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By Fiona Christina SMYTHE

**IMMIGRANT TEENAGERS IN SCHOOLS – LANGUAGES AND LEARNING DURING THE
NEWLY-ARRIVED PHASE**

**A comparative study of
educational environments, language diversity and plurilingualism
in France and Aotearoa New Zealand**

Under the supervision of Dr. Régis MALET
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Université de Bordeaux – INSPE

Viva on: 22nd June 2021

Members of the examination panel:

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Titre: Élèves allophones primo-arrivants en milieu scolaire - enjeux de langues et d'apprentissage.
Une étude comparative des environnements éducatifs en contexte de diversité linguistique en France et en Nouvelle Zélande

Résumé court en français:

Malgré plus de 50 ans de recherche mettant en évidence les avantages d'approches additives intégrant les compétences linguistiques existantes des élèves plurilingues, de nombreux systèmes éducatifs continuent à encadrer la scolarisation des élèves allophones nouvellement arrivés (EANA) en termes de déficit linguistique. Les conséquences pour ces jeunes migrants sont souvent des formes de marginalisation linguistique et académique au sein des systèmes éducatifs qui peuvent avoir un impact négatif sur les résultats scolaires. Ces conséquences entraînent l'exclusion de l'accès futur à l'enseignement supérieur et ses avantages sociaux potentiels à plus long terme. Cette recherche remet en question les déséquilibres de pouvoir inhérents à cette problématique en adoptant une approche "modèle des systèmes écologiques" permettant de comparer les éléments clés interagissant dans les environnements éducatifs de la France et de la Nouvelle-Zélande : politiques et pratiques d'immigration, d'éducation et de langues, et les effets de ceux-ci sur la scolarisation des EANA.

Au cœur de la recherche se trouve une étude menée entre 2017-2019 dans deux écoles (un collège à Bordeaux et un lycée à Wellington), examinant les moyens par lesquels les compétences linguistiques premières et les répertoires plurilingues peuvent jouer un rôle dans les processus d'apprentissage de la langue de scolarisation, pendant la "période de transition critique" (OCDE, 2018). Six études de cas examinent comment les EANA sont intégrés au sein des deux systèmes scolaires. Les 42 élèves participant à cette étude sont issus de l'immigration, des demandeurs d'asile ou des réfugiés, ce qui est important pour les conclusions de l'étude et les recommandations de formation des enseignants pour travailler avec des EANA qui arrivent à l'adolescence.

Une méthodologie quasi-expérimentale d'observations en classe focalisée sur la production langagière des EANA dans les classes de langue de scolarisation (FLS dans l'école française / EL dans l'école néo-zélandaise) et analysée en typologies, a produit des résultats qui attestent quantitativement aux tendances vers l'apprentissage plurilingue par les EANA des deux écoles. Dans une deuxième partie, des études de cas sur l'intégration des élèves dans les classes ordinaires tirées d'une approche ethnographique qui impliquait des observations en classe, ainsi que des entretiens et des enquêtes auprès d'élèves et d'enseignants, conduisent à une discussion sur les résultats qualitatifs.

Ces deux domaines clé de constatations de cette étude mettent en évidence l'importance de la formation des enseignants aux stratégies d'enseignement et d'apprentissage plurilingues pour travailler avec les EANA ayant une faible maîtrise de la langue de scolarisation, en particulier les adolescents "arrivants tardifs" (après l'âge de 12 ans) et les élèves demandeurs d'asile / réfugiés non ou peu scolarisés antérieurement.

En premier, les résultats sur la production langagière par les EANA dans les classes FLS / EL montrent que les élèves eux-mêmes mobilisent une gamme de stratégies d'apprentissage plurilingues dans le contexte de la classe de langue de scolarisation, où ils se trouvent dans une communauté d'apprenants aux langues diverses et "l'espace est ouverte" vers le plurilinguisme.

En revanche, un deuxième ensemble de résultats montre que dans le contexte monolingue des "classes ordinaires" (à l'école française) où les élèves ont des possibilités limitées de gérer leur apprentissage à travers des approches plurilingues, ils ont tendance à s'appuyer sur des stratégies d'apprentissage passives et à se sentir isolé. Il a également été constaté que dans le contexte des classes ordinaires, l'apprentissage structuré en tant que "un travail de langage-et-contenu" peut aider les élèves à devenir des apprenants actifs. Cela est marqué lorsque les EANA peuvent interagir à propos de leur travail en L1 ou en langue de scolarisation avec des aides-enseignants (en contexte NZ); ou si les enseignants font de la langue une partie intégrante de l'enseignement de la matière scolaire (certains enseignants des deux écoles en étaient capables).

Les résultats de ces deux domaines soutiennent quantitativement et qualitativement l'hypothèse selon laquelle *les environnements éducatifs proposant l'apprentissage plurilingue pour les élèves allophones créent des contextes socio-pédagogiques favorisant les processus d'apprentissage, l'engagement et la construction de connaissances et de compétences plurilingues.* Ces deux domaines de résultats donnent

des indications sur la manière dont la formation des enseignants peut préparer efficacement les enseignants à travailler en pluralités de langues et cultures. Les politiques scolaires d'inclusion des langues, les pédagogies plurilingues pour les EA pendant la phase nouvellement arrivée, les ambiances de classe centrées sur les élèves, l'apprentissage différencié sont quelques exemples de stratégies permettant d'améliorer les processus d'apprentissage, l'intégration (bidirectionnelle) et la participation à la scolarité des EANA.

Mots clés: élèves allophones, diversité linguistique, éducation inclusive, formation des enseignants

Title: Immigrant teenagers in schools – languages and learning during the newly-arrived phase
A comparative study of educational environments, language diversity and plurilingualism
in France and Aotearoa New Zealand

Abstract in English:

Despite more than 50 years of research evidencing the advantages of *additive approaches* that include the existing language competences of plurilingual students, many education systems continue to frame the schooling of newly-arrived immigrant students in terms of *linguistic deficit* (Hélot and de Mejía, 2008; May, 2002). The consequences for young migrants are often forms of linguistic and academic marginalisation within education systems, that can negatively impact on schooling outcomes, resulting in exclusion from future access to higher education and its potential longer-term social advantages. This research challenges the power imbalances inherent in this problematic, by taking an “ecological systems model” approach (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) to compare key elements interacting within the educational environments of France and Aotearoa New Zealand: policies and practices of immigration, education and languages, and the effects of these on the schooling of immigrant students.

At the heart of the research is a study carried out between 2017-2019 in two schools (a *collège* in Bordeaux and a high school in Wellington), examining the ways in which it is possible for first language competences and plurilingual repertoires to play a role in language-of-schooling learning processes, during the ‘critical transition period’ (OECD). Six case studies look at how newly-arrived plurilingual teenagers are supported in their integration processes within the two school systems. All of the 42 participating students in this study are from migrant, asylum-seeker or refugee backgrounds, which is important for the study’s findings and recommendations for teacher training for working with plurilingual immigrant students who arrive as teenagers.

A quasi-experimental methodology of classroom observations focused on students’ linguistic behaviours in language-of-learning classes (FLS in the French school / EL in the NZ school). Data is analysed typologically to produce quantitatively-evidenced results of tendencies in plurilingual learning behaviours amongst students in both schools. In a second part, case studies of students’ integration into mainstream learning are drawn from an ethnographic approach that involved classroom observations, as well as interviews and surveys with students and teachers, leading into a discussion of qualitative findings.

These two areas of key findings from this study highlight the importance of training teachers in plurilingual teaching and learning strategies for working with newly-arrived immigrant students with low proficiency in the language-of-schooling, particularly teenage “late arrivers” (after the age of 12) and asylum-seeker / refugee students with gaps in prior schooling. Firstly, **findings on students’ language use in FLS / EL classes** shows that students themselves use a range of plurilingual learning strategies in the language-of-schooling class context, where they are in a language-diverse community of learners and “*space is allowed*” for plurilingualism. In contrast, **a second set of findings shows that in the monolingual context of “classes d’inclusion”** (in the French school) and mainstream classes (in the NZ school) where students have limited opportunities to manage their learning through plurilingual approaches, they tend to rely on passive learning strategies and feel isolated. It was also found that in the context of mainstream classes in both schools, **learning structured as content-and-language together can help students to become active learners:** when students can interact about their work in L1 or language-of-schooling with teacher aides (in the NZ school), or if teachers scaffold language as integral to content teaching (some teachers in both schools were adept at this).

Findings from both these areas quantitatively and qualitatively support the hypothesis that “*Educational environments that allow space for plurilingual learning approaches create a platform from which to improve learning processes, engagement and construction of knowledge, thereby encouraging more effective learning for newly-arrived immigrant students.*” These two areas of findings give indications for how teacher training can effectively prepare teachers for working with pluralities of languages and cultures: language inclusive school policies, plurilingual pedagogies to support migrant students during the newly-arrived phase, student-centred classroom cultures, and differentiated learning are some examples of **strategies for improving learning processes, (two-way) integration, and participation in schooling for newly-arrived immigrant students.**

Key words: immigrant students, language diversity, inclusive education, teacher training

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Pepeha

*Ko Kapiti te Maahia e rū nei taku ngākau
Kapiti is the mountain that speaks to my heart*

*Ko Whanganui te awa e mahea nei aku māharahara
Whanganui is the river that alleviates my worries*

*Nō Aotearoa ahau
I am from New Zealand*

*E mihi ana ki ngā tohu o nehe, o maunga o ngā Pyrenées, i moana Atlantique e noho nei au
I recognise the ancestral and spiritual landmarks of the Pyrenées and Atlantic ocean where I live*

*Nō reira, tēnā koutou katoa
Thus, my acknowledgement to you all*

Titre: Élèves allophones primo-arrivants en milieu scolaire - enjeux de langues et d'apprentissage.
Une étude comparative des environnements éducatifs en contexte de diversité linguistique en France et en Nouvelle Zélande

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Intitulé du laboratoire: EA 7437 — Laboratoire Cultures, Education, Sociétés (LACES)

Résumé détaillé en français

Le contenu de la recherche

Thèmes:

Cette recherche à trait à l'accueil des jeunes migrants, leurs expériences linguistiques, d'apprentissage et de scolarisation, et interroge les conditions de leur réussite scolaires en lien avec leurs compétences linguistiques. La thèse explore aussi les ressorts et les effets des politiques éducatives, aussi bien que des attitudes à l'égard des immigrants et la prise en compte de leurs langues dans deux contextes — francophone et anglophone — influencent comment les enfants de migrants et leurs langues sont traités dans les systèmes éducatifs. Les principes de l'éducation plurilingues unissent ces deux dimensions, en situant les enfants de migrants dans les systèmes éducatifs et en articulant une vision du potentiel de l'éducation plurilingue pour enseigner les valeurs démocratiques et cultiver la cohésion sociale. Comme défini par le Conseil de l'Europe:

«Un défi majeur pour les systèmes éducatifs est de donner aux apprenants, au cours de leur scolarité, des compétences linguistiques et interculturelles qui leur permettront de fonctionner efficacement en tant que citoyens, d'acquérir des connaissances et de développer des attitudes ouvertes à l'altérité: cette vision de l'enseignement des langues et des cultures est l'éducation plurilingue et interculturelle.» (site web du Conseil de l'Europe, principes de l'éducation plurilingue et interculturelle)

La recherche examine la place centrale des compétences plurilingues dans l'engagement dans l'éducation et l'apprentissage des jeunes migrants, en adoptant une position de recherche comparatiste en éducation. Afin de "construire une comparabilité des contextes et une traduction des territoires" (Malet, 2021, p.6) l'étude réalisée entre deux environnements éducatifs différents, la France et la Nouvelle-Zélande, prend appui sur une analyse croisée des conceptions nationales de l'immigration, de l'éducation et des langues, dans leur évolution et leurs dynamiques contemporaines.

Les travaux ont été réalisés entre 2017-2019, en France et en Nouvelle-Zélande, auprès de 42 élèves allophones nouvellement arrivés (EANA). Il s'agit d'examiner la manière dont les adolescents migrants utilisent leurs répertoires plurilingues dans l'acquisition de la langue de scolarisation, et la manière dont les approches d'apprentissage plurilingue peuvent aider les EANA pour réussir à l'école. Il est également question d'explorer la manière dont les écoles et leurs personnels peuvent travailler dans un souci de prise en compte et d'inclusion de la diversité linguistique et culturelle, en étant particulièrement attentif à la façon dont les conditions et les environnements du travail éducatif favorisent ou inhibent ces processus dans les deux contextes éducatifs.

La recherche cherche à explorer les interactions entre divers éléments coexistant au sein de ces deux environnements éducatifs (en France et en Nouvelle-Zélande), et à mettre en évidence les implications pour les jeunes migrants dans leur scolarisation au cours de la phase nouvellement arrivée. Le résultat est une étude comparative de l'éducation dans les contextes politiques et idéologiques particuliers de la France et de la Nouvelle-Zélande, et les expériences qui en résultent pour 3 types d'adolescents plurilingues dans les écoles, au cours de cette phase: demandeurs d'asile, réfugiés et migrants.

Trois domaines thématiques sont mis en avant:

1. analyses contextuelles des enjeux d'immigration, d'éducation et de langues en France et en Nouvelle-Zélande (histoires, politiques, développements contemporains);
2. conceptions de l'apprentissage plurilingues et du traitement des langues à l'école (langue (s) de scolarisation, langues des migrants / minoritaires, langues régionales / autochtones, les choix en langue seconde);
3. étude comparée des expériences scolaires de 42 adolescents EANA dans deux écoles (à Bordeaux et à Wellington), incluant 6 études de cas d'élèves âgés de 13 à 17 ans.

La perspective adoptée pour cette recherche est que les environnements éducatifs sont informés par les politiques, et que les EANA apprennent donc dans des contextes qui pourraient faciliter ou entraver leur réussite scolaire. L'étude en milieu scolaire (présentée dans la Partie 2) examine en particulier les moyens par lesquels il est possible, pour les compétences en première langue (et les répertoires plurilingues), de jouer un rôle dans les processus d'apprentissage de la langue de scolarisation en "période de transition critique" (OCDE 2018).

Les 42 élèves participant à cette étude sont tous issus de l'immigration, des demandeurs d'asile ou des réfugiés, ce qui est important pour les conclusions de l'étude et les recommandations pour la formation des enseignants pour travailler avec des EANA qui arrivent à l'adolescence. Les six études de cas examinent comment les EANA sont soutenus dans leurs processus d'intégration au sein des deux systèmes scolaires.

Problématique

La problématique qui motive cette recherche est que malgré une plus grande prise de conscience des avantages du plurilinguisme, la scolarisation des EANA continue d'être encadrée en termes de *déficit linguistique*, même si plus de 50 ans de recherche soutiennent des *vues additives qui incluent les compétences linguistiques existant de l'enfant* (de Cummins, Skutnabb-Kangas et autres dans les années 1970, à Auger, Castellotti, Coste, Derivry, May, Mendonça Dias et autres à partir des années 2000).

Derrière cette problématique se trouvent d'importantes questions de **pouvoir et de participation**. Comment les systèmes éducatifs sont-ils construits pour perpétuer le pouvoir de l'État, limitant ainsi la participation de certaines parties de la population — notamment les immigrés et les locuteurs de langues minoritaires ? Une des façons dont cette monopolisation du pouvoir est visible dans les systèmes éducatifs est à travers les langues: la domination monolingue de la langue de scolarisation, la préférence sélective pour l'enseignement des langues secondes "utiles" et l'exclusion des langues migrantes et minoritaires dans la scolarité (Conseil de Europe 2010, 2019). Les conséquences pour les jeunes immigrés, comme ceux qui ont participé à cette étude, sont des formes de marginalisation ou d'exclusion au sein de l'éducation qui peuvent avoir un impact sur l'intégration sociale à long terme : accès futur à l'enseignement supérieur et emplois hautement qualifiés, en particulier. C'est pourquoi **il est impératif que la recherche sur les langues dans l'éducation adopte une approche critique et comparative qui étudie les phénomènes de fond et de premier plan qui construisent et entretiennent les inégalités de pouvoir, et à partir de là propose des solutions fondées sur l'éducation.**

L'hypothèse:

L'hypothèse est "***Les environnements éducatifs proposant l'apprentissage plurilingue pour les élèves allophones créent des contextes socio-pédagogiques favorisant les processus d'apprentissage, l'engagement et la construction de connaissances et de compétences plurilingues***". J'explore cette hypothèse dans deux contextes éducatifs, la France et la Nouvelle-Zélande. Ces derniers ont évolué d'une part à partir d'histoires singulières, et d'autre part avec de nouveaux ensembles de politiques et de pratiques émergeant en réponse à l'évolution des schémas d'immigration, aux changements d'orientation dans les relations et aux interactions entre les migrants et les divers éléments des écosystèmes éducatifs.

Les questions principales:

1. Comment les politiques d'immigration, d'éducation et des langues façonnent-elles les environnements éducatifs dans lesquels les élèves allophones nouvellement arrivés (EANA) apprennent ?

2. Comment les approches d'apprentissage plurilingues, qui favorisent les premières langues (et les répertoires plurilingues) des élèves, sont-elles susceptibles de favoriser les chances de "réussite scolaire" des EANA ?
3. De quelle manière les conditions d'éducation et les postures d'enseignement / apprentissage s'articulent-elles pour améliorer l'acquisition de la langue-de-scolarisation, favorisant l'intégration scolaire, et mènent *in fine* à de meilleurs résultats scolaires ?

L'approche adoptée

Afin de répondre aux questions principales présentées ci-dessus, la recherche s'est déroulée en deux parties majeures et se termine par une conclusion comparative :

- Q1:** Recherche sur les contextes nationaux d'immigration, d'éducation et de langues en France et en Nouvelle-Zélande. Une approche de "modèle de systèmes écologiques" (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) pour examiner les interactions entre divers éléments politiques et pratiques, et leurs effets sur les environnements éducatifs et l'EANA (question 1).
- Q2:** Étude intensive sur le terrain des écoles, 2017-2019 (question 2).
- Q3:** Conclusion comparative (question 3).

Question 1: Les contextes nationaux d'immigration, d'éducation et de langues

Comment les politiques d'immigration, d'éducation et des langues façonnent-elles les environnements éducatifs dans lesquels les élèves allophones nouvellement arrivés (EANA) apprennent ?

Cette question, abordée dans la Partie 1, compare les éléments politiques et pratiques dans chaque contexte national :

- immigration, éducation et langues
- identités nationales liées aux histoires d'immigration
- assimilation vs intégration
- élèves immigrés et «réussite» scolaire
- familles de demandeurs d'asile et de réfugiés
- inclusion de la langue dans l'éducation
- langue de scolarisation: FLS et EL
- enseignant peut travailler avec des étudiants immigrants

La première partie se termine par un chapitre relais qui situe cette recherche au sein de l'équipe LACES de l'Université de Bordeaux.

Question 2: Les écoles et les participants

Comment maximiser les chances de "réussite scolaire" des EANA grâce à des approches d'apprentissage plurilingues qui favorisent les premières langues (et les répertoires plurilingues) des élèves ?

Deux écoles ont participé à la partie recherche sur le terrain :

Collège A., Bordeaux, France
High School A., Wellington, Nouvelle-Zélande

Les 42 participants sont tous des élèves allophones nouvellement arrivés (EANA), âgés de 11 à 18 ans, peu maîtrisant la langue de scolarisation.

- EANA dans les classes FLS = 29 élèves en France (en 2 groupes)
- EANA dans les classes EL = 13 élèves en NZ
- Études de cas menées auprès de 7 élèves âgés de 13 à 17 ans (2 sélectionnés dans chaque école)
- Deux études de cas supplémentaires "spéciales" (1 élève à l'école française, 1 élève à l'école néo-zélandaise)

Les profils d'élèves montrent une diversité de langues et de pays d'origines, de milieux culturels, et d'histoires de migration. Ces profils ont permis une bonne comparabilité entre les deux corpus d'élèves. Une discussion et une analyse complètes des résultats tirés des observations et des études de cas sont détaillées dans la Partie 2.

Méthodes de collecte de données

La méthodologie était cohérente entre les écoles, dans le but de mener une "étude miroir" dans chaque école. Trois outils de recherche ont été appliqués dans chaque école :

- Observations en classes FLS / EL, et classes ordinaires (études de cas).
- Enquêtes auprès des
 - (a) élèves FLS et EL dans le contexte de la classe entière
 - (b) des enseignants des classes ordinaires.
- Entretiens avec
 - (a) les enseignants de FLS et EL
 - (b) les directeurs d'école
 - (c) d'autres membres du personnel travaillant en étroite collaboration avec les élèves participants, par exemple les aides-enseignants.

En outre, les périodes de recherche à l'école ont été soutenues par des entretiens de partenaires extérieures et experts en réinstallation des réfugiés et en éducation des migrants dans les deux pays (CASNAV, personnel et parents de la CADA, formateurs d'enseignants, professeurs de langues, etc.).

Observations en classes

Deux domaines clés de l'expérience des EANA ont été observés dans les deux écoles :

(1) LANGUES en classes FLS / EL: (1) le rôle de la première langue de l'enfant (L1) en classe et dans les processus d'apprentissage de l'enfant; et (2) le niveau de diversité linguistique dans la classe. C'est-à-dire:

- comment les langues sont-elles utilisées par les élèves ?
- comment les élèves sont-ils entrés en contact avec les langues des autres
- comment l'enseignante utilise-t-elle la langue Māori ?
- comment l'anglais est-il utilisé comme lingua franca entre l'enseignant de FLS et les élèves / ou entre les élèves ?
- comment les élèves qui parlent plus d'une langue à la maison ont-ils fait référence à leur plurilinguisme en classe ?

Trois résultats clés sur la façon dont les EANA utilisent leur répertoire plurilingue pour soutenir leur apprentissage de la langue de scolarisation sont communs à tous les cycles d'observations dans les deux écoles. Ces résultats sont étayés par des données quantitatives recueillies à partir de 52 heures d'observation d'approches d'apprentissage plurilingue par des EANA dans leurs classes FLS / EL dans les deux écoles.

(2) INTÉGRATION: (1) processus d'intégration au cours de la phase de "nouvellement arrivé"; et (2) comment les écoles aident les EANA avec peu ou pas de maîtrise de la langue de scolarisation à participer aux classes ordinaires. C'est-à-dire:

- qu'est que le rôle des aides-enseignants / aides-enseignants bilingues ?
- comment les enseignants UPE2A / EL soutiennent-ils l'intégration des élèves et des parents ?
- comment les enseignants travaillaient-ils directement avec les EANA en classes d'inclusion ?
- comment participent (ou pas) les EANA ?
- comment les participants ont-ils interagi avec les autres élèves et avec la formation ?
- comment le contexte d'apprentissage de la classe a-t-il facilité la participation ?
- comment les activités ont-elles été structurées, et que sont leurs effets sur les participants ?
- que sont les comportements d'apprentissage démontrés par les participants ?
- quelle est la façon dont les participants ont géré les tâches d'apprentissage ?

Des données qualitatives sur l'intégration dans le système scolaire ont été recueillies à partir de 22 heures d'observations en classe de 7 EANA dans leurs classes ordinaires. Des données supplémentaires ont été recueillies sur ces élèves dans le cadre d'observations sur la façon dont ils travaillent dans les classes FLS / EL. Les 4 études de cas sélectionnées à partir de ces observations et de la collecte de données sont présentées et discutées dans la Partie 2, chapitre 3, en examinant :

- (a) Stratégies d'apprentissage individuelles de chaque élève dans les classes ordinaires.
- (b) Un accompagnement particulier mis en place pour l'élève dans son apprentissage général et son intégration.
- (c) Comment les élèves ont vécu leur vie scolaire au cours de la première année, sur la base d'enquêtes auprès de 23 des élèves participants de la cohorte, et d'entretiens avec certains des 4 élèves de l'étude de cas et leurs enseignants.

1. LANGUES en classes FLS (*français langue de scolarisation*) /EL (English language)

Trois cycles d'observations dans les classes FLS / EL ont été réalisés dans les deux écoles participantes. Chaque cycle a duré 8 à 10 semaines, soit un total de 52 heures d'observation dans les classes de langue de scolarisation. Le plus grand nombre possible de productions langagières des élèves a été noté dans les relevés de notes (environ 380 échantillons de productions en L1 et répertoires plurilingue au total), avec des détails sur les participants et la situation. Les transcriptions complètes des 3 cycles d'observation sont annexées (Annexes 1, 2 et 3).

Objectifs d'observations:

- *savoir quand et pourquoi les élèves utilisent leur L1 et d'autres langues (par exemple, la 3e langue comme lingua franca) dans les cours de langue de scolarisation (FLS / EL)*
- *voir s'il y a une différence entre la production L1 autorisée et non autorisée = fréquence, raison, résultat d'apprentissage*
- *observer comment l'espace éducatif traite la L1 et le plurilinguisme = encouragement / découragement, vision de la place de la L1 et du plurilinguisme dans l'apprentissage de l'enfant, séparation et liaison foyer / école*
- *observer les liens avec le plurilinguisme dans l'approche de l'apprentissage de chaque enfant*
- *observer l'intégration au fil du temps = comportements en classe, scolarité antérieure et faibles niveaux d'alphabétisation, relations entre les enseignants et les élèves*

Les échantillons de production L1 et plurilingues ont ensuite été classés selon une typologie de:

- (a) production plurilingue "non autorisée / spontanée" des élèves (lorsqu'ils parlaient dans leur langue par choix, sans instruction directe de l'enseignant pour adopter une approche d'apprentissage plurilingue)
- (b) production plurilingue des élèves "autorisée par l'enseignant" (lorsque l'enseignant a directement demandé aux élèves de traduire ou d'aider un autre camarade de classe de L1, par exemple).

Des échantillons ont ensuite été analysés quantitativement et des conclusions ont été tirées sur la fréquence du type de production de L1 (et plurilingue), lorsque l'enfant choisit de travailler en L1 (ou dans une autre langue de son répertoire plurilingue), et à quel type d'objectifs de travail le plurilinguisme sert à l'enfant.

2. INTÉGRATION en classes d'inclusion

Au total, 7 études de cas ont été suivies dans les classes d'inclusion. Parmi ceux-ci, 2 élèves en France (Erlblin et Matilde) et 2 élèves en Nouvelle-Zélande (Maahi et Abdul) sont détaillés dans la Partie 2. Deux autres études de cas «spéciales» ont été ajoutées, de deux élèves qui n'étaient pas suivis dans les classes ordinaires, mais qui a montré des comportements d'apprentissage très intéressants dans les classes FLS / EL (Mahala et Bashiir).

Des observations ont été menées de manière intensive sur des périodes de 3 semaines pour observer l'utilisation de la L1 par les élèves pour soutenir l'apprentissage (par exemple, aide-enseignant bilingue,

ou encouragement à l'utilisation de la L1 par les enseignants). D'autres comportements d'apprentissage pour l'intégration et l'inclusion ont également été observés dans les classes ordinaires. Il y a eu 3 cycles d'observations au total — 2 cycles à l'école française et 1 cycle à l'école néo-zélandaise.

Question 3: Conclusion comparative

Où les conditions éducatives et les comportements d'apprentissage individuels se croisent-ils pour améliorer l'acquisition de la langue-de-scolarisation, et l'intégration scolaire, menant à de bons résultats à l'école ?

L'approche adoptée dans la Partie 3 est de réexaminer la problématique établie dans la Partie 1 : à savoir que *“malgré une plus grande prise de conscience des avantages du plurilinguisme, la scolarisation des EANA continue d'être encadrée en termes de ‘déficit linguistique’, voire bien que plus de 50 ans de recherche soutiennent des vues additives qui incluent les compétences linguistiques existantes de l'enfant”*.

Cette recherche examine à travers une approche d'éducation comparée, les questions de pouvoir et de participation mises en œuvre au sein des systèmes éducatifs. Les questions centrales concernent l'égalité d'accès aux bénéfices de l'éducation pour les jeunes immigrés, avec un accent particulier sur la langue et le plurilinguisme comme moyen de participation.

La recherche aborde cette problématique à partir de deux perspectives comparatives, en situant l'ensemble dans le contexte d'un “modèle de systèmes écologiques” (Bronfenbrenner, 1979):

- (1) Une perspective macro sur les politiques d'immigration, d'éducation et de langues dans les deux pays comparés (Partie 1); et
- (2) Une perspective rapprochée des expériences scolaires des EANA, en se concentrant sur l'utilisation de la langue et les comportements d'apprentissage dans les classes ordinaires, dans les deux contextes éducatifs nationaux (Partie 2).

Dans la Partie 3, je passe en revue les principaux résultats de mes recherches. Je réfléchis à ce que cela indique pour les “solutions éducatives”, et la formation des enseignants aux pédagogies plurilingues.

Les résultats obtenus

Ces deux approches de recherche sur les langues et l'intégration de l'EANA ont produit deux domaines de résultats, dont certains sont résumés ci-dessous.

1. LANGUES:

Il existe plusieurs résultats communs sur la façon dont les EANA utilisent leurs répertoires plurilingues pour soutenir leur apprentissage FLS / EL dans les deux écoles, compilés à partir de 52 heures d'observations de deux groupes d'élèves ayant des profils également linguistiquement et culturellement diversifiés.

Je soutiens que **les approches plurilingues initiées par les élèves “créent des espaces plurilingues”, et l'intervention pédagogique habile d'enseignants formés aux méthodes plurilingues et interculturelles pourraient favoriser des processus d'apprentissage plus efficaces conduisant à des résultats fructueux**. La conclusion centrale de cette étude est: les EANA ont eux-mêmes démontré une gamme variée de modalités à travers lesquelles les approches plurilingues enrichissent et soutiennent effectivement leurs processus d'apprentissage dans la classe FLS / EL. Il appartient donc à la formation des enseignants de *travailler en intégrant la manière dont les élèves utilisent naturellement leurs langues à des fins d'apprentissage*, préservant ainsi “l'espace plurilingue” créé par les élèves, tout en aidant les enseignants à “favoriser ces approches plurilingues” grâce à un accompagnement pédagogique habile des apprentissages des élèves.

- (1) Quels types d'espaces sont créés dans le contexte des classes FLS / EL pour des approches d'apprentissage plurilingues et une culture d'inclusion linguistique ?

- Les élèves ont été des **initiateurs** plus actifs que leurs enseignants d'approches d'apprentissage plurilingue dans leurs processus d'apprentissage de la langue-de-scolarisation. Les élèves sont des agents actifs dans leurs propres processus d'apprentissage, car ils s'engagent dans des tâches de langue de scolarisation via leur L1, par choix, même si l'enseignant n'intervient pas et n'oriente pas les élèves vers des stratégies d'apprentissage plurilingue. Cela indique des niveaux élevés de motivation des élèves à s'engager dans leurs processus d'apprentissage de la langue de scolarisation, lorsqu'ils peuvent utiliser leurs propres répertoires linguistiques à des fins d'apprentissage. Ce constat dans les deux écoles est important car cela montre que **les élèves créent et maintiennent eux-mêmes des "espaces de plurilinguisme" dans leurs façons de travailler ensemble dans la classe de langue de scolarisation.** *Les enseignants peuvent soutenir cette nouvelle phase d'apprentissage en structurant et en modélisant des méthodes efficaces de travail plurilingues avec les élèves, ainsi qu'en "laissant de l'espace pour le plurilinguisme". Cette étude a montré que même si l'approche consiste simplement à "laisser de l'espace", les élèves feront de toute façon bon usage de leurs compétences plurilingues, de différentes manières, à des fins d'apprentissage de la langue de scolarisation.*
 - Les résultats de cette étude montrent que dans cet environnement d'apprentissage de la classe FLS / EL, les élèves utilisent leur L1 (et leurs répertoires plurilingues) de manière interactive à des fins d'apprentissage, alors que dans les classes ordinaires, ils ne le font pas. La culture de la classe est donc essentielle pour encourager des processus d'apprentissage des langues efficaces pour les EANA. Cette culture est construite :
 - laissant un espace d'apprentissage plurilingue,
 - construisant de solides relations enseignant-élève,
 - améliorant les processus d'intégration sociale en tant que "communauté d'apprenants", qui permet d'établir la sécurité culturelle mise en place par les enseignants FLS / EL.
 - Dans les deux contextes, ces EANA ont créé un environnement riche en langues pour favoriser leur apprentissage de la langue de scolarisation, car ils étaient heureux que toutes les langues coexistent dans leur environnement (L1, L2, lingua franca, autres langues parlées par l'enseignant). Non seulement les premières langues des élèves sont importantes dans leurs processus d'apprentissage individuels, mais **la culture d'inclusion linguistique dans les classes FLS / EL augmente les niveaux d'engagement, de motivation, d'interaction pour l'apprentissage et l'amitié, et la participation des élèves à la façon dont ils apprennent.**
- (2) Comment les élèves eux-mêmes s'engagent-ils, construisent-ils des connaissances et cherchent-ils à apprendre la langue de scolarisation plus efficacement à travers leurs langues existantes (L1, arabe ou anglais comme lingua franca / L2, dans ces classes) ?
- Les élèves ont souvent **initié un travail interactif** dans leur première langue (si un pair parlant L1 était à leur disposition), *afin de favoriser leur apprentissage des langues et de traiter de nouvelles informations linguistiques. L'interaction plurilingue avec des pairs qui parlent la même langue (L1 et / ou L2 comme lingua franca) réduit le fardeau d'apprentissage des tâches de langue de scolarisation pour les EANA.* Cela suggère une direction future dans la formation des enseignants, qui perçoit que le rôle des enseignants est *de reconnaître la place naturelle des approches d'apprentissage plurilingues, et d'encourager, faciliter et structurer l'apprentissage autour de méthodes plurilingues.*
 - Les élèves utilisent leurs répertoires plurilingues principalement à **des fins d'apprentissage** (79,7% en moyenne sur les 3 cycles d'observations) et moins fréquemment pour des raisons sociales (18,2% en moyenne sur les 3 cycles). Ce constat est rassurant pour les enseignants d'élèves plurilingues, car cela signifie que les enseignants n'ont pas à craindre d'inclure des langues dans la classe même lorsque l'enseignant ne parle pas ces langues. Travailler en plurilinguisme avec ses pairs aide les élèves ayant une faible maîtrise de la langue de scolarisation à construire mutuellement des connaissances sur la langue de scolarisation (et dans la langue de leur choix : L1 / lingua franca), par l'interaction.
 - Le plurilinguisme joue un rôle important à la fois dans l'apprentissage de la langue de scolarisation et dans l'intégration sociale, dans les deux milieux scolaires. **Si le contexte permet aux élèves de choisir la ou les langues les plus efficaces pour la situation (d'apprentissage ou sociale), ils changeront facilement de code et capitaliseront sur leurs répertoires plurilingues existants.** Laisser de l'espace

pour toutes les langues parlées par les élèves facilite non seulement l'apprentissage linguistique et culturel, mais aide les élèves à s'intégrer socialement.

Ces résultats clés sont les mêmes dans les écoles néo-zélandaises et françaises, avec trois groupes différents d'EANA, ce qui renforce le soutien de l'hypothèse. Il existe également des résultats propres à chaque groupe d'élèves, qui sont abordés dans la Partie 2.

2. INTÉGRATION:

Les résultats sur la manière dont EANA sont intégrés dans deux systèmes scolaires différents ont été obtenus à partir de 22 heures d'observations d'études de cas dans des classes ordinaires. Le système éducatif néo-zélandais a mis en place des stratégies d'intégration plus adaptées pour l'EANA, y compris un financement gouvernemental ciblé, une formation des enseignants pour un "apprentissage différencié" et un programme scolaire ouvert. Cependant, certaines des conclusions donnent des indications pour la formation des enseignants au travail sur l'intégration avec EANA, qui pourrait être effectivement pratiquée en classe dans les deux contextes éducatifs, même lorsque le système scolaire n'a pas mis en place de mesures de soutien ciblés. Trois d'entre eux sont mis en évidence ci-dessous.

1. L'intégration dans l'apprentissage en classes d'inclusion est à la fois sociale et académique. **Les interactions en classe** avec les pairs, les enseignants et les aides-enseignants sont importantes. Il y a des avantages dans l'organisation de la classe qui est centrée sur l'élève, soutenue par des aides-enseignants (bilingues), des enseignants communiquant individuellement avec les EANA au sujet de leur travail, un apprentissage structuré avec des attentes élevées pour le développement des compétences d'autogestion, et l'implication des parents dans l'organisation des devoirs et des travaux scolaires.
2. Dans les deux écoles, les classes FLS et EL intègrent les élèves à des aspects de l'utilisation de la langue qui sont culturellement appréciés par chacun, ainsi qu'à l'établissement d'une communauté sociale et d'apprentissage parmi les élèves immigrants nouvellement arrivés. **La variété et le type d'activités d'apprentissage** montrent que celui-ci peut être structuré de différentes manières en fonction du style d'enseignement et d'apprentissage, et des valeurs culturelles ancrées dans la langue.
3. La façon dont la ou les langues sont utilisées a des implications pour l'intégration des EANA. Certains enseignants ont montré comment **combiner la langue et le contenu** pour rendre l'apprentissage traditionnel plus accessible aux EANA, les encourager à devenir des participants actifs dans les classes ordinaires et réduire le fardeau d'apprentissage dans la langue de scolarisation. Deux exemples sont l'adoption par les enseignants de l'attitude "aucune question n'est une question stupide" et "apprendre à un homme à pêcher" (développé en Partie 2).

Ces principaux résultats sont tirés des études de cas menées dans les deux écoles. Ils montrent que dans les deux contextes éducatifs, les enseignants ont mis en place une variété de stratégies pour intégrer les EANA. Les meilleures pratiques d'intégration dans les classes ordinaires relèvent :

- l'inclusion des langues,
- la création des opportunités d'interaction,
- l'aide aux élèves à développer des compétences d'autogestion,
- l'implication des parents qui ont également un rôle clé à jouer dans l'intégration maison-école,
- le développement d'une variété d'activités d'apprentissage (kinesthésiques, interactives, visuelles, orales) et
- le renforcement de l'apprentissage en combinant le langage et le contenu.

Tous ces types de pratiques en classe aident l'EANA à participer activement et à mieux gérer l'énorme tâche d'apprentissage de l'acquisition de la langue de scolarisation, du contenu et de l'intégration scolaire.

Conclusion

En conclusion, cette recherche en éducation comparée adopte une approche de "modèle de systèmes écologiques" pour examiner et questionner les interactions macro et micro entre divers éléments coexistants dans deux environnements éducatifs différents — la France et la Nouvelle-Zélande — qui ont un impact sur les expériences scolaires de l'EANA.

Au cœur de cette recherche se trouve une étude en milieu scolaire de 42 EANA issus de demandeurs d'asile, de réfugiés et de migrants, arrivés à l'adolescence et se trouvant dans "la période critique de transition" vers le système éducatif. Les élèves présentant ce type de profil sont confrontés à des inconvénients évidents dans leur apprentissage scolaire : "la pénalité d'arrivée tardive", une faible maîtrise de la langue de scolarisation, une méconnaissance du système éducatif du pays d'accueil et, dans certains cas, le traumatisme du demandeur d'asile ou expérience de réfugié. Cependant, cette étude a examiné comment le plurilinguisme peut rendre autonome les apprenants, et comment les enseignants et les écoles peuvent capitaliser sur les compétences et les connaissances plurilingues existantes de leurs élèves. Parallèlement, cette étude a mis en évidence les comportements d'apprentissage de ces élèves, ce qui donnent des indications pour les politiques de formation des enseignants (Coste, 2013). Les résultats confirment le rôle positif et important des approches d'apprentissage plurilingue pour aider les élèves à devenir des apprenants actifs et participatifs en classe — un élément clé de la réussite et de l'intégration à l'école.

Il ressort clairement des résultats de cette étude que les micro-conditions dans les environnements éducatifs qui sont propices à un apprentissage réussi des élèves, sont celles qui perçoivent l'intégration comme "un processus bidirectionnel" et agissent en conséquence. C'est-à-dire que les écoles sont ouvertes et réceptives à la diversité linguistique et culturelle. Au cours de la phase nouvellement arrivée il semble important que les écoles incluent l'EANA de diverses manières. Le concept de l'intégration en tant que processus bidirectionnel est que l'apprentissage est mutuellement enrichissant, et que l'adaptation s'agit à la fois pour les immigrants et pour la communauté d'accueil.

Tout au long de cette étude, il est devenu clair que **les langues jouent un rôle crucial** dans l'intégration scolaire et les processus d'apprentissage en classe, à plusieurs égards :

- l'intégration académique et sociale,
- l'apprentissage actif ou passif chez les EANA,
- l'utilisation de la langue en classe pour créer du contenu plus accessible,
- la réduction du fardeau d'apprentissage des tâches basées sur la langue,
- la conscience des stratégies d'apprentissage non-linguistiques,
- la présence dans les établissements de personnel bilingue, et
- les différentes façons dont le plurilinguisme des élèves trouve sa place à l'école.

Ces résultats soutiennent l'hypothèse que "*Les environnements éducatifs proposant l'apprentissage plurilingue pour les élèves allophones créent des contextes socio-pédagogiques favorisant les processus d'apprentissage, l'engagement et la construction de connaissances et de compétences plurilingues*" et devraient être testés dans d'autres études.

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Introduction

Themes, problematic, hypothesis and questions

Themes

A central theme of this research is **young migrants, their languages and experiences of schooling**, and questions of participation in education and success at school through language competences. A further theme is how educational ideologies and policies, as well as attitudes towards immigrants and their languages, in two contexts — francophone and anglophone — influence how migrant children and their languages are treated in education systems. The **principles of plurilingual education** unify these two themes, by situating migrant children within education systems, and articulating a vision for the potential of plurilingual education to teach democratic values and cultivate social cohesion. As defined by the Council of Europe:

“One major challenge for education systems is to give learners, during their school education, language and intercultural competences which will enable them to operate effectively as citizens, acquire knowledge and develop open attitudes to otherness: this vision of the teaching of languages and cultures is referred to as plurilingual and intercultural education.”

(Council of Europe website, Principles of plurilingual and intercultural education)

The research examines the centrality of plurilingual competences in educational participation for young migrants, taking a comparative educational research stance to “*construct a comparability of contexts, and translation of territories*” (Malet, 2021, p.6) between two different educational environments, France and Aotearoa New Zealand, that are informed by national conceptions of immigration, education and languages.

A study carried out with 42 newly-arrived immigrant students in schools in France and New Zealand between 2017-2019 examines questions of how migrant teenagers make use of their plurilingual repertoires in language-of-schooling acquisition, and **how plurilingual learning approaches can help immigrant students to succeed at school**. It also explores broader questions of the ways in which schools can work inclusively with linguistic and cultural diversity, and existing conditions that promote or inhibit these processes within the two educational settings.

The research seeks to explore interactions between various elements co-existing within these two educational environments (in France and New Zealand), and to highlight implications for young migrants in their schooling during the newly-arrived phase. The outcome is a comparative study of education within the particular political and ideological contexts of France and Aotearoa New Zealand, and the resulting experiences of 3 types of plurilingual teenagers in schools during the newly-arrived phase: asylum-seeker, refugee and migrant background.

Three thematic areas are foregrounded:

- (a) contextualised views of immigration, education and languages in France and New Zealand (histories, policies, recent developments);
- (b) plurilingual learning approaches, and the treatment of languages in schools (language(s)-of-schooling, migrant / minority languages, regional / indigenous languages, second language options);
- (c) the schooling experiences of 42 newly-arrived immigrant teenagers in two schools in Bordeaux and Wellington, including case studies of six students aged 12-17 years.

The perspective taken for this research is that educational environments are highly politically-informed, and that immigrant students are therefore learning within contexts that potentially facilitate or impede their educational success. The in-schools study (presented in Part 2) looks particularly at the ways in which it is possible for first language competences and plurilingual repertoires to play a role in language-of-schooling learning processes, during the newly-arrived phase or ‘critical transition period’ (OECD 2018). The six case studies look at how newly-arrived plurilingual teenagers are supported in their integration processes within the two school systems. All of the 42 participating students in this study are from migrant, asylum-seeker or

refugee backgrounds, which is important for the study's findings and recommendations for teacher training for working with plurilingual immigrant students who arrive as teenagers.

Problematic

The problematic motivating this research is that **in spite of a greater awareness of the advantages of plurilingualism, the schooling of young immigrants continues to be framed in terms of linguistic deficit, even though more than 50 years of research supports additive views that include the child's existing linguistic competences** (from Cummins, Krashen et al in the 1970s to Auger, Castellotti, Coste, Derivry, May, Mendonça-Dias et al from the 2000s).

Underlying this problematic are important questions of **power and participation**. How are education systems constructed to perpetuate state power, thereby limiting the participation of some parts of the population — notably, immigrants and minority language speakers? One way that this monopolisation of power is visible in education systems is through **languages**: the monolingual dominance of language-of-schooling, the selective preference for teaching “useful” second languages, and the exclusion of migrant and minority languages in schooling (Council of Europe 2010, 2019). The consequences for young immigrants, such as those who participated in this study, are forms of marginalisation or exclusion within education that can impact on long-term social integration: future access to higher education and highly-qualified types of employment, in particular. This is why it is imperative that research into languages in education takes a critical, **comparative approach** that investigates background and foreground phenomena that construct and sustain power inequalities, and from there proposes **education-based solutions**.

The hypothesis

The hypothesis is that **“Educational environments that allow space for plurilingual learning approaches create a platform from which to improve learning processes, engagement and construction of knowledge, thereby encouraging more effective learning for newly-arrived immigrant students”**. I explore this hypothesis within two educational settings (France and New Zealand) that have evolved from particular histories, and in which new sets of policies and practices are emerging in response to changing patterns of immigration in each country, and shifting emphases in relationships and interactions between migrants and various elements in educational ecosystems.

The main questions

- (1) How do policies of immigration, education, and language shape the educational environments that newly-arrived migrant, asylum-seeking and refugee-background students are learning within?
- (2) How can the chances for “successful schooling” for newly-arrived immigrant teenagers be maximised through plurilingual learning approaches that create space for the first languages (and plurilingual repertoires) of students?
- (3) Where do educational conditions and individual learning behaviours intersect to enhance language acquisition and integration, leading towards successful outcomes at school?

Aims, researcher's views, originality

Aims of the research

The research aims to understand and compare the broad characteristics and particularities of immigration, education and languages in France and Aotearoa New Zealand, in order to establish two contexts as a backdrop to the experiences of newly-arrived immigrant teenagers in the two participating schools. The schools-based research has been carried out in collaboration with teachers at Collège A (Bordeaux, France) and High School A (Wellington, New Zealand).

There are two main reasons for this research.

1. Firstly, to improve understanding of the range of ways in which students from migrant, asylum-seeker and refugee backgrounds may use languages in their school learning, how educational environments can

engage in authentic two-way integration processes with immigrant students and their families; how schooling experiences may be shaped by plurilingual interactions; how teachers working with newly-arrived immigrant students can adopt “language inclusive” teaching and learning practices; and the multiple practices by which schools can maximise chances for migrant students’ success during the newly-arrived phase.

For teacher training institutions and educators, this research is highly relevant, as it seeks to understand learning processes for young people from migrant, asylum-seeker and refugee backgrounds in schools, at a time when global migration is dynamic and education is being challenged to meet the learning and social needs of increasing numbers of plurilingual immigrant students. There is potential for effecting positive change to teaching and learning practices, and consequently to educational outcomes for young immigrants in France and New Zealand. This research already informs content within teacher training programmes at INSPE and STAPS, Université de Bordeaux (Master International Education, MEEF M1 and M2), as well as at INSPE Université Claude-Bernard, Lyon 1 (MEEF M1 and M2).

2. Secondly, this research aims to add to the substantial body of existing international research in the field of migrant education. The field of migrant education includes topics such as: bi-plurilingual and intercultural education (Coste), language inclusiveness (Auger), language-of-schooling pedagogy (Crabbe), teacher training (Derivry), linguistic and cultural diversity amongst school populations (Mendonça Dias), socialisation and integration as two-way processes (Kohout-Diaz), ecological views of second language acquisition (Bronfenbrenner), heritage language maintenance (Escudé), youth participation and citizenship (Wood), transnationalism (Malet), intercultural identities (Brunead), language and cultural rights (May), refugee resettlement (Dobson), and political processes for claiming asylum — all of which are topics related to this original research. There is potential to share findings from this research through participating in exchanges taking place within academic communities and schools. There is further potential to strengthen links in communication between francophone and anglophone educators and researchers, through publishing in comparative education forums.

Researcher’s views

I approach this research from the perspective of a languages teacher, currently teaching English in the role of ATER (*attaché temporaire d’enseignement et de recherche*) with the *Département Langues et Cultures* at the University of Bordeaux, and as a teacher trainer at *INSPE d’Aquitaine (formation des formateurs à l’internationale)*. In my view, **conditions for success in education are optimised when education policies and practices empower students to capitalise on their linguistic and cultural capital**, in order to achieve to their fullest potential. With this in mind, the objectives of this research concern both educational environments and young immigrants themselves, with a central question being, “Where do educational conditions and individual learning behaviours intersect to enhance language acquisition and integration, leading towards successful outcomes at school?”

It is my view that education should ideally have an equalising effect — everyone has **a right to access quality education and to benefit from participation in knowledge communities**, regardless of disadvantages arising from any number of societal or circumstantial factors. Schools are communities of learners, and as such have a responsibility to provide optimum conditions for equal participation of all students in the community, including those who do not benefit from the protective rights of citizenship by birth — asylum-seekers, refugees and migrants.

Originality of this research

The originality of this research is in observing and comparing the schooling experiences of newly-arrived plurilingual students with similar profiles (migrant, asylum-seeker and refugee-background teenagers) in two countries that are not often compared (France and Aotearoa New Zealand). Findings highlight similarities in how students themselves approach learning through their plurilingualism, even when the two educational contexts set up different conditions, support structures and challenges to learning and school integration. In this way, **the research exposes common ground in plurilingual behaviours amongst students in response to two ecologies** of “*cultural and geopolitical forces [that] shape the conditions of speakers and speech communities*” (Steffenson and Kramsch, 2017, p.6).

The choice of France and Aotearoa New Zealand as research countries is both professional and personal. As a New Zealander living in Bordeaux with my French husband, this research project has allowed me to

deepen and enrich my knowledge and understanding of two places I call “home”. The work is ongoing and is plurilingual (English, French, and all of the languages of participating students), transnational (being carried out in both France and New Zealand), and highly intercultural.

France and New Zealand present fascinating examples of how two different approaches to the education of immigrant students have evolved out of unique geopolitical stories. At the same time, while each story is unique and contextualised by a whole range of elements interacting within socio-political ecosystems, **similarities between how plurilingual students manage their own learning within the two education systems emerged** during this research process. *The result is therefore a study that highlights strengths and weaknesses in both systems from the point of view of how newly-arrived plurilingual students themselves engage with learning processes, and how they make use of their individual and collective language repertoires to function in the classroom.*

Terminology

As this research draws on both francophone and anglophone literature, the choice of terminology attempts to find common ground between shared concepts. The problem of direct translation leads to terminology that does not sit comfortably in one language or the other. There are differences in connotation and cultural views, as well as changes to terminology over time in each language, and within the various “Englishes” and “Frenches” spoken (Derivry-Plard, 2008). Below are definitions of the terms that I have settled on for this research.

- “*Language inclusiveness*” is a term that attempts to encompass both French and English concepts of including the first languages of all immigrant students in their learning processes and experiences of education. More than this, “language inclusiveness” also characterises education projects that embrace the linguistic and cultural plurality that exists within schools. Language inclusiveness has a political connotation, in that it works in resistance to education systems which reproduce and reinforce inequality and exclusion, “*par la manière dont ils fonctionnent, dont ils sélectionnent, évaluent, orientent les élèves, et aussi par les modalités pédagogiques qu’ils privilégient*” [by the way in which education systems function, how they select, assess and guide students, and also through the pedagogical methods that systems favour.] (Coste, 2012).

In practice, *language inclusiveness* can mean the exposure of all children to language diversity in the classroom and in the broader school context. In the French context, a paradigm of inclusion is framed by notions of social justice and equal opportunity (Dubet, 2010; Kohout-Diaz, 2018). The inclusion paradigm stems from a social model that refutes exclusion on the basis of difference, and seeks to re-position the traditional view of students “in school” by conceptualising students rather as “members of school” (Ebersold, 2019). The French term “inclusion” is therefore used to highlight cases where children risk marginalisation within the education system: immigrant children have been viewed and treated as children with “special needs” or a “linguistic handicap” (Rigoni, 2019). “*Une pédagogie d’inclusion*”, “*intégration et inclusion scolaire*”, “*l’inclusion des minorités en contexte scolaire*”, “*classes d’inclusions*” are terms that describe how schools are working in various ways to inclusively support migrant students in their schooling.

In the anglophone literature, “*inclusion*” in education often refers to acceptance of gender, sexuality and individuality, rather than culture and language (termed “the language of inclusion”). Terms such as “linguistically inclusive classrooms”, “language inclusion/exclusion” and “inclusive language classrooms” are found in the anglophone literature, and refer more to teaching practice than to the child’s agency in their own learning processes, or to a wider education project. I therefore use the term “language inclusiveness” as it straddles the political aspect of working against systemic inequality, the social principle of inclusion, language practices within schools, and the child’s choice to use their first language as part of a repertoire of learning strategies. The term attempts to capture the various concepts around inclusion of immigrant students in education, from both the francophone and anglophone literature.

- “*Plurilingual*” is a term central to concepts outlined in the work of the Council of Europe, that describes processes and objectives of education that integrate the teaching and learning of languages into general education. This principle of language integration gives rise to various formulations such as “*éducation plurilingue et interculturelle*”, “*enseignement plurilingue*”, “*approche(s) plurielles(s) de l’apprentissage*”, and “*compétences plurilingues*”. As an approach to education that emphasises the advantages of

integrating language learning in all subject areas, *plurilingual education* is “both the process and outcomes of education through languages”:

“... connotée par les travaux du Conseil de l'Europe, “éducation plurilingue et interculturelle” présente l'avantage relatif de pouvoir recouvrir à la fois la finalité (éducation à) et la démarche (éducation par).” [contextualised by the work of the Council of Europe, “plurilingual and intercultural education” presents the relative advantage of covering both the final outcomes of education (education towards) and the process (education via)] (Coste, 2012, p.13)

- “*Plurilingualism*” refers to the individual who has a capacity in two or more languages. As an education strategy, teaching and learning for plurilingualism was most recently defined by Daniel Coste (2019) as “*the construction of learning via two or more languages — not simply the development of languages, but centralised on the construction of knowledge through language*”.
- “*Immigrant student(s), élève(s) allophone(s)*”. The term “*élèves allophones*” has been current in French discourse since the Ministry of Education circular of 2012, and is defined as “*(u)n élève allophone est un élève nouvellement arrivé en France et parlant une voire d'autres langues que le français*” [an allophone student is a student newly-arrived in France who speaks one or more languages other than French]. In New Zealand, the term “migrant and refugee background students” is in current use in Ministry of Education documents, and distinguishes the longer-term integration objectives of these students from “international fee-paying students” who are studying in NZ on fixed period student visas.

There is a broader conceptualisation in French literature with “*la mobilité*” (Derivry, 2021), which defines all experiences of migration as permanently marking a person’s identity in multiple ways:

“La mobilité représente une condition et un état permanents du changement qui n'épargnent rien ni personne. Les déplacements, nécessaires ou voulus, solitaires ou collectifs, réversibles ou non, plaisants ou dramatiques, et vécus à des moments différents de la vie ... mettent en discussion, et parfois en danger, la perception de l'autre et de soi, la communication, le rapport qu'on entretient avec les/ses langues, la légitimité de sa place dans le monde.”
(Lévy, 2008, p.71)

For this thesis, and for simplicity’s sake, I have chosen “immigrant students” as an umbrella term that comprises elements common to all of the various groups of students who took part in the study in schools, and to whom most of this research is dedicated: asylum-seeker, refugee and newly-arrived migrant students. “Immigrant students” signals the experience of being newly arrived in a country, speaking a language (or languages) other than the language of schooling, a growing sense of interculturality and a changing sense of identity, and having integration or resettlement objectives in either the short or long-term. The term is also selectively used with a focus on these students and their languages and particular integration needs, as international fee-paying students have a distinct set of (often short-term) educational goals around learning English and are therefore less implicated in the language inclusiveness argument.

Practical aspects of the study (short summary)

Time frame

September 2017 - June 2021

In-school research periods:

- (1) Oct 2017-Jan 2018 at Collège A., Bordeaux, France
(with FLS teacher Mme M.)
- (2) Nov 2018-Feb 2019 at Collège A., Bordeaux, France
- (3) Mar 2019-May 2019 at High School A., Wellington, New Zealand
(with EL teacher Mrs. O.)

Schools and Participants

Two schools participated in the field research part of the project:

Collège A., Bordeaux, France
High School A., Wellington, New Zealand

- Newly-arrived immigrant students in FLS classes = 29 students in France (in 2 groups)
- Newly-arrived immigrant students in EL classes = 13 students in NZ
- Case studies of 3 UPE2A students aged 13-15 (2 selected)
- Case studies of 4 EL students aged 13-15 (2 selected)
- Two 'special' additional case studies (1 student in the French school, 1 student in the NZ school)

The 42 participants are all newly-arrived plurilingual immigrant students aged between 11 and 18. Student profiles show a mix of languages of origin, cultural backgrounds, gender, and immigration stories. Detailed profiles of schools and participants are given in Part 2.

Methods of data collection

1. FLS/EL classes

Three Cycles of observations in FLS / EL classes were carried out in the two participating schools. Each Cycle lasted 8-10 weeks, giving a total of 52 hours of observation in language-of-schooling classes. As many student utterances in their languages as possible were noted in transcripts (about 380 samples of language production in total), with details of the participants and situation. Full transcripts from the 3 Cycles of observation are annexed (Annexes 1, 2 and 4).

Observation objectives:

- to notice when and why students use their L1 and other languages (eg, 3rd language as lingua franca) in language-of-schooling classes (FLS/EL)
- to see if there is a difference between authorised and unauthorised L1 production = frequency, reason, learning outcome
- to observe how the educational space treats L1 and plurilingualism = encouragement/discouragement, view of place of L1 and plurilingualism in child's learning, home/school separation and liaison
- to observe links to plurilingualism in each child's approach to learning
- to observe integration over time = classroom behaviours, prior schooling and low levels of literacy, relationships between teachers and students

L1 (and lingua franca) production samples were then classified according to the following typology. In the left-hand column, students' "unauthorised/spontaneous" plurilingual production (when they spoke in their languages by choice, with no direct instruction from the teacher). In the right-hand column, students' plurilingual production that was "authorised by the teacher" (when the teacher directly asked students to translate or to help another L1 classmate, for example). A colour-coding system classified each utterance made by students in a language other than the language-of-schooling, which allowed me to see exactly how plurilingualism was functioning in the FLS and EL classes observed.

Table 1: typology of language production in FLS / EL classes

Unauthorised/spontaneous production in L1 or lingua franca	Authorised/requested production in L1 or lingua franca
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • asking for clarification to other L1 classmates • responding to question in L1 from other L1 classmates • helping another L1 student to understand / spontaneous translation • off-task chat • other, seems to be work-related • using L1 or lingua franca with Teacher or non-L1 student • making a conscious interlanguage link / comparison between languages 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • sharing something about L1 in whole class learning task • translating for a weaker student, at teacher's request • responding to direct teacher question: "What is this word in your L1?" • giving help to L1 classmate (in L1) at teacher's request • other, with links to L1 • T speaking in student's L1 or lingua franca • making a conscious interlanguage link / comparison between languages

Samples were then quantitatively analysed, and conclusions drawn about frequency of type of L1 (and plurilingual) production, when the child is choosing to work in L1 (or another language in their plurilingual repertoire), and what kind of working purposes L1 (and other languages) serve for the child.

2. Mainstream/inclusion classes

A total of 7 case studies were followed in mainstream/inclusion classes. Of these, 2 students in France and 2 students in NZ were selected, and are discussed in Part 2. In consultation with their FLS/EL teacher, these students were chosen for reasons of:

- (i) their age range of 13-15 years old, which is a critical preparation period for evaluations at age 15
- (ii) a mix of first languages and countries of origin amongst the case studies
- (iii) if mainstream teachers accepted to have a researcher observing the child in class

This led to the following observations of students in their mainstream classes:

Table 2: students observed in mainstream classes

Student	Profile	Mainstream classes	Case study
Erlblin (French school, Cycle 1)	14, Albania L1 Albanian	Music, Italian, Maths	Y
Romina (French school, Cycle 1)	15, Italy/Senegal L1 Wolof/L2 Italian	Maths, Spanish	N
Matilde (French school, Cycle 1)	13, Portugal L1 Portuguese	Maths	Y
Abdul (NZ school)	13, Syria L1 Arabic	Maths	Y
Maahi (NZ school)	15, Myanmar-Thai L1 Khmer, L2 Thai	Maths, Computing	Y
Yuusuf & Abdirahim (NZ school)	14, Somalia L1 Somali, L2 Arabic	Maths	N

A further two 'special' case studies were added, of two students in FLS/EL classes who were not followed in mainstream classes, but who showed very interesting learning behaviours in FLS/EL classes (Mahala and Bashiir).

Observations were carried out intensively over 3-week periods to observe students' use of L1 to support learning (for example, bilingual teacher aide, or encouragement of use of L1 by teachers). Other learning behaviours for integration and inclusion were also observed in mainstream classes. There were 3 Cycles of observations in total — 2 Cycles in the French school, and 1 Cycle in the NZ school. This documentation is included in Annexes 3 and 5.

Analysis

The field research data and findings are presented, analysed and discussed in Part 2.

Interviews and surveys

Interviews and surveys support the study, alongside the in-class observations with student participants, FLS/EL teachers and mainstream class teachers. An analysis of qualitative findings from these is presented and discussed in Part 2. Transcripts of interviews and copies of surveys are attached in Annexes 6 - 19.

Human ethics

All care and due diligence has been taken to respect the human ethics requirements of research involving people, and particularly young people, to avoid any type of exploitation that participants could be exposed to as a result of this research. The University of Bordeaux does not require a formal process for Human Ethics Approval, but instead relies on the principles and protocols of scientific integrity.

To ensure the scientific and ethical integrity of this research, the following procedures were followed:

- 15 hours of online training in “éthiques de la recherche” (compulsory for doctoral students at Université de Bordeaux)
- the ethical implications of my research project were discussed with my thesis director, as well as procedures for protecting the confidentiality and rights of participants
- the informed consent of school principals for the research project was obtained in writing before school observations began
- discussions were held with FLS and EL head teachers about the research objectives and observation aims, and informed consent obtained (face-to-face / skype meetings + email exchanges)
- students were informed that I was visiting classes to observe for a PhD research project on learning languages
- all observations of students in classes were non-interventionist, and supervised by a teacher
- no audio or visual recordings were made in schools, no photos were taken
- all student surveys and interviews were conducted with their teacher present
- open discussions with students were held in whole class contexts, with their teachers involved
- all personal information gathered in the course of surveys, interviews and observations is treated with respect for the privacy of participants
- all mainstream teachers and teacher aides who participated in the case studies gave their permission
- the identities of schools and all participants have been protected by name changes, for anonymity as far as possible
- all other adult participants who gave interviews were asked for consent to use the information at the time of the interview
- an ethic of transparency, clear communication and consultation with collaborating teachers was maintained throughout the study

The researcher carries civil protection insurance against any claims arising from negligence, error or suffering caused to any participant as a result of this research.

Theoretical aspects of this study (short summary)

As research that intersects comparative education and languages-and-cultures, this PhD references two theoretical aspects: (1) a comparative education model, and (2) an ecological systems model.

Comparative education model

In this research project, a comparative education approach seeks to provide explanations about how educational environments are shaped by three intersecting areas of politics: immigration, education and language. At the same time, and of equal importance, I seek to understand the experiences of immigrant children in schools today, and how the treatment of their languages and cultures in national education policy and practice has an effect on their learning in the classroom. These two parts of the research have for objective to inform teacher training in language inclusive pedagogies for working in the classroom with plurilingual immigrant students during the newly-arrived phase of their schooling, and beyond.

In part, the comparative education approach to this research aims to fill a gap in the literature, as identified by Malet & Bian (2020):

“Peu de recherches ont étudié les processus d’apprentissage individuels et collectifs susceptibles de favoriser ou d’entraver l’inclusion scolaire dans différents contextes éducatifs... Les comparaisons internationales peuvent pourtant être instructives pour éclairer les continuités et discontinuités entre

les actions priorisées et affichées par les politiques publiques, et les réalisations effectives en contextes scolaires.” (p.4)

The context of this research as transnational and situated within two different educational environments, in two languages (English and French), and referencing two sets of political ideologies and educational practices, establishes a strongly comparative approach that is also partly an exercise in “*translation of practices*”, as defined by Malet (2021):

“Comparer en éducation suppose d’élaborer sur les plans épistémologique et méthodologique des notions telles que l’altérité, le territoire ou encore la culture. Dans le contexte transnational et plurilingue de l’éducation comparée, cela requiert une prise en compte des processus centraux de traduction (en discours et en pratiques) de l’action éducative.” (p.1)

As a whole approach therefore, this research is situated at the intersection of comparative education and languages-and-cultures. Here, I am witness to a dynamic interplay of variables that are comparable at times through opposition or alliance (the classical approach), but often also as discoveries of relationships between phenomena observed (the ecological approach). This is a hybridised approach that for this research has been a useful way of explaining what I observed in both settings.

In summary, a comparative education approach to this research has been effective in highlighting elements of education that co-exist within the national educational settings in France and New Zealand, as well as allowing a dynamic exploration of points of intersection between immigration, education and language, and key elements co-existing within the particular ecosystems of each country. This global overview is linked to international issues of rights and principles, and how these elements have been influential in shaping national settings is discussed in Part 1 Chapter 1 “Immigration, Education, Language”, Chapter 2 “National identities: histories of immigrants” and Chapter 3 “Assimilation vs. integration”.

Ecological systems model

There are three further models that have varying relevance for this research: the **inclusive model** developed out of special education (internationalised by UNESCO accord 1994, with 92 signatory states); the **ecological model** (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) which has become broadly applied to a range of research disciplines dealing with child development (psychology and second language acquisition being two of the principal domains); and the **indigenous model** which is a term found in sustainable environmentalism and health, and which I adapt to link New Zealand education to the bicultural constitutional principles.

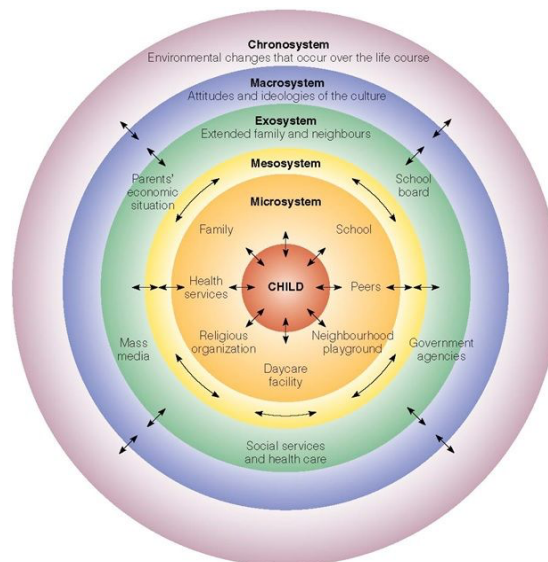
A global paradigm shift in education towards inclusive models of thinking and practice in education began in the 1970s (example of US Public Law 94-142 Education of All Handicapped Children Act 1975, cited in Hicks-Munro, 2011). The **inclusive model** argues for schools as adaptable environments that aim to educate in ways that are non-violent, nurturing and supportive of the needs of all students (Kohout-Diaz, 2018).

In the early 2000s, the paradigm shifted again towards an **ecological model**, which describes a multifaceted ecosystemic view of child development:

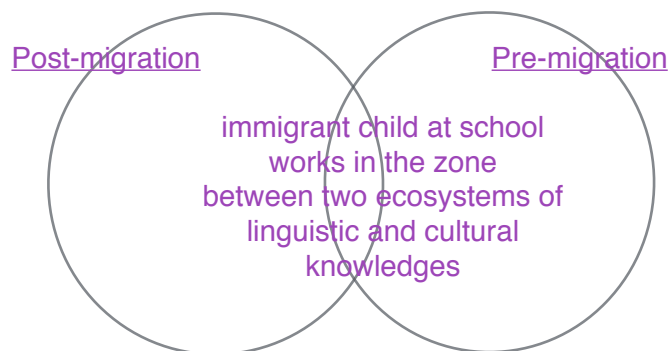
“Bronfenbrenner’s ecological systems theory views child development as a complex system of relationships affected by multiple levels of the surrounding environment, from immediate settings of family and school to broad cultural values, laws, and customs.” (Guy-Evans, 2020)

For this research, Bronfenbrenner’s (1979) **ecological systems theory** is the most comprehensive model for situating the immigrant child within the educational environment, and indicating the concentric nature of interactions between the child’s microsystem (family, school) and macrosystem (attitudes and ideologies of the culture, politics that define education systems)¹:

¹ Graphic reproduced from Guy-Evans (2020)



I propose that in the case of immigrant children, this model needs to be re-conceptualised as two overlapping systems: the child within her pre-migration environment + the “asylum-seeker / refugee / migrant” child within her post-migration environment:



This represents the immigrant child’s daily reality of “living between two linguistic and cultural worlds”: **the child is functioning across two ecosystems of linguistic and cultural knowledges.** This research is interested in **how schools can increase the area of overlap between the two, to enlarge the zone that the child is working within** as she acquires new linguistic and cultural skills within the receiving environment. This is conceptualised in the hypothesis as “spaces for plurilingual learning”, which may improve school learning processes for the child during the newly-arrived phase.

The effects of various elements of education systems on immigrant students is examined in Chapter 4 “Immigrant students and ‘success’ in schooling”, Chapter 6 “Language inclusiveness in education” and Chapter 7 “Language-of-schooling: FLS/EL”. The experiences of plurilingual immigrant teens in schools, and how their language use in the classroom empowers their learning processes during the newly-arrived phase (what I term “*working in the linguistic zone between two ecosystems*”) is fully investigated in Part 2.

A third model, the **indigenous model**, recognises Māori as the *tangata whenua* (people of the land), and all other people who have arrived in New Zealand since as *manuhiri* (guests). It is a model that is highly applicable to the New Zealand context and principles of the Treaty of Waitangi — the land belongs to *tangata whenua* and we are all immigrants being hosted by Māori. I would argue that the indigenous model is primary in the New Zealand educational context, and that once this is acknowledged there is room within the indigenous model to accommodate other educational models that address diversity: such as the inclusive and ecological models. This framework also serves to recognise the primacy of the bicultural constitution, and to accommodate the ongoing debate in Aotearoa NZ about how multiculturalism can be harmoniously conceptualised alongside (without replacing) biculturalism. The interweaving of Māori concerns and interests into NZ educational policy and practice is referenced throughout Part 1 of this thesis (see Chapter 3 Māori language under assimilationist practices in NZ education, and Chapter 6 for *te reo Māori* in education today).

How the research is achieved

This research is presented in two main parts, followed by a conclusion.

Part 1: Immigration, Education, Language

A historical-political part concerned with the politics of immigration, education and language in France and Aotearoa New Zealand, and how governance relates to “the immigrant population” within each country. Part 1 establishes the broader national political contexts within which immigrant teenagers are being educated, and reveals how attitudes towards immigrants translate into particular kinds of educational environments. Within the ecological systems model, some of the elements compared in Part 1 are circulating in the macro-systemic zone (political ideologies and policies, international migration and human rights) while other elements within the micro-systemic zone influence the child’s experience of schooling more directly (parents, teachers, FLS/EL classes).

In this first part, the historical and political contexts of immigration in France and Aotearoa New Zealand are broadly compared. Areas of commonality and difference are discussed, revealing political and social subtexts. Part 1 is structured from macro to micro, within an ecological systems model, beginning with an overview of the international space, moving to national contexts, and from there to an examination of the conditions in each educational environment that impact on newly-arrived immigrant teenagers in schools.

In this way, I establish the argument that educational environments are highly politically-informed, as well as practical, and that newly-arrived immigrants are therefore learning within sites that potentially facilitate or oppose their educational success. The success of immigrant students at school is influenced by many variables, some of which are examined here: parents, teachers, FLS/EL classes, external agencies supporting education, refugee resettlement agencies, asylum-seeking processes.

Part 1 highlights similarities and differences in how immigrant teenagers and their families are integrated during the newly-arrived phase, and in initial and ongoing teacher training for working with immigrant students.

Part 2: School-based research (empirical data)

In Part 2, I present the original study involving newly-arrived immigrant teenagers in the two participating schools in France and New Zealand. This part presents the field research part of the study — a methodology for how this research was carried out in-the-field, discussion of observations in the two participating schools, findings and conclusions.

The second part presents, analyses and discusses original data (quantitative and qualitative) gathered in two schools — a *collège* in Bordeaux, France and a high school in Wellington, New Zealand. Observations of 42 newly-arrived immigrant students in their FLS/EL classes and mainstream classes/*classes d’inclusion* were carried out over 2 years (2017-2019). The study focuses on how immigrant students made use of their plurilingual repertoires in classroom learning, how language diversity is treated within each education system, and how schools engage in two-way integration processes during the newly-arrived phase.

The study centres on analysis of students’ first language production, how they made use of their plurilingual repertoires, and plurilingual and intercultural learning approaches in the classroom.

Data analysis from two areas of observation are discussed and compared:

- (1) Quantitative data: Language use by newly-arrived immigrant students in FLS and EL classes
(Chapters 2 & 3)
- (2) Qualitative data: Integration of newly-arrived immigrant students into mainstream learning
(Chapters 4 & 5)

Part 2 also looks further at theoretical and practical aspects of plurilingual and intercultural education (Chapters 6 & 7).

Conclusion: Outcomes of the research, further questions

A substantial conclusion summarises findings from the study to test the hypothesis that *“Educational environments that allow space for plurilingual learning approaches create a platform from which to improve learning processes, engagement and construction of knowledge, thereby encouraging more effective learning for newly-arrived immigrant students”*.

I revisit the main questions posed at the outset of this comparative education research project, and reflect on outcomes of the study carried out in France and Aotearoa New Zealand. Finally, I propose future directions for research into the education of newly-arrived immigrant teenagers and the role of plurilingual learning approaches to further support their success in schooling.

A third part to this research concludes by drawing together the theoretical, political and practical aspects of immigration, education and language examined in this study. I identify problems in the educational environments of France and Aotearoa New Zealand that highlight gaps between research into “how immigrant students succeed in education”, national education policies, and school-based practices. I highlight solutions that are currently developing in each educational environment. I pose further questions that this research has not been able to answer.

Part 1

Immigration, Education, Languages

Chapter abstracts

Chapter 1: Immigration, Education, Language situates France and New Zealand within the current international context of immigration, education and language (the 3 macro elements selected for this research). This chapter establishes a background context in order to explain each country's current policy choices in these three areas. It is essential to understand this, as the international picture of immigration is currently having an unprecedented effect on national policies and how immigrants are received in both France and New Zealand. Chapter 1 responds to part of a main question of this research: "How do *policies and practices of immigration, education and language* inform the educational environment that newly-arrived migrant, asylum-seeking and refugee-background students are learning within?"

The international space, and actors within it, establish common ground between the two countries compared in this project. The discussion in this chapter is one of differences between France and NZ in relation to activity within the international space: the "refugee crisis" (EU responses in policy and practice and France; NZ's refugee policies and practices), how each country's education system is performing internationally (recent results from PISA), and the characteristics of francophone/anglophone language policy and practice.

Chapter 2: National identities: histories of immigration examines the national context of immigration in France and Aotearoa NZ, beginning with the concept of a French national identity as Republican, and a common identity as European; and the notion of a New Zealand national identity built on biculturalism (Māori and *pākehā*), upon which a multicultural identity is being built. The discussion finds areas of similarity and difference in these concepts of "self" and "other", and how notions of national identity inform social attitudes towards immigration in two ways: (i) the direction of immigration policies, as it seeks to find a middle-road between serving the interests of the local population ("self") and balancing the various interests of immigration politics (economic, humanitarian); and (ii) the inclusion of certain types of immigrants, and exclusion of other types of immigrants ("othering"). The dialogue on concepts of "self" and "other" looks at perceived threats to national identity and explores the question of who is positioned as "other" amongst the immigrant population in 2018. I question how religion / spirituality have shaped current political ideologies in immigration: *laïcité* in France and *Māoritanga* in New Zealand.

In Chapter 3: Assimilation vs. integration historical pathways from models of assimilation to integration in education are traced, in order to explain why currently the integration of immigrant children into education systems looks as it does today. Areas of similarity and difference between the histories of France and NZ are discussed: for example, colonial thinking that created the assimilationist model as a relationship construct between the dominant social group of colonisers and the dominated indigenous people. We can also find areas of difference in current versions of the integrationist model in each country, in that NZ takes a "young country" approach to social construction in which a "Kiwi identity" is still being formed through multiculturalism; whereas French culture is already defined by language and various time-honoured social norms, with the result that a French version of integration favours a "continuity of French tradition" approach. Here the dialogue is on the implications for immigrant children in schools today under these current versions of "integration" models in each country.

In Chapter 4: Immigrant students and "success" in schooling, definitions of "success" for immigrant students in their schooling experiences are explored, with reference to research literature and original findings from this research. How "success" is measured in the international educational environment (OECD benchmarks, PISA testing) is discussed in detail, and how French and New Zealand education systems are performing internationally is compared. The important role of parents in the child's success at school is explored, leading to a deeper discussion of the child's own active agency in their learning processes in Part 2 (analysis of classroom observations of newly-arrived students).

Chapter 5: Asylum-seeking / Refugee families. Following on from Chapter 4's findings on the role of parents in the child's schooling, Chapter 5 questions how a family situation of seeking asylum or refugee background may impact on the child's ability to integrate into school life and succeed in classroom learning. I respond to this question with examples of students who participated in this study, 21 of whom were asylum-seekers or refugee-background (including one unaccompanied minor). This chapter further explores parents' experiences and their views of recent changes to rules for asylum-seeking in France, drawing on interviews

with staff and residents at a local CADA in Bordeaux. Finally, the experiences of refugee parents in New Zealand are given voice through interviews with a Syrian mother of 3 school-aged children, a Wellington language school for refugee adults, and my experiences as a volunteer in refugee resettlement in Wellington.

Chapter 6: Language inclusiveness in education develops an overview of language inclusiveness in the educational environments in France and Aotearoa NZ. I look at the treatment of languages in French and New Zealand schools, linked to concepts of hierarchical choices in language policy development. I compare the effects on languages in the two educational environments: the French “one language of schooling” approach with NZ’s bilingual/multilingual language policies, and question how these policies translate into language inclusion or exclusion practices within education in each country. I look at Council of Europe language policies and implications for the treatment of languages in French schools; and in the NZ context, the domination of English alongside the presence of *Te Reo Māori* as national languages of Aotearoa New Zealand. The dialogue compares plurilingual vs. bilingual language policies, and to what degree these policies translate into practice in the education systems of each country. There is further comparison to be made between the status accorded to languages in the educational curriculum in each country, as well as between FLS (*français langue de scolarisation*) / EL (English language) provision for immigrant teens in schools (in Chapter 7).

Chapter 7: Language-of-schooling: FLS / EL The central place of language(s) in the immigrant child’s schooling is examined with a view to understanding how the schooling of immigrant children is organised around (a) learning the language of schooling (FLS / EL) and (b) heritage language maintenance. The Council of Europe Language Policy Division sets a backdrop for languages in education. The *Languages in Education / Languages for Education* project and CARAP are examples of two CoE initiatives that provide guidance and resources for teachers working with immigrant students in France. In New Zealand, biculturalism underpins a view of language education, linking to plural identities and “super diversity” as approaches to working with immigrant students in NZ.

Chapter 8: Teacher training in both countries is compared, with a focus on how teachers are trained in France and New Zealand for working with immigrant students (initial and on-going training). I select some of the currently exciting evolutions in teacher training in each country (*veille aux langues*, CARAP, teachers’ own second language development, “teaching as inquiry” model, and differentiated learning). Teachers themselves share their experiences of working with newly-arrived immigrant teenagers, and there are examples from both countries — a CASNAV teacher training day that I attended at a local school here in Bordeaux (2018), and teachers providing differentiated learning opportunities in NZ (tki.org.nz). In comparing teacher training for working with immigrant students, this chapter synthesises what France and New Zealand can learn from each other.

Chapter 9: Bridge between Parts 1 & 2

Chapter 9 transitions from Part 1 to Part 2 via a brief description of how this project is situated within communities of research in France and Aotearoa New Zealand. Part 1 dealt with characteristics of immigration, education and languages in France and New Zealand, identifying attitudes, policies and practices that shape the ways in which each country organises schooling for immigrant students (the macro-systemic zone of the research). Part 2 presents and discusses the study of the role of plurilingualism in learning during the newly-arrived phase, with 42 newly-arrived immigrant teenagers at school in France or New Zealand (the micro-systemic zone centred on the child’s experiences in school).

This chapter situates the project within the academic context of the Laboratoire Cultures - Éducation - Sociétés (LACES) at Université de Bordeaux. The research process has also been strongly supported by a network of multilingual international researchers, including the Faculty of Education at Victoria University of Wellington, Département Langues et Cultures at Université de Bordeaux, ADEB in France, and other researchers in both countries.

Key questions in Part 1:

- Chapter 1:
 - How do policies and practices of immigration, education and language inform the educational environment that newly-arrived migrant, asylum-seeking and refugee-background students are learning within?
- Chapter 2:
 - How do notions of national identity inform social attitudes towards immigration?
 - How have *laïcité* (in France) and *Māoritanga* (in NZ) shaped current political ideologies of immigration?
- Chapter 3:
 - How have assimilationist models of education shaped the integration of immigrant children in schools (past and present) in France and NZ?
 - What are the two different integration models adopted by each country?
 - How may these two forms of “integration / intégration” effect the experiences of newly-arrived immigrant students?
- Chapter 4:
 - How can “success” for immigrant students be defined within the context of these two educational environments?
 - What are the international measures of “success” for immigrant students, and how are education systems in France and NZ performing?
- Chapter 5:
 - How does a family situation of asylum seeking or refugee status impact on the child’s ability to integrate into school life and succeed in classroom learning?
 - What is the experience of parents in situations of asylum-seeking in France?
 - What are some New Zealand initiatives for supporting refugee-background students?
- Chapter 6:
 - How inclusive are language education policies in France and New Zealand?
 - How are educational environments responding to greater numbers of newly-arrived plurilingual students in schools, as well as the demand for language inclusiveness from established immigrant communities?
- Chapter 7:
 - What are the differing ideological points of reference for plurilingual and intercultural identities in France and Aotearoa New Zealand?
 - How is the language of schooling organised for immigrant students?
 - How is the child’s first language re-situated within the educational environment, and what is the rationale for this?
- Chapter 8:
 - How are teachers trained in France and New Zealand for working with immigrant students (initial and on-going training)?
 - What are some current positive evolutions in teacher training in each country?
 - What can France and New Zealand learn from each other in this area?
- Chapter 9:
 - How is this project situated within communities of research in France and Aotearoa New Zealand?

Chapter 1

Immigration, Education, Language

Chapter 1 situates France and New Zealand within an international context of immigration, education and language (the 3 macro elements selected within the ecological systems framework for this research). The international picture of immigration during this research period (“the refugee crisis”) had an unprecedented effect on national policies and how immigrants are received in both France and New Zealand.

