

Abstract

This work is an attempt to contribute to the research of defining possible ways to reach sustainability. It is argued in this paper that civil disobedience used by a social group as a manner to raise people consciousness and change laws about a common injustice, could be one of these possible method.

Sustainability is defined in this thesis under the form of “sustainable society”, based on an alternative to the usual “capitalist” sustainable development definition. This sustainable society is constructed by Dobson’s “ecological citizens”. These citizens are ecologically and socially aware, and act for the well being of their society. One of the principal elements of this sustainable society is democracy; according to Ralws and Habermas, civil disobedience is, among others, a primordial compounds to a healthy democratic society.

A practical lighting on the theoretical part of the thesis is given by the interviews of several French “faucheurs volontaires” (literally “voluntary cutters”), a group of disobedient citizens who are cutting Genetically Modified Organisms (GMO) crops to sound the alarm about the different risks created by the use of these organisms in the agriculture. The results of the survey help to understand these phenomena: these people are ecological citizens; in majority, even if they evolved thanks to the action, this people had already a small ecological footprint, i.e. a reduced impact on the environment before joining the movement. First, it seems that civil disobedience didn’t transform totally the people; but it reinforces the first ecological and collectivist sensitivity and pushes the person to put ideas into actions. However, civil disobedience can be seeing as a way of institutionalising this ecological citizenship and a manner of reaching directly sustainable society in putting pressure on the government in order to change laws.

A larger study of this French movement is necessary to have confirmations of the result from this first approach to the case; then, a comparison between different civil disobedient movements in order to confirm the existence of a new social process is also required.

Key words:

Sustainability, civil disobedience, ecological citizenship, citizenship construction process, “faucheurs volontaires”.

Acknowledgments

I have many thanks to address at many different people; indeed, writing a thesis revealed itself as an exercise impossible to manage alone.

First, *merci* to the faucheurs volontaires that took the time to respond to my questions, and shared their great experiences.

Of course, Turaj S. Faran has a special place in this “thank you” paragraph ; thanks for supporting my crazy ideas and showing me how to defend my views in putting them in theoretical and academic perspective.

Merci to my family for their intergenerational support, even from far, far away sometimes;

A special thanks to the activists of the Ungdomhuset in Copenhagen, friends or anonymous involved in the struggle; this gave me the opportunity to live a civil disobedience movement victory, and so a lot of hope and motivation to conduct this work;

French, Swedish or worldwide friends already know how much they are important in my life, but I want to thanks them anyway for how appreciated their support have been for me during the writing of this manuscript.



« GMO : no way ! »

Sources : Greenpeace France

Table of content

Abstract.....	2
Acknowledgments	3
List of Figures and Tables	5
List of Acronyms and Abbreviations	5
1. Introduction.....	6
2. The Research Process	8
2.1 Objectives and questions.....	8
2.2 A qualitative research	8
<i>Part I</i>	9
3. Sustainability	9
3.1 Definition of Sustainability	9
3.1.1 The 3 pillars.....	9
3.1.2 The main definition: the Brundtland sustainable development.....	10
3.1.3 An alternative to the economical growth based theory	11
3.2 Reaching sustainability through the civil society	13
3.2.1 Society: tentative of definition	13
3.2.2 A sustainable society	13
3.2.3 The sustainable society via the civil society	14
3.2.4 Our present society is lacking sustainability	15
4. Citizenship	17
Definition	17
4.1.1 Classical definitions of citizenship.....	17
4.1.2 Liberal and civic republican citizenship	18
4.1.3 Post- cosmopolitanism, a step to Ecological citizenship.....	20
Ecological citizenship and sustainability	21
5. Civil disobedience.....	24
5.1 What is civil disobedience	24
5.2 Justification of civil disobedience	25
5.3 When and how to use civil disobedience	25
5.4 The role of civil disobedience	26
5.5 Why to use civil disobedience.....	27
6. Reaching sustainability through civil disobedience	29
Link between civil disobedience and sustainability	29
6.2 Link between Ecological Citizenship and civil disobedience	29
6.2 Link between Ecological Citizenship and civil disobedience	29
<i>Part II: Case study</i>	31
7. Presentation of the case	31
8. Data collection	32
8.1 Limitations of study and the field.....	32
8.2 Methodological difficulties and dilemmas	Fel! Bokmärket är inte definierat.
9. Who are the activists.....	34
10. Study.....	36
10.1 Result of the interviews	36
10.2 The “GMO fight” and the 3 pillars of sustainability: Self interest or common concerns?	39\\
11 Discussion.....	42

<i>Conclusion</i>	44
<i>References</i>	45
<i>Appendix : sample Interviews with the « faucheurs volontaires »</i>	48\

List of Figures and Tables

Figures:

- 1: The Brundtland Sustainable Development
- 2: A Sustainable Development definitions alternative.
- 3: The three main citizenships
4. How to reach sustainability

Tables:

- 1: Age of the “faucheurs volontaires” in percentage
- 2: Impact of civil disobedience on idea and environmental footprint.

List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

GMO: Genetically Modified Organisms

1. Introduction

The French parliament is just about to vote a text about the legality of the GMO crops. This text is being debated ignoring two points: the negative vote of the French Senat that happened last week and the people unfavourable opinion about GMO in general¹. This disregard against the will of the majority is a determinant fact that permits to a French movement called “faucheurs volontaires” to win credibility. This movement is a civil disobedience group of people that denounces the un-sustainability of the GMO grown in open field, through non violent actions.

Regarding this case, a few questions are coming up: Who are these activists? Are they really acting into the framework of civil disobedience, i.e. for the common good? And if yes, is civil disobedience a veritable way of reaching sustainability or sustainable society?

In the first part of this thesis, a focus will be given on what is sustainability (**Chapter 1**). It will be explained how Sustainable society i.e. a society where people are free to choose their way of living, is composed of and created by Dobson’s ecological citizens (**Chapter 2**).

Indeed, citizens compose society. They have a double relationship with this society: transforming and being transformed by this entity. But our current society is inherently social not sustainable (see Durkheim’s anomie, 1893, in Bohm and Smith, 2007: p.2). In order to get to a sustainable society, we need to create a new citizenship dynamic, and stop replacing politics by market: “the question of sustainable behaviour cannot be reduced to a discussion about balancing carrots and sticks” (Beckman 2001, in Dobson, 2003, p.3).

In this thesis, I will explain that “Sustainability is more than (...) restraint in consumption” (Harris et al., 2001: p.xxxiv). More than consumers, we are citizens. As Sen explained “(...) we are not only *patients*, whose needs demand attention, but also *agents*, whose freedom to decide what to value and how to pursue it can extend far beyond the fulfilment of our needs. The question can thus be asked whether environmental priorities should be seen in terms also of sustaining our freedoms.” (Sen, 2004, 4th paragraph). This thesis chose to answer positively to this question. Sustainable citizens are Dobson’s ecological citizens. They give priority to environmental considerations (Dodson, 2003) and thus have a small environmental footprint, but are also aware of the social worldwide inequalities and environmental crisis, and are acting to resolve them. One of their actual actions is to legalise and institutionalise their views, in order to reach this society.

I am presenting civil disobedience as one of the ways of reaching this institutionalisation (**Chapter 3**). This way of acting is defined by Rawls and Habermas like an illegal action perpetrated by an individual or a group of individuals because of a common injustice, in order to change the law; civil disobedients are acting under democracy, supplying to this lacks of justice. (see chapter 5 below)

¹ Le point, 14th and 19th of May 2007, *La gêne des politiques sur les OGM* and *Le PS veut un référendum sur les OGM*.

The second part of the thesis is an illustration of these points. Field data are presented, in order to support the idea that ecological citizens are using civil disobedience, as a last recourse, to give fuel to the public debate. These actions are taking place in order to force the government to change laws in order to reach a sustainable society.

2. The Research Process

2.1 Objectives and questions

The aim of this study is to make explicit the link between civil disobedience and ecological citizenship.

The main questions the present work addresses are:

*What is sustainability, and why do we need sustainability? Is our actual society able to answer to the actual crisis?

*Are our actual citizens able to handle the actual social and environmental crisis?

*Who are the citizens that seem to move from unsustainable behaviour and are proposing sustainable alternatives? How did they become as they are? How are they acting, what is their impact on society?

2.2 A qualitative research

It is sometimes disconcerting to choose between qualitative and quantitative methods. Indeed, the basic difference between inductive approach, generating theories from empirical evidence and quantitative methods, employed in deductive research (Brockington and Sullivan 2003; Bryman 2004), seems impossible when as in this thesis the theoretical and the practical production of theory have a tight relationship. Bryman is however admitting that a strict separation between both have to be taken carefully: “it is necessary to be careful about hammering a wedge between them” (Bryman 2004, p.20). The research strategy of this thesis is not thus following either purely inductive or deductive method. Giovanni Bettini², in his presentation of his thesis method, is speaking about “a hybrid” approach, “close to the “reflexive methodology” presented by Alvesson and Skoldberg (2000)”.

Anyway, I define my work qualitative, because I am not establishing a general statement from a huge number of empirical data, but I am testing a theory through few semi-constructed interviews.

The first part is based on a literature data, from sustainable literature, political science, philosophy and sociology.

The second part is based on interviews and secondary data about a French non violent civil disobedience movement, the “faucheurs volontaires”.

² 2007 Lumes student, p.6

Part I

3. Sustainability

3.1 Definition of Sustainability

Because of the actual worldwide environmental crisis, sustainability had become a fashionable expression. Even rich economies are in troubles, and western countries cannot avoid taking their responsibilities.

Defining the concept of sustainability is both simple and difficult: it has many definitions, based on different logics. But all are based on the meeting of the economical, social and environmental fields, named “the three pillars of sustainability”.

Even if it is not the purpose of the thesis to put into question the definition and the meaning of sustainability, the choice of one coherent “sustainability paradigm” is important in order to understand the approach used. Sustainability can in fact be thought through different perspectives.

The connection between sustainability in general and sustainable development and growth will be examined through the presentation of existing alternatives.

3.1.1 The 3 pillars

The three pillars of sustainability are the common basis between the different definitions of sustainability. As mentioned previously, they represent the economical, environmental and social dimensions of society. Sustainability, in the broader definition, is represented by the following drawing, where sustainability is the meeting between these three realms.

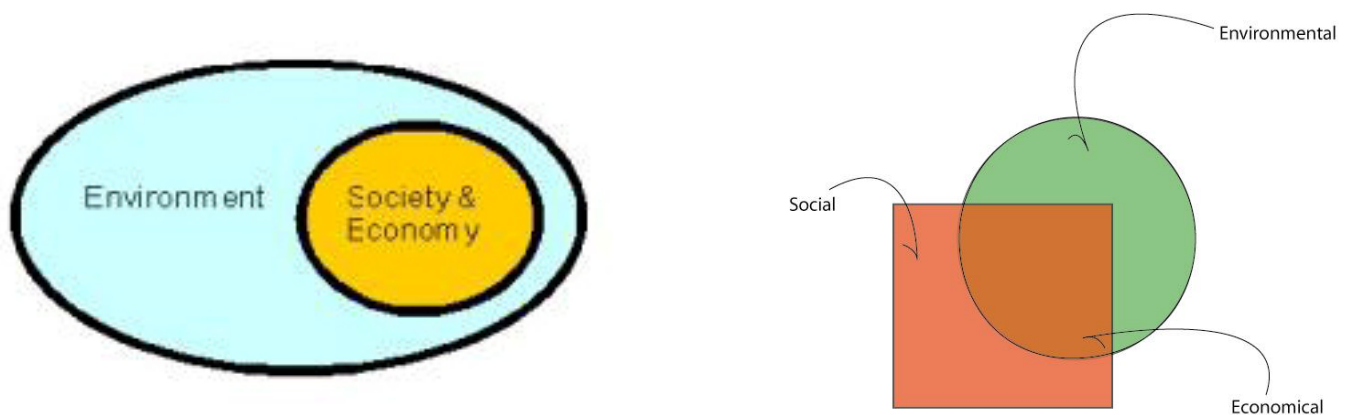
1. The Brundtland Sustainable Development.



The alternative definition of sustainability focuses on the fact that the economical dimension has a basis on social and environment frameworks. The next schema to the left is an evolution to the egg

model used by researcher speaking about ‘strong’ sustainability platform (Goodland and Daly 1996 in Wironen, 2007). “In the case of ‘strong’ sustainability theorists, the environmental pillar is considered the fundamental base of sustainability, with Sustainable Development as the means to achieve this objective” (ibid p6). The schema to the right illustrates the economical realm creation from the need of the social realm in the framework of the environmental resources; this conception of sustainability is the closer to the one that will guide the entire thesis.

2. A Sustainable Development definitions alternatives.



3.1.2 The main definition: the Brundtland sustainable development

First, one must remember that the economic concept based on growth is relatively new. After World War II, the reconstruction of Europe gave the opportunity for the western governments to open the market for western goods, in Europe, and later worldwide. This was as well presented as a way to contain the communist ideology. International institutions like the World Bank were created in order to give a stable framework to this world economic model expansion; neoclassical economic policies were imposed on the poor countries through adjustment policies, in order to transform their economy and to give them the ability to face the problem of poverty. This neoclassical theory is declaring itself following the Newtonian mechanisms, as value neutral, objective and a scientific paradigm (Giuseppe Munda 1997 in Harris et al., 2001: p18).

The Brundtland definition of sustainable development as meeting “the need of the present without compromising the ability of the future generation to meet their own needs (...) does imply limits - not absolute limits but limitations imposed by the present state of technology and social organization on environmental resources and by the ability of the biosphere to absorb the effects of human activities. But technology and social organization can be both managed and improved to make way for a new era of economic growth.” (Brundtland 1987: A/42/427, IV. 1. 3. 27.)

This definition of sustainability is the mainstreamed one. But some voices are rising and give us alternatives solution to the actual crisis.

3.1.3 An alternative to the economical growth based theory

In the 70s, some economists became conscious of the limits of these theories, where economy is considered as a closed system; they were calling into question its quantitative GDP basis (Giuseppe Munda 1997 in Harris et al, 2001).

Sustainable development is the result of the inclusion at this time of the “Human development paradigm” as well as environmental concerns in the economic system.

Mahabub ul Haq and Paul Streeten were defining their approach of Human Development as basic need fulfilment (Timothy Wise, 2001 in Harris et al, 2001). “Certainly, people have ‘needs’, but they also have values, and, in particular, they cherish their ability to reason, appraise, act and participate. Seeing people in terms only of their needs may give us a rather meagre view of humanity” (Sen, 2004: 3rd paragraph). Amartya Sen was developing at this time his version through the concepts of capabilities, functionings, endowments, and entitlement: he was going beyond the idea of basic needs, underlining the importance of how and why people have access to the resources, and the freedom to use or not use these resources. He is considering “development as freedom” (Sen 1981, 1992, 1999, in Timothy Wise, 2001, in Harris et al, 2001: p.57).

In a broader perspective, Human development “may be defined as progress toward enabling all human beings to satisfy their essential needs, to achieve a reasonable level of comfort, to live lives of meaning and interest, and to share fairly in opportunities for health and education.” (Harris and al, 2001:p.xxvii) This implies an “anthropocentric approach” of the environment: “environmental integrity [is primordial] because it is essential for the achievement of most other goals that go beyond a very short time horizon”. (ibid)

The question at this point is how this environment can be preserved? The UN, in establishing a strong relation between poverty and environment, is criminalising the poor and generalising the idea that “economic growth and a rise in per capita incomes is the only solution to environment destruction by the poor.” (Timothy Wise, 2001, in Harris et al, 2001: p.52). However, the Human Development Index (HDI) conclusions are going against this idea; this index, used by the UN to integrate some of Sen thoughts in its development program, is showing that economic growth is not enough to reach human development (Timothy Wise, 2001, in Harris et al, 2001). More over, in rural areas, it seems that environmental degradation is the result of economical organisation distresses generated by the “short-term view of resource exploitation” of politicians, businesses and government interests (Chambers 1992 in Harris et al, 2001: p.52). Solutions are thus coming from the empowerment of the poor (ibid), and the empowerment of the “simple citizen” could be also included in this empowerment.

The sustainable development based on economical growth also contradicts its theoretical sustainability part and what in practise economical growth is implying: it is over-increasing consumption. Even if “sustainability is more than (...) restraint in consumption” (Harris et al., 2001: p.xxxiv), “paradoxes of social integration is that includes integration into the consumer culture, which is certainly one of the roots of un-sustainability” (Wolfe 1995 in Timothy Wise, 2001, in Harris et al, 2001: p54).

Another dimension of sustainability remains in the unbalanced relationship between the nations where the neoclassical economic system is coming from, and the countries where it was imposed. Celso Furtado and Raul Prebisch are denouncing the inequality of trade and the South country dependency to the rich nations through the denunciation of the bio-imperialism of the northern nations on south countries, Shiva is underlying the same phenomena (Shiva 1993 in Harris et al, 2001). Agarwal and Narain, quoting the World resources Institutes, write about “environmental neo-colonialism” when referencing to Global warming (Agarwal and Narain 1991 in Harris et al, 2001: p101).

Inequality is also occurring between women and men: women “represent a marginalized group in society who experience gross inequalities of formal power and authority in the public sphere and are denied equal access to and control over resources” (Singh, 2006; p.64). Gender issues are therefore an important part of the human development theory and of sustainable development theory.

These theories have to take place under democracy, which seems the more adequate political framework to implement and promote sustainable development (Timothy Wise, 2001 in Harris et al, 2001). Sen explains that political freedom, economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency guarantees, and protective security are primordial in order to reach human development (Sen, 1999).

Hopefully, the questioning of the growth based sustainability is rising: “the growing popularity of the term [sustainable] indicates an increasing awareness that seeds of self destruction can be contained within short term achievements in development as is used to be conceived; that is, economic-development-as-GNP-growth.” (Harris et al, 2001: p.xxviii)

Even if neoclassical economist are integrating environmental concerns more and more through internalisation of the environmental cost or externalities into the market, “in a broader perspective, it is the social and institutional processes of setting social and environmental goals and norms that must guide sustainable development policy.” (Harris et al, 2001: p.14) Regarding the social and ecological crisis, the different actors (politics, civil society) have to give way to new generation of ideas. We have to “address the conflict between environment and development goals by formulating a definition of sustainable development” (Harris et al, 2001: p.xxix) Indeed, “the standard economic view of development as a straight-line process leading to industrialisation and mass consumption no longer applies.” (Munda, in Harris et al, 2001: p13)

The definition of sustainability chosen for this thesis is based on “(...) the substantive freedoms of people today ‘without compromising the ability of future generations’ to have similar, or more, freedoms (...)” (Sen 2004: 4th paragraph), and a return to the development as basic needs fulfilment in link with the Sen’s Capability Approach. The awareness of the North-South economical and environmental inequalities, the choice of the social and environmental framework like drivers to the economy, gender equality and on the empowerment of the citizens are also primordial. This could be achieved through democracy, reached thanks to the civil society dynamic.

