants in the study referred to how immigrant children in classes helped each other with translation and clarification if one child knows some more Swedish than the others. Integration should be started at an early stage and the Swedish language and culture are the tools to use as much as possible, but at the same time it is important to see these foreign children's first language as a resource also for the Swedish children's learning. These children are not special in the usual sense but have other needs than Swedish children. But even some Swedish children have special needs so this group of immigrant children is not particularly special. They should have the same opportunities to learn as Swedish children have and be treated in the same way – if they need extra support, they should have that support. However, the general view was that second-class citizens from other countries seen begging in the streets generally have not taken their children with them to Sweden but left them in their home countries. Money earned from begging is sent back to them and other relatives left behind.

As was put forward by the Swedish students, French students on their side claimed that even if pupils from Roma communities have some gaps in their learning, they are not in separate classes, but are mixed with other pupils. However, the French students were eager to emphasize how often the children can be of a different age than the group, since they were aware of the fact that there might be a slight difference between their knowledge and that of other students of the same age. The students thus explained that when these Roma children arrive in schools in France, they undergo some kind of an assessment of their acquired knowledge in some subjects as well as their level of cognitive mastery in order to determine the appropriate level and enrol them in suitable classes.

Nevertheless, these French students stressed that according to their experiences from their studies of the discussions carried out on this subject, they realized that the Roma people's children had difficulties in finding their way into the mainstream schools, especially private schools. In order to be integrated into private schools, it is necessary for them to pay the required costs for meals, for instance, and with the lack of enough financial resources, children from Roma communities cannot afford this meal and parents have neither the time nor the means to pick them up at lunchtime to let them eat at home. Therefore, they prefer to take their children with them and be with them in the street, because then they are sure they will have something to eat.

While doing their investigations, the French students realized that these parents do not trust the school system. Some Roma people actually remembered various forms of suffering and discrimination which they faced when they were in school in their country of origin. Based on these experiences, school is therefore not trusted and regarded as a safe place for their children. Since the child has a very important position in their community, they prefer not to bring them to school. However, French students emphasized that solutions are within reach in response to the Roma community's negative view on education and schools. In some regions of France some strategies have been created to address this lack of education. One example provided was offering Roma children learning in trucks. The mobile school truck is then considered to be a classroom for these children and driven by teachers. These mobile school trucks can be

with them wherever they go and the teacher-drivers provide the necessary knowledge for these Roma children. This has turned out to be reassuring for the parents.

5. Conclusion

According to the results of this study, which we can call exploratory, we find that French and Swedish students have almost the same perceptions of street people. Although there is a slight difference between the practices used in France and Sweden in the field of support for these people, it is noticeable that the students in these two countries consider these street people as second-class citizens. As a matter of fact, these university students as a matter of fact showed that they are fully aware of the fact that these groups of people do not have fundamental rights in the host countries. The two groups of students distinguish between street people who are French or Swedish citizens versus street people with a migrant background such as Roma people. For French and Swedish students, the latter do not live in the same conditions as other citizens, which makes it difficult for them to exercise their rights and duties as citizens. As Xypas (2003) points out, for reasons related to their belonging, Roma people are reduced to "second-class" citizenship.

The students also highlighted that the school, as the place where citizens are trained par excellence (Schnapper, 2000), tries to meet the needs of these second-class citizens, taking into account their specific needs and characteristics. However, the schools and the teachers encounter many challenges related to the Roma people's conception of the school, lack of financial resources, and their fear of school. In other words, schools are not places where pupils and parents from the Roma community can enjoy equality, justice, freedom, promotion and social advancement, but places where they risk all forms of violence, suffering, and discrimination linked to their specific belonging.

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