Chapter 1 responds to part of a main question of this research: “How do policies and practices of immigration, education and language inform the educational environment that newly-arrived migrant, asylum-seeking and refugee-background students are learning within?”

Elements within the international space (macro-systemic zone) establish areas of commonality between the two countries compared in this project. The discussion centres on geopolitical differences between France and NZ in relation to activity within the international space: the “refugee crisis” (EU responses in policy and practice and France; NZ’s refugee policies and practices), how each country’s education system is performing internationally (recent results from PISA), and the characteristics of francophone/anglophone language policy and practice.

Key questions:

- How do policies and practices of immigration, education and language inform the educational environment that newly-arrived migrant, asylum-seeking and refugee-background students are learning within?

Introduction

This chapter situates France and New Zealand within the current international context of immigration, education and language, the three main elements selected from the macro-systemic zone for this research.

Current policies in immigration, education and language are mutually informed in a circular dynamic, creating conditions within educational environments that either support or impede immigrant students’ learning. Since 2016, the number of plurilingual newly-arrived immigrant children in schools in France and New Zealand has increased, due to immigration trends in each country (pre-Covid restrictions). Educational environments are being challenged to evolve to effectively meet new conditions created by a changing demographic in the school population, and to better serve significant numbers of immigrant students who are particularly vulnerable to educational failure.

1. IMMIGRATION

The global humanitarian crisis of 2014-2017 is statistically the worst refugee crisis since WWII with 65.3 million displaced people worldwide (UNHCR, 2015), and Europe’s response is under the global spotlight, both in its role as a political actor on the world stage representing the potential for cooperative regional governance, and also as representative of a set of “European” values in meeting this humanitarian crisis. On both fronts, Europe’s performance has highlighted divisions in the EU’s collective governance — the crisis has precipitated in part Britain’s withdrawal from the EU, accentuated right-left wing political divides between Eastern and Western European states, and culminated in the contentious EU-Turkey Agreement 2016.

I briefly expose one of the key policy changes implemented by the EU in response to the refugee influx into Europe between 2014-2017: the EU-Turkey Agreement 2016. This policy change, contextualised within the international space of UNHCR refugee protection, serves as a backdrop for France’s political response to the refugee crisis. An increasingly “hard power” approach to asylum-seeking in EU policy and practice further contextualises the shifting French political tide during 2014-2017, as a change of government in 2017 and a set of new policy declarations frame stricter management of asylum-seeking and refugee resettlement in France.

1.1 EU anti-immigration policies

1.1.1 The EU-Turkey Agreement 2016

The EU-Turkey action plan was negotiated and approved by EU member states and Turkey back in October 2015, with the objectives of *“intensifier leur coopération en vue de prévenir l’afflux de migrants en situation irrégulière dans l’UE”, “d’organiser les flux migratoires” et “de contribuer à endiguer la migration irrégulière”* (UE-Turquie Accord, 20 mars 2016).

Signed on 18th March 2016 by EU member states, including France, the deal was essentially one of money in exchange for absolution from humanitarian responsibilities: the EU promised to pay Turkey 6 billion euros over 2 years to receive all irregular immigrants landing in Greece from 20 March 2016. In addition, Turkish citizens have been granted visa-free travel within Europe, and Turkey’s application to join the EU was to be re-negotiated — a point that has since been nullified by the EU.

In the year since the EU-Turkey agreement was actioned, media and human rights watch groups have reported on the worsening situation for asylum seekers deported to Turkey, a country already host to more than 3 million asylum seekers and refugees. Reports describe squalid and overcrowded refugee camps in Turkey, where people are in effect imprisoned while awaiting asylum (Independent News, 2016), under uncertain timeframes and insecure conditions. Amnesty International has reported on deaths within refugee camps, as well as the return of Syrian, Iraqi and Afghani refugees to their war-torn home countries, in direct contravention of the non-refoulement clause in the UNHCR Convention for the protection of refugees. Human rights watch groups say that *“the EU-Turkey agreement has set a dangerous precedent by putting at risk the very principle of the right to seek refuge”* (Human Rights Watch, 2017), and speak out against the EU’s action, saying that, *“In the face of the worst displacement crisis in generations, the European Union (EU), the richest political bloc in the world, has actively sought to prevent asylum-seekers and refugees from accessing its territory.”* (Amnesty International, 2016)

From Europe’s point of view, the number of people arriving on European shores via the Mediterranean route has reduced 97% in the year since the deal was made (from a peak number of 10,006 people on 20/10/2015 to an average of 47 people per day from 20/3/2016) (European Commission, 2017). So the agreement has effectively deterred asylum seekers from attempting the voyage to European shores, as the message has been clearly delivered that Europe is no longer a safe and welcoming place for asylum seekers. Europe’s “closed door” collective policy towards refugees in crisis is further demonstrated in that safe routes, via land or sea, have not been opened up for these millions of people fleeing war and life-threatening conditions in their home countries.

This breach between international law and recent EU immigration-related policies (EU-Turkey agreement 2016, application of the Dublin Regulation, the Common Asylum System 2018) is a theme that arises again and again in international critique of Europe’s response to refugee immigration. The divide is both political and philosophical and presents a pragmatic-ethical conflict in the current political decision-making of the EU. Policies demand the prioritisation of practical solutions before humanitarian concerns, and EU policies are demonstrating that security and defensive legislation is a priority — Europe’s recent experience of terrorist attacks no small consideration in the collective political psyche. Therefore, the EU’s navigation around the rights of asylum seekers and refugees established in international law, through new protocols that emphasise sovereign power over international community, position the EU’s immigration politics clearly in the “hard power” corner. That is, the effects of recent laws allow member states to make indiscriminating decisions about the lives of large numbers of people who lack the protection of their own state.

1.1.2 Treatment of asylum seekers — human rights

The most important international instrument in the protection of asylum seekers and refugees is the UNHCR Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees (1951). It forms the basis of the work carried out by UNHCR in promoting and supervising international protection of refugees. The 1951 Convention grew out of the progressive development of international human rights law post-WWII, and was originally limited in scope to protection of refugees escaping events in Europe pre-1951. The 1967 Protocol removed the temporal and geographical limits of the 1951 Convention, to redefine “a refugee” as:

“...any person who, owing to well founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country.” (Article 1a)

In this redefinition, and within the current context of more than 1 million refugees arriving in Europe in 2016, there is no discrimination according to country of origin or age. However, the case of Syrian refugees and asylum seekers has been treated as a particular category, for example in the EU-Turkey agreement whereby for every Syrian granted asylum in Turkey, one Syrian refugee will be accepted into the EU (European Commission, 2017). The case of unaccompanied minors has also been given special attention, for example with the UK cutting a deal with France in October 2016, under which the UK committed to accepting 387 unaccompanied children with a legal right to enter the UK under the Dublin regulation (for example, family ties), and the French authorities dealt with the closure and clearance of the refugee camp. Both of these examples highlight a worrying new trend in transnational agreements seeking to reduce the impact of refugee immigration into Europe. That is, **people-trading in cost-benefit equations between governments where refugees are exchanged for doing the political dirty work** of (a) deportations of “irregular migrants” from the EU to Turkey, thereby avoiding large numbers of asylum applications to the EU; (b) trading one Syrian with recognised refugee status to be resettled in the EU, for one Syrian without the protection of asylum in any country and no certainty of being granted asylum in Turkey; (c) the resettlement of a small number of unaccompanied minors who had a legal right to enter the UK anyway, in exchange for the French government taking responsibility for clearing around 9,000 refugees from the Calais refugee camp (Oct 2016 UK-France deal). In this new context of international relations and deal-making, we are seeing EU states paying other EU states to deal unilaterally with the physical presence of refugees in their country (UK agreed to pay France £12 million over 3 years to clear the Calais Jungle (BBC News, 3/10/2015)), EU states paying non-EU states to process asylum applications on their soil (the EU agreed to pay Turkey two sums of €3 million to accept indefinite numbers of refugees deported from the EU after 20 March 2016 (Forum Réfugiés)), refugees being traded for EU visa privileges (Turkey’s 90-day Schengen zone visa deal), and unaccompanied children being treated as trading commodities in inter-governmental agreements (UK-France negotiations over the number of refugee children from the Calais camp to be accepted by the UK in Oct 2016).

Is this new form of international people-trading a further violation of human rights, in addition to those already forcing refugees to flee their home country? UNHCR responses have expressed concern, and urge a return to the safeguards of international refugee protection, as reflected in the statement by spokesperson William Spindler on 8th March 2016:

“On the face of what appears to have been agreed, we are, however, concerned about any arrangement that involves the blanket return of all individuals from one country to another without sufficiently spelt out refugee protection safeguards in keeping with international obligations.

An asylum-seeker should only be returned to a third state, if (a) responsibility for assessing the particular asylum application in substance is assumed by the third country; (b) the asylum-seeker will be protected from refoulement; (c) the individual will be able to seek and, if recognized, enjoy asylum in accordance with accepted international standards, and have full and effective access to education, work, health care and, as necessary, social assistance.

Legal safeguards would need to govern any mechanism under which responsibility would be transferred for assessing an asylum claim. Pre-departure screening would also need to be in place to identify heightened risk categories that may not be appropriate for return even if the above conditions are met.”

So a key question arising from the EU-Turkey deal is whether Turkey is a safe third state in view of the fact that Turkey is not an EU member and therefore not bound by EU human rights and democracy legislation enshrined in the European Convention on Human Rights 1953. It is also now clear that Turkey will not be joining the EU, in spite of the clause in the March 2016 agreement that Turkey’s membership status would be reconsidered. Negotiations on Turkey’s membership application to join the EU were suspended in July 2017 following a vote in the European Parliament, and on the basis of ongoing concern for Turkey’s record of human rights abuses. In recent news, Turkish PM Erdogan’s call in April 2017 for a referendum to reinstate the death penalty (which Turkey had abolished in 2004), came just a month after the refugee deal with the

EU (Newsweek, 4/7/2017). In other news, the UNHCR has been denied access to refugee camps in Turkey where refugees deported from the EU are being held (Euractiv, 19/1/2017).

1.1.3 Consequences of EU anti-immigration politics

For the purposes of this research, the highly charged political climate in Europe around refugees serves as a backdrop for contextualising the precariousness of protection for asylum-seekers, and the uncertainty of access to the rights set out in the Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees. The responsibility for receiving applications for asylum has been effectively side-stepped by the EU, and a series of measures to further deter asylum seekers from turning to Europe as a refuge have been effective in reducing the number of “irregular migrants” arriving since 20 March 2016. It is highly relevant to look at how current collective political action by the EU is constructing a new political paradigm of protectionism and anti-immigration legislation. The new paradigm appears to express a European collective consciousness that is increasingly defensive, that has recent experience of being under attack by terrorists — the same terrorists who are forcing Syrians out of their country — and that is prioritising security over humanitarian aid. Europe’s attitude towards refugees at a political level also sees Europe in ambiguous relationship with international law on refugee protection and international human rights organisations. While Europe’s politics are not in open contravention of international law, deals such as the EU-Turkey agreement are seen as pushing the limits of legal interpretation towards outcomes favouring regional security over human rights.

It can be concluded that the refugee crisis is being met by the EU through the introduction of new policies and practices of border and sea control aimed at significantly narrowing the doorway to direct EU-asylum seeking. Viewed in light of the UNHCR Convention and Protocol on the Status of Refugees, and the right to seek asylum and the right to non-refoulement, there are a number of questionable practices currently in play which have been sanctioned by new anti-refugee EU policies between 2016-2017. In the founding international human rights instrument the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the recognition of “*freedom from fear and want ... as the highest aspiration of the common people*” is stated in the preamble. Article 14 states that “*Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution,*” and Article 28 states that “*Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realised.*” While the EU-Turkey deal retains the right to seek asylum (in Turkey), it denies the right to seek asylum within the EU for refugees entering the EU zone by boat. In addition, the forced movements of people sanctioned by the EU between 2016-2017 (that includes the routine return of refugee boats in the Mediterranean to Turkey, and the expulsion of refugees from Greece to Turkey) and human-trading aspects of other agreements discussed above, amounts to a form of “international order” that appears abusive of other basic human rights such as “*life, liberty and security of person*” (Article 3).

A key question is, were these policy changes linked to fear of Islamic extremism? A Chatham House report in 2017 that surveyed more than 10,000 people from 10 European states to gauge attitudes towards people from Muslim countries, revealed high levels of Islamophobia. In response to the statement, “*All further migration from mainly Muslim countries should be stopped*”, majorities in all but two of the ten states surveyed agreed — 71% in Poland, 65% in Austria, 61% in France, and 53% in Germany. The average response across the 10 countries was 55% agreed, a result that reflects widespread negative attitudes towards immigration from Muslim countries across the EU.

Another survey, the Ipsos Perils of Perception Survey 2016, asked citizens of 20 countries worldwide to estimate the current percentage of Muslim people living in their country, and then to predict the percentage by 2020. The question posed was, “*Now thinking about 2020, out of every 100 people, about how many do you think will be Muslim?*”, and as an example of the over-estimation typically expressed, the average prediction in France was that 40% of the population would be Muslim by 2020, while the actual projection is 8.3%.

From the results of these two surveys alone, it appears that current political discourse and public sentiment together indicate a significant swing towards right-wing, discriminatory views of immigrants from Muslim countries to Europe.

The political rhetoric of leaders and politicians in Europe during this intense phase of reform of immigration laws also indicates heightened levels of Islamophobia and an associated fear of terrorism. In an interesting conference paper on Anti-Islamic Discourse (June 2013) delivered at Harvard by Yasemin Karakasoglu from the University of Bremen, she points out that “*[anti-Islamic] critique is used as a means to serve the interests*

of power relations". Karakasoglu highlights several aspects of current political discourse surrounding Muslim populations in Europe, that point to a fear of Islam and an association of Islam with terrorism. A feature of current discourse around Islam is the use of "us" and "them", that denotes a division between European ideologies such as democracy and gender equality, and Muslim "otherness". As the author summarises, *"To put it shortly: Islam is seen as not compatible with humanism and freedom of the individual. Thus Islam is regarded as a threat to the achievements of the European age of enlightenment."* A further feature of current discourse reflects a perceived threat that a growing Muslim population presents to Europe's cultural identity that is based on Christianity, a view that is borne out in the results of the two surveys discussed earlier.

1.1.4 Conclusion

A key conclusion from the new aspects of immigration policy and practice in Europe, discussed above, is that there has emerged a clear trend of legislative and political changes in the EU since 2014, that amount to an avoidance of full EU responsibility in terms of democratic values and the human rights obligations that go hand-in-hand with democratic governance. The EU has addressed the migrant crisis in part through seeking to distance the problem from European territories. The example of the EU-Turkey agreement 2016 highlights this trend, and underlines a shift in the EU's relationship with the democratic values of international law and the human rights of asylum seekers. The EU-Turkey agreement re-interpreted international law to suit EU objectives in extreme circumstances, selecting the "right of return to a safe third country" clause as legal grounds for an agreement that has resulted in extended suffering and hardship for thousands of migrants — a blatant corruption of international human rights protection law that undermines the sincerity of the EU's adherence to democratic values.

Recent EU policies have also brought into question Europe's strength of commitment to human rights, as we witness the treatment of asylum seekers as a tradable commodity between countries (EU-Turkey, France-UK). The consequences for migrants have been dehumanising and further destabilising, with thousands of people awaiting asylum in overcrowded and unsanitary detention centres and refugee camps in Turkey, Greece and Calais. The EU's negation of democratic process and human rights leaves a legacy of political shame for the EU, previously a self-declared champion of democracy and human rights under several key instruments including the European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights 2014 (EIDHR)², and the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (1950)³.

Europe today is seeing a resurgence of anti-immigration sentiments being expressed in authoritarian populist movements — *"a political ideology whose beliefs include cynicism about human rights, hostility to the state, opposition to immigration and an enthusiasm for a strong defence and foreign policy"* (Macmillan Dictionary definition). A British YouGov survey designed to measure a swing in public sentiment across European countries towards authoritarian populism in December 2016 found that in response to the statement, *"There are so many foreigners living round here, it doesn't feel like home anymore"*, 52% of Italians, 47% of French and 44% of Germans responded affirmatively. Elections in several European countries in 2017-2018 have placed populist governments at the helm. A bill currently awaiting action in the French Senate proposes tighter deadlines for seeking asylum, allows for illegal migrants to be detained for a longer period, and imposes a year in prison on migrants entering the country illegally. Within this bill, adult asylum seekers can be detained for up to 90 days, and children for up to 5 days, with or without their parents — in direct contravention of international child protection rights prohibiting the detention of children even for short periods (Amnesty International 2016).

At this time, our contemporary political context worldwide is very much flavoured and characterised by immigration. We have lived a decade (2010-2020) that will be remembered for the massive and unprecedented movements of people around the planet; the migratory flows of desperate people away from war, political oppression and poverty towards the possibility of a secure future. Hostile anti-immigration policies and practices emerging from the EU at this time signal a denigration of international human rights and a further widening of the "rich-poor gap" that is the social and ethical challenge of democratic societies in the 21st century.

² The EIDHR offers financial support to non-EU countries, and states as Objective 1: support to human rights and human rights defenders in situations where they are most at risk; and as Objective 3: support to democracy.

³ The Convention includes amongst fundamental rights, the right to liberty and security.

1.2 Response to the refugee crisis in France and New Zealand

1.2.1 France's changes to asylum-seeking and refugee resettlement policy and practice

France is a key player within the EU, and since 2016 the government has implemented a series of changes to immigration policies as a national priority, and within the context of right-wing anti-immigration sentiment across Europe. These policy changes have gained traction amongst the French public in response to recent events directly impacting on the French population, such as the terrorist attacks in France since January 2015, and the unprecedented number of asylum seekers arriving by boat to Europe (171,635 in 2017 of which 100,412 asylum claims were processed in France) (IOM, 2017).

2016 was a key year for changes to immigration policy in France, with a host of new measures defined under law n°2016-274 of 7th March 2016. Under this 2016 law, new temporary visa avenues were opened up for economic migrants, students and researchers, young foreign entrepreneurs, and seasonal workers — categories of immigrants preferred on the basis of economic and intellectual contribution to the country. The new law also established a five-year 'personalised republican integration pathway' (*'parcours personnalisé d'intégration républicaine'*), requiring immigrants to demonstrate their willingness to participate in a host of integration measures in order to be issued with a multi-annual residence permit (European Commission, 2016). On the other side of the policy coin, a more vulnerable and less economically advantageous category of migrants (asylum seekers) are now strictly managed under new regulations created under the same law. The provisions include a waiver of privacy law that allows immigration authorities to access and share information on asylum-seekers, a new criminal sanction on the use or supply of false identity documents, and facilitation of deportation of irregular migrants termed "mechanism of preparation for return" (*'dispositif de préparation au retour'*) (European Commission, 2016). Under the same law, people living in the Calais refugee camp that was dismantled in October 2016 were managed under a set of specific conditions administered in part by the 'Reception and guidance centres' (CAO) that were established to house unaccompanied minors from Calais and the Dunkirk area. At the same time, border controls were reinforced to deter illegal immigration, and a temporary increase was made to flat-rates of assistance for return of unsuccessful asylum seekers to their home countries. The combined emphasis was therefore on temporary accommodation and encouraging migrants to return to their home countries with or without government assistance. So under this new law, a host of measures were introduced that put in place differential treatment of various categories of immigrants — preferential treatment for immigrants who can contribute to the economic and intellectual growth of the country, while "irregular migrants" are now being placed on a fast-track to deportation.

In sum, the collective effect of these law changes and proposed anti-immigration measures in the past two years (2016-2017), taking the more prominent examples from France, is that current policy is positioning immigration as a national security issue. The fear in the public consciousness that has always existed towards immigrants allows these kinds of law changes to be considered rational and acceptable. The underlying fear of "otherness" has become exaggerated so that now "otherness" in France, and other countries, has come to look more specifically like people from Muslim countries who bring with them the threat of terrorism, religious fanaticism and the oppression of women. In this public and political perception of "otherness", asylum seekers represent a raft of threats to national security — a drain on economic resources, a strain on housing and employment markets, and the "non-Frenchness" of speaking other languages and representing values other than those of the Republic. Hence the five-year integration pathway, intelligence network information sharing, and ease of deportation. The message to newly-arriving asylum seekers amounts to, *"Integrate and become like "us" or be returned to where you came from"*.

The March 2016 law clearly demonstrates attitudes towards immigration that are currently considered acceptable in France — *"égalité"* applies only once a person is accepted as a legal immigrant and has demonstrated assimilation into republican values. *Égalité* does not apply to all immigrants equally. In its simplest form, the law distinguishes between "the haves and the have nots", assigning economic value and differentiated treatment accordingly.

1.2.2 New Zealand's response to the refugee crisis

The impact of the global crisis of asylum seeking and refugee-ism on New Zealand has been far less dramatic, due to the country's geographical isolation. Compared to neighbouring Australia, which receives four times the number of asylum applications annually, and resettles up to 30,000 UNHCR quota refugees per year, New Zealand receives a very small number of asylum claims and resettles up to 1000 quota

refugees annually (2019). During the intense period of the refugee crisis, asylum applications to NZ rose marginally, from 287 (2013-14) to 510 (2018-19). Of these claims, the percentage approved rose minimally from 24% in 2013 ($n = 69$ claims out of 287) to 30% in 2018 ($n = 153$ claims out of 510) (NZ Immigration, 2019). Alongside this small number of ad hoc asylum applications, NZ also has a standing offer to the Australian government to resettle 150 asylum seekers currently being held in detention centres on Manus Island and Nauru. The offer was made by the NZ government in 2013, but has since been rejected by Australian Prime Minister Scott Morrison on the grounds that it would weaken border security. The offer is currently under negotiation, with Australia asking for a “lifetime ban visa” attached to the 150 people to be resettled in NZ, to prevent these refugees from moving back to Australia in the future (Sydney Morning Herald, 21/7/2019).

Under the current Labour government, New Zealand is demonstrating a strong humanitarian political direction that expresses values of inclusiveness, tolerance and compassion. Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern is modelling a style of leadership that is responsive at a human level, while seeking to find policy-based solutions to questions of insecurity raised by immigration and the refugee crisis within the Pacific regional context. As Ardern stated in an interview with Australian political correspondent in July 2019:

“There’s an increasing fear globally, rooted in insecurity. Whether it’s that people have a perception of insecurity of job opportunities, or population and migrant flows ... whatever the cause, I think that there’s a sense of insecurity. And in that environment, politicians have very clear choices... We need to come up with the solutions, rather than placing blame or stoking fear.” (Sydney Morning Herald, 21/7/2019)

As a young woman and mother taking the leading role of Prime Minister of NZ, Jacinda Ardern represents a plethora of positive values and the potential for a transformative people-centred style of governance at this time. Ardern’s calm and empathetic response to the terrorist attacks against Muslim New Zealanders in March 2019 was lauded internationally, and the decisive actions that followed the rhetoric affirmed NZ’s stance as a country that “*prioritises social wellbeing*” (Independent UK, 20/3/2019). Gun laws were changed the day after the attack, and to date more than 10,000 firearms have been handed in to police under a government buy-back scheme (USA Today 12/8/2019). The horrific act of terrorism carried out in Christchurch throws into relief some important aspects connected to the global immigration crisis: the fact that right-wing, anti-immigrant xenophobia has increased as a toxic by-product to the refugee crisis, and that interracial acts of violent terrorism between Muslim and white people have become a global phenomenon. The white supremacist attack in NZ this year does not stand in isolation, but is linked to the series of attacks in Europe by Islamist extremists since 2015. These acts of terrorism (both by ISIS and white supremacists) are in turn part of the current global climate of en-masse refugee-ism and the altered social climate that is emerging in response. The fact that even New Zealand, a remote country that takes pride in her multicultural social ethic, has experienced an act of extreme ethnic violence signifies the far-reaching extent of the problem. As expressed by the PM at that time:

“We represent diversity, kindness, compassion, a home for those who share our values, refuge for those who need it. And those values, will not and cannot be shaken by this attack. We are a proud nation of more than 200 ethnicities, 160 languages, and amongst that diversity we share common values. And the one that we place value on ... is our compassion, and our support for the community directly affected by this tragedy.” (Ardern’s media statement, 15/3/2019)

In terms of policy change, New Zealand’s UNHCR quota refugee programme is expanding in response to the global immigrant crisis, however compared to the scale of human need and the pressures experienced by European countries, NZ’s intake is very small. NZ’s refugee resettlement quota is reviewed in 3-year cycles. In 2014, the quota was capped at 750 refugees to be resettled in New Zealand; in 2017 the number was increased to 1000 people, and is set to be further increased from July 2020 to 1500 quota refugees plus 300 places for family reunification (NZ Immigration, 2019). The resettlement programme underwent changes in 2013/2014 to improve support services for newly-arrived refugees, and now includes pre-arrival orientation, a 6-week reception programme at Mangere Refugee Resettlement Centre, and 12 months’ support during the initial settlement phase (links to social services, English language classes, education, health and community liaison). There is also an increased focus on support for long-term integration organised by government agencies and NGOs, with services such as employment training (Improving Refugee Employment Outcomes Project), driver training, and interpreting services (new in 2016) (NZ Refugee Resettlement Strategy). The focus is therefore on accepting a limited number of refugees and improving resettlement strategies and services for successful long-term integration.

In terms of the current context of immigration, New Zealand's responsibilities remain focused in the Pacific region, with a pressing issue being the effects of climate change on Pacific Island peoples. A 2018 World Bank report predicts significant migration due to climate change by 2050, with a particular effect on the peoples of Kiribati, Tuvalu, Marshall Islands, Tokelau and surrounding atolls in the Pacific Ocean (World Bank Group, 2018). New Zealand's Foreign Minister, Winston Peters, released an action plan around the same time, on climate-related displacement in the Pacific and NZ's preparedness to respond (NZ Minister of Foreign Affairs, 2/5/2018). Since 2011, NZ has processed 11 applications for asylum on the grounds of climate change, none of which have been successful as "climate change" is not a recognised cause for granting refugee status within the existing UNHCR framework.

The discussion currently between Pacific Island leaders and the NZ government is around the preference of Pacific leaders to work with adaptation to climate change rather than migration. The reasons are that retention of land allows for continuation of culture, language and autonomy; whereas migration will involve loss of Pacific Island languages that are spoken by small numbers of people (a combined population of 180,000 people from the aforementioned affected islands), and removal from cultural practices and traditional lifestyle. Pacific Island people also do not want to become "refugees" — a term that carries connotations of poverty, dependence and loss of home. The NZ government supports the adaptation policy and is contributing half of this year's foreign aid budget of NZ\$714 million to the Pacific islands, while acknowledging that forced displacement is an inevitable reality for some Pacific Island peoples in the future (NZ Newsroom, 24/4/2019). Alongside the financial aid sits the shared intention to work together to find solutions to the problem of "climate refugees" — that is for NZ to work collaboratively rather than paternalistically with Pacific nations, in a "*collective decision-making approach and [with] respect for the sovereign equality of states that underpin the multilateral system.*" (NZ Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2018)

1.3 Conclusion

In summary, we see two very different types of policy and practice emerging from France and New Zealand in response to the current global immigration dynamic. The contexts could not be more different, with France as a leading EU country and NZ geographically isolated in the South Pacific. As such, France's swing towards authoritarianism in public sentiment and stricter controls on immigration since 2016 is explained as a protectionist response to mass arrivals of asylum seekers and "irregular migrants". New Zealand's geographical distance from the rest of the world affords the political luxury of a humanitarian approach, as there is no immediate crisis of mass migration to deal with. Instead, NZ has been able to demonstrate humanitarian politics through small gestures such as increasing the refugee quota by 500 places, and offering to resettle 150 refugees from neighbouring Australian detention centres. We therefore see that the contrasting authoritarian/humanitarian political stances are explained by geography and a relative sense of threat or security as a result of immigration flows in different parts of the world.

A second area of difference that stands out is in each country's treatment of the immigrant as "other". The French law n°2016-274 of 7th March 2016 sets out differentiated treatment for two main categories of immigrants: preferential visas and an integration pathway for immigrants who represent an economic or intellectual contribution to the country; and stricter security measures against immigrants considered "other" — that is, "irregular migrants" (who may include people wishing to seek asylum but who lack proper documentation). New Zealand's treatment of "the other" was most clearly seen recently following the terrorist attacks in Christchurch when the Muslim community was embraced in an outpouring of solidarity, and a categorical rejection of "extremist views that have no place in New Zealand" (Ardern, 15/3/2019). Again, France and NZ have lived very different stories in terms of ethnic/religious violence, as France has suffered a series of ISIS-directed terrorist attacks perpetrated by French citizens of migrant descent; whereas the shootings in NZ were carried out by a white supremacist Australian against the Muslim community, many of whom were refugees and immigrants to New Zealand.

In brief, the international context of the refugee crisis has impacted differently on France and New Zealand. While geography places France at the centre of the crisis and NZ is removed, the situation has nonetheless called for both countries to respond and to articulate a certain stance at this time. New Zealand's position as a country that is proud of her social diversity has been articulated in recent political rhetoric, and in incremental increases to the number of refugees resettled in NZ. The national response since 2014 has been to improve support services and integration strategies for the small numbers of refugees resettled. At the same time, NZ's self-defined inclusiveness of cultural diversity was shaken by the violent attack against the Muslim community in March 2019. In contrast, France's immigration laws and regulations for reception

of asylum seekers have been tightened up in response to unprecedented numbers of immigrants arriving and the ongoing “refugee crisis” across Europe. While France’s response signals a certain authoritarian approach, the government remains centre-right, and in the 2017 elections the French public chose not to vote in Le Pen’s far right-wing political party that campaigned on anti-immigration policies. Both countries have immigration policies and practices in place for asylum seekers and refugees, and in response to the humanitarian crisis have adapted these policies in ways that are reflective of current public sentiment.

2. EDUCATION

The hypothesis of this research is that *educational environments that allow space for plurilingual learning approaches create a platform from which to improve learning processes, engagement and construction of knowledge, thereby encouraging more effective learning for newly-arrived immigrant students.* I am therefore interested in finding out what the risk factors and protective factors are that enable immigrant students to succeed and thrive within the two educational environments of France and New Zealand. While each educational environment comprises its own set of risks and advantages, both are commonly informed by the current international context of immigration, which is in turn precipitating changes to education policy and how schools are adapting teaching and learning approaches for newly-arrived immigrant children in their classrooms. This section looks at how educational environments are defined, findings from OECD studies on immigrant children in education, and compares data from PISA 2015 on the experiences of immigrant children in schools in France and New Zealand.

2.1 Definition of “educational environments”

I define educational environments to include macro and micro level factors that together constitute an ecosystem within which immigrant students, such as those who participated in this study, are functioning. At a macro level, this definition comprises:

- international recommendations and guidelines on the education of immigrant students
- actors and agencies within the international and national education space
- theories on best pedagogy for inclusion of diverse languages and cultures
- national education policies and how various groups of immigrant students are treated
- education systems and how immigrant students perform within these systems
- national curricula: treatment of languages and plurilingualism
- teacher training (initial and in-school) for working with immigrant students

At a micro level this definition comprises:

- schools:
 - reception and integration of newly-arrived immigrant students
 - how the schooling of immigrant students is organised and supported within schools
 - quality of school climate⁴ (OECD, 2018)
- teaching and learning practices for plurilingual immigrant students
- FLS / EL classes for newly-arrived immigrant teenagers
- the role of teachers in the immigrant teenager’s integration and schooling experiences
- parental involvement in school community and home support for schooling
- immigrant students’ individual agency and learning strategies in the classroom

2.2 OECD findings on schooling of immigrant children

The OECD is the key international agent in gathering and analysing data on the achievement and wellbeing of immigrant children in education. OECD studies highlight the essential role that schools play across all areas of the newly-arrived immigrant child’s integration into school, and examine the longterm implications of inclusive educational strategies targeted at migrant children.

One such OECD study, “Children of Immigration” (2018), describes newly-arrived immigrant students as particularly vulnerable to the adverse circumstances created by migration. Schools that have strategies in

⁴ Measures of quality of learning environment, according to OECD are (i) supportive student-teacher interactions, (ii) good student-student relations, (iii) orderly learning atmosphere with clear disciplinary rules.

place to support the child's adaptation are better equipped to support the child's initial transition into school, and from there, the child's educational success over the long term:

“Understanding and then addressing student needs during the critical transition phase for newcomer students is an important area for intervention. Emerging research shows that schools that are strategic in their approaches to helping newcomer youth adjust to their new environs may be poised to help them be more successful in their psycho-social adaptation and educational performance (Sadowski, 2013; Suárez-Orozco, Martin, Alexandersson, Dance, & Lunneblad, 2013). It is well established that a safe environment is vital for learning for all students, but findings from our case studies pointed to ways to address safety and belonging that specifically support immigrant students and their families. One of the impediments to learning [in] a new country is entering a context where students feel unsafe or that they don't belong. These feelings can lead to low motivation, low self-esteem, and debilitating anxiety that can combine to create an “affective filter” that can shut down the language learning process. While not sufficient by itself, a positive affect facilitates language acquisition to take place.” (Suárez-Orozco, OECD, 2019)

The educational environment into which migrant children arrive therefore has a significant effect on their learning, and is closely linked to the child's personal sense of belonging and safety, as well as their ability to relax and cope with a lot of new learning during the intensive phase following arrival. OECD studies such as this one, position the child's experiences and the effect on their learning at the centre, and make informed recommendations to schools on best practices for improving outcomes for migrant children. The OECD therefore supports a child-centred rationale for why schools and teachers should adapt teaching and learning approaches that focus on safety and inclusion, and adopt a strategic support role during the child's initial transition phase.

Other OECD studies examine the resilience of immigrant students, from an academic, social and emotional perspective. The most recent 2018 OECD report reinforces findings from multiple international studies that educational institutions play a key role in reducing the vulnerability of immigrant students to the adverse circumstances that accompany migration. Another report published in 2015, *“Helping immigrant students to succeed at school – and beyond”*, traces changes over time to immigrant students' performance in schools across OECD countries. Risk factors are examined such as language barriers and performance penalties for late arrivals (immigrant students arriving after the age of 12), and the drawbacks of grade repetition and academic streaming, finding again that schools that put strategies in place to accompany newly-arrived immigrant students, particularly teenagers, show improved academic and social outcomes.

These international studies are important, as in many countries, one outcome of the dynamic context of immigration since 2014 is that newly-arrived plurilingual immigrant students are more numerous in schools. This increase in numbers has highlighted how education systems in all countries deal with immigrant children and their languages and cultures, and raises questions about what kinds of changes to education for immigrant children are now required. It is also feasible that change is being stimulated through a “bottom-up” approach, with immigrant teenagers finding ways to empower themselves in their educational achievement, and teachers likewise responding with changes to how they work to integrate children from linguistically and culturally diverse backgrounds. Changes to education policy will be slower to follow, and changes in how teacher training institutions prepare teachers for working in diverse classroom settings will be a key part of the solution towards improving educational outcomes for immigrant students.

From this perspective, *educational environments are in a state of change in response to the needs of immigrant students, and it is immigrant students themselves who are the stimulus for these changes.* Schools today can be described as ‘sites of dynamic linguistic and cultural interchange’, as schools are responding to significant increases in their immigrant student populations, and teachers are seeking new ways to support the learning of immigrant children. In the educational contexts of both France and New Zealand we are seeing more children from asylum-seeking and refugee backgrounds who have experienced war, trauma and displacement, and on arrival are living through a further period of instability and adaptation. The resulting pressure on education systems is to adapt quickly and effectively to the integration and learning needs of this new immigrant student population characterised by a high-needs profile in terms of language-learning and gaps in prior schooling. Educational environments are therefore dealing with questions of how the child is integrated into the school system in order to overcome what have previously been negatively framed as “barriers to educational success”, and are now being termed more as “adverse circumstances” that schools have a responsibility to help immigrant children overcome. While increasing numbers of immigrant children in schools presents a challenge to teachers and education systems, it is also

an opportunity to mutually benefit from linguistic and cultural diversity, and for schools to improve practices of inclusion.

2.3 PISA testing: an international measure of education systems

In this opening chapter to Part 1, I summarise some key findings from PISA, the OECD's Programme for International Student Assessment, that tests 15-year-old students from all over the world in reading, mathematics and science, to see how immigrant students are performing in schools. The purpose of PISA testing is as follows:

“The tests are designed to gauge how well the students master key subjects in order to be prepared for real-life situations in the adult world. Why choose 15-year-olds? Because in most countries, at the age of 15, students can decide whether or not they want to continue their education. They therefore need to be equipped for adult life. PISA publishes the results of the test a year after the students are tested to help governments shape their education policy.” (PISA website)

PISA test results therefore allow education systems to compare their performance internationally vis-a-vis immigrant students at the age of 15, both academically and in terms of integration and sense of belonging. PISA findings indicate educational practices that help immigrant students to succeed, as well as tendencies within education systems that amplify barriers to learning for immigrant students. These international measures show conclusively that immigrant students succeed best in educational environments that accentuate and maximise on the child's existing plurilingual and intercultural skills, while at the same time reducing systemic barriers to success. Findings from my PhD study agree that plurilingual and intercultural approaches to learning for newly-arrived immigrant students improve chances of success at school, particularly for the 13-15 year old age group, during the key period of preparation for school exams or assessments.

In Part 2, I present some plurilingual learning approaches, drawing on findings from original case studies in the two participating schools in France and New Zealand. In Parts 2 and 3 (Conclusion), I further explore ways of supporting the learning of newly-arrived plurilingual immigrant students, referring to findings from international studies and this original study.

2.3.1 Comparing PISA findings for France and New Zealand

The choice of the 13-15 year old age group for this doctoral study is because schools meet these children relatively late during the optimal period for immigration, in terms of language learning and integration into education systems. OECD findings note a significant difference in the achievement of immigrant students who arrive after the age of 12, as “late arrival penalties” amplify the multiple disadvantages of migration that include a longer period for attaining fluency in the language of schooling, combined with the higher cognitive demands of schoolwork at this age (OECD, 2018). This is a highly relevant and interesting age group to study in comparing educational processes and outcomes for immigrant teens, as in both France and NZ the exams and assessments that determine the crucial next step in the child's education take place at the age of 15. In France, the exams during the final year of *collège* determine the child's next steps in choice of *lycée*; and in NZ, the NCEA Level 1 assessments in Year 11 determine the child's access to tertiary education or employment. The importance of this point of assessment in schooling therefore has lifelong implications for the child's future. As immigrant children arriving within the 13-15 year old age-bracket face multiple additional obstacles to success within the school system, it is crucial that schools create adapted pathways to support the child's education at this time.

The international measure of the quality of education systems, and how immigrant students at the age of 15 are integrating academically and emotionally, is administered through PISA tests carried out every 3 years across about 80 countries⁵ (PISA website). Results are then measured against an OECD average, and the education systems of groups of countries are compared for variables of interest, such as language, culture or policy. The most recent PISA data available at the time of this study was from 2015 (results of the 2018 test have since been published in Dec 2019). Recent studies on immigrant students in education confirm that migration flows are profoundly changing the composition of classrooms: *“PISA results reveal that in 2015, almost one in four 15-year-old students in OECD countries reported that they were either foreign-born or had*

⁵ The number of countries participating in PISA tests has grown from 30 in 2000 to about 80 in 2018. Since 2003, all of the OECD countries have participated.

at least one foreign-born parent. These numbers exclude the tens of thousands of refugees who have recently arrived in many of the countries that participated in PISA.” (European Commission, 2018)

In comparing PISA data for France and New Zealand, we are comparing in essence francophone and anglophone education systems that aim to prepare children for the respective societies they are living in, and this is reflected in a range of similarities and differences between the curricula, styles of teaching and learning, attitudes towards immigrants, how languages are treated, and what kind of value is placed on cultural diversity. An objective of this study is not to conclude that “one system is better than the other”, but to examine and bring into dialogue some of the variables that impact on the educational experiences and outcomes for immigrant students at the critical age of 15.

There are several findings from the PISA test 2015 that are of interest to this comparative education study:

- (1) NZ and France both have immigrant student populations above the OECD average. For the purposes of this study we are only interested in first generation immigrants: in NZ that equates to 15% of the entire immigrant student population, and in France 5%. These statistics from 2015 are likely to look quite different in the 2018 results, as in 2018 France resettled almost 50,000 refugees, and the number of applications for asylum received since 2014 continues to rise steadily (up another 22% in 2018 = 122,000). So French schools are witnessing a rapidly increasing number of plurilingual first-generation immigrant students, even accounting for the exclusion of data on recently-arrived asylum seekers and refugees since 2015.
- (2) Amongst immigrant students in both countries, the majority speak a language other than the language of schooling at home: NZ = 56%, France = 59%.
- (3) Academic outcomes for immigrant students differ: in NZ, immigrant students are performing on a par with local students, whereas in France immigrant students are performing at 36% below local students. Here, the results for the the top-ranking countries according to OECD benchmarks (Canada, Ireland, NZ, Australia, UK) are reflective of a commonality across the anglophone education systems, that attract international fee-paying students from countries with high-performing education systems, such as China, Hong Kong, South Korea, Japan, and these students tend to perform academically very well within anglophone public education systems too. Anglophone schools benefit both economically and academically from international students, due to the status of English as an international language and the attractiveness for young people of a period of English-immersion education.
- (4) Immigrant students in NZ feel a slightly stronger sense of belonging at school than their native peers, while in France immigrant students feel slightly less “at home” than their native peers. According to feedback from both native and immigrant students in French schools, there is a low sense of belonging generally amongst all 15-year-olds, whereas in NZ schools the sense of belonging is the same between native and immigrant students at the age of 15, and generally high. The measure here is the quality of the learning environment, indicating either a positive or negative school climate. The OECD measures of school climate are:
 - (i) supportive student-teacher interactions,
 - (ii) good student-student relations, and
 - (iii) an orderly learning atmosphere with clear disciplinary rules (OECD, 2018).

There are also curriculum indicators: a “one-size-fits-all” curriculum allows little room for individuality, or for the linking of students’ realities to what they are learning. So that when students report a low sense of belonging, teenagers are reporting a sense of being rendered invisible, of their identities not being represented in the curriculum content, or feeling disengaged from the learning through an absence of material relevant to either cultural interests or learning style.

In summary, the NZ education system has a higher number of immigrant students than the French education system. Statistically, PISA results reflect that immigrant students at age 15 in NZ perform academically on a par with local students, and feel a strong sense of belonging. These results suggest that the NZ education system has adapted well to the academic and social needs of its immigrant student population. The different types of immigrant students in the NZ system may also swing these statistics, as international fee-paying students arrive with significant advantages accrued from prior education and affluent socio-economic family backgrounds. In comparison, immigrant students aged 15 in the French education system performed

academically at 36% below local French students, and expressed a low sense of belonging. This clearly indicates that there are systemic obstacles to success for immigrant students in the French education system – a finding that raises an obvious question for this research project: “What is the NZ education system doing that is working well for immigrant students, and where are the obstacles to success for immigrant students in the French education system?” This question, alongside PISA findings on the French and New Zealand education systems, is examined in detail in Chapter 4: *Immigrant students and “success” in schooling*.

2.3.2 Characteristics of education systems in France and NZ

What are the characteristics of education systems in France and New Zealand that explain these different outcomes for immigrant students? The two main differences evidenced by PISA results are:

- (1) Immigrant students in the NZ education system are performing on a par with NZ students, while in the French education system immigrant students are performing at 36% below French students.
- (2) Immigrant students in the NZ education system feel as strong a sense of belonging as Kiwi students, even a little more, while immigrant students in the French education system feel a weaker sense of belonging. However, local French students also report a sense of belonging at school that is significantly below the OECD average.

Table 3 below correlates these two key areas with 4 variables that help to explain these differences: countries of origin, curriculum, pedagogy and concepts of diversity/*égalité*. A brief analysis of each variable follows.

Table 3: 4 variables in immigrant student performance in French/NZ education systems

Variables	NZ	France
Immigrant students’ countries of origin	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - IFP students from Asia - Pasifika - Chinese migrants - English-speaking (Britain) - Refugee (Thai-Burma, Somalia, Syria, Afghanistan) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Algeria - ex-French colonial territories (Maghreb, North Africa) - Asylum-seeker and refugee (Syria, Albania, Iraq, Pakistan, Afghanistan)
Curriculum	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Open curriculum = teachers create for students - NCEA assessment + internal, no exams, options for credits - Students can work at their level 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Fixed curriculum = all students follow the same content - Final exam in collège = <i>lycée professionnel/lycée générale or technologique</i>
Pedagogy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Small group + pair work - Variety of activities - Teacher aides 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Whole class teaching - Emphasis on individual achievement
Diversity / <i>égalité</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Diversity = students are treated according to individual learning needs - English, Māori and NZ Sign Language (bicultural society + colonial history = country of immigrants) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Égalité</i> = all students are treated the same - Republican ideology = French is the national language

1. Countries of origin of immigrant students

NZ has more students who come from developed countries where they have benefitted from high-quality prior schooling in their country of origin – that is, international fee-paying students from Asia where the language of schooling is the national Asian language with English as L2, as well as anglophone students from Britain; whereas the immigrant student population in the French public school system originates from less developed countries overall, where they have been previously schooled in education systems that may be characterised by relatively fewer resources or lower national achievement statistics.

In another part of the newly-arrived immigrant student population, both France and NZ have a percentage of newly-arrived immigrant students who speak the language of schooling on arrival — British students in NZ, and students from francophone countries in France. In the case of France, the majority of immigrant students from francophone countries are additionally multilingual. For example, North African children are likely to speak French and/or Arabic, as well as another African language. However, the advantages of plurilingualism for these children are not capitalised on in French schools, as Arabic and African languages are scarcely taught, and plurilingual approaches to learning are not widely used in public schools.

So in both countries a significant proportion of the immigrant student population is defined by plurilingualism, and includes some speakers of French/English as a first language or strong L2. However, NZ's higher academic performance amongst immigrant students is explained in part by prior schooling that is performant by international standards, plus the fact that international fee-paying students tend to have academically high-achieving profiles; whereas French schools welcome more students from developing countries where education systems may transmit knowledge and skills that are less easily transferable to Western ways of learning and concepts of "achievement". So prior education, along with some level of mastery of the language of schooling of the host country, are likely to have a considerable impact on the child's academic performance throughout their schooling in the host country.

2. Curriculum

Both the curriculum of schooling and the pedagogical approaches in France and NZ have an enormous effect on academic outcomes for immigrant students. In NZ, the curriculum is open and flexible, and designed so that teachers are constantly creating course content for the students they are teaching. A strength of an open curriculum is that the teacher is able to design each course to engage with the lived realities of students. Assessment criteria for students at the age of 15 is however fixed, and teachers assess students on the content taught during the course, aligning it with assessment requirements.

In France, the curriculum is standardised for all public schools, and is revised annually by the Ministry of Education. At the age of 15, *collège* students sit an exam in their final year (3^{ème}), "*le diplôme national de Brevet*", and this together with the "*conseil de classe*" (consultation amongst teachers) determines whether the student will go onto high school, and whether it will be *lycée professionnel* or *lycée générale/technologique*. Students who fall behind the curriculum levels will be held back to redo the whole year before graduating to high school.

So the NZ system is generally designed to support students progressing at their own pace, and putting individual learning programmes in place for those who need more time to gain the basic Level 1 qualification, while they continue progressing through the school with their age cohort. Whereas students in the French system have one shot at the final exam, and it is not uncommon for students to repeat a whole year in their schooling.

3. Styles of teaching and learning

In terms of pedagogical approaches, teaching approaches in France and New Zealand are very different. The French style of teaching is "traditional" whole class teaching where the teacher stands at the front of the class and the whole class do activities set by the teacher, then the class respond to the teacher to mark the task. This context is challenging for a newly-arrived immigrant child, as in order to participate she needs to (a) understand the teacher's instructions and how to do the set task, (b) complete the task on her own, (c) formulate responses or questions in French in a timely manner, and (d) raise her hand to get the teacher's attention, and speak in French in front of the whole class. The NZ classroom tends to be more kinaesthetic and group-oriented, with students seated in groups to work together on problem-solving, teachers sometimes asking students to move desks to create new formations for an activity, or to move around the classroom gathering information from other students. There are often also teacher aides in the classroom to support specific students with high needs, under government-funded schemes, and newly-arrived immigrant students may be eligible for teacher aide support. In the NZ context, immigrant students therefore have multiple chances to

interact, to confirm or consolidate their understanding amongst peers or with a teacher aide, and to speak English in small groups rather than in front of the class.

4. “Diversity and equality”

A final point is the different interpretations of “diversity and equality” as both NZ and France are characterised by plurilingualism and cultural diversity, but when we talk about “diversity and equality” in a francophone/anglophone context, we are not talking about the same thing.

At first glance, we see that schooling objectives for immigrant children in both France and NZ are organised around learning the national language (French or English respectively), and the integration of children into school systems that do not specify a place for the immigrant child’s first language in their education. However, a difference that emerges at the outset is that of the founding principles upon which each education system has been built, and the effect on immigrant children in their schooling.

The French education system is linked to the founding principles of the Republic: that all people are treated equally. So that from a material and pedagogical point of view, immigrant students are viewed like all other students — they receive the same content knowledge and substantively the same learning trajectory. A differentiated treatment of immigrant students based on their diverse needs would be counter to the principle of *égalité* in the Republican sense of the word.

The NZ education system has evolved out of an alternative sense of equality — a form of social equity in diversity, that has developed out of its history as a British colony and a nation built by immigrants in bicultural relationship with Māori. The legacy of early European migrants who arrived in NZ with the vision of escaping the old class structures of Europe, and the intention of establishing a new social order of self-made men and women, continues to express itself in the country’s ongoing social construction through new waves of immigration. As such, NZ is still a “young country” peopled by immigrants and the descendants of immigrants. In this version of equality, the majority of New Zealanders were once immigrants, and the social task is to live harmoniously in a society that acknowledges and accepts diversity.

We can characterise these two versions of equality respectively as a French “*égalité*” that avoids making distinctions between immigrants and the local population as it would be a form of negative discrimination, yet France finds herself at a point of transition in response to the integration needs of its immigrant population; and a NZ “social equity” that positions diversity as the social norm of a young society with an immigrant past, and that is still evolving in response to the reality of its immigrant present — a more youthful and flexible attitude.

2.4 Conclusion

To conclude, PISA data reveals different outcomes both academically and psycho-socially for immigrant teenagers at the age of 15 in the French and NZ education systems. A brief introductory examination of underlying reasons for this sheds light on differences in how schools in France and NZ integrate and accompany newly-arrived immigrant students during the initial transition phase. Differences such as concepts of “equity/*égalité*” arise from social principles that are historically important in both countries, and that continue to shape education policy and practice. The differing styles of teaching and learning in French and NZ classrooms explain in part why immigrant students in NZ schools are academically perform better and express a stronger sense of belonging: the NZ approach that favours interaction, peer collaboration and one-on-one support from teacher aides, clearly advantages both development of the language of schooling and support for content input; whereas the French preference for whole-class, individual style of learning tends to disadvantage immigrant children.

Different approaches to the school curriculum is another key factor that explains why immigrant students in NZ perform academically on a par with native students, whereas in France immigrant students perform academically at 36% below native students. NZ’s open curriculum allows for teachers to choose content that engages immigrant students through including their histories, cultural perspectives and languages; whereas France’s nationally prescribed fixed curriculum imposes the same content on all students in French schools, leaving little room for the diverse identities of immigrant students to be included in classroom learning. These differing curricula are a product of educational policy in each country, and further explain PISA

findings that both immigrant and local students in NZ schools feel a much stronger sense of belonging and inclusion than both immigrant and local students in French schools. “Sense of belonging” is an important measure in PISA data, as children who feel safe and included at school learn better, as evidenced by numerous international studies (OECD, 2016).

OECD studies into how immigrant students best succeed in education also support the view that educational environments have a responsibility to become informed about the specific needs of immigrant students, and to adapt in order to advantage learning processes and outcomes for this group. OECD findings are highly interesting to this thesis research, as they place the child’s experience of schooling at the centre, and investigate both risk and protective factors in the educational environments of more than 80 countries. This highlights a circular effect in which the impact of educational policies and practices on the child’s educational success can be compared across countries, with the desirable result that governments can make use of this information to shape their policies and practices in order to improve educational outcomes for immigrant teenagers.

3. LANGUAGE

Language is the third element in the macro-systemic zone selected for comparison. The key questions about language at the outset are:

- (1) What are the characteristics of francophone/anglophone language policies?
- (2) How do these language policies inform the educational environment the immigrant child is learning within?

3.1 Characteristics of francophone / anglophone language policies

The English and French languages are both characterised by dominance over minority languages, and a widespread base of speakers throughout the world. English has become a global lingua franca, for better or worse, and the operational language within international domains such as the internet, technology and trade. The French language continues to dominate as the language of education in former French colonial territories, and is one of the official languages of the United Nations. Both the English and French languages therefore have a vested interest in maintaining language policies that support their linguistic hegemony.

Linguists point to the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis in order to explain how languages develop certain characteristics. The theory is that every language encompasses a particular world view, that is unique and articulated through the structure of the language. Supporters of this theory tend to attribute positive or negative characteristics to languages, for example that French is the only language that can express democratic ideals (1794 French parliamentary debates), or that English inherently expresses capitalism and the “worldwide homogenisation of cultures” (Maurais and Morris (eds), 2003, p.50). The dominance of both English and French is open to criticism by linguists and educators alike, who point to the fact that language policies specific to these two languages have arisen for purposes of maintaining forms of ideological supremacy propagated through linguistic dominance. One such policy is termed “geostrategies of language”, which is a strategy of linguistic dissemination in order to maintain the dominant position of the language through teaching, either as the national language of education, second language or as a foreign language (Maurais, 2003).

3.2 NZ’s bilingual language politic, France’s centralised language politic

Both English and French employ **geostrategies of language** (Maurais, 2003) that determine certain hierarchical language policies evident in New Zealand and France.

New Zealand, as a predominantly anglophone country with a small population, benefits from participation in an international English-speaking community, and NZ’s educational environment is consequently informed by policies to deliver quality EL (English Language) programmes to attract international students, particularly at tertiary level. Alongside this English language dominance however, Aotearoa New Zealand’s linguistic landscape is tempered by its bicultural constitution and the official status and presence of the Māori language.

The French territory comprises a rich diversity of regional languages, amongst which six are spoken in daily life and taught in bilingual schools: Alsatian, Basque, Breton, Catalan, Corse and Occitan. However, in spite

of France's signing of the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages in 1999, the French republican constitution continues to impede official recognition of regional languages on the basis that: "*aux principes constitutionnels d'indivisibilité de la République, d'égalité devant la loi et d'unicité du peuple français*" (Conseil Constitutionnel quoted in Liberation, 23/6/2018).⁶ Pro-language diversity commentators are critical of France's centralised language policy, which remains immovably monolingual in spite of the the nation's multilingual social composition that includes regional and immigrant languages:

"French language policy represents centrist policy par excellence, that is, a unilingual policy decreed from above, handed down and strictly controlled by a highly centralized state (multilingual, but refusing to recognize it)." (Schiffman, 1996, p.22)

France's linguistic politic is therefore clearly still working within a monolingual geostrategy, while NZ's straddles two linguistic realms — an English geostrategy in order to attract the benefits of an international market, coupled with a bilingual language politic that Māori have fought hard to establish.

An interesting link between national language policies in France and New Zealand is the notion of citizenship and the right to participation in social and political life⁷ (Smythe, 2018). In New Zealand, three languages have official status: English as the *de facto* national language (since British colonisation in 1840), Te Reo Māori as the indigenous language (and official language since 1987), and NZ Sign Language (an official language since 2006). The significance of according official language status to Māori and NZSL is that these languages, alongside or instead of English, can be used in legal proceedings, political affairs, education and all public domains, thereby emphasising inclusive participation in public life for indigenous language speakers and the deaf community. Disadvantages due to language barriers are redressed through a language policy that facilitates equal participation in public life, as one of the rights of citizenship in a democratic society. In France, the notion of citizenship is linked to republican ideology, and the right to participation in political life therefore centres on a monolingual language policy in which French is the one official national language, and the language unifies the people of France. The effect is however that the existing linguistic diversity of the French population is ignored, and plurilingual citizens — that is, speakers of regional languages who claim generations of French ancestry, and a rich linguistic and cultural heritage originating from pre-Republican history — are thereby marginalised by the one-language politic. Within this linguistic-political landscape, regional languages find themselves increasingly positioned as operating in resistance to the monolingual dominance of the French language, in spite of the historical longevity and indigenous origins of these regional languages.

We therefore see two different pictures emerging from language policies in NZ and France: one in which the indigenous language is accorded official space alongside the dominance of English, and the other in which regional language diversity is not recognised and languages must therefore be resilient and occupy unofficial space in resistance to the monolingual dominance of the French language.

3.3 Where do immigrant languages find a place?

International experts on educational policies and practices to support immigrant children concur that **students' languages of origin play a key role in successful school outcomes**. The ideal approach is one that integrates teaching and learning of the language of schooling (English or French, in this case) with immigrant students' first languages. In this way, literacy and proficiency in both languages can be developed together, as language skills are now understood to be transferable and interdependent, rather than functioning separately. The first priority in order for immigrant students to succeed in education is mastery of the language of schooling, and international research compiled by the OECD indicates that school programs that combine first language literacy with EL/FLS development give immigrant students a greater chance of success:

"Successful school programs tailor their second language-learning programs to the language backgrounds of their student populations.... When many different languages are represented, an ESL approach may be the most feasible approach. Optimally, ESL should be integrated throughout the curriculum with first language literacy supported by having ample reading materials available in a

⁶ Conseil constitutionnel quoted in the French government decision not to ratify the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages for reasons of unconstitutionality

⁷ Looks at the pathways of Te Reo Māori and NZSL towards official language status in NZ, through common aspects of citizenship and the right to participation.

students' first language; curriculum should encourage the use of students' first language to foster literacy in both languages while supporting content instruction.” (Suárez-Orozco, 2018, p.9)

Evidence from New Zealand supports these international findings, as studies comparing Māori students in bilingual and mainstream education systems show that students who have access to their first language in schooling achieve better academically than Māori students in English mainstream education. This is particularly interesting for this study on plurilingual teenagers, as Māori students attending bilingual high schools (*kura kaupapa*) are more likely to achieve higher level NCEA qualifications and gain University Entrance than their mainstreamed peers (ERO, 2016). Other findings from NZ studies report that schooling that includes the child's first language while at the same time developing bilingualism in English has led to improved outcomes for young Māori in employment and social participation (ERO, 2016). Other attributive factors in bilingually schooled children are a greater capacity for creative thinking and multitasking, and a sense of belonging within Māori community through participation in culturally significant practices, as well as intercultural competence.

Māori bilingual education is comparatively well-established and showing successful outcomes in New Zealand, while language policies for supporting first language literacy for immigrant students is less developed. However, the success story of educational policies for Māori language continuity provides fertile ground on which similar policies for immigrant languages could be seeded. Currently, the Ministry for Pacific Island Peoples is presenting a Bill to Parliament for official recognition of the five main Pacific Island community languages spoken in NZ⁸. If this Bill passes into law, Pacific Island languages will be eligible for improved support in education, and a higher profile presence in public affairs. At present, pro-active language policies initiated by schools in areas with the highest density of immigrant populations (particularly Pacific Island communities) are seen as establishing a potential model for NZ as a whole:

“Auckland is implementing a multilingual language strategy that actively promotes community languages within the city, and entails many measures that would transfer well to a national context (Warren 2017).” (Smythe, 2018, p.61)

New Zealand's current language policies are therefore demonstrating strongly inclusive practices in bilingual schooling for Māori students, supported by the special status of Te Reo Māori as an indigenous and official language. While it is neither appropriate nor desirable that immigrant languages attain the same status as Te Reo Māori, there is political space opening up for other community languages to be recognised and protected under NZ law – most prominently, Pacific Island languages. In the NZ context therefore, there is heightened awareness around the benefits of inclusion of first languages in education, that references and aligns itself with the success story of the bilingual Māori education movement. Progress towards greater inclusion of the first languages of immigrant students in their education is incremental, and initiated by schools in response to a perceived need to develop more “culturally inclusive and responsive pedagogy and assessment” for ethnic minority students (Houghton, 2015).

In France, and as discussed earlier, the case for official recognition of the country's regional languages is still being fought, and therefore any argument for bilingual education policies in immigrant languages stands on weaker ground. Notable French linguists such as Danièle Moore and Véronique Castellotti continue to advocate for language inclusiveness in the French education system, on the same basis as that of international findings – that bilingual education has multiple benefits for all students, and particularly beneficial outcomes for immigrant students. Castellotti describes methods of bilingual education in France as a form of “double monolingualism”, in which languages are taught as two separate systems of communication (Castellotti, 2008). That is, even in bilingual schools there is a taboo around contact between the two languages which reveals entrenched beliefs about the teaching and learning of languages: that inter-linguistic pedagogical approaches risk a contamination of one language by another. This separate treatment of languages is explained by an orientation of language policies in France that is founded on a monolingual ideology. The author goes further to describe a notion of “good plurilingualism” (that of students in international schools) and “bad plurilingualism” (that of immigrant children in public schools) that underpins French language policies in education. This attitude relegates immigrant languages, particularly non-European immigrant languages, to a low status within the languages hierarchy and even positions these languages as a threat to the monolingual status quo in the French education system:

⁸ This proposition, and the treatment of immigrant languages in high schools, is further developed in the section of this thesis titled “Language Inclusiveness”.

“... elles menacent, du fait de leurs différences (de statut, de conception du monde, de valeur symbolique), le pacte universaliste qui ne légitime, implicitement, que la pratique de langues «étrangères»; il convient alors de les rejeter, de les oublier, de les nier ...” (p.11)

So current French language policies remain in a state of juxtaposition between the national language and language diversity. However, French linguists and Council of Europe education experts alike continue to advocate strongly for a revision and renewal of French language policy, in order that plurilingualism be embraced as a social fact and pursued as a positive educational goal in French schools.

3.4 Conclusion

In conclusion, language policies in France and New Zealand, and the consequent treatment of languages in the immigrant child’s education, are explained by a series of links between:

- (a) the characteristics of francophone and anglophone language policies, and linguistic dominance of the French and English languages;
- (b) the status of regional languages in France and the indigenous Māori language in NZ, and how national language policies include or exclude these native languages; and
- (c) how immigrant languages are treated in schools.

In essence, both French and English share **a set of characteristics** that drive language policy development: both occupy a significant status amongst world languages — English as an international *lingua franca* and French as an official language in 39 nations comprising a francophone community of more than 300 million speakers. Both French and English seek to maintain linguistic hegemony, thereby dominating minority languages through “**geostrategies of language**” — that is, teaching of the language as either a national language, second language or foreign language. It is these shared characteristics that underpin national language policies in France and New Zealand, and that ultimately shape the treatment of regional/indigenous languages and subsequently immigrant languages in schools.

The unrecognised status of **regional languages** in France is clearly an obstacle to any real progress towards more inclusive national language policies. Language policies that officialise regional and indigenous languages also serve the dual function of strengthening democracy and human values in society. France’s non-ratification of ILO69 signals the social and political marginalisation of regional linguistic communities, and raises important questions about democratic values. Is the term “Republican democracy” an oxymoron? Can democracy be qualified as “republican”, in order to justify exclusionist language policies? As discussed above, notions of citizenship and the right to participation in political life in France are clearly linked to Republican principles and a centralised language policy that excludes all languages other than French. With 272,000 students learning regional languages⁹ (2011-2012), can France continue to ignore the high linguistic diversity of her regional language communities, and the commitment already made to bilingual education in the regions?

In French schools, language diversity is perceived as a threat to the monolingual status quo, and **immigrant languages** are therefore little taught within the curriculum, with English dominating as a foreign language choice¹⁰. The choice to retain the monolingual authority of French in the education system reflects France’s Republican constitutional values of “indivisibility of the Republic, equality under the law of a unified French people”.

In Aotearoa New Zealand’s schools, the success of **Māori bilingual education** in improving academic outcomes for Māori students has paved the way for schools with sizeable populations of plurilingual students to trial more linguistically and culturally inclusive approaches (Auckland schools with Pasifika students, for example). NZ’s bicultural constitutional imperative is evident in language policies to promote and protect the Māori language, and to ensure its vitality for future generations through education. So although NZ is a

⁹ Note that a landmark law change was adopted in France for the protection of regional languages on 8/4/2021.

¹⁰ 2002 statistics show that at *collège*, 90.38% of students learn English as a second language. Other languages learned are German (8.75%), Spanish (0.7%), Italian (0.06%), Russian (0.06%), Arabic (0.02%) and Portuguese (0.01%). (Senat, accessed 2/5/2018)

predominantly English-speaking country¹¹, the status of Māori as an official language is key in assuring the government's delivery on constitutional promises to protect the rights and interests of Māori.

In comparing the current treatment of immigrant languages in French and NZ schools therefore, both countries continue to operate language policies largely governed by the dominance of the national language, with questions of language inclusiveness informed by indigenous and regional languages debates.

Chapter 1 conclusion: Immigration, Education, Language

In conclusion, Chapter 1 sought to begin responding to one of the main questions of this research: *How do policies and practices of immigration, education and language inform the educational environment that the immigrant child is learning within?* This chapter situated France and New Zealand within the current international context of immigration, education and language, the three main elements selected from the macro-systemic zone for this research.

Current policies in immigration, education and language are mutually informed in a circular dynamic, creating conditions within educational environments that either support or impede immigrant students' learning. Since the 2015 PISA results, the number of plurilingual newly-arrived immigrant children in schools in France and New Zealand has increased, due to immigration. Educational environments are being challenged to evolve to effectively meet new conditions created by a changing demographic in the school population, and to better serve significant numbers of immigrant students who are particularly vulnerable to educational failure.

This study's hypothesis is that *“educational environments that allow space for plurilingual learning approaches create a platform from which to improve learning processes, engagement and construction of knowledge, thereby encouraging more effective learning for newly-arrived immigrant students”*. This chapter's exploration of factors in educational environments that impact on immigrant students in their learning reveals a range of important initial findings:

- The OECD points to a “critical transition phase” for newly arrived immigrant students, during which they have multiple needs in language learning, school subject learning and integration into school life. Schools that put strategies in place to accompany students during this critical transition phase, show improved academic and social outcomes. Education policies should therefore seek to enable schools by promoting strategies for success for immigrant students, informed by OECD findings from international studies on best policies and practices to help immigrant students succeed.
- A related OECD finding is that students' sense of safety and inclusion at school allows learning to take place, whereas stress is a risk to both cognitive learning and psycho-social wellbeing. This has particular implications for newly-arrived immigrant students in their learning of the language-of-schooling, as a child who feels safe and included in the classroom is able to relax and learn: *“a positive affect facilitates language acquisition to take place”* (OECD, 2018). This supports my hypothesis that teaching approaches that include the child's first language in their schooling create a platform for success.

In brief, **international findings agree that schools that adapt teaching and learning approaches for the safety and inclusion of newly-arrived immigrant students, set their students up for better language learning and integration over the long-term.** In this finding, the circular symbiotic influence of policies in immigration, education and language is evident: the role of education policies is to create the best conditions in schools for all students to succeed, and due to increasing diversity in school populations (with an additional increase in students from an asylum-seeker or refugee background) a high priority in classrooms is to develop effective language teaching and learning approaches to support immigrant students. Therefore, national education policy makers need to revisit and re-evaluate existing language policies, in consultation with teachers and education advisers, with a view to integrating education and language policies for a cohesive “languages for education” approach. A desirable outcome from this would be a language-oriented educational approach that enables teachers to meet the challenge of our plurilingual and culturally diverse student populations.

¹¹ NZ Statistics 2013, top 4 languages spoken in NZ: 96.1% of the population are English speakers (either as L1 or L2), 3.7% are Māori speakers, 2.2% are Samoan speakers, and 1.7% are speakers of Hindi. (NZ Census, 2013)

Chapter 2

National identities: histories of immigrants

Chapter 2 examines the national context of immigration in France and NZ, beginning with the concept of a French national identity as Republican, and a common identity as European; and the notion of a New Zealand national identity built on biculturalism (Māori and pākeha), from which a stronger multicultural identity is evolving. There are areas of similarity and difference in these concepts of “self” and “other”, and how notions of national identity inform social attitudes towards immigration in two ways: (i) the direction of immigration policies, as it seeks to find a middle-road between serving the interests of the local population (“self”) and balancing the various interests of immigration politics (economic, humanitarian, etc); and (ii) the inclusion of certain types of immigrants, and the exclusion of other types of immigrants.

Concepts of “self” and “other” are further critiqued in this chapter, looking at threats to national identity and exploring the question of who is positioned as “other” amongst the immigrant population in 2018. I question how religion / spirituality have shaped current political ideologies of immigration: *laïcité* in France and *Māoritanga* in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Key questions:

- How do notions of national identity inform social attitudes towards immigration?
- How have *laïcité* (in France) and *Māoritanga* (in NZ) shaped current political ideologies of immigration?

Introduction

This chapter is divided into two sections. In Section A, the immigration histories of both NZ and France reveal negative and positive stereotypes of immigrants. These are characterised and compared in three main ways:

1. Stereotypes of low socio-economic status and school failure. .
2. Economy-driven immigration politics.
3. Communities created by notions of national identity.

Section B highlights differences in the ways in which religion (*laïcité*) or spirituality (*Māoritanga*) impact on the political space in both countries, and in turn shape current political ideologies of immigration.

Section A: Histories still influence the present

1. France's Republican tradition

France was established as one of the earliest republics in the world, on the 22nd of September 1792, under the National Convention. France's political ideology is entrenched in founding documents created at that time, notably the key document *Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen* (Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen) in August 1789. The ideals that drive the French Republic are expressed in this constitutional declaration, and still apply to this day.



The French Republic of today grew out of France's history as a territory occupied by the Gauls during the Iron Age — a Celtic people who lived tribally in an area covering present France, Belgium, Luxembourg and parts of the Netherlands, Switzerland, Germany and Italy. The ancient limits of Gaul were the Rhine River and the Alps on the east, the Mare Nostrum (Mediterranean Sea), the Po Valley and the Pyrenees on the south, and the Atlantic Ocean on the west and north.

France was annexed by Julius Caesar in 51BC, and remained part of the Roman Empire until 476AD when a Germanic tribal people, the Franks, invaded and established the Christian Kingdom of France.

During the late Middle Ages, France became a major European power after her victory in the Hundred Years' War (1337-1453). The artistically rich period of the Renaissance followed, during which French culture flourished. During the 16th century France underwent religious wars between Catholics and Protestants (the Huguenots), and some of my very own ancestors (Beaumont) fled as religious refugees to Ireland! Under the rule of Louis XIV during the 17th century, France dominated Europe economically, militarily and artistically. The French Revolution of the 18th century was the event that remains politically significant to this day in terms of the French political ideology. The Revolution saw the overthrow of the monarchy and the French aristocracy, and the establishment of the French Republic founded on the will of the people — a decisive moment in French politics that replaced the old form of sovereignty under rule of the monarchy with popular sovereignty. Furthermore, in replacing monarchical rule with a people's constitution, France led Europe in taking a radical, revolutionary approach to political power structures and governance. 1789 marks the date from which France asserted a set of political and **citizens' rights that formed the bedrock of her ideological mindset as a republic**, and the date from which a wave of new political ideology began to emerge on the European continent — the beginning of a Golden Age in political progress (Andress, 2018).

2. Aotearoa New Zealand: a young bicultural nation

Aotearoa New Zealand's story is one of a remote South Pacific island peopled by the *tāngata whenua* Māori, then discovered and settled by Europeans during the late 18th century. The subsequent 200 years of history, from early pre-colonial contact between Māori and Europeans, through to post-colonial sovereign rule, have formed NZ's national identity as a fundamentally bicultural nation. NZ, as a former colonial territory of England, is a constitutional monarchy and democracy, and retains as the Head of State Queen Elizabeth II. The founding document is the Treaty of Waitangi, signed on 6th February 1840 at Government House in Waitangi, as a set of principles¹² under which Māori tribes and the British government formally constituted bicultural New Zealand (Waitangi Tribunal, 2018).

From this first formalised expression of a bicultural form of governance, New Zealand's national ideology has developed to embrace **elements of both Māori and European cultural outlooks**. A prominent example is the "Kiwi" perspective on the natural world, that is shaped by the Māori philosophical view of nature as a living spiritual entity that we have a responsibility to protect — the concept of *kaitiakitanga* or guardianship. Alongside this, sits the European notion of nature as an economic resource, which finds expression in the way that the NZ government has developed a tourism industry that generates around NZ\$34 billion annually and is increasingly one of NZ's largest export industries (Tourism NZ website). A bicultural approach is evident in that the government consults with local Māori *iwi* on aspects of conservation and protection of nature, while at the same time promoting tourism activities in the natural environment that generated 17.9% of GDP in 2017 (NZ\$47.5 billion) (NZ Tourism statistics, 2018).

New Zealand's national identity is more complex than the bicultural relationship — it is a small country characterised by multiple and overlapping sets of identities. As well as the bicultural foundation established between Māori and *pākehā*, it is also important to understand New Zealand's national identity in terms of ecosystemic relationships, influences and interests. For example:

- Pacific islands and Aotearoa's strong Pasifika friendships and connections
- Asia-Pacific trading and economic relations
- Asian migration to NZ: from early history of Chinese migrants (1800s) to new stories of young Asian migrants (China, Japan, South Korea, Taiwan ...)
- European ancestry of many New Zealanders (Scandinavian, German, French, Dutch)
- The anglophone, ex-colonial relationship with Great Britain
- Recent and ongoing immigration from all over the world (new stories of migration and resettlement being created)

NZ's political ideology can be characterised therefore as: (a) rooted in the bicultural relationship developed over almost 250 years of contact between Māori and Europeans, and (b) further shaped by NZ's relatively short history as a young nation that has grown out of successive waves of immigrants. As such, NZ's political ideology is quite future-oriented, optimistic and youthful on the one hand — social change in

¹² The Waitangi Tribunal describes 9 principles that illustrate the nature of the partnership entered into between Māori and Europeans in under the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi, that are referenced today in restitutive land settlement claims between the NZ government and Māori tribes. These principles include partnership, reciprocity, autonomy, active protection, mutual benefit, equity, equal treatment and redress.

response to new waves of immigration is an inherent part of NZ's social make-up, and legislation and policy tend to adapt accordingly, creating a dynamic and at times experimental tenor in the governance style. At the same time, the bicultural nature of NZ's governance has a stabilising effect on the otherwise forwardly-mobile political ideology. The government's decision-making processes include consultation with Māori, and representation of Māori concerns and interests in any proposed changes to law or policy, to honour the rights accorded to Māori under the Treaty of Waitangi. This dualistic ideology captures both the political importance of biculturalism in NZ, as the legal and intentional principle upon which NZ was founded in 1840; and alongside this, the "young nation" mindset of a country with a population demographic that is 86% immigrant¹³, and the resulting political ideology that tends to embrace legislative change and a fairly responsive approach to the multicultural composition of NZ society.

3. Who is "really" French or Kiwi?

What is there to compare in these two very different stories of the national identity and political ideologies?

Firstly, the length of establishment of "a civilised society" (as defined from a Western point of view) is centuries longer in France than in New Zealand. French society has had several thousand years to establish a sense of ownership in terms of occupation of the land, social and political structure, and importantly, linguistic and cultural hegemony. "Being French" equates with claiming ancestral ties that stretch back to ethnically and culturally Gaulish roots, thus defining the "self" as French through heritage.

New Zealand society is much younger and was formed through a different process — the very process of immigration and colonisation. So "being a New Zealander" was originally inherited through strength of character — that is, the early colonists succeeded in NZ thanks to their pioneering spirit and capacity to work hard to build a new life in an unknown land. Every New Zealander, apart from the Māori *tangata whenua*, is an immigrant, either by ancestral links or directly. One outcome of this difference is that the sense of "self" in NZ is more connected with the immigrant experience, and therefore more easily identifies with the multicultural nature of a society that is defined by its very diversity, thus reducing the gap between "self" and "other".

The immigrant "other" in French society is positioned at a greater distance from the "self", who defines being French as a question of birth right dating back over generations. The "self" as a French citizen is furthermore a concept that identifies strongly with the peoples' revolution of 1789, and the fact that ancestors of French people fought for a set of political and civil rights that continue to define citizenship and civil political participation today. This positioning of "who is French" in the national psyche therefore anchors "what it is to really be French" even more in a unique social history that represents a shared history, a common understanding of social values, and the collective political will of the people.

4. How do language and culture signify belonging?

How do language and culture signify belonging? Like a set of Russian dolls, we find concentric pairs of "self-other" relationships in both countries, which show perceptions of difference between "us" and "them".

While New Zealander's are proud of our multicultural image, we are less ready to own of what Anne Salmond recently termed "*a dark power in the land ... a black strand woven through our history as a nation*" (Salmond, 19/3/2019) — racism and a historically-derived sense of racial superiority. It determines who is considered "self" and who are situated on a continuum of degrees of "otherness" in the *pākehā*-dominated national psyche. The official rhetoric and what lies buried in the social consciousness are complex and conflicting. At this time in NZ's history, days after the heinously racist act of the Christchurch Mosque shootings, we are confronted with our dark underbelly in race relations, and it is a time for honest reflection on what lies beneath our self-proclaimed national identity as an inclusive, multicultural nation.

Beginning at the beginning of the "self-other" story, NZ's bicultural constitutional basis prioritises agreement and cohabitation between Māori and *pākehā*. As such, *pākehā* consider ourselves of "original New Zealand stock" — descendants of the first colonial settlers who negotiated with Māori for access to land and resources, the pioneering Europeans who set up farms and businesses, and established the foundations of New Zealand society. This "self-other" pairing is signified by the two official languages recognised in New

¹³ The term "immigrant" here means any person in the population who is not Māori. This refers to the fact that all non-Māori New Zealanders are descendants of immigrants, or first generation immigrants themselves.

Zealand: English and Māori; and by cultural markers of belonging such as genealogy, accent and values that allow us to define ourselves as “Kiwis by descent”.

This sense of originality produces a second pairing — that of “Kiwis by descent” and new immigrants to NZ. From this perspective, the status of new immigrants is signified by cultural markers of “otherness”, such as a foreign accent, no genealogical connection to New Zealand, and imported values evident in other ways of living. In recent waves of new types of immigrants to NZ, we are seeing the beginnings of a reshuffling of existing social hierarchies, with new economic interests arriving in the form of business investors from Hong Kong and China, and increasing numbers of international fee-paying students from Asia. What was once positioned within the national psyche as “the Asian other” is now becoming the “economically desirable other”, as evidenced by recently reforms in immigration policy that open new categories of visas for Chinese students and foreign investors in NZ’s economy. NZ’s immigration policy strictly controls length and purpose of stay, according to selective immigration policies — country of origin and economic status being two of the criteria. English-speaking countries have traditionally been given preference, with Australian immigrants to NZ being the most numerous due to geographical proximity and a bilateral immigration policy, and British and US migration also on the rise since the Brexit referendum in 2016 and the Trump government¹⁴ (Financial Times, 12/11/2017).

Similarly in France, language and culture also signify who “belongs” and who doesn’t. We see a differentiation of treatment between the original French Gaulois as “self” and *étrangers / immigrés* as two distinct categories of immigrants. Recent statistics on the immigrant population in France for 2014 reflect that there are 4.2 million *étrangers* and 6 million *immigrés* living in France, being 6.4% and 9.1% of the population respectively. The average proportion of immigrants across EU countries is 7.2%, while in France it is 6.6% (Insee, 2018). French law divides the immigrant population into two categories: (i) *étranger*: a person residing in France who does not have French nationality, but who may have been born in France to at least one foreign parent; and (ii) *immigré*: a person residing in France who was born overseas; this includes people who have since obtained French nationality. This definition was adopted by the High Council of Integration in 1991, and it is interesting that a person who is defined as “*immigré*” retains that status permanently in the eyes of the law, even if he/she later obtains French nationality through living in France:

“La qualité d’immigré est permanente : un individu continue à appartenir à la population immigrée même s’il devient français par acquisition.” (Insee website, 4/7/2018).

It is also interesting that children descended from foreign parents (one or both) are also defined as “not yet French”, even if born in France. These second generation immigrant children can apply for French nationality after the age of 13, as long as they have been raised in France. The combined effect is that immigrants and their children are treated statistically, politically and administratively as a special category of the population, slightly marginalised, and “not as French” as French nationals.

Both countries therefore have in common **a differentiated treatment of immigrants, which highlights the dynamics of social change that occur through immigration**, and how immigration policies manage immigration flows in response. In both NZ and France there is an interplay between (a) tensions and resistance to social change arising from the desire to retain the status quo of rights to full citizenship gained incrementally, and only with certain conditions fulfilled (eg, mastery of the national language, time spent living in the country); and (b) a selective attitude towards “desirable and less desirable” immigration, defined by variables such as economic investment, foreign relations agendas, or cultural and linguistic proximity.

5. Stereotypes of immigrants

The subject of immigrant children and their achievements in school is surrounded by stereotypes, fixed ideas about how “success” is measured, the role of both formal and informal pedagogy, the child’s own psychological construction, and the influence of parents on the child’s success in school. In this section, we look at how France and NZ’s respective histories with immigrants have developed particular types of “self-other” relationships from which stereotypes linger; and the current rhetoric around immigrants that echoes past patterns and assumptions.

¹⁴ Up 95% and 65% respectively in 2017.

5.1 French stereotypes of immigrants

A persistent stereotype around immigrant children in France is that, particularly on arrival in the host country, the parents are socio-economically disadvantaged, and the family situation is marked by a lack of resources — financial, social, linguistic and cultural — that have a negative impact not only on the immigrant child's success in school, but on the surrounding population. During the 1990s in France, school failure became labelled “a national social problem” (Chauveau, 1996). As Bouteyre describes it:

“Le phénomène migratoire apparaît alors comme une des causes de l'échec scolaire. L'inquiétude que génère cet échec scolaire et avec lui les pronostics défavorables à la réussite sociale, est focalisée sur les enfants de migrants. On les désigne comme des enfants systématiquement en échec. Ils sont accusés de faire “baisser le niveau scolaire” des classes.” (Bouteyre, 2004, p.2)

This framing of immigrant children as the cause of nationally declining school results during the 1990s, positions them as an unwelcome social by-product of immigration and the host of social ills it was perceived to bring with it. So where have these negative stereotypes come from? A history of economic migration over the past 100 years brought migrant workers and their families to France, largely for reasons of seeking opportunity and improving economic circumstances. France relied on immigrant labour to build her economy during the industrial revolution, and to rebuild after WWI and WWII. These three distinct waves of immigration formed significant spikes in France's demography, and provide a kind of socio-political map of the type of relationships France has formed over time with her immigrant population. In looking briefly at each period of immigration, we gain a picture of the historical function of migrant labour in France, and begin to see how social perceptions of limiting migrants to the role of manual workers employed en masse in order to fulfil specific tasks for a defined period has become a stereotype fixed in the national psyche.

(i) 1900-1911, industrial revolution

During 1900-1911, large numbers of workers¹⁵ arrived from nearby European countries (Belgium, Italy, Poland, Spain, Portugal) to fill newly created jobs in infrastructure industries such as materials production and building of railways, bridges, canals, viaducts and tunnels. The population in France in 1911 is estimated at 39.6 million inhabitants, with an additional immigrant population of 1.3 million, who were almost exclusively employed as manual labourers (Luttins, undated).