3.2 Reaching sustainability through the civil society

3.2.1 Society: tentative of definition

A society can be broadly defined like “a large group of people who live together in an organized way, making decisions about how to do things and sharing the work that needs to be done.” (“Society’, Cambridge dictionary) In other words, it is a community of individuals, sharing common values. It is also a social construction, based on social convention (Rousseau, 1762), and thus formed by social links existing between the people. The institution of a society is transforming human nature into citizenship; this is altering human consistence in order to reinforce it (Rousseau, 1762). The society is composed by citizen (see definition in chapter 2).

According to Touraine, society is the result of social action, the product of social relationships (Vaillancourt, 1991). It is “an actors system defined by cultural action and cultural orientations” (Vaillancourt, 1991: p.7); the society auto-creates itself, and is generating culture through conflicts. Touraine named this process historicity, one of his key concepts. Historicity is one of the “three different levels” that are composing the bases of the society. For the French sociologist, the new social movement are “the midwife” of the actual history (ibid). We are living a new society dynamic, “based on knowledge, communication and culture, more than on work and economy.” The result of this evolution is that “the worker class give the floor to other contestation actors, like the women, the students, the environmentalists and ecologists, the consumers, the oppressed ethnical groups, and more important for Touraine, the anti- nuclear movement.” Those movements are, according to Touraine, a substitution to the workers movement loss of dynamism, “until the moment when one, like the anti-nuclear movement, will become the new central group and take as space as the workers movement before.” (ibid)

3.2.2 A sustainable society

“Collective action in search of the good society is a universal part of human experience, though manifested in a million different ways across time, space and culture.” (Edwards, 2004: p.1)

Here, sustainable society is defined as like a framework into which citizen could reach freedom, freedom to choose his way of living (Sen, 2004). Sen defines it also like a society where individuals

can have economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency guarantees, and protective security (Sen definition of human development). Following this sustainable society is under democratic framework; democracy “refers to a form of government in which, in contradistinction to monarchies and aristocracies, the people rule. It entails a state in which there is some form of political equality among the people.” (Krieger, 2001: “democracy”)

Alexis de Tocqueville underlines the importance of independent associations in order to sustain democracy (Tocqueville, 1835, in Edwards 2004). Civil society, as a room for association to develop, is an important part of the sustainable society. The link between democracy and civil society forms a virtuous circle, because democracy is giving the opportunity of an empowerment of the ground; and following Tocqueville, civil society reinforce democracy. The sustainable society has thus the particularity to exist for individuals and at the same time to be created by individuals. This creation benefits citizens, and at the same time it is under their responsibility to generate it (this can be in a sense linked to the Touraine historicity society auto-generation.). Nussbaum (2000) argue that ten capabilities should be promoted by democratic government in order to reach human well being; some are in direct link with the definition of citizenship: being able to participate effectively in political choices that govern one's life; having the right of political participation, protections of free speech and association.

In short, sustainability regarding our natural resources, social and economical equality is protected by citizen association; citizens, through of associations, are acting and standing for it.

3.2.3 The sustainable society via the civil society

Sustainable society has been defined in the previous section as a place based on citizen actions, set through associations. According to Edwards, the realm of these citizen activities is called civil society. It is “a point of reference for philosophers since antiquity in their struggle to understand the great issues of the day: the nature of a good society, the rights and responsibilities of citizens, the practice of politics and government, and most especially, how to live together peacefully by reconciling our individual autonomy with our collectives aspirations, balancing freedom and its boundaries, and marrying pluralism with conformity so that complex society can function with both efficiency and justice.” (Edwards, 2004: p6)

Historically, the first definition of civil society “underscores the importance of markets and liberal states to independent social life.” (Krieger, 2001: “civil society”) This definition takes roots in the Scottish Enlightenment movement (1740–1790), where civil society was related to commercial society. It refers also to the Hegel *bürgerliche gesellschaft*, where the market or “the system of needs” is the foundation of the state. It also refers to the property concept: Rousseau, in his Discourse on the

origin of inequality (1755: p.45) claims that “The first person who, having enclosed a plot of land, took it into his head to say this is *mine* and found people simple enough to believe him, was the true founder of civil society.”

However, Locke is talking about civil society as political society; this definition is close to the one used here :“ civil society is that collection of diverse interest groups and social organizations that is strong enough to provide some autonomy and protection to individuals from the authoritarian and hegemonic tendencies of states” (Krieger, 2001: “civil society”). Scholte goes in the same way in saying that civil society is “a society that protects those who organize to challenge power” (Seligman 1992, in Edwards, 2004: p.2). It seems that “civil society is simultaneously a goal to aim for, a means to achieve it, and a framework for engaging with each other about ends and means” (Edwards, 2004: p.viii). It “does offer both a touch-stone for social movements and a practical framework for organising resistance and alternative to social, economic and political problems” (Edwards, 2004: p.110). To recapitulate, “the essence of civil society is collective action.” (Edwards, 2004: p.111)

The idea of a global public sphere is existing (Delanty, 2000, in Dobson, 2003); this idea will be exposed later in the thesis, through the presentation of a global citizenship.

In summary, civil society is at the same time “a part of society distinct from states and markets, formed for the purpose of advancing common interests and facilitating collective action” (Edwards, 2004: p.vii) ; “the realm of service rather than self-interest, and a breeding ground for the “habits of the heart”- attitudes and values like cooperation, trust, tolerance and non-violence” (Edwards, 2004: p.viii) and an arena where “rational dialogue and the exercise of “active citizenship” in pursuit of the common interest” are going on (ibid.).

It is a “positive field of freedom, where active citizens have opportunities for participation, self-realization, being initiative, and interacting with each other” (Pohjola 2000: p.44, in Ojala, 2005: p.19).

3.2.4 Our present society is lacking sustainability

Several authors describe our society as socially sick, where individuals are unhappy, and are inclined to commit suicide because of the externalities of the economical organisation.

Weber, in his "disenchantment of the world" concept, explains how the rationalisation of the world is creating impersonal, instrumental and utilitarian social relations; individuals are considering themselves like means in the process of reaching a goal. Capitalism is, in the Weberian point of view, the result of this human control of nature. In our capitalist society, social actions between people become based on efficiency of the goal, and not on the moral content. This phenomenon is based on a new economical ethic, from the Protestantism. Weber is developing his idea through the image of the

"iron cage": we are trapped in a rational social organisation, bureaucratically controlled, where solidarity between the people doesn't exist.

For Emile Durkheim, the extreme division of labour conduces to individualism and loses of social marks, to anomie; this term is defined as "an absence, breakdown, confusion, or conflict in the norms of a society"; "Anomie is one of the four causes of suicide identified" (Scott and Marshall, 2005 "anomie"). "In advanced industrial societies (...) 'individualism' is promoted to such a degree that people become so selfish that they no longer care about the welfare of others (lack of integration)" (Bohm and Smith, 2007: p.2)

The alienation of Marx critics as well capitalist society; it describes "the estrangement of individuals from one another, or from a specific situation or process is a consequence of social structures which oppress people, denying them their essential humanity." (Scott and Marshall, 2005: "alienation")

Alain Touraine speaks about the "complete absorption of an individual" into the post-industrial society; it is "more useful to speak of alienation than of exploitation: the former defines a social, the latter merely an economic relationship. A man is alienated when his only relationship to the social and cultural directions of his society is the one the ruling class accords him compatible with the maintenance of its own dominance." (Krieger, 2001 : "Post-industrial Society »).

Social sustainability is an important component often forgotten in sustainable definition. The authors previously named are bringing arguments that show us that our current society is socially ill, because of the lack of social link between human beings. Even according to the World Bank, "for human welfare to be advanced, the state's capability-defined as the ability to undertake and promote collective action efficiently-must be increase."(Wold Bank 1997, in Harris et al 2001: pxxxiv).

This thesis will show that this collective action can be promoted directly by and for the citizen without direct state actions, and under a form that will challenged the state; Associations' action, under civil society are able to break with this death of social sustainability.

According to some authors, changing our capitalist society cannot be done under the liberal citizenship, since it is this form of citizenship that allowed us to reach capitalism. Following this idea, the focus will be on a new type of citizen like a way to reach this sustainable society.

4. Citizenship

“When social conditions change, some aspects of the themes of citizenship change with them” (Shafir, 1998, in Dobson, 2003: p.35)

4.1 Definition

“The term *citizenship*, meaning membership in a political community, comes from the classical Greek and Roman conception of man as a political being. Ancient citizenship was understood as the capacity to govern and to be governed. It implied the idea of equality before the law and active political participation, and its emergence is concomitant with the birth of democracy” (Krieger, 2001: “citizenship”).

Citizenship is also a component of the creation process of the social link, primordial element to the individual to reach happiness (see previous section).

Another particularity of this is that a citizen is a political being that is not expressing its own interest, but the general interest. (Rousseau 1762) Healthy society is a society where citizenship feeling among people is strong; to be a citizen is to be linked with the other individuals. This is considered by Rousseau like something better than the Human nature, even if this nature is perfect. It gives us a moral existence.

According to these definitions, sustainable society is not only the sum of aware individuals; but also citizens are active individuals. A citizen is aware of the society problems and they are acting in its daily life in order to resolve it.

4.1.1 Classical definitions of citizenship

“Two types of citizenship, most commonly called “liberal” and “civic republican”, dominate the intellectual and political landscape” (Dobson, 2003: p.33). These two main classical definitions of citizenship are based on an historical evolution of the concept.

The first definition, from the antiquity, was based on an active participation, but it was practiced by a minority of population only. A major new conception of the term appeared with the French revolution (Reisenberg, 1992); “Rousseau's conception of citizenship, which draws on both the classical republican tradition and on modern contractualism, attempts to link the republican conception of political community with the premises of individualism.” (Krieger, 2001: “citizenship”) This individualism, exacerbated by the rise of consumption society, modified the citizenship definition. Indeed, the modern definition is based on a legal status, and integrates the idea of universality, and individualism; Benjamin Constant “declared that in order to preserve the “liberties of the moderns,” it was necessary to renounce the “liberties of the ancients” (ibid).

Today, liberal model of citizenship has a new dynamism thanks to the will of some entities to “establish the basic conditions for civil society and pluralistic society” (ibid). But the individualistic

character of this liberal citizenship seems to be responsible of the lack of cohesion between citizens (anomie for example, see chapter 1). Following Rawls works, Sandel and McIntyre are part of the “communitarians” school and are arguing for the revival of the civic republican conception of citizenship (Krieger, 2001: “citizenship”).

But some like the author Isaiah Berlin are advancing that the idea of common good has totalitarian implication and is incompatible with the modern idea of liberty. Dobson writes “much green political theory over the past few years has been devoted to discussing the relationship between democracy and sustainability, largely in response to the accusation that sustainability inevitably entails degrees of authoritarianism since people will not voluntarily make the changes that sustainability requires” (Dobson, 2003: p7). For Krieger (2001), the primordial point about citizenship is to combine an effective pluralism with a common politic identity. Since another framework was chosen than the liberal definition of sustainability, this question doesn’t even need to be asked, and liberty is re-defined. In this thesis, the Dobson thought about citizenship was chosen.

4.1.2 Liberal and civic republican citizenship

“It is more helpful to easy comprehension (...) to distinguish between two traditions (...).These are the civic republican style, which places its stress on duties, and the liberal, which places its stress on rights.” (Heater, 1999: p.38)

3. The three main citizenships.

First : Liberal	Second: Civic republican	Third: Post-cosmopolitan
Rights / entitlements (contractual)	Duties / responsibilities (contractual)	Duties / responsibilities (non-contractual)
Public sphere	Public sphere	Public and Private spheres
Virtue-free	"Masculine" virtue	"Feminine" virtue
Territorial (discriminatory)	Territorial (discriminatory)	Non-territorial (non-discriminatory)

Sources: (Dobson 2003)

Dobson defines citizenship according to four criteria, in order to be able to compare them easily. He explains that liberal and civic republican citizenship are territorially bounded; both are based on country borders, referring to a nation, a state: French or European citizenship for example. When he is

speaking about the public sphere, he is referring to the realm where the public politic debate is going on, in distinction with the private arena, where the private life is going on. The two traditional citizenship interactions are taking place only in the public sphere. This follows the agora-orientated inspiration of the majority of much of citizen theories. (Turner, 1990: p.36-38) The two citizenships have another common characteristic: the reciprocity between citizen and the political community based on a contract with the state, i.e. taxes are paid in return for enforcement of the protective estate laws. But under this contract, the distinction between rights and obligations is a key way of separating liberal from civic republican conception of citizenship: the right to be a passive consumer in the case of the liberal definition, and the obligation to be active, to take part of the society for the civic republican one.

The second distinction is about the value that is attached to them: Dobson is referring here to the apparently neutral value of liberal citizenship, and to the masculine virtue of the civic republican citizen.

In these classical citizenship frameworks environmental considerations can found a place:

Dobson is speaking about environmental citizenship, that “refer (s) to the way in which the environment-citizenship relationship can be regarded from a liberal point of view” (Dobson, 2003: p89). This can be understood as an extension of “the discourse and practice of rights-claiming (of liberal citizenship) into the environment context” (ibid); it is focussing on citizen rights, it is taking place in the public sphere and is in link with nation state political boundaries.

The statement took in the Stockholm conference in 1972 stipulates that “all human being have the fundamental right to an environment adequate for their health and well-being” (Miller 1998: 1-2, in Dobson, 2003: p.91).

According to several liberal views, this is the only way to keep democracy; indeed, an environmental founded society would be based on “fascists” laws and obligations when comparing with the freedom of choice that the neutral value liberal system is giving us.

However, in the first part of this thesis, it is explained that this market-based, territorial, patriarchal and non-values attached citizenship are not matching the vision of sustainability developed in this thesis. Moreover, Dobson is arguing that the liberal citizenship is based on values contrary to the general idea, as Heater is explaining in quoting Macedo’s definition of liberal characteristics: “tolerance, self-criticism, moderation, and reasonable degree of engagement in the activities of citizenship” (Heater 1992: p.32, in Dobson, 2003: p.57). Dobson is also denouncing the male virtue of civic republican citizenship, that is often define with the words “courage, devotion, military discipline and statecraft” (Van Gunsteren, 1994, in Dobson, 2003: p.60); it as to do with the armed virtue, the soldier obligation to defend the common good (Elshtain, 1986, in Dobson, 2003).

Based on the critics about the liberal tentative to include environmental concerns in citizenship, Dobson is suggesting that a new room for environmental preoccupation is needed. He is proposing another definition: the post-cosmopolitan citizenship.

4.1.3 Post- cosmopolitanism, a step to Ecological citizenship

The post-cosmopolitan citizenship is a meet between the two characteristics that are coming from liberal and republican citizenship, i.e. public reasonableness and common good.

Dobson is moreover calling for a feminisation of the citizenship, for the inclusion of “caring, compassion and responsibility for the vulnerable as citizenship virtues” in citizenship (Werbnner, 1999:p.221, in Dobson, 2003: p.63). This induces the inclusion of the private sphere into the citizenship range: indeed, “the consequent portrayal of the public sphere as transcendent, rational, and ultimately masculine and of the private sphere as the feminine realm of emotions and the weak body (...)” (Shafir, 1998: p.21, in Dobson, 2003: p.52) can be seen like one of the roots of inequality between man and women.

Furthermore, since contract is “contingent rather than a necessary connection with citizenship” and based on market society for Dobson (p.50), he is “call[ing] in question the “common sense” reciprocal expectation of morality to be found in the contractual idiom”. The post-cosmopolitan citizen is acting in order to feel right, to feel good and not in the framework of a contract.

According to Dobson, globalisation is also an important factor in the construction of the citizenship. Dobson is speaking about the existence of a “translational community” (p.31), created by this globalisation. This community is “not a cosmopolitan community at all, but a post-cosmopolitan relationship of actual harm, made possible by globalisation and illustrated by some of the processes at work in it” (Dobson, 2003: p.31)

He defines post-cosmopolitan citizenship like based as well on the awareness of the unequal relationship North-south: “Post-cosmopolitanism (...) offers a thickly material account of the ties that bind, created not by mental activity, but by the material production and reproduction of daily life in an unequal and asymmetrical globalizing world.” (Dobson, 2003: p.30)

For him, there no “diffusion” but “transfusion” of ideas “and it is mostly one way”, from Northern to Southern countries. “Environmental politics is an excellent example –especially in the guise of global warming- of the nature of asymmetrical globalisation.” (Dobson, 2003: p.17) Dobson is going against the idea of the “interconnectedness view of globalisation”; is claiming that “viewing globalisation as constitutively asymmetrical makes clearer the nature and direction of the political obligations it entails.” (Dobson, 2003: p.21)

Then Dobson follows Linklater idea that there are social bonds beyond the state: “The political space of obligation is not fixed as taking the form of the state, or the nation, or the European union, or the globe, but is rather “produced” by the activities of individuals and groups with the capacity to spread

and impose themselves in geographical, diachronic, and (...) ecological space” (Dobson, 2003: p.30). Linklater is also claiming that the protection the vulnerable have a translational dimension. Dobson is saying that “globalisation constantly turns relationships that we might have thought to be “Samaritan” into relationships of citizenships of citizenship” (ibid). But he makes a difference between belonging to human community and so having moral principles of Good Samaritan, and to be a citizen. Dobson is here focusing then in the concept of justice: “this obligation to do justice is a political obligation rather than a more general moral obligation, and is therefore more appropriately predicated of “being a citizen” than “being human”.” (Dobson, 2003: p.28) Dobson is here speaking about a political personality, a citizenship, beyond the state (Dobson, 2003: p. 29)

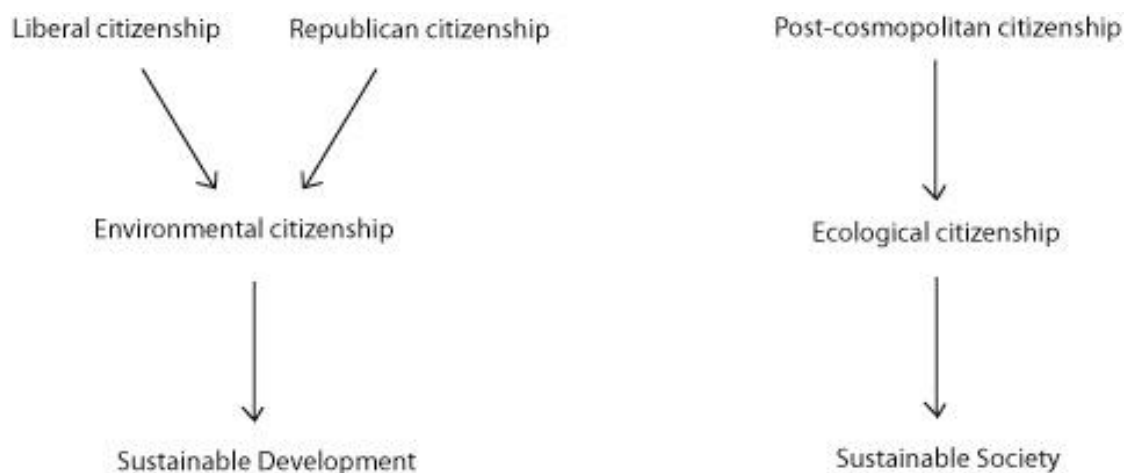
Delanty is speaking about the discrimination between human being when citizenship is attached to a state (Delanty 1992, in Dobson, 2003: p.69) ; that is why it is primordial in order to reach worldwide equality to find a “possibility of a citizenship “beyond discrimination” and, by the same token, beyond territory and its close cousin, membership” (Dobson, 2003: p.69).