(ii) Post-WWI, rebuilding after the war

Post WWI, immigrant labour was again a solution to help with national reconstruction following the war, with labour import coming largely from Algeria. Armenian and Spanish refugees also arrived and were employed to work the docks. During the 1920s, France was a country with a buoyant economy and an open liberal policy towards refugees. Agreements were signed to facilitate refugee migration, which included a large percentage of minors. By 1931, an estimated 2.7 million immigrants were living in France, making up 6.6% of the total population. This immigrant population was largely male (156 men to 100 women), half of whom were aged between 15-39. The majority (60%) were employed as immigrant labour. This made France the world's foremost immigrant country in 1931, relative to her domestic population (Insee, 2012, p.98).

(iii) Post-WWII, rebuilding after the war

Following the second world war and significant losses of men (an estimated 600,000), a ravaged France again sought immigrant labour as a solution to rebuilding the country. This time, immigration was managed under new international conventions such as the UNHCR Refugee Convention, and France set up *l'Office National d'Immigration* (ONI) in 1945, and *l'Office français de protection des réfugiés et apatrides* (Ofpra) in 1952.

The early 1960s heralded a fresh period of immigrant relations between France and other countries, with the signing of agreements between the ONI and Spain (1961), North African countries (1963), and Turkey and Yugoslavia (1965). Algerian citizens were granted free circulation in France from 1962, however in

¹⁵ INSEE has some data available on immigration to France dating from 1911, but detailed statistics are only available dating from the early 1960s.

1964 the number of immigrants was capped according to a quota. Algerian immigrants formed the majority group in 1954, at 212,000; and by 1974 numbers had swelled to 711,000 (Insee, 2012, p.100).

In summary, and just by visiting three key periods in French immigration history, we see that historically, immigration developed around an immigrant labour market in which labourers and factory workers were employed to work in industrial and building sectors — manual and physical work. During critical periods of developing the country's transport systems and roading infrastructure, and reconstructing public buildings and housing after the destruction caused by two wars, France needed a sizeable body of labour. This demand was filled by migrant labour, largely unskilled and classified as "*ouvriers spécialisés immigrés*", the lowest rung on the employment hierarchy, creating a substantial working class made up of temporary migrant labour. Can we say from this that the term "*immigré*" became synonymous with the lowest-paid manual workers of France's history, who, being mobile and transient, undoubtedly occupied a marginal and make-shift space on the fringes of French society? It is possible, and therefore probable that this historical immigrant profile has led to a stereotyped image in the national consciousness of the migrant population in France — as manual labourers with low education who remain segregated and foreign in the public imagination.

These three periods of economic migration were followed by an economic crisis with the oil shock of 1973, and on the 3rd of July 1974, Jacques Chirac's government officially closed borders to immigration. The closing of borders has been called "a turning-point" in France's immigration policy (Laurens, 2008), following which policies that focused on stemming and deterring immigration flows were implemented. Guidauron (2001) explains France's record number of law changes in the area of immigration by the electoral system, which emphasises left-right wing political divides on social issues, due to the first-past-the-post system. Immigration policy in France has become characterised by an anti-immigration stance; the "*immigration zéro*" policy of the early 1990s becoming translated into the Pasqua law of 1993 under which foreign graduates were prohibited from accepting job offers in France, foreign spouses who had been illegally in France before marriage were denied residency permits, and the waiting period for family reunifications was extended from one year to two years. The law currently still denies French citizenship to children born in France of foreign parents, who can only obtain French citizenship after the age of 13 years, under residency conditions (Insee, 2012, p.96).

If we return to the opening question about where stereotypes of immigrants have come from in the French social and political psyche, there are several findings that emerge around France's relationship with immigration:

- Immigrants have historically supplied labour during critical periods of France's economic development and post-war rebuilding.
- During times of economic boom, France welcomed large numbers of immigrants and signed agreements with other European countries to facilitate immigration.
- During times of economic recession, France has looked at immigration as a source of negative economic impact, and has legislated accordingly to stem and deter immigration flows.
- Currently, immigrants are categorised in ways that define and limit access to French nationality. This has an impact on second generation immigrant children.

5.2 New European stereotypes

Amid the media attention currently given to asylum seekers and refugee migrants, new stereotypes are being reinforced — of refugees as homeless, refusing to leave, seeking to take advantage of French welfare benefits— again, we are seeing migrants represented as a social problem. In an interview on radio France Culture (2/7/2018), journalist and professor of African studies, Stephen Smith, described that the stereotypes that are generally held of refugees as very poor, desperate, and potentially criminal are mitigated by the fact that people do not migrate when they are very poor, but only when they have a certain financial capacity. Smith advocates for circular migration agreements between France and African countries, so that people can come to work for fixed periods, without their families, and then repatriate with the option of returning to work in France at a future date. Smith describes himself as "pro-migration" and states that this would be like a form of aid money on an individual basis, that would also offer an intellectual return to the country of origin, without the problems of permanent migration.

While this proposal certainly presents a mutual economic solution, one questionable outcome is that the “social problem” of migrant children in schools disappears in this hypothetical situation. Migrant children are again framed as part of the problem, with a proposed solution being to exclude children from migrating with working parents. Is there an echo of a return to the immigration patterns of the early 20th century, when large numbers of men were employed as immigrant labourers for fixed periods, thereafter returning home to their families?

6. New Zealand stereotypes of immigrants

In New Zealand, stereotypes around immigrant children in schools are divided into two contrasting perceptions of statistical school failure on the one hand, and success on the other: (a) immigrant Pacific Island students who are “at risk” of school failure, due to socio-economic status and language barriers; and (b) international fee-paying students who come from socio-economically privileged backgrounds and usually arrive in NZ with a sound basis in prior schooling from their home country. The educational outcomes of these two groups of immigrant students have an effect on NZ’s performance in international measures of educational success, such as PISA and OECD reports, and in response, the government has commissioned a series of reports on strategies for inclusion, acceleration and improving education delivery for immigrant students at both ends of the achievement spectrum.

6.1 Pasifika “at risk”

This first group of “at risk” immigrant students is characterised by low socio-economic status and school achievement that is lower than the national averages, particularly at high school. Pasifika people make up 7.4% of the population in NZ (NZ Census 2013) and are the fourth largest ethnic group in the country. The Pacific Island immigrant population is grouped around two major cities, with two-thirds of the community living in Auckland, and one-third in Wellington. In terms of employment and income statistics, the Pacific Island community is stigmatised by low employment rates (just under two-thirds of Pasifika adults in employment), and lower than national average incomes (the median annual income is 35% lower than the national median). In education, Pasifika students are also portrayed as underachieving at high school, relative to national statistics on other ethnic groups. In 2016, 43% of Pasifika school leavers graduated high school with a qualification at Level 3 NCEA or above. While this represents an increase of 1.9% on outcomes for Pacific Island school leavers in 2015, it is still 11.8% below the national averages for non-Pasifika students. The Education Review Office conducted a series of reports on education of Pacific Island children in NZ schools (2009, 2010, 2012) with similar conclusions:

“The overall result was disappointing. Despite a government focus on Pacific achievement and initiatives in place to target and monitor that achievement, we found little evidence of a system-wide improvement. More can be done to accelerate the progress of individual Pacific learners who are not achieving well.” (ERO, 2012)

Similarly to the stereotypical view of immigrant children as lowering national results in education in France, Pasifika children occupy this negative position in the national education picture in New Zealand. Pacific Island children have been identified as underachieving within the NZ education system, as the system carries an innate set of fixed ideas about how “success” is measured. That is, “success” centres on student performance in literacy and numeracy, which (i) are two of the key measures in international PISA statistics that rank school systems globally, and (ii) are a requisite in final school qualifications (National Certificate of Educational Achievement: NCEA) that determine a young person’s access to tertiary education.

The advice to schools on improving education outcomes for Pasifika young people highlights both the flexibility and constraints of the NZ education curriculum and NCEA assessment. The curriculum is designed to be broad and open, so that schools and teachers can create learning that is relevant to the cultural contexts, interests and future aspirations of students from diverse backgrounds. This is a strength of the curriculum which, coupled with teaching and learning resources available to schools on the tki.org website, allows scope for teaching to include the cultural knowledges and histories of ethnic minority students. A constraint of the education system at high school level, is that the new NCEA assessments are fairly rigid and reflective of non-Pasifika ways of evaluating learning, particularly in measuring literacy.

In order to access tertiary education in NZ, students are required to gain credits in reading and writing at NCEA Level 2. These literacy credits are attached to a wide range of school subjects and unit standards,

however the requirement to demonstrate a developed level of reading and writing in English (or Te Reo Māori) is prohibitive for many immigrant students. For example, a Pasifika student who is studying Dance can be evaluated in reading and/or writing skills by analysing the development of dance in Aotearoa, and could choose a Pacific Island dance form to study, thereby sharing and deepening cultural knowledge that is relevant to a Pacific identity. However, the student's work will be evaluated on reading and writing skills, with no scope for oral presentation (through story-telling, speech or song), or visual evaluation (through film or visual arts), which would allow the student to showcase their knowledge orally, without the constraints of writing to an academic level in English. As a further example, a Pasifika student at Auckland Grammar School, Joseph Iosefu, made national news in 2012 with his spoken word commentary on stereotypes of Pacific young people as underachievers, a performance which was stunning in its power as a spoken word piece, but as a piece of writing would perhaps not have achieved the required literacy standards. Therefore, the situation for Pasifika learners in NZ schools is that they continue to "under-perform" relative to their non-Pasifika peers, yet the expectation remains that this group of immigrant students adapt to the constraints of the education system, and that teachers do their maximum to engage and accompany Pasifika students within an education system that measures their "success" against a non-Pasifika set of educational criteria. It is a style of integration that results in unequal outcomes, as borne out by the low numbers of Pacific Island people in tertiary education, employment and higher-end salary jobs in NZ. I argue that for better outcomes for immigrant students, and Pasifika students in this case, education systems need to provide a diverse range of measures for "success", alongside which the role of both formal and informal pedagogy can be given consideration.

6.2 International fee-paying student stereotypes

At the other end of the spectrum in terms of NZ's attitudes towards immigrant children in education, there is the international fee-paying student industry, which contributed an estimated \$4.4 billion to the New Zealand economy in 2017, with 125,392 international students in the NZ education system (NZ International Education Strategy, 2018-2030). Most of these students come from China, a country that has historical immigration ties with New Zealand, the history of which tell a chequered story of racial discrimination and economic exchange. A brief overview of Chinese immigration to NZ reveals historical prejudices and a national attitude towards Chinese immigrants that welcomes the economic benefits of Chinese investment, yet fears "an Asian invasion"¹⁶ and the possibility of being overwhelmed by large numbers of Chinese arrivals (Te Ara website).

(i) Early 19th century settlement period

NZ's settlement policy in the early 19th century was defined by the British government as a nation-building enterprise to establish a "fairer Britain of the South Seas" (Te Ara website). The focus was on colonising New Zealand with white British immigrants, organised under the Wakefield settlement scheme of the 1840s-1850s. In 1853, Edward Gibbon Wakefield proposed an immigration plan to import Chinese manual labourers and servants, which was rejected on the basis that the colony would be overrun by "ignorant, slavish, and treacherous Coolie-slaves" (NZ Spectator, 1853, p.3 on Te Ara website).

(ii) 1850s-1880s

The first recorded ethnic Chinese arrived in NZ during the 1850s, as gold prospectors in the Otago region of the South Island. Descendants of these first immigrants from the Guangdong province in China remain settled in the South Island, and are known as "Old Generation Chinese". Chinese men arrived to work the gold fields, and it was not until just prior to WWII that wives and children of Chinese labourers from Guangdong were allowed to settle in NZ as refugees.

During the 1860s-1880s, Chinese immigrants were subjected to intense racial discrimination in NZ. European NZers felt threatened by the economic competition of Chinese gold-miners, and anti-Chinese sentiment was rife. In 1881, the Chinese Immigration Act imposed a head tax of £10 on every Chinese person entering the country, and entry was limited to one immigrant per 10 tons of cargo. Known as the "Poll Tax", the sum was increased to £100 per Chinese immigrant in 1896, and the ratio raised to one Chinese person per 200 tons of cargo.

¹⁶ The term "Asian invasion" has been widely used in NZ media, first used by the NZ First Party's leader Winston Peters during the mid-1990s, in response to a growing unease in New Zealand about the level of immigration from Asia.

(iii) 1987 - today

A change to immigration policy in 1987 created new, more egalitarian criteria for residence visas in NZ, based on education, profession, business, age and assets, and Chinese immigration increased. The “New Generation Chinese” community today in NZ numbers around 171,000 ethnically Chinese, with origins in China (51%), Malaysia (6%), Taiwan (5%), Hong Kong (4%) and other countries (6%). Chinese represent 4% of the population, being the largest non-Polynesian ethnic group in NZ. Most of these are recent migrants, with only 26.6% of the Chinese immigrant population being born in New Zealand (NZ Census, 2013).

In summary, some of New Zealand’s negative national attitudes towards Chinese immigrants have been shaped by a sense of competition for resources and racial hierarchy dating back to the early 19th century. British settlers seeking to establish a new sense of nationhood and identity as “New Zealanders”, classified Chinese not as settlers and co-founders of the new nation, but as immigrant labourers whose right to entry was strictly controlled through immigration law until 1987. A further characterisation of NZ’s national attitude towards Chinese immigrants, historically but even more so in recent years, is an interest in the financial advantages of Chinese investment, coupled with residues of the historical fear of a second colonisation through large numbers of Chinese arrivals.

As a country with a small population of under 5 million, NZ controls immigration through a stratified system of short-term visa entry for work, study and tourism purposes, plus several categories for specific countries and purposes. We are now seeing a swing to the opposite extreme of this historically restrictive immigration policy that sought to exclude Chinese while giving preference to British immigrants, as in 2017 and 2018 a number of new visa categories were opened up for Chinese immigrants, such as the China Working Holiday Visa and the China Special Work Visa, which provide pathways into fixed term work and study in NZ, exclusively for Chinese nationals (NZ Immigration website). Significantly, 31% of student visas issued in 2017 were to Chinese students coming to study in NZ, out of a total 91,575 student visas, reflecting a mutual interest in growing China-NZ relations through international education (MBIE report 2017, p.13).

6.3 Conclusion

To conclude, there is certainly a tension in evidence in NZ’s vision of immigration and educational development. On the one hand, immigration and education policy are working together to attract international fee-paying students by offering “world class education”¹⁷ (International Education Strategy, 2018-2030); and on the other hand, there is recognition of the need to support immigrant children who are underachieving in the NZ education system, in order to raise national results and be able to demonstrate excellence throughout the public education system. This tension is highlighted in ERO’s 2012 report on “Improving Outcomes for Pacific Learners”, as the detrimental effect of low achievement amongst Pasifika young people is made overt:

“In 2009, New Zealand was ranked 7th in the OECD for its reading literacy proficiency levels (PISA). If we only take into account the results of our Pacific learners, our ranking drops to 44th.” (p.7)

In terms of NZ’s national identity, the tension in immigration politics can be described as the pursuit of economic growth through international relations with China on the one hand, and affirming NZ’s altruistic leadership role amongst Pacific nations on the other.

7. Section A findings compared

In overviewing France and NZ’s respective histories with immigrants, we begin to see how both countries have developed particular types of “self-other” relationships from which stereotypes linger. We are interested in bringing these national histories into the present, in order to see how immigration policies over time translate into particular national rhetorics around immigrants and their children, that both echo past patterns and assumptions, and are defining new relationships between nation and immigrant communities in the present. We can do this by identifying several areas of similarity and difference between France and NZ:

¹⁷ International Education Strategy 2018-2030, NZ Government: “The vision is for international education to contribute to a thriving and globally connected New Zealand through world-class education.” (p.10)

- (a) The histories of immigration in both NZ and France reveal contextually shifting national attitudes towards certain groups of immigrants. While some of the historically **negative stereotypes persist** — for example, immigrants as a supply of manual labour (Pacific Islanders as cleaning ladies in NZ, or Italians as dockyard workers in France) — we also perceive changes in current immigration policy that reflect **new international relations**. In the past, Chinese immigrants in NZ were disadvantaged by discriminatory immigration policies (the “Poll Tax” of the 1880s), but under a new set of current economic interests and trade relations are being shown preferential treatment in immigration policy (Chinese open student visas and work visas). Similarly in France, **historical immigration ties are changing over time** in response to a new set of national and international conditions surrounding migration. In 2018, French President Macron visited Chad to propose a new immigration policy whereby a number of African asylum seekers would be accepted as refugees to France, with the process supported by the UNHCR and Ofpra. This represents a bold new form of **proactive immigration politics** that moves forward from France’s historically protectionist practices of the 1970s. It also forms part of a contemporary political rationale to control the flow of asylum seekers and manage France’s humanitarian role in resettling refugees.

In both countries therefore, we see a certain mobility in immigration politics that describes a more open gesture towards particular countries that in the past have been negatively perceived as undesirable sources of immigration. However, recent immigration policy changes in both countries also reflect a preferential approach to **managing certain categories of immigrants**. Preference is being shown for immigrants who can contribute economically to the country — a selective approach to refugee resettlement in France, with educated, skilled refugees from Chad being offered preference over unknown asylum seekers arriving *en masse*; and in NZ a preference for Chinese fee-paying students (unlimited numbers per annum) and skilled workers from China on a quota basis (1000 per annum for a 3-year visa period), rather than unskilled Pacific Islanders (150 resident visas issued per annum under a ballot scheme). In both countries therefore, we see **new patterns emerging** in immigration politics which re-contextualise some negative racial stereotypes of the past within present conditions that favour the new economic advantages offered by immigrants from the same countries that were previously discriminated against in the past.

- (b) In the schooling of immigrant children, we find a similarity in negative stereotypes of certain groups of **immigrant children as lowering national school results**, with a caveat in NZ’s case. In NZ, this negative stereotype centres on Pacific Island children, while in France the negative perception is generalised to all immigrant children in public schools. It is clear that in both countries the variable of low socio-economic status explains in large part the lingering stereotype, as the groups of immigrant children who statistically underachieve within the school systems are also perceived as occupying a lower socio-economic status. Research findings tend to agree that **socio-economic disadvantage** is a more significant factor in underachievement at school than other factors, such as immigration, language barrier or cultural difference. It seems clear in New Zealand’s case that socio-economic disparity has a greater negative impact than language or culture, as evidenced by the difference in school achievement between two groups of immigrant students in NZ: Pasifika migrant-background children at one end, and Chinese fee-paying students at the other. In French schools similar statistical information is not available on different groups of immigrant children and school achievement. It is possible however from national immigration statistics to estimate that overall, immigrants are over-represented in lower socio-economic strata in France, and that this translates into lower school achievement in national statistics.

As an interesting contrast, the international fee-paying student industry in NZ is attracting wealthy immigrant students to public schools all over the country, so the cultural and socio-economic mix within schools and school communities is becoming more socio-economically diverse. Within NZ schools today, we find both immigrant students who come from world class education systems in Asia, and students who come from education systems with different educational goals and cultural priorities, such as the Pacific Islands; while in French schools today, socio-economic status is reflected in school zoning and classification (REP), and the immigrant student population is weighted in favour of countries with less developed education systems according to OECD rankings (Maghreb, Africa, Eastern Europe).

In response to the positioning of certain groups of immigrant children as lowering national school results, we also see a difference in government response between the two countries. The NZ government has carried out **longitudinal studies of how schools are responding to improve achievement outcomes** for Pasifika students, and continues to track progress and advise schools on inclusive practices. While positive change for Pasifika students nationally is incremental, it is an area that is receiving attention and government support. In France, the education of immigrant children is organised through CASNAV, and

while in-service training for teachers of immigrant students is government-funded and available to schools, it does not translate into educational policy aimed at particularly at-risk groups within the immigrant student population. National statistics on educational outcomes also group immigrant students as a single cohort, rather than identifying students of particular ethnic or socio-economic backgrounds that require extra support. It is therefore more difficult for education policy in France to identify which groups of immigrant students are underachieving, and from there to propose culturally responsive learning approaches.

(c) Both countries organise immigration policies around concepts of national identity and “self-other” relationships. We can identify three sets of communities that are treated in similar ways by immigration policies in both NZ and France: **regional communities, language communities and communities with historical ties to the country.**

(i) NZ’s **regional community** is the Pacific region, and immigrants from this region make up 20.7% of NZ’s total permanent immigrant population. NZ also has a future-oriented commitment to accept all Pacific Island citizens who become environmental refugees in the future, due to climate change and rising sea levels. France’s regional community is the European Union, and immigrants from the EU make up 31% of the total immigrant population (NZ Migration Statistics website). The Schengen Zone agreement facilitates the free movement of EU citizens, and is therefore barrier-free to immigration between countries. So in both NZ and France there are immigration policies that favour immigration within the regional community.

(ii) Similarly, both countries have favourable immigration policies towards their respective **language communities**. NZ’s anglophone community extends to Australia, Britain, the United States, Canada and South Africa. France’s francophone community includes Canada, some West & North African countries, Switzerland and Belgium. In both cases, the fact of a shared language creates a community despite geographical distance, and ethnic and cultural differences. The African immigrant population in France makes up 44% of the total immigrant population, and depending on place of birth and age, a generous percentage of these would be plurilingual francophones¹⁸. The anglophone immigrant community in NZ makes up about 24% of the total immigrant population, with British immigrants being the largest group, and immigrant flows from all anglophone countries increasing since 2016¹⁹. We see in these language community pairings that the sense of “self” can be unified around a common language, although ethnic and cultural differences still tend to mark “the otherness” of immigrants.

(iii) The third community grouping is around **countries with historical ties** to NZ or France, and here both countries share a commonality through their respective colonial histories. As an ex-colonial territory of England, NZ retains close ties to Britain and acknowledges Queen Elizabeth II as monarch. NZ has a reciprocal immigration agreement with Britain, and a recent poll showed that 90% of young New Zealanders support reciprocal reduction of barriers to living and working in the UK, as proposed changes to immigration policy under Brexit threaten to increase barriers (Guardian News, 14/3/2016). There is therefore a strong desire to continue the historical relationship between colonial power and ex-colonial territory, through strengthening future reciprocal immigration ties. Similarly, as a colonising nation in the past, France retains ties to former colonial territories in the Maghreb and Africa, and historically the largest proportion of immigrants arrived in France from these countries²⁰. In the recent present (2009 statistics), this translates into the fact that 62.7% of “*immigré*” children born in France to at least one immigrant parent had origins in an African country (Insee, 2012). Once these children reach the age of 18, if they have been raised in France, they can apply for naturalisation as French citizens.

We see therefore that in both NZ and France, the desire to continue **historically inclusive immigration practices that arose from colonial histories** is expressed by young people themselves, in their life choices and aspirations. In France, second generation immigrant children can choose to become French citizens from the age of 18, claiming the right to continue contributing to

¹⁸ For example, Algerian and Moroccan schools taught in French as the language of schooling until the 1980s, so older immigrants speak both French and Arabic.

¹⁹ British migration to NZ is up since the UK decision to leave the EU, and US migration is up 65% since the Trump administration. (NZ Migration website)

²⁰ 30% of total new immigrant arrivals between 2004-2012 came from Maghreb and Africa. (Insee, 28/11/2014).

French society as adults; while in NZ, young people have also expressed a desire to live and work in the UK post-Brexit, thereby retaining the mobility advantages as a former colonial territory of England. We see in both cases, a past-present product of colonial histories, and the potential benefits for young people today in ongoing ties through preferential immigration policies that define community groupings.

Section A conclusion

To conclude Section A, the immigration histories of both NZ and France reveal negative and positive stereotypes of immigrants that are characterised in several ways:

- (1) **Stereotypes of low socio-economic status and school failure.** Historical patterns of immigration have created fixed ideas and prejudices about certain group of immigrants, as temporary manual workers who occupied a low socio-economic status in society. These stereotypes from the past linger in national attitudes towards some groups of immigrants, and are perpetuated through national statistics in school underachievement, high unemployment rates and low salaries relative to national averages.
- (2) **Economy-driven immigration politics.** Presently, immigration politics indicate a pro-active approach to managing “desirable and less desirable” immigration, as governments in both countries are creating special categories of visas to fulfil economic national agendas (NZ’s Chinese visas), or new approaches to international diplomacy in order to cherry-pick immigrants on the basis of potential contribution to the national economy (France’s offer to Chad).
- (3) **Communities created by notions of national identity.** National identity is in constant dialogue with immigration politics, and reveals that there is a dynamic between “self and other” that is contextual and changes over time. This dynamic involves movements of people and the effect on social composition, a changing sense of which communities we identify with nationally and for what purposes, the context of international politics (for example Brexit, and the refugee crisis), and the political influence of young people’s aspirations for the future.

We can conclude that while national identity and sense of “self” tend, by their very nature, to generate stereotypes of “otherness” directed at the immigrant population, these stereotypes change over time and can become more inclusive and positive; as in the case in NZ’s shift from negative stereotyping of Chinese immigrants in the past to positive framing in the present. We can also conclude that migratory movements of people can have a powerful influence on immigration policies, in that new contexts demand new politics that are both consistent with existing notions of national identity and adapted to the current conditions in countries of immigration. There is therefore a kind of fluid movement at play over time in the immigration policies of both NZ and France, as each country adapts to new waves of immigration that are generated by changing conditions in other countries. As touched on earlier, there is also a tension inherent in these changes to national immigration policies: retaining a strong sense of national identity and making policy changes that are in line with historical immigration policy and practice, versus the political realities of participating in globalisation and upholding internationally agreed-upon norms.

Section B: Religion and “othering”

1. **How religion / spirituality have shaped current political ideologies in immigration** **France: *laïcité* ; New Zealand: *Māoritanga***

Section B takes another perspective on national identity and how this influences various aspects of immigration politics. Perceived threats to national identity, and the question of who is being positioned as “other” amongst the immigrant population in 2018 are explored. In France in 2018, “otherness” framed as Muslim is visible in the fear of Islamic extremism and terrorism; and in New Zealand, the “otherness” of Chinese and the fear of an economic “Asian invasion” is present.

This issue of perceived threat of types of immigrants as “dangerous others” in each country, is tackled through a discussion of *laïcité* in France and the place of *Māoritanga* in New Zealand policy-making processes. The relationship between state and religion/indigenous spirituality sets up a backdrop against which the context of extreme “othering” becomes more visible.

A difference in the political ideologies of NZ and France is how each has been shaped by a sense of the place of “the spiritual” in the public space. There is a clear contrast to be explored here, in that France has asserted a religion-free public and political space for the past 100 years, whereas the political space in NZ is based on a constitution that includes Māori philosophy and, to some degree, spiritual practices that trace back to 1000 years pre-European arrival in Aotearoa. At the same time, both countries use religion/spirituality to increase State power — the *laïque* French State remains incontestable in spite of ethno-religious divisions (Bruneau, 2020), and Māoritanga serves NZ State power as an incontestable reference point for management of natural resources, for example.

The rationales of *laïcité* and Māoritanga are being interpreted anew in the present day, challenged even, as immigration exerts change on social structure and existing social “norms”. In France, *laïcité* is being challenged as the number of immigrants from Muslim countries settled in France is significant. And importantly, the marginalisation and disillusion of second generation Muslim youth has been thrown into the spotlight following recent terrorist attacks in France claimed by ISIS. In NZ, Māoritanga protects the place of a Māori world view in all spheres of public and political life, and signifies the constitutional understanding between Māori and *pākehā*. The increasing economic influence of Chinese immigrants and foreign investors in NZ is exerting change in immigration and economic policy, which signals a new and powerful player in the political landscape. While this shift towards a more Asian NZ is being led by *pākehā* business interests, Māori interests must also enter into this new domain in order to negotiate policies that are inclusive of Māoritanga, and not to lose hard-won ground over 200 years of Māori-*pākehā* relationship-building.

In Section A to this chapter, we look at how the secularity of *laïcité* in France, and the spirituality of Māoritanga in NZ continue to shape current political ideologies in immigration. Both countries are being challenged to respond to a political sea-change, a swing in the political power balance, instigated by a culture that is ideologically “other” to the existing social demography: Islamic religious and cultural influence in France, and in New Zealand the call to embrace deeper forms of intercultural understanding that truly include all our diverse ethnic communities, the largest of which is the Chinese community.²¹

2. France and *laïcité*

Any mention of France’s political ideology has to position *laïcité* as one of the cornerstones of the Republic’s legal and civil frameworks of reference. The concept of *laïcité* (secularism) forms an important part of France’s constitutional law, and was established under the 1905 law on the Separation of Church and State (*loi du 9 décembre 1905 concernant la séparation des Églises et de l’État*). The concept of *laïcité* grew out of the enlightenment period of French history, which championed ideas of freedom and equality. The idea was further expressed and developed during the French revolution and the *Déclaration des droits de l’homme et du citoyen* of 1789. The principles of *laïcité* are laid down in article 10 of the *Déclaration des Droits de l’Homme et du Citoyen* of 26 August 1789, which states that no person may be persecuted for his religious views, as long as those views do not break the law or disturb public order:

“Nul ne doit être inquiété pour ses opinions, même religieuses, pourvu que leur manifestation ne trouble pas l’ordre public établi par la loi.”

Building on these two founding documents of law, article 2 of the Constitution of 4 October 1958 further clarifies the principle of *laïcité* in language that resonates more with the body of international human rights law that was drafted following WWII. In the 1958 constitution, *laïcité* is allied with France’s status as a Republic, and with democratic values and social rights, as it states:

“La France est une République indivisible, laïque, démocratique et sociale. Elle assure l’égalité devant la loi de tous les citoyens sans distinction d’origine, de race ou de religion. Elle respecte toutes les croyances.”

²¹ Note: During the time of writing this section, I was in New Zealand. The Christchurch Mosque shootings took place on 15/3/2019, a shocking terrorist attack that stirred up many questions for New Zealanders about how inclusive our society really is. This highly significant event led me to change the direction I had planned for writing about the topic of national identity and immigration. I had planned to write about the Chinese immigrant population in NZ, but in light of the racial hate crime nature of the terrorist attack against the Muslim community by a white supremacist, I felt this had to be looked at now. It is too soon to say how this event will shape NZ’s future direction in immigration or whether we can achieve greater levels of social inclusion for all immigrant communities living in Aotearoa. In my view, it will be possible partly through Māoritanga and schools fostering language learning as a mandatory part of all students’ education, along with intercultural studies and other appropriately inclusive practices in schools.

Here, the equality of all citizens in the eyes of the law is assured, without discrimination against origin, race or religion. This article defines the role of *laïcité* as inseparable from the identity of France as a Republic, and that it is *laïcité* that expresses the State's respect for all religious beliefs, and allows for a secular public space free from the influence of religion.

1998 was a turning-point for French *laïcité* and how secularism was applied under the law: France created a governmental task-force, the Inter-Ministerial Mission against Sects, to monitor so-called dangerous cults, while other countries (notably the US and anglophone countries) were changing laws to allow freedom of religious expression as a civil right. In 2004, the French Senate approved a bill prohibiting the wearing of conspicuous religious symbols from public institutions; a law that has been widely condemned in anglophone countries. In NZ, public institutions accept the wearing of religious symbols, such as the hijab, Jewish skullcap or a large Christian cross, as expressions of religious freedom, while France has consistently reiterated her commitment to *laïcité* in its original form, even in the face of pressure from the international community in recent years, the USA has, until the Trump government, taken a more liberal interpretation of the place of religion in the public sphere.

In France, the state's secular nature is prioritised and individual expression of religious beliefs is a private affair, whereas in the anglophone group of countries individual rights to expression are prioritised as part of a set of civil rights and the state's secular nature accommodates this. The French view of religion as separate from both public space and political affairs has ironically led to the current furore surrounding Muslim immigrants and the religious practices they bring with them.

Today, the term "*laïcité*" has been subject to political manipulation by right-wing politics, particularly in the last round of national elections in France, and has become confused with fear of Islam. Outside of France, the politics of *laïcité* have also been contextualised as anti-Islamic. Expert commentators, such as Jean-Louis Bianco, president of *l'Observatoire de la Laïcité*, point to a French identity crisis, as France struggles to maintain a strong sense of French identity in the rapidly changing global context of multiculturalism, refugee immigration, and terrorism.

As part of her identity re-affirmation, France has passed a series of laws since 2001 that serve to reinforce and uphold the principle of *laïcité*, as a founding part of French constitutional law. As a result, France has fielded criticism from the international community, but is however reassured that the vast majority of French people are in favour of adhering to *laïcité*, to maintain the integrity of republican values — that all people are governed secularly, and religion does not influence the public sphere. Ironically, the attention that has been drawn to religion, and in particular the Islamic faith in France, by this refusal to adapt or modify the law on *laïcité*, has generated a two-sided debate: on one hand, the international community's view that increasingly diverse populations call for adaptation of laws to reflect fair governance; and on the other hand, support for the intention behind the *laïcité* law that lies at the heart of Republican values — the state cannot designate a space for religion, as religious power represents a threat to the state's ability to govern unilaterally. We hear in this debate how important the principle of *laïcité* is for the French people — it is *égalité*, *liberté*, *fraternité*, and some argue *laïcité*, that lie at the heart of the French republican constitution and the values upon which modern French society has been built.

While *laïcité* and its significance for French culture are difficult for non-French to understand, it is a concept that permeates social and civic life in France. In schools, *laïcité* is taught as part of citizenship studies, and children learn from a young age that religion is a private matter that is practised outside of school, in order that the public space remain secular and that this gives all citizens the freedom to participate in civic life. Tensions are however evident in schools²²:

"La laïcité, notion emblématique de l'exception française, est intimement adossée aux valeurs d'égalité et de liberté constitutives de la devise nationale. Mais cette laïcité semble de plus en plus rimer avec uniformité et homogénéité, et l'école publique est difficilement conjugable avec les différences ethno-culturelles et religieuses que peuvent porter des élèves, leurs parents et parfois même les personnels scolaires." (Bruneau, 2020, p.65)

In education, France's laws on religious symbolism apply to state schools, not to private schools and universities. The concept behind *laïcité* is in part to preserve the "freedom of conscience", so that young people have an education that is "neutral" in terms of beliefs, while they are at school. Is this possible in

²² The murder of school teacher Samuel Paty in October 2020 was directly linked to the teaching of *laïcité* and Islam.

today's society? What are then the social beliefs and values in the public space, for example through advertising, social media and popular culture? Recently, the French have been challenged to reflect on *laïcité*, and to question whether it remains significant enough in French society and in the minds of the French public, to retain as it is. And the answer has been yes, but not without certain caveats and complications arising from the current context of immigration and France's changing demography.

3. New Zealand and Māoritanga

In New Zealand, Māoritanga has a vital place in the national consciousness, appearing as subtly woven threads of an indigenous philosophy that imbue the interweaving of New Zealand's diverse society with a life essence, and a warmth and connection to the natural world that influences us at both a personal and political level. For Māori people, Māoritanga is a deep and ancient world view that incorporates sacred aspects of the natural and spiritual worlds as intertwined, the material and spiritual matters being inseparable from one another. Māoritanga extends to respect for the life force inherent in symbolic forms of knowledge, such as ancestry, carvings, and the *marae* as a core structure for the protection and sustenance of Māori identity:

"[Marae are] potent symbols of Māori identity and cultural pride ... [that] fulfil deeply felt spiritual and cultural needs of the Māori... The marae is an institution where any Māori has turangawaewae, standing, in relation to the dominant culture of the Pākehā. It proclaims New Zealand as a bicultural nation." (King (ed), 1992, pp.23-26)

It is difficult for non-Māori to fully comprehend the important place and essential role of Māoritanga, yet its presence provides a life-sustaining force to many political decision-making processes and outcomes. A prevalent, and still highly contentious example that goes back to the first European-Māori contact in Aotearoa, is land. Land is the ground upon which differing European-Māori world views of material affairs, ownership, the natural world, and humankind's position in relation to unseen spiritual powers, has been and continues to be engaged in struggle and discord. There is an enormous disparity between the two world views, and the process since colonisation began in the early 1800s has progressed from the exploitative land ventures of the Wakefield Company's land schemes for procuring vast amounts of cheap Māori land for the Crown's settlement project, to the numerous restorative land returns to Māori under the Waitangi Tribunal since its establishment in 1975. This positive progression in bicultural relations — that is, the current government as representative of the historical British colonial government being able to develop new understandings of how Māori were exploited under colonialism — has been possible as a direct result of Māoritanga as it appears in the constitutional document the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi. In the Treaty, which was originally produced in English with a Māori translation, key terms that embody concepts of Māoritanga were ambiguously translated, leading to fundamental misunderstandings in the original constitution of NZ as a bicultural Māori-European nation. The contentious terms are "*kawanatanga*" (sovereignty) and "*te tino rangatiratanga*" (possession), which failed to capture the principle concepts of Māori systems of sovereignty and rulership. A modern retranslation of the Treaty attempts to reflect the inherent meaning of these Māori terms more accurately, using the words "total governance" (*kawanatanga*) and "chieftainship" (*te tino rangatiratanga*) (Te Tiriti o Waitangi exhibition, Te Papa Museum, visited 7/3/2019). In this example, we see that a certain understanding of, and respect for, Māoritanga in the political realm has been cultivated over the past 180 years since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, that has only been possible through the ongoing work of eminent Māori writers, orators, philosophers and activists such as Sir Apirana Ngata, Dr. Ranginui Walker, and Dame Whina Cooper among others. This modern retranslation of the Treaty of Waitangi is therefore an example of where Māoritanga, and the assertion of Māori rights in the political and economic life of the nation, continue to inform the bicultural relationship that is the foundation stone of New Zealand's national constitution.

In terms of how Māoritanga has specifically shaped the political ideology of immigration, we can say that NZ's national identity is still primarily recognised as a bicultural nation, and the influence of Māoritanga is protected within the modern political context. The set of rights accorded to Māori under the Treaty of Waitangi are fundamentally important as a constitutional reference point in how subsequent national policies have been decided and implemented. However, the increasingly multicultural nature of NZ society through immigration is placing pressure on the bicultural status quo, and Māori participation in immigration policy design and construction is important in ensuring a Māori voice and perspective are heard in new immigration policies. The NZ Prime Minister, Jacinda Ardern, is leading a new government coalition elected on 26th October 2017, comprising the Labour Party, New Zealand First Party and the Green Party. There are several recent examples of proposals for a more overtly Māoritanga representation in immigration policy, since the 2017 elections and change of government, including the following:

- (1) A pre-election Māori Party proposal (July 2017) outlined a Community Internship Scheme under which skilled migrants would be hosted by local community in regions to work under a 2-year internship scheme. This would form part of an immigration policy in which skilled immigrants would pass on their skills to young people in the regions, and in return receive *manaakitanga* (hospitality) from the local community. The Māori Party described this as a way of improving skills and work potential for young New Zealanders, and sharing Māori culture and ways of living with migrants over a 2-year period. Tu Williams, head of the Māori Party's policy unit described the importance of a pro-active Māori stance towards immigration policy: "As the *tangata whenua* of Aotearoa New Zealand, we need to be taking more of a lead role in how immigration is addressed and dealt with." (in NZ Herald interview, 20/7/2017)
- (2) The Green Party's immigration policy advocates for clear representation of Māori interests, and supports "a progressive and humane immigration system which acknowledges [that] the right to live in Aotearoa New Zealand derives from Te Tiriti o Waitangi." (NZ Green Party website). As part of the current government coalition, the Green Party's view that Māoritanga is afforded a determining position in immigration policy is clearly influential. The Green approach to immigration policy proposes a partnership role between the government and *tangata whenua*, and acknowledges Māori ways of working. Education about the Treaty of Waitangi will be made compulsory for migrants applying to settle permanently in NZ, and Māori *iwi* and *hapū* will be resourced by the government to contribute to this education — a similar new measure to the existing French prerequisite to citizenship, that migrants demonstrate understanding of republican values and citizenship as evidence of integration. It stands out in the Green's immigration policy that the bicultural constitutional relationship underpinning the Treaty of Waitangi is articulated within the currently dynamic context of immigration, and affirmed as the political and ideological ground on which NZ's government continues to work. This is key, as it positively re-asserts the primary importance that the bicultural foundation and Māoritanga continue to hold in NZ political decision making.

A further and painfully recent example of the important place occupied by Māoritanga in the political ideology of Aotearoa came just a few days ago as I write, with the terrorist shootings at Mosques in Christchurch where 50 Muslim people were killed while at Friday afternoon prayers. In this time of shock and grief, our Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern has comforted and reassured the Muslim people of New Zealand with reference to the spirit of Māoritanga:

"We cannot know your grief, but we can walk with you at every stage. We can. And we will, surround you with aroha, manaakitanga and all that makes us, us. Our hearts are heavy but our spirit is strong."
(Ardern, 19/3/2019)

We hear that today, Māoritanga fulfils an essential role in the political space; at this moment when the nation is in need of an appeal to what is sacred, noble and uplifting, we find strength in the values, and language, of Māori culture. This is unique to New Zealand, and has a deeply unifying effect — "aroha, manaakitanga, and all that makes us, us." All the people of NZ, regardless of religion, ethnicity, language or culture can participate in the values of Māoritanga, which are both spiritual and social, and are the beating heart within which our social diversity finds inclusiveness.

In terms of NZ's political ideology and immigration, Friday 15th March 2019 marks the most shocking and significant call that the country has ever experienced, to examine our national attitudes towards immigrants and the more than 160 different ethnic communities living in NZ. Anne Salmond's article published in the Dominion Post on 19/3/2019 challenges New Zealanders to face the ugliness of white supremacy that also lives in our society:

"After Māori, the indigenous people of these islands, this sense of white superiority spills out over "other" groups – Pasifika, Asian people, and now Muslims in Christchurch. Many of these people have been sworn at, punched and jostled, treated as aliens who have no place among us. Just talk with members of these groups, and they will have traumatic experiences to share." (Salmond, 19/3/2019)

Salmond goes on to say that white supremacy in NZ finds its historical roots in European colonial attitudes towards the indigenous people, and that in effect it comes from an ingrained sense of entitlement that has become normalised as well as racialised. However, it is not the only legacy we have to draw on, as Salmond points out:

“From the outset, ideas of justice and kindness, equality and mutual respect have provided a counterpoint to greed and colonial ambition. Interwoven with notions of tika, mana and manaakitanga, this has led to moments that light up the dark.” (Salmond, 19/3/2019)

This interweaving is the very essence of culturally inclusive societies, and a process that New Zealand has engaged with over time; and as a result of the Christchurch Mosque shootings must now embrace with a renewed sincerity and determination that seeks to deeply understand our multicultural nature as a society of immigrants, indigenous and *pākeha* living together.

Section B conclusion

In conclusion to Section B, we see some areas of clear difference between the way in which **religion or spirituality have shaped current political ideologies in immigration** in France and New Zealand. These differences however spring from a remarkable similarity arising from the global context of immigration at this time, and its accompanying tensions. Both France and New Zealand have been challenged to re-examine existing attitudes towards immigrants, particularly the Muslim immigrant communities, and to deeply question whether these attitudes are fostering inclusion or exclusion of ethnic minority groups. These challenges have taken terrifyingly concrete form: the violence of a white supremacist shooting at two mosques in Christchurch last week; and the horror of a series of ISIS-claimed terrorist attacks against the French public since 2016. We are being called to wake up and face some uncomfortable truths about where our histories of white dominance have led us to in our race relations, and the possibilities of where we will go from here.

The differences can be seen in how each country has responded at both a political and social level. The law on *laïcité* in France is increasingly emphasising divisions, and marginalising the Muslim community in particular from having a voice in this area of public policy. France’s public voted to retain the unmodified version of the law on *laïcité* in 2014 (Vauchez, 2017²³) — a clear signal that for the majority of French voters, the current norms defining national identity that exclude the religious practices of our immigrant communities from the public space, are preferable to adopting a more moderate form of the law, in order to at least recognise the significance of the *hijab* for the growing number of Muslim women in the population. France’s choice to return to political nationalism amounts to an affirmation of practices of exclusion: ignoring the challenge of inter-racial and religious tensions, and burying a chance for dialogue and conflict resolution with the French Muslim population. It is too soon to say how New Zealand will respond to the similar challenge of deep-rooted racial tensions that have been left unaddressed and resulted in an explosion of racist hatred. However these early days of governmental response to the terrorist attack on Muslim people in Christchurch have seen an immediate change in the gun laws, and an affirmation of NZ’s constitutionally bicultural national identity as a means of demonstrating commitment to, and solidarity with, the immigrant Muslim community. The situations are not identical — however they are part of the same story: inter-racial hatred and violence, Islam as “the other”, and the tragic legacy of white supremacy.

To return to the opening question of how the philosophical influences of *laïcité* and Māoritanga are being interpreted anew today, we can observe contrasting political directions running parallel in the two countries. In France, the choice to stay with a “religion-free” political space has the effect of underlining state power and reducing individual freedom to express religious beliefs. The choice appears in part to be a move to protect the French national identity from a sense of threat to “self” by the “otherness” of those parts of the population who would be accorded the right to express religious beliefs through dress, speech and action if the law on *laïcité* were reformed. The choice therefore has been to affirm a historically-justified national identity before the needs of France’s immigrant communities in the present day. In New Zealand, while the spirituality of Māoritanga has been called upon to unify the diverse communities of Aotearoa, this is also in part a reconstitution of old forms of “self” and “other” in the national identity. The new “otherness” of recent immigrant communities has led to greater acceptance and inclusion of Māori in the political space, who were, up until the language and cultural renaissance of the 1980s, largely excluded from government policy and practice. The first Ministry of Māori Affairs was established in the late 19th century, but did not begin truly representing Māori interests until 1928, with Sir Apirana Ngāta as Minister. Independent political parties representing Māori affairs are very recent, with the Mana Motuhake Party (1980) being the first party dedicated entirely to Māori interests, and the successfully still-independent Māori Party established in 2004. Now, the principle of consultation between the government and Māori, established under the Treaty of

²³ Stéphanie Vauchez’s interesting article, “Is French *laïcité* Still Liberal? The Republican Project under Pressure (2004–15)” discusses the need for *laïcité* to catch up with the changing face of French society, particularly for the inclusion of Muslim women who are most affected by the law: “After the 2010 Government of François Fillon passed the *burqa ban*, the 2014 Government led by Manuel Valls regularly opposed liberal understandings of *laïcité* ...”

Waitangi, but only put into practice in terms of greater political representation from the 1980s, paves the way for potentially more equitable inclusion of other ethnic minority groups, such as the Muslim community. Therefore, an embracing of an equitable biculturalism in NZ at a practice level in politics has been slow in coming, but now offers a potential framework for greater inclusiveness of immigrant communities in the political space.

Chapter 2 conclusion: National identities

Finally, we can say that neither Aotearoa New Zealand nor France are yet achieving sufficient inclusion of immigrant voices in politics to demonstrate true equity of participation, and to reflect both their highest national ideological aspirations and the needs and interests of their immigrant communities. However, both countries are in a gymnastic of resistance and yield to the challenge being issued by their immigrant populations in a variety of ways.

NZ's relative receptivity to her immigrant communities is a reflection of the nation's short history since a Westminster style governance was established in 1840, meaning that as a young country, NZ's national identity is still very much under construction and up for negotiation. France's apparent resistance to recognition of her population's diversity and cultural practices can also be seen as a reflection of the nation's political story: the French revolution, and the strong Republican values and national identity that were born from that, and that continue to guide political direction.

Chapter 3

Assimilation vs. Integration

Another key aspect of both France and NZ's national contexts for the education of immigrant children is the evolution from an "assimilation model" to two different versions of an "integration model". In this chapter, colonial histories explain why currently the educational environments in France and NZ "integrate" immigrant students as they do today.

What was the colonial thinking that created an assimilation model as a way of assuring colonial domination? There are also differences in the "integration models" adopted in each country: NZ's "young country" approach to social construction in which a "Kiwī identity" is still being formed through the integration of diverse cultures; and France's "continuity of French tradition" approach to integration.

This chapter establishes a backdrop against which to investigate how immigrant children in schools today are "integrated" into a French *collège* and a New Zealand high school (in Part Two).

Key questions:

- How have assimilationist models of education shaped the integration of immigrant children in schools (past and present) in France and NZ?
- What are the two different integration models adopted by each country?
- How may these two forms of "integration / intégration" effect the experiences of newly-arrived immigrant students?

Introduction

One mandate of schools and school curricula is to prepare children to participate in society — the task of "creating 'active' citizens" (Wood, 2014). Schools may treat this as a process of educating towards the dominant norms and expectations of society, by which the child "becomes socialised" or "learns to be like us" (assimilation). Or the school system may adopt a flexible, integrative approach whereby aspects of the child's identity and "difference" are valued (integration).

For newly-arrived immigrant teenagers, who have already formed an identity through language, culture, and lived experience in another country, how schools receive and accompany the child is crucial for establishing a sense of belonging within the school community, and a positive sense of intercultural identity as an individual. This is where assimilationist and integrationist approaches to education have particular implications for young migrants, and for how they are empowered to participate in societies. Assimilation approaches aim to treat the immigrant child like all other children — the child may be directly mainstreamed with no specialised linguistic instruction, and is expected to learn how to function linguistically and socially within the education system with little formal space made for the child's first language and experiences in their culture of origin. Integration approaches include the child's first language as part of the linguistic development of the second language, and demonstrate valuing of cultural competencies and diversity within the school.

This chapter looks briefly at the similarities in colonial histories of assimilation in France and Aotearoa New Zealand (Section A), before discussing the turning point towards integration during the 1980s and the role played by regional languages in France and Māori language revival in NZ (Section B), finally framing an argument for two uniquely French and NZ versions of "integration" of immigrant children into schools today (Section C).

Section A: Assimilation through education “of the savages”

1. What is assimilation?

Brubaker (2001) proposes **two definitions of assimilation**: one is a process of “making similar” and the other is “to organically incorporate, absorb” (pp.534-535). I extend on this to argue that assimilation is a historical artefact, defined by the racist and culturally-hierarchical thinking of colonial times. Furthermore, that any current versions of assimilationist attitudes towards immigrants in the modern global context are simply no longer viable, due to new forms of empowerment.

Assimilation in its historical form means “to make similar, to treat as similar”, with the connotation that the few are forcibly amalgamated into the dominant whole against their will. In this form of assimilation, seen in colonisation and how immigrants were historically treated as “extremely other” by many countries, there is a connotation of **violence and submission that defines the relationship between the host society and immigrant populations**. In order to participate and succeed, immigrants must conform to non-negotiable rules and norms, and the outcomes tend to emphasise difference as negative. Brubaker points out that such assimilationist policies and practices have tended to produce a “*reactive mobilisation against such assimilatory pressures*” (p.534).

In the modern context, “assimilation” in the old sense of the word has become irrelevant to modern realities of what “social participation” and “citizenship” in societies looks like. Immigrants are simply more empowered today, through the global village realities that make the world accessible and comprehensible, as well as the relative wealth of material means and social capital available compared to even 30 years ago. Wood and Black (2018) refer to this modern phenomenon as a “*rescaling of the dimensions of citizenship*” (p.3), so that we expand our conceptualisation of how citizenship functions within a new set of parameters established by mass migratory movements of people in this decade. These times overturn notions of traditional citizenship as fixed and affiliated within a single nation-state, expanding instead to reflect the contemporary lived realities of citizenship as “*characterised by flexible and multiple notions of identity and connectedness beyond the nation-state*” (Wood and Black, 2018, p.2).

Immigrants in this decade are also more protected than our predecessors of 100 years ago, through substantive developments in international law and the legal structure that this establishes around domestic laws. The treatment of immigrants by individual nation-states is under constant scrutiny by the rest of the world, with the media playing an essential role in the dissemination of information globally. The immigrants of this century (2000-2020) are therefore more powerfully positioned relative to the assimilation or integration policies of the countries they arrive in, and are equipped with a host of modern strategies and structures that support an active say in the terms of resettlement.

To explain further, immigrants arriving in France or New Zealand in 2019 are likely to be pre-informed on cultural norms and expectations through media, internet, prior travel experience, contact with people from the destination countries, and their own experiences of other languages and cultures. Therefore, immigrants may have embarked on a preparation process pre-arrival, and arrive with existing knowledge and possibly real or virtual experiences of their new environment. Modern immigrants are infinitely more informed and equipped to either “assimilate” (in forms adapted to modern times and partially negotiated by them) or “integrate” (depending on the societal and institutional responses to their difference and diversity), and do not present the same profiles as the pre-information technology immigrants of 30 years ago. **New terms such as “global citizenship” and “cosmopolitanism” reflect the nature of new physical and virtual mobilities, and the fact that linguistic and cultural identities nowadays are complex, fluid and transnational, rather than fixed** (Beck, 2007a). Therefore, a modern definition of assimilation should take on adaptive forms, in which people may become similar through interaction and learning, even if that learning is a one-way adaptation on the part of the immigrant to learn about the host society. The nature of this learning is more active and self-directed than historical definitions of assimilation (notably through colonisation), and the immigrant is able to draw on the modern context of plurilingualism, multiculturalism, and access to internationally-constituted information as a global norm. This leads us to suppose that **while assimilationist policies set down certain rigid objectives, assimilation outcomes are under constant negotiation by immigrants themselves, as generally more empowered and informed global citizens than the immigrants of the past.**

On this premise, I argue that both France and Aotearoa New Zealand as nation-states with colonial histories based on assimilationist objectives, both sit somewhere on a continuum line towards integrationist politics in

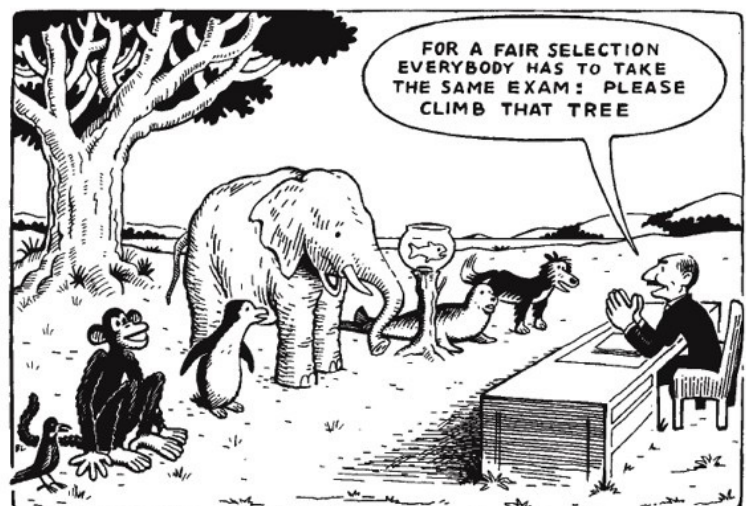
their approaches to their immigrant populations, but are yet to fully embrace contemporary forms of integration as a two-way process that seeks active co-construction of the terms of integration by immigrants themselves. In this view, I also argue that whether immigration politics are more at the assimilationist end of the continuum (as is the case with France), or positioned further towards the integration end of the spectrum (as is the case with New Zealand), **modern notions of global citizenship cultivate conditions that favour the active agency and empowerment of immigrants, no matter where they are in the world.** And this in turn ameliorates and strengthens the ideology of integration as a two-way process, rather than a unilaterally state-directed process.

2. Historical approaches: what did assimilation look like?

Assimilationist approaches have dominated at various times in the histories of France and New Zealand, and are linked to views of social diversity and purposes of education, as well as interrelated movements in educational philosophy and policy. In certain periods of history in both countries, schools have been treated as formative learning grounds in terms of educating a young generation of plurilingual children into the norms and expectations of the dominant culture, and have been strongly assimilationist. At its worst, **assimilation has equated to a form of institutional violence**, in which immigrant children were forcibly prevented from speaking their own language and performing their own cultural norms at school. Immigrant and indigenous children who experienced this style of education found themselves subjected to an authoritarian system that rejected their identities and existing linguistic and cultural knowledge — a violent oppression of the child's heritage and family values. At its best, assimilation has been framed as a fast-track of learning, on which the child is immersed in the dominant language and culture in order to integrate and “become part” of the mainstream as quickly as possible (an assumption which has since been disproven by research showing that language-of-schooling is learned more effectively when first languages are included in the learning process (paradigm shift from Cummins 1979)).

As an educational policy, assimilation tends to render invisible the linguistic skills and cultural knowledges of immigrant children, thereby approaching education from a systems-centred rather than a child-centred stance. Assimilation is therefore characterised by exclusion, as the child is initially silenced and rendered passive, and later participates only within the constraints of the dominant language and cultural expectations, effectively dissecting parts of their identity in order to participate within the authorised parameters. This is currently predominantly the case in French public schools, and was also generally the case in New Zealand schools until the emergence of Māori immersion and bilingual education in the 1980s.

In France, the term “*égalité*” has occupied, and continues to occupy, an essential place in the principles of the Republic and in all functions of public life. In education, policies and practices that purport to arise from the principle of equality are susceptible to criticism, as discussed in earlier chapters, on the basis that a “one-size-fits-all” approach to education results in unequal outcomes for children in their school achievement (Garnier, Derouet and Malet, 2020). Versions of “equality” have been employed as justification for the assimilation of plurilingual children into education systems in both France and New Zealand, on the basis that all children must participate in a common schooling in order to learn the language, culture and social norms of the dominant culture. However, and as research and educators increasingly advocate for, an education that genuinely seeks equality for all addresses diversity and individualised learning needs, on the basis that educational pathways should be designed to allow scope for everyone to participate according to their strengths. In this view, assessment of learning outcomes ideally looks for what students can do, rather than what they cannot yet do; and seeks a variety of ways of assessing student learning that are presented in a format that allows the child to show what they have learned. The metaphor is that of a diverse group of animals — and if their skills are tested in a linear fashion they will all be



asked to climb a tree, which of course only the monkey excels at! If their skills are tested through diverse approaches, they will each be given an assessment task that allows them to demonstrate their areas of strength and capability according to each his unique skill-set²⁴.

It is still common practice in education to set teaching and learning objectives that aim to bring everyone to the same juncture in order to measure a state-identified “standard”. This approach is however evolving, with more and more teachers and educators posing the important question: can we be creative and courageous enough to allow the diversity among our students to inspire new directions in education? Will it then become possible for schools to provide multiple pathways towards common learning objectives? Or to negotiate learning objectives that are as plurilingually adept, interculturally astute and diverse as our students themselves?

3. Assimilation in France: the background story

France remains the European country with the longest history of adherence to assimilationist thinking and policies. Since the 1882 law in France on compulsory education, schools have been obliged to integrate all children living in France into the national community (Senat website, 2018). 1882 therefore marked the beginning of a policy of assimilation in the education system within France, founded on the republican principle of *égalité*. All children on French soil are required, through formalised education, to access the same knowledge at the same time, through a similar pedagogical approach (Bouteyre, 2004). Assimilationist policies in French law date back to 1870 and the beginnings of France’s activities in expanding into colonial territories.

3.1 French colonies in Africa

The Third French Republic in France (1870-1940) developed a French colonial empire, notably French North Africa (Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia) and French Indochina (three territories of Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos and the province of Guangzhouwan in southern China). France integrated her economic interests with her colonial territories, with agricultural, mining and shipping activities playing a major role in imports and exports. The Catholic Church was deeply involved in the colonies, with missionary stations set up; and wealthy French families settled throughout the colonies as landowners and plantation managers. It is during this period of French history that assimilationist policies were systematically applied, in what could be termed a single-pronged approach to establishing the new French empire. The French assimilation concept during this era was based on spreading the French language and culture to the people of the colonies, who in return were accorded the rights of French citizens.

3.2 Assimilation through schools

As well as economic and religious interests, France’s colonial presence was effected through schools set up in the colonies. As France’s colonial interests were largely driven by an assimilationist ideology — to turn African and South East Asian men into “Frenchmen” — education was considered a key. Early colonial philosophers and commentators such as Claude Adrien Helvétius (1715-1771) believed in education as the method by which to reform society, and that all men have the same potential to learn. Education as a form of social reform imposed via governmental intervention went hand-in-hand with the thinking of the time, that “uncivilised” peoples were to be assimilated into the ways of European “civilisations”.

3.3 Algeria’s experience of assimilation

Heggoy (1986) looks at the linguistic and cultural outcomes of assimilation in education in the Maghreb (Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco). Algeria is a highly interesting example of France’s assimilation policies, having gone through the colonial experience, followed by a period of resisting assimilation into the French education system pre-WWI, then a period of circular migration for work post-WWI, followed by a demand for French education for Algerian children, a revolution in 1954, a war between 1954-1962, the achievement of independence in 1956, mass emigration to France during the 1960s, and today Algerians living in France are a population largely characterised by retention of their Arabic language and Islamic faith, in spite of more than 100 years of being subjected to assimilation policies.

²⁴ Cartoon by Michelle Nguyen (2016): “Our Education System”.

From the Algerian experience, we can see that the lines between assimilation and independence interweave over time and according to external conditions. Economy is a key driver in education, and as a result **education can be a site of negotiation between the dominant and dominated cultures**; for example when education facilitates upward mobility, travel and employment opportunities.

Importantly, participation in education does not signify submission to the assimilationist policies that frame the education system, as resistance and resilience can ensure that language and culture occupy space within and around the dominant language and culture. Rather, **education can form people, but the formative effect of first language, culture and beliefs is profound and essential to our sense of who we are and what we want from life**. The example of Algeria shows that in spite of aggressive assimilation policies over a sustained period, a strong collective identity formed over centuries remains of primary importance and therefore finds avenues for the continuity of language and culture.

4. Assimilationist past in New Zealand: from missionaries to multiculturalism

In New Zealand, assimilation of Māori children into a newly formed colonial education system began through the English and French missionary movement. Schools for Māori children were attached to mission stations, the earliest school being opened in 1816 by the English Anglican missionary Thomas Kendall, at Rangihoua.

Prior to the wave of British immigration that broke on the shores of Aotearoa post-1840, the scarce numbers of Europeans in NZ meant that these early seeds of assimilationist thinking and activity sown by the missionary movement did not pose any significant threat to Māori in terms of language rights or continuity of cultural traditions and lifestyle. Quite the contrary, in fact — early accounts of missionaries in NZ provide a record of bicultural exchange in which the Europeans who came often gained unique insight into Māori culture, and developed ways of living that integrated harmoniously with their Māori hosts (Salmond, 2018).

4.1 French missionary influence

An inspiring example of this is the life's work of Suzanne Aubert, a French Catholic nun of Pompallier's Marist Order in Lyon, who arrived in NZ in 1860. Mother Aubert, or Meri Hohepa as she later became known, was instrumental in setting up several early schools for the care and education of Māori girls, and later developed a bicultural medical practice that married Māori medicinal knowledge with Western medicine. The first school, the Nazareth Institution set up in 1862 in Auckland, was run by French nuns along with the first two Māori nuns, Peata and Ateraita. It was Peata, the niece of a great Ngāpuhi chief Rewa, who taught Mother Aubert the Māori language and passed on Māori cultural knowledge, which enabled the French nun to develop genuine relationships with the local Māori communities based on their language and existing ways of living.

Suzanne Aubert also regularly visited Māori *pā* (villages) to teach children on-site, and published a Māori-French phrase book for French missionaries to learn the language, as well as a revision of a Māori prayer book and a French-Māori dictionary (unpublished) (Munro, 1992). These were gestures that were quite different in tone to the assimilationist political activities being carried out during the same period by the British colonial government in NZ, who were intent on legislative directives across all areas of governance of the population that would turn Māori into "British citizens". Mother Aubert's work remains a testament to exchanges between European and Māori that recognised the value of existing knowledge, and sought to harmoniously integrate the two knowledge systems, rather than imposing European norms at the expense of local culture (Munro, 1992).

4.2. English-only in schools

With Britain's colonisation project in full swing by 1840, and a formal British colonial government in power which had secured the cooperation of Māori through the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, schools and education policies were set up. Assimilationist policies for the education of Māori children were characterised by teaching only in the English language from 1847. The Education Ordinance Act 1847 ruled that mission schools were to teach all children, including Māori, in accordance with four principles: religious instruction, industrial training, instruction in the English language and government inspection (Fleras & Spoonley, 1999).

This marked the beginning of an overtly assimilationist education policy in colonial New Zealand, which continued until 1931²⁵. The Native Schools Act 1867 set up segregated schooling, in which schools for Māori children and European children ran parallel until 1969. “Native schools” were required under the Act to teach only in English, and the Māori language was banned. Māori children who went through this period of education have since described the painful, violent experience of this assimilationist approach, as did author Mihipeka Edwards (1918-2008):

“In ‘Early Years’ she recalled the painful impact of the influenza epidemic, the war years, and the devastating treatment of Maori in schools in the early part of the twentieth century” said Mrs Turia. “She told us of being strapped for calling cat, ‘ngeru’ or apple, ‘aporo” said Mrs Turia. “Simple but savage lessons in assimilation which never left her”. Mihipeka wrote: “I wanted to write about how the Maori people lost the language, to let it be known how it really did happen. I made a vow in my heart that one day I would tell it from every point, every pinnacle, every roof top, so that there would be no more misunderstanding. I would let people know how important it is to hold fast to your identity, because without your reo [language] you are nothing.” (Māori Party press release, 23/5/2008)

I was fortunate to spend time with Aunty Mihi in Wellington during the early 2000s, and to farewell her with family and friends at Parawai Marae in Ngongotaha, Rotorua in 2008. She instilled in me a profound respect for Māori language and cultural ways of being, and I am very grateful to her. *Kia ora mo nga huruhuru o aku parirau, e kuia.*

4.3 Assimilation to whose cultural norms?

In terms of NZ’s historical assimilationist policies, the story of biculturalism frames intercultural relations within the country today. The British, as the first immigrants to a New Zealand peopled by the indigenous Māori, transposed their model of assimilation onto early bicultural relations. Since then, increasing immigration to NZ from all over the world has shaped a process of “cultural layering”, in which social diversity has necessitated steps towards an integration model.

In a country with a small population of still under 5 million, “assimilation” no longer carries weight when the majority of the population are immigrants²⁶. The question becomes “assimilation” into whose cultural norms? Therefore, as essentially a bicultural nation composed of a majority of immigrants, New Zealand’s form of integration should be increasingly about defining and working towards true equality amongst people, their languages and cultures.

Section A conclusion: NZ and France share a colonial shame

In both countries, the assimilationist objective was framed within the colonial imperative: the expansion of an empire, and promulgation of Christianity/Catholicism and its associated social and “moral” values. The assimilation histories of New Zealand and France are similar, in that linguistic, cultural and religious assimilation went hand-in-hand.

Within the colonial framework, **schools were sites for the enactment of language and cultural dominance** over the colonised peoples: Māori in NZ stepped into a European cultural space, and were prevented from speaking their own language; and French schools in African colonies taught only in French and had as objective the creation of French citizens. Assimilationist policies in education therefore formed part of a wider colonial governmental project to establish **the dominance of the English/French language** and a system of education based on the English/French models.

In New Zealand, the segregation of Māori children into “native schools” governed by laws defining assimilationist objectives formed part of a brutal colonial campaign to eradicate Māori language and culture. Similarly to the Algerian resilience in the face of French colonisation, post-colonial Māori have transformed the violence of language loss and cultural erosion into a healthy revival and revitalisation of indigenous language and culture. Education has also been a primary site for enacting this reclaiming of identity and

²⁵ In 1931, a new policy of adaptation in education aimed at Māori was introduced.

²⁶ In 2003, NZ’s population reached 4 million for the first time, and has since increased to almost 4.9 million in 2018. (NZ Migration statistics)

heritage, with Māori setting goals for language continuation amongst the young generation through Māori immersion education in *kohanga reo* in particular (Waka Huia, 2018).

Section B: Steps along the *intégration* /integration continuum

Since the 1880s and historical assimilation, both countries have moved further along the educational continuum towards integrationist policies and practices, in response to growing numbers of immigrant and plurilingual students within schools. This is no doubt also a beneficial by-product of a wider global evolution in the understanding and treatment of cultural and linguistic diversity, as well as the times we live in, in which travel and periods of temporary migration have become much more a normal part of many people's life experience. The 1980s signalled a decisive turning-point away from an assimilation model towards integrationist thinking. However, while **NZ has continued along the integrationist trajectory** and is demonstrating commitment to a cohesive integrity between immigration policy and integration practices, France's conservative right-wing influenced the beginnings of a differentialist rhetoric in the 1980s, resulting in **a moderate French version of "intégration" that aims for inclusion while retaining aspects of the assimilation model.** We look briefly at this turning-point towards integrationist thinking in both countries, to see how France and New Zealand are pursuing different versions of integration.

1. Regional and Indigenous languages

1.1 France's regional languages lead "intégration" debate

The 1970s and '80s saw a turn towards differentialism in France, as a reaction towards the strong French assimilationist tradition. Differentialism, the recognition of "*droit à la différence*", gained popularity and there was a significant move in public opinion to include **more moderate views on the rights of individuals to retain cultural difference**, than had been present in public debate previously in France.

As a precursor to this mellowing of views on the right to cultural differentiation, during the preceding decade regional languages in France had gained political ground that would pave the way for official recognition of regional languages within the French public education system from the 1980s. At the initiative of parents, regional languages embarked on a language and cultural revival movement through formal education, in response to a steep decline in intergenerational transmission of these languages. The Breton language, for example, dropped from 1,158,000 speakers in 1928 to 304,000 speakers in 1997 (Rogers and McLeod, 2006), signalling a clear case of language attrition.

Similarly to the case of the first Māori immersion schools in New Zealand, the revival of regional languages was spear-headed by parents and local community who developed immersion and bilingual education systems, and once the first schools had been established, government support followed. The first bilingual regional language school opened in the Basque country in 1969, followed by the first Bressola in French Catalonia in 1976, and the first Breton Diwan in 1977. In 1982, the public education system opened to the official teaching of regional languages, leading to bilingual sections (*classes bilingues*) within French schools. Today, according to Insee statistics, about 272,000 students are enrolled in bilingual regional language education in France²⁷.

The regional languages educational movement is however subject to both internal and external tensions. Internally, teachers describe a sense of disaffection on the part of students, who are demotivated by the fact that regional languages remain little spoken as "living languages" within the regions (interview with Anne, a Breton teacher, 15/7/2016). The exceptions are notably in Catalonia, and also in the Basque country, where language revival in education forms part of a more widespread political movement for cultural recognition and political independence, and the regional language has a presence in media and daily life. Externally, the French reticence towards the support of languages other than French as the language of the Republic, continues to create tension around the status, protection and continuation of regional languages. This tension is visible in two areas of French law:

- (1) The French Constitution states that "*la langue de la République est le français*" (Article 2, 1995), and also states that "*langues régionales appartiennent au patrimoine de la France*" (2008). So regional

²⁷ Les langues les plus recherchées sont: l'alsacien (73.000 élèves), l'occitan (62.000 élèves), le breton (35.000 élèves), le corse (34.000 élèves), le créole (17.000 élèves), le basque (14.000 élèves), le catalan (13.000 élèves). (Insee, 2011)

languages are accorded an official status alongside the language of the Republic, as part of the patrimony of France.

- (2) The European Charter of regional or minority languages (*la Charte européenne des langues régionales ou minoritaires*) was signed by the French government in 1999, but the Senat rejected ratification of the Charter in 2015. The Charter is designed to protect and promote regional languages, and non-ratification signifies a perceived threat that regional languages may usurp space in public life that is currently monopolised by the national language. The teaching of French as the only national language was instated under the Third Republic (1870-1940), along with a secular and free public education system (Escudé, 2013).

1.2 What about a French form of “*intégration*”?

The regional languages debate is ongoing, and forms a key part of the political landscape in which the inclusion of immigrant languages and cultures in education is also situated. Similarly to the case of Māori language rights in NZ, national policies for language inclusiveness must necessarily prioritise French regional languages with an official status and protection under the European Charter before immigrant languages can be given appropriate consideration.

However, while the regional languages debate is still alive and kicking in France, the debate around immigrant integration turned briefly towards the right to diversity and cultural maintenance during the 1980s, then settled back into the assimilationist narrative. The controversy centres on France’s “one nation, one language, one people” philosophy that derives from the notion of the Republic, and is deeply inscribed in the French political and social DNA. According to French thinking, and as described by authors Nadeau and Barlow (2003):

“Assimilation is a very positive concept in France. Assimilation means being integrated into the whole politically, culturally, socially, linguistically, and economically. No one in France really associates it with a loss of cultural heritage, ethnic identity or mother tongue. The policy was adopted as a complement to centralisation and citizenship.” (p.68)

This points to a key in the process of pursuing any comparative study of France with another country — that is, that fundamental **thinking about citizenship, social participation, equality and integration comes from a French perspective. And that perspective is uniquely shaped by the history of the people’s revolution of 1789 and subsequent redefining of *l’État* through Republican values.**

It can be said that France is the paradigmatic example of assimilationist policies and practices, and that the brief dabble in differentialist discourse never sat comfortably alongside centuries of entrenched assimilationist politics. What we are seeing in 2021 in French politics and media rhetoric around immigration is a continuation of the political trajectory that had already been defined and well-travelled over the course of some 250 years of assimilationist politics.

2. Revival of Māori language and culture: New Zealand turns towards integration

In New Zealand, the turn away from assimilation towards integration also began during the 1980s, heralded in by a heightened social awareness of racism (the Springboks Rugby Tour anti-apartheid protests of 1981) and a political awakening to the special place of Te Reo Māori in New Zealand (according of the formal status of Māori as a national language in 1987).

The domain of education was the primary site for enacting the move towards recognition of Māori language rights. The first of the Māori immersion pre-schools, *kohanga reo* was opened in 1982, and within a year more than 100 “Māori language nests” had been set up all over the country, largely at parent initiatives and with very little government help. Today, there are about 9000 children attending the 460 *kohanga* operating, representing 5% of all NZ children in preschool education (Te Kohanga Reo, 2018).

This first step towards claiming a place within the formal education environment for the revival of Māori language and culture signalled a very significant step away from the assimilationist education norms of the past. Māori parents and elders were providing a means to ensure that their children, and future generations, had access to education in their language of heritage; a step that effectively broke the cycle of assimilation and exclusion of Māori and their language within the education domain (Durie, 1998). The Māori language

claimed space within the British education paradigm, announcing at once a new autonomy and a fresh bicultural partnership: *Te Reo* was no longer solely the language of the *marae* and the home, but also became a language of schooling, thereby marking the bilingual intention of Māori for future generations. Parents now had the choice of education for their children in the Māori language — a choice that has since been extended all the way through the education sector, from pre-school to tertiary.

2.1 Biculturalism in NZ's identity

Indeed, in this way education has played a formative role in New Zealand's national identity, as the trajectory away from assimilationist education policies to a Māori-initiated bilingual partnership in the education domain has facilitated a strong revival of Māori language and culture that has become a proud part of "who we are". As Liu (2008) points out, biculturalism has come to represent New Zealand's nationhood and identity on the international stage, while at the same time demonstrating our awareness of historical injustices under colonialism and the "living biculturalism" that we embrace ideologically today.

However, while New Zealand's national identity is cited as a model in terms of biculturalism and consultative forms of integration, and it is recognised that NZ upholds a constitutional imperative for intercultural dialogue that serves to include Māori views in many political domains, there is also the reality that philosophical and actual support for biculturalism are often in tension. Michael King (2012) points to this tension in NZ's social and political identity, stating that *pākeha* are seeking a "mutuality of respect". That is, that the wrongs done under colonial power be laid to rest, and *mana* be restored in equal measure to both Māori and *pākeha* descendants in NZ today:

"Pākeha felt that they ought not be viewed by Māori as tau iwi or aliens, representatives of a colonising power that merely stole material and cultural resources from Māori and gave nothing in return." (p.518)

The internal complexities of NZ society in which biculturalism and multiculturalism are in constant tension are therefore considerable, and inform the current social and political climate, and furthermore, the future direction of integration policies for immigrant communities.

Within this socio-political climate we find multiple political, economic and educational strategies trying to **navigate a safe route between biculturalism and the liberal democracy of multiculturalism**. Biculturalism is also a political strategy, and risks becoming subjugated to political purposes such as promoting NZ's positive self-image as a tolerant society that respects indigenous rights and nature; a self-promotion in which assimilationist policies of the past are reconstituted as "haven't we done well" in our development as a successful bicultural nation today. "Biculturalism" therefore becomes a poster-boy for a current political agenda: to demonstrate the positive progress made in bicultural harmony; and to intimate the wider inclusive aspects of NZ as a modern society that values diversity.

2.2 Can Aotearoa NZ make peace with her "assimilationist past" today?

NZ finds herself in a complicated place at present — largely rid of the overt violence of her assimilationist colonial past, yet dealing anew with "*white supremacy ... , a dark power in the land*", (Salmond, 2019) a pervasive social and political undercurrent that exists in soft and hard forms, and that we were shocked to be confronted by in the recent terrorist attack at two mosques in Christchurch²⁸. Alongside this co-exists the ongoing and positive work that Aotearoa New Zealand is putting into developing policy approaches that reflect the nation's multicultural and increasingly inclusive aspirations.

New Zealand takes a "young country" approach to social construction in which a "Kiwi identity" is still being formed through the interweaving of diverse cultural strands. Unlike the French form of integration, where established social norms set a standardised French societal framework into which immigrants are expected to integrate, the New Zealand social context is still under negotiation, leaving open the possibility of collaborative construction between newcomers and "Kiwis", and the building of new shared understandings. We say that everyone comes from an immigrant background in New Zealand, whether a newly arrived immigrant or a 7th generation descendant of immigrants, as are my grandchildren. Even

²⁸ It is important to note that the terrorist was Australian, a white supremacist raised in Australia, who "did not get his ideology here" (Jacinda Ardern, parliamentary address, 21/3/2019). However, the tragedy has forced New Zealanders to self-reflect on our subliminal attitudes towards ethnic minority communities and immigrants, and respected historian Anne Salmond levelled a hard-hitting opinion article on NZ's entrenched "white supremacist" attitudes that persist in the present day.

many indigenous Māori also claim mixed ancestry of immigrant origins. As such, a New Zealand identity remains relatively fluid and resistant to a fixed definition. As Liu (2008), a New Zealander of Chinese-American origins, explores:

“To understand New Zealand identity, therefore, is to grasp the dynamic interplay between two factors: the shared knowledge on which it is based, and the comparative context or divisions in the social environment that define who is in and who is out of the group. Nationality is not the only means for organising society: competing formulations based on class, religion, marketplace or ethnicity offer alternative boundaries. These layers of identities define the shifting centre and multiple margins of New Zealand society.” (p.10)

And how are these current multiple and intersecting influences of biculturalism, multiculturalism, immigration and national identity shaping the ideology of integration in New Zealand? Liu (2008) points to the *“principle of non-assimilable difference”* as the modern political ideology guiding NZ’s bicultural direction, and the positive outcomes in daily life and national identity:

“This is an extremely important principle that goes beyond simple tolerance of difference ... into working out a relationship between groups.” (pp.14-15)

The big question for New Zealand’s healthy development as a nation today, is whether this principle can be extrapolated to embrace the diversity of our ethnic minority communities. Can Aotearoa New Zealand develop a particular form of liberal democracy that also “goes beyond simple tolerance of difference” to construct deeper relationships between the dominant *pākehā* ethnic group, Māori *iwi*, and the wide range of ethnic minority communities?

The primary importance of biculturalism is acknowledged and enshrined within NZ law. The rights of ethnic minority communities fall under general legislative rule and the protective rights accorded by citizenship — a further reflection of the functioning of liberal democracy: equality for all, but no specified measures of recognition or protection for migrant languages and cultures. How can we place this within an integrationist national ideology that has grown out of an assimilationist past? And the fact that New Zealand adheres to a self-proclaimed image as progressively inclusive, multicultural and welcoming of diversity, suggests a desire to enact (not just articulate) that sense of acceptance and inclusion. The ongoing work in forging a sustainable bicultural relationship offers a sense of positive potential for NZ’s future direction in integration politics for migrant communities.

Section B conclusion

In conclusion, France and New Zealand are pursuing different versions of integration, as a result of differing views of individual rights to retain cultural and linguistic difference. In France, the regional languages debate is at the forefront of this, and just as this thesis is being finalised, a landmark Bill proposing the protection and promotion of regional languages has been voted in by French parliament. The new law, passed on 8th April 2021, introduces two important changes:

“... l’instauration de l’enseignement immersif (effectué pour une grande partie du temps scolaire dans une langue autre que la langue dominante) et la création d’un forfait scolaire pour les écoles privées dispensant une scolarisation en langues régionales.” (franceinfo, 9/4/2021)

This marks a significant moment in the history of France’s linguistic hegemony in education through monolingual policies, and signals a move towards recognition of the value of regional languages and cultures as not only patrimony, but as languages with value for the education of French children today.

Similarly, New Zealand also lived a seminal moment with the recognition of Māori as an official language in 1987, preceded by the opening of the first *kohanga reo* language nests in 1982. Since the 1980s, Māori language revitalisation has put down deep roots through education, and strengthened “a living biculturalism” in multiple and real ways. There are also social questions arising in NZ from tensions between biculturalism and multiculturalism, and the future direction of integration policies for immigrant communities and minority languages.

Section C: Integration of immigrant children: success in education

For plurilingual children, assimilationist approaches to education in the past have led to high levels of failure and systemic exclusion, as the “non-negotiable” nature of assimilation requires plurilingual children to effectively sink or swim within the dominant culture of the education system. The pathways towards sustainable educational outcomes for immigrant and indigenous children are not the same, as factors impacting on identity are transmitted through the continuation of language in different ways. These include **how identities are attached to language and culture** as either part of stories of colonisation and survival (in the case of Māori) or as stories of arrival and making a new life (in the case of immigrants). Yet, as in New Zealand’s case, work on indigenous language rights has forged a positive national evolution in thinking and behaviours around language inclusiveness and the right to cultural continuity. While indigenous communities seek autonomy and particular forms of participation within and alongside the dominant culture, **immigrant communities seek sustainable forms of integration that allow for multiple facets of identity to be nourished over time: plurilingualism, multiculturalism, immigration stories.**

1. What is integration?

Two definitions of integration are of interest to this research. Marie-Rose Moro, French child psychologist and professor at Université Paris-Descartes, proposes a definition of **integration as a process of “métissage” (interweaving)**. The work of John Berry, Professor Emeritus of Psychology at Queen's University in Canada, has been highly influential in developing a new definition of **integration as “a two-way process” of reciprocal and mutual acculturation between immigrants and host societies.**

1.1 Moro’s “métissage” (interweaving)

Moro’s notion of “*métissage*” or interweaving of cultures, is an integral process undertaken by both immigrants and the societies they live in. Since the very earliest human migration movements, the real story lies in the meeting of peoples and the changes resulting from how cultures collide, negotiate understanding, and eventually interweave (Salmond, 2018). With international migratory movements comes also the possibility of the movement and exchange of ideas, and with this, the challenge that modern societies face is to respond creatively in order to interweave ideas. The complex experience of migration is therefore a dynamic, ongoing process of exchange that is both social and personal, and can be conceptualised spatially as a horizontal and vertical “becoming” (Moro, 2011).

Moro describes that the real journey of migration and integration that has existed forever is “*l’enjeu de métissage*”, the process of interweaving. On an individual level, migration entails an investing of self in this world of the present while drawing on the world of parents and ancestry: an oscillation between memory of the past and desire for a future, that results in a dynamic movement towards “becoming” a new self. At times caught between the verticality of conscious and unconscious transmissions from the culture of origin and the horizontality of here and now, immigrants are obliged to continue the journey of migration well beyond the physical journey. Moro’s description explains this aspect of the nature of migration as not just a question of geography, geo-politics, history and anthropology, but also the fact that there is a process of imprinting and re-imprinting of these larger world processes on the individual self. And I add that this raises questions of the role of intergenerational collective memory and its presence in the experience of migration — how did our ancestors mobilise and re-mobilise their lives in the search for new selves? And how have their stories been transmitted to us, so that it becomes our work to transform and re-visit their experiences? In this concept, the interweaving or “*métissage*” work extends both back through time and the unconscious memory of individuals, families and earlier generations, and forward into time as uncertain futures are carved out by migrants in the present.