In sum, post-cosmopolitan citizenship is characterised by feminine virtues, a global dimension and a “non-reciprocity based” relationship between citizen, and a will of responsible actions to improve society.

The introduction of environmental politics in citizenship has been rising at the same time as the global awareness about the fragility and the need for protection of the environment. This introduction of this environmental politics in the scope of citizenship fits with the characteristics of the post-cosmopolitan one; the meeting of the both gives birth to the ecological citizenship. This ecological citizenship has different definition (Smith, 1998; Barry, 1999); Dobson’s ecological citizen was chosen as the most developed compare to others (Ojala, 2005).

4.2 Ecological citizenship and sustainability

4. How to reach sustainability



Sources: Camille Gil from Dobson's theory

The introduction of the environmental concerns in the citizen concept is more complex than it seems. Indeed, as explained previously and according to Dobson, there is a distinction between Ecological citizenship and Environmental citizenship. Ecological citizenship is defined by an extension of post-cosmopolitan citizenship: "ecological citizenship is (...) both an example of post-cosmopolitan and a particular interpretation of it" (Dobson, 2003: p.139).

It differs from liberal and civic-republican citizenship: ecological citizenship "works with the language of virtue" (Dobson, 2003: p.89); its virtues are based on responsibility rather than rights and this responsibility is not reciprocal and not contractual ("deals with the currency of non-contractual responsibility"). It's not based on nation-state membership and political boundaries. It focuses on virtues from both public and private realm. This inclusion of the private sphere is both the result of gender equality –as we said previously– and an environmental will for improvement. Indeed, Dobson takes into consideration the reduction of the environmental footprint, notion that represents the impact of the human being on the environment during daily life, as a citizen duty.

Moreover, according to him, virtues developed in the public realm are the same as those developing in the private area (like care). This addition of the private sphere into the definition of citizenship runs counter to the liberal citizenship definition. That is why Dobson's last book chapters are asking the question of this citizenship cohabitation with the liberal state, and furthermore its promotion. In fact, according to its "neutral virtue", the liberal state cannot impose an idea of a "good life" to the citizen. Following this idea, Dobson is asking "does the pursuit of a sustainable society necessarily involve the endorsement of a determinate view of the right way to live?" (Dobson, 2003: p.140); this question is fundamental in order to analyse through the ecological citizen we can reach sustainability in our current social organisation. It is argued in this thesis that a certain support of a "good life theory" is needed to reach sustainable society. That sustainable society when reached will represent a framework thanks to what citizens will be able to choose freely their way of life. This risk of "indoctrination" of the people via a hypothetical utopia will be discussed later in this paper (chapter 10).

To come back to the ecological citizen, the virtues of this citizenship are defined in accordance to the obligations, or responsibilities, that this citizen has to accomplish; Dobson explains that its obligation is to "shoulder the burdens of post-cosmopolitan obligation" because of the asymmetric globalisation. For example, in the case of the global warming, rich countries have to act on carbon emission to reduce the impact on the developing countries.

But this ecological citizenship is more than about environment. Indeed, Dobson, in his definition of ecological citizenship, is taking into consideration the elements we define like indispensable parts of sustainability. First, he declares that sustainability is not a matter of values, but of sciences. But he is stating that we need values to achieve sustainability; these are defined according to this goal. Do we need to preserve the environment to live a good life? If the response is yes, we need to build a citizenship values framework that would include “environmental protection” as a core value. In doing that, he is grappling with the “‘comprehensive doctrine’ as to how the ‘good life’ should be lived” (Dobson, 2003: p.6) of the liberal state. For the Dobson ecological citizen, environmental protection is implied to every day actions.

Furthermore, Dobson is seeing “ecological citizenship as improving democracy’s chances of producing sustainable outcomes” (Dobson, 2003: p.7) Indeed, “[E]cological citizens will make democracies more responsive to sustainability demands than consumers charged a pound, a euro, a dollar or 100 yen to have an extra bag of rubbish taken away” (Dobson, 2003: p.8). Here he is challenging liberal rationality.

According to Beckman who’s speaking about sustainability and liberalism, “the sustainability of the consumerist and individualist lifestyle is put into question” because of the damage on the environment and on the social equity that implies; we need to base our lifestyle on another paradigm, which create a new citizenship, to go out of this liberal-individualistic-capitalistic society. Indeed, “the citizen that sorts her garbage or that prefer ecological goods will often do this because she feels committed to ecological values and ends.” “People sometimes do good because they want to be virtuous” (Beckman 2001, in Dobson, 2003: p.3). Dobson example about the recycling shows us how this citizenship could be a way to sustainability: if a liberal or civic republican citizen is forced to recycle, he will do it as long as the law or the fear of the fine will exist; or in the worst case, he will find a way to avoid doing it, because he will follow his individualistic interest. An ecological citizen will care about the environment, and recycling will not be a pain for him; he will do it even if the law would not exist. That is why it’s more efficient to find a way to reach this citizenship, to think from another paradigm, that following the liberal solutions. Civil society is defined as public space, where the citizen is expressing himself and acting is thus in strong link with the private realm. It is also a room where he is realising his citizen actions and citizen rededications.

In sum, Ecological citizen has a sustainable behaviour. She could be the core element of sustainable society. But how do we reach this “good society”? Since we saw that ecological citizens are active citizens, what is their way to transform liberal society to sustainable society?

As Gandhi said, the goal is in the way to achieve it (Gandhi in Bové, 2004): according to some observations, civil disobedience, a “noble” and sustainable collective action - because of the philosophical and humanistic dimension implied- seems to be a manner to reach this good society.

5. Civil disobedience

Civil disobedience is the “public, non-violent, conscientious yet political act contrary to law usually done with the aim of bringing about a change in the law or policies of the government” (Rawls, 1972, in Rosen and Wolff, 1999: p84). It is a direct action, which “means acting directly on the object of your protest or the source of your grievance, as opposed to petitioning or lobbying for your elected representatives to act.” (Howard Zinn, 2007). Lasse Thomassen is saying that according to Habermas, “Civil disobedience is an extension of public deliberation with different means, and the act of civil disobedience should, according to [him], be understood on the model of a public argument.” (Thomassen, 2007: p.4). It has theoretical and practical roots; indeed, civil disobedience is used and defined through social and political struggles experiences but also by social and political scholar thinkers.

According to Rawls, “a constitutional theory of civil disobedience has tree parts” (Rawls, 1972, in Rosen and Wolff, 1999: p.84). Those are exposed in the following paragraphs.

5.1. What is civil disobedience

One of the tree parts of Rawls definition is “the Form of this opposition to the democratic authority”. Indeed, opposition can take several forms, and Civil disobedience is not revolution. It takes place under the democracy framework. Civil disobedience is a public and non violent act: “Violent act (...) is incompatible with disobedience as a mode of address” (Rawls, 1972 in Rosen and Wolff, 1999: p.85). The civil disobedient follows the law essence, “expresses disobedience to law within the limits of fidelity to law (...) by the willingness to accept the legal consequences of one’s conduct.” (ibid) In this case, Habermas believes that “the courts should show leniency”. (Thomassen, 2007: p5/203) This would show the conscientiously and sincerity of the will of action.

According to Lasse Thomassen, Habermas thinks that “acts of civil disobedience should be non-violent, ‘demonstrative, symbolic acts’ as distinguished from acts of terrorism, for instance. In keeping with the model of public argumentation, civil disobedience should also be an appeal to the majority’s sense of justice, that is, a public statement with the intent of influencing public opinion, the majority and, eventually, legislation. As a consequence, civil disobedience should not seek to further private interests or conceptions of the good.” (Thomassen, 2007: p4/202). As Habermas said, it has to have a common purpose; civil disobedient are not acting for private interests.

As said before, civil disobedience is not an act of revolution: Habermas says that “since the monopoly of violence is just as constitutive as the claim to rational legitimacy for the constitutional state (*Rechtsstaat*), civil disobedience must meet the condition that arises by necessity from the state’s guarantee of peace (*Rechtsfriedensgarantie*). The existence and meaning of the legal order as a whole must remain intact.” (Thomassen, 2007: p5/203)

5.2 Justification of civil disobedience

According to Thoreau, it is not because a decision is voted by the majority that the decision is “good” regarding justice and rights: “Can there not be a government in which the majorities do not virtually decide right and wrong, but conscience?” (1849, 4th paragraph) He argues that people have to think by themselves before following the laws: “we should be men first, and subjects afterward”. For Rawls, if the “justice of the majority of the community” (Rawls, 1972 in Rosen and Wolff, 1999: p.83) and the “principles of social cooperation among free and equal men” (ibid) are not respected, it could be defendable that somebody react and act in order to change the situation. It’s a “political act (...) because (...) justified by political principle, that is, by the principle of justice which regulate the constitution of and social institution generally” (ibid), and because people from the “ground” are addressing what’s wrong to the people in the “head” of the country.

According to Thoreau, “Law never made men a whit more just; and, by means of their respect for it, even the well-disposed are daily made the agents on injustice” (1849, 4th paragraph). Indeed, people are their own oppressor: “the mass of men serve the state thus, not as men mainly, but as machines, with their bodies. They are the standing army” (1849, 5th paragraph).

Thoreau says also that acting for the state, the society, is some times resisting against its laws. But in doing so, people are considered against something they are taking care of: “A very few — as heroes, patriots, martyrs, reformers in the great sense, and men — serve the state with their consciences also, and so necessarily resist it for the most part; and they are commonly treated as enemies by it”(ibid).

According to Thoreau, to be in democracy is not a guaranty of a fair and right choice by the majority; the fact that in our society we are following the majority choice even we didn’t vote for it doesn’t make this choice the best option. If we are really convinced of the unfair situation, we have to act against this democratic choice, even if it is recognised like democratic, because “a wise man will not leave the right to the mercy of chance, nor wish it to prevail through the power of the majority” (ibid).

5.3 When and how to use civil disobedience

Civil disobedience is based on common interest, not on self-interest: Rawls restricts the use of civil disobedience “to serious infringements of (...) the principle of justice (...) and the principle of fair equality of opportunity” (Rawls, 1972 in Rosen and Wolff, 1999: p.86). All the legal ways have to be used before civil disobedience actions, but Rawls accept exceptions: “some cases may be so extreme that there may be not duty to use first legal means of political opposition” (ibid).

For Habermas, civil disobedience is accepted “[u]nder the proviso, of course, that the “disobedient” citizens plausibly justify their resistance by citing constitutional principles and express it by non-

violent, i.e., symbolic means”. For him, as for Rawls and Thoreau, all legal routes had to be exhausted before using going into disobedience. (Thomassen, 2007: p5/203)

We define civil disobedience as a direct action, meaning many things, from the illegal demonstrations to the non respect of the citizen’s obligation. Thoreau used the last one when he acted thought taxes in the middle of the 19th century: following the idea of his friend Amos Bronson Alcott, pioneered the strategy of tax resistance to slavery, and to denounce the Mexican-American War, refused to pay his poll taxes. As a result, he passed one night in jail: “See what gross inconsistency is tolerated. I have heard some of my townsmen say, "I should like to have them order me out to help put down an insurrection of the slaves, or to march to Mexico — see if I would go” (Thoreau, 1849: 13th paragraph) ; and yet these very men have each, directly by their allegiance, and so indirectly, at least, by their money, furnished a substitute.(...) Thus, under the name of Order and Civil Government, we are all made at last to pay homage to and support our own meanness”. Chomsky, following Thoreau’s famous sentence “Under a government which imprisons unjustly, the true place for a just man is also a prison”, went to jail because he refused to pay his taxes during Vietnam War (Chomsky, 1967).

Thoreau gives a third dimension to civil disobedience, close to mysticism: “Action from principle, the perception and the performance of right, changes things and relations; it is essentially revolutionary (...).It divides the individual, separating the diabolical in him from the divine” (Thoreau, 1849: 16th paragraph)

5.4 The role of civil disobedience

According to Rawls, civil disobedience helps maintaining and preserving just institutions; it is a way of resisting injustice within limits of the inner morality of the law.

Habermas agree with Rawls: “every constitutional democracy that is sure of itself considers civil disobedience as a normalized – because necessary – component of its political culture.” (Jürgen Habermas 1985). It is “a normal part of a mature constitutional democracy (...). [It] precisely points to a lack in the legitimacy of the law” which is, for Habermas, “the only available medium for the integration of modern, complex societies. This explains why [he] writes that civil disobedience is ‘suspended between legality and legitimacy’, because both of these are essential components of constitutional democracy” (Thomassen, 2007: p.2/200). This explains why civil disobedience is based on the essence of the law, but is transgressing it because of a lack of legitimacy.

Furthermore, civil disobedience plays the role of glue into a social movement. For Etienne Raphael, one of the informants from “les faucheurs volontaires”, sharing civil disobedience is creating social links between people. Blumer defines social movement like collective action created in order to

establish a new way of living. (Blumer, 1946, in Neveu, 2005: p.9) Neveu is adding that this collective action is qualified by an explicit will from the people to act together, in order to defend a cause (Neveu, 2005: p.9). This movement can be called a social movement, and civil disobedience is reinforcing the links between the activists.

But as we define civil disobedience, we don't need the existence of a coherent social group (common values shared...) that holds the rededications to justify civil disobedience. Indeed, the individual action, through taxes for example, is considered as civil disobedience, if the purpose is still common interest. But, in the case of collective action, the goal is easier to reach: the aim seems to be more universal, amnesty or non valid judgment could be simpler to get; finally, the Medias are more predisposed to speak about it, so the information have better chance to be spread and so the situation to change.

Speaking about media, civil disobedience has generally bad press in the public opinion, mainly because of people confusion with violent actions and because of a fail to take in account the real actions and their meaning.

The few minutes devoted to the news on TV (i.e. Bourdieu critics of TV in the movie "la sociologie est un sport de combat") the most popular media for this kind of explanations, the images putting out of their context, and the hegemony of neo-liberal Medias in our society is giving a false image of these movements. They are presented like against democratic rules, against society and so against every citizen.

This perception of violence surely takes roots into the fact that activists are putting their physical integrity in danger (jail, police violence when they are arrested); the radicalism of the action as could be one of the reason.

5.5 Why to use civil disobedience

People are joining civil disobedience for several reasons.

Some are the willingness of direct action, of "doing something" regarding an unfair situation, doing his part of the duty: aware people are choosing civil disobedience in order to modify the unfair laws, or to create a new social group. Some people are more or less unconsciously looking for an identity construction (Foucault, 1983); civil disobedience, since embraced in general by a group of person, is representing a framework easily identifiable for individuals. Some are fond of confrontation and excitement, which civil disobedience can offer them.

But participation to civil disobedience presupposes, for the majority of the people involved, a "special" way of thinking. As Gandhi said, people need to be educated at first, and /or have to have nothing to loose in order to put them self in "danger" in order to keep freedom and equality. This realization can be pure intellectual progression; but also people can become aware by being physically forced, in a more intuitive way.

The people using civil disobedience are following mechanisms that belong to civil disobedience process. There are 3 types of mechanisms:

1- Changing or reinforcing the conviction of the people who are joining the action:

We saw that fighting within a community is creating links between people, and so this makes easier sharing ideas.

2- Changing the mind of “Passive” people, who are watching the process through Medias, or in being direct testimonies: they will act differently after being touched by the message. (Through voting, informing, educating...)

3- Changing the law in order to have their voice recognized, but also to have their status, their way of living, their citizenship recognized, institutionalised: direct pressure on the government.

In sum, Civil disobedience is a noble concept. The disobedient is acting against the law of the society, in order to keep this society as right as possible; she is acting under the essence of law to keep a democratic system, ready to assume the consequences of her acts, fighting for common good and purposes.

6. Reaching sustainability through civil disobedience

“What regulations and set of incentives are necessary in order to redirect patterns of behaviour in sustainable direction?” (Beckman, 2001 in Dobson, 2004, p.3)

6.1 Link between civil disobedience and sustainability

The incentives necessary to change behaviour could be the ones linked to civil disobedience. Indeed, since common good is the goal of civil disobedience, the temptation of linking this concept to sustainability is strong.

Riita Ojala, in her LUMES thesis, is showing how volunteering is sustainable. Civil disobedience is, with volunteering, a “way in which, by changing their lifestyles, most individuals can make a contribution sustainable society” (Carter, 2001: p.293, in Ojala 2005: p.18); indeed, both are based on individual voluntary action, in order to have an impact on society; But the difference between them is in the way of how civil disobedient is ready to act against laws; the confrontation dimension is the difference. The civil disobedient activist has actually to pass by volunteer actions to legitimately have the right to act under civil disobedience (See the definition of Rawls and Habermas). It seems that sustainability is able to be attached to civil disobedience.

Moreover, Civil disobedience is about changing unfair regulation; since equality and justice are part of a sustainable society, it is important to have “good” and “fair” laws. It is a fight for universal values; not individualistic: in the case of the environment, it is against the tragedy of the common. It’s an “equalitarian” way of acting: everybody can act, contrary to processes of guerrilla or intellectual enlightened circles. Non violent civil disobedience supposes also reduced physical damages; if the movement is mistaking, this would be easier to repair than in a war context were houses would be destroyed and people killed.

Some are also declaring that we need non institutional procedure to reach sustainability: “If we are looking for decisive evidence that the institutionalisation of deliberation will lead to the greening of liberal democracies and, in particular, the emergence of an environmentally enlightened citizenry, we will be disappointed. The evidence is no more than suggestive” (Smith, 2004 in Dobson, 2003: p.7)
The institutionalisation of a new citizenship is needed, but a certain dialogue needs to keep rooted in the ground and illegality stated to be efficient (Habermas, in Thomassen, 2007: p3/201).

6.2 Link between Ecological Citizenship and civil disobedience

If we define the framework of civil disobedience has a non violent form, protecting common values, solidarity, this could be the most extreme way of expression of the ecological citizenship.

This thesis it is also showing how civil disobedience is giving a framework for individuals' evolution toward ecological citizenship. We saw previously that there are different mechanisms that take place into -“activists” doing civil disobedience actions- and around -“spectator” watching people doing it- the act of civil disobedience (see “The three different mechanisms” of civil disobedience). These mechanisms are interesting to be analysed: the evolution (or absence of evolution) of the “activist” behaviour can constitute a way to determine how we could reach sustainable society.

The comparison between the situation before and after the act of civil disobedience before and after the action is a way to put into evidences these changes, through interviews of activists. This is the main purpose of the data collection exposed on the second part of this thesis.

The analysis conducted on Sustainability, Ecological Citizenship and Civil disobedience is conducting to consider civil disobedience like the most extreme form of expression of ecological citizens, as well as a way to transform some individuals into ecological citizens. The second part of this thesis is showing the veracity of this hypothesis.

Part II: Case study

The GMO crops in France and the “Faucheurs volontaires” (The “voluntary cutters”).



7. Presentation of the case

According to Sarah Montgourdin-Denoix, the French GMO cutting is so far unique in Europe.

« The « faucheurs volontaires » is gathering around 7500 persons, from all profession and age category (...) in reality, the number of persons considered as activists are around 500, and they are not always the same, according to the will of the people, their possibilities and the actualities. Since 2004, when the law procedures against the cutters started, 400 persons were concerned.” (Etienne Rafael, 2008)³.

This “faucheurs volontaires”, according to Touraine definition, are part of what is he calling the “new social movement”. It is an element of the French “alter-globalization” movement, meaning “another globalization”. A social movement, according to Touraine is defined by its identity, its opposition to an enemy, and the common vision shared by it members. (Vaillancourt, 1991: p.7)

This social movement is opposed to the GMO, and it has political and environmental demand, based on values. This dimension constructive of the movement is a testimony of the new way of living that is proposed and defended.

This social movement is reflecting a big part of the French idea about GMO. Indeed, before the creation of the movement, 73 % of the French was worried about the GMO (IFOP⁴ 2000); even if in

³ Etienne Rafael, activist informant, interview n°10

⁴ IFOP: L'Institut Français d'Opinion Publique, French institute of public opinion, created in 1938

2004 the number was decreasing (63% in October 2004, IFOP) , it was still high in 2006 : 66% of the French population were worried about it according to the SCA⁵ (CSA, September 2006). In 2008, 72% of the French thought that is important to be able to consume GMO free products (CSA, January 2008).

The “voluntaries cutters” was created in 2003 following the idea that the government is not taking responsibility regarding these facts.

Moreover, according to the interviews I have done and the thesis from Sarah Montgourdin-Denoix, the “faucheurs volontaires” are denouncing the commercialisation of the living through the creation of patents on Life in general; that will put the farmers under the domination of the biotechnologies companies. They are also sensitive to the ecological impact of this GMO, its results on health. They denounce the multinational companies’ abuses; the fact that solidarity is central in the movement, for example between the biological farmers in France, but also with the South countries, because of the actual unequal globalisation of the trade.

8. Data collection

I interviewed 11 activists; I used semi structured interviews that permit an interesting discussion, because this allowed people to express their point of view (Yin, 2003). Some part of the questionnaire is based on the model of Riita Ojala survey presented in her Lumes thesis.

My secondary data is from a survey elaborated by Sarah Mongourdin-Denoix in July 2006 during a general assembly, on 300 activists.

8.1 Limitations of study and the field

The thesis is studying only one case, because five months is short in order to study more than one.

The analysis focus on the French cutters of GMO crops, because it is crystallising different struggles. They are the same as the alter-globalisation activists: protection of the environment, respect of the civil rights and of the equality between people.

The choice of a French case makes the analysis easier for me to study since it is my mother tongue.

It is also geographically limited to France because it is a French movement.

8.2 Methodological difficulties and dilemmas

Reliability is the main problem when interviewing people.

⁵ CSA : French independent sondage institute

First, all the interviews -except the one⁶- were made by phone. That makes less reliable the interpretations than “face to face” interviews. The main reason is that since the movement is gathering people from all French territory, it is difficult to meet them. Indeed, they are leaving mainly in the South where the GMO crops are mostly planted. It is thus long and expensive to meet them. Moreover, the informants’ contacts I had were in majority living in the country side, out of any public transportation network. An observation for a future research to see the gap between the answers and the reality could be an interesting way of increasing the reliability; this could be done in joining meetings or gatherings.

The choice of the informants is random. Because of the illegality of the actions, and the fear of the “Renseignement Généraux”⁷, it is difficult to interview many activists that trust you enough to get honest answers. But since I had the chance to reach an informant through my family, the activists were really friendly, and as far as I could judge honest. I get other contacts through him, which gave me contacts as well; the longer “chain” I get was composed by 4 different persons. But at that point it started to be difficult, since the people and the person from whom I got the phone number didn’t know me personally. As result, the last informant refused to answer to some questions. This arise again the problem of the reliability of the phone interviews.

As I said before, informants are few (11 interviews on the 7500 activists). Comparison between them is in a way difficult, as the construction of a scientific theory. But this field study is more about experiencing new thoughts and theories for further studies, than to do any generalisation.

Otherwise, the fact that the subject is really topical right now in France is positive and negative at the same time. Indeed, the informants know that they will be solicited, but some of them were too busy to answer.

However, the thesis is going on during “only” five month. It is in a way too short to make proper case study. But it is good to have an idea on the coherence and the pertinence of a model, in order to evaluate if a longer and deeper study is needed.

The biases are the political sympathy for the informants developed by the researcher: I am actually convinced that civil disobedience is a good way of acting when the dialogue is lacking. I am conscious that I have to step back in order to get the science going further.

A limit to the thesis theory is that Civil disobedience, in link with ecological citizenship, is maybe effective only if the purpose is crystallising the three pillars of sustainability. This could be checked in the future by a comparison between several movement studies.

The use of the phone, even if questionable, gives us anyway data to pursue a theory and to challenges ideas. This constitutes the main focus of the following part.

⁶ Interview of Dominique Plancke, activist informant, interview n°3

⁷ The French Intelligence Resource Program.

9. Who are the activists

This part is based on a survey elaborated by Sarah Mongourdin-Denoix in July 2006 during a general assembly, on 300 cutters. Several findings indicate that this movement is based on the research of common interest and ethical principles.

According to the survey, the movement is characterised by a diversity of age and profession. They are geographically spread out on the French territory, and there is equilibrium between the number of man and woman.

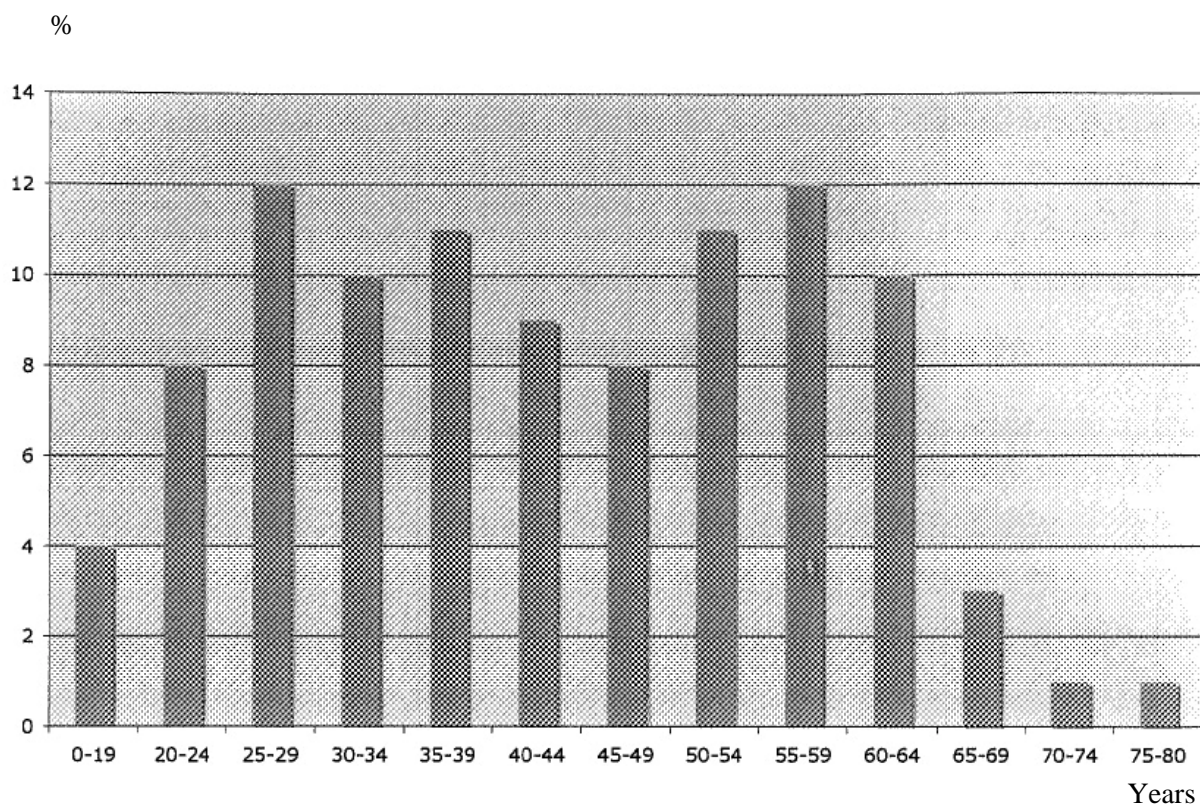
We can notice that this is going against the cliché “young punks” that sticks to this kind of movement. For Mongourdin-Denoix, the fact that some people are still active beyond 70 years hold is showing the “next generational preoccupation” that the movement is conveying.

Furthermore, at the beginning, the activists were mainly farmers, market gardeners or other in link with the agriculture (ecological or not). But the movement became more open to the all civil society. Indeed, even if they still are the more numerous, they represent less than 25% of the disobedient. After them, are coming teachers, social and medical workers; for Mongourdin-Denoix, the interest of educated people for the movement, of even high educated sometimes, is another proof of the coherence and the moral aspect of the struggle. The fact that some people are coming from big cities is also the testimony of the “non private interest” orientation of the movement. This moral aspect is emphasised by the fact that the identity of disobedient is more about the chart signature than about a physical “real” cutting. According to Mongourdin, the only common points they have are the signature of the “charte des faucheurs volontaires”⁸ (“voluntary cutters chart”), and to be against the cultivation of the GMO in nature; as an Etienne Rafael confirmed in one of my interviews, around just 10% of the people are really active.

But, according to the study I have done, heterogeneous group has a third common point: the cutters are ecological citizens, and so sharing ecological and ethical values.

⁸ This is the document gathering the claim and the core values of the movement, which made every people sinning it a disobedient.

5. Age of the “faucheurs volontaires” in percentage.



Sources: Mongourdin-Denoix, July 2006

10. Study

This study is not a full case study. What were looked for were the different mechanisms that link ecological citizens, civil disobedience, sustainability and members of the movement.

In order to see if there is a shift of behaviour or in the ideology of the cutters after tacking part in the movement, 11 interviews of activists were made.

10.1 Result of the interviews

The “faucheurs volontaires” are ecological citizens. They are aware of the ecological fragility and of the social crisis; more over, they are acting to resolve it in their daily life for the common good.

Consumption: what food are you eating?

*Organic: all of them are buying ecological food. Some are eating 100% biological: “it is a priority”

*Fare trade: some are into associations of faire trade, some are sceptical about the redistribution process, and some prefer to buy locally.

*Local: Some informants are buying food in ecological cooperatives, in order to avoid super markets. The ecological producers exchange their production between them.

Water:

100% are avoiding plastic bottles (or use them “rarely”); one is recycling the water from the rain, some have a well, one have a system against pollution (nitrates from the crops around his house).

Recycling:

All the informants are recycling; one is recycling integrally (he is anticipating when he buy stuff). All the farmers are composting, and one is using the wood from his exploitation to heat his house.

Transportation:

Some are living in the countryside, so they have no choice than taking the car. But they are aware of the problems, and are taking the train when they can. Some of the informants that are living in cities are taking the bike, one even for going to holidays.

Energy:

Many cutters have renewable energy producers (photovoltaic, sun water eater, wood eater, and wind mild). One of the informants is a renewable energy adviser. They are using low energy bubbles, are reducing their consumption, and one have constructed and is living a passive house.

Social life:

The entire cutters are active in at least another association or group of people.

For example, they are members of syndicates like the “confederation paysane”, or political party like the French green party. Some are part of associations, as association against nuclear power, to develop faire trade, but also members of administrative entity and local group.

Link between civil disobedience and ecological citizen:

1. Impact of civil disobedience on idea and environmental footprint.

Interview n°	Evolution of	
	Ideology	Footprint
1	*	-
2	*	-
3	*	-
4	-	-
5	-	-
6	*	*
7	-	-
8	-	-
9	*	*
10	*	*
11	-	-

Sources: Camille Gil 2008.

If we are talking in a quantitative way, the answer is positive for the ideology, but negative for the footprint. But, in all the case, if the people are evolving, they just reinforced ideas and compoment they had already. Indeed, they get better information, and they met engaged people that are sharing their way of living, of thinking.

According to Etienne Rafael⁹, “the illegality dimension of the action is transforming yourself and gives you another way of thinking about society. Physical danger i.e. jail [and police violence] is creating a psychical change. Fighting together is creating strong links, because “we are sharing strong events”. (...) To be in the first line of a fight bring about question the society functioning’s. It is giving us the will to push the engagement further away and to apply it in other struggle”

For François Dufour¹⁰, the coherence between the discourse and the action was primordial and came little by little at the same time than the struggle was going on, but this was before the civil disobedience movement started. Some are answering negatively to the civil disobedience factor action

⁹ Etienne Raphael, activist informant, interview n°10

¹⁰ François Dufour, activist informant, interview n°6

in their evolving, but they are saying that “it is by the collective action that I had reached this state” (Chavez “school of action”, in French: “école du piquet”, in Bové, 2004: p99).

A special question to some coordinators and well known cutters of the movement has been asked (like Dominique Plancke, Thierry Baffou and Etienne Raphael) in order to have a view on the reality of the process. “Do you think that there is cutters that are joining the movement without being activist and that are evolving are becoming aware of the ecological and citizens practices thanks to the contacts with the activists?” They answered that even if acting with people under civil disobedience is making the activists evolving, the ideas and behaviours was in majority already there.

2. Reasons for the action, in percentage

	I totally agree	I agree to some extent	I partly agree, partly disagree	I disagree to some extent	I totally disagree
“Worry about the economic” *I am worried about the economical situation of the little farmers	81.8 (10)	18.2 (1)			
“Worry about the Social” *I am worried about the lack of liberty that the GMO cultivation is leading *I am worried about the lack of equality that the GMO cultivation is leading *I am worried about the impact of the GMO on the human health	100 (11) 72.7 (9) 90.9	27.3	9.1		
“worry about the environment” * I am worried about the impact of the GMO on the Environment * I am worried about the increasing polluting actions on the environment	100 100				
"Sense of Duty" *I want to do my part for the society *I want to do my part for the environment *I want to do something concrete	91 91 100	9 9			
"Rewarding Action" *I want to get new experiences *I want to get to know new people	18.2 27.3		27.3	9.1	72.7 45.45
“Suitability of the Action” *The project like character suits me *I have extra time	45.45	27.3	9.1		27.3 90.9
“On Request” *I was asked to join					100

Red: the majority, orange: the bigger number.

This table is showing that the cutters are worried about the social and the environmental situation; they join the movement in order to act and do their citizen duty. This is showing that they are acting for the common good.

When they said they wanted to meet people, it is mainly that they were looking for sharing and discussing ideas with people that had the same ideas.

Even if the majority of the informant recognizes themselves as “faucheurs volontaires”, some are a bit sceptical about taking it like an identity. Like Etienne Raphael is saying, looking for an identity through this movement will not have sense, because the civil disobedience is something that will have to disappear when the fight will be over.

Why did you join the movement?

This question revealed to be one of the most interesting for the thesis. Indeed, the entire cutters are mentioning the democratic issue, denouncing that government actions in favour of the GMO crops in open fields are not reflecting the will of the majority. Indeed, 63% of the French are worried about the GMO (IFOP, 2006) and that 72% think that is important to have GMO free products (SCA, 2008). This gives credibility to the movement, and give the proof that the “faucheurs volontaire” movement can be define like civil disobedience, since they are denouncing what could be called to a certain extend a lack of democracy.

10.2 The “fight anti-GMO” and the 3 pillars of sustainability: Self interest or common concerns?

According to the data collected, the GMO struggle is based on the three facets of sustainability.

For François Dufour, one of the informants, “ The GMO are globally a risk for the health, a risk for the social and the ecological balance, and I would say it is a risk for the way of living of our populations.” “Since I am a foodstuffs producer, I had to assume all the risk”¹¹ of the struggle against GMO.

This data is also showing that “voluntaries cutters” are ecological citizens; they have a small footprint, (taking care of the environment through recycling, eating biological food, producing their renewable energy...), caring about the global equality through the consumption of fare trade products, and acting in their daily life to contribute to a better society.

It is now important to prove that the fight that the cutters are directing is legitimate; we have thus to prove that they are actually using civil disobedience. In the following part, the distinction between common and private interests will be shown.

¹¹ François Dufour, activist informant, interview n°6

The movement is taking roots in farmer's contestations movements, taking place in the middle of the 90s. This started because of economical reasons, traducing individual interests.

Indeed, the GMO are viewed like the multinationals ultimate tentative to control the farmers: in the past, according to one of the informant, they tried prohibiting the traditional re-sow of the seeds after reaping. The French farmers went to court and wan against this last tentative to change what seems to be a big risk on their incomes and independence. But still, in France, a biological farmer contaminated by GMO plants is not being compensated if his field is polluted by GMO pollen¹². And the case of Percy Schmeiser¹³, Canadian farmer convicted by the justice to pay ten million dollars to Monsanto because he hasn't paid the right to grow GMO plants after being accidentally contaminated, is scared the all farmers community (Mongourdin-Denoix, 2006: p.28).