A further concept related to this interweaving is Sartre’s view that the “other” is a subjectively constructed version of “that which is not like me”. In his play “No Exit”, Sartre dramatises the act of “othering” that we enact and have enacted upon us — that is, to be categorised, diminished or stereotyped as “the other” in the gaze of our fellow human beings. In this concept, how we look at others defines them — an experience that all migrants recognise, as leaving one’s home means becoming unknown, a stranger, and without the credibility derived from a shared social history. A re-conceptualising of this concept of “otherness” which is less brutal and allows an opening into the interweaving concept of migration, is an “other” that is different yet not in opposition — such as male and female. Moro terms this “*un système de*

reliance” — a system of interdependence which suggests a harmonious marrying of differences with the possibility of mutual learning, co-creation and new life (Moro, 2011, p.41).

1.2. Berry’s integration = a two-way process

The integration model, as a two-way process, is viewed as a possible solution in improving outcomes for immigrant children in education, and is described as more sophisticated, acknowledging that there is a **process of negotiation between the dominant and minority groups involving genuine inclusion of immigrant children and their families in education.**

An evolution in thinking about the nature of the integration process can be traced through behaviourist theories of the 1960s to more complex notions of how integration takes place. The research of John Berry and others since the 1970s marks a turning-point in how integration has become conceptualised, and there are now concurring theories about the nature of integration as an interactive process between immigrant communities and individuals, and their host societies:

“... Integration can only be “freely” chosen and successfully pursued by non-dominant groups when the dominant society is open and inclusive in its orientation towards cultural diversity (Berry, 1991). Thus a mutual accommodation is required for integration to be attained, involving the acceptance by both groups of the right of all groups to live as culturally different peoples. This strategy requires non-dominant groups to adopt the basic values of the larger society, while at the same time the dominant group must be prepared to adapt national institutions (e.g. education, health, labour) to better meet the needs of all groups now living together in the plural society.” (Berry, 1997, p.27)

This concept describes integration as a strategy in which the immigrant and host society are interactively co-creating social attitudes and policies that have mutually beneficial outcomes. In this conception, integration is consciously organised, important work to be carried out by both parties, for mutual gains and in order to avoid mutual losses:

“... acculturation involves mutual accommodation (i.e. integration as defined here). There are obvious costs to both sides: to the dominant society in changing school curricula and health services; to the acculturating group in shedding some aspects of their culture that are valued but not adaptive. However, the costs of not adopting integrationist policies are likely to be even greater, especially if segregation and marginalisation are the end result (Berry, 1991; Roosens, 1988).” (Berry, 1997, pp.28-29)

For this research project on immigrant teenagers within the context of two different education systems, this current definition of integration is highly appropriate. It captures a dynamic interplay between political and personal factors and the trickle-down effect on how well immigrant teens *experience integration at school*, that is: national ideologies that translate into immigrant integration policies and refugee resettlement policies, that in turn are evident in how education systems treat immigrant students and their languages, and have an effect on how immigrant families and children experience and respond to such treatment.

What is taking place is a **complex two-way process** in which both immigrants and host societies are mutually building intercultural understanding, and through that process, communication skills, mutual acceptance, more successful settlement outcomes, and ultimately social cohesion. In this conception of integration, both immigrants and host societies are involved in a dynamic movement over time that functions at a policy level and a human experience level. That is, how policy and practice are directed by government, and how immigrant communities are responding according to their lived experience.

In the following paragraphs, the lived experience of young immigrants in schools in France and NZ are discussed, looking at international OECD measures and studies on integration of migrant youth in each country.

2. OECD integration measures for young immigrants

The international measure of how successfully migrant youth integrate into education refers to longitudinal statistics from OECD countries. The PISA test ranks the education systems of OECD countries, placing countries according to quantitative testing of 15-year-old migrant and non-migrant students in reading, maths

and science. There is also a further qualitative test of how strong a **sense of belonging** students feel within their school community, that sets a gauge for how well school systems are integrating different kinds of students. OECD's tri-annual reports on PISA test findings are of great interest to this research project, as these provide the most reliable measures of immigrant teens' school performance at the age of 15, and indicate globally which individual and systemic factors help and hinder immigrant teens in their school achievement (discussed in detail in Part 1 Chapter 4).

2.1 A sense of belonging at school

One indication of how well immigrant students are integrating into the new school community is to what degree students feel they "belong" at school. The OECD asked this question of immigrant students at two points in the long-term study conducted on the success of immigrant students in school — in 2003 and again in 2012. Students were asked to respond "*strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree*" to the question "How strongly do you feel you belong at school?"

Results showed that **in France, second-generation immigrant students feel most alienated within their schools** (39% express a strong sense of belonging), with less of a sense of belonging than first-generation immigrant students (42%) and local students (45%). In the case of second generation immigrant teens, this is perhaps due to the sense of floating between two sets of cultural expectations — the dream of immigrant parents and their story of immigration is a step removed in time from the story of their children, who were born in France and have a new story to live. These children, according to French law, are still classified as "*émigré*" due to the fact that their parents were born in another country, and even though second generation immigrant children were born in France they are not granted the status of French nationals by birth. 38% of second generation immigrant children speak the language of their parents at home rather than French, as do 68% of first generation immigrant children (OECD global averages, 2018). The sense of alienation among immigrant children in French schools may also be partly due to monolingual education policies which render the child's first language invisible, as well as generally suspicious attitudes towards "foreigners" in France. France is quite a hard country in which to be a newly-arrived foreigner, and being foreign means developing resilience and making extra effort to integrate socially in order to become accepted.

As example, in observations at the local *collège* here in Bordeaux, I saw a 13-year-old Portuguese girl in a Maths class making repeated overtures at friendship with the French girl sitting next to her, which were ignored. It is difficult to be accepted and make friends at times as a newly-arrived immigrant, and even more so as an immigrant teen, when language is limited and the local children are not educated in being aware of, and taking care of, those who are not like them (an intergroup ideology termed "*le colorblind*" that tolerates difference but seeks equality through not remarking difference (Nugier et al, 2021)). Findings on intercultural relations in New Zealand schools during adolescence report similar difficulties for immigrant students, particularly between short-stay international fee-paying students and local students (Butcher and McGrath, 2004).

In New Zealand, on the other hand, second-generation immigrant students express the greatest sense of belonging (83%), with first-generation immigrant students not far behind (81%); while the group that feel most alienated at school are local students (78%). It is interesting to speculate that perhaps this result reflects in part the fact that New Zealand society defines itself by its diversity and by its social composition as an immigrant society. And that perhaps New Zealand's history as a nation of immigrants translates into a sense of valuing and accepting the experiences of immigration and resettlement in a new country. Every New Zealander has a story of immigration, whether it be ancestral dating back 6 or 7 generations, or more recent. New Zealanders are therefore often heard to say, "We're all immigrants in this country", expressing some sense of inclusiveness. As explored in the earlier chapter on New Zealand's national identity construction (Part 1, Chapter 2), the social nuances and prejudices are more complex than this statement belies, however the underlying idea of immigration as a normative part of New Zealand's population profile is strong in the national consciousness.

3. Key findings from this study on young migrants and school integration

My study carried out in two schools between 2017-2019 provides strong indicators for the kinds of interventions needed in teacher training, based on a comparison of the schooling experiences of 42 asylum-seeker, refugee and migrant background teenagers in both countries. The study looks closely at integration processes in mainstream classes, by following 4 case studies of students in the age range of 13-15, for exactly the reasons outlined above. Immigrant students who arrive after the age of 12 find themselves in a

crucial period of preparation for school evaluations that will determine their future education pathways. At the same time, within this critical period they need to acquire both communicative and academic skills in the language-of-schooling, in order to meet the demands of school curricula, while integrating successfully into an unfamiliar school system.

I point out three key findings from my research that underline **the importance of integration as a two-way process, specific to immigrant teenagers in schools**:

- **An incongruence between integration policy and practice in education.**
“Integration” is commonly stated as an educational policy goal for migrant and refugee students, yet in both countries how that translates into educational practice is highly variable. Limitations include teacher training for best practice in working with plurilingual students, school curriculum objectives (are these inclusive of linguistic and cultural diversity?), and government-funded learning support in schools during the newly-arrived phase (for example, language-of-schooling support, teacher aides).
- **A need for schools to stimulate rich, purposeful interactions between migrant and local communities within the education domain.**
Each interaction serves as a site for both potential cultural conflict and mutual learning that could cultivate intercultural empathy. There is an inherent power imbalance within these interactions, which may be individual (immigrant student / local student) or systemic (immigrant student / education system). This points to the need for a conscious approach to integration as “two-way” and a heightened social awareness on the part of both parties, in order that integration be consensually negotiated, rather than the terms of integration being dictated and defined by the dominant majority.
- **Languages are central to the integration process.**
Languages can also take a much more active part in the two-way integration process, when education systems formally recognise and include migrant languages in the educational environment.

In both France and New Zealand we can find current examples of these three tiers in the “integration as two-way” process. In France, there is incongruence between integration policies and recommendations made by the Council of Europe, and the lived experience of young immigrants in France who reject the notion of, and the very term, “*intégration*”. Similarly in New Zealand, policy and practice are incongruent, as refugee resettlement policies are opening up new resettlement zones in rural areas, in spite of social attitudes in those areas which risk excluding ethnic minority immigrants. Both of these examples highlight **the important role that schools can play in the two-way integration process, by including the languages of their immigrant children**. This inclusion can take the form of either facilitating the child’s ongoing language maintenance (as recommended by the Council of Europe), or providing spaces where immigrant languages and cultures can be experienced and appreciated by the local community.

4. France and “*intégration*” of migrant youth

The education of migrant children in Europe is accompanied by a host of **human rights** instruments, as well as Council of Europe recommendations and resolutions, within which the responsibilities of European countries are highlighted, and the **rights of migrant children** are protected. One such responsibility is that countries facilitate the integration of migrant children, while at the same time maintaining the child’s linguistic and cultural heritage for the possibility of reintegration to their home country in the future. This amounts to a dual responsibility in language education, as prescribed in Article 19 of the European Social Charter (revised, 1996), that signatories:

“11 promote and facilitate the teaching of the national language of the receiving state or, if there are several, one of these languages, to migrant workers and members of their families;

12 promote and facilitate, as far as practicable, the teaching of the migrant worker’s mother tongue to the children of the migrant worker.”

These responsibilities are clearly set out in the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (1992; article 8.1) and the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (1995; article 14.2), both of which state that the teaching of regional or minority languages should be without prejudice to the teaching of the official language(s) of the state (Council of Europe, 2010). In terms of language inclusiveness

therefore, **European law and policy recommend language policies in education that support the plurilingual competences that immigrant children have, while prioritising the child's integration through learning the national language.** The status of immigrant languages remains aspirational rather than mandatory, as there is no absolute requirement for schools in either France or New Zealand to “promote and facilitate” the child's first language as part of their education.

Recent developments in European policy that support the case for languages in education come largely from the Council of Europe. In the *White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue and the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) (2008)*, intercultural dialogue is defined as “a process that comprises an open and respectful exchange of views between individuals and groups with different ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic backgrounds and heritage, on the basis of mutual understanding and respect.” (p.16) The paper takes into account **the individual perspective of personal growth, adaptation and development of a multiplicity of plurilingual and intercultural skills.** Alongside this sits the social perspective that integration of immigrants is a two-way process in which **non-violence and solidarity form part of a raft of social and political benefits that define inclusive societies.** This two-sided definition of intercultural dialogue points to an important and highly topical shift taking place in the European political environment. That is, a growing awareness that integration processes can no longer be confined to the teaching of the national language and the one-sided cultural assimilation of migrants.

For immigrants themselves and their descendants in France, the term *intégration* has been consistently denounced as typical of the view of mainstream society — that French society is one that continues to impose its norms as dominant, thereby subjugating immigrants and ignoring their legitimate right to difference, and the right to adhere to an intercultural identity. Particularly for children born in France to immigrant parents, the term is seen as stigmatising and designed to single out immigrants from the rest of French society. In 2003, Azouz Begag, (a sociologist who later was appointed Minister for the Promotion of Equal Opportunity in 2005, within the Ministry for Employment, Social Cohesion and Accommodation), condemned the term *intégration* with the following explanation:

“However, for those of immigrant origins living in our suburbs, the word “integration” grates on their ears, as aggressive, insulting, almost provoking. The word integration ... bears no relation at all to the current situation in areas with immigrant populations. That's where the young people are. Right in the middle. That's even where they were born! This is why the word integration has become out-dated. It has passed its use-by-date.” (Begag, 2003, p.8, translated by author)

We hear here that for immigrants themselves, the term “*intégration*” has become loaded with a negative political meaning — a kind-of backwash effect from France's immigration policies over generations. In response to this term, immigrants feel dominated, not integrated. Lapeyronnie (1992) says that the term highlights unequal social relations that still exist between those of immigrant descent and the local population, and that to speak about “*intégration*” revisits the heavy past that immigrants have lived as second-class citizens in France. Young people with immigrant origins now refute the term as restricting them to a disempowering category that is not the reality that they live, nor the whole story that they and their immigrant parents have lived.

5. NZ and integration of migrant youth

In New Zealand, an example of where integration policy and practice remain similarly in conflict, is in refugee resettlement policies which are currently proposing opening rural areas for resettlement. The valid concern is that these proposed new resettlement zones have no experience of ethnic minority communities living in their midst, and have a fairly fixed small-town mentality in terms of inclusive practices towards racial, cultural and linguistic diversity.

Ethnic minority communities living in New Zealand are less dispersed around the country than Māori and *pākehā*, tending to remain grouped in major cities (for example, more than 50% of the Pacific Island population lives in Auckland). However, the cost of housing is forcing a rural diaspora with lower socio-economic immigrant and refugee families being “placed” in small rural townships as part of state-assisted resettlement packages. Several agencies working in refugee resettlement and support services pointed to this in recent interviews: for example, an education leader interviewed at English Language Partners, an English language school for refugee and migrant adults, stated that:

“New centres are opening up for refugee resettlement. Dunedin, Levin and Masterton are ticked for opening up as refugee resettlement centres. However, the ChangeMakers forum was hesitant, as one of the concerns is racism in small communities.” (interview, 8/4/2019).

This rural diaspora heralds a potential impact on language inclusion in schools; as rural schools tend to be less linguistically diverse than city schools, a larger immigrant population will introduce more diversity. However, the existing inexperience with diversity in NZ’s rural areas means that there is a high potential for racism and exclusion of immigrant families who are resettled in small towns as a result of policy change rather than personal choice. Whether rural schools will take an active stance in incorporating and encouraging this new linguistic and cultural diversity will be a matter left to school leadership and School Board choices.

Even in urban schools, where the majority of migrant and refugee families currently settle in NZ, a gap in achievement between students of different countries of origin has been clearly identified. As statically evidenced in the chapter on “Language Inclusiveness” in this thesis, Pasifika children underperform all other immigrant groups academically in New Zealand schools, and both government and institutional research continues to be carried out to identify factors impacting on school achievement (Education Counts, 2017). A 2007 study by Otunuku-Brown researched the academic performance of Pasifika and Tongan students in correlation with positive affects, across reading, writing and mathematics. This significant New Zealand-based study had nearly 70,000 participants, of whom 6,938 (9.1%) were Pasifika. The majority of Tongan students included in the study were at secondary schools (97.6%), aged between 13-15, and attending low socio-economic status schools. The study found that in spite of high levels of positive affect towards schooling²⁹ amongst Pasifika students, they achieved lower academic results than their Asian and *pākeha* counterparts. The authors link this finding to **capital deficiency theories (Bourdieu, 1986) in which lower school performance by immigrant students is explained by a lack of access to the resources needed for academic success, be it human, social or cultural.**

Most markedly for Pasifika students in the New Zealand education system, their relative inexperience in competing within an academically-focused education system is a disadvantage. The research findings urge teachers to help low-achieving Pasifika students wake up to the reality that liking school is not enough to achieve on a par with their non-Pasifika peers. I add that **the education system also needs to adapt to the learners, to reflect a genuinely two-way integration process, and that this can in part be achieved by language inclusion policies and teacher training for pedagogical strategies that place plurilingual immigrant students in a more pro-active, responsive position in their learning processes.**

6. Migrant Youth Project (2016-2017)

As a further brief example of the interplay between policy and practice in integration processes, the Migrant Youth Project (2016-2017) undertaken by the NZ Ministry for Business Innovation and Enterprise “*explore(s) the characteristics of recent migrant youth in New Zealand, the barriers and challenges they face in successfully settling here, and the effectiveness of current services in addressing their needs.*” (p.10) The project compared NZ’s settlement outcomes for migrant youth with those of Australia, Canada, USA, UK and Europe, according to OECD indicators of ‘successful’ settlement outcomes for migrant youth. Importantly, the OECD has found that settlement outcomes for young people with an immigrant background indicate how effective settlement policies and practices are overall within a country — “*the benchmark for the success or failure of integration*”. This means that any study carried out by governments as part of developing more effective policies for immigrant integration must include research on settlement outcomes for immigrant youth.

The Migrant Youth Project carried out by the MBIE reviews and compares studies on immigrant youth across anglophone countries. The project reports that there are general trends in findings across studies on migrant youth carried out in NZ, which indicate the importance of schools cultivating “*a culture of belonging*” and “*spaces where cultural knowledge and identity were promoted and enriched*” (Fairburn-Dunlop, 2013). This culture of belonging can be created through languages, and through interactions between migrants and locals that allow for expressions of personal and cultural / intercultural identities:

“The study suggests that, in order to tell new stories, migrants need opportunities to interact with other New Zealanders to create and practise new storylines. Furthermore, New Zealanders also need to be

²⁹ “Positive affect towards schooling” = students expressed that they like school

able to tell new stories about themselves and find ways to connect with migrants in order to promote a culture of belonging. It is suggested that it would be beneficial if spaces within the education system were created in order to allow new possible storylines to emerge which support a culture of belonging.” (Robertson, 2012, abstract)

These findings are in line with international OECD findings on **effective practices for helping young migrants to succeed within the host society** — the key point being that **integration is a two-way process that involves an engagement by both migrants and New Zealanders, in order for co-construction of mutual understanding to take place**. For young migrants, this process of integration begins at school, and needs to be consciously facilitated by educators and school policies targeting successful, sustainable integration of immigrant students. A second key finding is that **language facilitates integration**, in that understanding can be built through meaningful dialogue, personal biography, and an exchange of narratives that promotes connection and a culture of belonging.

Section C conclusion

In conclusion to Section C, and from these examples of current policy and practice in France and NZ, we hear that a key element of the two-way integration process is for **immigrants to recount their lived experiences through personal narrative**, and for local communities and those responsible for developing government policy to be receptive to these actual accounts. Furthermore, a genuine two-way integration process calls for **a receptivity to cultivating new narratives about “ourselves” as a multicultural society**, and embracing a shifting sense of national identity that brings the newly-arrived migrant “them” closer to the established local demographic of “us”. In this way, **intercultural communication** becomes part of integration processes enacted between communities and individuals.

We can conclude that **integration is indeed a social and individual process over time, in which first languages and heritage languages have a role to play, alongside the national language of the host nation**. At an individual level, the inclusion of the child’s language(s) empowers the child in forming a healthy intercultural identity, enables the child to fully participate in the two worlds she occupies socially and cognitively, and authorises her to make use of her existing linguistic and cultural knowledge as part of her learning. Socially, host societies also benefit from this two-way integration process, as perspectives and practices become increasingly inclusive over time, and the systemic violence inherent in the old perspectives and practices of assimilation are gradually replaced by solidarity, mutual understanding, and respect for differences.

Section D: How does the integration model look today in France and Aotearoa?

Today, France and Aotearoa NZ continue to adhere to differing concepts of integration. In France, **a civic conception of national identity** remains strongly linked to Republican values. A French form of “*intégration*” is marked by measures of civic participation, with degrees of negative connotations vis-à-vis certain groups of immigrants, particularly second generation French with migrant origins who are still classified as “*immigré*” and associated with the marginalisation of “*classes dangereuses*” (Schnapper, 2007). In NZ, the concept of **national identity as bi-ethnic** remains similarly linked to NZ’s relatively young constitutional roots in a bicultural treaty between Māori and the British colonial government.

Both countries have increasingly multicultural populations: young newly-arrived immigrants seeking integration through more holistic recognition of their linguistic and cultural identities, alongside existing second and third generation immigrants and their lived experiences of carving out a place within society. Both countries are therefore challenged to reconcile past and present ideologies in ways that are coherent with both the norms of the international community, the needs of their immigrant populations, and with respective conceptions of national identity (civic or ethnic).

1. French context: from “*assimilation*” to emerging “*intégration*”

In the discourse and official terminology of immigration politics in France, the term “*intégration*” has largely taken the place of the term “*assimilation*”, yet not without considerable brow-beating over the implications of welcoming in the new term, and not without resistance from the old term “*assimilation*” and its lingering historical connotations. According to French social sciences researcher Dominique Schnapper, “*intégration*” is associated in the French public consciousness with “*classes dangereuses*” — the immigrant part of the population that is marginalised by their social situation and marked by undesirable social traits such as

delinquency, dissidence and exclusion. And since the recent terrorist attacks by French nationals of second generation immigrant origins, the term has become further associated with terrorism and extremism arising from a sense of alienation from, and lack of integration into, French society. Schnapper (2007) poses the question in response to this entrenched negative association with the term “*intégration*”:

“Fallait-il mener une politique d’intégration, d’assimilation, d’insertion, d’accommodation ou encore une politique “multiculturelle”?” (p.12).

In recent decades, the immigration debate in France has tried on each of these terms for size, and found that none is a perfect fit. The term “*intégration*” in France is still almost synonymous with “*assimilation*” as a concept and practice. The French concept of integration has been criticised as refusing to take into account the diversity of cultural identities, instead adopting the term while not moving far from the old assimilationist practices. On the other hand, multiculturalists are seen as proposing forms of integration too focused on the immigrant as individual, thereby threatening the unity of France as a republican society. France’s conception of, and practices in, integration therefore lie somewhere between those of the modern democratic ideal of integration and those of her historic assimilationist past.

The old term “assimilation” began to diversify in the late 1950s, as researchers began to conceive of the immigrant’s process of resettlement and finding a place within the host society as less of a linear, one-way process, but more of a complex multi-dimensional process implying negotiation between the individual and society. Two aspects of integration are highlighted in this modern understanding of integration, in which the immigrant and host society interact over time, so that the immigrant comes to (a) adopt certain cultural traits of the host society, while at the same time retaining existing cultural beliefs and practices, and (b) participate in diverse areas of social life, which could include continuing to participate in the social life of the home country. From the 1950s and this emerging definition of integration, the old term assimilation came to carry connotations of the violences of the past inflicted on other nations — nationalism, colonisation, imperialism. “Assimilation” came to be seen as a term that denied the cultures and languages of origin of immigrants, resulting in a loss of identity.

Today, the term “integration” has been officially adopted by all EU governments. It denotes, in sociological terms, not simply that individuals conform to existing social norms, but that **individuals “actively participate in the collective life” and in the construction of newly negotiated norms and rules.** While at a political level the term “integration” has found a secure place, there remains in France a disconnect between how immigration politics employ the term, how sociologists conceive of integration, and how immigrants themselves respond to the use of the term.

In French immigration policy documents, references to “*intégration*” are seen as positive and indicative of the democratic values shared by EU countries. However, the old terms still haunt immigration policy, for example the term “assimilation” still appears in the *Code de la Nationalité Française* (Article 69):

“Nul ne peut être naturalisé s’il ne justifie pas de son assimilation à la communauté française, notamment par une connaissance suffisante, selon sa condition, de la langue française.”

“*Intégration*” in France is a term that has been through the mill and is employed with caution and disclaimers in the various domains it appears in. In the politics of immigration, changing the terminology from assimilation to integration does not change history, nor does it diminish the political barriers that continue to segregate and categorise immigrants and their children.

To conclude, there is an ideological conflict underlying the divided use of the term “*intégration*” in the French context. In politics, the term describes public policies of integration, and the body of political activity that accompanies the integration of immigrants and their descendants. In sociology, the view of integration focuses on processes of interplay between the individual and society, with negotiated outcomes that serve to construct new social norms. Young people born to immigrant parents in France represent a part of the French population that under current immigration policy is still categorised as “immigrant”; a categorisation that young people themselves reject. It may be the political will of these young people, second generation “immigrants” born in France, who precipitate changes in immigration politics that approach a more inclusive form of French *intégration*.

Today, in the contemporary context of immigration in France, we have the impression that policy is struggling to catch up with the actuality of the lived experience of the immigrant population, and this is coupled with

research-based findings arising from sociology that indicate that the term “*intégration*”, as it is employed in immigration policy, is not yet being applied for the mutual benefit of individuals and French society. Immigration politics remains attached to the tradition of assimilation and France’s history of immigration, and it seems like the right time to move forward. There are pressing questions to be asked about immigration politics and whether their loyalty lies with the constitutional values of the Republican society, or whether young people and current global events can implement positive change that reflects the multiple realities of modern French society.

We may well ask, what does integration mean in a republican society like France? And is the perceived conflict actually a case of trying to apply an ill-fitting terminology that does not marry with the core French values of Republicanism?

2. New Zealand context: “integration” ideals ... and beneath the surface

New Zealand takes a “young country” approach to social construction in which a “Kiwi identity” is still being formed through the integration and social melting-pot of diverse cultures. The term “integration”, while still the preferred term in policy documents in NZ is, similarly to France but for different reasons, increasingly viewed as inadequate in describing the mutually dynamic two-way process that takes place between immigrants and host societies. Instead, the term “*social incorporation*” seeks to reconcile the deficiencies of earlier terminologies: assimilation, acculturation and integration (Isajiw, 1997). Isajiw defines social incorporation as “*a process through which a social unit is included in a larger social unit as an integral part of it*” (p.80). The two-way nature of the process is described as “*constant give-and-take*” being enacted by both immigrants and the host society in acts of reciprocity.

New Zealand research into the integration processes of immigrants since the 1980s has tended to focus on national attitudes towards immigration, filtering findings through the lens of national identity. It is therefore a nation-focused perspective that is interested in shifting conceptions of national identity, and the rapid development of NZ’s social demography as shaped by successive waves of immigration since the 1840s.

A national identity concept often referenced is that of an ethnic / civic distinction (Smith 1991). In an ethnic conception, national belonging is tied to genealogy, language and cultural customs. A civic model of national identity assumes “*political equality of members, and common civic culture and ideology*” (Smith, 1991, p.11) — which is more where the French Republican conception of national identity is situated. An ethnic conception of national belonging (or bi-ethnic in NZ’s case) tends to produce negative attitudes towards immigration, whereas a civic ideology promotes more positive attitudes based on equal rights to participation (Pearson, 2000).

New Zealand’s identity adheres to a bi-ethnic model of the nation, as the shared history of Māori and *pākehā* and the constitutional set of rights accorded under the Treaty of Waitangi have formed the basis of “the bicultural nation of New Zealand” since 1840. Upon this foundation of a set of protective rights for Māori on the one hand, and a set of British colonial rights to governance and occupation on the other hand, we are seeing an emerging recognition of the need to expand the parameters of bicultural policies to reflect the multicultural nature of contemporary NZ society. Until 1945, “*an unofficial white New Zealand policy*” was practised by successive governments (Ward and Masgoret, 2008, p.229). During the 1980s, a radical change of the “all-white” immigration policy actively encouraged a boom in Asian migration to NZ, resulting in a 240% increase in multicultural sources of immigration over 10 years (NZ Immigration statistics, 2004). Cultural diversity became a reality in the early 2000’s, and NZ has had a relatively short period of time during which to navigate the transition from a bicultural to a multicultural society.

While NZ has been eager to embrace the ideology of multiculturalism, the overlapping domains of immigration, education and language have been more cautious in concretising the ideology into policies that promote multiculturalism and inclusive practices. It is argued that this is due to social attitudes towards immigration that reveal a series of “social cleavages” within the nation’s bicultural majority (Grbic, 2010).

These “social cleavages” are important in understanding the nature of multicultural New Zealand, and how New Zealanders conceive of immigration and integration processes. Findings from existing NZ research concur that there are elements of continued discrimination in that consistent patterns of “ethnic disadvantage” emerge from studies conducted over the past 20 years (Grbic, 2010, p.127). Grbic’s 2010 study outlines several key findings that illustrate these patterns of ethnic disadvantage, and reveal persistent attitudes from the dominant bi-ethnic group towards the integration of immigrants, as follows:

- (1) The concept of the nation is fundamentally bi-ethnic, however Māori and *pākeha* have a differing sense of national belonging. Māori express a stronger sense of belonging in New Zealand than *pākeha*.
- (2) Māori are more likely to see immigration as a threat due to fundamental beliefs in the preservation of Māori culture, and to feel that such preservation should be a political imperative, while *pākeha* have a more positive attitude towards immigration overall and a sense of their genealogy as rooted in the immigration histories of their colonial ancestors.
- (3) Intergroup relations in NZ and views of integration are subject to both generational differences and socio-economic status. Along the spectrum, two groups stand out as expressing stronger resistance to immigration than others: (i) older people with lower socio-economic status, and (ii) younger people with middle to high socio-economic status.
- (4) NZ's labour market is racialised and therefore integration is more difficult for some ethnic immigrant groups than others. Several studies have found that there is a preference for integrating British immigrants into the labour market over other ethnic groups.

These findings indicate some attitudinal patterns of discrimination that persist in NZ society, despite the more complex demographic through greater diversity of ethnic groups, and in spite of changes to immigration, education and language policies in recent years that reflect a policy-level movement towards creating conditions for equality of participation and multicultural inclusiveness. Ward and Liu (2011) express the view that “*relative deprivation and relative advantage have increased negative attitudes between groups.*” (p.52)

The tension stems from the radical transformation of NZ's social demographic following the more open immigration criteria introduced under the Immigration Amendment Act 1991, and the ensuing immigrant arrivals that have altered the nation's ethnic composition. Surveys and studies following the period of intensive Asian migration during the decade following 1991 explain this malaise and the resulting patterns of discrimination as a sense of “threat” expressed by both Māori and *pākeha*. The threats of immigration are perceived in two main areas: (i) scarcity of resources, particularly in housing and employment, and (ii) “*differences in norms, beliefs and values*” between newly-arrived ethnic groups and the established population (Ward and Liu, 2011). The current challenge for Aotearoa New Zealand is to expand the bicultural premise in order to forge a multicultural policy framework that embraces the realities of a newly-diverse population, and that at the same time continues to privilege Māori culture (Fleras and Spoonley, 1999).

3. Comparing two concepts of “integration”

To sum up, two areas within the differing conceptions of integration in France and NZ shed light on how integration is viewed politically.

Firstly, a **civic conception of national identity** remains strongly linked in France to the nation's roots in Republican values. As such, “*intégration*” in the French conception is marked by measures of civic participation, and retains certain negative connotations vis-à-vis certain groups of immigrants, particularly second generation French with migrant origins who are still classified as “*immigré*” and associated with the marginalisation of “*classes dangereuses*”. In NZ, a conception of **national identity as bi-ethnic** remains similarly linked to NZ's relatively young constitutional roots in a bicultural treaty between Māori and the British colonial government. Both countries have increasingly multicultural populations, and are challenged to reconcile past and present ideologies in ways that are coherent with both the norms of the international community and with respective conceptions of national identity (civic or ethnic).

Secondly, the differing ideologies of integration in both countries reveal **areas of tension between the expressed social values and the lived actuality of socially diverse populations**. In NZ, national surveys reveal patterns of ethnic disadvantage, despite the strongly multicultural rhetoric that idealises New Zealand as almost a model society for inclusive multiculturalism. In France, the historical logic of Republican values that arose from the people's revolution of 1789-1799 finds itself challenged by the living reality of a multiculturally diverse population today. **Both countries face an ideological threat represented by this multicultural reality**: in NZ, the perceived threat of “a second colonisation”, as Asian economic influences and investment interests are attractive yet compromise the status quo of bi-ethnicity. In France, the threat of a violent backlash from marginalised immigrant youth has been realised in its most extreme form in recent years, with a series of terrorist attacks linked to Islamist radicalisation.

In both countries we see a certain reluctance to embrace diversity: in France, the resistance towards accepting diversity as a modern reality and an integral part of French culture, and thereby resistance to implementing consultative approaches to integration as a two-way process; in NZ, the tension between the country's reliance on foreign investment (for example, China-NZ Free Trade Agreement 2008) and commitment to immigration as part of economic growth, coupled with a certain insecurity about the implications of open immigration policies for NZ's future and increasing pressure on resources.

In both France and NZ, **“integration” is therefore a term with mixed connotations and points of tension and resistance.** Underpinned by the negative connotations of assimilationist pasts, and now in a dynamic phase of transition in response to diverse populations, **both countries face the challenge of moving towards forms of “integration” that both retain the essence of national ideologies and reflect new forms of national identity based on multicultural inclusiveness.**

Section D conclusion **Two different forms of “Integration / intégration” – future directions**

It is clear that ‘ideologies of integration’ provide a backdrop to French and NZ immigration politics. Today, how are integration politics translated into practice in both countries, and what are the implications for young migrants, such as those who participated in this study?

French “intégration”: the debate continues

In the French context, the tensions already touched on within political models of how immigrants are received — assimilation, integration and more recently, multiculturalism — continue to play a central part in how France defines and approaches policy-making in this area. The principle of indivisibility (one people, one state, one language) ignores the language diversity of contemporary France, and while the underlying ideology is one of equality, the social effect is a marginalisation of immigrants and their languages. This paradox is explained by Malet and Baocun (2021):

“Le modèle républicain français a longtemps constitué le paradigme d’une conception rousseauiste où le principe d’égalité et de justice est pensé comme l’aboutissement d’un principe de mérite individuel et d’un processus d’émancipation vis-à-vis de l’appartenance à différents collectifs : le milieu de naissance, la religion, la couleur de la peau, la classe sociale, le genre, la pratique langagière, le projet de vie même, etc. Ces principes de promotion d’une égalité de droit par le déni ou l’indifférence à l’ensemble des caractéristiques des individus, au point de rendre toute institution d’une offre différentielle et catégorielle illégitime, conduit potentiellement à une perception de non-reconnaissance ou de déficit de reconnaissance des appartenances et des identités sociales et culturelles.” (p.12)

To be an immigrant in France means defining space outside of the social and political mainstream in which your language(s) can exist, as the constitution excludes language diversity from public life. While French people may be united under the “one language” principle, immigrants and their languages are classified as “not French” in perpetuity. This problem lies at the heart of the debate, and exposes how important it is for France to come up with a tailor-made version of “intégration” — one that retains the Republican values that define France’s political DNA and social heritage, while at the same time aligning France’s immigration policies with the democratic values and aspirations outlined by the European Council. It is a delicate balance to strike. Does adopting integration mean abandoning assimilation? Is it possible to embrace an integrationist political direction, without destabilising the status quo of a republican society rendered cohesive by long-standing “one nation, one language” policies? (Nugier et al, 2021).

As recently as the integration law reform of 2016, the one-way assimilationist policies historically adhered to in France were re-affirmed. In this model of *intégration*, the immigrant is required to demonstrate the degree to which they are able to adapt to French society, in order to find a place within the existing employment and educational structures³⁰, while French integration policy maintains a neutral position on the potential of an enriched social fabric in French society through the cultural and linguistic contribution of her immigrant

³⁰ “Le Code civil prévoit que, pour être naturalisé, vous devez prouver votre assimilation. L’assimilation à la société française ne signifie pas être tous semblables ou vivre selon un modèle particulier, mais vous devez adhérer aux principes et aux valeurs essentiels de la République française et avoir une connaissance suffisante de la langue, de l’histoire, de la culture et de la société françaises, ainsi que des droits et devoirs conférés par la nationalité (article 21-24 du Code civil).” (Livret de citoyen, 5/3/2015, p.3)

population. This style of *intégration* points to a conditional inclusion of immigrants — those who master the citizenship and language pre-requisites of sustainable social participation — rather than a truly inclusive integration model in which it is acknowledged that cultural and linguistic diversity add to, rather than detract from, social cohesion and citizenship.

Schnapper (2007) proposes a French form of “*intégration démocratique*” which could render a sense of collective dignity to the immigrant population, by upholding the principles of citizenship in integration policy, while recognising and protecting the plurality of regional and minority languages, in accordance with the European Charter. This future vision of integration politics “*more flexible and more tolerant*”, and capable of producing a style of governance she terms “*républicanisme tolérante*” — one that is more sensitive to the current cultural and social conditions of political life, attentive towards the needs of immigrant populations, and better adapted to modern democracy than traditional republicanism.

Today, although the term “*intégration*” has found its place in immigration politics and rhetoric (not without its fair burden of negative connotation, as touched on earlier), social outcomes for the immigrant population in France continue to demand renewal of the debate around the question, “What is the French form of integration, and why is it not producing wholly positive outcomes for immigrants?” (Boulin, 2021; Nugier et al, 2021). It seems that part of the answer lies in the fact that France is still conflicted about her position on immigration. The immigrants are here, sufficiently numerous to generate ongoing debate about the need for improved integration policies, and established enough that there is a significant part of the young French population who are of second-generation immigrant descent, and having children of their own.

“Integration” in Aotearoa is as diverse as its population

Defined as a “super diverse” society, NZ has over 160 ethnicities and languages spoken, and more than 200 countries of birth amongst the population. The population remains small at 4.885 million in 2018, and the population ratio is 25% first generation immigrants to 75% NZ-born. The top countries from which immigrants arrive are the UK (6.4%), China (2.4%) and India (1.7%) (NZ Census, 2013)

New Zealand’s current direction in immigrant integration can still be characterised as nation-building and economically-driven. However within this broad policy are three areas of change that indicate a swing towards more differentiated immigrant integration policies, being: (i) government selection of skilled migrants, (ii) regional resettlement policies, and (iii) international students viewed as potential long-term immigrants.

Since 2012, immigration and aspects of integration are facilitated by the Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment (MBIE). A key feature of NZ’s immigration policy is that of “migrant attraction”, in which specific needs in the labour market are fulfilled by skilled migrants who are selected by the government. In NZ, this takes place under the Expression of Interest and temporary work visa schemes. This immigration policy represents a move away from the post-WWII human capital model of mass immigration for labour purposes, to a more targeted, skills-based approach in which nation-building is facilitated through specialised migrant professionals working for fixed periods. Under this new model, long-term integration is a lesser consideration, as visas are fixed for 1-2 year periods. Whereas under the previous human capital immigration model adopted in 1986, longitudinal studies on the economic and social outcomes of immigration showed that “*the resulting increased flows of immigrants from developing countries resulted in deteriorating outcomes for immigrants, whether due to language issues, skills and education recognition, or discrimination.*” (Akbari and MacDonald, 2019, p.7) An example of one such government-commissioned study is the Longitudinal Immigrant Survey of New Zealand (LisNZ, 2009), which followed 5000 migrants in their settlement processes, collecting data on their experiences of integration at 6, 18 and 36 months.

In an attitude termed “**a new paradigm in international migration**” by the Journal of International Migration and Integration (June 2008), New Zealand is encouraging newly-arrived migrants to choose small towns and outlying regions to settle in, rather than cities. This presents potential challenges to integration, due to cultural difference, limited employment opportunities and ethnic discrimination, as only 22% of the immigrant population currently live in regions outside of main cities. However, several regional integration initiatives are currently being implemented, for example in Southland, immigrants from the UK are being recruited to work in the area’s agricultural and tourism industries, in a government-driven effort to grow regional economies (Spoonley and Bedford, 2019).

In a further example of NZ's current migrant attraction policies, international students are viewed as potential long-term immigrants, with characteristics favourable to future integration — that is, these students are young, with high proficiency in English, have local and international education, and are highly adaptable. In order to attract international students for future settlement, the NZ government is offering study visas that allow up to 20 hours of paid employment per week. This is an effective way for New Zealand to compete with other anglophone countries for the international student market, and to encourage further integration with a view to long-term settlement of this type of “desirable immigrant”.

In conclusion, NZ's current direction in integration policies is directed towards a future vision of nation-building, the traditional objective of this country with a small population that relies on foreign trade and investment (both in labour and economically). The recent changes to immigration policy that centre on government selection of skilled migrants, resettlement of migrants into outlying regions, and a view of international students as prospective future immigrants, signal a **refinement of policy towards maximising the economic benefits of immigration**. In this way, NZ has followed an immigration policy trajectory similar to Australia, Canada and the United States, in that with the current domination of economic considerations, humanitarian concerns in immigration policy are decreasing. In brief, NZ's management of integration of immigrants is future-oriented, increasingly selective and economically motivated.

Chapter 3 conclusion: Assimilation vs. integration

In conclusion to this chapter on assimilation and integration in France and New Zealand, I find three main points to compare:

1. Both countries had early histories of colonial assimilation in which schools played a central role, followed by a linguistic and cultural revival in education post-colonisation;
2. During the 1980s, both countries turned away from assimilation towards more integrationist models, however France and NZ pursued differing trajectories from this point;
3. Currently, I find stronger evidence of the ideology of integration as a two-way process in NZ, while France's potential in this area is limited by retention of Republican principles.

Firstly, there are points of similarity in the **early histories of France and NZ under assimilationist education policies**, that inform current shifts along a continuum towards integrationist policies seen in both countries. Both countries exerted a colonial imperative on the indigenous populations of colonised territories, with the objective of propagating the values and world views of the dominant culture amongst the local people. Towards this objective, schools played a central role as sites of institutional power where children were prevented from speaking their own languages and a monolingual learning environment was imposed through the language of schooling. Religion also occupied a significant place in the assimilation process, with secular French schooling replacing traditionally Islamic education in Algeria, and mission schools in NZ proselytizing the Christian faith to Māori. The combined effect of assimilationist education policies on the colonised children who lived through this was in large part that of a violent linguistic and cultural/religious oppression, however mitigated by the advantages of economic participation in the new French/English dominated society.

Interestingly, post-colonial societies in both cases emerged after 100 years of assimilationist education to establish **new educational environments that both revived pre-colonial language and cultural/religious traditions, and reclaimed ethnic autonomy**. In independent Algeria post-1963, Arabic and Islamic schooling replaced French schools, while in New Zealand the first Māori language immersion schools were opened during the 1980s and ran independently alongside the mainstream English school system. As a result, both examples tell the story of cultural and linguistic survival under assimilationist policies, and of resistance to systemic suppression of language and identity over several generations. The common ground between the French and New Zealand histories of colonisation, and the children who were educated during this era, is that in spite of aggressive assimilation policies over a sustained period, a strong collective identity formed over centuries remains of primary importance and therefore finds avenues for the continuity of language and culture. In the educational environment, this continuity was expressed in a reclaiming of schools as sites of revival of the local and indigenous language(s) and teaching of traditional cultural / religious world views to children.

Secondly, in both France and NZ, **the 1980s signalled a turn away from assimilationist policies towards integration**. In France, a differentialist discourse that promoted “*droit à la différence*” was however short-lived and right-wing anti-immigration politics redirected the course of education politics back towards conservative norms of the past. In Aotearoa New Zealand, bilingual schooling signalled a very significant step towards the enactment of a bicultural partnership, and NZ’s political awakening to indigenous rights. The two political ideological streams of France and NZ developed their own interpretations of “integration/*intégration*” from the turning point of the 1980s, which redefined particular forms of democracy within the context of national identity. In France, Republican democracy continues to render open discussion of multiculturalism and diversity problematic, particularly in relation to the principles of *laïcité* and *indivisibilité*; whereas NZ’s Liberal democracy sets the goal of constructing a multiculturally inclusive society, yet not without a certain tension between the bicultural vs. multicultural national rhetorics. A perceivable difference is that while the shift towards integrationist policies of the 1980s opened into a more inclusive, future-oriented direction in New Zealand, in France discussion around the idea of adopting integrationist policies as a way of acknowledging diversity and difference was quickly subsumed by a reversion to conservative tradition.

The effect is that we now see these **two national ideologies positioned at different points along the integrationist continuum**: New Zealand’s agenda as a youthful, future-oriented nation that embraces multiculturalism is underpinned by the desire to redress the colonial wrongs of the past, and therefore integrationist policies have found entry through the Māori language and cultural revival movement in education since the 1980s; whereas France’s identity continues to adhere strongly to the Republican paradigm of social equality through non-differentiation, in spite of integrationist politics being seen as positive and indicative of the democratic values shared by EU countries. In this way, France’s loyalty to her Republican roots keeps her manacled to assimilationist politics of the past, even though the diversity of France’s population is a social reality and young immigrants (particularly second-generation) are agitating for substantive measures to reduce marginalisation and adopt a form of integration that is more sensitive to France’s immigrant population — as Schnapper proposes with the term “*républicanisme tolérante*”. NZ’s relative freedom to pursue integrationist politics can be seen as a natural progression in her social development as a young country that is at once future-oriented (nation-building is a project partly facilitated by immigration) and economy-driven (selective immigration favours economic growth). Therefore, the respective past / future orientations of French and NZ approaches to integration are explained as sets of differing social objectives within which immigrant populations are positioned as either favourable to national goals (in NZ’s case) or peripheral to national ideologies that remain historically important (in France’s case).

Finally, I find positive evidence of the **ideology of integration as a complex two-way process** in NZ’s integration practices in recent years, and less so in France’s approaches to integration. Integration as a two-way process is defined by a dynamic interplay between the political and personal aspects of the immigrant experience that are realised in integration practices effected by governments. The two-way approach is that of a conscious organisation of integration on the part of the State, with the aim of creating policies that are informed by interaction with immigrant communities and have mutually beneficial outcomes.

One example of this dynamic in practice is NZ’s engagement with a “new international paradigm” — that of resettlement of newly-arrived immigrants in rural districts, in collaboration with local authorities and businesses, as a purposeful direction developed out of longitudinal studies of settlement outcomes for migrants in Aotearoa New Zealand. Evidenced by a range of other targeted integration policies that seek to bring local and immigrant communities into interaction³¹, New Zealand is in a positive place in harmonising selective immigration policies with sustainable integration practices, and has a strong future-oriented vision as a super-diverse society. NZ furthermore pays close attention to settlement outcomes for young migrants, and is performing well on OECD indicators on the overall effectiveness of national integration policies and practices³². France’s approach to integration, while informed by a civic conception of national identity which could potentially yield positive outcomes for immigrants through the notion of equal participation, remains however strongly attached to Republican values, such as *laïcité*, that have seen contentious law changes in

³¹ Other examples include: (a) study visas for international tertiary students that allow students to work up to 20 hours per week, with a view to future permanent settlement in NZ; (b) education policies for young migrants which support a “culture of belonging” in schools, along with organised and well-supported tracking of immigrant student progress and achievement in schooling; and (c) refugee resettlement programmes that are co-managed by MBIE and Red Cross NZ, along with a host of affiliated government and non-government agencies that support integration into employment, housing, education, English language learning and local community.

³² According to PISA 2015 results, immigrant students in the NZ education system are performing on a par with Kiwi students, and also report feeling as strong a sense of belonging as Kiwi students, even a little more.

recent years that effectively work against the principle of “integration as a two-way process” for certain parts of the French immigrant population, notably the largest part of the immigrant population who are Arabic-speaking Muslims³³ (*LOI n° 2010-1192: Loi interdisant la dissimulation du visage dans l'espace public*, 2011).

I find, therefore, that within approaches to integration a number of factors intersect, that explain the pathways travelled by each country in arriving at differing forms of an integration model. These intersecting factors include national experience, such as historical attitudes towards assimilation, and the age of each nation and its relative “rootedness” in tradition (France) versus a young nation-building dynamic (NZ). I also find international factors that further explain this, in particular the evolution in international law which has created sets of common rights:

- (i) **human rights**, which provide standards of treatment of all human beings in relation to nation-states;
- (ii) **civil rights**, which continue to influence France’s direction in integration policies;
- (iii) as well as sets of specific rights such as **indigenous rights**, which have strongly influenced NZ’s trajectory in integration policies.

A further highly influential international factor is seen in the **new realities of transnationalism** and “global citizenship” that are defining more inclusive forms of social and economic participation.

On this premise, I revisit my opening argument that France and New Zealand as nation-states with colonial histories based on assimilationist objectives, both currently sit on a continuum line *towards* integrationist politics in their approaches to their immigrant populations, but are yet to fully embrace **contemporary forms of integration as a two-way process that seeks active co-construction of the terms of integration by immigrants themselves.**

In this view, I also argued that whether immigration politics are more at the assimilationist end of the continuum (as is the case with France), or positioned more towards the integration end of the spectrum (as is the case with New Zealand), **immigrants now play a stronger role in negotiating how integration takes place**, no matter where they are in the world. This is due to new international norms that intersect with national policies and practices, to create conditions under which immigrants are more empowered. And this in turn ameliorates and strengthens the ideology of integration as a two-way process, and signals a move away from the traditional power base of unilaterally state-directed processes.

³³ Research showed that an outcome was reduced economic and social integration of Muslim women into French society.

Chapter 4

Immigrant students and “success” in schooling

In this chapter, “success” for immigrant students in their schooling experience is defined, with reference to research literature and original findings from this research. How “success” is measured in the international educational environment (OECD benchmarks, PISA testing) is discussed, and how French and New Zealand education systems are performing internationally is compared in this chapter (Section A).

In Section B, the important roles of parents in the child’s success at school are exposed, linked to the profiles of students participating in this study (further detailed in analysis of classroom observations of immigrant teenagers, Part 2).

Key questions:

- How can “success” for immigrant students be defined within the context of these two educational environments?
- What are the international measures of “success” for immigrant students, and how are education systems in France and NZ performing?

Introduction

In this chapter, I present a range of theories, statistics and studies on how immigrant children in schools can be supported to succeed. Section A looks at how “success” can be defined and measured in the schooling context for immigrant teenagers, as a process that is both internal and environmental. Section B presents some findings from studies on how parents, and immigrant parents in particular, play a variety of roles in the child’s success at school.

Section A: defining “success” OECD benchmarks, PISA testing — France and NZ compared

1. Resilience and adaptation: two qualities for “success”

There are several interesting examples of French studies of how immigrant children in schools succeed, which focus on the child’s internal resources as a key factor in school success, and in particular the role of “resilience” as a kind of inner scaffolding that the child constructs through experience. The term “resilience” is a recent term in French studies of psychology; and a term that has become associated in New Zealand with stories of colonisation — both in terms of early settlers establishing new lives, and Māori linguistic and cultural survival of colonisation. The term “resilience” has connotations of individuals or groups resisting suffering; of the ability to develop a mental flexibility and emotional strength through experiences of adversity. The Oxford English Dictionary definition, “*the ability of a substance or object to spring back into shape; elasticity*” gives us an image to play with — that the quality of resilience is being able to quickly re-find one’s original form after external pressure. The word “resilience” has become increasingly widely used and understood, in the context of human rights, indigenous peoples, immigration and psychology, as societies respond to and empathise with stories of oppressive political and social situations.

From the newly arrived immigrant child’s point of view, adapting to and integrating into the school environment involves multiple areas of intensive learning — a new language, cultural norms and expectations, getting to know and be known by teachers and peers, learning how the school system works, slotting into the daily rhythm, different food and eating cultures, as well as maintaining academic progress in mainstream subjects during a period when language-of-schooling is also being acquired. The intensity of this early learning and adaptation phase is necessarily accompanied by changes in the child’s identity and sense of self. On arrival, a sudden view of the self as ‘other to’ and ‘outside of’, this strange new environment which everyone else seems to understand and accept — the child may be received as

a welcomed guest or marginalised as an invisible stranger. Over time, the child learns to manage and fit into this new environment, and begins to create tools for working with and within the new school context. A broader sense of self emerges, where at the least the child is able to participate through presence alone, and at best engages a determination to succeed and attempts to positively draw on her environment to aid her learning and integration. How the child is able to respond to these early experiences of being placed in an entirely foreign situation becomes the starting point for developing resilience. And it is the buoyancy and elasticity of resilience that can carry a child psychologically through the sense of change and initial insecurity that characterises the immigration and resettlement experience.

2. What is “success” in school for newly-arrived immigrant students?

Central to the interest of this research project is the child’s “success” in school, and how that may be facilitated. I begin with traditional definitions of “success” at school, and from there propose other defining aspects of “success” from both a child-centred perspective and a pedagogical standpoint. Bouteyre (2004) offers two definitions of success at school (p.49):

- (1) A statistical definition, which is a comparison of grades achieved by all students within the yearly cohort. How is each child performing academically on a par with peers? In the French education system, a child who fails has to repeat that year before progressing to the next year. In this context, “success” is conceived of as “non-failure”. All students have to go through this experience of “not failing” in order to be regarded as successful in school, and this concept has become a normalised part of the French educational system.
- (2) A pedagogical definition, in which other educational factors define success. How does the child demonstrate appropriate learning and social behaviours at school? In this definition, school is seen as a terrain that prepares children for society, economic participation and professional life. This means that during school years, children are required to internalise the “signs, symbols and knowledge” of the particular systematised social order in which they are schooled. Student success is measured by the child’s ability to demonstrate internalisation of school-based learning, in order to present oneself as appropriately prepared for entry into society.

In addition to these salient definitions, I suggest that “success at school” for immigrant children, also means adopting divergent strategies for integration. It is absolutely key for newly-arrived immigrant children to learn **how** to navigate the new environment, finding points of reference that help the child to make sense of their learning, in order to succeed. This navigation is constantly in process, and while at first the landscape is unknown and remote, over time the child can become skilful and autonomous, and develops **a toolkit of individualised strategies for successfully positioning themselves for learning** in the new educational environment. I therefore propose two further definitions of “success” as a process rather than an outcome, as follows:

Definition 1:

A language-oriented definition, in which the child is able to successfully navigate learning through language(s). From a plurilingual education point of view, this can mean that the child uses her first language to navigate the new linguistic terrain. In my research observations in the local French *collège* of immigrant teenagers learning French (First Cycle of observations), when children had access to another child of the same language origin, they tended to speak in their first language in order to better understand and perform a learning task. The same was observed in a New Zealand high school class of beginner-intermediate level immigrant teenagers learning English. This convincingly shows that the first language plays an important role in the child’s learning process, and that when given the choice the child will spontaneously use their L1, identifying their first language as a valuable learning tool. I further suggest that children who can do this stand a greater chance of “success” academically at school, as they learn how to use their existing first language skills to gain improved access to the new language, and to make sense of the task requirements. The role of first language during certain stages of learning may therefore be multiple:

- i) to reduce the additional learning burden of processing new information in the language of schooling, that the child has not yet mastered,

- ii) to bring a social learning aspect to the task — that is, working in collaboration with another child in L1 facilitates discussion and collective interpretation of the task, and
- iii) more attention can be devoted to the cognitive demands of the task, as the second language barrier is reduced through the use of L1.

During the newly-arrived phase therefore, the inclusion of L1 at certain stages of the child's learning offers significant advantages through reducing the multiple demands of new learning in the language of schooling. The immigrant child who quickly learns to navigate learning through language(s) is mastering a strategy for success within the host school system.

Definition 2:

An active participation definition, in which the child demonstrates a range of strategies for defining what she does not know, asking for help, and assuring participation in learning. During this research in schools, I observed instances where immigrant children in mainstream classes clearly did not understand a learning task, yet did not ask either the teacher or a classmate for help. It can be assumed that in the mainstream class context where there is only one immigrant child who does not yet have mastery of the French language, the multiple obstacles present feel “too much” for the child. These multiple obstacles for getting the help needed — such as having to form a sentence in French to ask for help, draw attention to herself as needy or less capable than the other students, or admit that she didn't understand the teacher's explanation in French — reduced many of the immigrant students in this study to silence. The end result is often that the child doesn't seek help and therefore faces failure in that small learning task, and potentially falls behind in the learning programme if small failures accumulate.

In an active participation definition of success, I suggest that the child needs to be taught a range of strategies for asking for and receiving help. These can be taught as language structures, for example, “*Excusez-moi, Monsieur, est-ce-que j'ai bien compris?*”. These strategies can also be affirmed by the teacher's attitude to questions as a way of learning, for as the Chinese say, “*He who asks a question may look stupid for 5 minutes. He who does not ask a question remains stupid all his life.*” A resilient child can internalise this as a strategy for learning and success, reminding herself that it's ok not to understand the first time and all students are here to ask questions and learn. The child is learning to overcome a range of mechanical and psychosocial impediments that arise as an undesirable side-effect of the new educational conditions in which the child finds herself. And the ability to self-manage and, increasingly over time, actively participate within this environment, with the support of learned language structures, can cultivate a sense of achievement for the child. This is a “success breeds success” type approach to actively participating in the classroom.

2.1 External and intra-personal indicators of “success”

In my proposed definitions of success, I include both external and intra-personal indicators of how the child is progressing in school learning.

Traditional external measures of success, such as test results, provide hard data by which both the teaching and learning that has taken place within a certain period can be measured. This data does not however evaluate the processes of that teaching and learning: how the teacher ascertained the particular learning needs of a child and employed specific teaching methods to give the child the best chance of succeeding; or how the child was able to improve her learning with particular strategies. The hard data does demonstrate that the child is progressing along an age-appropriate learning trajectory established by the education system, which is an important measure of success. So this kind of data is designed to measure outcomes rather than evaluate processes. This study includes some achievement data from participants in the NZ school, but none from the French school. **This does not impact on the integrity of the study's findings, as achievement outcomes were never the focus of this study — students' learning processes through languages and their experiences of schooling integration were the aspects studied.**

Intra-personal indicators of success, such as how the child makes use of existing skills to springboard into new skills, and how the child copes with the novelty and risk of the unknown in the new learning environment, provide qualitative data that was measured in this study through student surveys and interviews. This data is fascinating as it offers a window into the child's internal processes of orientation towards learning, an important factor in succeeding within the school system. In this context, the sense of

the term “success” is broader than the external markers of success through academic results, as it is evident in the child’s ability to pioneer her own approaches to learning in order to cope, at first, and succeed, eventually. **In these definitions, “success” is how the processes of navigating learning are essentially pathways that the child lays down, to open the way to successful outcomes as externally measurable also.**

Findings from school-based data gathered in the two schools that participated in my study (2017-2019) are analysed and explained in Part 2, and interpreted in relation to these definitions of “success” for the immigrant child. The data reveals patterns and tendencies in each child’s self-initiated strategies in classroom learning, that indicate how the child is making use of their existing knowledge of first language (and plurilingual competences) to:

- a) access learning in the language of schooling,
- b) learn interactively through first languages with classmates, and lingua franca with the teacher/other students, and
- c) navigate classroom expectations and teaching and learning styles, through engaging with the unknown and thus developing behaviours for successful learning and integration.

3. How are immigrant students performing at school?

An OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) report published in 2015, titled “Helping Immigrant Students to Succeed at School - and Beyond”, compares school performance of first-generation and second-generation immigrant students with that of non-immigrant students across 43 countries. The report compiles and compares PISA results between 2003 and 2012, to measure changes in educational outcomes between immigrant and non-immigrant students over a decade. The report is highly informative, as it draws conclusions about common factors in education systems that impact on outcomes for immigrant students — both academic results and school integration — and makes suggestions for policy changes as solutions to performance gaps. According to the OECD, a performance gap between immigrant and non-immigrant children is a global reality:

“In most countries, first-generation immigrant students (students born outside the destination country whose parents were also born outside that country) perform worse than students without an immigrant background.” (p.2)

The OECD identifies two factors that have a profound impact on immigrant students’ performance in school:

- (i) The student’s prior schooling and culture of origin are fundamental in the child’s performance in the new context.
- (ii) The characteristics of the school system in the host country are however the most important determiner of the immigrant child’s success or failure.

If we relate these two factors to the profiles of school systems and immigrant students in France and New Zealand, there are immediately some important variables to compare that help to explain differences in the performance of immigrant students in schools. Extending on the global comparison already made in Part 1, Chapters 1 and 3 on PISA findings on immigrant students in France and New Zealand, I correlate these 3 factors of **prior schooling, culture of origin and school systems** in more detail below, using PISA scores and other related data.

First of all, PISA tests the achievement of 15-year-old students in problem solving, maths and reading, giving an indication of the level of education achieved by school systems in different countries. The results of PISA tests in France and New Zealand place these two countries on a global ranking of how the two education systems are performing. Outcomes for immigrant students are given in brut terms, with comparisons of academic performance made between first and second generation immigrants and their local peers (OECD, 2015).

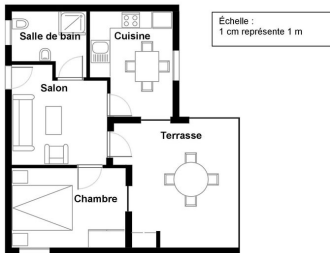
3.1 How do immigrant students perform in maths in France and New Zealand?

How immigrant students perform in maths tests gives a stronger indication of prior education than the PISA reading test, as mathematics relies on a combination of language comprehension and diagrammatic, spatial and/or equation-based literacy. In order to correctly answer the PISA maths questions, students need to be able to decipher the meaning of the question and relate it to a diagram or equation. The language of maths can be very dense, relying on specialist vocabulary. For example (from the 2012 PISA maths test in French and English):

SECTION 1: PISA 2012 UNITÉS ENQUÊTE PRINCIPALE

ACHAT D'UN APPARTEMENT

Voici le plan de l'appartement que les parents de Georges veulent acheter auprès d'une agence immobilière.



ACHAT D'UN APPARTEMENT

PM88P001 - 0 1 9

Pour estimer l'aire totale de l'appartement (terrasse et murs compris), on peut mesurer la taille de chaque pièce, calculer leur aire, puis additionner toutes ces aires.

Une méthode plus efficace permet toutefois d'estimer l'aire totale en mesurant seulement quatre longueurs. Indiquez sur le plan ci-dessus les quatre longueurs nécessaires pour estimer l'aire totale de l'appartement.

Question 1: APARTMENT PURCHASE

To estimate the total floor area of the apartment (including the terrace and the walls), you can measure the size of each room, calculate the area of each one and add all the areas together.

However, there is a more efficient method to estimate the total floor area where you only need to measure 4 lengths. Mark on the plan above the four lengths that are needed to estimate the total floor area of the apartment.

3.1.1 Prior education and country of origin

In 2012 PISA results in maths, national results for all 15-year-old students placed France as performing averagely, with a score point of 493 (the OECD average being 490). A breakdown of this score reveals that French students performed above the OECD average in maths, while immigrant students in French schools performed significantly below (ranked 34th out of 43 countries). In the same tests, New Zealand students performed below the OECD average while immigrant students in NZ schools performed well above (ranked 7th out of 43 countries). Why? If we break down the first generation immigrant high school population into countries of origin, this provides part of the answer.

In New Zealand, the category of international fee-paying students needs to be considered in any analysis of school performance amongst immigrant students. This is due to the fact that the majority of international fee-paying students come from advantaged backgrounds, both financially and in terms of prior education, so they represent a significant predisposition towards success in schooling. The example of Chinese immigrant students in New Zealand, who are the largest group of international students at 25% of the total immigrant student population, stands out. In the 2012 PISA test comparing global statistics on how well students perform in maths in their home countries, "Shanghai-China has the highest scores in mathematics, with a mean score of 613 points – 119 points, or the equivalent of nearly three years of schooling, above the OECD average" (OECD, 2012, p.4). So Chinese international fee-paying students in NZ bring with them existing knowledge and skills in Maths, gained from a strong prior education received in their home country. Similarly, the other two largest groups of international fee-paying students in NZ come from South Korea and Japan (19% and 15% respectively in 2012 (NZ Ministry of Education, 2014)), both of which were in the top 10 performing countries in PISA tests in 2012. So any analysis of New Zealand's immigrant student performance in education is going to be favourably weighted by around 59% of that population whose countries of origin have highly performant education systems.

In France, on the other hand, the international fee-paying student system does not exist within public education, as immigrant students are entitled to the same free education as domestic students. Wealthy families, both French and foreign, tend to choose private or international schools, meaning that generally there is not the same socio-economic mix of privileged and underprivileged in the public school system. Currently, there is no definitive statistical breakdown of countries of origin of immigrant students in French public schools available:

“Il n'existe pas de recensement précis des pays d'origine des EANA, et la répartition territoriale des migrants varie à l'échelle nationale mais aussi académique. A titre indicatif, pour l'année scolaire 2013-2014, on compte 53 pays d'origine différents dans l'académie de Lille parmi les élèves isolés. Le degré de diversité des origines en dispositif UPE2A est à prendre en compte car il peut avoir des conséquences pédagogiques non négligeables.” (CASNAV Lille website)

However, we do know that in 2012 (the year from which PISA results are compared), 9% of the French population were of immigrant origins, with an average of 2.6 children per family (Ministère de l'intérieur, 2014). Of this immigrant population, the dominant countries of origin were from outside of the EU (Algeria, Morocco and other African countries combined making up 42%), and within the EU the largest population of immigrants came from Portugal (11%) (Insee, 2012, p.101). In terms of prior education and country performance, African countries are not tested by PISA, however a 2016 working paper published by the Center for Global Development compared two alternative testing methods across 14 African countries, (SACMEQ and TIMSS), with the finding that:

“... learning levels in this sample of African countries are consistently (a) low in absolute terms, with average pupils scoring below the fifth percentile for most developed economies; (b) significantly lower than predicted by African per capita GDP levels; and (c) converging slowly, if at all, to the rest of the world during the 2000s.” (Sandefur, 2016)

We can therefore conclude that prior education in mathematics amongst the immigrant students living in France who were previously schooled in an African country, is significantly lower than those of immigrant children arriving from other countries. This in part explains the performance gap between immigrant students in New Zealand and France, when prior education in country of origin is taken into account.

3.1.2 Strategies to minimise risk of school failure

In terms of risk of school failure, the OECD reiterates that it is not one single factor that places a child at risk, but a combination of factors in the child's life circumstances that amount to a higher probability of school failure. For example, in maths, children with the highest risk of failure are girls born into families of low socio-economic status, rural or single-parent families, or from an immigrant family where a language other than the language of schooling is spoken at home, with little prior schooling and having already had an experience of repeating a school year:

“Qui sont les élèves les plus susceptibles d'être peu performants en mathématiques ? En moyenne, dans les pays de l'OCDE, une fille issue d'un milieu socio-économique défavorisé, vivant dans une famille monoparentale en zone rurale, issue de l'immigration, parlant en famille une autre langue que la langue d'enseignement, n'ayant pas été préscolarisée, ayant déjà redoublé une classe et suivant une filière professionnelle a une probabilité de 83% d'être peu performante.” (OECD, 2012)

OECD findings place this child as having a combination of disadvantages that amount to an 83% probability of low performance in maths. So we have to wonder, what are the factors in school environments that could have a positive effect on this child's school success — the other 17%?

The OECD tracked changes in performance of 15-year-olds in schooling over 10 years (2003-2012) to measure improvements in outcomes for immigrant students. In France there was a decline in the performance of both second generation immigrant students and local students during this period, while the performance of first generation immigrant students remained static (OECD, 2015, p.5). A separate 2016 OECD report on France's national performance describes France's school system as in a dichotomy, with a heavy top end and bottom end in terms of student achievement that remain fixed. At the top end, there are a group of 8% of students who perform outstandingly, followed by 21% of students who achieve above the OECD average, while at the bottom end there are 22% of students who are in

difficulty. The challenge for the French education system in 2020 is how to improve learning outcomes for students who are in difficulty — this group including immigrant students. The important question of how schooling can be improved to produce better outcomes for this 22% in difficulty, including immigrant children, will be explored in more detail later in this section. **The key point to note is that systems that are capable of improving education for students in difficulty thereby improve the overall quality of their education system and their global performance:**

“... la capacité d'un système à faire progresser les élèves en difficulté améliore la qualité générale du système et donc sa performance globale. Or, plus on vient d'un milieu défavorisé en France, moins on a de chances de réussir selon l'évaluation PISA 2015. Ce constat est aussi valable pour les élèves de 15 ans issus de l'immigration.” (PISA, 2015, p.5)

Therefore education policies that focus on the learning needs of students who are “in difficulty”, albeit through disadvantages originating from any number of social conditions, stand to gain positive results in student outcomes overall. **This further strengthens the case for a flexibility and multiplicity of pedagogical strategies in schools, including plurilingual and intercultural approaches, as the facilitation of learning for minority groups can also serve to benefit the learning of the majority.**

As also indicated in the above quote, **evidence points to socio-economic disadvantage as a major factor in low student performance at school, rather than immigration as the defining factor.** Newly arrived immigrant families are statistically more prone to poorer socio-economic conditions, and therefore immigrant students may have this disadvantage as an additional barrier to success in schooling. It is important to distinguish between the negative impact of socio-economic disadvantage and other variables that affect the performance of immigrant students at school, and the OECD has produced statistical findings that support the hypothesis that socio-economic status is one of the most significant obstacles to educational success, quite apart from immigration itself. In part, this distinction is important to highlight as it counters the negative stereotype that schools with higher numbers of immigrant students in the population have correspondingly lower educational outcomes for all students attending the school. This notion is false, and further positions immigrant students as a social problem and a potential educational risk for children from the local population. As the OECD (2015) explains:

“... across OECD countries, 15-year-old students who attend schools where the concentration of immigrants is high (i.e. where more than one in four students are immigrants) tend to do worse in school than students who attend schools where there are no immigrant students. But this difference reflects the fact that many immigrant students are socio-economically disadvantaged. The OECD average difference in mathematics performance between students who attend schools where more than 25% of students are immigrants compared to students who attend schools with no immigrant students is 18 score points – the equivalent of around 6 months of schooling. But after accounting for the socio-economic status of the students and schools, that difference is more than halved – to 5 score points. Indeed, in 14 out of 35 countries/economies with comparable data, students in schools with high concentrations of immigrant students underperform in mathematics, before accounting for socio-economic disparities. After taking those disparities into account, the number of countries / economies where these students underperform drops to 7; and in most of them, the performance differences are so narrow that they are practically insignificant.” (p.8)

In exploring questions about how immigrant students can be helped to succeed in school, it is clear that student success is highly dependent on the ability of schools to help them overcome multiple obstacles to learning and integration. This comes back to **how school systems function on a daily basis with respect to their most “at-risk” student populations, and what kind of support can be put in place within the school system to structure teaching and learning to specifically address the needs of these students.**

It is also clear from PISA tests and OECD analysis of data that some countries (Singapore, Canada, New Zealand) (OECD, 2015, p.3) have developed educational approaches that are more skilled at nurturing and appreciating diversity, and are thereby **able to translate student diversity into positive educational outcomes for immigrant students.** Countries where student well-being, happiness and sense of belonging are higher (Finland, Netherlands, Denmark) also demonstrate a narrowing gap between the academic performance of immigrant and non-immigrant students over time, showing that **integration and school success go hand-in-hand.**

3.2 How immigrant students perform in reading comprehension



According to the same 2015 OECD report, *“Helping immigrant students to succeed at school – and beyond”*, in reading comprehension French students perform above the OECD average, however immigrant students in French schools perform well below (ranked 30th out of 43 countries). New Zealand students perform slightly above the OECD average in reading, while immigrant students in New Zealand schools perform surprisingly well (ranked 7th out of 43 countries). Again, why is this?

In France’s case, the gap between French and immigrant students increased slightly between 2009 and 2015, as the top third of students who perform “outstandingly and very well” gained slightly higher scores overall, while the bottom third of students, those “in difficulty” did not show any improvement (OECD, 2015, p.5). In New Zealand, Asian students performed on a par with NZ students of European-*pakeha* origins, while Māori and Pasifika students performed less well:

“On average Pākehā/European and Asian students scored above the OECD average in science, reading and mathematics. Māori and Pasifika students scored below the OECD average in all three subjects. A relatively high proportion of Māori and Pasifika students score in the lower proficiency levels in all three subjects compared to New Zealand students overall.” (Education Counts, 2015)

So in New Zealand’s case, we are looking at three broad groups of students with a range of linguistic and cultural aspects to their profiles: (a) European-*pakeha* students (born in NZ to families descended from historical European immigrants, English-speaking), (b) Māori and Pasifika students (either of indigenous Māori or Pacific Island heritage; may speak Māori and/or English at home, or a Pacific Island language), and (c) immigrant students (includes international fee-paying students and children who are in NZ with their immigrant parent(s), either in an English-speaking homestay or speaking their first language at home). Each of these groups is made up of students from both privileged and under-privileged circumstances, and between immigrant student groups we

undoubtedly see attributable differences in performance between the privileged international fee-paying students and the advantages they have gained from prior education, and the children of other immigrant families who may be less advantaged on arrival.

3.2.1 NZ – groups of plurilingual students

Within the Māori and Pasifika group — a grouping often made by NZ government Ministries for statistical purposes, and in this case by the Ministry of Education in relation to PISA results — there are similarities and differences in terms of how language and culture impact on educational performance. For this study, I group first generation Pasifika students with the immigrant student cohort, as they arrive in NZ often speaking little English, and have the same linguistic and cultural integration needs within the education system as their immigrant peers. Māori students on the other hand, occupy a special place as the indigenous people of Aotearoa. Māori students may therefore be plurilingual, speaking some Māori at home and retaining Māori cultural practices, but they are not migrants. As this study is in part concerned with the politics of immigration and how migrant populations are received, I decided not to focus on Māori children in the same way that the study focuses on immigrant children. However, a study on New Zealand plurilingual and intercultural education would be inadequate without reference to the experiences of Māori, their long history of resistance and resilience that has assured the survival of Māori language and culture, and the important place occupied by Māori language and cultural practices in the educational environment. So I aimed to shape the New Zealand part of this comparative study alongside the context

of colonisation and the work that Māori have since done to establish a strong position for the *kohanga reo* and *kura kaupapa* immersion education movement for Māori children.

In looking at how students are categorised, we therefore see existing groupings of New Zealand students according to ethnicity, that is commonly employed for statistical purposes: NZ European (or *pakeha*); Māori, at times Māori and Pasifika as one grouping; Asian (Chinese, South Korean, Japanese); refugee (SE Asian, Syrian, Colombian); and other immigrant groups. These groupings are highly relevant to this study, as the New Zealand education system also categorises immigrant students to some degree: international fee-paying students and the revenue they represent has directed a “marketing” approach towards seeking enrolments of this type of immigrant student, and schools provide a host of services to attract international fee-paying students. There are a small range of government-funded services available to support the English language learning of immigrant and refugee students: students who test at a lower level of English language proficiency are eligible for teacher aide hours in mainstream classes, for example.

3.2.2 Reducing the performance gap between immigrant and non-immigrant students

During the period of OECD tracking of immigrant student performance between 2003-2012, at least 5% of the student population in New Zealand were immigrants. The narrowing of the performance gap between immigrant and non-immigrant students in maths was attributed to local students performing better over the decade (-14 score points) (OECD, 2015). This shift may also be attributable to the presence of high-achieving international students in schools, as well as a governmental response to improving the quality of literacy and numeracy teaching and learning.

The NZ government tracked global improvements in foundational learning after the introduction of National Standards in 2011:

“The proportions of students achieving at or above the standards for reading (77.9%), writing (70.6%) and mathematics (74.6%) have increased in each of the last two years since the introduction of National Standards.” (Ministry of Education, 2014)

In terms of literacy and how immigrant students perform in reading, lower reading performance amongst immigrant students can be attributed to three key factors (OECD, 2015, as introduced in Chapter 3, pp. 70-71):

- (1) *Newly arrived immigrants lack familiarity with the host country’s language and institutions.* So learning the language of schooling is undoubtedly the highest priority in helping immigrant students to succeed, and the importance of well-trained specialist teachers who are experts in the pedagogy of language teaching and learning is inestimable. Institutions that recognise and support quality teaching and learning through well-structured internal systems that look after both teachers and students result in the best outcomes for immigrant students. As examples, institutions can:
 - support teachers to excel with guided and self-directed professional development,
 - reduce obstacles to student success by employing teacher aides and establishing buddy-systems, and
 - provide quality language classes in addition to, and integrated with, mainstream classes.

Furthermore, the role of all teachers is crucial in helping newly-arrived immigrant students to become familiar with the way learning is structured within their subject area, and in particular teaching students specialised vocabulary and key language forms related to the subject.

- (2) *The age of arrival is another key factor in the success of immigrant students.* OECD statistics show that immigrant students who arrived at the age of 12 or later, and were tested after at most four years of schooling in the host country, lag behind the reading age for their cohort. While immigrant students who arrived at a younger age, and were tested after a similar period of schooling in the host country, performed better relative to their cohort. This indicates that the language barrier is age-susceptible, and the older the student at the age of arrival, the higher the potential language barrier is.

- (3) *The school curriculum for older children is more demanding both linguistically and cognitively.* The challenge for teachers of newly-arrived immigrant children, and particularly children aged between 13 and 15, is to reduce the language barrier by simplifying texts, while retaining the cognitive demands of the content. So the child is receiving an age-appropriate education in terms of content, through language that is simplified and pedagogical approaches that make the content accessible for the child's level of competence in the language of schooling. The implications of this are that the task of rendering content accessible is the task of every teacher, both mainstream and language specialists. It calls for a large body of work to be done collaboratively, to build resources in each subject area that can be used as stepping-stones for newly arrived immigrant students to participate and learn, in spite of the initial language barrier.

These three factors combined strongly indicate that newly arrived immigrant students aged 13-15 are a group that is highly vulnerable to school failure, due to the linguistic and cognitive demands of school curricula for those year levels and the evidence that older children have more difficulty learning another language fluently. Therefore, **it is vitally important to consider how these adverse factors can be mitigated through well-formed, school-wide pedagogical approaches that include subject-specific resources for newly arrived immigrant students and teacher training for working inclusively to integrate immigrant children into mainstream classes.**

4. The negative effects of grade repetition, streaming and vocational/academic tracking on immigrant students' success

A factor impacting on both the integration of immigrant students and their success in schooling is, according to the OECD, education systems that require students to repeat a year of schooling if the child does not demonstrate sufficient skills gained in order to progress to the next year. On average across OECD countries, immigrant students are 3.4 times more likely to repeat a grade. Grade repetition is also higher in countries that host high numbers of asylum seekers, including France. In the French school system, meetings called "*conseil de classe*" are held in June, at which teachers and administrators evaluate the skills, participation and behaviour of students, and discuss whether each student has performed sufficiently to progress to the next grade. Currently in France, an estimated 270,000 students per year repeat a grade. Grade repetition is a declining practice in French schools, but the national average is still higher than the global average:

"At the age of 15, 28 per cent of students have repeated a school grade at least once in the course of their education (compared with an average of 12 per cent in the OECD)."
(Benhenda & Grent, 2015, p.1)

The implications for students who repeat a grade are, according to data gathered by the Institut des Politiques Publiques:

"a) have a greater tendency than other students to be oriented towards the vocational stream than the general and technological stream at lycée; b) attain a lower level of secondary training than those who do not repeat; and c) have a shorter academic life than other students." (Benhenda & Grent, p.2)

These tendencies are as accurate for immigrant students as for non-immigrant students, and in addition the implications for successful integration are that further obstacles are added to those already existing for newly arrived immigrant students. Repeating a year means that the student is amongst a new group of peers, and social integration has to begin again from scratch — new friendships have to be formed and social acceptance sought amongst a younger cohort. **Immigrant students who are required to repeat a grade are also tracked onto an alternate trajectory, where integration into the future career opportunities offered by education become narrowed down.** Immigrant students who repeat a grade in *collège* may find that the options for academic pathways into university education later are simply no longer open to them. In France, there are two kinds of high school (*lycée*) that students attend from age 15 to 18:

- (a) *lycée général et technologique* provides pathways to university, through a variety of course options culminating in the academic Baccalaureate exam, and for the best students the *concours général*, which offers top students the possibility of a prize and formal recognition of academic excellence.
- (b) *lycée professionnel* offers job training and vocational pathways through a variety of course options (40-60% of in-class time) and the rest of the time in job training in various employment sectors. The

final qualification is a professional diploma, being one of either a *baccalauréat professionnel*, a *certificat d'aptitude professionnelle* (CAP), or the *brevet d'études professionnelles* (BEP). (Ministère de l'Éducation website)

Immigrant students are 44% more likely than non-immigrant students to be tracked into vocational pathways, which on an individual level means that future prospects for working in high-status professional occupations are significantly narrowed. On a global level, this means that immigrants are under-represented in high-status professions that require higher education, and in academic pathways that can lead to socially influential jobs such as policy making and governance. Therefore, there is an absence of immigrant voices that could advocate for policies to improve education systems for immigrant children — a cycle of disempowerment that effectively diminishes the potential for change in favour of immigrant children and their educational opportunities.

In short, students who feel they “don't belong” are in some way expressing a sense of exclusion, and the inability to participate in and benefit from opportunities afforded by an education. This raises the question again of “equality” in education. As published by the Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy, the argument for equality of education is underpinned by two premises about children and education:

“ ... first, that education significantly influences a person's life chances in terms of labor market success, preparation for democratic citizenship, and general human flourishing; and second, that children's life chances should not be fixed by certain morally arbitrary circumstances of their birth such as their social class, race, and gender.” (Stanford Encyclopaedia)

It is argued that educational policies such as grade repetition and tracking/streaming, while designed to create “easier” routes for students who struggle academically within school systems, actually create a number of short-term and long-term disadvantages for immigrant students. The socio-economic disadvantage factor that often tags immigrant students also amplifies the possibility of educational disadvantage. Statistically, students from disadvantaged backgrounds are more likely to end up in lower tracks, for several reasons:

1. Parents, as immigrants themselves, may be unfamiliar with the school system and not know how to select the best track to optimise their child's learning. They may not know which questions to pose in order to gain information from the school on the longer-term implications of placing the child in a lower stream, and therefore simply follow the advice of the school as education professionals. In the short term, the result is that the immigrant child is grouped with other disadvantaged children, a learning situation in itself that has been shown to deprive children of the chance to learn from other students who are more adept in the subject, or have acquired more skilful habits in order to succeed in their studies.
2. Anecdotally, many teachers would agree, myself included, that in non-streamed or mixed-ability classes, more capable peers model good classroom learning behaviours that can also assist less capable peers. I strongly agree from experiences of teaching both lower-streamed classes and mixed-ability classes that a lot of social learning takes place in the classroom that can have a powerful and positive effect on the learning habits of less proficient students. In mixed-ability classes, for example, the way in which more proficient students respond to questions in the whole class context models effective learning behaviours such as:
 - (i) how to formulate higher level responses that evaluate or synthesise knowledge,
 - (ii) recall of content that serves to create links between prior learning and new information, and
 - (iii) how to explore various aspects of a question and come to a collective understanding — the process of thinking and testing ideas, informed by feedback from the group and teacher.

In lower-streamed classes, this advantage of peer learning can be lessened as there are higher numbers of students who are already in difficulty, and who may be less proficient in “effective learning behaviours” as well as content. In the long term, **the immigrant child who is placed on a lower track may find that even once their language skills have developed sufficiently to enable them to access more academic language and pursue a higher track of study, the pathway into higher education may now be closed to them due to certain restrictions and rules of the education system.**

3. It may be seen as the “easier option” for immigrant students who are not yet fully proficient in the language of schooling to be placed in lower streams. Initially, the decision could be made on the grounds that the child has not yet mastered enough of the language to cope with both the linguistic and cognitive demands of higher streamed classes. The decision could also be made on the grounds that higher streamed classes are designed to accelerate the best students, and if the teacher has to give time to help immigrant students to decode complex language, the learning of other students will suffer.
4. As vocational tracks are seen as leading to future employment, it may be considered the most practical avenue for the immigrant child’s future job prospects. If, as OECD statistics reflect, immigrant students are 44% more likely than non-immigrant students to be tracked into vocational programmes, it is also highly likely that this decision is made on the basis of language proficiency as the determining factor. Furthermore that it is seen as a way of ensuring employment for a child whose parents have chosen to emigrate, thereby placing the child in a situation where he will have to overcome obstacles during his school life that he would not have had to face in his home country. And that the cumulative effect of these obstacles is a lowering of future expectations for both success in schooling and access to higher status professions within the host society — a form of an entrenched social attitude towards immigrants that their potential in the host country cannot be expected to be the same as in their home country.

In summary, immigrant students can be limited in their progress through schooling by any combination of educational policies, school decision-making processes, parental input, societal attitudes, and the child’s own ability to demonstrate a working proficiency in the language of schooling and learning behaviours. As a consequence of these combined factors, schools may therefore have developed a pre-disposition to placing all immigrants students systematically on lower tracks, due to a view that the combined effect is too great an impediment to succeeding in academic tracks. This reasoning of “too hard, won’t manage” doesn’t take into account the child’s interests, work ethic, potential for language development over time, and future aspirations.

Section A conclusion

In conclusion, the OECD identifies negative effects of grade repetition, streaming and vocational/academic tracking on immigrant students’ success. This finding is international and across education systems. The OECD’s analysis of PISA results finds that lower reading performance amongst immigrant students at the age of 15, compared to their cohort, can be attributed to three key factors (OECD, 2015): (1) unfamiliarity with the host school system, (2) late age of arrival (after 12), and (3) the higher linguistic and cognitive demands of school curricula during the teenage years.

OECD recommendations for improving school performance of immigrant students include:

- taking into account prior schooling and country of origin
- implementing education policies that focus on the learning needs of students who are “in difficulty”, as this helps to improve results in student outcomes overall
- creating socio-economically mixed school populations
- avoiding placing immigrant students systematically on lower or vocational tracks
- recognising that it is not one single factor that places a child at risk, but a combination of factors in the child’s life circumstances that amount to a higher probability of school failure

Findings from my study carried out in a French school and a New Zealand school (2017-2019) further highlight the potentially positive effects of the child making use of their existing knowledge of first languages (and plurilingual competences) to:

- access learning in the language of schooling
- learn interactively through first languages with classmates,
- learn interactively through lingua franca with the teacher or other students, and
- navigate classroom expectations and teaching and learning styles, through engaging with the unknown and thus developing behaviours for successful learning and integration.

Section B

The role of parents in the child's success at school

During the 2 years of field research carried out for this study, 3 types of newly-arrived immigrant teenagers were observed in classroom learning situations:

- (a) migrant students living with parent(s), in either a transitory or permanent situation, usually with one of their parents on a work visa;
- (b) asylum-seeking students, sometimes accommodated at CADA with parents or as isolated minors (1 student), only in the French school. Parents do not have the right to work, and the family situation is precarious, as if asylum is denied they must leave France or risk deportation;
- (c) refugee background students, settling permanently in NZ or France with support from refugee resettlement agencies. Parents may be highly qualified from their home country yet not able to work in their professional field until equivalence is obtained in NZ or France.

In this Section B, I will overview these three types of family context as a way of providing background to the 42 students who participated in this study.

1. **Famille in France, *whanau* in New Zealand**

The role of the parents in the child's experience of school integration is significant, and both of the participating schools in this study have support systems in place to liaise with the parents of newly-arrived immigrant children. The expectations that each school has about school-home relationships and parental involvement is defined by local culture, and to some degree by the diverse cultures of the school's migrant communities.

The following sections overview and compare how parents of newly-arrived immigrant students are included in their child's schooling, in France and New Zealand. Findings from international studies on how parents support the educational success of immigrant students are also discussed, and conclusions drawn.

1.1 **France's immigrant parents**

In France, a certain parental presence accompanies the child's school life, especially in the early and primary school years. At *collège*, school-home communication remains regular with subject teachers writing progress and homework notes to parents in a school diary (*cahier*) that the child has signed by the parents weekly. For immigrant children in FLS classes, the French teacher's role is also to manage the pastoral care aspect of the child's school life, frequently liaising between home and school, setting up meetings for administrative and academic matters, providing a translator where necessary, and importantly, helping the child to learn how to function within the school system, what is required of them on a daily basis at school, and the basic conventions of self-management of their school work.

In French law on the administrative organisation and functioning of schools, it is specified that immigrant parents are accorded the same rights and benefits as French parents³⁴. The cabinet director of the Ministry of Education advises schools that:

“Une importance primordiale doit être accordée à l'accueil des parents étrangers. Les directeurs et directrices d'écoles, les principaux de collèges, les proviseurs de lycées et leurs adjoints auront conscience des difficultés qui peuvent se présenter pour l'instauration du dialogue avec des parents qui, en raison de leur méconnaissance du français et de leur expatriation, éprouvent quelque gêne à s'adresser aux responsables de la scolarité de leur enfant. Il convient de ne pas laisser en retrait et de leur apporter, comme aux autres parents, une information suffisante sur notre système d'enseignement, sur le règlement de l'établissement et sur les caractéristiques de sa vie scolaire. Une attitude attentive et ouverte de la part des responsables facilitera les échanges et engagera ces parents à revenir, avec confiance, chaque fois que cela sera nécessaire.” (Niveau, 2018)

³⁴ article 4 of décret n° 76-1302 and article 14 of décret n° 76-1305 of 28 December 1976

Paraphrased, the Minister outlines the importance of establishing dialogue between parents and schools as a priority, and maintaining a trusting relationship in which parents feel welcomed and able to confidently engage with the school.

In September 2019, a change to education law that makes attendance at *école maternelle* compulsory from the age 3, specified the acquisition of French language as one of the primary drivers of the reform:

"Le ministre de l'Education nationale veut ainsi "lutter contre la première des inégalités, qui est celle de la langue", estimant qu'il s'agit surtout d'une "mesure sociétale"." (Franceinfo, 17/2/2019)

Although 97.6% of children in France already begin schooling from the age of 3, the measure is designed to integrate families (largely migrant families and those in extended French territories) into French society. The description of language as "a primary cause of inequality" positions plurilingualism as a social problem that the monolingual state education system in France seeks to address early on. This is a confronting message for migrant parents, that home and community languages are not given a place in the plurilingual child's early education. While it is certainly positive that plurilingual children are prepared for success in the French school system from a young age, and language is a big part of that, the new law leaves little place for parents' wishes for the child's plurilingual and intercultural development during early childhood.

1.2 New Zealand's immigrant parents: *whānau* approach

In New Zealand education, parent-school relationships are given high priority in policy. A body of NZ-based research supports findings that "*effective partnerships between parents, whānau, communities, and schools lead to improved educational, social, and behavioural outcomes*" (Mutch and Collins, 2012, p.165).

The approach to parent-teacher relationships has evolved from the model of "*whānau*" (extended family) involvement, based on a Māori conception in which family as a whole care for the child. The application of the cultural model of *whānau* forms part of five key cultural competencies for teachers of Māori learners, as set out by the Ministry of Education (2011):

- *"Wānanga: participating with learners and communities in robust dialogue for the benefit of Māori learners' achievement.*
- ***Whanaungatanga: actively engaging in respectful working relationships with Māori learners, parents and whānau, hapū, iwi and the Māori community.***
- *Manaakitanga: showing integrity, sincerity and respect towards Māori beliefs, language and culture.*
- *Tangata Whenuatanga: affirming Māori learners as Māori. Providing contexts for learning where the language, identity and culture of Māori learners and their whānau is affirmed.*
- *Ako: taking responsibility for their own learning and that of Māori learners."*

Mutch & Collins (2012) situate the word '*whānau*' within the NZ educational context as follows:

"When discussing the concept of family in New Zealand, the Māori word whānau is often used as it gives a broader perspective of the nature and role of the family. Whānau is generally translated as "wider" or "extended" family and acknowledges that family members beyond a child's parents often have a role as a child's caregiver. It also acknowledges that there are a range of family configurations in modern day society... The use of the word or concept in this way is not limited to Māori families but is in general usage across many cultural groups." (p.168)

The "*whānau* approach" is therefore one that is culturally appropriate in the NZ educational context, and supported by the bicultural (*Māori-pākehā*) accord.

The NZ Ministry of Education has a range of initiatives and programmes in place to support the schooling of Māori children³⁵, and the principles established as beneficial for the learning of Māori children in schools

³⁵ examples include Ministry of Education, "Tātaiako: cultural competencies for teachers of Māori learners" (2011); "Ka Hikitia - Accelerating Success" (2013-2017)

have been extended to include other plurilingual students — in particular, Pacific, the largest group of plurilingual migrant students in NZ schools. The key premise is that in order for education systems to be culturally coherent for Māori and Pasifika learners, teachers and schools must situate the child within the family context, rather than viewing children “*as isolated, individual learners*” (Barnes et al, 2012, p.13). And in turn, this premise of cultural cohesion in the child’s education is extended to apply to all immigrant students, applying similar principles of understanding and respecting differences in language, culture and identity.

It would be wrong to assert that the significant and important work on improving outcomes for Māori students within the NZ education system can be applied “*verbatim*” to yield similar results for immigrant students in NZ schools. However, it seems that NZ’s education policies have become highly inclusive of diversity due, in large part, to the work in education to protect the indigenous language, culture and identity of Māori people. Positive advancements in cultural cohesion in the education system are therefore a result of the strong political partnership between Māori interests and government. And the education system is now philosophically and practically capable of taking this work further, to more effectively include the languages, cultures and identities of immigrant students.

Strengthening *whānau*-school partnerships is an education goal, with a view to increasing parental participation in schools and working together towards common objectives. Schools are operationally governed by Boards of Trustees, that mandatorily include parents and community members. In many schools, the process of welcoming and integrating newly-arrived immigrant students is supported by parents, *whānau* or community members, as translators and cultural advisers. A booklet for newly-arrived migrant parents is available in 9 languages (“*Families Learning Together*”). Therefore, parents are included in formal and informal roles within the school community, from decision-making levels to inclusive participation, as well as in a voluntary capacity and support role for other members of the school’s immigrant communities.

2. The child at the centre of contemporary forms of migration

The parents’ role in the child’s integration is central, and research points to intergenerational patterns of migration in which children represent a continuation of the family story in diverse contemporary constructs of migration. Recent literature defines new forms of migration patterns in which children are also actors, not simply subjected to the will of their parents. Traditional forms of migration in which the objective was long-term family settlement, are now also accompanied by new forms of mobility which are short-term and dynamic in nature. These forms of mobility represent multiple ways in which young people in particular “*engage with global systems, state policies and migration processes to advance their individual and collective life projects*” (Veale and Dona, 2014, p.1). Including both migration with parent(s) and contemporary forms of mobility as young people alone, the literature identifies four forms of migration:

- (1) *Serial migration*, in which the child moves from country to country, either following a parent’s work commitments or relocation, or as an international student for example.
- (2) *Seasonal or circular mobility*, in which families or groups follow a circuit of employment opportunities according to seasonal agricultural work, for example.
- (3) *Transnational migration*, in which families or unaccompanied children migrate to another country yet retain strong emotional and cultural ties with their country of origin. This form of international mobility is increasingly common as new and existing technologies facilitate low-cost international communication, such as Skype and Facebook.
- (4) *Return migration*, in which the return to the country of origin involves reintegration and reorientation towards a society that may have changed over time.

In these types of migration and mobility movements, the child’s experience is both individual and collectively interwoven with the stories of their parents and ancestors. In my own experience as a migrant child in a family characterised by “*serial migration*”, and later as a teacher of immigrant teenagers, the personal stories that emerge illustrate this phenomena of interweaving and often highlight how the child lives their own migration experience partly as a carrier of the collective family biography.

Amongst the many immigrant students I have taught over the years, I find similar patterns of interweaving of the intergenerational stories. A Moroccan girl who was the eldest in a migrant family of four children, who felt

an unconscious imperative to succeed in education in France at any cost, as her mother was illiterate and had been denied the chance to go to school herself as a girl. A Korean boy who was sent to New Zealand alone as an international student at the age of 13, and expected to master the English language and succeed in school, while at the same time he was placed in a Korean foster home in NZ, in order to maintain the strict study habits of Korean educational culture while studying abroad — a form of austere transnationalism that negatively marked his integration and left him floating between two cultures. A plurilingual Vietnamese-Chinese girl who spoke two languages at home, but on arrival at school as a migrant child in France did not speak the language of schooling. After a long initial period of silence and feeling excluded, she mastered the French language and began to speak more and more French in the home with her siblings, thereby loosening the linguistic intergenerational ties that symbolised the past and a difficult period of integration and hard-won acceptance into the new society for the child. A Japanese boy who arrived as an international student with little English in a New Zealand high school, a quiet artistic young man who struggled to meet the high academic standards, then in his first year at university, faced with failure in all his courses and a sense of let-down from his father in Japan, committed suicide.

In these very personal stories we hear the weight of parental expectation and the added burden experienced by migrant children as they live not only their own story of migration, but also their parents' migration stories and expectations, often a painful process with sometimes tragic outcomes.

3. Studies on parental influence on the immigrant child's success

A body of studies of immigrant children and their experiences of schooling have examined the essential role of parents, concluding almost unanimously that parental aspirations and attitudes towards education have a profound effect on the child's success in school. As the primary models in the child's life, parents express their expectations of the child's own performance in school and potential for the future in a variety of ways — through their own level of education, the material reality of life circumstances, as well as “the ideal life” that parents dream of for themselves and the future of their children. The dynamic interplay between parent and child has a deep influence on the child's relationship with his own education, as he is required to position himself in relation to parental expectations (Bouteyre 2004, p.51).

The results of some studies show that the child's success in schooling is linked with the socio-economic status of the family; families with high socio-economic status see formal education as important for social standing as well as a career, and therefore envisage an educational path for their children that will continue on to university, while families with middle/lower socio-economic status tend to be more focused on the importance of gainful employment and can adopt sceptical attitudes towards the value of education for the child's future (Bernard-Claveau 1979, Campos 1985, Marini 1978). More recent studies use the term “social capital” to describe a range of enabling factors including and beyond economic means in the family — for example, the network of relationships that the family exists within that have productive benefits — and that while parental expectations remain primarily important, the wider social context is also influential (Hao and Bonstead-Bruns 1998). Yet other recent studies look at second generation immigrant children and the reproduction of social disadvantage and under-achievement at school (Phalet and Andriessen 2003), suggesting that parental expectations cannot surpass existing ethnic inequalities that have become embedded in education systems, and are therefore mitigated by the educational environment.

4. Contextualising studies in France and New Zealand

It seems important to place these studies within their socio-political context, as European societies and the roles occupied by immigrants during the 1970s and 1980s are not the same as those of the 21st century. The studies on immigrant families therefore have to be read contextually, and also serve as a research continuum that tells us a lot about social changes in France over the past 50 years, and the changing face of immigration. Before 1974, only 11% of male migrants entering France had higher educational qualifications. In 2004-2005, one-quarter of economic migrants to France had a degree, being four times more than in 1982 (Insee, 2006). So the profile of immigrants arriving in recent years in France reflects a more educated population, however not always successful in gaining employment.

The unemployment rate of immigrants remains twice as high in 2016 at that of French nationals (20% immigrants, 9% French) (Insee, 27/2/2018), and amongst women, a higher percentage of immigrant women are unemployed (27%), relative to the number of French women unemployed (9.6%) (Insee, 2018). It is not certain that these statistics are related to the women's level of education, nor how many of these women are

mothers and homemakers by choice, but it does give an indication that a higher number of immigrant women are affected by lower socio-economic conditions than French women.

In the New Zealand context, national unemployment is currently low in 2020 at 4.0%, down from almost 7% in 2012. In the 15-54 year old age span, Pasifika (15.8% of total unemployed in 2013) and Asian (7.8%) peoples are the two ethnic migrant groups with higher rates of unemployment than the NZ European population (5.3% of total unemployed). Statistics NZ cites education as one factor: "*These differences can be partly explained by factors such as educational attainment and location.*" (Statistics NZ, 7/8/2020)

These statistics on education and unemployment are of interest to this study, as the influence of parents, particularly mothers, and the education and socio-economic status of parents, is a variable that has been shown to influence children's educational achievements in school. Various studies have also taken ethnicity into account, comparing ethnic minority groups with ethnically dominant groups, or studying one specific sample from an ethnic minority community.

5. Findings on how parents influence child's success at school

If we look at a range of studies that have examined the influence of parental education and attitudes towards education, as a variable in children's success in school, we see that the first two findings below are conclusive across studies in several countries and ethnic groups, while the third finding is very interesting but applies only to the US context and Asian/Hispanic immigrant families.

Finding 1: Parents with a positive interest in and attitude towards their child's education are able to stimulate a similarly positive response in the child towards their own educational achievements, which has positive educational outcomes for the child. Flouri's longitudinal study between 1984 and 2010 looked at the effects of parental interest in the child's education, taking a sample of 10-year-old children in Britain and following up the study on educational achievement when the children reached the age of 26 (Flouri, 2010). The study found that the mother's interest in the child's education was influential on both boys and girls, while the father's interest was only influential on girls.

Finding 2: The influence of mothers on the child's education has been more frequently studied than the influence of fathers, in particular amongst groups of pre-school children. The mother's own educational background is influential, but it is her interest in and attitude towards education, and how that is communicated to the child through the daily behaviours and the home environment that appears to be more influential. So uneducated mothers who exhibit pro-educational behaviours can similarly cultivate their child's motivation to succeed in school. As an example, Schaller, Rocha & Barshinger (2007) found that Mexican immigrant mothers with a low level of education themselves were often ambitious for their children's education, and manifested this through daily pro-educational behaviours. Along another point on the same continuum, Halle et al. (1997) studied a sample of low-income families in ethnic minority groups, finding that mothers with higher education had higher expectations for their children's achievement in school. And that these children subsequently achieved better in maths and reading, and perceived their achievements positively due to the attitudes of their mothers. In a comparative study, David-Kaen (2005) studied parental education as a factor positively influencing children's educational outcomes in two ethnic groups: African-American and European-American. The study found that the influence was indirectly imbued in the child through the home environment — the parents' beliefs about achievement, and the kind of stimulating play parents engaged their children in.

Finding 3: Children from immigrant families are demonstrating higher school performance in some recent studies, for reasons that are partly attributed to parental ambitions and instilling a positive work ethic in children. For example, Kao's 2004 study of immigrant children who performed well in school focused on family dynamics that varied according to racial and ethnic cultural norms, and hypothesised that certain styles of parenting are more conducive to success in school (Kao, 2004). The study found that patterns of parenting that included the child in decision-making processes around education, particularly discussion during teenage years, kept the child engaged with and achieving in their schooling. Also, that parent-child relationships in Asian and Hispanic immigrant families in the US demonstrate ways of relating that can contribute towards the child's orientation towards higher aspirations in education, which stem from a sense of obligation towards family. What is most interesting in these more recent studies is that the stereotype of immigrant students as low academic performers that has prevailed since the 1970s is being overturned. However, Kao's studies look at children of immigrant families in the US, which does not share the same education system nor immigrant history with France or New Zealand. Further

research would need to be carried out that compares education systems and pedagogical approaches, as well as cultural factors and parental influence.

In summary, findings from a number of international studies agree on two points: (1) that parents who are interested in their child's education transmit a positive attitude towards learning that helps the child to succeed at school, and (2) that the mother is influential in the child's educational success, not only if she herself is highly educated but also if she models "pro-educational behaviours". A third finding from a US study showed that parent-child relationships that cultivated discussion and decision-making with children also raised the child's chances of success at school.

Section B conclusion

In conclusion to Section B, studies on the influence of parents on the child's success at school have been found to be most positive when parents show an interest, model "pro-educational behaviours", and include children in decision-making processes. Further anecdotal findings are that experiences of migration are individual stories, interwoven with the expectations of parents, and further back into intergenerational stories. Children of immigrant parents may be carrying these stories as they are creating their own, and this can influence schooling success in a variety of ways.

In both France and New Zealand, strategies for integrating parents of newly-arrived immigrant students are in place. Home languages and cultures are accorded a place during the initial welcome period. In France, *l'accueil de l'enfant* recognises the primary importance of welcoming parents, who may themselves have little proficiency in French and knowledge of French schooling (Niveau, 2018). Booklets in several languages that explain schooling in France are part of this, and the UPE2A teacher's role is central in liaising with parents about their child's schooling. In Aotearoa the *whānau* approach established with Māori learners and their families in mind (Ministry of Education NZ, 2011) has wider potential as a way of welcoming and building relationships with immigrant communities as well.

Chapter 4 conclusion

In conclusion, migrant children in contemporary France and New Zealand come from a diverse range of ethnic, cultural and educational milieux. Changes to migration patterns over time mean that the child is more central to intergenerational migration stories, and schools should perceive the child within a family biography of plurilingual, intercultural mobility.

Parental education is still a factor in the child's success at school, but is no longer a complete reflection in either country of how parents can influence their child towards higher school performance. International studies have shown that parents with positive, pro-education attitudes also positively influence children's educational outcomes, even if they do not have high levels of education themselves.

It is very important for immigrant children that strong links are cultivated and maintained between home and school, as a way of affirming their intercultural identity and supporting successful school outcomes:

"There is a strong link between well-being and achievement. Students' well-being is strongly influenced by a clear sense of identity, and access and exposure to their own language and culture. Students do better in education when what and how they learn reflects and positively reinforces where they come from, what they value and what they already know. Learning needs to connect with students' existing knowledge. Identity, language and culture are an asset and a foundation of knowledge on which to build and celebrate learning and success."

(NZ Ministry of Education, Ka Hikitia: Accelerating Success 2013-2017)

Finally, the most important factor in the child's success at school are the characteristics of the education system. As statistically evidenced by PISA results and OECD international findings, education systems that understand the needs of students "in difficulty", and adapt schooling to focus on improving outcomes for students most vulnerable to school failure, tend to gain better outcomes for all students. PISA tests measure schooling outcomes for students in OECD countries at the age of 15, which is particularly relevant to this study of "late arriver" immigrant students, after the age of 12.

Chapter 5

Asylum-seeking / Refugee families

Following on from Chapter 4's findings on the role of parents in the child's schooling, Chapter 5 questions how a family situation of seeking asylum or refugee status may impact on the child's ability to integrate into school life and succeed in classroom learning. I respond to this question with examples of students who participated in this study, 50% of whom were students in situations of asylum-seeking, refugees or unaccompanied minors.

This chapter further explores parents' experiences and their views of recent changes to rules for asylum-seeking in France, drawing on interviews with staff and residents at a local CADA in Bordeaux. Finally, the experiences of refugee parents in New Zealand are given voice through interviews with a Syrian mother of 3 school-aged children, a Wellington language school for refugee adults, and my experiences as a volunteer in refugee resettlement in Wellington.

Key questions:

- How does a family situation of asylum seeking or refugee status impact on the child's ability to integrate into school life and succeed in classroom learning?
- What is the experience of parents in situations of asylum-seeking in France?
- What are some New Zealand initiatives for supporting refugee-background students?

Introduction

Of the 42 newly-arrived immigrant students who participated in this study, 14 are of refugee background, 6 are children whose families were seeking asylum in France at the time of the study (2017-2019), and one had recently arrived in France as an unaccompanied minor (Ishmael aged 15, from Pakistan). Exactly half of the students who participated in this study were living in situations defined by displacement and gaps in prior schooling. These are the kinds of students who statistically are at higher risk of not accessing higher education (according to the UNHCR only 1% transition onto higher education), and how their success at high school can be supported is therefore very important.

The kinds of educational interventions I am arguing for throughout this thesis are mostly pedagogical and language-based, with a strong focus on empowering students through plurilingual, interactive and social learning approaches. As well as the measurable outcomes of educational success discussed in Part 1 Chapter 4, another crucial aspect in school success is how young people in fragile situations are helped to integrate and develop a sense of belonging and wellbeing at school. This sense of belonging and wellbeing underpins educational success (OECD 2015), and schools have a responsibility to create welcoming school cultures that foster this for all students from the moment of arrival, even for those who may not settle permanently, as is often the case for asylum-seeker families in France. Schools have important work to do with asylum-seeker and refugee students and their families during this early phase after arrival, with wider social and human rights objectives of:

"... improving the terms of participation in society, particularly for refugees who are disadvantaged, through enhancing opportunities, access to resources, authentic experiences of belonging and wellbeing and voicing respect for human rights." (Dobson, Agrusti & Pinto 2021, p.4)

In this chapter, I look at family situations for asylum-seeker and refugee students in France and Aotearoa New Zealand, with a view to understanding the whole family experience of integration during the newly-arrived phase.

How does the family situation impact on the child's ability to integrate into school life and succeed in classroom learning? From my observations of students in class and conversations with their teachers, it is impossible to answer this question in a generalised way. Each student exhibited different behaviours in the classroom, even those with similar family situations. Following is an example of two students who participated in this study:

“Ishmael (aged 15 from Pakistan, in the French school) and Bashiiir (aged 17 from Somalia, in the NZ school) had both recently arrived as unaccompanied minors. Ishmael was housed in a Centre d’Accueil et d’Orientation (CAO) in Bordeaux while Bashiiir was staying with extended family in Wellington. In spite of their similar situations of being suddenly without parents, newly-arrived in a country where they did not speak the language, coping with a school curriculum where their future employment depended on mastering the language-of-schooling and gaining qualifications, their behaviour was very different. Ishmael was cheerful, willing to learn and focused on achieving. He passed the Brevet at the end of the year and went on to lycée professionnel:

Every year excepting this year, Mme M. (FLS teacher) has had an unaccompanied minor in her UPE2A class. Last year, Ishmael from Pakistan was 15 years old, and living in the CAO housing for unaccompanied minors. Mme M. bumped into him on the tram, and he is now doing a course at *lycée professionnel*. At the start of the year they were 25 students enrolled, then 5 were expelled, and now they are about 15 after others have left the course. It is a course in mechanics or to become an electrician. Ishmael is still living in the CAO housing. Mme M. said that another colleague lives near the CAO for unaccompanied minors, and it’s a high crime area, where he often has his car broken into.

Interview with Mme M., Ishmael’s FLS teacher, 18/2/2019

Bashiiir’s character was perceived less positively by teachers at his school, and reports were less glowing. He was often described as difficult in the classroom, unwilling and disengaged from school learning. Over the period of classroom observations, the EL teacher tried various strategies for managing his behaviour and engaging him in learning, with some promising but inconsistent results:

Bashiiir has seemed bored in class, swamped by English language he doesn’t understand, an attitude of “what’s the point in even coming to class, it’s got nothing to do with me or my interests”. Today he is responding well to being more closely guided, with more physical direction on simple expectations for being in a classroom — what to do right now (putting phone away, seating, writing). He is more positive, engaged and on-task than previous weeks, and integration is looking good with this kind of consistent expectation.

I would love to follow Bashiiir in mainstream classes, but as he is 17 years old and the case studies are focusing on 13-15 year olds, his age excludes him. I will however continue to follow his progress in EL classes, as during these 4 weeks he has already made excellent progress in terms of integration into classroom expectations. What does he want for himself out of school? How does he see his future, I wonder? Where does trauma from his refugee experiences fit into his behaviour at school?

Observation notes 1/4/2019

The fact of being an unaccompanied minor appeared to motivate Ishmael to succeed on his own, whereas Bashiiir (although his situation was without parents but still within extended family) had a lot more trouble integrating into school expectations. The absence of parental influence for one was not an obstacle, and may even have been a liberating and enabling factor. Whereas the absence of parental reference in Bashiiir’s case was not helpful, and he responded better to classroom learning when clear rules and instructions were put in place (a more authoritarian style of teaching). Bashiiir was almost certainly having psychological difficulties as a result of his refugee trauma. I am curious to know what kind of conversations, if any, were had with these two young men about how they see their future pathways — work, study, settling in the new country. I was able to follow both of these students a little further in their stories of integration into education, as Ishmael’s teacher and I stay in regular contact and I decided to include Bashiiir as a “special case study” (in Part 2).

This example of two students in similarly precarious situations, sets the scene for addressing the question of how a refugee background impacts on the child’s ability to integrate into school life and succeed in classroom learning. In this chapter I tackle this question from two angles: (1) the disadvantages inherent in family situations of asylum-seeking (example of France) and refugee-background (example of New Zealand),

and (2) the additional fact that every student is an individual who brings their own unique set of personal skills and strengths to school learning that also determine educational outcomes.

Section A: Seeking asylum in France

Asylum seekers who arrive in France are subjected to a lengthy process (*“particulièrement longues et difficiles”*, Goï, 2005, p.9), with few applications granted in the end. When the asylum seeker arrives in France, he has to establish an application for asylum through OFPRA (*Office Français pour les Réfugiés et Apatrides*), and within six months of arriving in French territory. Once the application is made, he can enter a CADA residence, or find accommodation independently or with the help of social services or humanitarian organisations. Homelessness and lack of government-provided housing for migrants who are in the process of seeking asylum is a growing problem in France, with news reports estimating more than 140,000 homeless people in France, with 53% of this figure estimated to be migrants (Insee, 8/2/2017). CADA (*centre d'accueil des demandeurs d'asile*), the state-provided centre for asylum-seekers, currently provides 54,000 beds, an increase of 27% over four years, which does not meet the current demand for accommodation for asylum seekers:

“Par ailleurs, les places pour les demandeurs d'asile se situent à 54 000, soit une augmentation de 27 % en quatre ans, sans pouvoir faire face à la demande (40% d'entre eux devant se débrouiller ou faire appel au dispositif généraliste).” (Mediapart, 14/2/2017)

During the period following an asylum claim, which can take from 6 months up to 2 years, children must be enrolled in school but the parents do not have the right to work. This means that asylum seeking families reside in limbo, often in CADA residences, a period during which parents do not have many avenues for integration, such as employment, learning the French language, or regular contact with the local community.

For CADA children, this period is also uncertain as a refusal of the asylum application means that the family may be evicted from a CADA residence and/or deported from France. One of the participants in the case studies for this research is the child of Albanian parents who made an application for asylum and were housed in a CADA centre in Bordeaux. When their asylum application was refused, the family were evicted from CADA and moved to stay with friends in a small town outside of Bordeaux. The child now travels an hour each way to school in Bordeaux, while the family awaits an appeal of the asylum application (interview with Mme M., teacher at Collège A, Bordeaux, 26/1/2018).

1. Proposed changes to asylum seeking process in France, 2017-2018

In 2018, the French government is proposing a series of changes to immigration law, and particularly with a view to improving the integration conditions for those who gain refugee status, and accelerating the process of asylum seeking with a view to reducing the number of people waiting in limbo. In March 2018, I interviewed a staff member at CADA and two CADA parents on their view of these proposed changes, summarised as follows (interview at CADA, Villenave d'Ornon, 6/3/2018).

Table 4: CADA residents' opinions on proposed changes to asylum-seeking processes (2018)

Existing law	Proposed change from 2018	Opinions
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> French language course for new immigrants, up to 200 hours maximum (to A1 level) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> French language course up to 600 hours maximum (to A2 level) (same as in Germany) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Improvement, but still only available to those with refugee status, not asylum seekers?
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Only immigrants with refugee status are eligible for state-funded French classes. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Asylum seekers can start learning French as soon as their application to OFPRA is made. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Yes, of course it's a good idea, and can be a form of training during the waiting period. Right now, CADA offers free French language classes to residents, taught by volunteer teachers.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Asylum seekers are not allowed to work for 9 months after the submission of their application for asylum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The period of stop-work may be reduced to 6 months. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Under existing law, if there is no response to the asylum request after 9 months, the applicant can submit an application for permission to work. The shortened period is of course an improvement, as staying at home is stressful, poor for morale and mentality, and working helps with integration.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (As the CADA residents understand current law), some professions have equivalence in France, while others require additional training of 1-2 years. (As CADA staff member understands current law), each qualification is evaluated for equivalence on the length of time and quality of education in country where qualification obtained, relative to French requirements. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Asylum seekers explain their studies and work in country of origin at first meeting with OFII, to obtain equivalence in work qualifications. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> This change is unlikely to be approved, as OFII will not want to waste their time and resources at the beginning of the asylum process, as only a small number of asylum requests advance to refugee status. This kind of interview is more likely to happen only for those granted refugee status.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Either the immigrant can enter the workforce directly, or have some professional training. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Training leads to more respect, and ideally a qualification, which is important for refugees. This change could also depend on the employer, for example the employee could be given time to prove their skills - a trial period.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> HOPE programme gave 4 months training in professional French to 200 refugees in 2017. Then the refugees were employed in sectors classified as "under pressure". 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A 4-month training period is very short, too short a period to prepare for a job in a high-risk sector. We are not sure exactly what these sectors "under pressure" are (eg, nuclear industry, garbage disposal?). Asylum-seekers do not oppose being employed in any sector - a job is a job.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Currently, the procedure for employing foreigners is too complicated for most employers. For example, employers have to pay a tax for the employment of refugees. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> From 2018, it is proposed that the administration for employing foreign workers be simplified. And that this tax be deleted. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Is this about the complex administration papers required for employing a refugee? We did not know about a tax attached to employing refugees.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> These changes proposed by M. Taché, deputy LRM, are estimated to cost 600 million euros. This is the same amount as spent by Germany on language classes and work orientation for 2000 refugees. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Yes, this would be a good investment for France as the changes are designed to build social cohesion. However, with these changes the gap in service provision for asylum seekers and refugees will become greater. There will be less help for asylum seekers.

In summary of the opinions shared by CADA parents, the proposed changes suggest a more efficient and timely integration into the workforce for those who do obtain refugee status. More hours of state-funded French language classes, training opportunities leading to employment within certain sectors, and simplification of administrative channels for employers of refugees signal a raft of policy changes with both an economic objective and an integrative aspect.

It is however ethically questionable to propose that a group of particularly vulnerable people in society be selected to work in jobs that are undesirable or risky, and it remains to be seen exactly what the nature of jobs in “sectors under pressure” may be. There are also questions about freedom of choice in employment: will refugees be obliged to train and work in jobs allocated by the government? Will refugees retain the same rights to enlist for unemployment benefits as French citizens, if they refuse to work in government-allocated jobs? And what employment support will be available to those who already have professional training in their home country and need to re-train for equivalence in France?

I have further questions about how these proposed changes will impact on the international rights of asylum seekers, as the existing timeframes for seeking asylum and lodging an appeal when an asylum claim is rejected may be reduced under the proposed new law. The bill, unveiled in parliament on 21/2/2018, is being criticised by human rights groups as a step backwards. The bill’s proposition that the waiting period for asylum applications be reduced to 6 months means that those whose applications are rejected can be deported back to their home country. Irregular migrants, those who arrive without citizenship documents or who have illegally crossed borders to enter France, risk double the period of detention from 45 days to 90 days under the proposed law change. Illegal border crossings may also become punishable by up to one year in jail and fines — a measure that is in direct contravention of the international law under the Geneva Convention:

“Because of their vulnerable situation, asylum-seekers are sometimes forced to enter their country of refuge unlawfully. The Geneva Convention does not stipulate that states are required to grant asylum-seekers entry to their territory. Entering a state party to the Convention unlawfully does not forfeit protection (Article 31) and illegal entrants can still qualify as refugees if they fulfil the relevant criteria. ‘Refugees unlawfully in the country of refuge’ should not be punished for their illegal entry if they come directly from the territory where their life and freedom was threatened and if they report themselves immediately to the authorities, showing good reason for their illegal entry (Article 31). Restrictions on their movement can be imposed until their status is regularised. To ‘refugees lawfully in the territory,’ Article 26 of the Convention grants the right to choose their residence and to move freely. The UNHCR considers that detention of asylum-seekers should be a measure of last resort. It has drafted a set of guidelines for the use of detention of asylum-seekers. In certain countries, refugees are confined to refugee camps and their movement is restricted. In other countries, including in many developed countries, detention of irregular migrants until their status as refugees is determined is a common practice.” (European Parliamentary Research Service, 27/10/2015)

2. Expulsion of asylum seekers

According to the Ministère d’immigration, Gérard Collomb, in a text released to prefecture governors on 20/11/2017, the expulsion of asylum seekers following definitive rejection of their asylum application is to be carried out as a priority:

“... avant l’adoption de cette loi, au premier semestre 2018, « il est nécessaire d’agir rapidement, à droit constant », affirme le ministre de l’Intérieur, qui rappelle que les étrangers en situation irrégulière (hors UE) « doivent être le public prioritaire de votre action en matière d’éloignement » .”

“Vous pourrez notamment chercher à mettre en œuvre de manière concomitante la procédure permettant l’expulsion de l’hébergement [...] et la procédure d’éloignement »” adds the text. (interview with Collomb in France Ouest, 20/11/2017)

The detention and expulsion aspects of the proposed bill are therefore highly questionable, considering the right of people seeking asylum to international protection, and the aspirations for a common humanity and solidarity since the creation of international conventions post-WWII. As the number of asylum seekers reached a peak figure of 100,000 applications in France in 2017, the government has to respond at a policy level to manage these numbers, both by improving the application process and by providing housing and social services for applicants during the months of waiting. However, the proposed policy changes indicate a further swing to right-wing politics and a selective interpretation of economic and national security factors to guide immigration policy development, rather than humanitarianism.

Furthermore, a potential outcome of the proposed policy changes is an increasingly differentiated treatment of asylum seekers and refugees, with asylum seekers risking longer periods of detention, criminal punishment for illegal entry into France, and deportation in the event of an unsuccessful application. There

is also an absence of political discourse around potentially increasing the number of refugees to be resettled in France, for example adding to the number of quota refugees resettled through the UNHCR.

The total effect is therefore a restructuring of the asylum seeking process to remove irregular migrants from French soil as early as possible, and to integrate those whose applications for refugee status are successful into training and work.

3. Housing for asylum seekers

Alongside the humanitarian issue of immigrants in France, the issue of homelessness and the housing of irregular migrants and asylum seekers is also in the public and political eye. News reports in France during this winter of 2018 show that an increasing number of citizen-initiated movements are springing up spontaneously, in response to the plight of homeless people. A TV news item on 28/2/2018 reported that during this wave of extreme cold, and with 69 departments of France in an official state of alert, there are insufficient shelters available for homeless people, including newly-arrived migrants. In Paris and Lyon, citizens have been setting up soup stands and offering to house the homeless in their own homes for several nights. State-provided temporary shelters for homeless are accessed through *Samu Social* (dial 115), and *Le service intégré d'accueil et d'orientation* (SIAO). Otherwise, there are a number of non-government and religious social organisations, including *La Fondation Abbé Pierre*, a housing advocacy group, who reported in February 2018 that 3.5 million people had “inadequate accommodation” (ranging from unsanitary homes to none at all) (France24, 14/2/2015). The number of homeless, known in France as “SDF”, has reached 142,000, up 50% from ten years ago, and includes a growing number of asylum seekers.

The existing social issue of homelessness and inadequate integration services for France’s marginalised does include, therefore, asylum seekers and the precariousness of their situation. In July 2017, Edouard Philippe, the Prime Minister in the Emmanuel Macron government, introduced an action plan for improving the asylum seeking process in France and the overall conditions for refugees. The key changes proposed are as follows:

- in housing, that the current 80,000 homes and shelters provided by the state for asylum seekers and refugees be increased by a further 12,500 in 2018 and 2019;
- in administration, that the timeframe for processing asylum claims be reduced from an average of 14 months to 6 months;
- in living conditions, that the case of unaccompanied minors be given extra care.

While these proposals reflect an efficient “management” of the large numbers of asylum seekers arriving on the wave of “the refugee crisis”, the governmental direction is to deter and deport the majority, rather than resettle. As further example, in France’s current “national security” problematising of immigrants, there is a contentious proposal that those who apply for asylum but do not meet the criteria for refugee status be classified as economic migrants and subject to deportation, a measure that is under criticism by opponents. The government is employing the term “*le renforcement de la lutte contre l’immigration irrégulière*” (strengthening the fight against irregular immigration) (French government report, 21/2/2018), while a France Terre d’Asile response of 5/12/2017 highlights the language used in the proposed law change as discriminatory and dehumanising: for example, the statement that those whose asylum claims are refused must become the object of “particular attention”, with the Minister Collomb asking that they be the object of deportation under application of the immigration clause OQTF (*Obligation de quitter le territoire français*), “systematically” and “as soon as possible”.

According to another France Terre d’Asile text titled “*La bonne application du régime d’asile européen*”³⁶, France’s handling of the asylum seeking procedure is irregularly applied according to standards established under the European justice system. Specifically, the criteria for detention of asylum seekers needs to be clarified, as detention has become used to manage the flow of asylum seekers while they await hearing of their application. These and other immigration issues were highlighted in a French National Assembly vote on 6/2/2018 on the application of asylum law in accordance with the European justice system, and in urgent review of the asylum seeking system following a judgement by the Courts in September 2017.

³⁶ “Proper application of the European asylum system”

These points are highly relevant to this study, as the situation for families seeking asylum in France is increasingly precarious, and this sets the backdrop for newly-arrived children in schools.

4. Families living in CADA (*centre d'accueil des demandeurs d'asile*)

In 1991, the French government withdrew the right of asylum seekers to be employed as paid workers in France, meaning that now asylum seekers receive a government benefit while waiting for up to 9 months for their asylum application to be processed. From 1991, the "*dispositif national d'accueil*" (national reception procedure) began to distinguish between the status of asylum seeker and refugee. Up until that point, both had been treated under an equal set of rights to access social services and employment. In addition to the CPH (*centre provisoires d'hébergement*) established in the 1970s, new centres of reception and housing exclusively for asylum seekers were set up, known as CADA - *centre d'accueil pour demandeurs d'asile*. Refugees could now live in government-subsidised housing in the CPH, while asylum seekers could apply for accommodation in the CADA reception centres around the country. The mission of the CADA centres is four-fold:

- to receive and house asylum seekers
- to accompany asylum seekers to access administrative, social and medical services
- to organise access to schooling for children of asylum seeking families
- to manage exit from the centres, particularly in cases where asylum is declined

In 2017-2018, I taught English as a volunteer at a CADA centre in Villenave d'Ornon, near to my home in Bordeaux. During numerous conversations and two formal interviews with staff, a lot of relevant learning for this project took place, and with the permission of staff I am including some of this in this thesis.

4.1 CADA families: the example of Villenave d'Ornon

The CADA centre in Villenave d'Ornon has the capacity to house 400 people³⁷, and is one of several CADA in the Aquitaine department who collectively house 1,148 people. Bordeaux is one of the smaller French cities, with a population of 241,287 (2018 census), and a relatively small population of immigrants at 8.3% (World Population Review website). The demography of the asylum seekers housed at CADA reflects a similar composition of nationalities relative to nationwide information on where asylum seekers are coming from in 2017-2018:

- 34.57% from Syria
- 27.16% from Albania
- 7.41% from Algeria
- 6.17% from Armenia
- 4.94% from Iraq
- 19.75% from other countries (African countries, Pakistan ...)

The centre is located 9kms outside of central Bordeaux, in an industrial zone near the railway lines. The nearest public transport and shops are 3km away. There are pushchairs provided by CADA for residents' use, a CADA minibus, and volunteers can be on-call to provide transport and support for residents with meetings or visa-related commitments. The CADA centre itself is a multi-storied apartment block, with communal kitchens and recreational facilities. Each tiny room is basically equipped with a double bed, chest of drawers and a bathroom. Families with more than one child can be given two adjoining rooms. There is a limit on the amount of personal affairs that residents can bring with them. In one case, a mother with two little boys arrived with 10 large boxes, and there is simply not the space within the small rooms to stock any quantity of belongings. The residents live communally, many of them with children of school age, pre-school children and babies. There is a large outdoors grassed area, with picnic tables and a portable barbecue. Staff offices and meeting rooms are on the ground floor, and several of the staff have worked at this small CADA centre for many years, as has the wonderful receptionist Dorisse, originally from Cameroon, who has worked in her role for 26 years.

³⁷ Total accommodation for 400 people is made up of 300 places at the CADA (*centre d'accueil pour demandeurs d'asile*), 50 places at CAO (*centre d'accueil et d'orientation*), and 50 places at AT-SA (*accueil temporaire - service de l'asile*). (COS Rapport d'Activité 2017, p48)

The average stay of residents is 1 year, and the average age of residents is 23 years old. The CADA residence houses mainly families, while unaccompanied minors seeking asylum are housed in four centres in the Gironde area around Bordeaux. These four centres have a combined capacity for housing 1,188 young people, all of whom are under 18, with an average age of 16 years old. The average period of stay ranges from 2 months (at the Saemna de Gironde (*Service d'accueil et d'évaluation des mineurs non accompagnés*)) to 28 months (at the MECS (*Maison d'enfants à caractère social*)). The four centres for unaccompanied minors are supported by 69 volunteers, and in 2017 the number of unaccompanied minors tripled in the Gironde area (COS Rapport d'Activité, p.49).

Permanent staff are highly committed at the CADA in Villenave d'Ornon, working weekend shifts and running and supporting extra-curricular activities for residents. As a volunteer English teacher at the CADA centre I was a regular visitor, and the dedication of staff is visible. They were willing to give up lunch-hours to participate in English classes, and evenings to host social and educational events for residents and volunteers. Several of the staff have high levels of proficiency in English, which serves as a lingua franca between staff and residents who often arrive speaking little or no French. Other staff are multilingual in African dialects, Arabic, Spanish or Dutch. Multilingualism is highly valued amongst the staff, and several of the staff expressed an interest in learning Arabic and English in particular, with a need to become conversant in these languages in order to better fulfil their role in working with CADA residents.

As an example of an external provider, in July 2018 a UK organisation with a humanitarian interest in working with refugees, Crisis Classroom, contacted me to ask if I could set up a visit to CADA for a staff training session and a residents' shared lunch afternoon. Eight CADA staff attended the training session, and around 15 CADA families brought a dish to the shared lunch the following day. We ate outdoors in the sun, sharing a convivial lunch amongst staff, volunteers and residents. These moments are important at CADA, simply for the humanising and normalising effect of bringing people from different countries together. The staff also expressed a high level of interest in and satisfaction from the workshops, as these provided a forum in which they could share concerns and common experiences in their work with asylum seekers.

4.2 Personal stories from CADA residents

During their stay at CADA, there is a sense of waiting in limbo, as the future is uncertain and a true integration and resettlement process is not yet possible. As asylum seekers, residents do not have the right to work for a salary, and the men in particular experience a drop in status and a sense of purposelessness which they described as "very hard".

One resident, Mahomet from Senegal, had an under-the-table job in Paris as a restaurant waiter when he first arrived. Mahomet is plurilingual, speaking French and Wolof, as well as Arabic and some English. In Senegal, Mahomet worked as a teacher of Arabic, and hopes to become a translator in the future. When a place opened up at CADA in Bègles, Mahomet and his wife and child had to move to Bordeaux, and he had to give up his job in Paris. When they arrived at CADA, Mahomet vented his frustration on one of the staff, blaming him for the fact that the family had not received a place in a Parisien CADA. The system requires that when asylum seekers apply for accommodation with CADA, they sign a form to testify that they will accept a placement in any part of France. If they decline a placement, they lose the right to be housed and accompanied by CADA in their asylum process. This story highlights the sense of powerlessness and loss of control over their life's direction that many asylum seekers must feel. However, the end goal is to gain refugee status, and a period of instability and loss of certain rights forms part of the asylum seeking experience, which can also be balanced by the motivation and hope for a more stable future in France, if the application is successful.

Sometimes there are conflicts between the CADA families, as everyone is housed in close quarters, and living with heightened levels of frustration and lowered levels of privacy and personal space. In one case, staff had to mediate between two families who escalated a conflict around daily matters such as cleaning up the shared kitchen. One family was told they would have to leave the CADA residence if they could not live amicably with the other residents and observe common courtesy. Some families persistently emptied their rubbish out of the apartment window into the grounds below. Although staff tried to address this with the families, and organised communal clean-up days, the problem persisted. Accommodation in a CADA centre is therefore conditional on observing a set of social rules, and staff and residents alike are

living with tensions and frustrations that arise from circumstances of limited choices, a reluctant cohabitation, and the vulnerability of an uncertain migratory status.

Section A conclusion: asylum-seeking parents

In conclusion, this chapter presented some experiences of parents in situations of asylum-seeking in France. The question I have reflected on is, how does a family situation of asylum seeking impact on the child's ability to integrate into school life and succeed in classroom learning? There is no definitive answer to give, as there are disadvantages inherent in family situations of asylum-seeking, which may be mitigated by the fact that each student is an individual who brings their own unique set of personal skills and strengths to school learning — these also determine educational outcomes. The case studies presented in Part 2 illustrate this.

The inherent disadvantages for children in situations of asylum-seeking in France arise from increasingly hostile political and social conditions since 'the refugee crisis' of 2016-2020. Since 2017, the French government has proposed and implemented a number of changes to the asylum seeking process that have been criticised as dehumanising by France Terre d'Asile. Furthermore, a shortage of state housing for asylum-seekers, and pressure on CADA accommodation, has seen a steep increase in homelessness in France since 2017. For children of asylum-seeking families therefore, their situation has become even more precarious, as the children attend school but against the backdrop of asylum being refused and the family having to leave the French territory, the child has no stability or sense of continuity. The risk for the child's education is that integration into school life may be short-term, learning the French language may not represent a long-term investment in the child's schooling, and family accommodation is temporary. The asylum-seeking situation is characterised by many unknowns, which may impact on the child's ability to learn at school in the immediate and longer term.

On the other hand, each child brings their own skills and strengths to their experience of schooling. The child may demonstrate resilience and quickly adapt to his new surroundings, learning the language and taking on cultural ways of being. As commented by CADA parents during this study, the children were more adept at learning the local language and integrating than their parents, leaving the parents with questions and concerns about their changing role as parents in the new context:

"We're in France, so when the child is growing up he will take on French ways of doing things, not the way of his mother. As the child is going to school here, he learns the "savoir faire" from France. He'll want to go in that direction, learning more from the teacher and school than home. So he'll become integrated." (a father from Senegal)

CADA parents' circle, 29/1/2019

Another advantage for these children in their schooling may stem from the enriching influence of the home environment on the child's education — notably in linguistically diverse homes. Amongst the parents of the 42 participating students, there were 12 households where at least two languages were spoken (not including the language-of-schooling). Some of these students said that the fact that their parents spoke several languages helped them to succeed at school, particularly in language learning. As an example from students in the French school:

There are also two sets of parents (at least) who are plurilingual, and this seems to create an advantage for their children in language learning at school. The family of Halima and Mustafa (Syria) talked about the fact of the language of schooling being English in Syria, and that their parents also speak English. Halima has quite a range of several languages that she speaks some of, and was proud of this, seeing multiple languages as an advantage. She also talked about how it is easy for her in English class now. So for student success, it's clear that those who have experience of multiple languages will do well in the foreign language options at school, perhaps even those languages that they have not studied before — like Raaisha who said that Spanish is very easy for her, due to its similarity to French. The other plurilingual family is Maanal and Raaisha, who while by no means fluent in French, have had some exposure due to their parents having been schooled in Algeria when it was still compulsory to be schooled in the French language over there. Now, for this younger generation of Algerians, the language of schooling is Arabic, so they have lost the truly bilingual capacity that their parents grew up with.

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Observation #8, French school, 15/2/2019

As these examples illustrate, some of the children involved in this study, and their CADA parents, identified aspects of home life that, in spite of the family's asylum-seeking situation, they feel advantage their school learning and social integration.

Section B: Refugee families in New Zealand

In Section B, I look at support for refugee-background students in New Zealand, and how integration is framed within education, bringing examples from the young newly-arrived refugees who participated in this study. A Syrian mother-of-3 who arrived in New Zealand as a refugee 12 years ago and is now employed in a New Zealand school, plays a key role in liaising between the Arabic-speaking refugee community and the school. Finally, I add some reflections from my own past experiences as a volunteer in refugee resettlement in Wellington, and teacher of refugee students in Wellington high schools.

1. NZ as a resettlement country

New Zealand is one of 27 UNHCR refugee resettlement countries, accepting up to 1500 refugees annually under the quota system (increased from 1200 in July 2020)³⁸ (UNHCR website, 2018). This places NZ at about 90th per capita in the world in terms of the number of refugees resettled – we should be doing a lot more, but the focus appears to be on quality of resettlement service provision rather than quantity of people resettled.

The resettlement process begins with UNHCR selecting cases, then reviewing each refugee claim and assessing resettlement needs. The UNHCR identifies a suitable resettlement State, according to a range of factors, and the State receives the submission and decides whether to accept an individual for resettlement. 2017-2018 was NZ's biggest year of resettlement to date, with 1,020 quota refugees arriving, the largest numbers from Syria (307) and Myanmar (177), followed by Colombia (159) (NZ Immigration, Dec 2019). Culturally and linguistically, these are the three main groups of refugee-background students in schools, with Somali students being another significant group.

Integration of refugees into NZ society is organised by multiple service providers in governmental and non-governmental agencies, according to domains of activity and categories of immigrants. Red Cross NZ is the primary provider of refugee resettlement programmes, working at the interface of refugee reception, government service providers, and long-term integration support³⁹.

Until the terrorist event of March 15th 2019, New Zealand was generally considered a safe country for refugees, with apparent high levels of social inclusion and acceptance of ethnic and religious diversity. Since the white supremacist attack on Christchurch mosques that left 51 Muslim New Zealanders dead, some of whom were from a refugee background, NZ has been forced to confront the fact that there is a lot of work to be done in order to become a truly multiculturally inclusive society. As Dr. Zhiyan Basharati (a former refugee to NZ) put it:

"I want people to realise that New Zealand faces are changing and we are growing, and we need to be able to accept diversity and become a multicultural society. ... Just because we have people of different ethnic backgrounds living in the country doesn't mean we are a multicultural society ... In our modern day global society, multiculturalism is the only option. We don't have a choice, it's going to happen whether we like it or not. So our choice is between a form of multiculturalism that encourages xenophobia, schism, distrust, fear ... or another sort of multiculturalism which can transform those cultural differences into a valuable resource that benefits everyone, which we call cultural diversity." (interview on Radio NZ, 13/3/2021)

The kind of transformative multiculturalism that Basharati is describing implies education strategies that work more explicitly with intercultural understanding, such as those found in the **multicultural education model** (Banks, 1995). In multicultural education, five dimensions that aim to transform schools into places where multiculturalism is modelled and validated are:

³⁸ France also accepts 5100 refugees annually for resettlement under the UNHCR quota programme, in addition to processing large numbers of asylum applications.

³⁹ Red Cross NZ's programmes include "Pathways to Settlement", "Pathways to Employment", volunteer training and mobilisation, and trauma recovery specialists. (Red Cross website, 2019)

- content integration — teaching content from a range of cultural perspectives, as well as the dominant cultural one
- knowledge construction processes — adapting forms of learning so that knowledge is constructed through processes that are culturally inclusive
- an equity pedagogy — teaching strategies and classroom environments that include minority group experiences, and demonstrate humane and democratic ways of working together
- prejudice reduction — mixing students from diverse linguistic, cultural, ethnic and religious backgrounds into collaborative groups, where through working together they build understanding and acceptance of each other's differences
- an empowering school structure and social structure — schools ensure that students of all ethnicities, genders and socio-economic classes can succeed and be recognised within the school

This is a useful model that schools can apply in practical ways so that students and teachers experience and participate in “multiculturalism” as a school-wide culture. For refugee students in New Zealand schools, the cumulative effect of cultural difference may be overwhelming, and a multicultural schooling model could be one way of creating spaces where students can participate in knowledge construction, give their own cultural perspectives, and be included in collaborative group work that reduces prejudices and social barriers.

2. NZ's shift towards an “ecological model” in education

In New Zealand, a paradigm shift towards inclusive models of thinking and practice in education took place during the late 1990s, as part of an increasing awareness of the impact of attitudes towards diversity in the environment on learning. Questions about disparities in educational outcomes were being raised in response to growing awareness of linguistic and cultural diversity — refugee students included. The Ministry of Education commissioned a series of reports during 1999-2000 into the experiences and achievement of groups of marginalised students within the NZ education system, including Māori, Pasifika, refugee and migrant children. The resulting evolution in education has been an aspiration towards an “ecological model”, which sees that it is the role of the educational environment to adapt to the needs of diverse student populations, so that schools are working to develop inclusive ways of teaching and supporting all students. The shift in thinking remains important, as NZ's super-diversity within a small population demands inclusive policies and practices, yet unequal outcomes in student achievement persist in national education statistics.

I suggest that the whole educational policy approach towards the schooling of immigrant children in Aotearoa NZ can be more accurately characterised as two-directional and evolving with reference to Māori social principles of *manaakitanga* (hospitality) and *whanaungatanga* (relationship, sense of connection). The principle of *manaakitanga* is evident in the way that hospitality is extended towards IFP students in particular — the welcome stems from the wish to give visitors a positive experience of being hosted in New Zealand. The word *manaakitanga* is also clearly situated in the educational environment in teacher training, the language of the classroom, and school-based Māori cultural activities. The principle of *whanaungatanga* is most evident in how NZ educators have developed research-based strategies for the integration of refugee and migrant background students in schools, over the past 20 years. As the Ministry of Education states in *Interventions for Refugee Children in New Zealand Schools: Models, Methods and Best Practices* (2000):

“... the issue is not how to fit students with special needs into regular schools but how to develop schools that fit, nurture and support the educational and social needs of every student.” (p.79)

3. Refugee students in NZ schools

The foundation of support for refugee students in New Zealand schools comes from government funding for extra language support and bilingual liaison with parents/extended families. The objectives are focused on English language development, establishing family-school relationships, and future-focused career and societal integration. Designated funding is available through the Ministry of Education for refugee students:

“The Refugee Flexible Funding Pool can be used to employ education coordinators and bilingual liaison workers to assist schools in making contact with families and communities. The Refugee

Pathways and Career Planning initiative may also be implemented in targeted schools and assist schools to provide specialised individual support to help former refugee students plan for further study or employment.” (letter from the Ministry of Education, in response to my request for an interview, 27/3/2019)

This practical support has arisen from government-led studies into refugee students' achievement and integration into the NZ education system. Since the early 2000s, a number of studies have been published on the experiences of refugee students in the NZ education system, and their specific needs⁴⁰. Some are longitudinal studies that aim to provide schools-based solutions for working with refugee and migrant students, and can be translated into classroom pedagogy that teachers can work with on a daily basis. As example, a report to the Ministry of Education titled *“Interventions for refugee children in New Zealand schools: models, methods, and best practice”* (Hamilton et al, 2000) outlines practical interventions for schools integrating refugee students, grouped around five themes:

- psychological and therapeutic needs
- language needs
- fostering resilience
- easing the transition to a new country and culture
- inclusive education (school policies, teacher development)

Key findings from NZ literature on refugee students in schools highlights the impact of loss and grief on the child's education in two ways: on one hand, evidence for difficulties adapting and being accepted by local community, leading to further trauma and decline in school performance (Humpage, 2009), and on the other optimism for inclusive education to cultivate better educational outcomes (Hamilton et al, 2000; Bilgili et al, 2019). In the first category, Humpage's (2009) study of Somali students in Christchurch high schools found that students experienced racism and rejection due to cultural difference and low socio-economic status, and eventually disengaged from their schooling. In the inclusive education literature, the responsibility of schools and education systems to engage in practices of two-way integration is central, and terms such as “acculturation” (Hamilton et al, 2000) and “dimensions of integration” (Atfield et al, 2007) signal the complexity and temporality of integration as a process. These two sets of literature address both sides of the issue of New Zealand as a refugee resettlement destination: racism and rejection of “otherness” as an embedded social problem, and the solution offered through inclusive educational policies and practices.

A recent review of policy and practice in refugee education (Bilgili et al, 2019) looks at the challenge of refugee student underachievement in Canada, New Zealand and the European Union. The case of NZ is cited as “a pocket of success” in schooling outcomes for refugees, attributed to policies of English language programmes for first and second generations of immigrants (adults), and the provision of long-term funding for refugee students to support English language learning for the first 5 years of schooling (p.4). The education handbook *English for speakers of other languages: Refugee handbook for schools* (NZ Ministry of Education, 2003, 2016) gives extensive information for schools on supporting learning and two-way integration processes for refugee students. Findings from a 2009 survey of 113 New Zealand schools on their practices for welcoming refugee students showed that schools were well-meaning but lacked resources, including bilingual interpreters at family meetings (Strauss and Smedley, 2009). To conclude, it is clear that resources and funding are important to enable the material aspects of integrating refugee students into schools, but deeper work has to be undertaken to address social issues of racism and a lack of cultural sensitisation amongst local communities.

A further important question raised concerns definitions of “inclusion” and how it can be measured:

“... what constitutes inclusion for refugees and how it can be measured by particular indicators where the key point is, do we ‘measure what we value or value only what we can measure’? ... belonging as the experience of wellbeing can be a form of societal capital ... skills or capabilities ..., or [as] a subjective sense of wellbeing measured in terms of character traits; and mindfulness and social relationships and social networks characterised by kindness, gratitude and reciprocity.” (Dobson, Agrusti & Pinto, 2021, p.2)

Here, inclusion becomes part of a two-way integration process in which refugees' perceptions of markers of inclusion should be taken into account — a move away from one-way “practices” of inclusion, towards two-

⁴⁰ Recent reports include MBIE (2012) *New Land, New Life: long term settlement of refugees in New Zealand*

way “interactions” of inclusion. This may mean that concepts of “inclusive practices” are characterised by social suppleness instead of rigidity. Societies that conceive of inclusion as part of a two-way process of integration, may experience a greater capacity to expand to incorporate change, along with a view of societal networks as growth structures that are nourished and renewed by migratory flows, rather than threatened.

This notion could also be situated within an ecological systems model (Bronfenbrenner, 1977) for refugee resettlement that understands relationships as either **bridging** (functioning intensively during the newly-arrived phase to form bridges towards autonomy) or **sustainable** (enduring beyond the initial arrival phase into an educational support system, leading into higher education opportunities and eventually employment). Dryden-Peterson et al (2017) in a study with Somali refugee students educated in the Dadaab refugee camps of Kenya, point out the positive potential of these types of relationships on refugee education:

“Bridging social capital ... enables people to extend their opportunities through social ties built across communities, which often span differences of geography or class. Bridging relationships that connect refugee students to individuals with higher levels of education, for example, might enable refugee students’ success in school through connections to a scholarship opportunity, guidance on expectations for academic writing, extra help with complex math, or understanding the “rules of the game” for education.” (pp.4-5)

Other strategies for enhancing inclusion of refugee students are technology-driven, and take the virtual social networking of young people into account, as example:

“... we explore how digital learning resources developed in the Erasmus+ ReGap project (Reducing the Educational Gap for Migrants and Refugees) can support the desire to be socially included and to experience a sense of wellbeing. A key finding is that in creating such resources as digital stories, refugees and migrants, who are co-producers and users of these stories, experience social inclusion and a sense of wellbeing.” (Svoen, Dobson & Tangen Bjørge, 2021, abstract)

These kinds of innovative approaches taking place through international projects are very important as ways of providing new virtual spaces in which young people can connect, establish multilingual community connections, and articulate their experiences.

4. Young refugees in this study: the New Zealand school context

In the in-school study carried out in Wellington in 2019, eleven of the thirteen participating students were refugee-background teenagers, in their first year of schooling in New Zealand. Coming from Somalia, Colombia, Syria and the Thai-Myanmar border, they had often experienced family fragmentation, been in situations of war or conflict, had spent time in a refugee camp, and had literacy needs resulting from gaps in prior schooling. These students were all in their first year of schooling in New Zealand, with the exception of Tanawat from the Myanmar-Thai border, who in spite of 2 years of schooling still had very low levels of literacy. However, students like this can still achieve within the school system in subjects where their practical skills are being evaluated, and where low proficiency in the language-of-schooling is not a disadvantage. As examples of this, one of the refugee students from the Myanmar-Thai border with an English proficiency of low-B1 (CEFR) had achieved Level 2 credits in Maths, and two Somali refugee students were excelling in Sports and representing the school at a national level in futsal (data from school reports 2019).

In terms of qualitative measures of how these refugee students were doing at school, I refer back to the definition proposed by Dobson, Agrusti and Pinto (2021), that a sense of wellbeing could be measured in terms of *“social relationships ... characterised by kindness”* (p.2). There was evidence of kindness and encouragement in the teacher-student relationships at the school, and the comments made by teachers of refugee students in their school reports. For example:

“I have appreciated his polite manner and gigantic smile.” (Abdirahim’s roopu teacher)

“Yuusuf has been great this year ... he has brought a positive attitude to each class.” (Yuusuf’s Social Studies teacher)

“He is always well mannered, and when he smiles the room lights up.” (Maahi’s roopu teacher)

In the Wellington school, Rania is an Arabic-English speaking teacher aide who is employed for 15 hours per week to support the Syrian refugee students in their classroom learning. Rania also fulfils an important role

as community liaison between the Syrian refugee community and the school, and coming from a refugee-background herself she understands the experiences of the students, and is able to “translate culturally” as well as linguistically. In observations of Rania working in mainstream classes with Abdul, a 13-year-old Syrian refugee student, I noted at once the key support role of a bilingual teacher aide that overlaps with a maternal caregiving role (that is cultural) within the school context:

“Abdul is very much helped by having Rania as a bilingual teacher aide, both in terms of language (translation and decoding of English into Arabic) and as a maths tutor. Abdul has gaps in his schooling, as his family arrived as refugees from Syria and Rania has previously told me that he had a waiting period in Libya where he didn’t attend school. He is also the youngest child in the family, and used to having his mum take care of organisation. Rania is also something of a mother figure for Abdul at school, as today she organised some stationery for him, took care of the physical space, and even handed in his work to the teacher on his behalf. This may be partly a cultural difference – in Arabic cultures, the mother cares intensively for a longer period, whereas in NZ the emphasis is on the child gaining independence and becoming capable, particularly in practical tasks. For Abdul’s integration, having Rania, while important for language and accessing content knowledge in the classroom, also shields him from having to manage his own integration (eg, working with other students, making Kiwi friends, interacting with the teacher, managing classroom instructions, etc).

Q: How long will Rania continue supporting Abdul’s learning in mainstream classes? How many hours a week in Rania’s timetable are allocated to Abdul, and in which subjects? What does she see as areas of learning difficulty for Abdul?” (observation notes from Wellington school, 16/5/2019)

This shows an example of how language support can overlap with school integration support for young refugee students. In this case, the kindness and care shown by Rania may have been a type of culturally familiar support for Abdul that is almost familial, and helped him to function within the cultural unfamiliarity of the NZ classroom. This is quite different to the “sink or swim” experience of asylum-seeker and refugee students that I observed in the Bordeaux school, where they were faced with a multiplicity of unfamiliar linguistic and cultural elements in the *classes d’inclusion*, that they simply had to navigate on their own. Compared to the experiences of Erlblin (Albanian asylum-seeker in the French school, aged 14), who was isolated and had no choice but to manage his learning as best he could, Abdul’s experience was warmly accompanied by someone who understands the refugee experience, and created an interface between the two linguistic and cultural worlds of school and home.

In a final example of a refugee student in the Wellington school, Lola is a 15-year-old refugee student from Colombia. In consultation with the EL teacher, I had chosen Lola as a case study. However, when I visited her Art class to observe (13/5/2019), she was absent and the Art teacher said that she was often truant. In my observations of Lola in EL classes, she was often disengaged from learning and disruptive. I did not ask how the school manages truancy, and whether refugee students who disengage from learning are managed in particular ways. I understood from chatting with an ex-student of the school that *“there’s an expectation that you’ll be mature and just get on with the work. If you choose not to work, that’s really your problem ... but mostly we liked school and the teachers are great, so we did just get on with the work – I personally loved my schooling there.”* (informal chat with ex-student, May 2019). This can be described as another perspective on the two-way integration approach: that students are acculturated into a school expectation of self-management and responsibility for self-directed learning, which relies on a high affective factor amongst students and a strong “sense of belonging” to the school community. This puts a different slant on school rules and expectations, as this kind of acculturation takes time and represents a social contract between students and the school. As Peterson et al (2017) comment:

“Adjustment to new expectations, rules and cultures within schools seems therefore both crucial and potentially problematic. Moreover, the actions of young refugees may be challenging for teachers to understand with, at times, certain behaviours interpreted as problematic.” (p.10)

5. Refugee parents in New Zealand

In the New Zealand school, the bilingual Arabic-English teacher aide’s role extends far beyond language support, as her multiple competences as interpreter and cultural liaison officer stem from her own personal background as a Palestinian-Syrian refugee who arrived in New Zealand 12 years ago. Rania is also mother to 3 children who attend a school in Wellington, and in an interview she described her own adjustment process to differences in education systems:

- The education system in Syria was very different to the NZ system, so there is adaptation for Rania as a parent of three children here too. At first, her kids would come home from school, and when she asked them, “What did you do today?” they replied “Nothing.”
- The style of learning here is lots of variety of activities: worksheets to hand in, rather than books that students write in and carry with them. She comments that in Syria the style of learning is more traditional - students sit at their desks, the teacher teaches, a lot of writing and a set of books to learn from.
- In the Syrian system, the whole country had a prescribed curriculum so that every school was teaching the same thing at the same time throughout the year. Rania notices that in NZ the curriculum is very open, so teachers choose what to teach and when.

Interview with Rania, Arabic-English speaking teacher aide, NZ school, 20/5/2019

As in Rania’s case, parents may have expectations about what “education” is that are rooted in their own experiences of being schooled in countries where traditional methods of teaching literacy and numeracy include rote learning, drilling, and memorising basic rules from books. Refugee parents may be going through multiple adjustments themselves, including adapting their expectations for their child’s schooling. Parents may feel judgmental or critical of the way their child is being schooled, and schools need to find ways to reassure parents and accompany the parental period of adaptation with kindness.

Refugee families are also often coping with trauma, that does not necessarily end once they are safely resettled in a new country. As Rania shared, concerns for family who have remained behind also impact on those who have managed to escape:

- During the war, all the schools closed down as the bombing was constant. In Rania’s area there were tanks that started shooting missiles at 9am and continued firing every 10 minutes until 6pm. It was mentally exhausting and stressful with the noise, chaos, fear of being bombed. For 2 months they slept with their shoes and head-scarves on, in case they had to flee during the night.
- Her family is still back in Syria and she worries about them. Getting out of Syria is hard, as Turkey is not a good country in which to seek asylum, Egypt used to be good before the current leader, Lebanon, Jordan ... Iraq has its own war, Russian states do not give asylum. In order to apply for family reunification in NZ, her family would have to get out of Syria to begin the refugee-seeking process.

Interview with Rania, Arabic-speaking teacher aide, NZ school, 20/5/2019

New Zealand has refugee family reunification projects, however as this story testifies, the realities of war and the desperation of fleeing one’s country as a refugee are beyond the comprehension of those of us who have not lived it. It is important for teachers of refugee children to have access to specific training that is about intercultural understanding, as well as pedagogies for language development and school integration. As Hamilton et al (2000) summarise, this process requires an ecosystemic approach:

“The key to developing schools which effectively educate refugee students, is to create mechanisms that facilitate and foster positive and supportive interactions between the different systems (parents, teacher, schools, community and service providers) with the child as the focal point. In order for this to happen, all parties need to have a better understanding of the nature and needs of each other ... we need to know how to prepare and support teachers and schools to better meet the needs and interest of refugee children and their families. In addition, we need to know how best to prepare and support refugee parents and children to take advantage of the educational and supportive experiences and services that exist within our schools, community and society.” (p.79)

Support services for refugee parents are numerous, well-organised and accessible in Wellington. As one example from this research, an English language school in Wellington provides both on-site classes and

home tutoring for refugee and migrant adults, with a view to building community relationships and intercultural understanding:

“All clients are over 18, from refugee or migrant background, with NZ citizenship or residency. They sign up for a minimum of 2 hours per week in English language classes. This can be supported by volunteer home tutor visiting the home too. Tutors are providing learner-centred learning, so learners need to learn things that are relevant to them. The idea is that learning is fluid, and there are no assessments, so they have all the time to get to their own learning goals.

There’s also a community orientation, where we tell learners how to access services in Wellington. So integration comes through language learning with English Language Partners and home tutors. Acquisition of language is a by-product of the practical things they need to know. Volunteers don’t need to have had a language teaching background, and grammar is not necessary — it just ends up confusing the learner. The most important thing the tutor can do is to build up confidence.”

(Interview with head of English Language Partners in Wellington, 8/4/2019)

English Language Partners is an NGO and part of a national organisation of 23 centres around the country. 70% of funding comes from the government, and 30% from donations and funding applications (for example, the Federation of Graduate Women fund the manual). 75 volunteers are trained per year, which is a limit set by National Office based on funding from the Tertiary Education Commission. Improving access to English language learning for women isolated at home has become a recent focus of ELP:

“ELP works very closely with Red Cross, so when refugees come into Wellington they are dealt with initially by Red Cross, signing up with WINZ, finding a doctor, etc. About 6 weeks later the Red Cross might come in and say, the husband is working so he is ok, but the wife at home needs a tutor. So ELP has started to give women access to learning in the home — it gives community contact plus language for isolated women at home.”

(Interview with head of English Language Partners in Wellington, 8/4/2019)

Importantly, ELP has good links with Victoria University of Wellington, and can prepare refugee students for access to university through the Foundation Course, or into the Skilled Migrant programme at the university, organised by Nicky Riddiford in the School of Linguistics and Applied Languages.

Section B conclusion

In conclusion, New Zealand is currently resettling up to 1500 refugees annually under the UNHCR resettlement programme, from four main countries: Syria, Myanmar, Colombia and Somalia, from where originate the 11 New Zealand refugee students who participated in this study. The NZ education system sets out a particular integration pathway for refugee students according to a needs-based analysis (Ministry of Education, 2000). For refugee students, the psychological impact of the child’s past trauma is taken into account in their integration process, and schools often work in collaboration with other agencies involved in the refugee resettlement process, with the NZ Red Cross acting as a central hub.

Wider social integration is under the spotlight, as studies carried out in NZ with young refugees in schools since the early 2000s have revealed levels of discrimination, racism and social exclusion that have eventually led to school failure (Humpage, 2009). The hate crime committed against Muslim New Zealanders in 2019 shook New Zealand’s confidence as a multiculturally inclusive society, and there is now more readiness to recognise the need for a transformative multiculturalism, such as the kind advocated for by Basharati (2021).

Designated support for refugee students in education is crucial for bridging gaps in prior schooling, literacy and language development, and community integration: government funding is available for up to 5 years of schooling (teacher aides can be paid from this); for adult refugees, free English language classes are provided by NGOs such as English Language Partners, with support for women learning at home, or transitioning to university courses. There may also be flow-on benefits in English language learning through well-financed schools that host international fee-paying students, as was evident in the participating Wellington school (for example, an experienced English language tutor was partly funded from IFP fees).

On the humanitarian front, New Zealand has something special to offer that stems from Māori principles of *manaakitanga* (hospitality) and *whanaungatanga* (relationship, sense of connection), which should be warmly embraced in our approaches to education of refugee students.

In summary, the role and responsibility of schools and educators in managing refugee integration processes speaks clearly to the conception of integration as a two-way process that goes beyond schools providing English language classes. The child's personal situation and wellbeing are also taken into consideration in educational policy, and the Ministry of Education has commissioned reports to gather qualitative and quantitative information on integration and academic outcomes for refugee students. In this way, there is the possibility of establishing a circular process to (a) look clearly at problems in school integration, (b) inform schools on best practice, and (c) follow-up on outcomes in terms of student wellbeing and achievement in response to changes made.

Chapter 5 conclusion: asylum-seeker and refugee families

In both France and New Zealand, there are a host of reception services in place for families in situations of asylum-seeking or refugee resettlement. Accommodation is under pressure in both countries, with CADA and CAO providing temporary housing in France, and the Red Cross organising housing for refugees arriving in NZ under the UNHCR resettlement programme. There is heightened tension between the responsibility of governments to take care of its citizens and its humanitarian obligations towards asylum-seekers and refugees in both countries — poverty and homelessness in France is a growing problem, and the price of housing in NZ's main centres has sky-rocketed beyond affordability for many New Zealanders. These are difficult social equity issues for governments to resolve, that add complexity to existing questions of resettlement of families, and social integration and education for young asylum-seekers and refugees.

A key difference is that New Zealand has a strong research-based approach to refugee resettlement, and the body of government-commissioned research since the early 2000s is testament to a commitment to understanding refugee experiences and improving service provision. How young refugees are doing in the NZ education system has also been given attention in government reporting and independent research (Butcher, Spoonley & Trlin, 2006). The literature in France is more framed within the theme of “non-French language speaking immigrant students” (*élèves allophones*), and while there is an extensive and rich body of research in this area, research targeting the educational achievement and integration needs of asylum-seeking and refugee students in French schools is less easy to find:

“...rares sont les études qui ont traité du public spécifique des élèves allophones arrivants, tant en matière de contenu et de pratiques pédagogiques que d’analyse des orientations des élèves à la sortie, comme le déplorent à la fois chercheurs ... et institutions.” (Rigoni, 2017)

In this chapter, I presented three key concepts related to social integration of refugees: the multicultural education model (Banks, 1995), the ecological model (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), and re-thinking measures of inclusion from a refugee point-of-view (Dobson et al, 2021). **Each of these has relevance for more holistic and equitable integration of asylum-seeker and refugee students into schools in France and New Zealand**, (such as 21 out of the 42 students who participated in this study). The diversity of school populations in both countries lends itself well to the multicultural education model, giving 5 dimensions that schools can implement to reduce prejudices and improve equity in school participation.

In defining new measures of inclusion, practices of consultation with refugee communities seem important as a first step towards “**interactions of inclusion**”. Here again, the bicultural model of two-way consultation between government and Māori *iwi* may be able to guide processes of ‘acculturation’ between schools and refugee families. Schools who **employ refugee-background staff** are gaining a valuable human resource, as someone like Rania in the Wellington school brings a wealth of linguistic, cultural and experiential knowledge, and forms important bridges of communication and intercultural understanding between refugee and local school communities. It is only through contact and communication that new “interactions of inclusion” can become part of school practices of integration.

Finally, in an ecological model of education, I have suggested that this is the next phase of evolution in education, arising from the realisation that **only when education systems adapt to diversity will we see better sustainable outcomes in student achievement**. Whereas inclusive education is about “schools adapting to fit the needs of all students” (Hamilton et al, 2000), an ecological model could go beyond the school to see how interactions between elements in the broader educational environment (language

education policies + teacher training for plurilingual pedagogies + refugee resettlement, for example) can interact in new ways adapted to diversity. This could mean extending further into diverse evaluation methods informed by differentiated teaching and learning approaches, with the aim of equalising outcomes in student achievement. **In the case of asylum-seeker and refugee students, I come back to the argument for plurilingual education as a key part of the solution for better educational achievement, and find that intercultural education is equally as important, as studies have shown higher levels of discrimination and social exclusion of young refugees.**

Chapter 6

Language inclusiveness in education: implications for immigrant students in France and New Zealand

This chapter is an abridged version of an article published in the New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies in April 2020 (Annexe 33). I compare the treatment of languages in French and New Zealand schools, and the effects of policy on language inclusiveness in the two educational environments: the French “one language of schooling” approach / New Zealand’s bilingual/multilingual language policies.

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Key questions:

- How inclusive are language education policies in France and New Zealand?
- How are educational environments responding to greater numbers of newly-arrived plurilingual students in schools, as well as the demand for language inclusiveness from established immigrant communities?

Abstract:

Since 2016, educational environments all over the world are being precipitated towards change and adaptation, in response to mass global immigration and increasing numbers of newly-arrived plurilingual children in schools. France and New Zealand provide two examples of populations that are highly linguistically diverse, yet take differing approaches to the inclusion of immigrant languages in the educational environment. This article compares the effects of language policies in a francophone/anglophone context on the inclusion of plurilingual immigrant children in schools, on three tiers: the language of schooling (French/English), second language options in schools, and the treatment of immigrant languages. Two main questions are explored: (1) How inclusive are language education policies in France and New Zealand? (2) How are educational environments responding to greater numbers of newly-arrived plurilingual students in schools, as well as the demand for language inclusiveness from established immigrant communities? A number of similarities emerge (school systems essentially dominated by monolingualism in the language of schooling), as well as differences (visible trends towards language inclusiveness in policy and practice in 2020). Findings support the argument that plurilingual approaches to teaching and learning improve educational outcomes for immigrant students, and therefore that educational environments that cultivate “language inclusiveness”, particularly during the newly-arrived phase, are better equipped to support learning for immigrant students in schools.

Introduction

France and New Zealand are both countries that are home to immigrant populations with highly diverse social and educational backgrounds, and this poses challenges for schools working with immigrant children. The inclusion of immigrant languages in education is one solution that is proposed by international bodies including the Council of Europe and European Commission, and supported by multiple international studies (for examples see Council of Europe’s *Languages in Education/Languages for Education project 2006*). Recent international studies provide ongoing evidence across and within countries of the multiple benefits of plurilingual approaches for positive outcomes in education for immigrant children (see Beacco 2005 for an overview of international studies; Berry et al 2006; Zarate et al 2008), and are underpinned by findings over the past 40 years that unequivocally support the benefits of bilingualism for literacy and school achievement (Cummins 1979, 2001; Auger 2011; Bialystok 2011).

A contemporary umbrella term for educational approaches that recognise the benefits of plurilingualism, and in particular for immigrant children and their success in schooling, is “language inclusiveness”. Language inclusiveness is an approach to languages in education that calls for space to be created for the languages of all participants within the educational environment. It forms part of an aspiration shared amongst teachers and educators for better educational outcomes for immigrant children, and advocates for innovative approaches in education that recognise the multiple benefits of both foreign language learning and the

strengthening of first and heritage languages. In this article, I compare recent developments in educational policy and practice in France and New Zealand, looking at how each country is evolving since 2016 towards inclusion of languages within educational environments, in particular the inclusion of the languages of immigrant students in schools.

I develop an argument for language inclusiveness and its potential to support and improve learning processes for refugee and immigrant children in France and New Zealand, around two student-centred statements, as follows:

- (1) **Plurilingualism is a contemporary social reality**, as schools are peopled by plurilingual and multicultural student populations; and therefore educational policy and practice that seeks to be responsive to student diversity must embrace the plurilingual reality of schools today.
- (2) From 2016, **a new phase of educational evolution** is being signalled in response to rising numbers of plurilingual children in schools, including refugee and migrant students who bring with them specific sets of educational needs and aspirations.

These two points place immigrant students and their languages at the centre of this comparative overview of how educational policy and practice is evolving towards language inclusiveness in France and New Zealand. I explore to what degree educational environments in France and NZ are responsive to plurilingualism as a contemporary social reality through the question: How inclusive are language education policies in France and NZ? I then highlight the potential evolution of education towards language inclusiveness in both countries through the question: How are educational environments responding to greater numbers of newly-arrived plurilingual students in schools, as well as the demand for language inclusiveness from established immigrant communities?

Section A: Monolingualism or language diversity?

This article is drawn from research carried out between 2017-2019 in France and New Zealand, as part of ongoing PhD work comparing the educational experiences of immigrant teenagers in schools during the newly-arrived phase of language-of-schooling acquisition and integration into school systems dominated by French (in France) and English (in New Zealand), despite the linguistic diversity of student populations. The research examines the role of first languages during the newly-arrived learning phase for 13-15 year old immigrant students in two essentially monolingual educational contexts, however situated within the broader context of increasing sensitivity towards diversity and recognition of the multiple benefits of plurilingualism. While it is still too early to present data and findings from observations carried out with students and teachers in schools, this article presents an argument for language inclusiveness based on the well-supported premise that first languages play an essential role in acquisition of language-of-schooling, and thereby in successful academic outcomes for immigrant students, through a broad overview of language education policy, languages in the curriculum, and attitudes towards plurilingualism and various immigrant communities in France and New Zealand.