Sarah Mongourdin-Denoix is explaining that the cutters are an organisation founded on "the contestation of the liberal globalisation" (ibid). Indeed, the fight started with the risk denunciation of a monopole on seeds, which will put farmers all over the world under the big companies' domination. The position against the "law of the money" is actually traduced by a general consensus against big farming company, producing bad quality products in an industrial way, putting little farmers in economical crisis.

But this first concerned was sliding as the movement was created. The nowadays claims are rooted on rededications for a common interest, based on philosophical and ethical principles.

Indeed, activists are now fighting to keep intact the primordial ancestral foundation of farming, directly in link with the future of the human feeding. That is why farmers are so attached to this movement, because they feel attacked in what they are: a result of a long tradition, working for the all population.

Economical concerns are sometimes coupled with a concern about common health: the farmers are indeed afraid of the sanitary risk, which have a direct impact on their incomes, decreasing the trust of the consumer. According to the interviews made in the framework of this thesis, the several economical crises due to sanitary scandal, as the "dioxin chicken" in France, are incidents that these farmers don't want to experience again.

The liberty to produce ecological food appeared to be in danger as well, regarding the risk of contamination. Common liberty and self interest are one more time coupled.

But since the scientific aspect evolved thanks to the movement, showing the environmental danger of the GMO, or more precisely the incertitude about the "impact zero", the self interest is replaced

¹² Eric Nunès in Le monde, 2002 :

http://www.fsa.ulaval.ca/personnel/vernag/EH/F/manif/lectures/dossier_ogm.htm

¹³ Really interesting audio about this farmer on <http://www.percyschmeiser.com/conflict.htm>; in 2004, the Supreme Court decided that Schmeiser didn't have to pay Monsanto, even if it judged the company patent as valid.

quickly by the common interest. Indeed, eating biological food could become about saving his life, regarding the potential risk of the GMO on our body.

This environmental risk is mainly because of the pesticides that the plants are secreting and the risk of hegemony of one species due to the propagation of the pollen-in this case, keeping a preserved environment for the future generation is menaced.

So, as we said, the reasons of the fight are taking roots on the three pillars of sustainability.

Even if the first were motivated by economical and social self-interest of the farmers, we saw how it is easy to see the common social and environmental interest behind their claims. Indeed, they have an important status in our society: they feed the world.

Further more, they are ecological citizenship; some farmers are retired, some cutters are risking their job: one of the informants is town councillor in France, democratically elected, and he is taking the risk to loose his mandates and so his incomes in being arrested and taking the risk to a privation of his civil rights. The goal of the entire movement and of individuals is thus obviously above the economical self interest.

The movement is now basing its discourse on the precautionary principle, since the GMO danger is not scientifically recognised and socially not recognised by all like a danger.

The movement is taking a lot more emphasis and credibility thanks to the actual diversification of the activists. For Bové, one of the fonder and charismatic leaders of the movement, the civil society took the relay from the farmers (Bové, 2004:p.36): since the beginning of the movement, the fight was focused on fuelling public debate about something judged dangerous for to common interest. The more important victory was thus the public opinion appropriation of the fight, thanks to the repetitive spectacular actions. People from all horizons are today assuming the claim of the movement. “About this, we won”¹⁴

¹⁴ François Dufour, activist informant, interview n°6

11 Discussions

The first remark is about the huge difference between the people that are really cutting crops (around 500 according to an informant) and the people that signed the chart (7500). We saw previously that it is a balance between a strong ideological statement and physical actions. But the movement obviously need only few physical activists; denouncing themselves as cutters, as solidier to the people actually cutting, is enough for the majority of the people to be part of the disobedience movement. This is maybe ideologically more powerful if we think about that this group is ready to be punished for illegal actions not personally perpetrated. This show again how this movement is ideologically powerful. This reasonable and profound determination is a positive aspect that gives hope for the future of the movement and the result of the fight.

The second point that is interesting to discuss about is related to the alter-globalisation movement. Indeed, the group of the cutters is part of a bigger worldwide movement (new social movement of Touraine) which is well known since the Seattle G8 in 1999; this alternative-globalisation and anti-capitalism movement is denouncing the failures of the free-market economy based, and the self-interest rationality. “Our life is more important that their profits”, “another world is possible”, “the world is not for sale” are the most famous slogans shared and clamed by this circle of ideas.

The NGOs, composing the alter-globalization movement, are the Soul of the civil society; indeed, environmental organisations that are giving information and gathering people. As Gandhi is explaining (Bové, 2004: p.69), people need to be educated before being able to be disobedient. Some of the informants are claiming that they learned through this civil society, in acting under associations, sharing experiences with other citizens. The ecological citizens using civil disobedience went actually through this association. As mentioned previously, this action through civil disobedience will improve democracy, and thus the creation of association. Civil disobedience is in this case not an end in itself, but the ultimate non violent action that the ground is able to use, the more complex and complete, since the activist is putting his physical integrity in danger for the common good.

Some of the opponents to this group of movements are denouncing the danger of a tyranny of an ecological state. Is Sen “sustainable freedom” concept strong enough to counter the ecological doctrine and the fantasy of an environmental dictatorship? Indeed, it is easy to fall in the doctrine of “a good life”, and to think of a system where an enlighten leader will guide the people in the way to sustainable society. But one more time, that is why civil disobedience is playing a primordial role like the safeguard of the democracy. In order to fulfil this function, Civil disobedience has to be kept between legality and legitimacy (Habermas, in Thomassen, 2007: p3/201). Sustainability is not about only environment; it is also about freedom and equality.

Touraine is speaking about the place of the researcher in the development of the new social movement, and in particular as creator of sustainable ways of living: “the role of the sociologist would have been the auto analyse of the movement, since this movements is a result of a demand from the movement to the researchers (...)” (Vaillancourt, 1991: p. 9). The “faucheurs volontaires” were really interested by my work, and I promise to send them a copy.

“One intervention has as final goal the defence of the civil society autonomy, of the social relationships, of conflict, of cultural movements and innovation, against the suffocating cover of the state and the pseudo need programmed by the technocrats (...). The new social movements (...) affirm through a quasi romantic manner the necessity of auto-management in all the public spheres” (ibid). Sen, being part of the scientist analysing ecological citizenship, is asking a relevant question: is “citizenship (...) purely instrumental (just a matter of ways and means of conserving the environment), or whether (...) is it more than that; and in particular whether effective citizenship is part and parcel of what we should try to sustain (...)” (Sen, 2004: 8th paragraph) the answer is both; Dobson is creating ecological citizenship to achieve a goal, not for itself; but since a new citizenship dynamic is needed, and since this citizenship seems fitting the sustainability definition, it as an interest in itself. But what could be exciting also is the eternal re-construction and re-definition of the citizenship; this process of evolution, following the cultural and societal progress is what we need to sustain: the capability of change is what we need to keep unchanged. That is why the niche for civil disobedience and alternative ideas, between legality and legitimacy, has to be preserved at any price. What it is important at the end it is the process of looking for freedom and truth, not the form it will take in the future.

Furthermore, as said before, according to Touraine, one of the new social movement will become “the new central group and take as space as the workers movement before” (Vaillancourt, 1991: p.8). This thesis is showing that, at least in France, the new dynamism is coming from groups as the “faucheurs volontaires”.

Conclusion

This paper argues that civil disobedience used as the extreme expression by ecological citizens can be a possible way to reach sustainable society.

Based on noble principles and common goals, this way of denouncing unfair regulation is indeed allowing these citizens to change unfair situations, to reinforce people in their way of becoming ecological citizens, and to institutionalise this ecological citizenship.

Like we saw previously in the thesis, sustainability can take the form of a sustainable society, where surely, sustainable characteristics for citizens are freedom and capability to choose their way of living. These citizens are ecological citizens, i.e. they are ecologically and socially aware, and act for the well being of their society. In order to find a way to reach this sustainable society, the movement of the “voluntary cutters” have been exanimate.

The results have shown that this group is combining the struggle for sustainability in the three following aspects, economical, social and environmental, part of the three pillars of sustainability. The cutters are indeed at the same time struggling for a more equal world, where economy would not be synonymous with profits, and would be respectful of the human and of a preserved environment; they are also ethically against privatisation of Life. This makes the movement highly interesting in order to study sustainability construction: sustainable citizens acting for a sustainable cause through a sustainable way of acting and of fighting.

As demonstrated in this thesis thanks to Dobson and the other authors named previously, and also the analysis of the case, a new citizenship is required. We need to replace politic in the centre of the society, of the consideration of our conception of a “good life”: market cannot replace the high contribution of political science on humanitarian value or the ethical frameworks that construct political through.

Further studies could dig deeper in the case that this thesis is presenting, and include the past experience of these ecological citizens to learn how they adopt this identity, in order to identify a path to sustainability.

References

Books and academic literature:

- Alvesson M. and Skoldberg K., 2000, *Reflexive Methodology*, Sage Publications
- Beckman, L., 2001, *Virtue, sustainability and liberal values*, in J Barris and M. wissenburg (eds.), *Sustaining Liberal Democracy: ecological challenges and opportunities*, Houdmills : Palgrave, in Dobson A., 2003, *Citizenship and the environment*, Oxford University Press.
- Bettini G., 2007, *Aqua-Feminism-Water Privatization and Sustainable Development: Insights from a Gender Perspective; A case study on Buenos Aires*, LUMES master thesis
http://www.lumes.lu.se/database/alumni/05.07/thesis/Giovanni_Bettini.pdf
- Blackburn S., 1996, *The Oxford Dictionary of Philosophy*, Oxford University Press.
- Blumer H, « collective behaviour » in Lee, *New outlines of the principles of sociology*, 1946, Barnes and Nobles, New york
- Bourdieu P., 1996, *la télévision peut elle critiquer la télévision ? Analyse d'un passage à l'antenne*, Le monde diplomatique <http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/1996/04/BOURDIEU/2633.html>
- Bohm R. M. and Smith H. P., 2007, *Beyond Anomie: Alienation and Crime*, Springer Science+Business Media
<http://springerlink.metapress.com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/content/f288214285376321/fulltext.pdf>
- Bové J., Luneau G., 2004, *Pour la désobéissance civique*, les éditions la Découverte
- Brockington D. and Sullivan S., 2003, *Qualitative Research*. In R. Scheyvens and D. Storey, Eds., *Development Fieldwork. A Practical Guide*, Sage Publications.
- Brundtland G., 1987, *Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development: Our common future* <http://www.un-documents.net/wced-ocf.htm>
- Bryman A, 2001, *Social Research Methods*, Oxford University Press.
- Carter N. 2001, *The Politics of the Environment – Ideas, Activism, Policy*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Chomsky N., December 7, 1967, *On Resistance*, The New York Review of Books
http://www.lrb.co.uk/v26/n03/sen_01_.html
- Clark, David A., 2005, *The Capability Approach: Its development, critiques and recent advances*, in D. A. Clark (ed.) (forthcoming 2006)
Draft available online at <http://www.gprg.org/pubs/workingpapers/pdfs/gprg-wps-032.pdf>
- Dobson A., 2003, *Citizenship and the environment*, Oxford University Press
- Delanty G., 2000, *Citizenship in a global age: society, Culture and politics*, Buckingham, Philadelphia: Open University press.
- Edwards M., 2004, *Civil society*, Polity press
- Foucault M., 2001, *Dits et écrits*, Gallimard, coll. « Quarto », Paris
- Falcon y Tella M., 2004, *Civil Disobedience and Test Cases*, Blackwell Publishing
- Goodland R. and Daly H., 1996, *Environmental sustainability: Universal and non-negotiable. Ecological Applications* 6(4): 1002-1017.
- Habermas J, 1985, *Civil Disobedience: Litmus Test for the Democratic Constitutional State*, Berkeley Journal of Sociology
- Habermas J., 2004, *Religious Tolerance: The Pacemaker for Cultural Rights*, Cambridge University Press
- Harris J.M., Wise T.A., Gallagher K.P., Goodwin N.R., 2001, *A survey of sustainable development*, Island Press
- Heater, D., 1999, *What is citizenship?*, Cambridge: polity press.
- Krieger J., 2001, *The Oxford companion to politics of the world*, second edition, ed. Oxford University Press Inc. Oxford Reference Online:
http://www.oxfordreference.com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/views/BOOK_SEARCH.html?book=t121&authstatuscode=202

- Montgourdin-Denoix S., 2006, *les faucheurs volontaires, un mouvement social qui pratique la désobéissance civique*, mémoire de fin d'étude, institut de science politique de Grenoble, Université Pierre Mendès France.
- Neveu E., 2005, *Sociologie des mouvements sociaux*, la découverte, Paris
- Nussbaum M., 2000, *Women and human development: the capabilities approach*, Cambridge University press
- Ojala R., 2005, *Creating Ecological Citizenship, an Example of Voluntary Oil-Combating in Finland*, LUMES master thesis, http://www.lumes.lu.se/database/alumni/04.05/theses/riitta_ojala.pdf
- Pohjola A., 2000, *Arenas for Civil Action*. In Siisiäinen et al. (eds.) 2000, in Ojala R., 2005, *Creating Ecological Citizenship, an Example of Voluntary Oil-Combating in Finland*, LUMES master thesis
- Ralws, 1972, *A theory of justice*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, in Rosen M. & Wolff J., 1999, *Political Thought*, Oxford University Press.
- Rosen M. & Wolff J., 1999, *Political Thought*, Oxford University Press.
- Rousseau J.J., 1762, *Du contrat social*
- Shafir G., 1998, "introduction; the evolving tradition of citizenship", in *The citizenship debate: A reader*, London, Mineapolis: University of Minnesota Press, in Dobson A., 2003, *Citizenship and the environment*, Oxford University Press
- Singh N., 2006, *Women's s Participation in Local Water Governance: Understanding Institutional Contradictions*, SAGE publication, in Bettinni G., 2007, *Aqua-Feminism-Water Privatization and Sustainable Development: Insights from a Gender Perspective; A case study on Buenos Aires*, LUMES master thesis
- Scott J. and Marshall G., 2005, *A Dictionary of Sociology*, Oxford Reference Online. Oxford University Press. . Oxford University Press 2005.
http://www.oxfordreference.com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/views/BOOK_SEARCH.html?book=t88
- Seligman A., 1992, *The idea of civil society*, Princeton: Princeton University press
- Sen A. K., 1999, *Development as freedom*, Oxford University Press
- Sen A. K., 5th of February 2004, *Why We Should Preserve the Spotted Owl*, London review of books
- Smith G, 2004, *liberal democracy and the shaping of environmentally-enlightened citizens*, in <http://www.chomsky.info/articles/19671207.htm>
- Turner B., 1990, *A theory of citizenship*, sociology, 24/2, 189-217, in Dobson A., 2003, *Citizenship and the environment*, Oxford University Press
- Thomassen L., 2007, *Within the Limits of Deliberative Reason Alone: Habermas, Civil Disobedience and Constitutional Democracy*, European Journal of Political Theory, SAGE publication.
- Thoreau H.D., *On the Duty of Civil Disobedience*, from <http://www.constitution.org/civ/civildis.htm>
- Tocqueville A. de, 1835, *De la démocratie en Amérique*, <http://books.google.se/books?hl=sv&id=goeyO13It4C&dq=De+la+d%C3%A9mocratie+en+Am%C3%A9rique&printsec=frontcover&source=web&ots=bwTMVIjHOU&sig=b1mwPYTDBhy8Ffh-5e8RLVgnjCI#PPR6,M1>
- Vaillancourt J.G., 1991, *Mouvement ouvrier et nouveaux mouvements sociaux: l'approche d'Alain Touraine*, Cahiers de recherche sociologique, no 17, Montréal : département de sociologie, UQAM.
http://classiques.uqac.ca/contemporains/vaillancourt_jean_guy/mouvement_ouvrier/mouvement_ouvrier.pdf
- Van Gunsteren, H., 1994, *four conceptions of citizenship*, in Van Steenberg B. (ed.), the condition of citizenship, London: sage, in Dobson A., 2003, *Citizenship and the environment*, Oxford University Press
- Werbner P., 1999, *Citizenship*, in Ball T., Farr J., and Hanson R. (eds.), Political innovation and conceptual change, Cambridge: Cambridge university press, in Dobson A., 2003, *Citizenship and the environment*, Oxford University Press
- Wironen M., 2007, *Sustainable Development and Modernity: Resolving Tension through Communicative Sustainability*, LUMES master thesis,
http://www.lumes.lu.se/database/alumni/05.07/thesis/Michael_Wironen.pdf

Wissenburg and Levy, *Liberal democracy and environmentalism: The end of environmentalism?*, London: Routledge, in Dobson A., 2003, *Citizenship and the environment*, Oxford University Press

Yin R. K., 2003, *Case study research: design and methods* (3rd ed.) Sage Publications.

Zinn H., January 2007, *On Civil Disobedience: An Interview with Howard Zinn*, By Cihan Aksan & Jon Bailes. <http://www.stateofnature.org/howardZinn.html>

Dictionary:

Cambridge dictionary on line: <http://dictionary.cambridge.org/define.asp?key=75403&dict=CALD>

Poll institutes:

IFOP : <http://www.ifop.com/europe/sondages/opinionf/ogm031004.asp>

CSA : <http://www.csa-tmo.fr/dataset/data2006/opi20060914b.htm>

News paper:

Le monde : <http://www.lemonde.fr>

Le point : <http://www.lepoint.fr/>

Le monde diplomatique : <http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr>

Appendix: Interviews of the « faucheurs volontaires »

English translation

Name; anonymous?

Age

Profession

*First time you heard about GMO?

*First time you heard about the movement

*How did you heard about the movement

* Do the GMO having an impact on your economic activity?

*Since when are you in the movement?

*Have you been cutting?

*Is this has an impact on your economic activity?

*Why did you joint at first the movement?

*Why civil disobedience and not voluntary work with Greenpeace for example?

*Do you have t he feeling that you changed since you joined the movement?

Foot-print:

*have you the possibility to recycle?

*are you recycling?

*do you have the possibility to use public transportation?

*do you have a car?

*how do you choose your way of travelling?

*do you have the economic means to buy ecological food?

*are you sensitive to this when buying food?

*do you have the economic means to buy faire trade food?

*are you sensitive to this when buying food?

*do you have the economic means to buy local food?