1. Theoretical framework

Findings from research in language education consistently support the view that inclusion of pluralities of identities and languages, and those of cultural heritage in particular, creates a platform from which to improve learning, engagement, and construction of knowledge, with a view to academic success. Research into the cognitive functioning of bilingual people has found that the ability to use more than one language tunes other cognitive functions in the brain, such as attentional control (Abutalebi, 2012; Cummins 1979, 2001). Other research shows that plurilingualism favours creativity, as it allows thoughts to be organised in a different way and offers alternative platforms from which to view the world (Berthoud, Grin & Lüdi, 2013). An underlying concept of the creative effect of plurilingualism is that human activity is contextual and interactional, termed the “integrative model” of plurilingualism (Berry 1997; Jensen 2001). In the integrative model, language acquisition is more than skills-based, rather it is the development of a “repertoire in language competence”, defined as an ensemble of verbal and non-verbal resources (Lüdi, 2019). Including this linguistic and cultural repertoire in the child’s learning processes therefore opens up areas of cognitive functioning that potentially enhance learning. In contemporary France and New Zealand, the need to translate this theory into teaching practice is not only relevant but becoming an urgent social imperative, as societies today are complex interactive sites of linguistic, cultural and religious diversity.

The theoretical framework for a language inclusiveness argument is drawn from international research into bilingualism and language education since the 1970s, that strongly supports the learning of second languages via first language competence (Corson 2001; Cummins 1998, 2001). The view is that of **bilingualism as additive and an advantage to learning processes**, rather than as a deficit and obstacle to success in education — a view that is yet to be embraced in monolingual French/English educational policy and practice in the two countries compared (Auger 2011; May 2002). May (2002) highlights three key findings from the research on bilingualism as additive, that underpin a language inclusiveness argument:

- (i) Bilingualism is an advantage in learning, rather than a deficit, as bilinguals have been shown to perform better than monolinguals in cognitive and academic tasks that are language-based, as well as demonstrating higher sensitivity to language-oriented social situations.
- (ii) Bilingual education programmes are more successful in helping students to acquire a second language. This is an additive view of bilingualism, as it supports the premise that learners are able to transfer their first language skills to processes involved in second language learning.
- (iii) Language-of-schooling acquisition is least effective when first languages are excluded from students' learning processes. This argues for maintaining and developing first language skills in the EL/FLS classroom, as where the first language is proficient, second language proficiency develops in relation to this existing linguistic foundation.

This theoretical framework aligns with the Council of Europe's promotion of languages in education, supported by a collection of publications within the project *Guide for the Development of Language Education Policies in Europe: From Linguistic Diversity to Plurilingual Education* (2007). The project traces the development of language education policies through two main evolutionary phases in thinking on language education: from language teaching methodologies focused on communication and European mobility during the 1970s (Threshold Levels), to the promotion of a common European support for plurilingual and intercultural education since 2001 (Common European Framework of Reference for Languages 2001; European Languages Portfolio 2001). The current era of thinking promoted by the Council of Europe is therefore that of a shared educational framework for the promotion of language learning that recognises (1) the intrinsic value of plurilingualism for the individual and (2) the promotion of plurilingualism as an educational objective for European member states (Beacco 2005).

As my research is being carried out in schools in France and New Zealand, I am interested in both international and local research that concurs with the well-established view that bilingualism and/or plurilingualism advantage learning, and that first languages therefore occupy an essential place in effective learning for immigrant students. While New Zealand language education objectives are focused on bilingualism as revival and/or protection of linguistic heritage (NZ has a unique commitment to Māori language in education, and biculturalism under the Treaty of Waitangi), the European emphasis is on educating for plurilingual individuals and societies for a modern "Europe without borders" (the European commitment to proficiency in 3 languages, in accordance with the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages 1992). There are therefore two sets of literature to examine — bilingualism and plurilingualism — which are not mutually exclusive but form part of a continuum of international research that intersects language education, policies of immigration / education / language, immigrant adaptation and acculturation, diversity and inclusion, and youth identity construction in multicultural contexts, to name a few. Here I focus on the inclusion of refugee and migrant languages in education policy and school curricula, within the multicultural yet relatively monolingual educational contexts of France and New Zealand.

2. Immigrant populations in France and New Zealand

National statistics on the number of plurilingual people among the populations of France and New Zealand reveal several interesting similarities and differences. Both countries are highly diverse linguistically, and at the same time demonstrate that choices about language learning in schools are to a large degree driven by national political trends and current political attitudes towards immigration, rather than by educational policies acting in the interests of our immigrant students and their success in education.

While the French education system is pursuing English as a second language choice, almost to the exclusion of other languages, New Zealand has a relatively diverse range of second language choices in schools, and accords an important place to Te Reo Māori as a newly-mandated second language in primary

schools, alongside a strong and established Māori immersion schooling movement from early childhood *kohanga reo* through to tertiary education.

2.1 France

2.1.1 Languages of France's immigrant population

France's total population of 67.19 million in 2018, makes her the country with the second largest population in Europe, after Germany. 87.2% of the population speak French as their first language, with regional languages spoken by 18.9% of the population, alongside French (Insee 2018). According to the most recent Insee figures of 2018, 8.9% of the French population (5.8 million people) are immigrants, and another 10% (6.8 million people) are second generation immigrants born in France. Among these two immigrant populations combined, the number of Arabic speakers is estimated at 60.2% of the total immigrant population, and speakers of African languages at 24.3% of the total immigrant population⁴¹ (Insee 2018). These combined figures represent a substantial knowledge capital present in the student and teaching corpus — a linguistic and cultural capital that is not ascribed value within the education system, in that Arabic and African languages are scarcely taught in French schools, and France's 26 regional languages remain segregated to bilingual schools within regions.

In addition to France's historical immigration trends that have remained stable since 1990 with an annual rise of 3-4%, France has seen a sharp increase in immigration since 2010, with an 8.17% increase in regular immigration between 2010-2015 (Insee 2018), and 122,743 applications for asylum received in 2018 compared to 57,337 applications in 2011 (statistica.com). Of the asylum applications made in France in 2018, more than 23,000 are children, signalling a significant increase in the number of newly-arrived immigrant children in the uncertain situation of awaiting refugee status, who will be enrolled in local French schools.

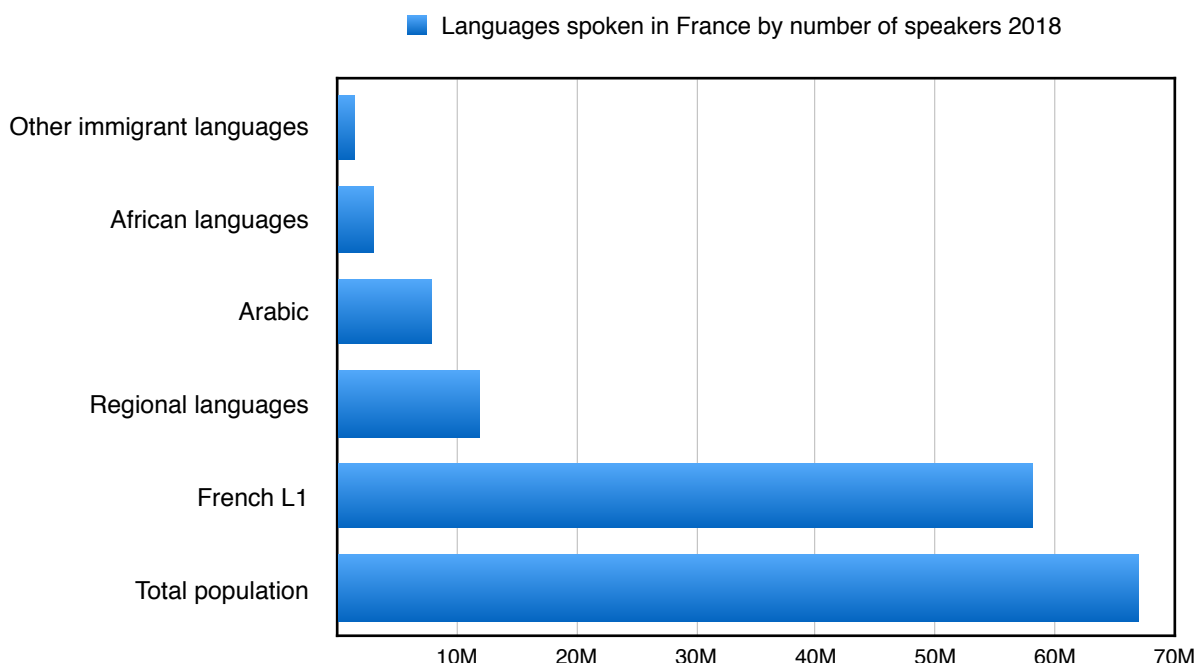


Figure 1: Languages spoken in France by number of speakers (2018)

2.1.2 Plurilingualism in French schools

According to latest available *Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale* figures, there were 64,350 immigrant students in French schools between 2017-2018. Of these, the majority are students in primary schools (30,385), 27,110 students are in *collège*, and 6,855 students are in high school (Ministère de l'Éducation, 2019). These students are made up of both newly arrived immigrant students during the 2017-2018 academic school year, and immigrant students (that is, of nationalities other than French) who were

⁴¹ Note: INSEE does not publish figures on languages spoken, but countries of origin give an indication of the languages spoken.

already in school at the time of the survey. Immigrant students comprise 0.56% of the total student population in France, a small figure that does not fully reflect the plurilingual character of the student body, as several groups of plurilingual children are not included in these figures — for example, second generation children of immigrant parents, bilingual children of mixed marriages, French children who speak a regional language in addition to French, and French children who have returned to schooling in France after a period of education overseas. If these children are also included, the number of plurilingual children in French schools rises significantly. As example, it is estimated that 59% of second generation immigrant children inherit the language of origin of their parents if one parent is an immigrant, and 90% if both parents are immigrants. The linguistic heritage is transmitted to a third generation of children in France, as an estimated 37% of these second generation plurilingual children pass on the language to their own children (Insee, 2015).

2.1.3 2nd language options in French schools

English is the dominant choice of second language taught in French schools, beginning in pre-school and continuing through to high school. During the first years of primary schooling, alongside English at 79.6%, other foreign languages are represented in small numbers — German 15.1%, Spanish 2.4%, Italian 1%, Portuguese and Arabic both at 0.2%, with other romance languages at 3.6% combined. However by the end of high school, English occupies 91% of the entire foreign languages options in Years 11-12 at public high schools, while Arabic is no longer taught from Year 7 (RERS, 2012). A language inclusiveness view questions this preference for English as a second language from a young age, suggesting that:

“... parents are managing the future of their child from a young age. It would be better to think about how to effectively equip the child linguistically, through languages other than English. A child who learns another foreign language early (for example Russian or German), will more easily learn English as a 3rd language in collège.” (Dalgalian, 2019).

The underlying principle is that language learning is cognitively and socially accumulative — the benefits of beginning language learning young will facilitate plurilingual capacities in the older child, as evidenced by language programmes in other European countries such as Switzerland and Finland. So we see currently a form of “dual monolingual” approach to languages in the French education system (Forsdick 2007), where French is almost exclusively the language of schooling, with English dominating as the second language choice from the first years of schooling.

2.2. New Zealand

2.2.1 Languages of New Zealand’s immigrant population

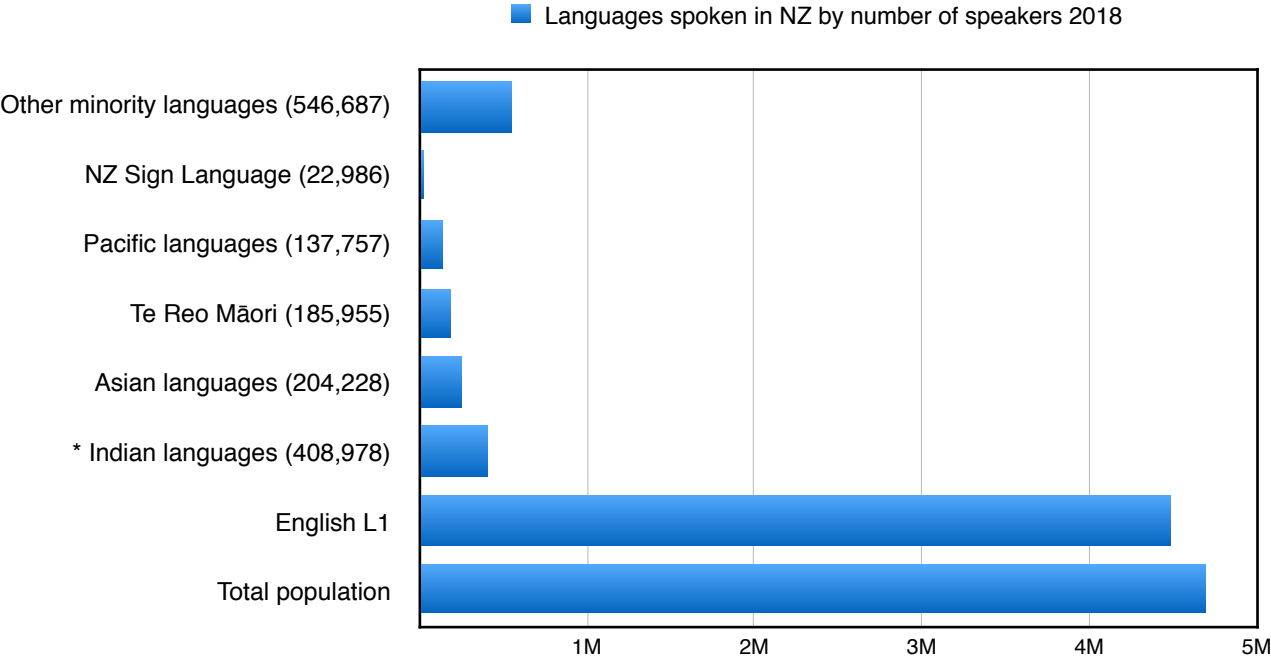
New Zealand’s comparatively small population of 4.7 million is also highly ethnically and linguistically diverse, however with smaller numbers of immigrants speaking a wider range of world languages. The dominant population is of European descent (70.2%), 16.5% are indigenous Māori, 15.1% identified with at least one Asian ethnicity, and 8.1% are Pasifika (of whom almost two-thirds were born in NZ). New Zealand has also seen an increase in immigration in the past decade, with a 72% increase in migrant arrivals between 2010-2017⁴² (OECD International Migration database, 2019). Protected by her geographical isolation, NZ has not experienced the same level of impact from the recent “refugee crisis” as other parts of the world, and has responded with a small increase in the number of refugees resettled under the UNHCR resettlement programme - from 1000 currently to 1500 from July 2020 (NZ Immigration, 2020).

According to the 2018 census, 160 languages are spoken in Aotearoa NZ, with the six most common first languages spoken in New Zealand being English (95.4% of people who stated speaking at least one language), Te Reo Māori (4%), Samoan (2.2%), Hindi (1.5%), Northern Chinese (including Mandarin 2 %), and French (1.2 %) (NZ Census, 2018). The multilingual nature of the demographic continues to increase, with 18.6% of the population speaking more than one language⁴³. Notably, Te Reo Māori is

⁴² While statistically a 72% increase in the inflow of foreign population seems substantial, the number of migrants is relatively small: from 57,618 new arrivals in 2010 to 99,321 arrivals in 2017.

⁴³ Of these multilingualists, 60.4% were born overseas, and 39.6% were born in NZ. More than 50% of multilingual people live in Auckland city, reflecting the research on plurilingualism and ethnic diversity that centres on Auckland schools.

widely taught in schools, with 278 Māori immersion schools and 21.1% of the total school population enrolled in Māori language classes in English medium education⁴⁴ (Education Counts, 2019). The NZ linguistic landscape therefore reflects an English-dominated society, balanced however by the important place occupied by Te Reo Māori as the indigenous language, and one of the three official languages of Aotearoa New Zealand⁴⁵.



* Indian languages spoken = Hindi, Panjabi, Fiji Hindi, Gujarati

Figure 2: Languages spoken in NZ by number of speakers (2018)

2.2.2 Plurilingualism in NZ schools

New Zealand has three types of foreign students studying in schools: international fee-paying students (IFP), refugee-background students and students with a migrant background. IFPs come to NZ mainly from China, South Korea and Japan, paying high school tuition fees anywhere from NZ\$10,000 up to NZ \$18,000 per annum. Schools attach a host of services and related costs to IFPs, such as pastoral care, homestay and administration. NZ schools are eager to attract IFPs for economic advantages, and the income from 15,943 IFP enrolments in high schools in 2012 was NZ\$110.4 million nationwide. International student education is a rapidly rising market in NZ, which returned NZ\$2.6 billion to the GDP in 2012, and is ranked as NZ’s 5th most valuable export (Education Counts, 2014). Newly arrived migrant and refugee students are eligible for government funding of NZ\$900 per annum to support their English language development for up to 5 years, and refugee students can apply for an additional 2 years of intensive funding.

What this picture of education for immigrant students in NZ tells us is two-fold:

- (1) there is an inequity in the perceived value among the three categories of immigrant students, with educational providers maximising efforts to attract IFPs for economic reasons, while refugee and migrant students represent a negative cost deficit to the government;

⁴⁴ In secondary schools nationwide, 24,807 students were enrolled in Māori language classes in 2018, and in primary schools all students learn a little Māori language and culture as part of the curriculum.

⁴⁵ Skutnabb-Kangas (2003) makes for very interesting reading on the dangers of “linguistic genocide” when minority language speakers are taught through the medium of the dominant language, and first languages risk disappearing from one generation to the next. The linguistic revival of Te Reo Māori within the NZ education system is vital to the language’s survival, and it is crucial that the Māori language be passed on to all children in NZ schools.

- (2) this economic benefit attached to IFPs means that education for non-English speaking students has evolved significantly over the past 20 years, and as a result refugee and migrant children also potentially benefit from many of the resources that schools have in place for IFPs. As example, English language programmes have been developed nationally to make it possible for international students to gain high school qualifications and access NZ and overseas universities⁴⁶. And therefore refugee and migrant students who are taking these English language classes also potentially benefit from the improved programmes and pathways to tertiary that have been put in place to attract IFPs.

The question of inequity in educational provision amongst these three groups of immigrant students is increasingly urgent however, as multiple systemic and socio-demographic factors can negate “potential benefits” for refugee and migrant students, for example:

- (i) low decile schools with high numbers of migrant students in areas that do not attract IFPs,
- (ii) lack of fiscal policy requiring schools to equitably dispense income from IFPs on second language learning support and resources, and
- (iii) the segregation effect of differentiated learning objectives and proficiency levels in English amongst newly-arrived refugee, migrant and IFP students that may result in little mixing through EL classes.

Advocacy for refugee and migrant student education in NZ schools should therefore take into account existing inequities and make a stance for economic parity that brings more direct benefits to all EL learners.

2.2.3 2nd language options in NZ schools

Unlike the norm of plurilingualism as “a way of life” that is part of the European identity, New Zealand society is defined by cultural diversity yet linguistic domination by the monolingualism of an English-speaking society. Our self-ascribed national identity as a multicultural, inclusive, open society belies our reluctance to learn our community languages, a fact reflected in the statistics:

“Statistics from 2012-2013 show that 90% of students in the European Union were learning a foreign language as opposed to only 27% of New Zealand students.”
(Johnstone, Morgan & Warren, 2018)

Within this 27%, language learning of the three languages spoken by three main groups of immigrants in NZ secondary schools has increased marginally between 2012-2018, with learners of Chinese up 50.9%, learners of Spanish up 8.4% and learners of Samoan up 3.6%⁴⁷ (Education Counts, 2018). The increase in the number of students learning Chinese is explainable by the China-NZ free trade agreement 2008, under which 147 Mandarin Language Assistants (MLAs) are currently teaching in schools throughout New Zealand, paid by the Chinese government.

The range of languages that students are offered (in addition to Te Reo Māori and EL) is broadly representative of the largest immigrant communities living in NZ. High schools commonly offer two language choices from either the Asian languages family (Chinese, Korean, Japanese, Indonesian), Pacific languages (Samoan, Tongan, Niuean, Cook Island Māori and “other unspecified”), and/or European languages (French, German, Spanish, Latin). The language group that is not yet being represented in second language choices in schools is the Indian family of languages, of which there are a significant number of speakers in NZ (1.5% of the population speak Hindi, for example).

Section A conclusion: National monolingualism dominates language diversity

In summary, both national populations in France and NZ can therefore currently be characterised as dominantly monolingual in the national language, with a diversity of immigrant languages spoken as community languages. The “social reality” of plurilingualism is witnessed by the number of languages

⁴⁶ Immigrant students can gain credits towards NCEA literacy through English language units designed with international students in mind (EAP L4), and credits towards NCEA Level 3 certificate in the final year of high school (ESOL Level 3 unit standards).

⁴⁷ Chinese in 2018 (5,814 learners) and in 2012 (2,849 learners); Spanish in 2018 (12,420 learners) and in 2012 (11,372 learners); Samoan in 2018 (2,342 learners) and in 2012 (11,372 learners).

spoken within the community, by a similar proportion of the immigrant population (about 20%). However, languages within the education systems of both countries are to a great extent directed by an external political agenda — economic and trade-related, as is the case for the introduction of Chinese language classes in primary schools in NZ⁴⁸, and a preference for Asian languages as high school language options rather than Pacific languages. Similarly, France’s political agenda reflects a regional alliance with the EU, and a Eurocentric preference for English and European languages in French schools over Arabic and other non-EU languages, despite the number of Arabic and African language speakers living in France.

Section B:

How inclusive are language education policies in France and New Zealand?

As outlined statistically above, in both France and New Zealand, plurilingualism is increasingly a social reality, in that both societies are composed of significant numbers of people who speak languages other than, or additional to, the national languages. Translating this fact into education would mean that education systems could take a pragmatic approach to languages, in order to align themselves with the social reality of their linguistically and culturally diverse student populations. In this model, language inclusiveness asks that schools adapt approaches to learning so that students are speaking and hearing the languages they share amongst themselves, and does not necessarily ask for changes to the curriculum. Education systems that recognise the value of such a student-centred approach to teaching and learning will provide optimum linguistic opportunities for all students, including immigrant students, to access knowledge and succeed academically. It is thereby an approach to education that knows who our students are, and maximises learning opportunities by treating plurilingualism as a rich asset to be treasured, cultivated and capitalised on.

1. Plurilingualism as a contemporary social reality vs. Monolingualism in education

The Scandinavian countries (Finland in particular) are often cited as models of education systems that value second language acquisition and at the same time perform well in international PISA testing, raising interest amongst linguists and educators about correlations between plurilingualism and academic success (see for example Sinkkonen & Kyttälä 2014; Jakonen-Kilpi 2012). However, the educational rationale here is clearly to work against a monolingualism that limits future prospects for young Scandinavians — the Finnish language being spoken only by the 5 million native speakers of Finland, learning other languages facilitates international opportunities. Conversely, an entrenched monolingualism in the education systems of France and New Zealand is supported by the global status enjoyed by both French and English — French as the official language of 29 countries, with an estimated 76 million native speakers, and English with approximately 400 million native speakers across 67 countries with English as the official language.

The language inclusiveness argument for education in France and New Zealand is therefore based more on national **social cohesion objectives**: both are countries with high numbers of first and second generation immigrant students who speak a language other than the language-of-schooling at home (amongst first generation students 55% in NZ, 58% in France; and amongst second generation students 41% in NZ, 31% in France (PISA 2018)). Furthermore, educational outcomes for certain groups of immigrant students continue to exacerbate racial divisions in future employment opportunities and limited socio-economic participation — notably amongst migrants from a Pasifika background in NZ (Ministry for Pacific Peoples 2018) and migrants from an Eastern European background in France (European Commission 2018). Where the Finnish model of education does offer an exemplar for other multicultural societies such as France and NZ, is in the range of teaching practices and existing learning support structures around students that happen to also improve outcomes for immigrant students:

“Our results show that in addition to adequate lingual support, fluent co-teaching and co-planning in schools, utilising school assistants’ working time and skills in various and creative ways have turned out to be effective for the learning and social integration of multicultural students.” (Sinkkonen & Kyttälä 2014)

OECD studies into how immigrant students best succeed in education also support the view that educational environments have a responsibility to become informed about the specific needs of immigrant students, and

⁴⁸ The most popular language taught in NZ primary schools in 2018 was Chinese (64,874 students enrolled). The popularity of Chinese in primary schools is due to the Mandarin Language Assistant Programme, funded by the Chinese government under the NZ-China free trade agreement since 2010, under which 150 schools currently receive Chinese assistant teachers. (University of Auckland, 2019)

to adapt in order to advantage learning processes and outcomes for this group (OECD 2015; OECD 2018). Educational objectives in increasingly linguistically, culturally and ethnically diverse societies such as New Zealand and France must therefore take into consideration not only the existing social fact of plurilingualism, but also the fact that current migration flows are profoundly changing the composition of classrooms:

“PISA results reveal that in 2015, almost one in four 15-year-old students in OECD countries reported that they were either foreign-born or had at least one foreign-born parent. These numbers exclude the tens of thousands of refugees who have recently arrived in many of the countries that participated in PISA.” (European Commission 2018).

Education’s power to shape societies is enacted within schools, as sites of social interaction and the construction of societal norms. It is within schools that the complexity of multilingual and multicultural communities comes into daily contact, and as such schools have a formative role in cultivating social cohesion during this current context of immigration. A language inclusiveness argument positions the languages of plurilingual students, and language learning for all students (including language of schooling, heritage and second languages), as a key part of both immediate and long-term solutions towards social cohesion.

A language inclusiveness approach in schools serves three main purposes:

- (1) to support the learning and integration of immigrant students, particularly during their first year of transition into the school system; and thereafter to support ongoing plurilingual language and literacy development;
- (2) as continuation of linguistic heritage, either in the maintenance of heritage languages for descendants of immigrants, or language protection and revival of regional and indigenous languages; and
- (3) to create a language-rich learning environment in which all students have the opportunity to develop plurilingual skills.

These three purposes clearly reflect the language competences of the whole student population, making language learning highly inclusive, offering the possibility of learning content through language, and acknowledging past, present and future linguistic aspirations for all children in schools.

2. Where are languages within education policies for immigrant students?

Underpinning the national languages debate in each country are the highly sensitive areas of Māori-*pākehā* biculturalism in Aotearoa NZ, and the still marginalised place of regional languages in France — both of which are hugely important and complex domains which address the language inclusiveness argument from the point of departure of language rights and self-determination (Durie 1998; Berryman 2008; Zarate, Lévy & Kramsch 2008). The broader discourse on immigrant languages in education takes a slightly different focus in NZ and France: in NZ the interest tends to be in the revival and maintenance of community languages amongst second and third generation speakers (see Shameem 2003 for an overview of the NZ literature), while in France the national debate references the European context and research coming out of the Council of Europe Language Policy Division team (Beacco, Byram, Coste et al) on intercultural competence and developing plurilingualism through education.

Within the two different national contexts for languages, education policies for immigrant children and language learning are similar. Schooling objectives for immigrant children in both France and NZ are organised around learning the language-of-schooling (French or English respectively), and integrating children into monolingual school systems that do not specify a place for the immigrant child’s first language in their education.

In France, of the 64,350 immigrant students identified in the 2018 national survey, 9 out of 10 of these had extra language support in the form of FLE (*français langue étrangère*) in UPE2A classes (*Unités pédagogiques pour élèves allophones arrivants*). The main objective of the child’s schooling is mastery of the French language:

“Les modalités d'accueil et de suivi des élèves allophones arrivants doivent figurer dans les projets d'école et d'établissement, l'objectif essentiel étant la maîtrise du français enseigné comme langue

de scolarisation... L'enseignement du français comme langue de scolarisation ne saurait être réalisé par le seul professeur de l'UPE2A : l'ensemble de l'équipe enseignante est impliquée." (Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale, 2012)

[The processes of reception and ongoing support of immigrant students must be reflected in the school's educational projects, with the main objective being mastery of French as the language of schooling ... the teaching of the French language does not rest solely with the UPE2A teacher, but with the whole teaching staff.]

Following entry testing which may be administered in the child's first language, the languages of immigrant children are thereafter rendered peripheral in the formal context of their schooling, because the languages they speak — Arabic, Portuguese, African languages, Romani and Eastern European languages - are not widely integrated into the education system as part of the curriculum. As importantly, pedagogy is not generally in use to facilitate the child's learning of content through the languages they speak, and opportunities for teacher training institutions to develop this kind of training need to be supported by education policy.

Similarly, in New Zealand's education policy for immigrant children, the National Education Goals, last reviewed in December 2018, omit to specify educational objectives for immigrant students and their languages. Rather, the rhetoric is general in terms of respect for diversity and cultural difference, leaving the inclusion of minority languages and the success of immigrant students in the English-dominated education system unarticulated as a national educational goal:

"NEG 10 Respect for the diverse ethnic and cultural heritage of New Zealand people, with acknowledgment of the unique place of Māori, and New Zealand's role in the Pacific and as a member of the international community of nations." (NZ Ministry of Education)

In both French and NZ education policy statements therefore, we find an absence of plurilingualism, or bilingualism beyond Te Reo Māori, as a stated national educational goal. The language of schooling is prioritised, and while certainly essential for the immigrant child's success in schooling, the complementarity of inclusive language approaches is ignored. The effect on immigrant students is schooling within an education system defined by francophone/anglophone policies that prioritise monolingualism in the language of schooling, a selective approach to second language options, and exclusion of the wide diversity of minority languages spoken by the immigrant student population.

I explain this persistence of monolingual education policies in both educational environments, partly due to their rootedness in a historical principle upon which each education system has been respectively built - the principle of "social equity"⁴⁹, and differing versions thereof in the French and New Zealand political ideologies.

3. Social equity — an obstacle to language inclusiveness

3.1 "Égalité" in France

The languages of immigrant students are not given a place in their schooling experience, because in the entrenched concept of education in France, the language of schooling is French and French is the language of the Republic. This monolingual education policy is adhered to as a political inevitability of the philosophical basis of "égalité" underpinning French society - a social agreement that was forged during the revolution of 1789, from which the French people won a trilogy of citizen's rights: *liberté, égalité, fraternité* (freedom, equality, fraternity). These rights have become enshrined in French constitutional law, and in the French mentality towards all aspects of public life. So from a material and pedagogical point of view, immigrant students have been viewed like all other students — they receive the same content knowledge and substantively the same learning trajectory. While French people may be united under the "one language" principle, immigrants and their languages are classified as "not French" in perpetuity (Schnapper 2007). This treatment of language diversity is a national issue that arises from constitutional law, and it is debatable whether French law will be reformed under pressure from increasing immigration and heightened international awareness of migrant rights and the responsibilities of each nation to integrate migrants in

⁴⁹ For an overview of social equity and cultural inclusiveness policies in NZ education during the 1990s restructuring, see Middleton (1992)

accordance with international standards of care and protection. However, France is also a key member of the European Union, and as such adheres to a “European community” identity that is not indifferent to the principles of language inclusiveness as promoted by the Council of Europe.

As a prominent example, the Council of Europe’s *Languages in Education/Languages for Education (LE)* project 2006 highlights the benefits for all children, not only children from ethnic and cultural minorities, in learning languages and being exposed to language diversity in schools. The LE project reduces the distinction between local children and migrant children, taking the view that languages provide fertile learning ground on which there is the possibility of constructing a shared “cultural and information capital”. The LE project advocates for **plurilingualism as a social reality** (*Plurilingual and intercultural education as a project, 2009*), stating that regardless of how education systems may construct hierarchies of languages that give preference to some over the exclusion of others, languages simply exist in the social realm and are a fact of everyday life. This view aims to deconstruct systemically established language hierarchies, pointing out the pragmatism of including multiple languages as part of the reality of social diversity.

3.2 “Social equity” in NZ

Similarly, the NZ education system has evolved out of a specifically New Zealand notion of equality — a form of “social equity” through diversity, rooted in our colonial history as a nation built by immigrants within the framework of Māori-*pākehā* bicultural relations (Middleton 1992). In the NZ context, assimilationist policies of the past colonial era⁵⁰ have been challenged and partially dismantled by the renaissance of Māori language and cultural practices in education since the 1980s. NZ’s identity as a constitutionally bicultural nation, and the protective rights safeguarded by Māori under the Treaty of Waitangi 1840, provide a unique political context around the language inclusiveness debate in NZ, articulating a clear rationale for linguistic and cultural preservation that is even more important in the case of indigenous languages:

“Māori is the foundation language of New Zealand, the ancestral language of the tangata whenua and one of the taonga guaranteed protection under the Treaty of Waitangi. It also provides this country with a unique language identity in the rest of the world, as this is the only place where Māori is spoken widely human freedom is dependent at all levels on choice and diversity; linguistic pluralism can be nothing other than a guardian of individual freedom and identity against the forces of conformism.”⁵¹ (NZ Human Rights Commission)

While immigrant languages cannot expect to be accorded the same status as Māori in NZ, the political landscape in terms of language inclusiveness has been fundamentally shaped by the progressive routes carved out for Māori language since its official recognition in 1987⁵², and subsequent revitalisation through immersion schooling and early childhood education. Māori language therefore paves the way for immigrant languages to find a stronger foothold in national policy direction addressing the integration of immigrants, linguistic pluralism as part of individual freedom, and the education of migrant children in NZ schools (Hornberger 1998; May 2005; Barkhuizen et al 2006; Kepa and Manu’atu 2006). NZ research acknowledges the importance of Māori language as the defining context for future developments in language education in NZ; while at the same time underlining *tangata whenua* concerns about how new policies to formally include and protect immigrant languages may be problematic for Māori:

“Māori have argued consistently for the right to self-determination for, in effect, separate recognition by the state of Māori political culture and social organisation, and for the recognition of the cultural and linguistic distinctiveness of Māori. These arguments have been expressed via the political notion of biculturalism, and via an associated rejection of multiculturalism with its intrinsic ‘levelling’ of the claims of all ethnic minority groups. Rather, Māori argue that multi-culturalism, in practice, would simply work in favour of the numerically dominant Pākehā group. Minority groups would be encouraged to fragment and to compete with one another for limited resources, thus maintaining current Pākehā dominance in Aotearoa/New Zealand (Spoonley, 1993).” (May 2005)

⁵⁰ 1867 Native Schools Act decreed that English should be the only language used in the education of Māori children.

⁵¹ The NZ Human Rights Commission was set up in 1977, and is funded through the Ministry of Justice but operates independently of the New Zealand Government as an independent Crown Entity (Human Rights Commission website, 2019).

⁵² The Māori Language Act 1987 declared Māori to be an official language of New Zealand, alongside English.

Clearly, the social equity debate in NZ springboards from Māori indigenous rights, and is flavoured by conflicting interests and concerns where the debate extends to multiculturalism and immigrant language rights. A further area of tension is expressed in the role of language in integration processes for newly-arrived immigrants in NZ (English acquisition vs. maintenance of immigrant languages). Smythe (2018) points to embedded power relations in integration processes, and social equity questions within the languages debate:

“... the physical displacement and ‘pepper potting’ of minority language speakers amongst an English speaking majority poses a threat to intergenerational language transmission. For former refugees, the process of settling into a new country can be accompanied by a loss of identity and feelings of powerlessness (Altinkaya & Omundsen, 1999). A languages policy recognising the need to acquire English but incorporating protections for community languages would address many of the power disparities that underpin language loss, and in doing so bolster the self-identity of the groups that speak them (Warren, 2017). While gaining proficiency in English, either through the schooling system or as a second language for adult migrants is inarguably necessary for successful integration and accessing social services in an English dependant society, the bolstering of minority languages against irreversible language shift and the provision of interpreters for non-English speakers is tied to both economic growth, citizenship rights and a sense of belonging for refugee background communities.”

We hear therefore, that there are multiple viewpoints to consider in the social equity debate in Aotearoa NZ. The Māori experience has been unique amongst the colonised peoples of the world, as something of a post-colonial success story. However, the fight for equal recognition and participation has not yet been won, and Māori are living this daily. The fear of fragilisation and fragmentation of the hard-won political ground in Māori indigenous rights is real; and at the same time, the new reality of waves of immigrants arriving with their own sets of concerns, rights and interests is also valid. The question for integration and language politics in NZ right now, is how to honour and protect the language revival (also termed “language reversal”, Paulston 1993) of Māori, and the special status occupied by the indigenous language and culture of this land; while now creating new spaces in the language rights domain for the inclusion of migrant languages and the integration of our diverse immigrant cultures. This will need to be approached with sensitivity to the plurality of interests at work on the terrain, in order that an equitable power balance be established that appropriately reflects the multiplicity of our social responsibilities as a diverse society.

We can conclude that language diversity, as an aspect of integration, is currently in a state of forward momentum in NZ. New research is advocating for improved services for immigrant communities that accentuate a multilingual public environment — for example, greater support from government for effective translation services for newly-arrived refugees, as an essential part of the settlement process (Smythe 2018). Similarly, there is strong advocacy for Pasifika languages to occupy a key role in improving educational outcomes for Pacific Island children, through bilingual education that follows a similar model to Māori bilingual education (May 2009). In the NZ languages landscape, the growth of Māori bilingual and immersion schooling since the 1980s, and the consequent positive outcomes educationally for Māori children are an exciting reference point for all language learning. It remains to be seen whether there will be flow-on effects from which immigrant languages can claim space within the education system in such a way that newly arrived immigrant children are supported in their initial learning of English, and settled immigrant children have avenues for maintaining their languages of origin.

Section B conclusion: two versions of social equity in France and NZ

We can characterise these two forms of social equity respectively as a French “*égalité*” that avoids making distinctions between immigrants and the local population as it would be a form of negative discrimination, yet finds itself challenged to effect a transition in response to the integration needs of its immigrant population; and a New Zealand version of “social equity” that positions diversity as the social norm of a young society with an immigrant past, that is still struggling to evolve in response to the multiple and complex realities of its bi-multicultural present.

How then to define “equity” in education, as an objective standard that encapsulates these two versions of “*égalité* / social equity”? Equity in education is underpinned by two premises about children and education:

“ ... first, that education significantly influences a person’s life chances in terms of labor market success, preparation for democratic citizenship, and general human flourishing; and second, that

children's life chances should not be fixed by certain morally arbitrary circumstances of their birth such as their social class, race, and gender." (Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy)

This definition of "equity in/through education" is concerned with maximising chances for equal outcomes for all students; that education has the power to supersede social and individual circumstances, and that educational equity is about systemic and pedagogical approaches that recognise diversity, individuality and future aspirations, thereby empowering each child's "life chances". Language inclusiveness, in the current context of more linguistically diverse schools, can be positioned as a component of "equity in/through education". Education pathways that include immigrant languages maximise opportunities for immigrant students, and in cases where languages are prioritised in national curricula, the child gains a potentially powerful learning tool with which to overcome learning barriers inherent in the migration experience.

Section C: Degrees of language inclusiveness in school curricula

How are educational environments responding to greater numbers of newly-arrived plurilingual students in schools, as well as the demand for language inclusiveness from established immigrant communities?

1. France: centralised education curriculum leads to systemic language exclusion

In France, educational policy and practice work together when the child is enrolled in school, with importance placed on welcoming parents, facilitating communication through the home language, and understanding the child's prior schooling experiences in his/her first language. Once these measures have been met, schools have some latitude in the child's schooling, which may include French language classes with other UPE2A students and a French teacher who acts as an initiator for the child's integration into school during the first year. The initial reception phase is therefore marked by a high level of language inclusiveness, with home languages playing a significant role in establishing communication between school, parents and the newly-arrived child.

Authors Cherqui and Peutot take a critical view of language inclusiveness in French schools, in their 2015 publication "*Inclure: français de scolarisation et élèves allophones*". Stating that "*l'école française a toujours été très mal à l'aise vis-à-vis des langues-cultures premières des élèves*" [schools in France have always been very uncomfortable with the languages and cultures of origin of their students], the authors postulate reasons for this French discomfort with including the languages and cultures of immigrant students, which I expand on as follows:

- (1) The teaching of French as the language of schooling is legitimised by the Republican principle of *égalité*. Within the current debate pushing for change in the education system, the concept of "*égalité*" is again under criticism on the basis that all children are treated equally but this in itself excludes immigrant children from recognition of, and capitalisation on, their existing linguistic and cultural knowledge (Beacco and Byram 2007; Coste 2012).

Systemic structures that see equity as "one size fits all" tend to result in inequitable achievement outcomes for particular groups of students who become in effect excluded through a lack of support for their specific learning needs. This is a point for continuing, context-specific research in the field of comparative education, as it impacts significantly on the schooling experiences and achievement outcomes for immigrant children.

Language policies for foreign language teaching further exclude the languages present among the immigrant student populations of schools. That is, English continues to be the dominant foreign language taught in French schools, with German occupying second place. Other languages which form part of students' linguistic and cultural repertoires are not recognised in the national school curriculum.

This situation is very common throughout education systems worldwide and evident in national education programme choices in foreign language options, which tend not to include a range of immigrant languages. The constraints of time and resources necessitate choices in school curricula that cater for the educational benefit of the majority and follow national policy guidelines. The question returns to "whose objectives are being served by educational policy, and whose interests are being minimised or ignored in school curricula?" A political view of language education in schools sees that educational policy is state-centred, and directed by political objectives in international relations, such as trade, diplomacy, and foreign affairs, rather than student-centred and for the development of the individual. This

has led to education systems that are designed to produce citizens equipped to enable the political objectives of the country, rather than individuals skilled in a range of linguistic and cultural competences that reflect the pursuit of self-developmental goals through education. While the two are not mutually exclusive, the political agenda by which school curricula are determined allocates a disproportionate amount of time and space to a limited selection of languages, with the result that education is preoccupied with one or two dominant foreign languages, to the detriment of other language options. Immigrant languages suffer particularly under these types of education policies, as Bulgarian, for example, is as rich a language to learn as English, yet is not taught in French schools as it has little perceived value for France's current political objectives.

3. The French education system demonstrates a selective attitude towards languages which is hierarchical, with English seen as a useful language, while African, Arabic and Eastern European languages are viewed as of little value and therefore ignored within the school curriculum.

The educational objectives of language learning have therefore become removed from the pedagogical intention that learning any language develops the learner cognitively, emotionally and socially. Instead, a hierarchical view of language learning is in place which is about aligning the learner with certain language communities - predominantly, the global community of English speakers. This communicates to children in schools, and to society at large, that minority languages are not worth learning, as the people who speak those languages are not part of a community that "we" seek to participate in.

To sum up, the French national Ministry of Education bulletins on the education of immigrant children have required schools since 2002 to include the child's home language in the administrative phase of the child's integration into school life. As critiqued by Cherqui and Peutot, a systemic language exclusion characterises the French public education system, in that languages are subjected to a hierarchical rationale with the language of schooling at the top (compulsory for everyone), a limited selection of second languages in the middle dominated by English (as foreign language options), and immigrant languages at the bottom (rendered inaudible and invisible in formal learning, however present in the playground and in the lives of immigrant students).

2. New Zealand: open curriculum leads to "patchy" language inclusiveness practices

In practice in NZ schools, a comparatively wide range of languages are offered as optional subjects in secondary schools, however language learning is not compulsory, unlike in France where students are expected to learn two foreign languages during their schooling. The "Learning Languages" strand of the 2007 NZ Curriculum allows schools to choose which languages they teach either as second languages or as the language of instruction in partial or full immersion, depending on community need and teacher skills. For example, of 39 schools offering Samoan language classes, 21 are in Auckland where there is the highest density of NZ's Pasifika population (NZ Ministry of Education, 2008). As with Māori language classes, 95% of students taking Samoan language classes are doing so to maintain their first or heritage language. The national approach to learning languages appears to be, on the surface, relatively inclusive, however while the curriculum potentially enhances opportunities for language learning through its broad and open approach, in practice it continues the legacy of "an empty promise" that dogged its predecessor, the 1993 curriculum framework:

"A central limitation of this document is that it offers everything to everyone, but does not describe just what will actually be provided by schools. There was also no pressure on schools to provide language programmes for ethnic minority groups." (Hill, 2010, p.36)

To redress the limitations of the curriculum's language provision, there are two domains in which language inclusiveness within education can be developed and strengthened: (i) state schools and the degree to which immigrant languages are included as language options within school programmes (as second language or first language maintenance), and (ii) bilingual or immersion schooling.

2.1 State schools

Most NZ state schools have highly diverse student populations, and in urban areas with high density plurilingual immigrant populations there is increasing recognition amongst school leaders of the importance of including and celebrating this diversity as the key to educational success for minority student groups. As an example, Avondale College is an Auckland school with a student population of

3000, of whom 40% are Māori and Pasifika students alongside another significant proportion of migrant and international students. The school recently gained accolades for student performance both academically and in cultural events, and attributes its success to inclusive approaches in which diversity provides a platform for students to engage with and embrace each other's differences:

"I think students are advantaged [here] by the mix," [the school principal] said. "Modern New Zealand is diverse and the youngsters who are put in a safe, positive, exciting environment where those things are celebrated are going to be the most personally powerful people in New Zealand's future." (Radio NZ, 9/6/2017)

Within state schools where the language-of-schooling is English, the potential for working with minority languages through the language learning strand is limited by the status of the English language. English is increasingly institutionalised as not only an official language of NZ and the dominant language-of-schooling (May 2006), but also now as a global lingua franca. In spite of NZ's geographical isolation and small population, national education policies reflect anglocentric attitudes towards English as *the* language worth mastering, along with implied advantages to the individual in terms of mobility, enhanced economic participation and future opportunities. Evidence of this attitude is visible in the predominance of monolingual English-speaking teachers in NZ schools (Hill 2010), and the lack of emphasis within teacher training programmes on building language content knowledge and pedagogical skills in second language teaching, outside of Te Reo Māori (Hill 2010; Richards et al undated).

Within the NZ state school context, greater inclusion of Pasifika languages should be prioritised, and in support of this more research needs to be carried out in NZ to understand links between first language literacy development and school achievement. Again, successful outcomes for Māori students is a point of departure for the language inclusiveness argument for Pasifika students:

"The work in the revitalisation of te reo Māori over the past 30 years within the state school system has forged a path for schools to equally look to supporting the teaching and maintenance of Samoan, Tongan, Cook Islands, Niuean and Tokelauan heritage where their communities have reflected these Pacific language groups." (ERO 2019)

To sum up, the issue of relative marginalisation of immigrant languages in NZ state schools stems from the hierarchical relationship between English as a majority language and other minority languages, which is an historical, social and political process that is *"deeply imbued in wider (unequal) power relations"* (May 2006, p.260). I add that modern social and political conditions around immigration lend urgency to the debate on immigrant language inclusion in schools, particularly as support for student integration and English acquisition during the newly-arrived phase. There is a need as never before for educational policies and practices that recognise the multiple social intentions and learning objectives of language inclusiveness. This is an area with strong potential for development within NZ schools, as the open curriculum offers *opportunities* through structured inclusion of minority languages, both in second language programmes (where numbers of learners allow) and within EL programmes to link existing L1 skills to English learning. For either of these areas to be effective, schools need to be resourced with bilingual teachers, materials to support second language programmes, professional development in languages pedagogy, and perhaps most importantly, innovative school leaders and teaching staff who see the value of language inclusiveness and have a vision beyond the English monolingual model.

2.2 Bilingual and immersion schooling

Bilingual and immersion schooling in NZ consists, in the main, of 290 Māori bilingual schools (July 2019, Education Counts) and 30 schools providing bilingual Pacific language education in Auckland (August 2019, ERO). The research consensus is that bilingual schooling programmes have been shown to be highly effective for both Māori and Pasifika learners, yet there is insufficient government support for existing programmes, let alone expansion and replication of what is working in education for Pasifika students (Kepa and Manu'atu 2006; Tuafuti and McCaffery 2005). This amounts to *"subtractive views of bilingualism among the monolingual English-speaking population"* (May 2005) - that is, the conviction that bilingual approaches to learning represent a deficit to proficiency in the majority language, whereas international findings unequivocally support the fact that bilingual and plurilingual children do better in education where their languages are included in school-based learning (Corson 2001; Cummins 2001; Coste et al 2012). The current challenge is for government, schools and immigrant communities to work together to strengthen existing bilingual school programmes, around objectives of better outcomes for

bilingual students through developing their linguistic and cultural capital in ways that can be applied to advantage social, economic and political participation as future adults. In support of this challenge, ERO found in 2019 that:

“... Pacific bilingual education programmes were somewhat idiosyncratic. They tended to be developed locally, and were resourced out of schools’ baseline funding. Schools expressed a general philosophy regarding the importance of Pacific languages, culture and identity, but were less likely to have developed an approach focused on bilingualism and informed by research literature and best practice.” (p.4)

This points to the need for government to support professional development for bilingual teachers, and for universities to develop initial and ongoing teacher training programmes in both language content and pedagogy for working with immigrant students and their languages in the classroom. In addition to action from government and teacher training institutions in support of bilingual education, the school-community partnership aspect is also key. The *kohanga reo* movement has demonstrated that strong community relationships foster both inter-generational sustainability and quality of bilingual and intercultural education:

“In Aotearoa New Zealand it has become clear that programs started by people in a community are a better possibility for robust partnership and practice in education. In fact, Indigenous Māori grassroots work to establish Te Kōhanga Reo: Early Childhood Education conveys this point well. ... partnership and practice are enmeshed in social networks that emphasize the richness of Māori language and the complex ways Māori people live their lives.” (Kepa and Manu’atu 2006)

It is clear that bilingual education for Māori and Pasifika students has very important and ongoing work to do in forging pathways into the somewhat resistant landscape of educational policy and practice in NZ. In order for language inclusiveness to make headway in the NZ education system, a shift away from monolingual English-speaking complacency towards research-informed understanding of the advantages of bilingualism and plurilingualism is required.

To sum up, the national picture of language inclusiveness is patchy in NZ. The National Curriculum is very broad and permissive in terms of its recommendations for language learning. Second language learning, EL and first language maintenance are grouped together in a single curriculum learning area, which has the advantage of allowing schools to make choices that suit the language learning needs of their community, but the disadvantage of pedagogically undifferentiated learning goals. That is, the needs and aspirations of immigrant students in maintaining their heritage language may not be given priority until that immigrant student population reaches a certain critical mass, and a demand for language maintenance and inclusion of cultural practices is acted upon by the school, as is the case at Avondale College. The challenge is for schools to take innovative approaches towards including the languages of their immigrant students in school programmes, working in partnership with ethnic minority communities and parents, and for government to resource and support these innovations to maximise chances of success. Articulating the past-present-future link as objectives in bilingual education is essential, as “heritage” (past-orientation) and “maintenance” (present-orientation) are often stated as part of the rationale for language inclusiveness, but *future* opportunities for plurilingual citizens of NZ is a goal that signifies participation with deeper implications for Aotearoa New Zealand’s social evolution as a whole.

Section C conclusion

In summary, an overview of language inclusiveness in schooling in France and NZ shows us two different examples of how educational policy and practice work together to create particular outcomes for immigrant students. In France, educational policy for immigrant students is more explicit and developed. There are a number of national circulars issued by the *Ministère d’Éducation* that set out guidelines and rules for the schooling of immigrant children⁵³, which is governed by CASNAV (*Centre Académique pour la Scolarisation des Nouveaux arrivants et des Voyageurs*). However, while at a national organisational level education policy is significantly developed, in school practice plurilingual educational approaches for immigrant children are not developed, and as a result there is a significant gap between the social reality of plurilingualism in schools and the limitations that are imposed on schools in their ability to respond to the language diversity of their student population. In particular, the small number of European languages offered means that the

⁵³ For example, Organisation de la scolarité des élèves nouvellement arrivés en France, C. n° 2002-100 du 25-4-2002

languages mainly spoken by the immigrant population are excluded. The outcome is an education system that is selective of the languages that are included in schools, with glaring blind-spots in terms of several significant groups of immigrant students and their languages — Arabic being at the top of the list.

In NZ, education policy is more developed for some groups of plurilingual children who have been identified as either at risk of failure in the education system, or who offer an economic incentive. There are currently three groups who are privileged by specific educational policies: Māori children, with significant support for language and cultural immersion education as essential to the protection of our indigenous language for future generations; Pasifika children, with a focus on raising achievement outcomes in the public school system; and international fee-paying students, with a focus on economic incentives and education as service provision. There is also a support network around the educational and integrational needs of refugee children, from both government and NGOs in NZ⁵⁴. Overall, educational policy for immigrant children as a cohort is underdeveloped in NZ, but the broad nature of the school curriculum allows schools to make choices in language learning and cultural activities that can address some of the needs of immigrant students, if applied. As a result, a wide range of world languages are taught in schools (17 languages in 2018, excluding English), meaning that some immigrant students gain access to their first language as part of their education. However, with more than 160 immigrant languages spoken nationally, there are many students in the education system whose plurilingual development will not be catered for at school. The end result is an education system with aspirations towards language inclusiveness, but without the means and resources to formally realise this in the education of every immigrant child.

So it can be said that in both France and New Zealand **languages fall prey to education agendas that are in both cases politically imposed, rather than incorporating and maximising the potential of existing linguistic and cultural capital within the populations**. This results in forms of language exclusion in both countries. Again, a political view of languages in schools sees that minority languages that are present in the student population are forced to occupy peripheral space outside of the school curriculum, remaining relegated to the playground and the family home; and this language exclusion may impact on students' educational success over time. In both countries there are untapped solutions to explore, beginning with **a shift away from monolingual language-of-schooling perspectives towards a view of “languages in schooling” as beneficial for all students**.

Chapter 6 conclusion: changes signalled in 2020

So in 2020, what kinds of changes are being signalled in the response from educational environments to plurilingual students in schools, with a view towards language inclusiveness and **recognition of plurilingualism as a social fact**? A new phase of educational evolution is being signalled in response to the societal fragmentation experienced in a France who can no longer ignore the linguistic and cultural diversity of her immigrant population. In New Zealand, immigrant communities are agitating for state recognition of their languages and cultures, to foreground the contribution that each makes to the linguistic and cultural tapestry that characterises Aotearoa New Zealand. **In both countries, there is visible movement towards a more language inclusive educational environment, stimulated by the presence and needs of newly-arrived and established immigrant communities**. In both countries, the social fabric is changing, and there are multiple effects from this:

- (1) These new and existing types of immigrants have particular educational needs in language learning (be it learning the national language, and/or maintaining their languages of origin). Governments will have to respond to these needs, and we see that in the case of NZ there is an enthusiastic government response to IFPs accompanied by the incorporation of a new set of educational formulae to attract the economic advantages of the international student market. English language teaching and learning will be an area for ongoing development, as well as training teachers in intercultural communication and inclusive language pedagogy (Shameem 2003; Gleeson & Tait 2010). In the case of France, asylum seekers and refugees represent a cost deficit to the government, which is being managed through law and policy change since 2016 to limit the number of refugees resettled. In the education system, French

⁵⁴ Notably the NZ Red Cross

education policy is not yet proposing additional support for refugee children, although there are university initiatives to help refugee students successfully integrate into tertiary education⁵⁵.

- (2) Immigrant communities already established in both countries, who represent a significant linguistic proportion of the immigrant language groups spoken, are **asking governments for greater recognition of their languages and cultures**. In France, there is a readiness as never before for the Arabic language to find a formalised place within the education system. This has enormous potential for altering the linguistic landscape of French education at all levels: the teaching of Arabic in schools would signify the inclusion of all Arabic-speaking children, as well as opening the way for intercultural dialogue and the plurilingual development of French children through a language that has long been a part of the French social composition (Blanquer 2018). It may follow that the Arabic language will become legitimised as part of university teacher training programmes, with the highly desirable outcome that native speakers of Arabic will have their existing bilingual skills validated as part of their Masters in Education degree. Currently, teachers must demonstrate proficiency in a second European language in order to qualify as a teacher, and although they may be fluent speakers of Arabic or other non-European languages, to date these languages have not been admissible in the teacher training qualifications organised through French universities. The question of “cultural inclusion” and Arabic-speaking communities is complicated by the law on *laïcité* in France — the separation of religion from public life. The inseparability of Islam from the Arabic language presents an ongoing dilemma for French authorities — how can the Arabic language be included in education while French law insists on secularity? Far from a process of intercultural negotiation to achieve a mutually agreeable solution to this dilemma, Schnapper (2007, p.12) describes the situation as a state-imposed French form of “*intégration*”, that refuses to take into account the diversity of cultural identities, instead adopting the term while not moving far from the old assimilationist practices. The debate is ongoing, and exacerbated by shared histories of colonisation, terrorist extremism and immigration.
- (3) In Aotearoa New Zealand, Pasifika people are asking for formal recognition of 5 Pacific Island languages by the government, as a way of honouring the particular history of generations of PI immigrants who have settled in NZ. The Pacific Languages Framework sees this as a way in which: “*Pacific peoples’ sense of personal and cultural belonging in New Zealand will be enhanced by the support given to Pacific languages. New Zealanders will appreciate and value Pacific languages as a source of pride in New Zealand’s rich cultural diversity*” (Ministry for Pacific Island Peoples, 2018). The link between language and sense of intercultural belonging is fundamental to the identity of successive generations of Pasifika peoples in NZ, as expressed by the Minister for Pacific Peoples:

“...for us as Pacific people, language is an important bridge between our place in modern New Zealand and our story as Pacific Islanders.” (Aupito William Sio, 3/8/2019)

For Pasifika children, classified as underachieving in national education statistics⁵⁶, this opens up the possibility of pursuing pathways in education that are supported by teaching and learning in their first languages, with the potential for improved outcomes in education. There is a clear language inclusiveness argument being made in NZ right now, that references Te Reo Māori and seeks the autonomy of community-based approaches in education, with government support.

I argue that in 2020, in both France and NZ, new spaces are being opened up for languages in education, that may result in greater inclusion of migrant languages in the educational environment. Both countries are in tentative transition towards change in terms of educational policy and practice in language education, in response to the social realities of their plurilingual populations. Is this however indicative of new paradigms emerging that recognise the benefits of plurilingualism and language inclusiveness in education? While this would be highly desirable and indeed exciting for the future of education in countries with highly diverse populations, such as New Zealand and France, the transition is still in negotiation phase. The political “*enjeux*” is one of a delicate tension between resistance and facilitation;

⁵⁵ For example, at the University of Bordeaux a student-initiated buddy programme for refugee students, Sept 2018: “*Pour aider ces migrants dans leur trajectoire, le réseau universitaire « Accueil et Intégration des Migrants et des Exilés » (AIME : <http://reseau-aime.fr>) organise et anime un accompagnement par des étudiants. La mission de ces étudiants dits « compagnons », est d’offrir aux migrants l’opportunité d’échanges culturels informels avec des étudiants francophones déjà intégrés dans l’enseignement supérieur.*” (Université de Bordeaux website)

⁵⁶ In 2016, 43% of Pasifika learners left high school with a qualification at NCEA Level 3 or above, which is 11.8% below non-Pasifika students. (Education Counts, 2016)

change is inevitable at this time of remarkable migratory movements of people, and governments have challenging choices to make in how new immigrants are resettled, how existing immigrant communities are more deeply integrated, and how local populations can live social change positively.

The two-way social and educational benefits of language inclusiveness are yet to be fully understood, but offer us considerable scope for developing directions in education that create education policies and practices that include the languages of our immigrant populations, thereby:

- (a) striving for social equity in education that can yield better educational outcomes for immigrant children;
- (b) adopting new perspectives on languages in teacher training that include the formal training of school teachers in plurilingual pedagogies; and
- (c) encouraging deeper forms of intercultural understanding and cohesion in societies as a whole, through more equitable exchanges of linguistic and cultural capital.

In both European and NZ language policy, **the recommendation for plurilingual education is legitimised by a multi-pronged examination of long-term social contexts and historical outcomes for migrants.** Entrenched stereotypes around immigrants persist both statistically and in the national psyches of France and NZ (Schnapper 2007; Ward and Liu 2011), and education systems have a major task ahead in transforming these limiting portrayals into success stories. Problems of socio-economic segregation of immigrant populations, ensuing cycles of poverty, and the disadvantages stemming from unequal access to higher education, and subsequently employment, are consistently identified as systemic social problems that can be mitigated by an educational environment that prioritises language skills (OECD, 2015). Language, both as a primary communication tool enabling participation in the host society, and as a vehicle for moving linguistically between the two cultural worlds occupied by immigrant children, should therefore be placed at the heart of future policy direction for the educational success of immigrant children in both countries.

Chapter 7

Language-of-schooling: FLS in French schools / EL in New Zealand schools

Learning the language-of-schooling is essential for successful school outcomes. Other languages are also essential for the plurilingual child's holistic development. This chapter looks at how the schooling of immigrant children is organised around languages in France and New Zealand, in three ways:

1. Learning the language of schooling (*français langue-de-scolarisation* FLS / English language EL)
2. The child's first language in learning processes, and the implications of this for the child's "success" in schooling
3. How social integration purposes are actually or symbolically served by FLS/EL classes.

The Council of Europe Languages Policy Division sets a backdrop for languages in education. The *Languages in Education / Languages for Education* project and CARAP (*Le Cadre de référence pour les approches plurielles des langues et des cultures*) are examples of two CoE initiatives that provide guidance and resources for teachers working with immigrant students in France.

In New Zealand, biculturalism underpins a view of language education, linking to plural identities and differentiation as approaches to working with immigrant students in NZ.

Key questions:

- What are the differing ideological points of reference for plurilingual and intercultural identities in France and Aotearoa New Zealand?
- How is the language of schooling organised for immigrant students?
- How is the child's first language re-situated within the educational environment, and what is the rationale for this?

Introduction

France and Aotearoa New Zealand take differing approaches to languages in education, based on two different principles — plurilingualism as part of a European way of life (France) and biculturalism (NZ).

Firstly in the European context, Council of Europe documents put in place a structural and ideological framework around languages in education, based on the concept of **plurilingualism as part of a European way of life**. This context has implications for newly-arrived immigrant students in French schools, and how they are expected to learn the language-of-schooling. Two questions examine this context:

- (1) How do national education policies in France reference plurilingual and intercultural identities? Where does French education situate itself politically on a European continuum of language and cultural diversity?
- (2) How is the teaching and learning of FLS (*français langue de scolarisation*) organised? To what degree are plurilingualism and intercultural identities given space within French schools?

Secondly, languages in education in Aotearoa New Zealand launches from the **bicultural view** constitutionally upheld in *Te Tiriti o Waitangi* (Treaty of Waitangi), and woven throughout educational policy and practice, both philosophically and practically. This provides a unique context for how plurilingualism, cultural identities and languages in education are viewed in Aotearoa New Zealand. I compare this to the French context, asking the questions:

- (3) How does the bicultural view in Aotearoa NZ reference plurilingual and intercultural identities? Where does NZ education acknowledge language and cultural diversity?

- (4) How is the teaching and learning of EL (English Language) organised? To what degree are plurilingualism and intercultural identities given space within NZ schools?

In the previous chapter on “Language Inclusiveness”, a comparison of how languages are included/excluded in the French and New Zealand education systems was made. Here, I build on this background of language inclusiveness, to look at the organisation of languages-of-schooling (FLS/EL) in each country’s education system.

Section A: Backdrop to languages in education

Section A looks at the first questions about language policies and principles in both countries:

- How do national education policies in France reference plurilingual and intercultural identities? Where does French education situate itself politically on a European continuum of language and cultural diversity?
- How does the bicultural view in Aotearoa NZ reference plurilingual and intercultural identities? Where does NZ education acknowledge language and cultural diversity?

1. France: Council of Europe language policies

The Council of Europe’s work as a human rights organisation is central. It positions the plurilingual character of Europe and language education policies within shared constitutional values of human rights, democracy and rule of law. In so doing, it sets a high benchmark for countries in their development of national language policies that both aspire towards European values and also reflect the existing national and cultural characteristics of each country. For example, France has traditionally developed language education policies around a monolingual model – French is the national language and the language of education, and plurilingualism struggles to find a place within the French educational context. However many French linguistics and educators support Council of Europe work that promotes the “intrinsic value of plurilingualism” that has led to a number of key reference documents such as the CEFR and the Guide for Development of Language Education Policies in Europe. The CoE’s Language Policy Division provides a rationale for language education policy that is supported by a values-based approach with its roots in a shared European culture.

The Council of Europe work is perhaps increasingly influential throughout Europe at this time, as countries receiving high numbers of immigrant children perceive a need to work in new ways with languages and cultures in education in order to accommodate the learning needs of increasingly diverse school populations. If France is willing and able to develop more linguistically and culturally inclusive education policies and practices, a highly desirable outcome could be closer alignment of France’s national education policies and practices with international human rights.

Beacco in *Languages and Language Repertoires: Plurilingualism as a way of life in Europe* (CoE, 2005), points to this fusion between European and national perspectives on plurilingualism, and says that fostering a “language repertoire is essential in Europe because it allows European rights alongside national rights”, and that this will form the basis for a new sense of belonging to Europe. This view of languages indicates a broadening and more holistic direction in education policy in Europe, as language and identity cannot be separated.

1.1 Languages in Education / Languages for Education

The Council of Europe’s stance on plurilingual and intercultural education advocates on one hand for an educational framework in which multilingual competence is developed as “one of the foundations of democratic coexistence”, and on the other hand sees that national language policies have to strike a balance between majority and minority languages (Council of Europe, 2010, p.10). The Language Policy Division of the Council of Europe is concerned with social inclusion and social cohesion, and has a rich and active portfolio of projects, publications and research initiatives throughout Europe. One of these is the project *Languages in Education / Languages for Education*, which places emphasis on the rights of all children to access and participate in education, with particular attention to children and adolescents from migrant backgrounds.

1.1.1 Background

The education of migrant children in Europe is accompanied by a host of human rights instruments, as well as Council of Europe recommendations and resolutions, within which the responsibilities of European countries are highlighted, and the rights of migrant children are protected. One such responsibility is that countries facilitate the integration of migrant children, while at the same time maintaining the child's linguistic and cultural heritage for the possibility of reintegration to their home country in the future. This amounts to a dual responsibility in language education, as prescribed in Article 19 of the European Social Charter (revised, 1996), that signatories:

11 promote and facilitate the teaching of the national language of the receiving state or, if there are several, one of these languages, to migrant workers and members of their families;

12 promote and facilitate, as far as practicable, the teaching of the migrant worker's mother tongue to the children of the migrant worker.

These responsibilities are clearly set out in the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (1992; article 8.1) and the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (1995; article 14.2), both of which state that the teaching of regional or minority languages should be without prejudice to the teaching of the official language(s) of the state (Council of Europe, 2010).

The recommendation for plurilingual education appears throughout European language policy, and is legitimised by a multi-pronged examination of the long-term social context for migrant children. Problems of socio-economic segregation of migrant populations, ensuing cycles of poverty, and the disadvantages stemming from unequal access to education and subsequently employment are identified as systemic social problems that can be mitigated by an education that prioritises language skills. Language, both as a primary communication tool enabling participation in the host society, and as a vehicle for moving between the two "cultural and linguistic worlds" occupied by migrant children, is therefore placed at the centre of educational success for migrant children in Europe.

1.1.2 3 perspectives on languages in education

The "Languages in Education/Languages for Education (LE)" project (CoE Language Policy Division) builds a very convincing argument for positioning plurilingual and intercultural competences at the heart of educational policy in Europe. This position is examined from a range of perspectives — language as a human right (*Plurilingual and intercultural education as a right, 2009*); plurilingualism as a social reality (*Plurilingual and intercultural education as a project, 2009*); and plurilingualism as essential to a European identity (*A European reference document for languages in education, 2007*).

- (1) In the **language as a human right** perspective, language is a tool for acquiring knowledge and therefore a means of accessing education for students who speak languages other than the language of schooling. From this point of view, education systems that take a student-centred approach to education will provide optimum linguistic opportunities for students to access knowledge and succeed academically. In this model, language domains are several and overlapping, and facilitate the learner's existing linguistic skills in acquiring new knowledge, so that over time other linguistic spaces such as the language of schooling become increasingly available to the learner in which to extend his/her learning.
- (2) In the view of **plurilingualism as a social reality**, we see that regardless of how education systems may construct hierarchies of languages that give preference to some over the exclusion of others, languages simply exist in the social realm and are a fact of everyday life. In this way, the idea is to deconstruct systemically-established language hierarchies, and to say that as our schools are peopled by students who speak a diverse range of languages, the pragmatic approach is inclusion of these languages as a reality of social diversity.
- (3) In the **identity-based perspective**, plurilingualism is highlighted as one of the positive characteristics of European societies, and furthermore that multilingualism has become an identifying feature of the "new Europe" without borders. While there is the risk of pointing to a utopian idealisation of a borderless Europe that has recently begun to visibly crumble around the edges (Brexit, return to

nationalism and anti-immigration politics, border closures), it is nevertheless an accurate characterisation of an enduring European sense of identity that values a working competence in several languages.

In conclusion, these three perspectives of languages in education highlighted in the Languages in Education/Languages for Education project bring together several ideas in support of plurilingual and intercultural education that have existed for some time in the international space, and position them clearly within a contemporary European discourse.

1.1.3 Intercultural dialogue

Furthering the case for languages in education is the Council of Europe stance on intercultural dialogue. In the White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue and the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) (2008), intercultural dialogue is defined as *“a process that comprises an open and respectful exchange of views between individuals and groups with different ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic backgrounds and heritage, on the basis of mutual understanding and respect.”* (Council of Europe White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue, p.16)

The ECRI takes into account the individual’s personal growth, adaptation and development of a multiplicity of plurilingual and intercultural skills, as well as the social perspective in which integration of migrants is a two-way process in which non-violence and solidarity form part of a raft of social and political benefits that define inclusive societies. This two-sided definition of intercultural dialogue points to an important and highly topical shift taking place in the European political environment. That is, a growing awareness that integration processes can no longer be confined to the teaching of the national language and the one-sided cultural assimilation of immigrants.

If we apply this concept of integration as a two-way process to the situation in France, we see that how languages are managed in education is indicative of a lack of “interculturality” in that:

- (1) French education policies for migrant children have focused on the teaching of French as the language-of-schooling, to the exclusion of the existing plurilingual competences of the migrant child. This is the one-way street approach designed to facilitate assimilation of migrant children through mastery of the French language which, while having merit in the pragmatic sense of ensuring that children are exposed to and immersed in the national language with the objective of succeeding linguistically in school, has also served to accentuate social barriers in French society.
- (2) Integration into French society, in its assimilationist version, is measured in large part by attaining mastery of the French language, and therefore is goal-oriented. In contrast, a modern notion understands integration as a gradual transformation over time that involves multiple complex processes of internalising existing knowledge of the self in society, and new linguistic and cultural knowledge that repositions the developing self within the new society. This view of integration is echoed in the theoretical framework on cultural identities that is now widespread, which sees cultural identities not as innate, stable and inherited, but as shared *“self or hetero-categorisations that social actors develop, activate or modify according to context and specific interest”*. (Beacco, 2005, p.7)

So outdated French education policies that insist on maintaining a monolingual learning environment for migrant children are disconnected from how integration is conceived of in the European model. In the French model, schools fulfil their responsibility in educating migrant children by teaching the French language and establishing an environment of linguistic and cultural immersion in which other languages and cultures exist, but are rendered irrelevant to the child’s learning and development. In order to be considered “integrated” in this context, migrant children must master the French language through the monolingual method, and render parts of their plurilingual and intercultural identities invisible, or excluded from their educational experience — a kind of “leave it at the door” experience.

This leads to the question of whether changes in French educational policy and practice with respect to plurilingual and intercultural education of migrant children will be precipitated very soon, in response to:

- (a) the increasing numbers of non-francophone immigrant children currently arriving in France on the European wave of refugee migration, and the pressure on education systems to adapt teaching and learning methods;

- (b) the growing awareness in Europe of the multiple individual and social benefits of plurilingual and intercultural education, largely through the Council of Europe's work in disseminating research findings; and
- (c) the increasing relevance of the recommendations and aspirations expressed in international instruments (such as the European Social Charter (1996), the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (1992) and the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (1995)) as Europe sees herself faced with political divisions over immigration, and the reconstitution of a unified post-Brexit European identity from 2020.

For now, it seems that the incentives for educational policy change are multiple, urgent and legitimised by recent events in Europe linked to immigration.

2. Aotearoa New Zealand: Bicultural view of languages and identities

Te Tiriti o Waitangi (the Treaty of Waitangi) signed on 6 February 1840 by some Māori chiefs and the British colonial government of the time, establishes principles of partnership, participation and protection ("the 3 P's"). The Treaty principles are an important part of governance in New Zealand, and occupy a foundational place in political affairs, land and resource management, economic and business matters, environment, education, the health system and all other areas of public life. As the nation's constitutional document, the rights of Māori as the indigenous people of Aotearoa are upheld and the government's responsibilities are set out, so that:

"The Treaty governs the relationship between Māori — the tangata whenua (indigenous people) — and everyone else, and ensures the rights of both Māori and Pakeha (non-Māori) are protected. It does that by:

- *accepting that Māori iwi (tribes) have the right to organise themselves, protect their way of life and to control the resources they own ...*
 - *establishing equality and the principle that all New Zealanders are equal under the law."*
- (New Zealand Immigration website)

However, New Zealand's bicultural history is complex and contentious, and as I have argued:

"[T]he big question for New Zealand's healthy development as a nation today, is whether this principle [of biculturalism] can be extrapolated to embrace the diversity of our ethnic minority communities. Can Aotearoa New Zealand develop a particular form of liberal democracy that also "goes beyond simple tolerance of difference" to construct deeper relationships between the dominant pākeha ethnic group, Māori iwi, and the wide range of ethnic minority communities?" (Smythe, this thesis Part 1, p.80)

The bicultural constitution of Aotearoa New Zealand informs how plurilingual and intercultural identities are viewed, both internationally and domestically, but remains contentious on both fronts.

As a first example, New Zealand has a reputation as a leader in the protection of indigenous rights, yet was one of 4 nations that did not sign the 2007 United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP). Critics accuse New Zealand politics of presenting a positive image of biculturalism on the world stage, while deflecting scrutiny from reluctant biculturalism at home:

"... the New Zealand state can be characterized as an incoherent, shape-shifting subject, enacting partnership in one instance and not the next, and frequently guilty of insincerity, saying one thing while doing another." (Bell 2018)

So while New Zealand retains biculturalism as a constitutional principle, Māori continue to argue for self-determination culturally and linguistically within a context of historically perpetuated "*denial of fundamental human rights to Māori*" (Mutu 2019, p.3). Biculturalism therefore continues to be a highly contested political notion in NZ, and it is no wonder that Māori reject arguments for any form of multicultural recognition that risks placing the rights of all ethnic minority groups on the same level as the hard-won political gains of Māori over 180 years of "bicultural" governance (May 2005).

Secondly, the perceived notional value in multiculturalism within New Zealand suffers from the same incoherence and governmental “ritualism” as *Māori-pākehā* biculturalism (Te Aho, 2019). Policy has not yet translated fully into practice the expressed appreciation of NZ’s multilingual and multicultural population. As top example, Pacific island people are the largest minority ethnic group in New Zealand, yet bilingual education in Pasifika languages is not widely available and remains under-resourced by the government (Hill, 2017).

To sum up, NZ’s bicultural view of languages and identities is inextricably linked to historical dispossession and actual self-determination by Māori. This primary constitutional relationship between Māori and the government determines and defines how much space can be accorded to multicultural recognition. The rights of ethnic minority groups are limited, and must accept second place to Māori rights to linguistic and cultural realisation.

2.1 Languages in schools: in the bicultural context

The education of children in New Zealand schools is founded on the bicultural constitution, under which schools have a responsibility to make decisions that reflect Treaty of Waitangi principles. The New Zealand Curriculum states:

“The Treaty of Waitangi is one of eight principles in The New Zealand Curriculum that provide a foundation for schools’ decision making. The Treaty of Waitangi principle puts students at the centre of teaching and learning, asserting that they should experience a curriculum that engages and challenges them, is forward-looking and inclusive, and affirms New Zealand’s unique identity.” (New Zealand Curriculum)

In school practice, this means reflecting the principles of “partnership, participation and protection” in school management, school environment, curriculum content, and inclusive ways of teaching and learning. In the bicultural view, language and culture are intertwined, so *how* schools approach all teaching and learning is just as important as *what* is taught. As examples of how language and cultural education together can reflect the “3 P’s” of *Te Tiriti* (from *te Ako i Te Reo Māori*, 2009):

- Partnership can mean developing Māori language programmes in consultation with the school’s Māori community, in *ako* relationships. The concept of *ako* is about building “learning communities” where each person feels empowered in learning and relationships are productive. The value of pair and group learning is affirmed, and learners interact effectively with teachers, peers and resources. (pp.28-29)
- Participation can mean opportunities for learners to engage with first language speakers, and participate in Māori cultural events. *“Te reo Māori and tikanga Māori are intertwined, and so learning te reo Māori gives students access to te ao Māori (the Māori world) and to Māori world views. The insights and experiences that students gain as they learn the language will enrich and broaden their understandings of the uniqueness and complexity of te ao Māori.”* (p.13)
- Protection can mean recognising the status of Te Reo Māori as a *taonga*, a living treasure for Māori and non-Māori New Zealanders alike. The language needs to be learned to ensure its future as a dynamic source of identity and cultural understanding. As we learn the language, we *“come to appreciate that diversity is a key to unity.”* (p.14)

The argument for plurilingual and intercultural education in New Zealand is therefore strongly contextualised by biculturalism and the status of Māori as a national language with a rich cultural significance for New Zealanders. Since the revitalisation movement of Māori language in the 1980s, the number of speakers of Te Reo has climbed from the endangered status of 18-20% of speakers, mainly elderly Māori (NZCER survey 1973-1978), to this in 2009:

“About 24 percent of the Māori population (that is, about 130 000 people) are now able to speak with some proficiency in te reo Māori, and there are 30 000 Pākehā who speak te reo Māori with varying degrees of proficiency. The government’s Māori Language Strategy, initiated in 2003, is intended to build on this foundation. Its goals include ensuring that, by 2028, the majority of Māori will have some proficiency in te reo Māori and all New Zealanders will appreciate its value to New Zealand society. Ka Hikitia – Managing for Success: The Māori Education Strategy 2008–12 (Te Tāhuhu o te

Mātauranga/Ministry of Education, 2008) prioritises Māori language education as one of its four focus areas for change in the education system.” (Te Aho, NZ Ministry of Education, 2009, p.10)

In conclusion, New Zealand’s experience of Māori language revitalisation raises optimism for an educational environment that is more receptive to minority languages and cultural diversity. However, despite the bicultural principle, New Zealand remains “one of the most monolingual countries in the world” (Starks, Harlow and Bell 2005) — a paradox considering that in 2013 an estimated 25.2% of the national population was born overseas; and in Auckland 39.2% of the city’s population (NZ Census 2013).

What are the possibilities for multicultural and multi-linguistic recognition in education in Aotearoa NZ? It is clear that any developments must be negotiated with respect for, and in consultation with, Māori interests and the bicultural intention.

2.1.1 Bicultural perspectives on languages in education

The bicultural perspective offers several points of reference for languages in education. For each point, I propose ways in which education can work more strongly with the languages of our migrant students.

- (1) The **identity-based perspective** is equally important in the NZ context, due to the “super-diversity” of 160 minority languages spoken that exists beneath English monolingualism in the public space. Young NZ migrants can be particularly affected by the diversity vs. monolingualism paradox. A recent study on language use amongst teenage migrants born in New Zealand described common “narratives of belonging and not belonging”, in which adolescents sometimes felt embarrassed or ashamed of not speaking the heritage language well, leading to rejection of the minority language (Cunningham and King 2018). Similarly to the bicultural story, languages need maintaining if intergenerational transmission is threatened. Identity and language are intertwined, and for young migrant New Zealanders, a positive sense of identity can counter experiences of marginalisation (Cunningham and King 2018).
- (2) There is a **strong awareness of “multiculturalism and multi-ethnicity as a social reality”** in NZ, yet a poor awareness of language diversity as a social reality. In the bicultural view, language is seen as part of culture (MoE, Te Aho, 2009). The implication for migrant languages in education is that language learning in schools is for purposes of cultural maintenance, which belies the complex intercultural and plurilingual identities that develop over time amongst NZ’s migrant communities. As shown in this study of newly-arrived immigrant teenagers in a New Zealand school, plurilingualism serves multiple and immediate learning and social purposes during the newly-arrived phase. One of these is supporting acquisition of English as the language-of-schooling. This means that plurilingual learning has a clearly defined place and purpose at school for immigrant students with low English proficiency. However, plurilingual approaches can continue to serve a range of purposes throughout the child’s schooling, even when English proficiency is well developed (pluriliteracy, interlanguage work). This is an additive view of language learning, rather than a subtractive one (May 2005).
- (3) The place of **second language learners** in education, and how to support their plurilingual development, needs to be further researched and developed in the NZ context (May 2002). This is because immigration patterns since the 1960s have brought an increasingly multicultural, multilingual demographic to NZ, resulting in “*a significant increase in languages other than Māori and English in New Zealand*” (May 2002, p.7). Traditionally subtractive views of language learners in education in NZ have treated first languages as an obstacle to overcome, or have assumed that once the English language-of-schooling is mastered first languages will be abandoned. This is due to NZ’s British colonial assimilationist history, where Māori language was excluded from education until the 1980s. In spite of developments in Māori language education and bicultural understanding, the exclusionist approach to migrant languages in education persists. In order for minority languages to be more included in education, researchers and educators need to work closely together on schools-based projects, such as the one carried out for this PhD.
- (4) For migrant background students and their languages in NZ education, biculturalism is a double-edged sword. Māori interests are rightly a priority in NZ; gains for Māori education have been hard-won (Waka Huia, interview with Dr. Pita Sharples, 2020), and Māori do not want their indigenous status to become grouped with multicultural issues. The Waitangi Tribunal clearly states that:

“None of the other migrant groups who have come to live in this country in recent years can claim the rights that were given to the Māori people by the Treaty of Waitangi.” (1986, p.37)

May (2002) suggests a **complementary approach to language education, rather than competitive**, as a way forward in the NZ bicultural context. This approach includes an acknowledgement that there are two different sets of rights around biculturalism and multiculturalism: indigenous peoples have the right to self-governance (clearly accorded to Māori under the Treaty of Waitangi), whereas other minority groups have polyethnic rights (to maintain other practices of culture, language, religion within the broader society) (May 2002; Kymlicka 1995). In this approach, migrant languages do not seek the same rights and status as Māori, and the educational purposes are parallel but not identical — for Māori, self-determination is important, whereas for migrant communities it may be more about self-definition within the NZ context.

In summary, New Zealand education is strongly contextualised by biculturalism as a requirement:

“The Treaty of Waitangi principle calls for schools and teachers to deliver a curriculum that:

- acknowledges the Treaty of Waitangi principles*
- acknowledges our nation’s bicultural foundations*
- enables students to acquire knowledge of te reo Māori and tikanga Māori.” (NZ Curriculum)*

The place of migrant languages and second language learners in education is therefore strongly and irrevocably influenced by the bicultural context. Advocacy for plurilingual education in NZ has to be informed by Māori interests, and I fully support a complementary rather than competitive approach to language education as a positive and viable proposition to take forward.

Section A conclusion: a “rights-based view” of languages in education in both countries

Languages in education in both France and Aotearoa New Zealand are informed by rights-based views. In France, the Council of Europe language policies serve as a backdrop for how languages are viewed according to “shared European constitutional values of human rights, democracy and rule of law”. In NZ, biculturalism and the rights accorded Māori as the *tangata whenua* (indigenous peoples of Aotearoa) under the Treaty of Waitangi create a particular view of languages in education.

Identity is an equally important part of how languages are viewed in both France and NZ. France’s traditional monolingual model of national education reserves its right to adhere to Republican values, *alongside* the Council of Europe’s work in promoting language inclusiveness and the “intrinsic value of plurilingualism”. NZ’s bicultural identity underpins the nation’s increasingly multicultural identity — a potentially conflictual co-habitation that remains a challenge for successive governments in developing educational policy and practice that includes the interests of both Māori and migrant communities.

In both countries there are questions being raised by migrant communities for greater inclusion of their languages in education — questions that are not easily resolved, as the existing constitutional frameworks (French Republican, NZ bicultural) leave little space for new multicultural realities.

Section B: Languages of schooling — FLS / EL

In Section B of this chapter, with Council of Europe language policies and New Zealand’s bicultural principles as a backdrop, plus an indication of national education policies in France and NZ, I address the second key question:

- How is the teaching and learning of FLS (*français langue de scolarisation*) / EL (English language) organised? To what degree are plurilingualism and intercultural identities given space within French and NZ schools?

1. FLS/EL classes: key to the child’s success at school

In both France and New Zealand, the FLS (*français langue de scolarisation*) and the EL (English language) classes play a central role in the child’s success at school. However, the structure of each education system dictates the length and nature of language-of-schooling entitlement, with the French system limiting UPE2A classes to one year of intensive language and integration support during the newly-arrived phase, while EL

support in a New Zealand school may accompany immigrant students during the whole 5 years of their high schooling.

Two key differences in education policy development for the schooling of immigrant students help to explain how FLS/EL functions and purposes differ between countries:

- (1) The French education system entered an integrationist phase during the 1970s, and at this time produced a parcel of documents establishing *classes d'accueil* and defining the FLS teacher's role. NZ established EL classes for immigrant students later, when education policy entered an inclusion phase during the 1990s. Both countries recognised the importance of language and culture in the child's learning and success at school, however two unique categories of plurilingual students in NZ schools have stimulated the continuation of an inclusion policy in education: Māori children and international fee-paying students (IFPs).
- (2) The national education curricula in each country takes a differing perspective on teachers and students. In the French curriculum, the teacher's role is clearly defined and the teacher's responsibility for delivering the school curriculum is articulated; whereas in the NZ curriculum the teacher's role is openly defined as supporting the learning of each student, and the child-centred view in education is evident in the language of the curriculum.

The age of 15 is a point of critical assessment of the child's success in schooling in both countries. French *collège* students sit a series of exams called "*le diplôme national du brevet*" in 3ème which can determine high school selection, and NZ students in Year 11 work to achieve credits throughout the year towards NCEA Level 1 (National Certificate of Educational Achievement) which is the minimal high school qualification. I therefore briefly compare how FLS/EL classes support immigrant students aged 13-15 towards achievement of this first important step in succeeding within each education system.

1.1 Classes d'accueil in France

By 1970 in France, the "*classes d'accueil*" had been created, in which children were taught the French language and the child was helped in their integration into the school system by a teacher who was able to respond to the child's specific needs⁵⁷. The role of these teachers in the "*classes d'accueil*" remains absolutely central to the integration of immigrant children today in French schools, as the teacher's role is as initiator into the French school system, as well as pedagogical instructor.

The teacher's role is two-fold, and takes as its point of reference the Circulaire n° 78-238 of 25 July 1978 from the *Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale* on the schooling of immigrant children. The circular recommends the maintenance of languages of origin of immigrant children within schools, and marks a move towards an integrationist approach in education policy in France from 1978. The 1978 circular forms part of a body of Ministry of Education circulars governing the education of immigrant children during the 1970s. The whole was designed with two objectives in mind:

- (1) Establishing the requirement for immigrant children to have access to French language classes, in order to prepare for integration into mainstream classes; and
- (2) Maintenance of languages of origin within the school, with the possibility of provision of classes after school hours (ELCO classes: *enseignement de langue et culture d'origine*).

Each circular within this body of documents issued during the 1970s sets out a provision or recommendation related to maintenance of the child's first language and/or culture, thereby situating the child's plurilingualism as a specific need that the Ministry of Education addresses in official documentation. The circulars set out the following:

- Establishing the "*classes d'initiation*" (initiation classes) and the "*cours de rattrapage intégré*" (catch-up/extra classes) in primary schools, and the "*enseignement de soutien*" or classes to support the child's adaptation in *collège* (circulaires n° IX-70-37 of 13 January 1970 and 73-383 of 25 September 1973)

⁵⁷ Les circulaires n° IX-70-37 du 13 janvier 1970 et 73-383 du 25 septembre 1973 portant respectivement création de « classes d'initiation » et de « cours de rattrapage intégré » dans les écoles élémentaires et « d'enseignement de soutien » ou de classes d'adaptation dans les collèges. (Psychologie, éducation et enseignement spécialisé, 2018)

- The use of primary school premises for courses in the **languages of origin** of immigrant children (circulaire n° 76-128 of 30 March 1976); and the provision of first language courses after school (circulaire n° 75-148 of 9 April 1975); and defining the conditions for foreign language teachers who provide courses in the child's language of origin (circulaire n° 77-345 of 28 September 1977).
- Encouraging **diversity of languages** through policies for the teaching of foreign languages in-school and after school (circulaire n° 77-065 of 14 February 1977).
- Offering **training for teachers** of immigrant children and other educators working with immigrant children and their languages through the establishment of "*Les centres régionaux de formation et d'information pour la scolarisation des enfants de migrants*" (C.E.F.I.S.E.M.) (circulaires n° 76-387 of 4 November 1976 and 77-310 of 1st September 1977).

The combined result of these provisions was the establishment of language classes, both French and mother tongue, to be delivered by specialist teachers trained in working with immigrant children and/or their languages. Prior to these recommendations, certain measures had already been taken to better accommodate the language needs of immigrant children in primary schools, *collèges* and high schools. The formalisation of these measures in the Ministry of Education circulars provided a basis for funding, training and progression of pedagogy in response to the number and needs of immigrant children in the education system.

A typical job description for a teacher of UPE2A (*Unité Pédagogique pour Elèves Allophones Arrivants*) describes the teacher's duties as extending beyond the classroom to liaise with parents, other teachers and to assist the child's passage from *collège* into high school, if necessary:

"L'enseignant en UPE2A est chargé de :

- *Procéder à l'évaluation de positionnement en langue d'origine des élèves allophones.*
- *Enseigner le Français comme Langue Seconde au sein de l'UPE2A, à hauteur de 9 heures/minimum hebdomadaire par élève.*
- *Proposer, en lien avec la classe d'inclusion, un projet individuel pour chaque élève, qu'il ait été ou non scolarisé dans le pays d'origine.*
- *Evaluer régulièrement les progrès de l'élève en s'appuyant sur le CECRL et les compétences du socle.*
- *Travailler en collaboration avec les équipes enseignantes et organiser la transmission d'informations entre l'UPE2A et les classes ordinaires.*
- *Rencontrer régulièrement les familles et/ou les tuteurs et partenaires.*
- *Veiller lors du passage entre le 1er et le 2nd degré au suivi en UPE2A si nécessaire".*

(Ministère Nationale de l'Éducation website, Enseignant en UPE2A)

In my observations at the participating local *collège* here in Bordeaux with an experienced teacher of a "*classe d'accueil*" for UPE2A students, the teacher closely guides the child's integration into both the academic learning aspects of schooling and the social integration aspects. Children who arrive into her UPE2A class can be retained in the class for up to a year, with gradual mainstreaming as their French language ability improves. For students who arrive at the age of 15 (in 3ème, the final year of *collège*), with little or no French language, it is almost impossible to succeed academically within the short space of a year leading up to sitting *le diplôme national du brevet* exams. These exams can determine *lycée* placement, and while an UPE2A student who fails the *brevet* will not be excluded from a public high school, the level of ongoing FLS support at high school is likely to be minimal or informal.

At *collège*, schools with facilities for newly-arrived immigrant students offer French classes that are taught in multi-level groups with materials organised according to proficiency. In the FLS classes I observed, first languages play a very present part in the class learning in a variety of ways that will be discussed in detail in Part 2. At this particular *collège* there are no ELCO (language of origin) classes offered after school. The school offers Spanish, Italian and English as foreign language options for all students. The teacher knows the family situation of each child, and arranges meetings with parents and school administrators, with a translator present if possible. It is not always easy to get a translator, and the cost has to be paid from the school budget, so the child is sometimes called on to translate for their parents (interview with Mme M., Collège A. Bordeaux, 2018).

Discussions between the UPE2A teacher and mainstream teachers about the child's integration and progress are frequent and informal for the most part, and the UPE2A teacher holds a central role in managing and supporting each UPE2A child's first year of integration into school life. As an ex-UPE2A student described her experience during the first year:

“Je me souviens très bien que c'était le 20 novembre 2014 quand je suis entrée dans la classe d'accueil pour apprendre le français. Parce que je ne parlais pas ni un seul mot de français. Le plus difficile c'est quand il y'a la professeur qui explique, qui essaie de te faire comprendre mais tu ne comprends rien. C'était très difficile pendant quelques mois, mais après on s'aperçoit que ça dépend de notre volonté.

Sans la classe d'UPE2A, je ne veux même pas penser à quel point l'apprentissage de langue serait compliquée. C'est à dire suivre le professeur et comprendre ce qu'il explique aux élèves qui savent parler en français déjà et tu ne parle ni un mot, ça serai un choc psychologique. Donc je pense que c'est une classe très importante pour les élèves étrangers qui souhaitent apprendre la langue française. Les classes d'inclusions ont joué leur rôle, c'était un autre type d'expérience. Ça aide aussi et surtout ça ouvre la porte pour montrer à l'élève comment ça sera une fois qu'il a surmonté la barrière de langue.” (Interview with Martina, ex-UPE2A student, 22/10/2018)

A further important function of languages in schools with immigrant children, is that languages support may come from the wider school community. For example, staff who speak and/or teach the languages of the students may be called on to translate documents related to the child's schooling for their families, or to participate in meetings with parents to facilitate communication (Niveau, 2018). Teachers are also encouraged to organise intercultural activities to showcase the cultures of origin of their immigrant students. At the local *collège*, the UPE2A teacher and Science teacher organised a science outing to a local sugar factory. Immigrant students were paired with French students and asked to create a presentation about their observations and experiences. The UPE2A teacher also organises a gardening project at the school, and an end-of-year sharing evening open to all, with families of immigrant students invited.

1.2 English Language (EL) classes in NZ

As part of Aotearoa New Zealand's evolution in education since the late 1990s towards an inclusive model, the contextualisation of English Language (EL) classes has changed. This is in large part due to the influx of international fee-paying students (IFPs) and increase in numbers of non-English speaking students in schools for short or longer term periods of study. 1999-2000 saw a 42.6% increase in IFPs in NZ primary and secondary schools, the majority from Asian countries (Ministry of Education, 2001). In response, EL has burgeoned into a well-organised and highly regulated part of the education system that has expanded to include English classes from beginner to academic levels, and International Departments within schools that manage the administrative and pastoral care aspects of hosting IFPs.

As an example, at the New Zealand high school that participated in this study, about 70 IFP students are enrolled annually, as well as fluctuating numbers of migrant background and refugee students. All non-English speaking background students are managed by the International Department within the school. The International Department comprises a team of seven permanent staff who manage IFP enrolment and immigration, coordinate homestay arrangements, teach English, provide guidance counselling (supported by translators), provide career guidance, and manage administrative procedures. As well, the school employs a bilingual teacher aide (Arabic-English, 15 hours per week), a full-time small group EL tutor for refugee background students, and at the time of the study a university intern was assisting full-time in EL and mainstream classes. EL in New Zealand has therefore developed a high profile, as the marketing of high quality, outcomes-oriented EL classes forms part of an “education package” designed to attract IFPs, and enables schools to participate in the economic advantages of a thriving IFP industry.

The three types of immigrant students in NZ schools are IFP, migrant and refugee-background, and EL teachers may have all three of these types of students in the same class. Schools with International Departments (those that host IFPs) have incorporated all aspects of the schooling of refugee and migrant students into the one department, as is the case at the High School A. that participated in this study. One outcome is that refugee and migrant students and their families also potentially benefit from the improved services and resources accrued around IFPs. For example, fees paid by 70 IFP students (at around NZ \$10,000 per annum) contribute towards English language teaching and learning resources, extra hours with bilingual/English-speaking teacher aide support, translators for parent-teacher meetings, and a full-time

specialist tutor in literacy who works with small groups of migrant and refugee students (interview with school principal, 30/4/2019).

As outlined in earlier chapters, migrant and refugee-background students are eligible for government funding to support their English language progress for a maximum of 5 years. This funding also applies to NZ-born English Language Learners (ELLs) in primary schools, including Māori students in bilingual education and NZ-born Pasifika students (Ministry of Education, ESOL funding website). The funding of \$900 per year is attached to each high school student who tests with high needs in English language learning, and can be used for EL and in-school bilingual support, as well as other EL resources. English language learning in NZ is therefore relatively well resourced by both government funding and the private tuition fees paid by IFP students that have led to the establishment of International Departments within schools. In contrast, funding for schooling support for newly-arrived migrant and refugee students in the French public school system is much harder to come by. The IFP system does not exist in French public schools (international students can pay to attend private schools), and no special government funding is attached to individual migrant, refugee or asylum-seeking students, and resourcing for teacher aides and extra tuition is simply not available.

2. Language-of-schooling objectives: FLS / EL

How language-of-schooling objectives for migrant students are worded in the French and NZ school curricula highlights a very important difference in pedagogical approach: France is teacher-centred and New Zealand is student-centred.

2.1 EL

EL objectives are described in the NZ Curriculum under the Languages Learning area:

“...students who are new learners of English or coming into an English-medium environment for the first time need explicit and extensive teaching of English vocabulary, word forms, sentence and text structures, and language uses. As language is central to learning and English is the medium for most learning in the New Zealand Curriculum, the importance of literacy in English cannot be overstated.” (NZC, p. 16)

Unlike in France where key education documents place the FLS teacher’s role and responsibilities at the centre, NZ’s education documents place the English Language Learner at the centre, and the terminology used reflects this:

*“The close relationship between the key competencies and language learning is suggested by the way that the wording of key competencies appears above the achievement objectives for communication in The New Zealand Curriculum. The terms “Selecting and using language, symbols, and texts to communicate”, “Managing self and relating to others”, and “Participating and contributing in communities” are placed here to indicate that language students can be developing **all** of the key competencies as they work towards the core achievement objectives.”*
(Ministry of Education, learning languages guide)

The role of teachers in NZ schools is therefore described as “supporting the learning” of students, with emphasis on how students are learning rather than how teachers are teaching. This reversal of perspective encourages teachers to know their students, observe what is most effective for their learning, and apply a flexible range of strategic pedagogies to support each student in their individual learning. This educational approach to each student as an individual is summarised in the curriculum document as:

“The curriculum is ... non-discriminatory; it ensures that students’ identities, languages, abilities and talents are recognised and affirmed and that their learning needs are met.” (NZC p.9)

The diversity of school populations is thereby acknowledged in the NZ school curriculum, and the intention of inclusive education is clearly stated.

English Language classes in high schools are taught in mixed ability groups, as they are in France, however with the added possibility of grouping students into classes according to language proficiency, as often there is more than one EL class, and/or more than one EL teacher. EL resources are also organised across five bands of language proficiency as follows:

- beginner(A1),
- pre-intermediate(A2)
- intermediate(A2-B1),
- upper-intermediate(B1) and
- advanced(B2)

NZQA (the New Zealand Qualifications Authority) has developed evaluation standards and resources at each level of EL proficiency, which teachers are required to teach towards and administer in accordance with the EL needs and future aspirations of students. High school qualifications are gained through a system of internal assessment of student progress, with student skills evaluated in each subject area throughout the year. Students gain credits for each internal evaluation passed, and in the senior high school years are aiming to gain 80 credits per year to achieve NCEA Certificates to (a) graduate high school with a basic qualification and/or (b) enter higher education institutions. The NCEA system replaces the previous system of evaluation by external exam (that was similar to the Baccalaureate exam system), and is quality-assured nationally. Teachers within schools are responsible for these internal evaluations throughout the year, and maintenance of a fair national standard is assured by the NZ Qualifications Authority (NZQA):

“NZQA has a formal quality assurance process to ensure that the assessment of each standard is fair across all students, regardless of the school they attend. This includes internal moderation, external moderation and assessment system checks.” (Ministry of Education, How NCEA Works)

The education system in NZ is therefore highly individualised as teachers retain the flexibility to teach and evaluate students according to students’ needs, interests and future goals. For immigrant students therefore, it is an education system that supports achievement – a student can gain credits throughout the year and demonstrate progress over time, gradually working towards high school qualifications as their English language skills develop.

For the age range of immigrant students of central interest to this study (13-15 year olds), the high school qualifications sought are as follows:

Table 5: NZ high school qualifications + EL evaluations at age 13-15 years

Age, year at high school	Qualification sought	NZQA requirements	EL evaluation
13 years old, Year 9	None, 1st year junior school. The option of beginning to gain credits towards NCEA Level 1.	None	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • EL teacher chooses according to student’s level of English proficiency and future learning pathway
14 years old, Year 10	None, 2nd year junior school. The option of continuing to gain credits towards NCEA Level 1.	None	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • EL teacher chooses according to student’s level of English proficiency and future learning pathway
15 years old, Year 11	NCEA Level 1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 80 credits total (including literacy & numeracy) • 10 Literacy credits • 10 Numeracy credits 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No EL evaluation of literacy • EL Level 1, 2 and 3 standards contribute towards 60 non-literacy credits

As in French schools, the language-of-schooling teacher (EL) has a central role to play in supporting the whole school learning of immigrant students. As well as monitoring the student’s progress in English language classes, the teacher also retains an overview of each student’s progress towards achievement of national certificates, and ensures that the learning pathway links to the student’s future aspirations. For example, some migrant students aim to achieve NCEA Level 3 in order to access NZ or overseas

universities, while others (short-term IFPs) simply aim to develop English language proficiency and have a cultural experience while in New Zealand. The EL teacher's role is to know each student's short and long-term educational goals, and to liaise with subject teachers to ensure the student is appropriately evaluated in accordance with these goals.

2.2 FLS

FLS is the term used today for the teaching of French to immigrant children in schools in France. The following three definitions of FLS describe the objectives of schooling for migrant students.

- (1) In Cuq's (1989) definition, FLS is the French that is spoken outside of France and that has a particular status accorded by its association with France's colonial history and the function the French language continues to fulfil in African ex-colonial territories. These African communities are bilingual or plurilingual, speaking one or more African languages alongside French. In these African countries, French is still widely used as the language of instruction in schools. As such, it is the French language that facilitates access to social participation at a certain level in adult life — either access to higher education, or to better work opportunities. FLS is a term originating in the historical context of colonisation, when educating in the French language meant (a) assimilating a non-French population into the republican values of the French nation, and (b) ensuring French domination through language colonisation.
- (2) Verdelhan-Bourgade in *“Le français de scolarisation: pour une didactique realiste”* (2002) defines FLS as the language of schooling in France, which is learned by both native speakers and immigrant children. FLS can be a variety of standard French, different from the mother tongue, as in how it is learned by immigrant children. In the function that FLS fulfils in French schools, it is more than just a language — it also marks a social function of schooling, that of forming French citizens. This definition goes beyond the learning of French for everyday purposes — it is also education as preparation for participation in French society:

“La fonction de scolarisation est une fonction sociale qui se décline en plusieurs rôles: appropriation des connaissances et formation intellectuelle, apprentissages pluridisciplinaires, acquisition scolaire des comportements intellectuels et relationnels, visée d'intégration sociale.”

- (3) Le Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale defines FLS as *“français langue seconde”*. In this definition, FLS is a school subject: French as a second language and the language-of-schooling taught to immigrant children. FLS allows immigrant children access to a qualification in France: through FLS, immigrant children can follow an education pathway, and those who remain in France may become French citizens. FLS is the catalyst in future life choices for immigrant children, and their future success in French society depends on mastery of French as their second language.

The first official Ministry of Education document to institutionalise FLS as a *“domain didactique”* (teaching and learning domain) appeared in 2000, entitled *“Le français langue seconde”*. FLS is defined here as:

“Ce que l'on convient d'appeler ici français langue seconde ne constitue pas une discipline distincte du français telle qu'elle est définie dans les programmes officiels du collège, mais une modalité d'accès à cette discipline pour les élèves arrivés de l'étranger en France en cours de scolarisation.” (Collège repères, CNDP, 2000)

To sum up, FLS is the teaching and learning of French as a second language, with social and future-oriented objectives that extend beyond linguistic competence to provide a pathway for immigrant children to full participation as French citizens. FLS, as taught in schools in France, teaches immigrant students not only the French language, but also the norms and behaviours of social relations in French society.

Section B conclusion

In conclusion to Section B, the question of how the teaching and learning of languages-of-schooling are organised is addressed. For immigrant students, learning the language-of-schooling is a key to academic and social survival at school, and in both France and New Zealand dedicated FLS and EL classes play a central role in the child's ability to participate, learn and integrate at school.

FLS (*français langue de scolarisation*) is organised within UPE2A (*Unité Pédagogique pour Elèves Allophones Arrivants*) with a teacher of French who has an onerous pastoral care responsibility towards newly-arrived students and their families. In education policy documents, the teacher's duties are emphasised, whereas in the NZ education curricula the centrality of the student's learning experience is emphasised.

Students who arrive as teenagers, such as the 42 students who participated in this study, have a short window of opportunity in which to master the language-of-schooling and integrate sufficiently into the education system to be able to pass the crucial exams at the age of 15, that will determine their future educational pathway. The NZ education system has advantages for students in this kind of learning situation, as the curriculum is open and flexible (teachers can teach creatively to their students), and NZQA allows for students to be internally assessed in a range of ways that show "what they have achieved", rather than what they have not yet achieved. In contrast, the French education system retains some of the obvious disadvantages of "traditional schooling": a teacher-centred style of learning, a fixed national curriculum, and a one-shot chance exam system for 15-year-olds (*le Brevet*).

In terms of ongoing acquisition of the language-of-schooling, immigrant students in the New Zealand school system may be eligible for dedicated funding to support English language learning for up to 5 years; whereas in the French school system, there is no funding or longer-term support for language acquisition after the first year at school. Alongside learning the language-of-schooling, an important function of UPE2A and EL classes is that they are spaces where newly-arrived immigrant students find community with other students in the same situation. My study in two schools (see Part 2) observed newly-arrived immigrant students' language use in UPE2A and EL classes, and found that it is mostly in these classes that students' plurilingualism is put to good use in their learning processes.

Chapter 7 conclusion

In outlining some key aspects of the objectives and functions of FLS in France and EL in New Zealand, I find two key differences to compare, each with a particular outcome in the learning of newly-arrived immigrant students. The first concerns FLS and EL teachers and the levels of in-school support for teaching newly-arrived immigrant students. The second is the stimulation of English language teaching by international fee-paying students in New Zealand, that has transformed EL into a marketable commodity in education — whereas the evolution of FLS in France remains focused on an under-privileged class of migrant, refugee and asylum-seeker students.

Firstly, the in-school situation for EL teachers where International Departments are operating is radically different to that of UPE2A teachers in French schools. The EL teacher works within the support of a team structure, whereas UPE2A teachers are solely responsible for the multiple aspects of organising schooling for immigrant children. NZ schools with International Departments have in place an entire structure to cater for the administrative requirements and academic objectives of hosting international fee-paying students. Schools often host 70-90 IFPs per year, meaning that multiple EL classes are offered, taught by several EL teachers. In contrast, typically in French schools there is one UPE2A class with a maximum of 25 newly-arrived immigrant students taught by one FLS teacher, without the support of a specialised administrative team.

A key difference therefore is seen in the scale and extent of the teaching role between countries.

FLS teachers operate as "a one-stop shop" for newly-arrived immigrant children and their families, and immigrant students must adapt quickly to the French education system during the one-year integration phase. EL teachers in NZ schools that host IFP students (perhaps as well as refugee and migrant background students) are working within a well-funded International Department that is underpinned by legal requirements for standards of care for immigrant students, and operates as a hub for the network of services that have sprung up around IFP students. The EL teachers themselves are therefore often well-supported by a team of colleagues who share the administrative and academic demands. As an outcome for immigrant students, in NZ there is clearly a level of ongoing support in language of schooling, pastoral care, and sometimes bilingual learning support, all of which are formalised and funded by government and IFP tuition fees. As a similar system for international fee-paying students in French schools does not exist, extra language resources and ongoing learning support for immigrant students is limited to the first year after arrival, after which time students must "sink or swim" in the mainstream education system.

Secondly, the influence and impact of IFP students in NZ schools has stimulated development of the education system in several ways, which becomes apparent when compared with French schools where IFPs are not present in the public school system.

- (1) EL teaching and learning standards underwent a substantial overhaul between 2010-2014, with the formation of more rigorous and academic learning pathways (revision of EL Level 3 standards, introduction of English for Academic Purposes standards). This was in direct response to the demand for improved pathways to tertiary education for IFP students⁵⁸. In contrast, UPE2A classes in French schools remain the domain of primary schools and *collèges*, with very little FLS support in *lycées*. The purpose of UPE2A classes is therefore to provide one year of instruction in the French language so that immigrant students can function in the mainstream independently. It is not to provide ongoing language support throughout schooling, or to enable the child to attain higher levels of language proficiency supported by academic French language courses, nor to open up pathways to tertiary learning designed with second language learners in mind.
- (2) Recognition of the need for a more internationally performant education system in NZ led to a core restructuring of the education system (from the old exam-based system to the current NCEA system) between 2002-2004. The result is an education system that is more accessible to immigrant students due to its individualised nature and the possibility of progressive achievement throughout the year, rather than the previous pass/fail exam system. The French education system has not undergone a similar overhaul, and the Baccalauréat (introduced by Napoleon in 1808) remains after more than 200 years the national high school qualification that is mandatory for access to tertiary education. The French public education system has not been influenced by the presence of international students in the same way that NZ has, and the French education system has therefore not, until now, been stimulated to open new pathways in educational achievement for a diverse range of learning and/or language needs.

I see **differences therefore for the functional tasks of FLS/EL classes within these two education systems**. The UPE2A teacher is preparing students to gain enough of the language of schooling to function in mainstream classes. From there, it is the role of mainstream subject teachers to prepare immigrant students, like all other students, to progress through the education system and to be ready for the final *Baccalauréat* school exams — a difficult feat for immigrant students like those who participated in this study, who enter the French school system between the ages of 13-15 years old. In NZ, EL classes have a different role to play — the teacher can continue to support the English language development of immigrant students from the time of arrival until school graduation, in specialised EL classes. The EL teacher can also support immigrant students in their NCEA achievement, by offering evaluations in EL courses that contribute towards higher school certificate achievement. The contrast is therefore one of ongoing support for language development and whole school achievement in the NZ system, as opposed to an initial year of language-and-orientation support in the French system. The structure of each education system therefore explains different educational outcomes for immigrant students in each country. These substantive differences in outcomes are compared and explained further in Chapter 4: *Immigrant students and “success” in schooling*.

For the age group of 13-15 year olds participating in this study therefore, we can see that the FLS/EL class objectives and teacher’s role are determined by (a) the structure of each education system, and (b) the evaluation of learning within each education system, particularly at the crucially determinant age of 15, when in NZ students aim to achieve NCEA Level 1, and in France to pass *le diplôme national du brevet* in the final year of *collège*.

Education systems therefore undeniably have an effect on the success of immigrant students, both during the newly-arrived phase and over the long term. I argue that the New Zealand education system is able to provide higher levels of support for immigrant students arriving between the age of 13-15, and potentially more successful outcomes. This is due to systemic differences, summarised below:

⁵⁸ I was teaching ESOL at Kapiti College during 2010-2014. The intensity of change to Level 3 ESOL standards and new EAP Level 4 standards during that time was driven by changes to Level 1 and 2 English literacy standards. The fact that the new English literacy standards were much harder for immigrant students to achieve meant that many were blocked from access to universities. The new EAP Level 4 standards were an option for replacing university entrance English literacy requirements for immigrant students. The new Level 3 ESOL standards helped immigrant students to gain NCEA high school qualifications, as well as developing communicative and academic English language skills.

Table 6: NZ's inclusive model of education / French integrationist model of education compared

NZ's inclusive model	French integrationist model
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • NCEA internal assessment system. Students gather credits throughout their schooling from internal assessments in each subject. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • External exam system (<i>Brevet</i> at age 15, <i>Baccalauréat</i> at age 18). Students have one chance to pass the exams, or re-double the year.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extra language support in EL due to the stimulation of IFP students in the education system. More EL resources and programmes to cater for IFP student needs and interests. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • IFP students do not attend public schools in France. No economic benefits for schools, or extra resources in FLS for fee-paying non-French speaking students.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New diverse pathways to achievement at high school. Some choice of mode and level of evaluation. Several pathways towards gaining high school qualifications and tertiary entrance. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The achievement pathway is the same for all students. No choice of mode or level of evaluation.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Government funding for one-on-one bilingual/EL assistance for low proficiency migrant and refugee-background students. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No government funding for individual students. UPE2A teachers are paid by government.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • EL classes over the duration of the child's schooling (up to 5 years at high school). EL classes can be tailored for targeted language skills in option groups: for example, English for Academic Purposes (Level 4 NCEA) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • FLS classes for the first year after arrival. UPE2A classes up to 9 hours per week for beginner students. Mixed ability groups within the same class.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • EL teacher role is part of a team within the school's International Dept = shared responsibilities for integration and home-school liaison. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • UPE2A teacher role is central to integration and home-school liaison = teacher often has sole responsibility.

The advantages listed above have been gained in some part due to the ongoing evolution of New Zealand education since the late 1990s towards an inclusive model; and in other part due to the attractiveness of New Zealand as a destination for international fee-paying students. There appears to be a flow-on benefit for migrant students, in that EL has become well resourced, and the way in which high school qualifications are evaluated have diversified.

In contrast, French education continues to follow the integrationist pathway begun in the 1970s. I have argued that under this model, immigrant students arriving between the age of 13-15 ("late arrivers") do not benefit from the advantages of an inclusive model of education. While UPE2A classes teach the language-of-schooling and support the first year of integration (the newly-arrived phase, or "critical transition period" (OECD, 2018)), the multi-pronged support structures in place for immigrant students in NZ schools have not evolved to the same degree in France. As a result, newly-arrived students must integrate quickly into the French mainstream and follow the same system of competitive exam testing as other French students. Whereas in NZ schools, designated funding for up to 5 years, English language classes from beginner proficiency to academic levels, an internal assessment system, and diverse pathways to achievement set up a strong framework of support throughout the immigrant child's schooling.

Chapter 8

Teacher Training for working with immigrant students

Chapter 8 looks at teacher training (initial and ongoing) in France and Aotearoa New Zealand. The perspective taken is that **all** teachers who work with immigrant students in their classes need skills in inclusive pedagogies, cultural responsiveness in education, and language development (teachers as well as students). Evolutions in teacher training in these areas are in evidence in both countries.

Section A presents inspirational examples such as “a language consciousness”, CARAP’s approaches to plurality, and teachers learning languages.

In Section B, space is given to listen to teachers’ voices, as they share their experiences of immigrant students learning in their classes at a training day offered by CASNAV (France) and on the TKI website (New Zealand). The “teaching as inquiry” model provides a process for this kind of teacher reflection, that can further help teachers to differentiate learning for student diversity.

Key questions:

- How are teachers trained in France and New Zealand for working with immigrant students (initial and on-going training)?
- What are some current positive evolutions in teacher training in each country?
- What can France and New Zealand learn from each other in this area?

Introduction: Teacher training to support immigrant student achievement

The significance of initial teacher training is inestimable, as teachers coming into the profession are forming both pedagogical skills and a personal philosophy of teaching, which can include practices that support immigrant student achievement. As the OECD recommends:

“Strategies and pedagogies for developing second language skills should be covered in initial and in-service training for teachers who work with immigrant students.” (OECD, 2015, p.10)

Teachers in both France and New Zealand are working increasingly with plurilingual students from asylum-seeker, refugee and migrant backgrounds in both language specialist classes and mainstream classes. Teacher training institutions therefore have a responsibility to develop courses within training programmes **for all teachers**, that specifically address second language pedagogies and two-way integration processes that effectively support immigrant students in their learning across all subject areas.

Section A of this chapter compares teacher training in France and New Zealand, both the initial formation and in-service teacher training options. Teacher training has strengths and weaknesses in both countries, and as will be more fully demonstrated and discussed in Part 2, observations of newly-arrived immigrant students in schools in both countries show that teachers are being trained to teach very differently in each country. In France, a teacher-centred learning environment creates identifiable obstacles for immigrant students — less student-student interaction, fewer language-of-schooling speaking opportunities, higher levels of inhibition in the classroom. In New Zealand, a student-centred learning environment creates some specific advantages for immigrant students — social learning in pairs and groups, and more opportunities to speak with peers in language-of-schooling and L1. How teachers are initially trained therefore reflects these two different pedagogical styles.

Following on from there, Section A discusses several evolutions in teacher training in both countries. What are these positive initiatives for training teachers to work more effectively with immigrant students? What can France and New Zealand learn from each other in this area, and adapt to their own unique context?

Section B gives examples from each country of how teachers are using inclusive practices in their classes. The French examples are gathered from a CASNAV teacher training day in Bordeaux (attended 22/1/2018). The NZ examples are drawn from Victoria University of Wellington's teacher training materials and the tki.org.nz website. These examples illustrate how teachers can use inquiry processes to observe the learning needs of plurilingual students, reflect on strategies to improve student learning, and try out different teaching and learning approaches. Teachers describe the effect on student learning, as well as what they as teachers discovered about differentiating the learning to support a newly-arrived immigrant student in their class.

Section A: How are teachers trained to work with immigrant students in both countries?

Within initial teacher training programmes in both countries, limited attention is given to the needs of immigrant students in the classroom. Once teachers are working in schools, there are numerous and rich options in both countries for developing teaching strategies to help immigrant students succeed in school learning. However further training is optional, and depends on schools recognising that there are numerous strategies a teacher can adopt to support immigrant students, rather than just dismissing the child's difficulties as due to low proficiency in the language-of-schooling.

Some teacher training programmes in France offer excellent language-focused courses that prepare teachers for teaching plurilingual students in local schools. Teacher training programmes in NZ focus on all teachers developing basic proficiency in Te Reo Māori, and other languages (ESOL and foreign languages) as options for teachers who will specialise in language teaching. In both countries therefore, the focus is on local plurilingualism (that is, languages spoken by permanent parts of the population) — while how to include migrant languages in education is not given enough attention.

1. Initial teacher training

Within the 2-year initial teacher training programme in France, the MEEF (*Master de l'enseignement, de l'éducation et de la formation*) programme requires trainee teachers to demonstrate mastery of a foreign language to level B2 of the CEFR as a compulsory component of completing a Masters of Education. Without validation of one of the foreign languages offered by the university, students cannot graduate from the programme and become teachers. This is one effective approach to preparing teachers for working with immigrant students that can be indirectly influential, in that trainee teachers experience a context of L2 teaching and learning in which they experience the role of second language learners themselves. They can also observe effective L2 pedagogy in practice through the modelling of language teachers at INSPE, and adopt strategies for their future teaching practice. It is also possible within these programmes for teacher trainers to directly teach theories and models of L2 teaching and learning, thereby creating direct links between how students are learning and the underlying pedagogical rationale.

In New Zealand, initial teacher training is either a 3-year Bachelor of Education (Teaching) degree for primary school teaching, or a 1-year Graduate Diploma in Teaching (Secondary) for high school teaching. Within these initial teacher training programmes, there are options for teachers who wish to teach languages in schools to train in languages pedagogy (University of Auckland website, teaching languages in schools). To specialise as language teachers at secondary school level, they must also take a course in their chosen language (Chinese, Japanese, French, German, Spanish, Samoan), in which they will already have some level of proficiency. Otherwise, the general teacher training courses do not require trainee teachers to develop their existing plurilingual skills, or to begin learning a foreign language (with the exception of Māori as one of the national languages, which is a compulsory part of teacher training).

For teachers aiming to work as EL teachers with immigrant students in schools, an ESOL qualification (such as CELTA through a training course with a private provider rather than a university; or a TESSOL or Teaching English as an Additional Language (TEAL) qualification from a tertiary institution) is required alongside New Zealand teacher registration. These EL training courses may include content ranging from language learning processes to intercultural communication to understanding migrant cultures in NZ (Massey University website).

In both French and NZ initial teacher training programmes, there are language components. However, a strength of the French MEEF system is that all teachers are required to develop their own second language skills to a high level of proficiency, whereas in the NZ system this is optional — only trainee teachers who

choose to specialise in languages will have a deep experience of both teaching and learning languages. I think it is exactly this experience of learning a language that deepens a teacher's understanding of how newly-arrived immigrant students feel in the classroom, when they have little or no proficiency in the language spoken around them. For this reason, requiring teachers to develop second language skills as part of initial training, and reflect on their language learning processes, is highly valuable.

1.1 Local languages and initial teacher training

Depending on geography, INSPE in linguistically diverse regions of France are also free to design language programmes to cater for the linguistic environment that trainee teachers will be immersed in during teaching practice. For example, the INSPE in Lorraine which borders Belgium, Luxembourg and Germany offers "*une déclinaison interculturelle liée aux besoins linguistiques et culturels locaux*" – an intercultural programme linked to local linguistic and cultural needs. There are teacher training courses in which trainees develop either German or English language skills, as well as pedagogical training in how to teach a foreign language, how to teach FLS to *élèves allophones*, and training on "*l'éveil aux langues*" (awakening to languages) to facilitate language learning for all students (Université de Lorraine website, teacher training programmes). As a further example, in a collaboration between seven universities on both sides of the Pyrenees, l'Eurorégion Nouvelle-Aquitaine Euskadi Navarre launched the project *Eskola Futura* in March 2018, aiming to train teachers to work bilingually in the Basque or Occitan regions (Sud Ouest, 5/3/2018). There is therefore a certain focus on training teachers to work with bilingual students and/or *élèves allophones* during initial teacher training in France, that is also adapted in response to the needs of the school population living in the region.

In terms of specific training for working with newly-arrived immigrant children and their language needs, there is no national requirement to offer courses within the initial training programmes at INSPE that directly address topics such as multicultural classroom teaching, inclusion and integration of immigrant children, or how to help immigrant children attain the language skills needed in specific subject areas. CASNAV does however offer some training on invitation by INSPE for teachers in initial training, being (a) a topic entitled "*élèves à besoins éducatifs particuliers*" for Masters of Education students, and (b) a teaching session in "*FLE/FLS du CAPES de Lettres*". The choice therefore rests with individual INSPE around the country as to whether targeted training to prepare teachers for working with immigrant children is included within initial teacher training programmes.

In New Zealand, all teachers develop basic Te Reo Māori language proficiency during initial teacher training, as well as English language competency. Alongside teacher development in Te Reo Māori, initial training courses, such as that offered by Wellington Faculty of Education, work from a commitment to Te Tiriti o Waitangi and immersion in Māori worldviews and *mātauranga* (deep knowledge). In this way, becoming a teacher in NZ means engaging authentically with Māori language and culture, and seeing oneself as part of a bicultural nation in an increasingly multicultural social context:

"Graduates work from a commitment to Te Tiriti o Waitangi, and social, cultural and ecological justice, to enable learners to transform their complex, diverse and changing worlds. To support [the Te Waharoa] vision, initial teacher education programmes ... foster tangata whenua and tangata Tiriti identities and aspirations, including those of Pacific and migrant communities (tangatarua)."

(Victoria University of Wellington, Faculty of Education vision statement)

In both countries therefore, local languages (regional or indigenous) occupy a culturally significant place in teacher training programmes. The importance of maintaining and regenerating these languages and cultures through education of teachers is clearly recognised.

1.2 In-service teacher training

In-service training for teachers already working with immigrant students is another area of crucial professional development that shows strengths and weaknesses in how it is organised and delivered in both France and New Zealand. In France, in-service training is offered by CASNAV in two forms:

1. Fixed date formations for new teachers (*1er et 2nd degrés*) on the reception, schooling and pedagogical support of newly arrived immigrant students and children from traveller families, and

2. On-site visits to schools for teacher training days, participation in teachers' meetings, or visits to advise schools on other matters concerning immigrant students. The training and support is made accessible to schools throughout France, and it is a matter of teachers and/or school leaders requesting a visit from CASNAV trainers to support pedagogical and pastoral work with immigrant students. An example of a CASNAV training day observed in a Bordeaux *collège* is presented later in this chapter. The option of in-service training therefore exists, but in the absence of a requirement for ongoing professional development of teachers in France, the training is optional and dependent on the educational goals of individual schools and the ability of teachers and school leaders to mobilise such training opportunities.

In New Zealand, teachers are required to undertake ongoing professional development throughout their career, which can be formal or informal but generally takes place within schools at fixed times in the school timetable. The NZ Education Council requires teachers to engage in certain areas of development, specifically *Tātaiako* (cultural competencies for teachers of Māori learners), and developing knowledge around the ethical use of social mediators (Education Council website). Teachers are appraised annually on performance – qualitatively rather than quantitatively – and hours of professional development form part of this appraisal system. Again, professional development specifically for teachers working with immigrant students is optional, and can be sought either by external providers such as ISANA (who offer sessions “on topics such as intercultural communication, cultural diversity, internationalisation, international student advising and an induction for staff new to international education” (ISANAZ website)) or by EL teachers within the school. Universities in both countries also offer (paid) short courses for teachers on inclusive education topics, culturally responsive teaching ideas, and working with non-language-of-schooling students (Kohia, University of Auckland).

In comparison, both countries offer diverse opportunities for teachers to build professional competence in working with immigrant students. In France, there are wider networks and a large community of researchers in the field of education for migrant children, that extends across Europe. Associations such as ADEB (*Association pour le Développement de l'Enseignement Bi/plurilingue*), for example, organise international conferences that bring together researchers and teachers to present, workshop and discuss a wide range of topics related to the education of migrant children (ADEB symposium attended at INALCO, Paris, 2019). In NZ the context is more localised, with the non-profit organisation TESOLANZ (Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages in Aotearoa New Zealand) providing a professional community for EL teachers, workshops on pedagogy and assessment, publications and resources.

2. Evolutions in teacher training

There are recent conceptual evolutions in both France and NZ in teacher training and resources available to teachers who seek on-going professional development in their work with immigrant students. Here, I have picked out 3 positive initiatives in French education that show strong potential for improving teacher training:

1. The idea of “a language consciousness” (France) (Young and Hélot, 2003; Cherqui and Peutot, 2015)
2. CARAP (*Cadre de référence pour les approches plurielles des langues et des cultures*) approaches for teachers working with the plurilingual competences of their students (France)
3. Reflection on my experience in teacher training at Université Lyon 1 as an English *lectrice* (2015-2017)

2.1 A language consciousness

The concept of “a language consciousness” asks teachers to activate a working consciousness of the invisible linguistic and cultural competences of our students, in the way that we organise classroom tasks. In designing a learning task, teachers include a language dimension which aims to enrich the linguistic experience of all students (Young and Hélot, 2003). The learning objectives of the task remain subject-specific – for example, drawing a geological map of the local area – and the mode of interaction in the classroom is made language-rich by the teacher's organisation of discussion, group work, learning terminology, understanding concepts, etc. The aim is to increase accessibility of the content for plurilingual students, while at the same time sharing and enhancing language knowledge amongst students. Some examples of how a language consciousness is conceptualised are (Cherqui and Peutot, 2015):

- a) Several languages can be present in a given teaching and learning situation, even if not everyone speaks those languages.
- b) One language is not learned in isolation of the child's existing knowledge of language(s).
- c) According to 30 years of research on languages and learning, existing languages learnt provide a support structure which makes learning other languages easier.
- d) A language-rich environment in schools offers a more realistic reflection of, and linguistic preparation for, what students will meet in Europe today.

The premise is therefore to encourage students to use their existing language knowledge as a cognitive and social structure for further learning. In this way, the child connects new learning with existing knowledge through the medium of language(s). A further premise of a language consciousness approach in the classroom is that it is okay if not everyone understands or speaks all of the languages present in the learning environment. This suggests that the presence of languages in the classroom serves multiple learning purposes other than simply communication. These purposes could include, at a sensory level, an oral habituation towards phonic variation across languages, an increasing familiarity with the various structures and intonations of languages, and a simple enjoyment of the sounds and musicality of languages. At an interpersonal level, these purposes could include a fuller recognition of others as linguistic and cultural experts in their own right, understanding that one's own language is just one of many in the world, seeing that even the teacher is sometimes the learner, and that constellations of social relationships and expertise are interchangeable depending on how the learning environment is structured.

Hélot's research on language diversity in French schools spans twenty years, and argues for initial teacher training in "language and cultural awareness". While education policies since 2002 began to express broad support for inclusion of languages and cultures in French schools, this remains vague in terms of training teachers in "how to" put this into practice in their classrooms. In this view, there are multiple benefits to be reaped for all children (as well as bilingual and minority language children) from learning that languages and cultures are "a complex parallel world" with possible links to France and themselves (Young and Hélot, 2003, p.243). As such, including "language and cultural awareness" in teacher training programmes could bridge education policy and teaching practice, in the following way:

"Language and cultural awareness can help fill this gap, functioning in a complementary manner to language learning, giving equal value and recognition to all languages and cultures irrespective of their status and benefiting all children by fostering a curiosity and motivation to learn about the wealth of languages and cultures present in the world." (Young and Hélot, 2003, p.244)

The potential of language awareness is significant, as it goes beyond inclusion of languages for the sake of minority language children into the territory of raising awareness of, and interest in, languages and cultures as connected with all of us. This is the idea of *"a more integrated and ecological approach to language education"* which is also based on principles of social justice (Hélot et al (eds.), 2018, p.1).

2.2 CARAP approaches to working with pluralities of languages and cultures

The *Cadre de référence pour les approches plurielles des langues et des cultures (CARAP)* is a document produced by the Council of Europe, that aims to help teachers in developing creative ways of working with plurilingual and intercultural teaching methods in schools — for the benefit of all students, not just immigrant students. This is an important point of difference, particularly in the French educational context where the principles of *égalité* and *laïcité* aim to construct an equitable learning environment where all students are treated equally, with however one pervasive effect being the linguistic and cultural exclusion of minority language groups. The idea that plurilingual and intercultural education is relevant to all students, and that the benefits are multiple and potentially construct far-reaching social cohesion, suggests a positive shift in educational philosophy. That is, that meeting the immediate needs of plurilingual students in schools through teaching methods that include all students and foster intercultural understanding, may translate into long-term social cohesion with the potential for more equitable representation of the diverse cultural groups that make up French society.

The CARAP project centres around teacher training, guidance, and providing resources for teachers — particularly with a view to professional self-development in plurilingual and intercultural teaching and

learning. In English, CARAP is termed The Framework of Reference for Pluralistic Approaches to Languages and Cultures (FREPA), and is linked to the CEFR (Common European Framework of Reference for Languages) in defining and exemplifying standards for pluralistic approaches. It is the recent development of CARAP/FREPA which is of particular interest, as the document forms part of a progressive movement in language education towards teacher training for plurilingual and intercultural methodologies that has grown out of the past 30 years of research in the European context, and with it a deepening understanding of the beneficial effects of language inclusion on students.

According to the CARAP website, language teaching methodology has seen the emergence of four pluralistic approaches over the past thirty years:

- awakening to languages
- inter-comprehension between related languages
- intercultural approach
- integrated didactic approach to different languages studied

Each of these approaches is summarised and teaching ideas and resources are made available to teachers on the website. The accessibility and autonomy for teachers is a plus, as CARAP is not a fixed training programme or a change to school curriculum, but a pool of resources that are readily available, linked to the CEFR, that allow teachers working within education systems the creative initiative that is the life blood of a living teaching practice.

An overview of each of the four approaches CARAP follows, linking theory and teaching practice with the learning experiences of immigrant students.

(i) **Awakening to languages** (*eveil aux langues*) is the exposure of students from a young age to the experience of languages and linguistic diversity. It includes all languages — the language(s) of education, national and regional languages, foreign languages. The idea is for students to experience the concept of languages broadly, through aural and visual language contact. In other words, teachers create a language-rich environment for students to awaken to a global experience of languages. In France, the term *eveil aux langues* (awakening to languages) appears in the languages curriculum as a stand-alone term, rather than in conjunction with other global plurilingual and intercultural practices. It is a recent addition to the national curriculum since 2012, and represents a national initiative to move towards language inclusiveness at an educational policy level.

At the research level in France, the initiatives are mostly academic and include field work in schools that seeks to understand perceptions of plurilingualism at school, teaching practices in multicultural contexts, and young migrant children and communication (Candelier, 2016). In teacher training initiatives in France, there are an increasing number of regional initiatives for teachers seeking to use Awakening to Languages methods; for example, an in-service teacher training online called “M@gistère” comprises six courses dealing with inclusive education/plurilingualism that have been elaborated by regional teams. In summary, the situation in France with “awakening to languages” approaches reflects a general trend in language education towards accepting language diversity. The national curriculum and national teacher training programmes have not yet fully embraced plurilingual approaches in education, but France is certainly taking steps in recent years to participate in a Europe-wide movement towards language inclusiveness.

(ii) **Intercomprehension between related languages** involves students working in parallel on two (or more) languages that share similarities, with the objective of deepening knowledge of either the students’ first language or the language of schooling. In France during the late 1990s there was innovative work involving university students using the intercomprehension approach, and the approach continues to be studied within the context of teacher training for plurilingual and intercultural education (*colloque “intercompréhension”*, attended 23/6/2012). However the approach has never been widely employed in schools, as it represents an investment of time with an uncertain return in learning outcomes for students.

(iii) **The intercultural approach** is an established mainstay in education globally, that is well-known for its accessibility and applicability across a wide range of curriculum areas — from languages to music to history to geography, etc. The aim of the intercultural approach is for all students to have contact and interact with different cultures, in order to develop intercultural knowledge and understanding. The many

variants of intercultural education rely on selecting phenomena from one or more cultural areas, and correlating similarities and differences between the same phenomena across cultures.

- (iv) **Integrated didactic approaches** are about helping students to establish connections between the different languages studied in school. The principle is to create a framework of mutual support in the learning of languages, so that prior learning is capitalised on to benefit new learning: that is, first language knowledge supports the learning of foreign language(s). The integrated didactic approach was advocated for as early as the beginning of the 1980s in the work of E. Roulet (CARAP website). In France, the approach could be described as “is in current use” but neither widely nor consistently. However, the approach could be highly suitable for supporting the learning of English and German as foreign languages that share significant similarities with French in vocabulary and/or syntax (Université de Rennes website).

We can see from a brief look at these four approaches in CARAP and their application within the French educational context that pluralistic approaches to languages and cultures in France remain peripheral to both policy and practice in schools. The national contact for CARAP in France, Marie-Odile Maire Sandoz (ENS de Lyon, IFE Institut français de l'éducation), describes a disparity between France's early formative role in developing these plural approaches to language education in the 1980s, particularly in teacher training materials through the Council of Europe and research projects in the universities of Grenoble and Provence, and the fact that the principles remain little known amongst educational policy makers and educational professionals today (CARAP website).

Currently in French educational policy documents, the principles of respect for language diversity, openness towards other cultures, and early bilingual education remain aspirational in education policy. Educational policy is yet to fully embrace plurilingual and intercultural education and the pedagogical approaches recommended in Council of Europe, CEFR and CARAP documents. Sandoz cites two main reasons why French policy remains resistant towards this change:

- (1) a partitioning or compartmentalisation of the various disciplines in education that does not lend itself towards the transversality of plurilingual approaches; and
- (2) an entrenched monolingual view of the role of the language of schooling, that creates a tension for educational professionals between the recognition of diversity and difference, and staying with the French model of FLS teaching practices that exclude language diversity (CARAP website).

We are seeing however, that in terms of teacher training, initiatives such as CARAP serve as a professional development resource for teachers which can be accessed both within the framework of ongoing teacher training mobilised by school leaders, or through the teacher's own initiative. Therefore, teachers who are working in culturally and linguistically diverse classes and see the need for pluralistic teaching and learning approaches are free, in principle, to go online and try these methods in their classrooms. Does this represent a new mode for teacher training that is finding a place outside of, or alongside, the formal avenues of teacher training in French universities? Is there perhaps even a subversive element to this form of teacher training, as the Council of Europe seeks to diffuse teacher training methods that stem from sound research findings in language education that have not yet found a place in national education policies in France?

The CARAP website demonstrates that the representative groups with an interest in supporting the pluralistic approaches in teaching promoted by CARAP are governmental, associative, parental and academic. We are therefore witnessing a gathering momentum towards plurilingual and intercultural teaching approaches, that is seeking to move the ideas closer to the national educational arena, and ideally eventually into national educational policy change. It will be very interesting indeed to watch this change happening over the next 2-3 years, and to see to what degree the Council of Europe work through CARAP is able to influence French educational policy for plurilingual and intercultural teacher training, and consequently teaching and learning in schools.

2.3 My experience as a *lectrice* at ESPE, Université Lyon 1, 2015-2017

All teachers in France, from early childhood through to high school, are required to have a Masters degree in Education, which involves two years of study at an ESPE (now called INSPE *Institut national supérieur du professorat et de l'éducation*), a teacher training institution that is partially integrated into the university

system. In France, teacher training is seen as a separate branch of the study of education to that which takes place in universities, and forms part of the practical knowledge tradition in Education Studies, rather than the academic knowledge tradition (Malet, 2019).

There is a long-standing tradition in France of generating centralised state knowledge as a means of informing and legitimising education policies, rather than referencing academic research on education and the international perspective that potentially opens up through university-based research (Malet, 2019, p.69). While there is an interactive role played between educational researchers and the state, it is the state that retains control over the development and direction of education policies. In the state arena, there are three bodies in France that play a major role here, being:

- (1) *Institut français d'éducation* (IFE), which is an independent national research institute situated within ENS de Lyon, that carries out research into education in France at all levels from pre-school to ongoing teacher training (ENS Lyon website, see for example research by Cohen on bilingual children in France);
- (2) the general inspectorate of education, who administers inspections and evaluations of school and teacher performance, and issues directives to local educational authorities; and
- (3) the Ministry of Education's evaluation department, which collects and analyses data on the effects of specific state policies on the education system.

These bodies perform the role of informing, evaluating and reporting on the outcomes of state policies in education, and therefore form a reference cohort for governmental decisions in policy direction.

In terms of teacher training, therefore, the practical tradition of education and teacher training takes place within the INSPE institutions, which provide primary and secondary teacher education in conjunction with local universities, and with local schools and communities. Trainee teachers attend on-campus courses in a range of education-related subjects, and spend several weeks in schools on teaching practicum as part of the 2-year training. Some trainee teachers may already be working in schools and doing their teacher training alongside, and some may be working in other professional areas outside of education and training in classes organised in early evening hours.

During the two years I taught at ESPE in Lyon as an English *lectrice*, several aspects of how teacher training is designed and delivered stood out as of interest to this research project, particularly in relation to the positioning of plurilingualism (both of teachers and students), and training teachers for working with immigrant students.

2.3.1 Plurilingualism and teacher training

Teachers who train in France must demonstrate competence in a foreign language to a level of independent mastery in accordance with CEFR levels of language proficiency. That is, level B1 in the first year of Masters study, and level B2 in the second year. This means that the study of a foreign language during teacher training is compulsory, and that without the required level of proficiency the Masters degree is not awarded. Therefore, the importance placed on the plurilingualism of the teacher is, at a policy level, given high priority. However, the foreign language options available to students at ESPE are limited to the European languages taught in schools — that is, English, German, Spanish and Italian. Trainee teachers do not have the option to demonstrate their existing plurilingual competence in languages other than the languages formally offered, or to have their plurilingualism recognised and accredited in their teacher training programme. So while a not insignificant number of ESPE students come from immigrant backgrounds themselves, and are fluent speakers of Arabic, African languages or a language other than the languages offered in the training course, their existing plurilingual repertoire and cultural knowledge is excluded from their professional profile and academic record.

This amounts to an omission in educational policy and practice in two fundamentally important areas. Firstly, that teachers who are already plurilingual, as speakers of Arabic or African languages as well as French, represent an invaluable resource in schools as inspiring models for children from immigrant backgrounds, as a rich cultural and linguistic resource within schools in liaising between immigrant families and schools, and as advocates for normalising linguistic and cultural diversity within school communities and the teaching profession.

Secondly, the limited range of foreign languages available to students during their teacher training reflects an attitude towards languages in educational policy that remains focused on a small number of languages as “useful and relevant” in the education of French children. Is there an opportunity missed here for an authentic approach to plurilingualism that values linguistic diversity amongst teachers, and acknowledges the personal qualities and interpersonal capacities that bilingual teachers bring to their teaching life?

2.3.2 Training teachers for working with immigrant students

Within this ESPE teacher training programme at that time, there was no specialised training for teaching French as a foreign language to immigrant students, nor for pedagogical strategies for integrating immigrant children into mainstream classes. The principle of *égalité* as a dominant feature of how education is conceived of and delivered in French schools tends to avoid addressing questions of diversity, and how diversity may present both opportunities and challenges for teachers. The tradition of whole class teaching approaches, in which the teacher presents an activity to the whole class and students then work individually to achieve the set task, is still the accepted norm in teacher training, and in standard classroom practice in the French education system.

Where there is scope for training teachers in working with immigrant students and with the diversity of languages and cultures, is in the foreign language classes. Here, the courses are often designed and delivered by foreign teachers who have been trained overseas, and have experience of teaching in contexts outside of the French education system. At ESPE, the role of *lecteur/lectrice d’anglais* works on a one-year contract system, renewable for a further year. This means that every one to two years, a native English speaker is employed to teach English classes within the teacher training programme, with the possibility of designing and delivering entirely new courses, bringing diverse teaching approaches from their own educational background, and offering a particular cultural perspective that is likely to reflect an education in the Anglophone world. The potential for inclusion of themes opening into global issues and/or alternative perspectives on the roles and objectives of education, is therefore higher with this regular movement of immigrant teachers through the ESPE system.

During the two years that I taught English in this role at ESPE within the Université Claude-Bernard Lyon 1 (2015-2017), I had the freedom to design new courses for Masters 1 and 2 classes around themes related to education. Drawing on my interest in multicultural education and 20 years’ experience as a high school teacher in New Zealand and Asia, the themes I developed included “multicultural classrooms, designing inclusive lessons, teen development and changing identity, comparing education systems, diversity in the classroom, bilingual schools, alternative philosophies in early childhood education, and UNESCO’s Education For All (EFA)”. Students were evaluated on tasks related to these themes, including a group presentation in which they designed a teaching and learning project for a class of multicultural students, elaborated three learning activities specifically for immigrant students and inclusion in the mainstream, and explained the pedagogical rationale for each learning task. The English courses therefore sought to combine global issues such as immigration and increasingly diverse populations, with the practical task of teaching plurilingual and multicultural students, so that new teachers could reflect on the issues and develop their own ideas and teaching approaches for their immigrant students. These new courses were shared with other English teachers at ESPE, leaving the possibility for teachers to add further resources and adapt materials to their own teaching style.

While at the time I was simply involved in the creative task of designing materials and topics relevant to the situation of new teachers who were preparing to teach in French schools with diverse populations of local and immigrant students in their classes, in hindsight I am delighted that the trainee teachers who came through these courses were able to touch on these themes of inclusion and multiculturalism, as these may not appear in other areas of their formal training. Furthermore, the fact that these new courses for M1 and M2 MEEF English remain accessible to other English teachers at ESPE Lyon, and that other teachers continue to teach these courses, means that the flow-on effect for trainee teachers and the immigrant students they will teach in the future is potentially positive.

This recount of teacher training within an ESPE in France highlights both areas of strength and weakness in the ESPE approach to initial teacher training, in terms of preparing teachers for working with immigrant students in schools. Firstly, there is no set requirement in the ESPE teacher training curriculum to address how teachers can adapt to the growing diversity of the student population in France, nor are specific pedagogical approaches taught for the integration of immigrant students, and in the current

political context of immigration and its surrounding debate, this is certainly an area that stands out as a priority in teacher education.

On the other hand, the openness and flexibility of the English and other foreign languages programmes allows plenty of scope for incoming teachers to insert themes that they see as relevant to the multicultural nature of education today, and for new courses to be developed that include the learning needs of immigrant students, strategies for cultivating educational success, theories and philosophies of inclusion and plurilingualism, and so on. The strength of this receptivity to fresh ideas and approaches brought by foreign language teachers is that there is the potential for constant renewal of course content and delivery, depending on the interests and experiences of incoming teachers. However, a weakness is that this approach depends wholly on the individual teacher, and there is little monitoring and guidance of course design, themes and content, outside of assuring the evaluation target levels of B1 and B2 respectively, and an agreement that all English teachers would assess students' speaking skills in a group project and presentation on E-Twinning. This means that it amounts to a "hit-and-miss" approach to the design and delivery of these courses, as to whether or not themes addressing the teaching and learning of immigrant students may be included.

We can conclude that it is not therefore seen as a priority in teacher education that pedagogy for fostering plurilingualism is taught, and nor is the integration of immigrant students specifically addressed within the 2-year general teacher education programmes delivered through ESPE. This raises the question, do these areas remain perceived of as the exclusive domain and responsibility of UPE2A teachers? And if so, how does teacher training for UPE2A teachers deal with these important questions of integration of immigrant children and inclusion of their plurilingualism as a platform for improving educational success? These questions remain to be explored in future research.

Section A conclusion

In conclusion to Section A, the question of how teachers are being trained to work with immigrant students in France and Aotearoa New Zealand was explored. How languages are treated within initial teacher training programmes seems important. This is seen in two areas: (1) requirements for trainee teachers to learn a second language during the initial training period, and (2) the place of local or indigenous language(s) in teacher training. I find that in the French system, it is very positive that the Education Masters includes compulsory development of a second language to a B2 (CEFR) level of proficiency. By contrast, in the NZ system the Education courses only require teachers to develop a basic proficiency in Te Reo Māori, thereby missing an opportunity to encourage strong multilingualism amongst the English-speaking majority. This difference is a reflection of geographical realities – continental France shares borders with European neighbours who speak other languages, or English as a lingua franca; whereas the island nation of New Zealand receives speakers of foreign languages into a dominantly English-speaking society, and therefore the demand to learn other languages is minimal. There has been more encouragement in recent years for all New Zealanders to learn Māori beyond a token few words, as it is an indigenous language only spoken in Aotearoa New Zealand, and a national treasure. The debate around making Te Reo Māori a compulsory second language in primary schools is ongoing.

In both countries, an evolution in teacher training initiatives for working with immigrant students and their languages is in evidence. In this Section A, three positive initiatives currently available in French teacher training were discussed:

- (1) "a language consciousness" encourages students to use their existing language knowledge as a cognitive and social structure for further learning (Young and Hélot, 2003; Hélot et al, 2018; Cherqui & Peutot, 2015);
- (2) the CARAP website makes resources available for teachers working with the plurilingual competences of their students, in a "help yourself" approach to ongoing teacher training; and
- (3) I reflect on the benefits of ESPE employing foreign language teachers, who potentially bring an international perspective to teacher training in the French context.

The question for teacher training in France, is how to bring these rich approaches for teaching in language diverse contexts into training programmes and teaching practice, while remaining aligned with pedagogical

norms and traditions of the French education system. As concluded by Feurnent and Simon (2009) in their study of how teachers in French schools work with language diversity:

“Sans vouloir forcément en faire un « outil pédagogique » au sens où l'on entend habituellement ce terme, la vraie question nous semble celle de savoir comment enrichir le profil personnel et professionnel de chaque enseignant, en formation initiale et continue, pour qu'il prenne le risque au quotidien, dans sa classe, de guider ses élèves dans leur négociation perceptive de l'altérité.” (p69)

One obstacle to implementing these types of initiatives more widely in schools is the entrenched monolingual view of the role of the language-of-schooling. This creates a tension for educational professionals between the recognition of diversity and difference, and staying with the French model of FLS teaching practices that exclude language diversity. The same could be said of New Zealand's view of English as the predominant language-of-schooling. However, as discussed in Chapter 6 on Language Inclusiveness, and as I will further explore in Section B, there is more fertile ground created in NZ education for including cultural and linguistic diversity thanks to the revitalisation movement of *te reo* and *tikanga* in the education domain.

Finally, several questions arise from this comparison of just a few aspects of teacher training in France and Aotearoa New Zealand, that lead into Section B. In education, who should be thinking about inclusive language pedagogies and integration processes for immigrant students? Is this still the exclusive domain and responsibility of language-of-schooling teachers (UPE2A and EL)? If so, how does teacher training for language-of-schooling teachers deal with these important questions of plurilingual learning as a platform for improving educational success? And if not, how can teacher training institutions ensure within their programmes that this kind of training reaches all teachers?

Section B: How are teachers using inquiry processes to observe the learning needs of immigrant students?

In Section B, examples of teachers using inquiry processes to identify the learning needs of their immigrant students are given. In a French school, I participated in a CASNAV teacher training day in 2018, where 13 teachers described the challenges and successes they were having with newly-arrived plurilingual students. The forum with CASNAV allowed them to identify a range of effective pedagogies that they were already using, or could use in the future. In the NZ context, examples of teachers using the “inquiry model” in classrooms are shared on tki.org.nz. In addition, teacher training resources in “differentiated learning” were shared by colleagues Carolyn Tait and Bronwyn Wood at the Faculty of Education, Victoria University of Wellington, and examples are drawn from these, with their permission.

1. Example from France: CASNAV

CASNAV (*Le Centre Académique pour la Scolarisation des Nouveaux Arrivants et des Voyageurs*) organises and supports schooling for two groups of children in France: EANA (*élèves allophones nouvellement arrivés*) and EFIV (*enfants issus de familles itinérantes et de voyageurs*). EANA are plurilingual children who have just arrived in France, while EFIV are children who come from traveller families (eg, Roma) or homeless families.

CASNAV is an expert body linked to the national Rectorate of Education and academic directors, that operates within a collaborative framework of national and local actors in the education of immigrant, traveller and homeless children. As such, CASNAV plays a key role in the organisation of schooling for migrant children through the organisation of schooling, teaching resources and teacher training. The educational priorities defined for CASNAV's mission in this role are two-fold:

- (1) to assist in the child's mastery of the French language, and
- (2) to assist the child's school learning and academic achievement, in line with the principle of access for all to a common base of knowledge and skills that facilitate achievement of all students, and the harmonious pursuit of schooling.

This area of education references UNESCO's Education For All (EFA) principles and goals. That is, creating equitable opportunities for all children to access quality education, and particularly to support the learning of disadvantaged and minority groups.

1.1 CASNAV's 3 areas of activity

CASNAV's roles and responsibilities are defined in 6 circulars (three national and three academic) relating to 3 key areas of activity: organising schooling for immigrant children at a national level; working with schools and families to facilitate the child's integration; and supporting language learning (French + home language maintenance).

- (1) National network: CASNAV is the central liaison point between all actors with an interest in the education of plurilingual children in France. In this capacity, CASNAV fulfils a range of functions including gathering data on the conditions of schooling for migrant students, working closely with senior management in education and statistics services, sharing information that will develop and implement educational policies and strategies for the inclusion of migrant students, acting as a point of reference for all questions relating to the education of migrant students, and collaborating with national education partners at all levels to identify cases of non-schooling and work on solutions.

CASNAV is also able to act as an advocate for the education of migrant children and a representative for the Rectorate by liaising with actors working on the integration of immigrant families, being Pripri (a regional programme for integration of immigrant populations), PDI (sub-bodies of Pripri, and various committees dealing with accommodation for traveller families). And also as a liaison with pedagogical bodies such as DELF (training of teachers in FLE); Eduscol, Scérén-CNDP, Ville-Ecole-Intégration (all three of whom are working on resolving common issues in the schooling of migrant students); university researchers, and others. CASNAV issues an annual report measuring its effectiveness in supporting the education of migrant children through evaluation, liaison, teacher training and resource diffusion. (*Circulaire nationale sur l'organisation des CASNAV 2012*)

- (2) School integration: schools are guided by a set of protocols for the integration of immigrant children newly arrived in France into schools. In France, education is compulsory between the ages of 6 to 16, and most children begin pre-school education from the age of 3. CASNAV states that schools should be sites of linguistic, cultural and educational richness, in which immigrant children and their families feel welcomed and can find their place. In achieving this, schools should meet with individual families to make sure that parents understand the French schooling system, and their legal rights and responsibilities. A 6-page bilingual French-English booklet titled "Bienvenue/Welcome" has been designed to give parents basic introductory information (Eduscol website). It is also available in 11 other languages: Albanian, German, Arabic, Chinese, Spanish, Turkish, Tamil, Russian, Romanian, Romani and Portuguese. The booklet sets out the structure of schooling in France, and gives parents guidance on how to help their child successfully integrate into school life. (*Circulaire nationale sur la scolarisation des EANA 2015, example of Aquitaine region*)

- (3) French and home languages: The learning of French as a priority is explained in the following way:

"Being able to speak French is necessary because French is the language of the Republic. At school, it is in French that your child will learn to speak, read, write and count. However, it is important for him/her to keep on using his/her native language... All adults at school will help your child to learn French. In primary and secondary schools, your child will be enrolled in an ordinary class and will receive special lessons in French with new comers from his/her class and from other classes, for a few hours a week. You can also help your child to learn faster the French language by involving him/her in sporting, cultural or social activities in your area. A good level of French is absolutely essential for your child to succeed at school, to complete his/her training, build his/her future career and to succeed in society." (Eduscol, Bienvenue, pp.1-2)

So the plurilingual identity of the child is acknowledged, while clearly identifying the role of the school in developing the child's French language skills, rather than maintaining the child's plurilingual skills.

The teaching and learning of French as the language-of-schooling is described in detail in three companion documents to the circular: *Dix idées reçues sur l'apprentissage de la langue française; Dix considérations préliminaires sur l'enseignement du français et en français comme langue seconde; Le professeur dans sa classe, attitudes et connaissances.*

(*Circulaire nationale sur la scolarisation des EFIV / Circulaire académique : scolarisation des EANA / Circulaire académique : scolarisation des EFIV*)

The national benchmark is set high for immigrant students, particularly those who arrive with no French language comprehension and little prior schooling, as the goal is to complete Cycle 3 of their schooling (representing up to 9 years in the education system, if the child has attended early childhood education). Cycle 3 consolidates the child's education from their primary schooling and prepares them for a full transition into *collège*, with an examination in the first year of *collège* schooling. Since the education decree of 6th September 1990, related to the education reform law of 1989, schooling in France is organised around cycles of three years, with the child's achievement of national learning objectives being evaluated at the end of these three year cycles (Eduscol website).

1.2 Teacher training day with CASNAV, 22/01/2018 @ Collège B., Bordeaux

I observed a CASNAV in-service teacher training day on 22/01/2018, at "Collège B." in Bordeaux, attended by 13 staff members. Teachers shared their observations of newly-arrived immigrant students in their classes, and ways in which they are working with inclusive pedagogy to help these students integrate and succeed in their subject area. These teacher recounts from a French school provide examples of how teachers are using "a range of pedagogical strategies" to improve learning for immigrant students.

Collège B. is a multicultural, inner-city public school with a roll of 255 students in 2018, and an average class size of 17-24 students depending on year level. There are currently 42 immigrant students enrolled at the school, one-quarter of whom are Roma with irregular attendance. This year, according to the FLS teachers, there are several Roma children who are attending more regularly. Another priority group within the immigrant student body are three students who are unaccompanied minors. A further group are ENSA (*élèves non scolarisés antérieurement*), who are students with little or no prior schooling in their home country.

According to CASNAV, within the department of Gironde, the number of immigrant students in secondary education has increased from 417 during the 2016-2017 school year to 389 during the first semester of 2018 alone. The largest increase is in the number of unaccompanied minors arriving (up from 18% in 2017 to 20% already during the first semester of 2018).

The workshop training goals identified two key areas of pedagogy: (1) to understand and define the learning needs and learning objectives for ENSA; and (2) to discuss inclusive teaching and learning methods for developing reading skills in French for immigrant students.

1.2.1 Profiles of EA students (*élèves allophones*)

At this *collège*, teachers generally have two EA (*élèves allophones*) in each class, and sometimes up to four. This includes students who arrived with little or no French language, and have now developed sufficient mastery of French to be fully mainstreamed. Some of these students also arrived with little schooling from their home country, which is ongoing work for teachers in terms of providing a framework for academic success for these students.

Table 7: CASNAV recommendations for learning needs of EA students (teacher training day 22/1/2018)

EA profile	Teacher observation	CASNAV recommendation
<p><u>Gaps in prior schooling</u></p> <p>The school has several newly arrived immigrant students this year, including some from Syria who have experienced war, and one from Algeria who has never been to school.</p>	<p>Some immigrant students arrive with gaps in prior schooling and low literacy in their first language as a result. This makes learning the language-of-schooling and a new writing system very difficult.</p>	<p>Some students have a form of non-scolarisation that stems from an inter-generational lack of schooling. These are children who have a little schooling, but their parents have had no schooling. The child may have some “<i>codes scolaires</i>”, or basic concepts around participating in structured schooling, but is not well integrated.</p> <p>According to CASNAV, it is rare in France to encounter students who have no prior schooling at all. During the past five years in Bordeaux, out of 73 students enrolled in UPE2A-nsa classes, only 5 students have never been in any formal education system previously. For these students however, simple things like knowing how to use a glue-stick and manipulate other school materials are not self-evident and need to be learned.</p>
<p><u>Low literacy in L1</u></p> <p>Some of the Bulgarian students have low levels of literacy in their first language.</p>	<p>The teachers speak of general difficulties in organising the schooling of students from Bulgaria, who tend to demonstrate lower levels of literacy and less evidence of prior schooling than students from other countries.</p> <p>The question is raised whether low literacy can be an indicator of a learning disability, as in the case of a Bulgarian student who can barely write his own name and has a handicapped brother who is not progressing at all in his schooling.</p>	<p>CASNAV responded that in Bulgaria there are two linguistic communities - Bulgare and Turkophone - who are not necessarily bilingual Bulgarian-Turkish. A characteristic of students who are schooled in Bulgaria is that they often arrive in France with relatively low levels of literacy in their first language, and little or no second language knowledge.</p> <p>While Bulgarian students may have been schooled in their home country, the quality of schooling can differ enormously, partly due to cultural and linguistic affiliation and subsequent access to quality national education.</p> <p>There are typically three categories of Bulgarian students in the French education system: those from middle-class Catholic family backgrounds who speak Bulgarian and have prior schooling, those from Roma families who speak Roma and Bulgarian but usually have little formal education, and those who are speakers of Turkish. Therefore, there is a kind of linguistic triad in Bulgaria that is not necessarily overlapping or indicative of plurilingualism and interculturalism, but rather representative of three distinct linguistic and cultural communities.</p>

CASNAV identify three categories of difficulty encountered by ENSA students in their schooling.

1. *The rituals, habits and methods of schooling*

The way that schooling continues to be organised in classrooms, with the teacher as leader, and particular requirements and expectations for how children will learn and behave in the school setting, creates a very specific and controlled environment. For ENSA students who have never been confined to a classroom and are suddenly asked to sit on a chair for 6 hours per day, it can be experienced as a form of psychological violence, an impossibility for the child to endure. The organisation of materials, such as the notebooks typically used in French schools that are densely squared so that children learn to form writing using spatial awareness, can represent an overwhelming amount of visual distraction on the page. CASNAV suggests that teachers can give ENSA students small physical tasks to do in the classroom, and that it is important to de-dramatise the child's experiences for them, as well as encouraging and explaining how things work.

The Art teacher finds it easier to integrate EA students into art groups, as it's not like sports where there are many rules for each game, nor is it a subject with a lot of language that students need to master. She says that successful integration depends on how willing students are to express themselves artistically, and gave an example of a student who last year was quite isolated, and this year has become more included through showing his artistic skills and becoming recognised by other students.

The balance between assisting the child to take small steps towards understanding rules and the risk of the child feeling babied is a delicate one. One teacher recounted a story of a student basketball game during which a Bulgarian girl didn't understand that to have the ball passed to her she needed to position herself to receive it. The teacher showed her this by moving with her around the court and asking other students to throw her the ball. While the girl seemed happy to catch the ball and learn the rule of the game, afterwards she said to the teacher, "*Madame, pas dit 'Ivanka, Ivanka', tout le temps!*" ("Miss, don't say, 'Ivanka, Ivanka', all the time!"). The teacher understood that the girl didn't want to be singled out as needing help so often. The fact that the girl was able to communicate this and that the teacher was receptive to the message took the mutual learning beyond skills-learning towards a two-way process of integration.

2. *Academic skills*

ENSA students may be lacking in academic skills that are considered fundamental in French schools — for example, maths concepts such as geometry that are not taught in some countries. In other instances, it may be that the concepts have been taught but within a different framework of knowledge. So the child may have a different visual representation for doing long division for example, and will need to transfer their existing knowledge into the French framework in order to understand. Teachers can also create learning situations wherein ENSA students can show their existing skills — for example, Pakistani students are likely to have skills in the game of cricket that will be new for French students. It is important to give the child opportunities to demonstrate what they do know, so that the emphasis is not constantly on what they don't know.

In terms of mastering the French language, immigrant students are asked to learn both oral and written forms at the same time, which is a different process to the natural acquisition of the child's first language where the child learns to speak before they write. ENSA students may be very slow in learning to write, as at first they are likely to be copying each letter stroke-by-stroke rather than the whole letter itself. Teachers can help the child to make links to the phonology of the French language through singing.

In music, about half of the immigrant students are doing choir. In physics, the teacher is favouring group work to facilitate understanding, at times asking immigrant students to give a short oral report for the group for language production purposes, rather than relying on French students to speak on their behalf. Other teachers are using fewer gestures in their communication with immigrant students along with less reliance on English as a lingua franca, to encourage students in aural development of their French language skills.

3. The experience of being schooled

Immigrant students who arrive with little or no French language are likely to experience a degradation of self-image and a lack of autonomy in their schooling. Not being able to communicate thoughts and feelings leaves the child linguistically and emotionally isolated and dependent on the goodwill of others. It is important for teachers to choose materials that are at an appropriate cognitive level for the child's age, and are linguistically accessible. This can be challenging as it means adapting content that is appropriate to the child's interests and age-group into simple language.

In sports, one teacher described a problem of exclusion of two immigrant students, as they refuse to take part in contact games such as "the human pyramid", due to cultural discomfort with close physical contact. Another sports teacher described that in team sports, the class were noisy, shouting "là, là, là!" ("here, here, here!") at each other to have the ball passed their way. The teacher said to them, "Imagine you're in a situation like EA where you don't understand what's happening when other students are shouting "là, là, là!" — how would you feel?" Now the class is quieter and their attitude towards EA has improved.

As the child develops language skills, they may also be put in the position of translator for their parents during school visits. It is good if the school can develop internal policies around welcoming and including the parents of immigrant children, to facilitate the child's integration and reduce barriers to the child's learning at school. For example, one teacher invited parents to come to class and share about their culture and language with the children. Another teacher told a story of inviting parents to accompany a class trip to see a concert, and encouraging parents to attend by presenting it as a gift that it would be considered culturally rude to refuse!

The physical presence of parents in the child's schooling can be of great value, as it normalises the child's home culture and language within the school culture, while strengthening the school's relationship with and understanding of the family.

In conclusion, CASNAV's in-school teacher training provides teachers of immigrant students with a forum in which to share and reflect on their professional experiences, and to contextualise what they observe in the child's learning within a rationale of how migrant children integrate. CASNAV's approach to the schooling of migrant children through inclusiveness pedagogy places the emphasis on the child developing autonomy within a supportive class culture established and maintained by the teacher. The reflective professional processes encouraged by CASNAV's face-to-face work in schools is in itself part of an inclusive pedagogy model, and the enthusiasm and willingness of teachers to engage was evident during this training day at Collège B.

2. Example from New Zealand: "the inquiry model" Ministry of Education tki.org.nz (*te kete ipurangi*)

The terms "teachers as learners" and "inquiry model" are in current usage in New Zealand education, and describe a view of teaching as a reflective process in which the teacher is also learning and developing in a professional capacity (tki website). "Teaching as inquiry" is a model that has been developed in New Zealand as a pedagogy for teaching within a diverse context that includes Māori and Pasifika learners, immigrant students, disabled students and other high needs students such as autistic, ADD and dyslexia. The model finds its origins in 1960s "inquiry-based learning", which situated students as active learners who inquire to discover and problem-solve. As part of constructivist learning theories developed by Dewey and Vygotsky, learning through experience allows the learner to actively participate in authentic tasks, to observe and question (inquire), and to collaborate in order to make meaning. This approach is now applied to "teaching as a learning process" in which the teacher observes how students learn, questions how their classroom organisation and task design can meet learning needs more effectively, and collaborates with families and other teachers to come up with strategies for student success.

The model uses terminology that positions the teacher as facilitator of student learning and wellbeing ("*to meet the learning and wellbeing needs of diverse students*", *Guide to inclusive education*, tki website) — language that is quite different to French education circulars in which the teacher's role and responsibilities are focused on ("*l'enseignement de ... / le professeur dans sa classe*"). The inquiry model uses frameworks

that ask teachers to treat each child as an individual with particular cultural, linguistic and/or special learning needs, and to engage in a cyclic reflection to improve their own teaching practices:

“Teachers ...

- identify the outcomes they want their students to achieve*
- select teaching strategies that will support their students to achieve*
- put new strategies into action*
- monitor students’ progress and reflect on what this tells them”*

(abridged from NZ Curriculum, tki website)

The inquiry model shows strength in the New Zealand context, in that it provides a realisable way forward in education that brings together the diverse needs and interests of a multicultural population. We therefore find here an educational approach that seeks to equip teachers for working inclusively in diverse classrooms, through initial teacher training and current teaching practices. Does this provide an example of NZ’s multicultural ideology meeting practice, as I questioned earlier?

“While NZ has been eager to embrace the ideology of multiculturalism, the overlapping domains of immigration, education and language have been more cautious in concretising the ideology into policies that promote multiculturalism and inclusive practices.” (Smythe, Chapter 3, this thesis)

Following are two brief examples of how this view of “teachers as learners” is applied in teacher training — the first example is from Victoria University of Wellington initial teacher training courses, and the second example describes a teacher taking an “inquiry model” approach in a Science class. These two examples will help form a response to this question of how far educational practice can go towards legitimising NZ’s multiculturally inclusive narrative.

2.1 Teacher training at Victoria University of Wellington

As an example of teacher training in New Zealand, Victoria University of Wellington’s courses include modules on inclusive pedagogy and differentiated learning, in which teachers are putting theory into practice. Terms such as ‘culturally responsive pedagogies’ and ‘inclusive practices’ help teachers to develop skills that can be applied to a range of different student profiles and learning needs. Student diversity in schools is the premise, and training teachers to respond to such diversity is the objective.

Learning can be differentiated at the level of content, process, product or environment. The definition of “differentiated learning” is broad, and is characterised by a variety of pedagogical strategies that give students options in their learning processes and production. It is very much about teachers developing a wide range of inclusive pedagogies, and being willing to try these out in the classroom. Observing how students respond to differentiated learning, then strategically adapting teaching and learning approaches, is key.