*are you sensitive to this when buying food?

* do you use renewable energy?

*is your water drinkable?

*do you drink water bottles?

*are you involved in another association?

Do you feel like that your way of thinking has changed since you joined the movement?
In what sense did it change your way of living?

	I totally agree	I agree to some extend	I partly agree, partly disagree	I disagree to some extend	I totally disagree
<p>“Worry about the economic”</p> <p>*I am worried about the economical situation of the little farmers</p>					
<p>“Worry about the Social”</p> <p>*I am worried about the lack of liberty that the GMO cultivation is leading</p> <p>*I am worried about the lack of equality that the GMO cultivation is leading</p> <p>*I am worried about the impact of the GMO on the human health</p>					
<p>“worry about the environment”</p> <p>* I am worried about the impact of the GMO on the Environment</p> <p>* I am worried about the increasing polluting actions on the environment</p>					
<p>"Sense of Duty"</p> <p>*I want to do my part for the society</p> <p>*I want to do my part for the environment</p> <p>*I want to do something concrete</p>					
<p>"Rewarding Action"</p> <p>*I want to get new experiences</p> <p>*I want to get to know new people</p>					
<p>“Suitability of the Action”</p> <p>*The project like character suits me</p> <p>*I have extra time</p>					
<p>“On Request”</p> <p>*I was asked to join</p>					

(For some people only: Do you think that some people, joining the movement without being activists, are becoming more aware and change their environmental and civic practice meeting environmental militants?)

Interview n°1

General questions:

*nom : Jean Yves Grillot

*Age : 65 ans

*Profession: agriculteur retraité ; 10 ans technicien agricole, 28 ans producteur de lait en Mayenne

*première fois que vous avez entendu parler des OGM? 1997

* première fois que vous avez entendu parler du mouvement ? 2003 dans le Larzac
Avant, bien informé sur les OGM, c'est-à-dire de ce que ça représentait pour les consommateurs et pour les environnementalistes.

*comment avez vous entendu parler du mouvement ?

*est ce que les OGM ont un impact sur votre activité économique?

Non, pas directement (pas de culture, pas dans son secteur) Mais concerné par les OGM dans l'aliment du bétail, et puisque refus d'utilisation le concernant et que les produit tracé sont plus cher, surcoût induit.

*depuis quand avez vous rejoint le mouvement? 2003

*est ce que vous avez déjà fauché? oui

*est ce que votre action à un impact sur votre activité économique ? Retraité

*pourquoi avez vous rejoint le mouvement en premier lieu?

Raison de santé publique ; contre crise poulet à la dioxine, poulet aux hormones... il faut « donner confiance au consommateur »

*pourquoi la désobéissance civile et pas du simple volontariat comme Greenpeace?

C'est un choix individuel, et c'est le seul moyen d'action : pour dénoncer le manque de démocratie : « si on était dans un pays démocratique... »

(référence au chiffres des sondages à propos de l'opinion des français concernant les OGM)

*Est ce que vous avez l'impression que vous avez changé depuis que vous êtes dans le mouvement? En quoi ? Mieux informé

Empreinte écologique:

*avez vous la possibilité de recycler? Oui

*recyclez vous? Oui

*utilisez vous les transports en commun ? Oui

*avez vous les moyens économiques d'acheter des produits bio? oui

*est ce que vous êtes sensible à ça lors de vos achats ? oui

*avez vous les moyens économiques d'acheter des produits commerce équitable ? oui

*est ce que vous êtes sensible à ça lors de vos achats ? **oui**

*êtes vous sensible aux produits produit localement ? **oui**

*est ce que vous buvez de l'eau en bouteille? **non**

*est ce que vous utilisez des énergies renouvelables? **Oui ; chauffe eau solaire, photovoltaïque**

*est ce que vous utilisez des ampoules basses consommation ? **Oui**

*êtes vous membre actif d'une autre association ? **Oui**

*laquelle ? **Confédération paysanne, réseau agriculture durable, réseau cohérence**

=>est ce que vous avez l'impression que votre comportement vis-à-vis des questions que je viens de vous poser à changé depuis que vous êtes dans le mouvement?

Non, déjà avant (début des années 80)

Résumé :

POURQUOI ?	Totalement d'accord	D'accords en majorité	Entre d'accord et pas d'accords	Pas vraiment d'accord	Pas d'accords du tout
« préoccupé par l'économique » *je suis préoccupé de la situation économique des petits agriculteurs		*			
« préoccupé par le social » *je suis préoccupé par les atteintes à la liberté que la culture d'OGM de pleins champs représente. *je suis préoccupé par les inégalités que la culture d'OGM de pleins champs représente. *je suis préoccupé par l'impact des OGM sur la santé	*	*			
« préoccupé par l'environnement » *je suis préoccupé par l'impact des OGM sur l'Environnement *je suis préoccupé par le nombre croissant d'atteinte à l'environnement	*	*			
« sens du devoir » *je veux faire ma part pour l'environnement *je veux faire ma part pour le respect des droits civils *je veux agir concrètement	*	*			

<p>« Intérêt personnel » *j'ai rejoint le mouvement pour acquérir de nouvelles expériences *j'aimerais rencontrer de nouvelles personnes.</p>			*		
<p>« degrés d'adhésion » *Ce mouvement me caractérise *J'ai du temps libre</p>		*			*
<p>« Sur demande » *On m'a demandé de rejoindre le mouvement</p>					*

Interview n°2

Questions générales:

*nom : Jean Claude Ollivier

*Age : 65 ans

*Profession: paysan retraité, éleveur de bovin

*première fois que vous avez entendu parler des OGM? Autour des années 1980

* première fois que vous avez entendu parler du mouvement ? 2003 Larzac

*comment avez vous entendu parler du mouvement ?

*est ce que les OGM ont un impact sur votre activité économique?

Production biologique donc non

*depuis quand avez vous rejoint le mouvement?

2003

*est ce que vous avez déjà fauché?

Oui

*est ce que votre action à un impact sur votre activité économique ?

*pourquoi avez vous rejoint le mouvement en premier lieu?

« Le droit à la vie (...), contre les profits des multinationales qui sont un frein à la liberté ; capacité de disposer du droit au travail »

*pourquoi la désobéissance civile et pas du simple volontariat comme Greenpeace?

« Quand devant les tribunaux et dans la vie de tous les jours on arrive pas à permettre aux fermier de pouvoir cultiver le sol et de faire vivre leur famille (...) la seule solution pour qui reste à notre disposition pour permettre d'informer les citoyens et d'utiliser les médias c'est d'agir concrètement »

« Si il n'y avait pas eu du fauchage depuis 10 ans nous en aurions pleins nos assiettes »

*Est ce que vous avez l'impression que vous avez changé depuis que vous êtes dans le mouvement? Est ce que vous avez évolué (convictions, manière de voir les choses...) En quoi ?

« Chaque jour on apprend (...) à travers le mouvement, j'ai découvert la non violence »

Empreinte écologique:

*avez vous la possibilité de recycler ? En partie oui

*recyclez vous? Oui ; toilettes sèches ; chauffage à bois

*est ce que vous avez la possibilité de prendre les transports en commun? Campagne, tributaire de la voiture

*utilisez vous les transports en commun ?

*comment choisissez vous votre moyen de transport pour vos vacances? Peu de vacances

*avez vous les moyens économiques d'acheter des produits bio? **Oui**

*est ce que vous êtes sensible à ça lors de vos achats ? **Jardin bio**

*avez vous les moyens économiques d'acheter des produits commerce équitable ? **Oui mais d'abord équitable chez nous et d'abord priorité alimentaire**

*est ce que vous êtes sensible à ça lors de vos achats ?

*êtes vous sensible aux produits produit localement ? **Jardin bio, auto production**

*est ce que l'eau de votre robinet est de bonne qualité ? **Puits**

*est ce que vous buvez de l'eau en bouteille?

*est ce que vous utilisez des énergies renouvelables? **Chauffage solaire, chauffage à bois, éolien,**

*est ce que vous utilisez des ampoules basses consommation ?

*êtes vous membre actif d'une autre association ?

Démocratie participative (pays de vallée du Loir, plan de développement durable)

Syndicaliste

=>est ce que vous avez l'impression que votre comportement vis-à-vis des questions que je viens de vous poser à changé depuis que vous êtes dans le mouvement?

« Non, je les avait déjà avant »

Résumé :

POURQUOI ?	Totalement d'accord	D'accords en majorité	Entre d'accord et pas d'accords	Pas vraiment d'accord	Pas d'accords du tout
« préoccupé par l'économique » *je suis préoccupé de la situation économique des petits agriculteurs, des paysans	*				
« préoccupé par le social» *je suis préoccupé par les atteintes à la liberté que la culture d'OGM de pleins champs représente. *je suis préoccupé par les inégalités que la culture d'OGM de pleins champs représente. *je suis préoccupé par l'impact des OGM sur la santé	*	*	*		
« préoccupé par l'environnement » *je suis préoccupé par l'impact des OGM sur l'Environnement *je suis préoccupé par le nombre croissant d'atteinte à l'environnement	*	*			

<p>« sens du devoir » *je veux faire ma part pour l'environnement *je veux faire ma part pour le respect des droits civils *je veux agir concrètement</p>	*				
<p>« Intérêt personnel » *j'ai rejoint le mouvement pour acquérir de nouvelles expériences *je veux rencontrer de nouvelles personnes.</p>					* *
<p>« Degrés d'adhésion » *Ce mouvement me caractérise *J'ai du temps libre</p>		*			*
<p>« Sur demande » *On m'a demandé de rejoindre le mouvement</p>					*

Interview n°3

Questions générales :

*nom : **Dominique Plancke**

*Age : **51 ans**

*Profession: **conseiller régional et municipal**

*première fois que vous avez entendu parler des OGM?
1995-96

* première fois que vous avez entendu parler du mouvement ?
Fauchage avant que le mouvement existe, 2001 Avelin

*comment avez vous entendu parler du mouvement ?
Larzac 2003

*est ce que les OGM ont un impact sur votre activité économique?
Non

*depuis quand avez vous rejoint le mouvement?
2003

*est ce que vous avez déjà fauché?
Plusieurs fois

*est ce que votre action à un impact sur votre activité économique ?
Oui peut être : risque de perte de des droits civiques et donc des mandats électoraux.

*pourquoi avez vous rejoint le mouvement en premier lieu?
Aspect environnemental, et contre le brevetage du vivant

*pourquoi la désobéissance civile et pas du simple volontariat comme Greenpeace?
« J'ai tout fait (...) j'ai joué sur tous les tableaux » informations, action en tant qu'élu (région nord pas de Calais région sans OGM depuis 2004), pétitions... le mouvement des faucheurs est un « mode d'action qui permettait de faire connaître le mouvement, montrer la détermination, montrer que c'était quelque chose d'important, que des gens étaient capable de désobéir à la loi donc de prendre des risques personnel par rapport à la situation, ça semblait à un moment utile par rapport au débat sur les OGM qui patinait un peu, personne ne voyait bien de quoi il s'agissait, et je pense qu'à posteriori le débat sur les OGM n'aurait pas eu lieu si il n'y avait pas eu l'action des faucheurs. »

*Est ce que vous avez l'impression que vous avez changé depuis que vous êtes dans le mouvement? Est ce que vous avez évolué (convictions, manière de voir les choses...) En quoi ?

Le passage devant les tribunaux a renforcé ses convictions « que ce soit de devoir justifier devant les juges pourquoi je l'ai fait, ou d'écouter les témoins qu'on avait cité expliquer pourquoi on avait eu raison de le faire. »

Empreinte écologique:

*avez vous la possibilité de recycler ? **oui**

*recyclez vous? **oui**

*est ce que vous avez la possibilité de prendre les transports en commun? **Oui mais vélo**

*utilisez vous les transports en commun ? **vélo**

*comment choisissez vous votre moyen de transport pour vos vacances? **Train et location de voiture**

*avez vous les moyens économiques d'acheter des produits bio? **En partie**

*est ce que vous êtes sensible à ça lors de vos achats ? **Oui mais pas complètement (prix et praticité)**

*avez vous les moyens économiques d'acheter des produits commerce équitable ? **En partie**

*est ce que vous êtes sensible à ça lors de vos achats ? **Oui mais pas complètement (prix)**

*êtes vous sensible aux produits produit localement ? **Oui**

*est ce que l'eau de votre robinet est de bonne qualité ? **Oui**

*est ce que vous buvez de l'eau en bouteille? **Non en majorité**

*est ce que vous utilisez des énergies renouvelables? **Oui capteur solaire**

*est ce que vous utilisez des ampoules basses consommation ? **Oui**

*êtes vous membre actif d'une autre association ? **Militant vert, ADAV**

=> est ce que vous avez l'impression que votre comportement vis-à-vis des questions que je viens de vous poser à changé depuis que vous êtes dans le mouvement?

Approfondissement des pratiques grâce aux rencontres avec les autres faucheurs qui « mettent en cohérence leur vie en avec leurs idées ».

Résumé :

POURQUOI ?	Totalement d'accord	D'accords en majorité	Entre d'accord et pas d'accords	Pas vraiment d'accord	Pas d'accords du tout
« préoccupé par l'économique » *je suis préoccupé de la situation économique des petits agriculteurs		*			
« préoccupé par le social » *je suis préoccupé par les atteintes à la liberté que la culture d'OGM de pleins champs représente. *je suis préoccupé par les inégalités que la culture d'OGM de pleins champs représente. *je suis préoccupé par l'impact des OGM sur la santé	*	*	*		

<p>« préoccupé par l'environnement »</p> <p>*je suis préoccupé par l'impact des OGM sur l'Environnement</p> <p>*je suis préoccupé par le nombre croissant d'atteinte à l'environnement</p>	*				
<p>« sens du devoir »</p> <p>*je veux faire ma part pour l'environnement</p> <p>*je veux faire ma part pour le respect des droits civils : La question ne s'est pas posée</p> <p>*je veux agir concrètement</p>	*				
<p>« Intérêt personnel »</p> <p>*j'ai rejoint le mouvement pour acquérir de nouvelles expériences</p> <p>*je veux rencontrer de nouvelles personnes.</p>					*
<p>« Degrés d'adhésion »</p> <p>*Ce mouvement me caractérise</p> <p>*J'ai du temps libre</p>	*				*
<p>« Sur demande »</p> <p>*On m'a demandé de rejoindre le mouvement</p>					*

Est-ce que vous pensez qu'il existe de jeunes ou moins jeunes faucheurs qui entrent dans le mouvement sans un passif de militant et qui évoluent, se mettent aux courant des pratiques environnementales et civiques au contact des militants de ce mouvement ?

« Il y en a forcément (...) puisqu'il y a une grande diversité au sein des faucheurs »

« Pour la plupart des paysans c'est l'aboutissement d'une démarche »

« Je pense qu'il y a des gens qui on un peu fait ça parce que « tiens y'a les OGM je dois faire quelque chose » sans avoir vraiment de préoccupations » aussi profonde que certains agriculteurs très engagés. « Mais on retrouve quand même déjà beaucoup de gens fortement engagé ailleurs » au sein du mouvement.

Interview n°3

Questions générales:

*nom : **Thierry Baffou**

*Age : **43**

*Profession: **paysan en agriculture biologique, conseiller en énergie renouvelable, éditeur.**

*première fois que vous avez entendu parler des OGM?

1995

* première fois que vous avez entendu parler du mouvement ?

Larzac 2003

*comment avez vous entendu parler du mouvement ?

Larzac 2003

*est ce que les OGM ont un impact sur votre activité économique?

« Aurait » puisque pour l'instant pas d'OGM autour de chez lui ; « oui, si il y en avait »

*depuis quand avez vous rejoint le mouvement?

2003

*est ce que vous avez déjà fauché?

Oui, « fréquemment »

*est ce que votre action à un impact sur votre activité économique ?

Faucher « Permet de communiquer sur les OGM (...) ça aurait plutôt un aspect positif sur nos produits [pain bio], mais les conséquences du fauchage, si ça entraîne des poursuites devant les tribunaux et si après y'a des condamnation, ça peut avoir un impact sur nos revenus »

*pourquoi avez vous rejoint le mouvement en premier lieu?

« C'est un état d'esprit, pas un point particulier ; mais le point que j'ai dû mettre en avant à ce moment là c'est celui de faire quelque chose de radical pour pouvoir permettre à mes enfants d'avoir une planète la moins polluée possible (...) ; c'est plus dans la perspective des générations future (...) ; si on le fait pas maintenant, il sera trop tard après »

*pourquoi la désobéissance civile et pas du simple volontariat comme Greenpeace?

« Parce que ça on a fait aussi ; on a fait signer des pétitions aux gens, on a tenté des procès contre Monsanto, etc. Toutes ces procédures là ayant déjà été explorées, et devant l'imminence du risque, il n'y pas d'autre alternative » que la désobéissance civile

*Est ce que vous avez l'impression que vous avez changé depuis que vous êtes dans le mouvement? Est ce que vous avez évolué (convictions, manière de voir les choses...) En quoi ?

« Mes convictions, pas du tout » mais elles sont aujourd'hui « peut être encore plus renforcées par l'apport scientifique » que le mouvement, à travers les connaissances de militant scientifiques, à acquit.

Empreinte écologique:

*avez vous la possibilité de recycler ? **Oui**

*recyclez vous? **Quasi intégralement (anticipation à l'achat)**

*est ce que vous avez la possibilité de prendre les transports en commun? **Oui**

*utilisez vous les transports en commun ? « **Dès que je peux je fais** »

*comment choisissez vous votre moyen de transport pour vos vacances?

Le moins polluant possible (vélo, marche)

*avez vous les moyens économiques d'acheter des produits bio? « **La question ne se pose pas dans ce sens là, priorité alimentation bio et puis après on regarde ce qu'il reste** »

*est ce que vous êtes sensible à ça lors de vos achats ? **Oui, quasi 100% (choix de l'équitable dans certain cas)**

*avez vous les moyens économiques d'acheter des produits commerce équitable ?

*est ce que vous êtes sensible à ça lors de vos achats ? **Oui, même si c'est priorité au bio, «le bio n'est pas forcément une garantie» de la durabilité d'un produit ; «lier social et écologique»**

*êtes vous sensible aux produits produit localement ?

« **Le plus local, le plus de saison, sans tomber dans le travers des « bio casses-couilles » (...), des gens qui font trop intégristes à notre goût** »

*est ce que l'eau de votre robinet est de bonne qualité ?

*est ce que vous buvez de l'eau en bouteille? **Non, filtrage d'eau de pluie, puits.**

*est ce que vous utilisez des énergies renouvelables? **Oui, site de démonstration d'énergies renouvelables ; panneau solaire photovoltaïque, panneau solaire thermique, chaudière à granulés de bois, à copeaux de bois, une éolienne ; maison passive.**

*est ce que vous utilisez des ampoules basses consommation ?

Oui ; mais « attention à la limite de la technologie » certaines lampes étant très gourmande en énergie à produire.

*êtes vous membre actif d'une autre association ?

De nombreuses ; confédération paysanne par exemple.

=>est ce que vous avez l'impression que votre comportement vis-à-vis des questions que je viens de vous poser à changé depuis que vous êtes dans le mouvement?

« **Non, c'est des convictions très fortes que l'on avait avant (...), mais ça conforte** »

Le fait de voir que la désobéissance civile fonctionne appelle à une utilisation plus fréquente de ce moyen d'action dans d'autres cas.

Résumé :

POURQUOI ?	Totalement d'accord	D'accords en majorité	Entre d'accord et pas d'accords	Pas vraiment d'accord	Pas d'accords du tout
“préoccupé par l'économique” *je suis préoccupé de la situation économique des petits agriculteurs	*				
“préoccupé par le social” *je suis préoccupé par les atteintes à la liberté que la culture d'OGM de pleins champs représente. *je suis préoccupé par les inégalités que la culture d'OGM de pleins champs représente. *je suis préoccupé par l'impact des OGM sur la santé	* * *				
“préoccupé par l'environnement” *je suis préoccupé par l'impact des OGM sur l'Environnement *je suis préoccupé par le nombre croissant d'atteinte à l'environnement	* *				
“sens du devoir” *je veux faire ma part pour l'environnement *je veux faire ma part pour le respect des droits civils *je veux agir concrètement	* * *				
“intérêt personnel” *j'ai rejoint le mouvement pour acquérir de nouvelles expériences *je veux rencontrer de nouvelles personnes.					* *
“degrés d'adhésion” *Ce mouvement me caractérise *J'ai du temps libre		*			*

“Sur demande” *On m’a demandé de rejoindre le mouvement					*
---	--	--	--	--	---

Est-ce que vous pensez qu’il existe de jeunes ou moins jeunes faucheurs qui entrent dans le mouvement sans un passif de militant et qui évoluent, se mettent aux courant des pratiques environnementales et civiques au contact des militants de ce mouvement ?

Sans un passif de militants oui ; « les gens qui sont venu avaient déjà une sensibilité globale, pas de gens qui sont arrivé « que » par le bio».

Interview n°4

Questions générales:

*nom : Yves Manguy

*Age : 70 ans

*Profession: retraité de l'agriculture (2002), maire de sa commune, ex-syndicaliste à la confédération paysanne

*première fois que vous avez entendu parler des OGM? 1980 ; 1990 à partir du droit à faire des semences ; 2002 arrêté contre les OGM sur sa commune

* première fois que vous avez entendu parler du mouvement ? 2003 Larzac

*comment avez vous entendu parler du mouvement ? 2003 Larzac

*est ce que les OGM ont un impact sur votre activité économique? Non

*depuis quand avez vous rejoint le mouvement? 2004

*est ce que vous avez déjà fauché? Oui

*est ce que votre action à un impact sur votre activité économique ?

*pourquoi avez vous rejoint le mouvement en premier lieu?

Economique (doit à la réutilisation des semences, contre les grandes exploitations industrielles)

*pourquoi la désobéissance civile et pas du simple volontariat comme Greenpeace?

Information, demande de précaution, mise en justice, et donc aujourd'hui c'est l'action qui reste.

*Est ce que vous avez l'impression que vous avez changé depuis que vous êtes dans le mouvement? Est ce que vous avez évolué (convictions, manière de voir les choses...) En quoi ?

Renforcement des convictions.

Empreinte écologique:

*avez vous la possibilité de recycler ? oui

*recyclez vous? Oui ; compostage et tri sélectif.

*est ce que vous avez la possibilité de prendre les transports en commun? Campagne donc voiture

*utilisez vous les transports en commun ?

*comment choisissez vous votre moyen de transport pour vos vacances? Train

*avez vous les moyens économiques d'acheter des produits bio? Oui ; « c'est un choix citoyen » ; mais l'agriculture bio est sous développé

*est ce que vous êtes sensible à ça lors de vos achats ? « Oui, quand je peux »

*avez vous les moyens économiques d'acheter des produits commerce équitable ? **oui**

*est ce que vous êtes sensible à ça lors de vos achats ? **oui, membre d'association de commerce équitable**

*êtes vous sensible aux produits produit localement ? **Oui**

*est ce que l'eau de votre robinet est de bonne qualité ? **Non, production de maïs donc produits chimiques dans les eaux**

*est ce que vous buvez de l'eau en bouteille? **Osmoseur sur le robinet**

*est ce que vous utilisez des énergies renouvelables? **Eolien sur la commune**

*est ce que vous utilisez des ampoules basses consommation ?

*êtes vous membre actif d'une autre association ? **Fédération paysanne, collectif vigilance OGM de Charente, coordination nationale de la protection des semence de ferme, adhérent verts**

=>est ce que vous avez l'impression que votre comportement vis-à-vis des questions que je viens de vous poser à changé depuis que vous êtes dans le mouvement?

« Non (...) je suis adhérent vert depuis les années 90 » depuis son combat syndical à propos de l'eau, « même si c'est grâce à une réflexion collective » qu'il a ce comportement. « c'est enrichissant de pouvoir mesurer l'impact qu'en tant que citoyen on peut avoir en fonction des actions que l'on mène et que ce n'est pas forcément avec du discours qu'on fait avancer les choses »

Résumé :

POURQUOI ?	Totalement d'accord	D'accords en majorité	Entre d'accord et pas d'accords	Pas vraiment d'accord	Pas d'accords du tout
« préoccupé par l'économique » *je suis préoccupé par la situation économique des petits agriculteurs	*				
« préoccupé par le social » *je suis préoccupé par les atteintes à la liberté que la culture d'OGM de pleins champs représente. *je suis préoccupé par les inégalités que la culture d'OGM de pleins champs représente. *je suis préoccupé par l'impact des OGM sur la santé	*				
« Préoccupé par l'environnement » *je suis préoccupé par l'impact des OGM sur l'Environnement *je suis préoccupé par le nombre croissant d'atteinte à l'environnement	*				
« Sens du devoir » *je veux faire ma part pour l'environnement					

*je veux faire ma part pour le respect des droits civils *je veux agir concrètement	*				
	*				
	*				
« Intérêt personnel » *j'ai rejoint le mouvement pour acquérir de nouvelles expériences *je veux rencontrer de nouvelles personnes.					*
					*
« degrés d'adhésion » *Ce mouvement me caractérise *J'ai du temps libre	*				*
					*
« Sur demande » *On m'a demandé de rejoindre le mouvement					*

Est-ce que vous pensez qu'il existe de jeunes ou moins jeunes faucheurs qui entrent dans le mouvement sans un passif de militant et qui évoluent, se mettent aux courant des pratiques environnementales et civiques au contact des militants de ce mouvement ?

« Il y a des gens qui se sont engagé, qui ont eu une sensibilité, peut être des interrogations partielles (...) et sont rentrés dans la réflexion au contact des un et des autres et sont devenu militants, et j'en connais » « ça peut être une porte d'entrée pour ces gens là pour avoir une vision beaucoup plus large des questions de société » « y'a pas de doute la dessus, j'ai confronté pas mal de gens ; bon, y'en a qui sont plus ou moins loin, (...) mais les gens sont plus attentifs politiquement.»

Interview n°5

Questions générales:

*nom : François Dufour

*Age : 55

*Profession: paysan bio (depuis 1997) ancien porte parole de la confédération paysanne ;

*première fois que vous avez entendu parler des OGM? 1997, demande un moratoire avec la confédération paysanne.

* première fois que vous avez entendu parler du mouvement ?

Membre de fondateur des faucheurs volontaires

*comment avez vous entendu parler du mouvement ?

*est ce que les OGM ont un impact sur votre activité économique?

*depuis quand avez vous rejoint le mouvement?

*est ce que vous avez déjà fauché? Oui, plusieurs fois

*est ce que votre action à un impact sur votre activité économique ? (changer la question en « revenu »)

Non, mais risque financier face aux différents jugements pour les fauchages, et pour le refus de fichage génétique. (Cherche à discréditer le mouvement aux yeux de la population)

*pourquoi avez vous rejoint le mouvement en premier lieu?

Raison santé publique, contre les crises sanitaires ; brevetage du vivant

« Les OGM étant tellement dans la globalité un risque sanitaire, social, environnemental, et je dirai même un risque sur le mode de vie de nos populations » « en tant que producteur de bien alimentaire je me devais d' (en) assumer tous les risques » de la lutte contre les OGM.

« je ne voulais pas non plus devenir un receleur d'un système qu'on nous impose et qui est contraire aux intérêts de la santé de la planète et de la santé humaine, et notamment des plus faible de cette planète parce que malheureusement on se rend compte que les productions de qualités ont tendance à être consommé par les personnes qui ont de l'argent, et une grande partie de la population en difficulté financière se retrouve à manger souvent des produits, dans le cas de OGM j'appellerais ça « frelatés ». »

*pourquoi la désobéissance civile et pas du simple volontariat comme Greenpeace?

Entre 1997 et 2003 l'action à été d'informer la population (entre 75% et 80% est maintenant contre), et les décideurs (les élus écoutent les lobbies)

*Est ce que vous avez l'impression que vous avez changé depuis que vous êtes dans le mouvement? Est ce que vous avez évolué (convictions, manière de voir les choses...) En quoi ? « Mieux comprendre le danger des OGM pour la terre, pour la santé humaine et pour les générations futures »

Empreinte écologique:

*avez vous la possibilité de recycler ? **Oui, tri et tout le bois de la ferme est réutilisé dans le paillage, le chauffage à bois, compostage du fumier.**

*recyclez vous? **Oui**

*est ce que vous avez la possibilité de prendre les transports en commun?

*utilisez vous les transports en commun ? **Train pour aller Paris ; échelon local non, communes rurales.**

*comment choisissez vous votre moyen de transport pour vos vacances?

*avez vous les moyens économiques d'acheter des produits bio? **Producteur bio**

*est ce que vous êtes sensible à ça lors de vos achats ? **Oui, réseau d'échange entre producteurs de bio**

*avez vous les moyens économiques d'acheter des produits commerce équitable ? **oui**

*est ce que vous êtes sensible à ça lors de vos achats ? **oui, pas la totalité mais quand même pas mal**

*êtes vous sensible aux produits produit localement ? **évités les grandes surfaces, faire vivre les petites entités locales, éviter au maximum les intermédiaire**

*est ce que l'eau de votre robinet est de bonne qualité ?

*est ce que vous buvez de l'eau en bouteille? **Non, source de la ferme**

*est ce que vous utilisez des énergies renouvelables? **Non, réseau électrique nucléaire**

*est ce que vous utilisez des ampoules basses consommation ? **Oui**

*êtes vous membre actif d'une autre association ?

Association contre le nucléaire, conseil d'administration maison de retraite, membre du conseil économique et social de la région basse Normandie...

=>est ce que vous avez l'impression que votre comportement vis-à-vis des questions que je viens de vous poser à changé depuis que vous êtes dans le mouvement?

« Bien sur ! Au fur et à mesure que l'on découvre des lacunes dans un système et que l'on s'organise pour mener un combat pour changer les choses, il faut en même temps mettre en cohérence les actes aux propositions »

Résumé :

POURQUOI ?	Totalement d'accord	D'accords en majorité	Entre d'accord et pas d'accords	Pas vraiment d'accord	Pas d'accords du tout
« préoccupé par l'économie » *je suis préoccupé de la situation économique des petits agriculteurs	*				

<p>« préoccupé par le social » *je suis préoccupé par les atteintes à la liberté que la culture d'OGM de pleins champs représente. *je suis préoccupé par les inégalités que la culture d'OGM de pleins champs représente. *je suis préoccupé par l'impact des OGM sur la santé</p>	* * *				
<p>« préoccupé par l'environnement » *je suis préoccupé par l'impact des OGM sur l'Environnement *je suis préoccupé par le nombre croissant d'atteinte à l'environnement</p>	* *				
<p>« sens du devoir » *je veux faire ma part pour l'environnement *je veux faire ma part pour le respect des droits civils *je veux agir concrètement</p>	* * *				
<p>« intérêt personnel » *j'ai rejoint le mouvement pour acquérir de nouvelles expériences *je veux rencontrer de nouvelles personnes.</p>					* *
<p>« degrés d'adhésion » *Ce mouvement me caractérise *J'ai du temps libre</p>	*				*
<p>« Sur demande » *On m'a demandé de rejoindre le mouvement</p>					*

Interview n°7

Questions générales:

*nom : Gilbert Saillour

*Age : 58

*Profession: retraité du GIAT

*première fois que vous avez entendu parler des OGM? 1997 ; avant, sensible aux enjeux liés à l'agriculture, lien entre eau et agriculture en Bretagne par exemple.

* première fois que vous avez entendu parler du mouvement ?

2003 Larzac

*comment avez vous entendu parler du mouvement ?

2003 Larzac

*est ce que les OGM ont un impact sur votre activité économique?

Non

*depuis quand avez vous rejoint le mouvement?

2003

*est ce que vous avez déjà fauché? Oui

« comme on a pas d'OGM dans notre région, c'est compliqué de rentrer dans « le milieu », c'est quand même assez fermé, il faut prendre des réserves parce que c'est quand même assez dangereux ne serais ce que pour le porte monnaie (...) on ne m'a pas contacté du jour au lendemain »

*est ce que votre action à un impact sur votre activité économique ? Non

*pourquoi avez vous rejoint le mouvement en premier lieu?

« On est dans un système où le bien commun n'existe pas » ; contre la privatisation du bien commun

Ce sont les mêmes lobbies, pharmaceutiques et OGM ; « si on est malade, ils font des profits » ; hormones de croissances, poulets à la dioxine : « tous les soucis que l'on a eu c'était par rapport au profit, au détriment de la santé des gens »

Les grandes sociétés ne sont pas des personnes, aucune responsabilité individuelle (le monde selon Monsanto)

« Nous sommes dans une société qui n'a plus de valeur morale »

À propos des cultures d'OGM « qui sont cultivée dans le Nord pour nourrir les animaux du Nord au détriment des cultures vivrières, c'est quand même bizarre, la plupart des gens qui crèvent de fin ce sont les paysans »

*pourquoi la désobéissance civile et pas du simple volontariat comme Greenpeace?

Pas gain de cause avec les voies légales (manque de démocratie); nos décideurs « ne traitent qu'avec des pouvoirs d'argent, pour moi ces gens là sont « hors sol », complètement déconnectés de la réalité »

*Est ce que vous avez l'impression que vous avez changé depuis que vous êtes dans le mouvement? Est ce que vous avez évolué (convictions, manière de voir les choses...) En quoi ?

Non

Empreint&e écologique:

*avez vous la possibilité de recycler ? **Oui**

*recyclez vous? **Oui**

*est ce que vous avez la possibilité de prendre les transports en commun? **Oui**

* utilisez-vous les transports en commun ? **Oui et Vélo**

* comment choisissez-vous votre moyen de transport pour vos vacances?

*avez vous les moyens économiques d'acheter des produits bio? **Oui, même si ça coûte un peu plus cher, c'est la priorité**

*est ce que vous êtes sensible à ça lors de vos achats ?

*avez vous les moyens économiques d'acheter des produits commerce équitable ? **Problème de confiance**

*est ce que vous êtes sensible à ça lors de vos achats ? **Oui**

*êtes vous sensible aux produits produit localement ? **Oui, biocop, marché**

*est ce que l'eau de votre robinet est de bonne qualité ?

*est ce que vous buvez de l'eau en bouteille? **non**

*est ce que vous utilisez des énergies renouvelables? **non**

*est ce que vous utilisez des ampoules basses consommation ? **oui**

*êtes vous membre actif d'une autre association ?

Greenpeace, d'Attac, artisans du monde, stop OGM, sortir du nucléaire

=>est ce que vous avez l'impression que votre comportement vis-à-vis des questions que je viens de vous poser à changé depuis que vous êtes dans le mouvement?

« Graduellement mais avant que je sois faucheurs »

Résumé :

POURQUOI ?	Totalemen t d'accord	D'accords en majorité	Entre d'accord et pas d'accords	Pas vraiment d'accord	Pas d'accords du tout
« préoccupé par l'économique » *je suis préoccupé par la situation économique des petits agriculteurs	*				

<p>« Préoccupé par le social » *je suis préoccupé par les atteintes à la liberté que la culture d'OGM de pleins champs représente. *je suis préoccupé par les inégalités que la culture d'OGM de pleins champs représente. *je suis préoccupé par l'impact des OGM sur la santé</p>	<p>*</p> <p>*</p> <p>*</p>				
<p>« Préoccupé par l'environnement » *je suis préoccupé par l'impact des OGM sur l'Environnement *je suis préoccupé par le nombre croissant d'atteinte à l'environnement</p>	<p>*</p> <p>*</p>				
<p>« Sens du devoir » *je veux faire ma part pour l'environnement « me rattraper » *je veux faire ma part pour le respect des droits civils *je veux agir concrètement</p>	<p>*</p> <p>*</p> <p>*</p>				
<p>« Intérêt personnel » *je veux acquérir de nouvelles expériences *je veux rencontrer de nouvelles personnes.</p>	<p>*</p> <p>*</p>				
<p>« Degrés d'adhésion » *Ce mouvement me caractérise *J'ai du temps libre</p>		*			*
<p>« Sur demande » *On m'a demandé de rejoindre le mouvement</p>					*

Est-ce que vous pensez qu'il existe de jeunes ou moins jeunes faucheurs qui entrent dans le mouvement sans un passif de militant et qui évoluent, se mettent aux courant des pratiques environnementales et civiques au contact des militants de ce mouvement ?

« **Je ne pense pas que lorsque l'on rejoint le mouvement on ai des lacunes sur ce qui se passe** »

Interview n°8

Questions générales:

*nom : Denis Lefranc

*Age : 53 ans

*Profession: employé territorial

*première fois que vous avez entendu parler des OGM? 1998

* première fois que vous avez entendu parler du mouvement ? 2003

*comment avez vous entendu parler du mouvement ? Biais de la biocop', tracs

*est ce que les OGM ont un impact sur votre activité économique? Non

*depuis quand avez vous rejoint le mouvement?

*est ce que vous avez déjà fauché?

Oui

*est ce que votre action à un impact sur votre activité économique ?

*pourquoi avez vous rejoint le mouvement en premier lieu?

Environnement ; admiration pour les faucheurs, « ça venais toucher quelque chose qui était en moi »

*pourquoi la désobéissance civile et pas du simple volontariat comme Greenpeace?

« Quoi que pense la majorité de l'opinion des gens, on se rend compte que ce n'est pas cette opinion qui compte, c'est le lobbying financier qui va prendre le dessus » ; agir contre la résignation.

*Est ce que vous avez l'impression que vous avez changé depuis que vous êtes dans le mouvement? Est ce que vous avez évolué (convictions, manière de voir les choses...) En quoi ? Je les avais déjà avant, « Je suis pour le partage à la base » ; « fraternité d'être ensemble, ça m'a renforcé mon envie de me battre contre l'injustice ».

Empreinte écologique:

*avez vous la possibilité de recycler ? Oui

*recyclez vous? Oui

*est ce que vous avez la possibilité de prendre les transports en commun? Oui

*utilisez vous les transports en commun ? Vélo

*comment choisissez vous votre moyen de transport pour vos vacances? voiture

*avez vous les moyens économiques d'acheter des produits bio? Oui

*est ce que vous êtes sensible à ça lors de vos achats ? oui

*avez vous les moyens économiques d'acheter des produits commerce équitable ? oui,
« beaucoup »

*est ce que vous êtes sensible à ça lors de vos achats ? **oui**

*êtes vous sensible aux produits produit localement ? **oui**

*est ce que l'eau de votre robinet est de bonne qualité ?

*est ce que vous buvez de l'eau en bouteille? **non**

*est ce que vous utilisez des énergies renouvelables? **Réduit ses dépenses d'énergie ; par l'intermédiaire d'une association**

*est ce que vous utilisez des ampoules basses consommation ? **Oui**

*êtes vous membre actif d'une autre association ? **Oui, énergie verte, membre des verts**

=>est ce que vous avez l'impression que votre comportement vis-à-vis des questions que je viens de vous poser à changé depuis que vous êtes dans le mouvement?

« Non, j'étais sensibilisé bien avant »

Résumé :

POURQUOI ?	Totalement d'accord	D'accords en majorité	Entre d'accord et pas d'accords	Pas vraiment d'accord	Pas d'accords du tout
« préoccupé par l'économique » *je suis préoccupé par la situation économique des petits agriculteurs	*				
« préoccupé par le social » *je suis préoccupé par les atteintes à la liberté que la culture d'OGM de pleins champs représente. *je suis préoccupé par les inégalités que la culture d'OGM de pleins champs représente. *je suis préoccupé par l'impact des OGM sur la santé	*				
« préoccupé par l'environnement » *je suis préoccupé par l'impact des OGM sur l'Environnement *je suis préoccupé par le nombre croissant d'atteinte à l'environnement	*				
« sens du devoir » *je veux faire ma part pour l'environnement *je veux faire ma part pour le respect des droits civils *je veux agir concrètement	*				

<p>« intérêt personnel » *je veux acquérir de nouvelles expériences *je veux rencontrer de nouvelles personnes. partager les idées</p>	<p>*</p> <p>*</p>				
<p>« degrés d'adhésion » *Ce mouvement me caractérise *J'ai du temps libre</p>	<p>*</p>				<p>*</p>
<p>« Sur demande » *On m'a demandé de rejoindre le mouvement</p>					<p>*</p>

Interview n°9

Questions générales:

*nom : Jacques Daurios

*Age : 52

*Profession: enseignant

*première fois que vous avez entendu parler des OGM? 1995

* première fois que vous avez entendu parler du mouvement ? 2004

*comment avez vous entendu parler du mouvement ? Par des amis qui connaissaient le mouvements

*est ce que les OGM ont un impact sur votre activité économique? Non

*depuis quand avez vous rejoint le mouvement? 2004

*est ce que vous avez déjà fauché? Oui

*est ce que votre action à un impact sur votre activité économique ? Non

*pourquoi avez vous rejoint le mouvement en premier lieu? Environmental ; future génération

*pourquoi la désobéissance civile et pas du simple volontariat comme Greenpeace?
Le seul moyen qui reste ; « ça ne suffit pas de faire des manifestations »

*Est ce que vous avez l'impression que vous avez changé depuis que vous êtes dans le mouvement? Est ce que vous avez évolué (convictions, manière de voir les choses...) En quoi ? oui, « énormément »

Empreinte écologique:

*avez vous la possibilité de recycler ? Oui

*recyclez vous? Oui, on donne à nos animaux, ou composte

*est ce que vous avez la possibilité de prendre les transports en commun? Difficilement

*utilisez vous les transports en commun ? Non

*comment choisissez vous votre moyen de transport pour vos vacances? « On essaie de bouger le moins possible »

*avez vous les moyens économiques d'acheter des produits bio? Oui

*est ce que vous êtes sensible à ça lors de vos achats ? Oui, majorité des courses dans une coopérative bio.

*avez vous les moyens économiques d'acheter des produits commerce équitable ? Certain produits oui

*est ce que vous êtes sensible à ça lors de vos achats ? Pas la priorité

*êtes vous sensible aux produits produit localement ? Oui

*est ce que l'eau de votre robinet est de bonne qualité ?

*est ce que vous buvez de l'eau en bouteille? **Non**

*est ce que vous utilisez des énergies renouvelables? **Oui, solaire**

*est ce que vous utilisez des ampoules basses consommation ?

*êtes vous membre actif d'une autre association ? **Oui, Greenpeace, sortir du nucléaire**

=>est ce que vous avez l'impression que votre comportement vis-à-vis des questions que je viens de vous poser à changé depuis que vous êtes dans le mouvement? **Oui, « c'est une source de beaucoup d'informations »**

Résumé :

POURQUOI ?	Totalement d'accord	D'accords en majorité	Entre d'accord et pas d'accords	Pas vraiment d'accord	Pas d'accords du tout
« préoccupé par l'économique » *je suis préoccupé de la situation économique des petits agriculteurs	*				
« préoccupé par le social » *je suis préoccupé par les atteintes à la liberté que la culture d'OGM de pleins champs représente. *je suis préoccupé par les inégalités que la culture d'OGM de pleins champs représente. *je suis préoccupé par l'impact des OGM sur la santé	*				
« préoccupé par l'environnement » *je suis préoccupé par l'impact des OGM sur l'Environnement *je suis préoccupé par le nombre croissant d'atteinte à l'environnement	*				
« sens du devoir » *je veux faire ma part pour l'environnement *je veux faire ma part pour le respect des droits civils *je veux agir concrètement	*	*			
« intérêt personnel » *je veux acquérir de nouvelles expériences *je veux rencontrer de nouvelles personnes.					*

« degrés d'adhésion » *Ce mouvement me caractérise *J'ai du temps libre			*		*
« Sur demande » *On m'a demandé de rejoindre le mouvement					*

Est-ce que vous pensez qu'il existe de jeunes ou moins jeunes faucheurs qui entrent dans le mouvement sans un passif de militant et qui évoluent, se mettent aux courant des pratiques environnementales et civiques au contact des militants de ce mouvement ?

C'est l'engagement chez les faucheurs qui a fait changer ses comportements, parce qu'il agit ; « je ne suis pas une minorité chez les faucheurs », il y a une grande diversité, c'est ça qui est intéressant.

Interview n°10

Questions générales:

*nom : Etienne Raphaël

*Age : 29

*Profession: sans profession, crêpier

*première fois que vous avez entendu parler des OGM? 1999-2000

* première fois que vous avez entendu parler du mouvement ? 2003 Larzac

*comment avez vous entendu parler du mouvement ? 2004, activement 2007

*est ce que les OGM ont un impact sur votre activité économique? Non

*depuis quand avez vous rejoint le mouvement?

*est ce que vous avez déjà fauché? Oui

*est ce que votre action à un impact sur votre activité économique ? Non

*pourquoi avez vous rejoint le mouvement en premier lieu? Etat de nécessité, pour un débat publique; à la fois soucis écologique et le « dénie de démocratie »

*pourquoi la désobéissance civile et pas du simple volontariat comme Greenpeace?

« Beaucoup de biais qui ont été essayé pour que le débat est lieu pour que les parlementaires se soucis de cette problématique ; le fait est que depuis 2003, la fin du moratoire, on a proliférations des cultures en plein champs sans qu'il y est de précautions qui soient present, sans que le débat n'est toujours lieu, sans qu'il y est de loi qui encadre, tout ce fait à notre insu, et c'est une espèce de politique du fait accompli, qui veut dire que le jour où elles seront tellement cultivées on aura plus le choix de s'en séparer puisque la pollution génétique sera généralisée. Même si c'est avec peu d'incidence écologique, on aura de toute façon pas le choix d'utiliser des semences et une alimentation qui sera pollué génétiquement ; là ça me pose un problème en terme d'éthique et ya un moment en fait où la rupture se crée avec tout ce qui est mesures légales pour casser cette spirale où dans notre dos on cultive ces OGM et on arrive dans une politique du fait accompli. La désobéissance civile c'est un merveilleux outil non violent pour arriver à casser cette spirale. Alors évidemment ce n'est pas quelque chose que l'on fait du jour au lendemain, plus j'avance dans ce combat là plus je me rend compte que c'est quelque chose à laquelle il faut consacrer des années c'est pas quelque chose qu'il faut prendre à la légère, que franchir la ligne de la légalité c'est se mettre dans des procédures judiciaires qui déjà elles même durent des années donc c'est tout un processus qui se met en route à la fois au niveau de la conscience et puis au niveau de l'aspect social, puisqu'il faut être disponible pour ce combat continue à partir du moment où le fauchage, l'acte illégal est enclencher ; le fait de franchir la ligne de la légalité et de désobéir c'est le premier acte, c'est pas la finalité en soi, et ça, on en a pas forcément conscience tout de suite (...) ; c'est tout un processus que l'on met en route, où il va falloir alerter les médias, la justice, c'est vraiment assez lourd et donc c'est un combat qui dure sur des années »

*Est ce que vous avez l'impression que vous avez changé depuis que vous êtes dans le mouvement? Est ce que vous avez évolué (convictions, manière de voir les choses...) En quoi ?

Empreinte écologique:

*avez vous la possibilité de recycler ? **Oui**

*recyclez vous? **Oui**

*est ce que vous avez la possibilité de prendre les transports en commun? **Non ; oui en ville**

*utilisez vous les transports en commun ? **Covoiturage**

*comment choisissez vous votre moyen de transport pour vos vacances? **Entre économique et écologique**

*avez vous les moyens économiques d'acheter des produits bio? **Non**

*est ce que vous êtes sensible à ça lors de vos achats ? **Oui, 100%**

*avez vous les moyens économiques d'acheter des produits commerce équitable ? **Non**

*est ce que vous êtes sensible à ça lors de vos achats ? **Sur quelques produits**

*êtes vous sensible aux produits produit localement ? **Oui**

*est ce que l'eau de votre robinet est de bonne qualité ?

*est ce que vous buvez de l'eau en bouteille? **Non**

*est ce que vous utilisez des énergies renouvelables? **Ener-cope (stimule production d'énergie verte)**

*est ce que vous utilisez des ampoules basses consommation ?

*êtes vous membre actif d'une autre association ? **Membre de différente associations, et actif dans le Comité de soutien aux faucheurs**

=>est ce que vous avez l'impression que votre comportement vis-à-vis des questions que je viens de vous poser à changé depuis que vous êtes dans le mouvement?

«le mouvement m'a permis d'approfondir la dynamique de diminution de mon empreinte écologique, c'est certain. Le fait de rencontrer des personnes qui ont une haute conscience de l'écologie provoque une émulation qui est propice à s'engager encore plus dans une telle démarche. »

Résumé :

POURQUOI ?	Totalement d'accord	D'accords en majorité	Entre d'accord et pas d'accords	Pas vraiment d'accord	Pas d'accords du tout
« préoccupé par l'économique » *je suis préoccupé de la situation économique des petits agriculteurs	*				
« préoccupé par le social » *je suis préoccupé par les atteintes à la					

liberté que la culture d'OGM de pleins champs représente. *je suis préoccupé par les inégalités que la culture d'OGM de pleins champs représente. *je suis préoccupé par l'impact des OGM sur la santé	*				
« préoccupé par l'environnement » *je suis préoccupé par l'impact des OGM sur l'Environnement *je suis préoccupé par le nombre croissant d'atteinte à l'environnement	*				
« sens du devoir » *je veux faire ma part pour l'environnement *je veux faire ma part pour le respect des droits civils *je veux agir concrètement	*				
« intérêt personnel » *je veux acquérir de nouvelles expériences *je veux rencontrer de nouvelles personnes.			*		*
« degrés d'adhésion » *Ce mouvement me caractérise *J'ai du temps libre					*
« Sur demande » *On m'a demandé de rejoindre le mouvement					*

Est-ce que vous pensez qu'il existe de jeunes ou moins jeunes faucheurs qui entrent dans le mouvement sans un passif de militant et qui évoluent, se mettent aux courant des pratiques environnementales et civiques au contact des militants de ce mouvement ?

Il y a une « Transformation presque spirituelle qui se produit ; ya des gens qui arrivent sans passif de militants sans avoir osé franchir certaines ligne, se retrouve dans le mouvement, ça les changes radicalement, et ils ne peuvent plus s'en passer (...) quand on arrive à faire bouger certaines lignes, on mesure toute la portée que peut avoir des actes construits, assumés collectivement ; mais les gens n'arrivent pas en majorité avec un passif. »

à propos de la désobéissance civil comme facteur d'évolution, « il y une effervescence entre les gens (qui ont des expériences très différentes) mais ils ont déjà une fibre écologique. (...) comme on vit des expériences très fortes » ces échanges se font d'autant plus rapidement et plus intensément.

Remarques : « La plupart du temps, les gens ont une indépendance d'esprit qui est effarante ; on se confronte à des idées déjà construites, et donc les risques d'abus de pouvoir » sont minimisés.

« ce n'est pas une identité particulière, les faucheurs volontaires c'est un outil (de luttes) actuelles dont on espère qu'un jour elles disparaîtront »

Interview n°11

Questions générales:

*nom : Marie-Madelaine Lebrun

*Age : 65

*Profession: maraîchère, agriculture biologique depuis 20 ans

*première fois que vous avez entendu parler des OGM?

1996

* première fois que vous avez entendu parler du mouvement ?

2003

*comment avez vous entendu parler du mouvement ?

Amis engagé dans l'écologie

*est ce que les OGM ont un impact sur votre activité économique?

Ont un impact sur l'activité économique de l'agriculture ; notre vie est un tout, atteinte à l'environnement est une atteinte à ce qu'on fait

*depuis quand avez vous rejoint le mouvement?

2006

*est ce que vous avez déjà fauché?

Je fais parti des faucheurs, je ne répondrai pas à cette question

*est ce que votre action à un impact sur votre activité économique ?

*pourquoi avez vous rejoint le mouvement en premier lieu?

Raison politique, une raison sociale, écologique, économique ; c'est mon étique qui m'a poussé à rejoindre les faucheurs pour qu'on puisse se faire entendre.

*pourquoi la désobéissance civile et pas du simple volontariat comme Greenpeace?

Partie d'association à qui on coupe les subventions; si on se fait entendre, par la population et les pouvoirs publics, c'est grâce à l'action de Greenpeace et des faucheurs

*Est ce que vous avez l'impression que vous avez changé depuis que vous êtes dans le mouvement? Est ce que vous avez évolué (convictions, manière de voir les choses...) En quoi ?

non, c'est une dimension de plus dans ma vie

Empreinte écologique:

*avez vous la possibilité de recycler ? oui

*recyclez vous? Très attaché, toilette sèche, auto épuration des eaux de pluies,

*est ce que vous avez la possibilité de prendre les transports en commun? Non (campagne)

*utilisez vous les transports en commun ? non

*comment choisissez vous votre moyen de transport pour vos vacances?

*avez vous les moyens économiques d'acheter des produits bio? « échange entre producteurs »

*est ce que vous êtes sensible à ça lors de vos achats ?

*avez vous les moyens économiques d'acheter des produits commerce équitable ? **oui, mais critique**

*est ce que vous êtes sensible à ça lors de vos achats ?

*êtes vous sensible aux produits produit localement ? **oui**

*est ce que l'eau de votre robinet est de bonne qualité ?

*est ce que vous buvez de l'eau en bouteille? **Récupération d'eau de pluie**

*est ce que vous utilisez des énergies renouvelables? **Non, mais dès que c'est possible on le fait**

*est ce que vous utilisez des ampoules basses consommation ? **oui**

*êtes vous membre actif d'une autre association ?

oui, « peuple solidaires »...

=>est ce que vous avez l'impression que votre comportement vis-à-vis des questions que je viens de vous poser à changé depuis que vous êtes dans le mouvement?

Non, dimension de plus

Résumé :

POURQUOI ?	Totalement d'accord	D'accords en majorité	Entre d'accord et pas d'accords	Pas vraiment d'accord	Pas d'accords du tout
« préoccupé par l'économie » *je suis préoccupé de la situation économique des petits agriculteurs	*				
« préoccupé par le social » *je suis préoccupé par les atteintes à la liberté que la culture d'OGM de pleins champs représente. *je suis préoccupé par les inégalités que la culture d'OGM de pleins champs représente. *je suis préoccupé par l'impact des OGM sur la santé	*	*			
« préoccupé par l'environnement » *je suis préoccupé par l'impact des OGM sur l'Environnement *je suis préoccupé par le nombre croissant d'atteinte à l'environnement	*	*			
« sens du devoir » *je veux faire ma part pour l'environnement *je veux faire ma part pour le respect des	*				

droits civils *je veux agir concrètement	*				
	*				
« intérêt personnel » *je veux acquérir de nouvelles expériences *je veux rencontrer de nouvelles personnes.					*
					*
« degrés d'adhésion » *Ce mouvement me caractérise *J'ai du temps libre					*
					*
« Sur demande » *On m'a demandé de rejoindre le mouvement					*
					*

Est-ce que vous pensez qu'il existe de jeunes ou moins jeunes faucheurs qui entrent dans le mouvement sans un passif de militant et qui évoluent, se mettent aux courant des pratiques environnementales et civiques au contact des militants de ce mouvement ?

Refus de réponse

Remarques : 'Nous vivons dans un état policier d'ont on n'a pas peur mais d'ont on se préserve quand même ; je vous fais confiance, sachez que vous avez une responsabilité »
« La désobéissance civile j'ai l'impression d'en faire depuis longtemps » ; refus de donner son ADN, « un devoir de citoyen ».