In the NZ curriculum documents, inclusive practices are central and are supported by practical resources freely available on the Ministry of Education website, that include:

- “Tools for building inclusion into the school curriculum and to build professional knowledge*
- Guides with practical strategies and suggestions that take the mystery out of meeting the needs of diverse learners*
- Modules to support teachers and teacher aides to work effectively together*
- Information on effective Individual Education Plan processes”*

(NZ Ministry of Education website <https://nzcurriculum.tki.org.nz/Inclusive-practices>)

The theoretical part of teacher training supports periods of in-school practicum with a programme that links theory, experiences as a trainee teacher in schools, and preparatory skills for teaching within the diversity of NZ schools. There is a high focus on inclusive education throughout both teacher training and classroom practices, as stated by Victoria University of Wellington’s Faculty of Education - *Whānau o Ako Pai*:

“Relational, reflexive, and adaptive practices and ethical sensitivity are at the heart of our programmes. Our programmes focus on developing student teachers’ deep knowledge and critical

thinking to ensure high quality education for all learners, including those who have been underserved by education.” (VUW Faculty of Education website)

As I have argued in this thesis, newly-arrived immigrant students who are “late arrivers” after the age of 12, fall into this category of “those who have been underserved by education”, as they are particularly vulnerable to school failure:

“[OECD evidence] strongly indicates that newly arrived immigrant students aged 13-15 are a group that is highly vulnerable to school failure, due to the linguistic and cognitive demands of school curriculum for those year levels, and the evidence that older children have more difficulty learning another language fluently. Therefore, it is vitally important to consider how these adverse factors can be mitigated through well-formed, school-wide pedagogical approaches that include subject-specific resources for newly arrived immigrant students and teacher training for working inclusively to integrate immigrant children into mainstream classes.” (Smythe, this thesis, p.82)

When we look at recent teacher training developments in Aotearoa New Zealand, there is real optimism for this vulnerable group of students to be better supported within the education system. One example of training offered for mainstream subject teachers is the TCHG346 paper on “Differentiated learning in Social Studies” taught by Bronwyn Wood at Victoria University of Wellington⁵⁹. Here, trainee teachers apply a framework of differentiated learning to design learning activities for a Social Studies topic on fair trade/free trade (L1 and L2 internal achievement standards on cultural change). The outcome is that teachers work collaboratively and critically to apply concepts of inclusive pedagogy to create lessons that they could adapt for teaching later in schools.

2.2 “Inquiry model” in a Science class

As an example of differentiated learning in a Science class, the teacher describes her inquiry process with a high school class working at multiple levels of the curriculum (L1, L2 and L3 evaluations). The class includes two newly-arrived immigrant students: Jamail from Somalia who has competent oral skills in English but low literacy (refugee-background), and Netty who arrived from Samoa 2 months ago and understands little English but has science skills on a par with her NZ-schooled peers (Pasifika migrant background).

The class is going to learn about floating and sinking objects in an introductory lesson exploring key ideas in understanding and investigating Science. The teacher describes several steps that specifically target the learning needs of the two immigrant students, Jamail and Netty, at various stages of the teaching and learning process (adapted from Example 9 of Inclusion in Practice teacher resources on tki.org.nz).

⁵⁹ With thanks to Bronwyn Wood for sharing her TCHG346 materials.

Table 8: teaching inquiry example in Science (adapted from Example 9 of Inclusion in Practice teacher resources on tki.org.nz)

Teaching inquiry <i>What differentiated teaching strategies did the teacher use?</i>	Learning inquiry <i>What happened for students as a result of the teaching?</i>	Implications for future teaching and learning <i>How did the teacher reflect on what she saw? How will she make use of this for future learning?</i>
<p><u>Pre-class preparation</u> The teacher gave pictorial timetables to EL students the day before class.</p> <p>T emailed parents to let them know students have to bring 2 items to class (1 heavy, 1 light).</p>	<p>Jamail and Netty can more easily understand what will happen in the next Science class.</p> <p>Parents can help the child prepare for class ahead of time.</p>	<p>It is easier for newly-arrived students to see pictures of the class plan — this reduces the language barrier.</p> <p>Families are part of the learning process. Communicating closely with parents involves them in school learning, This can support the child’s learning at home.</p>
<p><u>Group work in class</u> The teacher put students into groups of 4 to experiment with floating and sinking objects.</p> <p>In Netty’s groups, the teacher put another Samoan-speaking student who could explain the task in L1.</p> <p>A “teaching station” is set up in the classroom, where the teacher works with a group of high-needs students on a task. Jamail was included in this group.</p>	<p>Students support each other to complete the required steps in the task = testing each object to see if it floats or sinks, filling in a form with observations.</p> <p>Netty was able to understand the task, with help from her Samoan speaking classmate. New English vocabulary was learned from the task sheet.</p> <p>Jamail had one-on-one help from the teacher.</p>	<p>Group work put students into mixed ability groups, where weaker students could learn from stronger students.</p> <p>Teacher: <i>“I could see Netty’s face light up when Samaria explained it to her; she understood immediately. Netty and Samaria then went back to their desks and successfully completed the chart. I have to think about how I can use peers in other ways to support learning.”</i></p>
<p><u>Scaffolding language demands</u> In groups with EL students, students named the objects in English.</p> <p>They took more time with language than the other groups, just learning the words orally with a physical and social experience to help memorise the language.</p>	<p>In Jamail’s group, a native speaker peer play-acted, picking up each object, saying: “The scissors are <u>heavy</u>. The paperclip is <u>light</u>.” This made the other students laugh and join in.</p> <p>In this atmosphere, students more easily learned the words for objects + “heavy and light”.</p>	<p>Teacher: <i>“Jamail participated and contributed well in the small group when prompted, and he shared with a partner. He knew the names of some of the objects, so it was useful to have the students naming the materials to reinforce his understanding and language. He had learned about ‘heavy’ and ‘light’ in measurement in mathematics last term, so I was able to link this task to his knowledge in that learning area. “</i></p>
<p><u>Writing, sharing findings</u> Students complete the chart on “floating and sinking objects”.</p>	<p>Students fed back to the class, discussing what they had observed. Together with the teacher, they came up with scientific evidence that objects with air inside float.</p> <p>The teacher wrote sentences on the board, that EL students could copy down.</p>	<p>Teacher: <i>“I noticed Jamail sharing his predictions in his seating group. I really have to prepare him for participating like this and to deliberately create opportunities. I am going to help him set a goal around sharing his ideas.”</i></p> <p>EL students need oral as well as written language input. They gained this from peers as well as the teacher.</p>

What does this example of a Science lesson show us about differentiated learning and how a teacher works in this way? We see that the teacher sets small, interim learning objectives that include language-learning at an appropriate level for the newly-arrived immigrant students. These students were able to achieve the learning objectives at their own level of proficiency, with both L1 and English support. The teacher was not the only source of language input and learning support — other native-speaker peers and L1 peers played a key role. The teacher noticed when students participated, and reflects on how these successes can be built

on in the future. Pre-class preparation had already set students up to participate, as they had a pictorial timetable and could see what they would be doing in class, and prepared the objects at home.

The teacher's organisation of the classroom space is important — students were seated for group work, and a "teaching station" allowed the teacher to give one-on-one attention to the highest needs students. This is very different to a traditional classroom set-up where the teacher stands at the front of the room and students are seated at desks. Group work involves more noise, movement and potential chaos than a traditional classroom set-up. However, it can also give rise to unexpected "teachable moments", such as the one this teacher described in the same Science class with two Māori students:

"When it came to the statement 'All rocks sink', Piri picked up the pumice and explained to the group that it was a rock and that in the olden days people used pumice for floats when fishing. He said his koro had told him. Ethan was captivated! I hadn't realised he was so interested in fishing. Piri didn't know the Māori word for pumice, so I asked him and Ethan to look it up on the computer."

In brief, this example highlights the kind of teaching practices involved in an inquiry approach:

- (1) Identifying learning objectives for particular students. For immigrant students this includes language-of-schooling learning objectives, such as learning key words for the topic. The science learning objectives are just as important for immigrant students as for the rest of the class, and these can be achieved through multiple opportunities for students to access content through scaffolded language situations, such as experiential learning.
- (2) Planning a lesson with differentiated strategies. For immigrant students, this may include group work with access to an L1 peer. Input from local peers is also important, and this teacher created opportunities for immigrant students to participate in the language-of-schooling, through group work.
- (3) Observing how students learn in response. The teacher observes students as they work, and notices when students are actively participating. This is a crucial part of the process, as it helps the teacher to see what is working well, and plan for future differentiated learning for particular students.
- (4) Reflecting on future possibilities for student learning. The cycle of "plan, do, observe, reflect" is continuous, and at the heart of this style of teaching.

In conclusion, NZ's ideology of multiculturalism seems to be finding ways to meet practice in education. Teacher training has adopted clear models of inclusive pedagogy and reflexive teaching processes, and within this we can find many potential benefits for immigrant students, and support for their learning processes in schools.

Section B conclusion

In conclusion to Section B, these examples show the range of ways in which ongoing teacher training supports teachers to develop strategies for helping newly-arrived immigrant students to succeed in both France and Aotearoa New Zealand

In France, CASNAV plays a key role in the organisation of schooling for migrant children, providing teaching resources and teacher training in schools and in INSPE (*institut nationale supérieur du professorat et de l'éducation*). In this role, CASNAV's educational priorities are to assist teachers to develop skills that support the child to (1) master the French language, and (2) achieve academically at school. In the examples shared by teachers and CASNAV staff at the teacher training day in Bordeaux, three areas where teachers can help students to build competence on arrival were identified: the rituals of schooling, academic skills and the experience of "being schooled".

In New Zealand, reflexive models of teaching are central to professional development for educators. Teachers are encouraged to differentiate their teaching for the specific needs and skills of their students, though observation, reflection, planning and adapted approaches to student learning. "Real life" examples of this type of teaching are shared on tki.org.nz.

Chapter 8 conclusion

In this chapter, several examples of the “teaching as inquiry” model are set out, in the different forms used in teacher training contexts in France and Aotearoa NZ. “Teacher inquiry” sees the learning of the teacher as an ongoing process that accompanies the learning of students. In both CASNAV’s approach to working in schools with teachers and Victoria University of Wellington’s teacher training programmes, we see similar elements of teachers engaged in reflective processes. It is this continuous reflexive process of observing student learning, discussing with parents or other professionals, and finding new ways of approaching the child’s learning that defines “teaching as inquiry”.

However, where NZ’s teacher training goes further is that there is a well-developed **national framework of inclusive education** in place that is in evidence from education policy to school curricula, and appears in examples of schools-based practices. Teachers are therefore being trained to teach towards the ‘inclusive and culturally responsive’ intention of the national curricula in Aotearoa NZ, through approaches such as differentiated learning and the teacher inquiry model. The reflexive process of teaching to include student diversity is therefore strongly supported in a top-down approach, from education policy to practice.

Whereas in the French system, while teachers are working with a similarly diverse student population, national education policy does not yet adequately recognise and articulate an inclusive and culturally responsive ethos for the whole student population. French teacher training does not yet have a clear enough mandate for national training in inclusive pedagogies and culturally responsive approaches to student diversity. Instead, teacher training is **regionally responsive** (as in the examples of plurilingual approaches to teacher training in INSPE in linguistically diverse regions of France given in Chapter 7 of this thesis). While this regional adaptivity has advantages in that INSPE courses retain the freedom to tailor training for teaching in local schools, a disadvantage is that the needs and interests of immigrant parts of the population risk being overlooked in teacher training, due to this absence of a national framework for cultural and linguistic inclusiveness.

A further point of comparison stands out, in that NZ has developed a **philosophical umbrella of inclusiveness in education**, and this allows teachers to adopt this as a kind of guiding star in their teaching rationale. This clear national direction in education means that teachers can design their lessons within the support of an education system that is “pro differentiation”. Whereas in the French education system, **inclusive education is compartmentalised**: disabled students in one category, immigrant students in another, learning difficulty students in yet another. Each area functions as its own isolated speciality, making it difficult for teachers to know how to work effectively with these students in their classes — whereas a differentiated learning approach such as that in place in New Zealand empowers teachers with a step-by-step cyclic process of “plan, do, observe and reflect”.

As I have argued in this chapter, this segregation of student diversity into separate units of educational treatment falls into the same gap between the aspirational principles of openness towards multiculturalism and language diversity expressed in French educational policy on one hand, and how teachers are being trained to teach in schools on the other hand. This phenomenon that can be described as “... *a partitioning or compartmentalisation of the various disciplines in education that does not lend itself towards the transversality of plurilingual approaches*” (Sandoz p.176), also appears in the lack of national teacher training programmes for plural approaches to student diversity (cultural, linguistic, disability and learning difficulties).

Finally, these points bring us to reflect on what **France and Aotearoa NZ can learn from each other in the area of teacher training**. Could teacher training in France be reinforced by closing this gap between educational policy and school curricula, as in the New Zealand experience? And could this be accomplished in the French context by adoption of an umbrella philosophy of inclusiveness in education, supported by teacher training for differentiated learning? Could NZ provide stronger support for teachers by developing a similarly rich range of plurilingual teaching and learning resources, such as CARAP, for the New Zealand context? Would the huge creative task of “differentiated learning” demanded of NZ teachers become less onerous with training in specific pedagogies already developed in Europe (*eveil aux langues*, integrated didactic approach)?

Chapter 9

Bridge between Parts 1 & 2: Situating this research

This bridging chapter transitions from Part 1 to Part 2 via a brief description of how this project is situated within communities of research in France and Aotearoa New Zealand.

Part 1 dealt with characteristics of immigration, education and languages in France and New Zealand, identifying attitudes, policies and practices that shape the ways in which each country organises schooling for immigrant students (the macro-systemic zone of the research).

Part 2 presents and discusses the study of the role of plurilingualism in learning during the newly-arrived phase, with 42 newly-arrived immigrant teenagers at school in France or New Zealand (the micro-systemic zone centred on the child's experiences in school).

This chapter situates the project within the academic context of the *Laboratoire Cultures - Éducation - Sociétés* (LACES) at Université de Bordeaux. The research process has also been strongly supported by a network of multilingual international researchers, including the Faculty of Education at Victoria University of Wellington, Département Langues et Cultures at Université de Bordeaux, ADEB in France, and other researchers in both countries.

Key questions:

- How is this project situated within communities of research in France and Aotearoa New Zealand?

LACES EA 7437, Université de Bordeaux

This PhD research work has been carried out within LACES (*Le Laboratoire Cultures - Éducation - Sociétés*), Université de Bordeaux, a multidisciplinary team of more than 100 researchers and doctoral students. The LACES team of researchers is distinguished by its international and multilingual character, rich interdisciplinary collaborations, and openness towards research work in all areas of culture, education and societies. As examples of the international, multilingual and contemporary nature of the ongoing research being generated by the LACES team, specialities include comparative education politics and social cohesion (Régis Malet), teacher training for multilingual and multicultural contexts (Martine Derivry), inclusive education (Magdalena Kahout-Diaz), France's regional languages (Pierre Escudé), and ethnicity, racism and religion in education (Jean-François Brunead).

As a PhD student in comparative education, I am a member of the team *Recherche comparative en éducation, pluralisme, prévention et professions (ERCÉP3)*, a diverse group of multilingual professionals working in educational sciences, languages, culture and sports at Université de Bordeaux. My research process has been robustly supported by LACES's internal laboratory structure of doctoral seminars (*Séminaires Doctorant(e)s*), collegial sharing of research (*Axe Diversités, Cultures, Sociétés*), and international opportunities facilitated by my thesis supervisor, Régis Malet. These activities have included funding towards my field research in New Zealand (March-June 2019), and presenting at a Comparative Education seminar by LLAKES & LACES Research Centres, Institute of Education (UCL) London (July 2019), with upcoming proposals to co-publish articles and participate in international collaborations for teacher training and improving educational access for marginalised children (with Régis Malet and Magdalena Kahout-Diaz). A further exciting initiative that I have been involved in with LACES is the development of an international bilingual French-English teacher training course at INSPE, the Master FFI (*Formation des Formateurs à l'Internationale*), with Martine Derivry and Régis Malet. The course programme explores themes designed to prepare teachers for working internationally in intercultural and plurilingual contexts, and this continues to be a valuable "real life" application of some of the pedagogies and theories I have been learning about during my research process.

I am currently contracted as a teacher-researcher ATER (*Attaché Temporaire d'Enseignement et de Recherche*) with the Département Langues et Cultures at Université de Bordeaux, who are also affiliated with LACES. This professional situation has enriched my research experience, through interaction with a

plurilingual network of language teachers, students in training across many disciplines, and the chance to support students in developing their English language proficiency to high levels, while also contributing to course design and evaluation. Département Langues et Cultures colleagues also share research interests in languages teaching and learning, inclusive education, teacher training and intercultural pedagogies — work that is valorised by the *Pôle Langues* that coordinates language policies across all branches and sites of Université de Bordeaux.

This study is further supported by the Faculty of Education at Victoria University of Wellington in Aotearoa New Zealand, who warmly welcomed me in as a visiting researcher from March-June, 2019. Colleagues in the Faculty offered their time and expertise for interviews and discussions about my research, generously shared teacher training resources, and opened access to New Zealand research bases. I am most grateful for their *manaakitanga*, and especially thank Bronwyn Wood, Carolyn Tait and Stephen Dobson — *kia ora tātou, mo te atawhai me tautoko*. Victoria University of Wellington's guidance facilitated the New Zealand part of this field research, and established a link with LACES colleagues at Université de Bordeaux, which we hope to strengthen through future collaborations.

Empowering immigrant students

The focus in this research is language inclusion in plurilingual school contexts, particularly the relationship between students' home languages and developing proficiency in the language-of-schooling. I have also tried to highlight the ways in which educational environments are power structures, and imbalanced power relationships marginalise immigrant students and disadvantage their academic achievement. An imbalance of power in education systems is evident when monolingualism dominates and minority students' languages are excluded (Cummins and Early, 2011). Through the in-schools part of this study, detailed in Part 2, I have explored whether students are capable of redressing this power imbalance by finding ways to bring their languages into classroom learning processes — and have found that yes, they can and do choose to interact through their existing languages in order to succeed in their learning at school. This is very much the case in the plurilingual context of language-of-schooling classes, with other plurilingual students and teachers who are receptive to the plurilingualism of their students. The students observed in this study were more empowered in the plurilingual FLS/EL class context than in the monolingual mainstream class context.

This study contributes to a large body of international research begun in the 1970s, that highlights the benefits of maintaining and expanding L1 skills alongside growing L2 proficiency (Cummins' threshold and interdependence hypotheses, 1976, 1979). The arguments for bi-plurilingual education have become increasingly aligned with challenging the power relationships inherent in education systems, which are in turn a product of national histories and ideologies. Throughout this research, I seek to expose top-down power structures that impact on the schooling experiences of immigrant students and explain "*the implicit devaluation of students' languages and cultures*" in schools (Cummins, 2011, p.13). This critical approach also helps to explain the gap between international recommendations for plurilingual education (for example in the guidelines from the OECD and Council of Europe Languages Division) and monolingual education systems that persistently underserve the academic achievement of immigrant students (as evidenced by PISA testing).

A rich international network of multilingual researchers

There is a growing interest in how existing language knowledge is involved in the acquisition of further languages; in particular how learning the language-of-schooling can be improved through inclusion of students' home languages. This theme brings together a rich international network of multilingual researchers interested in promoting the benefits of bi-plurilingual education (examples in Part 1 Chapter 8; Part 2 Chapter 4), recognition of linguistic and cultural diversity in schools (examples in Part 1 Chapter 3), and strategies for supporting immigrant children to succeed in schools (examples in Part 1 Chapter 4).

Building on the background to immigrant languages in education established in Part 1, in Part 2 I situate my study within the framework of international research into plurilingualism and learning. Part 2 Chapter 4 outlines the highly influential work of Cummins on literacy development in multilingual school contexts that is the point of departure for much of language acquisition research over the past 50 years — the threshold and interdependence hypotheses (1976,1979) established the beginnings of "*a paradigm shift in a discipline*" (Baker and Hornberger, 2007, foreword). Cummins' theories underpin this study, as do other ensuing theories of language acquisition since the 1970s that together construct a solid argument for plurilingual education (Part 2 Chapter 4) and language inclusiveness in education (Part 1 Chapter 6).

A rich network of French researchers work in the discipline of plurilingual education, and the Université de Bordeaux is associated with several high profile researchers including Régis Malet (leading academic in the field of Comparative Education⁶⁰), Martine Derivry (author of numerous publications on multilingualism in teacher training⁶¹), Pierre Escudé (President of ADEB), and Catherine Mendonça-Dias (co-director of EVASCOL), among others. One prominent example of the activity and vigour of French research in the field of plurilingual education is ADEB (*Association pour le Développement de l'Enseignement Bi-plurilingue*), a collective of researchers, teachers and teacher educators engaged in promoting and expanding bilingual and plurilingual teaching and learning strategies. Founded in 2003, ADEB provides a platform for knowledge-dissemination, multilingual publications, international conferences, training for educators, and acts as a hub of exchange and resource-sharing for language teachers, teacher trainers and researchers alike. As an ADEB member, I have benefited from attending conferences on plurilingualism and education (INALCO 2019⁶², Paris Sorbonne Nouvelle 2018⁶³, INSPE Bordeaux 2017⁶⁴), being invited to present part of my PhD study (*Education for Migrants*, EDUCINCLU⁶⁵, INSHEA Paris, June 2020), and collaborating with other researchers to present and publish in multilingual forums (RIED symposium⁶⁶, Université Libre de Bruxelles, July 2022; co-publication in *Migrations Sociétés* with Myriam Abdou-Samra, up-coming). These experiences have been hugely valuable in helping me to understand the French context for plurilingual education, as well as opening the way into multilingual collaborations with French colleagues working in plurilingual education.

Drawing on this context of French research activities, Part 1 Chapter 7 describes how the Council of Europe's view of "*plurilingualism as a European way of life*" sets the tone for advocacy for plurilingual and intercultural education in which multilingual competence is developed as "*one of the foundations of democratic coexistence*" (Council of Europe, 2010, p.10). In Part 2, I present findings from this study with plurilingual students in France and New Zealand that provide evidence for **plurilingual learning spaces as improving student participation, interaction, sense of wellbeing and social cohesion** — all elements of *democratic coexistence* amongst students in schools.

Recent French and NZ studies in how languages are involved in L2 acquisition

As interest in the role of plurilingualism and multicultural identities in education grows, so too has awareness of political attitudes towards immigrants and their languages. Questions of empowerment and protection have become increasingly visible since the refugee crisis of 2014-2018. The responsibility of state powers to uphold the human rights of asylum-seekers, refugees, migrant communities and indigenous peoples has been thrown into relief in Part 1 Chapters 1, 2 and 3. In Part 2, findings from my study make links back to how policies of immigration, education and languages in France and Aotearoa NZ shape education systems, that in turn impact on the educational experiences of immigrant students (Part 2 / Part 3 Conclusion).

In both France and New Zealand there are other recent studies carried out from a similar perspective to my own, that involve newly-arrived immigrant students in schools (late arrivers), and question how working multilingually may be beneficial for schooling success.

In the French context, the insufficient acknowledgement of young migrants' linguistic and cultural diversity in schools is frequently a motivating force behind research: as examples from more than 400 theses on related topics (theses.fr) testify. Sandra Belondo's thesis (2012) examined whether plurilingual students succeed

⁶⁰ Directeur de publication et rédacteur en chef de la revue *Education Comparée*. Président de l'Association Francophone d'Education Comparée (AFEC).

⁶¹ for example, Derivry, M. (2015). *Les enseignants de langues dans la mondialisation. La guerre des représentations dans le champ linguistique de l'enseignement*, Paris, Éditions des Archives Contemporaines/PLID. Postface de C. Kramsch

⁶² ADEB colloque "Le bi-plurilinguisme dans l'éducation: enseigner et apprendre en plusieurs langues: valeurs, principes didactiques, gestes professionnels, ressources", Nov 2019 at INALCO, Paris

⁶³ Journée d'étude, Paris Sorbonne Nouvelle, *L'Enfant Migrant à l'École*, 28/11/2018 (organised by C. Mendonça-Dias)

⁶⁴ Journées d'études, INSPE Caudekeran, *La/les langue(s) de scolarisation: une feuille de route pour les établissements scolaires : projet du centre européen des langues vivantes*, 18/10/2017 and 17/11/2017 (organised by Pierre Escudé, with Nathalie Auger)

⁶⁵ I was unfortunately unable to attend, due to Covid-19 travel restrictions, but my proposal was accepted and an invitation to present extended.

⁶⁶ <https://www.ulb.be/fr/plateforme-collaborative-ulb-e-col-e/ried2020>

better if they can speak their home languages at school. She wrote a detailed critique of French education policy for welcoming and integrating newly-arrived immigrant students and their parents, addressed to the *recteurs et inspecteurs d'académies*, which was perhaps influential in the issue of a new Circular No. 2012-141 from the *Ministère Nationale de l'Éducation*⁶⁷. Élisabeth Faupin's thesis (2015) looked at language challenges for immigrant students in mainstream classes, finding that *"the allophone pupils participate normally in the exchanges when they are in the integration structure but never intervene without being invited to by the teacher in the regular classes"*. Both of these theses draw similar conclusions to my own: that (1) including the home languages of immigrant students in their schooling has multiple benefits for language-of-schooling acquisition, school success and integration of the whole family (Belondo 2012), and (2) that interactive learning in mainstream class contexts is needed to help immigrant students to become active participants (Faupin 2015).

In the NZ context, languages-in-education research tends to be segregated into cultural groupings: on one hand, the success of Māori language revitalisation and questions of language regeneration of young people; on the other hand, the ongoing struggle for recognition of minority or community languages in education, particularly Pasifika languages. In research on migrant languages, there is a body of work aiming to understand and improve school achievement for Pasifika students in NZ schools. For example, Margaret Flavell's thesis (2019) looks at *"how secondary schools could develop relationships with Pacific families and communities in order to support students' successful learning outcomes"*, finding that home-school relationships and schools making space for Pacific Island family values is important in student achievement.

In other New Zealand examples, particular groups of language learners in education have been studied: refugees and international fee-paying students have received some attention. Large-scale studies looking at migrant communities as a whole and their languages in education are less numerous in New Zealand research. One example however is Hilary Smith's thesis (2004) that carried out a large-scale survey in 22 teacher training institutions in NZ, reporting that *"the teacher educators' approach to bilingualism and language diversity was determined by the ethnolinguistic vitality of the language groups (higher in the cases of Maori and sometimes French), and mediated by their levels of language awareness ... This research points to the need for the development of a coherent theory of language in education in Aotearoa New Zealand"*. My research between 2017-2021 agrees with this finding, in the sense that New Zealand teacher training for plurilingual approaches could go beyond cultural awareness and differentiated learning (two areas already well developed), to focus on capitalising on the linguistic skills of migrant students for school achievement (see Part 1 Chapter 8). One study that closely aligns with my own, is Brian Davy's PhD research (2020) examining the treatment of languages and identities amongst newly-arrived migrant senior students in NZ high schools.

I conclude therefore that the French research context surrounding migrant students and the role of plurilingualism in language-of-schooling acquisition is rich and flourishing, and represents a body of work that has helped to establish a European framework of plurilingual education research⁶⁸. The New Zealand context favours a differentiated approach looking at each cultural group as a separate entity. So while there is a substantial body of research focusing on Māori language and Māori educational performance, research into plurilingualism and how migrant students as a whole are achieving in education is less developed. This may be due to the emphasis on diversity in New Zealand education — groupings of students are treated as unique entities with particular learning needs and goals — refugee students, international fee-paying students and Pasifika students, for example. These are the three main groups identified in migrant education studies in New Zealand — see Part 1, Chapters 1, 2, 4, 5 and 6 for discussions of educational responses to each group.

In Part 2, my field research in schools highlights this differentiated treatment for types of immigrant students in the New Zealand school while the French school treats all immigrant students the same — for example, a bilingual teacher aide supports Arabic L1 refugee students in the New Zealand school, while in the French school there was no funding available for either French or bilingual teacher aides. The implications of this and other findings from my comparative research are discussed in detail in Part 2.

⁶⁷ This refers to Circulaire n° 2012-141 du 2 octobre 2012 relative à l'organisation de la scolarité des enfants allophones nouvellement arrivés

⁶⁸ French researchers have contributed extensively to the Council of Europe Language Policy Division work: Coste, Zarate, Lévy, Beacco and others.

Conclusion

In bridging Parts 1 and 2, the comparison of each national approach to the education of immigrant students in Part 1, is further contextualised in Part 2 by the international framework of research into plurilingualism and language acquisition that underpins this study.

The originality of this study (detailed in Part 2) is that it looks at how immigrant students with similar profiles manage their *learning through languages*, in two different educational settings qualified by unique educational ideologies (as explored in Part 1). Underlying this study may be fundamental questions along the lines of, “What happens if two students with very similar profiles find themselves in two different educational settings? How does each student respond to each educational setting? Do students use their language skills differently or similarly, within these two settings? Do they find it easier or more difficult to manage their learning in each setting? What makes for a positive or negative difference?” While I hope that this research is far from a simplistic behavioural study in the final analysis, it does try to expose the common experience of immigration for young people — being uprooted from one place where language and culture is familiar, to another where language and culture are unfamiliar and a steep learning trajectory must be navigated through one’s existing knowledge and skills. The question for schools and teachers is therefore, **how do we provide supportive, coherent, comprehensible structures for learning within education systems, so that immigrant students can maximise their existing linguistic and cultural knowledges and skills during the newly-arrived phase, in order to build confidence and new linguistic and cultural skills for academic achievement and social integration?**

An aim of this research in Part 1 is to establish dialogue between the similarities and differences inherent in the educational environments of France and Aotearoa New Zealand — which are in themselves fascinating. From there, Part 2 elaborates the field research carried out in both countries, that zooms in on the experiences of immigrant teenagers during the newly-arrived phase at school. In this way the voices of students are heard as they speak for themselves, in all of their languages, in the classroom and later in interviews and surveys. Many examples of student interactions are given in Part 2, exactly as they were observed in the classroom, and this invites the reader to take a “fly-on-the-wall” view that simulates students’ own lived experiences.

Part 2, Empirical study / Field research

Newly-arrived immigrant students and their languages in two schools: Bordeaux, Wellington

Chapter abstracts

Part 2 of this research is concerned with the educational environments in France and New Zealand, focused on how immigrant students and their learning needs are treated within education systems. I present the field research part of the study — a methodology for how this research was carried out in-the-field, discussion of observations in the two participating schools, findings and conclusions. This second part of the research addresses concrete aspects of the educational environments in France and New Zealand:

- Chapter 1 sets out the methodology used for field research in France and New Zealand, describing the context for the part of the study carried out “in the terrain” — in schools, in UPE2A and EL classrooms, with teachers and other educational experts, and from my experiences as a volunteer with asylum seeking and refugee resettlement organisations in France and New Zealand. The in-schools study centres on 42 young participants who were all newly-arrived immigrant students aged 11-18, with little or no proficiency in the language of schooling, at the time of the study (2017-2019). The context of the study is established, as preparation for a detailed discussion of findings and analysis of data in Chapter 2.
- Chapter 2 presents original QUANTITATIVE data from the research carried out in classrooms in the two participating schools (Bordeaux and Wellington). I present and analyse data on the type, frequency and purpose of **L1 and lingua franca production by students in the classroom**, gathered from observations of 42 newly-arrived asylum-seeker, refugee and migrant students learning in the two schools in Bordeaux and Wellington. Firstly, I present findings on the various ways in which first languages of students, and language inclusiveness learning practices in the classroom, play a key role in language-of-schooling learning processes in FLS and EL classes. This data tests the hypothesis that *“educational environments that allow space for plurilingual learning approaches create a platform from which to improve learning processes, engagement and construction of knowledge, thereby encouraging more effective learning for newly-arrived immigrant students.”*
- Chapter 3 compares findings from quantitative data on L1 and plurilingual language use amongst 42 newly-arrived immigrant teenagers in their language-of-schooling learning, collected from 52 hours of observation of FLS and EL classes in the participating schools in Bordeaux and Wellington, over 2 years (2017-2019). Findings from the 3 Cycles of observation (2 Cycles in the French school, 1 Cycle in the NZ school) detailed in Chapter 2 are compared and discussed.
- Chapter 4 discusses QUALITATIVE case studies of 4 students observed in mainstream classes, and 2 “special case studies” of students’ integration into learning in FLS/EL classes in the two participating schools (Bordeaux and Wellington).
- In Chapter 5, further qualitative data collected from surveys of 23 participating students, in the French and New Zealand schools, is used to build profiles of family situations, languages spoken at home, how students perceive their L1 use at school, and how students manage their own learning and integration in mainstream classes. Finally, I offer a comparison of integration processes for newly-arrived immigrant students in the two participating schools — how is integration during the early phase after arrival managed differently in a French school and a New Zealand school?
- Chapter 6 overviews the argument for plurilingual education drawn from more than 50 years of research into second language acquisition, bilingual education and studies of plurilingual children. This chapter is key to understanding the advantages of including first languages in learning processes.
- Chapter 7 outlines 3 types of plurilingual and intercultural teaching and learning. Here, I draw on Council of Europe Language Division publications, models of language-of-schooling teaching and learning, and pedagogies for language inclusiveness. Recommendations for supporting asylum seeker and refugee

background students in their first year of schooling are also given an important place. This chapter focuses on approaches for working with newly-arrived immigrant students in their initial learning phase, that include L1 and cultural knowledge in the learning process. I seek to present “best practice” methods, and to make links with findings presented in Chapters 2, 3, 4 and 5.

Key questions in Part 2:

- Chapter 1:
- What is the methodology used in the field research part of this study?
- What are the key elements of the field research: (educational context, school profiles, participants, time-frame, aims and objectives, key questions, materials and tools developed, surveys and interviews with experts) ?
- How were other terrains explored (eg, asylum seeker and refugee resettlement support services, teacher training institutes)?
- What international links were formed as a result of the study (eg, Université de Bordeaux - Victoria University of Wellington)?

- Chapters 2 & 3:
- How do newly-arrived immigrant students make use of their first languages in classroom learning?
- What kinds of learning situations are “language inclusive” for students?
- Is there evidence that language inclusive learning approaches support student learning during the newly-arrived phase?

- Chapters 4 & 5 :
- How do students themselves perceive their integration into mainstream classes?
- How is integration during the early phase after arrival managed differently in a French school and a New Zealand school?

- Chapter 6:
- What can 50 years of research into bilingual and plurilingual education tell us?

- Chapter 7:
- What are some effective methods of plurilingual and intercultural teaching and learning?
- What are some ways of working with asylum seeker and refugee-background students during their first year of schooling after arrival?
- What does ‘best practice’ in teaching and learning for newly-arrived immigrant students look like?

The hypothesis:

I explore the hypothesis that: *“Educational environments that allow space for plurilingual learning approaches create a platform from which to improve learning processes, engagement and construction of knowledge, thereby encouraging more effective learning for newly-arrived immigrant students”*. I tested this hypothesis within two educational settings (France and New Zealand) that have evolved from particular histories, and in which new sets of policies and practices are emerging in response to new patterns of immigration in each country.

The main questions in Part 2:

How do policies (immigration, education, language) shape the educational environment that the child is learning within? Can the educational experiences of immigrant teens (in particular newly-arrived 13-15 year olds) be improved through plurilingual learning approaches that create space for the first languages of these students? How can schools support the integration of newly-arrived immigrant students?

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Chapter 1

Methodology

The methodology used for field research in France and New Zealand is set out, describing the context for the part of the study carried out “on the terrain” — in schools, in UPE2A and EL classrooms, with teachers and other educational experts, in teacher training institutions, and with asylum seeker and refugee resettlement organisations in France and New Zealand. The in-school study centres on 42 young participants who were all newly-arrived immigrant students aged 11-18, with little or no proficiency in the language of schooling at the time of the study (2017-2019). The context of the field research is established, as preparation for a detailed discussion of findings and analysis of data in following chapters in Part 2.

Key questions:

- What is the methodology used in the field research part of this study?
- What are the key elements of the field research: (educational context, school profiles, participants, time-frame, aims and objectives, key questions, materials and tools developed, surveys and interviews with experts) ?
- How were other terrains explored (eg, asylum seeker and refugee resettlement support services, teacher training institutes)?
- What international links were formed as a result of the study (eg, Université de Bordeaux - Victoria University of Wellington)?

Introduction

Part 2 focuses on the field research carried out with immigrant students and their teachers in the two participating schools. This chapter describes the methodology followed, beginning with the study’s aims, the 3 terrains of field research (in France and Aotearoa NZ), and details how this field research was organised.

1. Aims and objectives

The field research had three key aims: (1) observing individual and group learning strategies of newly-arrived immigrant students in schools, particularly related to L1 use, (2) examining teacher training for working with newly-arrived immigrant students, and (3) understanding the context of support for asylum-seeker and refugee students. These aims were mobilised across three terrains in France and New Zealand: schools, teacher training institutions, and agencies working with immigrant and refugee resettlement. Most of the field research took place between 2017-2019, however some historical experiences in teacher training and refugee resettlement were also drawn on, where relevant.

The research design is “quasi-experimental”, that is no intervention was applied. Instead students were observed in their FLS/EL classes and mainstream classes, and variations in conditions were compared as to how each educational environment allowed space for plurilingual learning approaches.

1.1 Observing individual and group learning strategies of newly-arrived immigrant students in schools, particularly related to L1 use

The main aim of the field research part of this project was to directly observe the experiences of newly-arrived immigrant teenagers aged 13-15 in schools, in order to compare how two education systems (French and New Zealand) manage the school-based learning and integration of these students, particularly in terms of language inclusiveness and learning the language-of-schooling.

The age group of 13-15 years old was chosen for this study as OECD research finds across many countries that immigrant students who arrive after the age of 12 have an added disadvantage in school achievement, termed “the late arrival penalty”. This is largely due to the onerous task of mastering the language-of-schooling in the short time before the critical assessments of learning at the age of 15 that take place in many countries:

“Age at arrival is an important factor in helping to describe much of the performance gap between immigrant and non-immigrant students. In general, the later in their life immigrant student [stat] arrived in the host- country, the lower their performance in PISA.” (OECD, 2012, p.67)

The late arrival penalty is more pronounced for immigrant children who do not speak the language of schooling at home. Additional factors in lower rates of school success amongst these late arrivers may arise from difficulties in adapting to a different school system and cultural norms (OECD, 2012, p.69), especially for children originating from less developed countries and/or with gaps in prior schooling.

The field research part of the study examines these two factors — (1) mastery of language of schooling, and (2) integration into the school system — through the lens of plurilingual and intercultural approaches to education (as defined and discussed in Chapter 3, Part 2). The rationale for this is to test the hypothesis that *“educational environments that allow space for plurilingual learning approaches create a platform from which to improve learning processes, engagement and construction of knowledge, thereby encouraging more effective learning for newly-arrived immigrant students,”* by observing the learning behaviours and in-class experiences of newly-arrived immigrant teens in two different educational settings (France and New Zealand). How these two educational settings create particular learning contexts may condition the experiences of immigrant students, with the effect of either reducing barriers to language learning and school integration, or exacerbating difficulties in language learning and integration.

1.2 Examining teacher training for working with newly-arrived immigrant students

A second aim of the field research was to examine how school teachers are trained for working with immigrant students and their languages, in order to compare how the learning of newly-arrived immigrant teens may be differently impacted in schools in France and NZ. This aim was pursued in France through drawing on my 2-year professional experience in initial teacher training in a French INSPE (*institut nationale supérieure du professorat et de l'éducation*), discussions with INSPE colleagues, and observation of ongoing teacher training with CASNAV in a French school. In New Zealand, the aim was pursued during a 2-month period as a visiting scholar with the Faculty of Education at Victoria University of Wellington, NZ, which included interviews and discussions with NZ teacher trainers and education experts.

1.3 Understanding the context of support for asylum-seeker and refugee students

A third aim of the field research was to understand the context of asylum-seeker and refugee students, as a group of participants with specific integration needs and experiences of immigration. This aim was pursued through two periods of volunteer work with national agencies working in refugee resettlement and/or asylum seeker support. In France, I volunteered as an English teacher with a local CADA for 1 year (2017-2018), and trained in NZ with Refugee & Migrant Services Aotearoa as a refugee support person, to support a refugee family for 6 months (2008).

2. 3 Terrains of Field Research

1. Schools

The school-based observations and case studies form the most important corpus of the field research. Two schools participated in the study: a *collège* in Bordeaux, France and a high school in Wellington, New Zealand. The participating school profiles, organisation of school visits, methodology for classroom observations, participants, and limitations are described in this chapter in some detail, as preparation for the presentation of data and discussion of findings in Part 3.

2. Teacher training institutions

The methodology for field research in teacher training included observations of initial teacher training in two teacher training institutes (ESPE, France; School of Education, NZ) and ongoing professional development for teachers working with immigrant students (CASNAV in France; NZQA in NZ), and interviews with teacher trainers and educational experts.

3. Asylum-seeker and refugee resettlement agencies

The methodology for improving my understanding of the context for immigrant students from refugee or asylum-seeker backgrounds evolved from time spent with refugee and asylum-seeker families, and staff working with them.

3. Organisation of field research

The field research part of this study was organised in both France and New Zealand, in three terrains, as follows:

Table 9: organisation of field research

Schools	Teacher training institutions	Agencies working with immigrant and refugee resettlement
<p><i>Terrains:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • One collège in Bordeaux, France • One high school in Wellington, New Zealand 	<p><i>Terrains:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ESPE, Université Claude-Bernard 1, Lyon, France • Faculty of Education, Victoria University of Wellington, NZ 	<p><i>Terrains:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CADA, Villenave d'Ornon, France • Refugee Resettlement Services Aotearoa, Wellington, NZ
<p><i>Methodology:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Observations of newly-arrived immigrant students in UPE2A and EL classes • Case studies of 3-4 newly-arrived immigrant students in mainstream subject classes <p><i>Interviews, surveys:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interviews of UPE2A and EL classes (all students) • Interviews of students participating in case studies • Interviews with FLS and EL teachers • Survey of mainstream subject teachers • Interview with school principals • Interviews with teacher aides • Informal chats with teachers, students and staff • Interviews with ex-students (success stories of immigrant students) <p><i>Student results, teacher comments:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • End-of-year grades and teacher comments for students participating in case studies • End-of-year grades and class comments for UPE2A / EL classes observed 	<p><i>Methodology:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Observations from professional teaching experience (2 years teaching English at ESPE, Lyon, 2015-2017) • Visiting researcher experience with Faculty of Education, VUW (March-June 2019) <p><i>Interviews, surveys:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interviews with leaders in teacher training (Carolyn Tait, Head of Education VUW) • Informal exchanges with other professionals in teacher training and immigration studies (Bronwyn Wood, Stephen Dobson, VUW; Catherine Cohen, INSPE Lyon; Martine Derivry, Régis Malet, INSPE Bordeaux) <p><i>Related activities:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Presentation at Institute of Education, UCL, London (2019), organised by Régis Malet • Presentation at REID Symposium, Brussels (2020), organised by Catherine Mendonça-Dias • Attended seminars and study days on themes related to "education of immigrant children" (2017-2019, ADEB, Paris Nouvelle-Sorbonne, ESPE Bordeaux) 	<p><i>Methodology:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Observations from volunteer experience (1 year volunteer English teaching at CADA, Villenave d'Ornon, 2017-2018) • Volunteer experience with Refugee Resettlement Services Aotearoa, NZ (2008-2009) <p><i>Interviews, surveys:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interviews with CADA staff • Interviews with CADA residents • Informal exchanges with refugees and asylum seekers in NZ and France • Informal exchanges with staff at Red Cross NZ <p><i>Related activities</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Facilitated CADA staff training day in collaboration with Crisis Classroom, UK (June 2018) • Trained as refugee resettlement volunteer in NZ (2008); accompanied Burmese refugee family during resettlement (2008-2009) • Trained as volunteer English teacher in Calais refugee camp (2017)
<p><i>Analysis of findings:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Quantitative analysis of classroom observation data (number of L1 productions by students, typology of L1 productions) • Qualitative analysis of classroom observation data + interviews and surveys (discussion of student learning behaviours, teacher attitudes, views of teacher aides, views of principals, etc) • Qualitative analysis of global observations of integration processes in schools (school culture, teacher-student relationships, student-student relationships, school-parent relationships, linguistic and cultural inclusiveness practices, etc) 	<p><i>Other activities in teacher training:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Professional experience as languages teacher informs project (Japan, NZ, Thailand, Vietnam, Cambodia, France) • Active involvement in teacher education projects internationally, as teacher trainer for English teachers in SE Asia: Panyaprteep Thailand 2014-2015, NGO Childrens' Future International Cambodia 2015 • Teaching in various education-related courses at University de Bordeaux (2017-2020) Masters of International Education (ESPE), Département Langues et Cultures (ATER 2019) 	<p><i>Activities with other agencies in educational environment:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>CASNAV, Bordeaux</u> - attended teacher training day at Collège Blanqui, Bordeaux Nord (2018) (observation notes, informal exchanges with teachers); interview with Cécile Prévost, academic coordinator CASNAV Aquitaine • Interview with Emma Stone, Head of English Language Institute, Wellington, 2019 (EL courses for refugee adults) • Interview with Joan Costello, Māori language teacher, Te Papa NZ, 2019 • Written response from NZ Minister for Education, Chris Hipkins (2019)

2.1 TERRAIN 1: SCHOOLS

The methodology was largely consistent between schools, with the aim of carrying out a “mirror study” in each school. Three key methods of research were applied in each school:

- (1) Classroom observations in (i) UPE2A and EL classes, (ii) mainstream classes (case studies).
- (2) Surveys of (i) UPE2A and EL students in whole class context, (ii) mainstream class teachers.
- (3) Interviews with (i) UPE2A and EL teachers, (ii) school principals, (iii) other staff working closely with participating students, eg teacher aides.

Additionally, the periods of in-school research were supported by informal exchanges with teachers in the staffroom, interviews with two ex-UPE2A students from the French school, and occasionally helping UPE2A and EL students with their work during French/English classes.

2.1.1 School profiles

Two schools participated in the study - a *collège* in Bordeaux, France and a high school in Wellington, New Zealand. While the schools have quite different profiles, they are similarly representative of an ethnically and linguistically diverse student population that is reflective of the diversity of the national populations in France and New Zealand. Both schools are also working with inclusive practices, and share a similar school culture in terms of a team-based staff work ethic, positive teacher-student relationships, and a core staff of experienced teachers who retain a long-term commitment to teaching at the school. Both schools are public state schools, who receive newly-arrived immigrant students every year, and offer specialised classes in the language of schooling (French or English) for these students.

In accordance with human ethics standards of research and university guidelines, the names of participating schools, as well as the identities of students, parents, teachers and staff are kept anonymous to protect the privacy of participants. A general profile of each school is given below, to provide a clear context for where the field research was conducted.

Table 10: school profiles — Collège A in Bordeaux, High school A in Wellington

Collège in Bordeaux, France	High school in Wellington, New Zealand
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • REP school (réseau d'éducation prioritaire) = socio-economically underprivileged school zone • 450 students, co-ed, non-uniform • Students aged 11-15 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public school = socio-economically mixed school zone • 1200 students, co-ed, non-uniform • Students aged 13-18
<p><u>Inclusive practices</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 4 SEGPA classes = students with long-term learning difficulties • 1 ULIS class = disabled students • 1 UPE2A class = non-francophone immigrant students 	<p><u>Inclusive practices</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • marae (Māori meeting house) + Māori culture • special needs unit • EL classes for immigrant and international students • creche for teenage parents • Community Education programmes
<p><u>Immigrant students</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • up to 25 students in UPE2A class • in UPE2A all students are migrant background, refugee or asylum seeking (no international fee-paying students) • significant number of migrant background students in mainstream (1st and 2nd generation) 	<p><u>Immigrant students</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • about 70 international fee-paying students (short and long-term) • about 20 refugee students • significant number of migrant background students in mainstream (1st and 2nd generation)
<p><u>Languages</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • English, Spanish and Italian offered as 2nd language options for all students • All students learn at least one 2nd language • Staff speak Albanian, Arabic, Portuguese, Spanish, Italian, English • Translators available for other languages (for parent-teacher meetings) 	<p><u>Languages</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Māori, Japanese, Chinese, Spanish offered as 2nd language options for all students • All Year 9 students learn Māori + choice of another 2nd language • Staff speak Arabic, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, French, Spanish, Pacific Island languages, Māori • Translators available for other languages (for parent-teacher meetings)

The participating *collège* in Bordeaux has many of the hallmarks of a REP school: mixed local-immigrant school community, ethnic and linguistic diversity, a higher proportion of socio-economically disadvantaged families, and academic results lower than both the regional and national averages (www.letudiant.fr accessed 8/2/2020).

The participating high school in Wellington retains a reputation as a community school with inclusive practices, reflected in its principles of “*whanau* (looking after each other as a community), *excellence* (personal excellence, achieving to your best), *respect* (respectful relationships are at the core of the school’s philosophy) and *ora* (emotional and physical wellbeing)” (Interview with school principal, 28/3/2019).

2.1.2 Organisation of school visits

School visits were carried out over a 2-year period (2017-2019), organised as follows:

Table 11: organisation of school visits 2017-2019

Collège in Bordeaux, France	High school in Wellington, New Zealand
<p>Observation period 1: Nov 2017-March 2018 UPE2A classes = 8 visits - 2 hour classes x 8 = 16 hours of observation</p>	<p>Observation period 1: March 2019-June 2019 EL classes = 10 visits - 2 hour classes x 10 = 20 hours of observation</p>
<p>Classes d’inclusion (27/2/2018-24/3/2019) - case studies of 3 newly-arrived UPE2A students - subjects: Music, Maths, Italian, English - 14 hours of observation</p>	<p>Mainstream classes (15/5/2019-31/5/2019) - case studies of 4 newly-arrived EL students - subjects: Maths, Computing - 8 hours of observation</p>
<p>Observation period 2: Sept 2018-Jan 2019 UPE2A classes = 8 visits - 2 hour classes x 8 = 16 hours of observation</p>	<p>A second observation phase not possible due to geographical distance, and global COVID-19 pandemic.</p>
<p>No observations of classes d’inclusion effected during 2nd phase, due to teacher and student absences.</p>	

The school in Bordeaux was easily accessible for these two periods of field research, as it is close to where I live. During the two observation periods of 4 months each, I visited the UPE2A class fortnightly every Friday morning for 2 hours, to observe UPE2A students during French language lessons with their teacher. These observations in French classes provided a substantial amount of detailed data on language use by newly-arrived immigrant students in their *français langue de scolarisation* (FLS) classes (L1 production, use of English as a lingua franca, other language use). In addition, for a 3-week intensive phase, I followed 3 UPE2A students into some of their other subject classes, observing how they learn in the mainstream context. Observations of these 3 students served as case studies, and provided detailed data on each child’s learning behaviours in mainstream classes (with a focus on classroom interactions and integration). A total of 32 hours of observation was effected in FLS classes, and 14 hours of observation in mainstream classes.

In 2019, I carried out a 3-month period of field research in New Zealand, assisted by a travel grant from LACES and Axe Diversité at Université de Bordeaux. During this time I visited the school in Wellington over a 10-week period, carrying out a “mirror study” of the field research effected at the school in Bordeaux. The time frame was condensed and therefore more intense. I visited an English Language (EL) class weekly for 2 hours, to observe immigrant students during English language lessons with their teacher. For a 2-week intensive phase, I followed 4 EL students into some of their subject classes, observing learning in the mainstream context, as case studies. Observations followed the same protocol as in the French school, with detailed data gathered on language use in EL classes (L1 production, use of Māori language, other language use), and detailed data gathered on the child’s learning behaviours in mainstream classes (with a focus on classroom interactions and integration). A total of 20 hours of observation was effected in EL classes, and 8 hours of observation in mainstream classes.

For reasons of distance, and the global COVID-19 pandemic in 2020, it was not possible to carry out a second period of observation in the New Zealand school.

2.1.3 Classroom observations

Two key areas of immigrant students' experiences were observed in both schools:

- (1) LANGUAGES: (1) the role of the child's first language (L1) in the classroom and in the child's learning processes; and (2) the level of language diversity in the classroom — that is:
- how other languages were used amongst the students
 - how students came into contact with each other's languages
 - the use of Māori language instructions by the teacher
 - the use of English as a lingua franca between the FLS teacher and students / or between students
 - how students who speak more than one language at home referenced their plurilingualism in the classroom.
- (2) INTEGRATION: (1) integration processes during the early arrival phase; and (2) how schools support newly-arrived students with little or no proficiency in the language of schooling to participate in mainstream classes - that is:
- teacher aides / bilingual teacher aides
 - how FLS/EL teachers support integration of students and parents
 - how mainstream teachers worked with immigrant students directly
 - levels of participation by immigrant students
 - how participants interacted with other students and with the teacher
 - how the learning context of the classroom facilitated participation
 - how activities were structured and the effect on participants
 - learning behaviours demonstrated by participants
 - how well participants managed learning tasks.

For the Languages area, I set observation objectives as follows:

Table 12: observation objectives in Languages (3 Cycles of observations in FLS / EL classes)

First cycle of observations Nov 2017-Mar 2018 UPE2A class, Bordeaux	2nd cycle of observations Sept 2018-Jan 2019 UPE2A class, Bordeaux	First cycle of observations Mar 2019-June 2019 EL class, Wellington
<p>Observation objectives:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to notice when and why students use their L1 in the classroom • to see if there is a difference between authorised and unauthorised L1 production = frequency, reason, learning outcome • to observe how the educational space treats L1 = encouragement/discouragement, view of place of L1 in child's learning, home/school separation & liaison 	<p>Observation objectives:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to notice when and why students use their L1 and other languages (eg, English as lingua franca) in the classroom • to see if there is a difference between authorised and unauthorised L1 production = frequency, reason, learning outcome • to observe how the educational space treats L1 and lingua franca = encouragement/discouragement, view of place of L1 and lingua franca in child's learning, home/school separation & liaison • to observe links to plurilingualism in each child's approach to learning • to observe integration over time = classroom behaviours, prior schooling & low levels of literacy, relationship with teacher & students 	<p>Observation objectives:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to notice when and why students use their L1 and other languages (eg, 3rd language as lingua franca) in the classroom • to see if there is a difference between authorised and unauthorised L1 production = frequency, reason, learning outcome • to observe how the educational space treats L1 and lingua franca = encouragement/discouragement, view of place of L1 and lingua franca in child's learning, home/school separation & liaison • to observe links to plurilingualism in each child's approach to learning • to observe integration over time = classroom behaviours, prior schooling & low levels of literacy, relationship with teacher & students

For the first cycle of observations (in the left-hand column), I was interested simply in how much space was allowed in the FLS classroom for the first languages of students (authorised production), and whether students were pro-actively using their first languages and for what reasons (unauthorised production). My aim was to observe whether first languages do play a role in students' learning processes, and to what degree students themselves are choosing to work in their first languages. I wanted to see first-hand how a French school works "with or against" the languages of immigrant students, and how students may be creating a language-rich learning environment for themselves in spite of the monolingual educational environment.

The objectives evolved between the first cycle of observations in the French school, and the 2nd cycle, as I was noticing unexpected things about how languages were used in the UPE2A classroom context. Two different groups of UPE2A students were observed, as the class observed in the 1st cycle had all moved into mainstream education. So the group observed in the 2nd cycle were newly-arrived students who displayed different kinds of learning behaviours, and ways of using language that were slightly different to the first group. For example, at times students were initiating exchanges in English as a lingua franca, either with the teacher or other students. There were also two Iraqi students from asylum-seeking families who displayed "high needs" learning behaviours, and I wanted to see how they would adapt to learning in a French classroom over the time of the observation period. Therefore two new observation objectives were added to the 2nd cycle of observations in the French school, to capture these two new aspects of language use and integration.

I applied the same criteria to the observation objectives for the EL class observed in the New Zealand school, with one small adaptation. In the New Zealand context, the "3rd language as lingua franca" refers to teachers' use of Māori language to give basic classroom instructions such as "*e tu*" (stand up), "*e noho*" (sit down), "*whakarongo mai*" (listen to me). Teachers in New Zealand schools often speak simple Māori instructions to students, so it forms part of the NZ classroom learning context. I observed that immigrant students in the EL class were used to this, and therefore responded to the teacher's use of Māori language as a communicative classroom management tool. The EL teacher also taught the class a bilingual song in Māori and English, so again the Māori language had a learning function in the EL classroom context.

For the Integration area, I set the following observation objectives:

Table 13: observation objectives in Integration (case studies in Bordeaux and Wellington schools)

Observations in <i>classes d'inclusion</i> Nov 2017-Mar 2018 <i>Collège, Bordeaux</i>	Observations in mainstream classes Mar 2019-June 2019 High school, Wellington
<p>Observation objectives:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to observe classroom culture, teaching and learning style, how activities are structured for inclusion (eg, individual/pair/group work) • to observe student's learning strategies in mainstream classes (links to resilience, self-management, adaptability, initiation) • to observe teacher-student relationships and effect on student • to observe particular support in place for student (eg, teacher aide, visual support, language support) 	<p>Observation objectives:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to observe classroom culture, teaching and learning style, how activities are structured for inclusion (eg, individual/pair/group work) • to observe student's learning strategies in mainstream classes (links to resilience, self-management, adaptability, initiation) • to observe teacher-student relationships and effect on student • to observe particular support in place for student (eg, teacher aide, visual support, language support)
<p>Case studies:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 3 newly-arrived students from UPE2A class, aged 13-15, mix of countries of origin and L1 • Subjects: Music, English, Italian, Maths 	<p>Case studies:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 4 newly-arrived students from EL class, aged 13-15, mix of countries of origin and L1 • Subjects: Maths, Computing

The same observation criteria in the two school settings allowed me to observe two very different styles of classroom learning. In the French school, classroom learning is teacher-centred, whole class and individual, and students interact directly with the teacher to ask and answer questions, rather than with each other. In the NZ school, classroom learning is student-centred, with students working in pairs and groups, and students interact with each other to solve problems and complete tasks.

A key difference in these two contexts was the presence of English-speaking and bilingual teacher aides in mainstream classes in the NZ school, whereas there were no teacher aides for UPE2A students in the French school. Another key difference was that the Maths teachers in the NZ school had made a series of Maths booklets in simplified language at different levels, so EL students can remain with their cohort class for Maths, but work in a simplified booklet at their level of understanding on the topic. In the French school, UPE2A students worked in their cohort class for Maths at the same level as the other students, but generally had more visual aid with PPTs, as well as more individual help from the teacher to complete a task.

A detailed analysis of classroom observation data gathered in schools will be presented, and findings discussed in depth, in Part 3.

2.1.4 Participants

The focus group of participants were 42 newly-arrived immigrant students enrolled in either one of the participating schools in Bordeaux or Wellington, and taking a specialist language-of-schooling class with other immigrant students. The study observed these 42 immigrant students in their language classes: 29 newly-arrived students in two UPE2A classes in France, and 13 students in one EL class in New Zealand. The participants were all aged between 11 and 18 years old at the time of the study, and from this broader age group, 7 students aged 13-15 were selected as case studies.

With the exception of three students in the NZ group, all 42 participating students were in their first year of schooling in the host country. All students had little or no proficiency in the language of schooling at the time of arrival, with the exception of one Italian student in the French group, who had studied French for a year before the family emigrated to France. Each class was observed over a period of 10 weeks to 4 months, during which time students' proficiency levels ranged from A0-A2 in the language of schooling.

The 42 participants represent high levels of cultural and linguistic diversity, with a range of 22 different countries of origin and 24 different languages spoken at home. Some participants also reported speaking more than one language at home, other than the language of schooling: for example, a brother and sister of Senegalese/Italian origins who speak 20% Wolof and 80% Italian at home.

There were some differences in countries of origin between the French and NZ participant groups of students. In the NZ class there were no students from European countries, whereas the French class had 13 students from a range of EU and Eastern European countries: Bulgaria (4), Portugal (3), Italy (3), Spain (2), Albania (1), Ukraine (1) and Romania (1). The New Zealand class had more students from Asian countries (Thailand 4, China 1, Vietnam 1) than the French class (Laos 2). While the French class had more students from Arab nations (Syria 2, Iraq 2, Afghanistan 1) than the New Zealand class (Syria 2). Both classes had similar numbers of students from African countries: in the French class (Algeria 2, Eritrea 1), in the New Zealand class (Somalia 3). Both classes had similar numbers from South America: in the French class (Brazil 1), in the New Zealand class (Colombia 2).

The participants also come from a range of family situations, including 17 students in families with newly-arrived immigrant parents, 11 students in NZ under the UNHCR refugee resettlement programme and 3 students with refugee status in France. In the French school, 6 of the participant students were from asylum-seeking families, 3 of whom were residents at CADA centres at the time of the study. In addition, one 15-year-old participant was in France as an unaccompanied minor living in a CAO (*centre d'accueil et d'orientation*). There were also 2 Roma students living with parents in Roma camps, and one student from Romania whose family situation is unknown⁶⁹. There were no international fee-paying students involved in this study.

For the purposes of this study, the participants were therefore an excellent representation of linguistic and cultural diversity, and the classes followed in both schools were similarly diverse. In both countries, language-of-schooling classes are organised according to level of proficiency of the students, and therefore the age range in each class was broad - in the Bordeaux school participants' ages ranged from 11 to 15, and in the Wellington school from 13-18 years old. A breakdown of participants' countries of origin, languages spoken at home and family situations is as follows:

⁶⁹ See Table on following page for details of participants' countries of origin and languages spoken at home. Data from class surveys in UPE2A and EL classes (March 2018, May 2019)

Table 14: participant profiles by countries of origin, languages spoken at home, family situations

Country of origin	#	Language(s) spoken at home	Family situation	Name
Bulgaria	4	Bulgarian 100% (Rom not declared)	2 Roma families / 2 immigrant Bulgarian families	Vladislav, Bojan, Lena, Iosefina
Italy	1	Italian	Immigrant family in France	Maria
Italy/Senegal	2	Italian 80% Wolof 20%	Immigrant family (mother, father, 2 sisters), in France 8 months	Romina, Mpenda
Portugal	3	Portuguese 75-90% French 10%	Immigrant families	Camila, Matilde, Rafael,
Spain/Congo	2	Spanish 25% Lingala 50%	Immigrant families in France	Medi, Alvaro
Eritrea	1	Arabic 60% Spanish 10% French 30%	Asylum seeking family in France, resident at CADA	Osama
Laos	2	Laotian	Immigrant family in France	Leilani, Havika
Albania	1	Albanian	Asylum seeking family in France (mother, father, sister), resident at CADA	Erlblin
Pakistan	1	Punjabi 25% Hindi 25% French 50%	Unaccompanied minor in France, 16 years old, resident at COA, seeking asylum	Ishmael
Brazil	1	Portuguese 50% Spanish 50%	Immigrant family in France	Gonçalo
Syria	3	Arabic 85% French 15%	Refugee family in France (mother, father, sister)	Nadim, Mustafa, Halima
Syria	2	Arabic 80% English 20%	Refugee family (mother, brothers, sister) resettled in NZ	Abdul, Nadine
Thailand (Karen hill tribe)	4	Karen 50-99% Thai 5-10% English 0-40%	Refugee families resettled in NZ	Maahi, Than-Ninh, Sanoh, Ma
Vietnam	1	Vietnamese 100%	Immigrant family (mother, father, sister), 6 months in NZ	Thanh
Colombia	2	Spanish 80% English 15% Arabic 5%	Refugee families (mother, sisters, aunt, cousins, niece) resettled in NZ	Lola, Alejandro
Somalia	3	Somali 90-95% Arabic 5-10%	Refugee extended family of 9 people (mother, sisters, brothers, cousins) resettled in NZ	Yuusuf, Abdirahim, Bashiir
China	1	Chinese	Immigrant family in NZ	Lihua
Iraq	2	Arabic 95% Finnish 5%	Asylum seeking family in France (mother, father: brother & sister in UPE2A class)	Mahala, Mahomet
Bangladesh	1	Bengali English	Asylum seeking family in France (mother)	Aagati

Algeria	2	Arabic Berber	Immigrant family in France	Maanal, Raaisha
Afghanistan	1	Farsi French	Asylum seeking family in France, resident at CADA	Zlatko
Ukraine	1	Ukrainien English	Immigrant family in France	Rurik
Romania	1	Romanian	Unknown	Katalina
TOTAL	42	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 24 languages spoken • 21 children speaking more than one language at home • 42 children speaking languages other than language-of-schooling at home 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 18 children from immigrant families • 14 refugee background children • 6 children from families seeking asylum • 2 children from Roma families • 1 unaccompanied minor • 1 unknown 	24 boys, 18 girls

2.1.5 Case studies

A total of 7 students from the participating UPE2A and EL classes were selected as case studies, in order to gain a fuller picture of how each school's general culture of inclusion and mainstream classes work together to integrate newly-arrived immigrant students (according to Integration objectives, see above). Students were selected within the target age range of 13-15 years old, including a range of cultural backgrounds and languages of origin, and in consultation with the UPE2A and EL teachers. From these 7 case studies, 4 are presented in this thesis, plus 2 additional "special case studies".

In the French school, case studies of 3 newly-arrived UPE2A students were carried out during the first cycle of school visits, over 3 weeks (27/2/2018-24/3/2019) — a total of 14 hours of observation in mainstream classes. I followed the 3 students into some of their mainstream classes in Music, Maths, Italian and English. Similarly in the New Zealand school, I followed 4 newly-arrived EL students into some of their mainstream classes over a 2-week period (15/5/2019-31/5/2019), yielding a total of 8 hours of observations in Maths and Computing Science.

A profile of each student's learning behaviours was built up over the periods of intensive observations in some of the student's mainstream classes. Detailed data was gathered through a "fly-on-the-wall" approach in class - observing how the student worked in class across a range of activities, how teachers interacted with the student and how the student responded, what kind of active and passive learning behaviours the student engaged in, how other students related to the newly-arrived immigrant student, strategies teachers implemented that had an effect on the student's ability to participate, and other factors such as one-on-one help from a teacher aide or bilingual teacher aide.

These case studies revealed significant differences and similarities between classroom practices in France and New Zealand, and common effects on the learning of newly-arrived immigrant students in this age group (13-15 years old), such as:

- Teacher-centred learning vs. student-centred learning
- Organisation of classroom - individual seating vs. group seating plan
- Structure of lessons - introduction and conclusion to lessons, type and quantity of activities, transition between learning activities, routine and classroom expectations
- Structure of learning activities - presentation of task, scaffolding, individual/pair/group work, variety of activities, verbal/visual/kinaesthetic learning, interactive/receptive learning, key role of teacher aide
- Language of schooling - teacher's language(s), teacher-class exchanges, language complexity of tasks, participant strategies for understanding, verbal/written language support, question and answer forms, repetition, pace and volume, key role of teacher aide
- Participants' first languages - bilingual teacher aides, classroom teacher use of L1, student use of L1, dictionaries

- Classroom culture - teacher-student relationships, student-student relationships, inclusion/exclusion of immigrant students, treatment of diversity in mainstream class context

My objective in all classroom observations was to focus on the immigrant child's responses to these variables, in order to see how their learning is impacted, whether they are active participants or passive observers in the mainstream classroom context, how they manage interactions in each context in order to access learning activities, and what their general experience of learning is in mainstream classes. I emphasised to participating classroom teachers that I was not there to observe the teacher or make comments on their teaching practices, but to observe the newly-arrived student and their learning strategies.

The findings from these case studies therefore examine two sides of the child's integration processes into mainstream classes: (1) ways in which the child copes with new learning in the mainstream, and how the child responds to mainstream classroom culture and structures of learning, and (2) how the learning environment supports the child's particular learning needs in terms of language and integration. These two aspects combined link to the principle of integration as a "two-way process" between the child and the educational environment.

A detailed analysis of data, supported by discussion of findings from these case studies will be presented in the following chapter. A brief profile of the students who participated in the case studies is as follows:

Table 15: student case study profiles (French school: Erlblin and Matilde) (NZ school: Maahi and Abdul)

Participating students from school in Bordeaux, France	Participating students from school in Wellington, New Zealand
<p><i>Erlblin, 14 years old, Albania</i> Erlblin is in France as asylum seeker with family, since early 2018. In Dec 2018, the family were evicted from CADA residence (they are a family of 4), as their application for asylum was refused. Very unstable time for the family. They are now in France without papers, staying with friends in a village some distance from Bordeaux. Erlblin continued at school, catching the bus 90 mins each way. He is the only Albanian student in the class, and there is one other Albanian student at the school. There is also an Albanian staff member whom Erlblin talks to sometimes if he needs help understanding school administration. The school does not have teacher aides, so he works independently in mainstream classes.</p>	<p><i>Maahi, 15 years old, Thailand</i> Has been in NZ for 5 months but started school at the beginning of the 2019 school year (5 weeks ago). He speaks Karen and is quite sociable with the other students, including the Karen-speaking students. Maahi is supported by Krista (intern, teacher aide) in Maths and Computer Sciences. He is good at Maths, not so confident on computers, but has a willingness to learn, and a strong social network amongst other Karen-Thai classmates.</p>
<p><i>Matilde, 13 years old, Portugal</i> Has been in France for 9 months with family as immigrants. Older sister Camila (15) is in the same UPE2A class and they interact in Portuguese, although Matilde usually works with students her own age. She has a lot of positive learning behaviours and was eager to be part of the case studies. She is highly social and engaged in her learning in UPE2A classes. After this first observation period, the family moved houses over the summer break and Matilde was zoned into another school zone, and had to change schools which she was upset about.</p>	<p><i>Abdul, 13 years old, Syria</i> Has been in NZ for one year and arrived as a refugee through UNHCR. He is the youngest child in the family, with siblings aged 25, 27, 28, and is an uncle. He has a low level of English and trouble concentrating in class, also lacking basic literacy skills such as map-reading; often needs one-on-one help to get started on a task. He is supported in mainstream classes by Rania (teacher aide employed for 15 hours per week as bilingual Arabic-English support). Abdul's learning behaviours have developed since his arrival at school, and Rania notes advancements in his integration although his English reading and writing skills are slower to develop.</p>

2.1.6 Two "special" case studies

I decided at the end of these observation periods to add two "special" case studies: Mahala (Iraq, 12 years old) and Bashiir (Somalia, 17 years old). Both of these students were very interesting cases of newly-arrived plurilingual students, as they both spoke more than one language on arrival, and had lived a refugee experience with fragmented prior schooling as a result. Both Mahala and Bashiir have low L1 literacy and struggled with developing basic literacy in the language-of-schooling. As well as this, their classroom learning behaviours were quite different to the other students, and their FLS and EL teachers were working hard on integration processes to support these two students.

Table 16: student “special” case study profiles (French school: Mahala) (NZ school: Bashiir)

French school, observations of integration into school	New Zealand school, observations of integration into school
<p><i>Mahala, 12 years old, Iraq</i> Has just arrived in France with family as refugees. Older brother Mahomet is in the same UPE2A class. She speaks Arabic at home and spent 8 months at school in Finland. She is an absolute beginner in French, and I observed her only in FLS classes as she had few <i>classes d'inclusions</i> at this early stage. Mahala appears to have low literacy in L1, as well as fragmented prior schooling. She has a short attention span and was often easily distracted and needed to work one-on-one with the FLS teacher. When Mahala got glasses part-way through the observation period, her learning behaviours improved dramatically, and she was able to participate much more fully during lessons.</p>	<p><i>Bashiir, 17 years old, Somalia</i> Arrived in NZ last November (5 months ago), and is living with extended family as refugees. Cousins Abdirahim and Yuusuf are in the same EL class, and last year two older “brothers” were at the same school. He speaks Somali at home and learned Arabic as L2 in Somalia. He is an absolute beginner in English, and I observed him only in EL classes. He has constant teacher aide support in both EL and mainstream classes. Bashiir has very low literacy in L1, fragmented prior schooling, and teachers describe him as “surly, resistant, doesn’t want my help”. He often seemed disengaged from learning in EL classes, and at times disruptive. There were some very interesting moments when Bashiir suddenly became very engaged with learning and participated when activities were kinaesthetic or musical.</p>

2.1.7 Surveys and Interviews

Classroom observations were supported by surveys and interviews in both schools, in the following way:

- (1) A survey of UPE2A and EL students was completed in the whole class context, with the UPE2A/EL teacher present. The same survey was given in French for the UPE2A students, and in English for the EL students (see Appendices, Part 3). The survey asks about the student’s use of L1 and learning strategies in UPE2A/EL classes and mainstream classes. Questions in the survey aim to find out about the languages students speak at home and at school, how often they work in L1 at school and for what purposes, what teachers do that helps them to learn, and what learning strategies students themselves employ.

12 surveys were returned from the UPE2A class (first cycle), and 11 from the EL class. Information shared by students in these surveys is used as quantitative and qualitative data on the role of L1 in students’ learning in mainstream classes. For example, all students from the French class responded “*très souvent*” to the question “*Copier les notes du tableau*” as a learning strategy, where only 5 students from the NZ class responded “often” to the same question, favouring “ask my neighbour when I don’t understand” as a learning strategy. This may indicate different classroom cultures or organisation of class activities - students are encouraged to work individually in the French classroom and interactively in the NZ classroom.

- (2) A survey of mainstream class teachers was given to teachers of the 7 students participating in the case studies. The survey asked 10 similar questions, in French for the French teachers and in English for the NZ teachers (see Appendices). Questions ask about teacher training, pedagogical strategies they use for immigrant students, observations of difficulties for immigrant students, comments on integration of the student, and how well the student is achieving in their subject area.

4 surveys were returned from the French teachers, and 1 survey from the NZ teachers. Information gathered from these surveys may be used to discuss teaching strategies, and teacher views on the need for further training. For example, the NZ teacher responded to the question on whether they would like training sessions for working with EL students, “Would prefer money spent on trained teacher aides”, and a French teacher similarly responded to the same question “*Pas forcément nécessaire.*” This indicates a similar attitude amongst mainstream teachers that specialised training for effective teaching of immigrant students is not a priority for them.

- (3) Interviews were carried out in both schools with the UPE2A and EL teachers, school principals and other staff working closely with participating students, eg teacher aides. The information shared by educators during these interviews sheds light on school culture, teachers’ professional experiences, how teachers work with newly-arrived immigrant students, and anecdotal testimony to student progress, difficulties and achievement.

- (4) A further two interviews were conducted with two ex-UPE2A students, Martina (from Georgia) and Sadira (from Syria), who had graduated from the participating *collège* and were in their final year at high school at the time of the interviews (October 2018). These interviews were kindly arranged by the UPE2A teacher. Martina and Sadira recounted their memories of being newly-arrived immigrant students who did not speak any French, and how they managed their learning and integration into the education system. Both young women succeeded in passing the Baccalauréat exams in 2018, and are now pursuing higher education in law and foreign languages.

2.1.8 School results

The end-of-year school results for students participating in case studies were requested from both school principals. To date, only the Wellington school have released results, supported by mainstream teacher comments on how students are progressing, and comments on each EL student from the EL teacher. Results from the Bordeaux school may not be made available, due to administrative constraints at the school.

The available results and teacher comments will be used as quantitative and qualitative data, to see if there are correlations with observations of students' learning behaviours, use of L1 in their learning approaches, and integration into mainstream classes. This part of the analysis will be presented and discussed in Part 2, Chapters 2 and 3.

2.1.9 Limitations

Overall, the school-based research in both schools in Bordeaux and Wellington was rich in both access to authentic learning situations and depth of in-class observations. The lead teachers of UPE2A and EL classes were welcoming and enthusiastic about participating in the study, and embraced the objectives and methodology for the project. The positive participation of school principals, lead teachers and other staff working closely with newly-arrived immigrant students was essential for the field research part of the project, and I am very grateful to everyone involved.

Limitations on the field research were largely due to the constraints of time and distance. The participating school in Bordeaux is a 10-minute bike ride from my home, so I was able to visit regularly and carry out two intensive periods of classroom observations. However only one period of field research was possible with the participating New Zealand school, due to the obvious geographical distance, cost and organisation of time for completing the research. A second period of field research in New Zealand planned for 2020-2021 was cancelled due to the global Coronavirus pandemic.

Other minor limitations arose from either student or teacher absences on days when observations or interviews had been scheduled. One of the case studies planned in the New Zealand school was cancelled, as the student did not turn up to her Art class and the teacher said the student was often truant. So we simply chose another student for the case studies, and there was little impact on the study. Case studies planned during the Second Cycle of observations in the French school were cancelled due to teacher absences and cancelled classes.

The teacher surveys had a very low rate of return, due to teachers being too busy, and this limited the level of "teacher voice" in the final analysis. However, informal exchanges in the staffroom and after class in both schools yielded some valuable input from teachers.

A further limitation during the first year of field research was my own lack of cultural integration and lower level of proficiency in French, as a relatively newly-arrived immigrant in France myself. I was not able to communicate as fully with teachers at the French school as I would have liked to, and this limited the depth of exchanges that we were able to have about the project, the participating students, and teachers' own professional experiences. My own cultural viewpoint as a teacher trained in New Zealand also may have lent a certain bias to my observations of "effective and ineffective" classroom practices in the French school, and conversely during the period of observation in the NZ school it was inevitable that I made comparisons with the stricter classroom environment of the French school, after 3 years of working within the French education system. This limitation has however the advantage of a double-edged perspective: my own experiences of learning the French language and integrating into French culture over the 4 years of the study, interspersed by intermittent periods of reverse-adaptation to life in New Zealand, gave me a first-hand

taste of how newly-arrived immigrant students may experience language-learning and cultural adaptation to different school systems in both countries.

2.1.10 Ethical research practice

Ethical research practice is central to this study, and was ensured at all stages of the observations and case studies carried out with the young participants in schools.

While there is no formal requirement for authorisation of studies before a Human Ethics Commission at the Université de Bordeaux, the utmost consideration for the privacy of each participant in this research was observed. This was ensured in the following ways in the field:

- where individuals and institutions are identified it is with the permission of those individuals and institutions
- the names of the two schools that participated will not be published
- the identities of all 42 student participants and their teachers will remain anonymous, as far as possible
- surveys with students were carried out in the whole class context, with teachers present
- individual interviews with students were conducted with the UPE2A / EL teacher present
- background knowledge of participants' families remained superficial in order to gain a general profile of each child's situation, and only information that was freely offered about families was collected

A limitation that arose from human ethics considerations is that it was unfortunately not possible to interview parents, or to ask specific questions about the personal stories and family backgrounds of participating students. Profiles of the young people who participated in case studies are therefore limited to a brief linguistic and cultural biography.

2.2 TERRAIN 2: TEACHER TRAINING INSTITUTIONS

The methodology for gathering information on how teachers are trained, both within teacher training institutions and in professional development, was carried out in the field in three ways:

- (1) Observations from professional teaching experience as an English *lectrice* at a French ESPE (2015-2017). These 2 years also served as an exploratory period for the research, during which time I formed the idea for the project and wrote my PhD proposal. I was interested in how teachers are trained for working with immigrant students in the French education system, and how plurilingual teachers and teachers from migrant backgrounds may be able to bring their existing linguistic and intercultural knowledge to their teaching practice.
- (2) Visiting researcher experience with the Faculty of Education, Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand (March-June 2019). This 3-month period as a visiting researcher placed me in contact with experts in teacher training in New Zealand, notably Carolyn Tait (Head of School, Education), Bronwyn Wood (Senior Lecturer, School of Education) and Stephen Dobson (Dean of Education). During this period I was able to interview and informally exchange with these experts, and to access resources pertinent to NZ teacher training programmes specifically for inclusive pedagogy for culturally and linguistically diverse students.
- (3) A further important activity in teacher training was an observation of a teacher training day at a Collège in Bordeaux (2018), run by CASNAV. At the training day, teachers working in a school very similar to the participating French school for this study undertook specialised training to improve their understanding and approaches in the classroom with newly-arrived immigrant students. This was an invaluable session, as it allowed me to hear and record in detail the daily experiences of teachers in a French school, across a range of subject areas, and to observe CASNAV experts training teachers in culturally and linguistically inclusive pedagogy.

Information gathered in the terrain of teacher training institutions provided first-hand experience of how teachers are trained in France and New Zealand, both in initial training and professional development of teachers in schools. This is highly relevant to this research project, as teacher training informs classroom teaching practice, and is one factor amongst a number of other variables that explains differences and similarities in the child's experience of schooling and academic "success". I add that teacher training for working with immigrant children is somewhat unified by an international perspective - that is, research

findings and literature about what is known to work in education for immigrant children tends to agree on basic principles of intercultural and inclusive approaches, regardless of country context or language of schooling.

2.3 TERRAIN 3: AGENCIES WORKING WITH REFUGEE RESETTLEMENT

The third terrain explored for this study was that of agencies working with asylum seekers in France, and refugee resettlement in New Zealand. The methodology followed was periods of “on the ground” volunteer work with agencies in France and NZ, interviews with staff at CADA, interviews with two CADA residents, and numerous informal exchanges and discussions with asylum-seeker and refugee families in both countries.

Related to the New Zealand part of this research, I had earlier trained as a volunteer in refugee resettlement in NZ (2008-2009) when doing Masters study in International Relations, and accompanied a Burmese family during their resettlement process in Wellington. The training with Refugee Resettlement Services Aotearoa, and subsequent volunteer experience, allowed me to gain insight into how refugee resettlement is organised in New Zealand. More recently, I followed up with discussions with staff at the NZ Red Cross (2019), who are now responsible for refugee resettlement nationally, to find out about recent measures to improve the integration of newly-arrived refugee families.

Between 2017-2018 I volunteered as an English teacher at two CADA (*centre d'accueil des demandeurs d'asile*) in Bordeaux, France. I gave English classes once a week to CADA staff and residents. This experience allowed me to build genuine relationships with CADA staff and residents, to see first-hand how CADA staff work with asylum seeking families, and to participate in various activities with residents and staff at the CADA centre. For example, I participated in a monthly forum for CADA parents with a French psychologist, at which they discussed their parenting concerns. The discussion was facilitated by translators, and parents shared problems they were experiencing with raising their children in the multicultural community of CADA, as well as issues arising around their children's schooling. An example is a parent whose child came home from school and said to parents “You know, parents who smack their child in France go to prison!” The parents were shocked, as physical discipline is acceptable in their culture, and asked the psychologist about this. The psychologist replied that it is illegal to hit children in France, but prison is only for cases of abuse and negligence. Parents agreed that the newly-arrived phase can be a destabilising experience as a parent, as the child comes home from school with more knowledge of French language and culture than the parents have, and so the child is “becoming French” while parents feel stuck in their relative lack of cultural and linguistic knowledge. One father said that he fears losing the respect of his child as the child's reference point for authority shifts towards school, and “French” ways of doing things (CADA parents' circle notes, 29/01/2019).

Further activities in the terrain of agencies working with asylum-seekers and refugees were:

- I trained as volunteer English teacher to work in the Calais refugee camp, with Crisis Classroom UK, Brighton (2017)
- I facilitated a CADA staff training day in collaboration with Crisis Classroom, UK (June 2018)
- An interview with a staff member at English Language Institute, Wellington, 2019 (on EL courses for refugee adults)
- I wrote to the New Zealand Minister of Education, Chris Hipkins, with questions about immigrant teenagers in education, and how the government is supporting successful learning in various ways, and received a written response (18/3/2019).

The methodology for field research in the terrain of agencies working in asylum seeker and refugee resettlement was therefore hands-on with a lot of people contact, and involved periods of volunteer work directly with asylum seekers and refugees, as well as conversations and interviews with experts working in the field. The contact with CADA in France was more directed towards the research interests of this project, as it took place at the same time as my PhD research. While the periods of training and volunteer work with Refugee & Migrant Services Aotearoa and Crisis Classroom UK took place before my PhD research, they nonetheless form part of a “personal knowledge bank on the experiences of refugees” that informs this study.

Knowledge developed in the terrain is therefore used qualitatively to include the voices and views of asylum seekers and refugees themselves, as well as staff working in resettlement in France and New Zealand.

Chapter 1 conclusion

The methodology followed in the field research part of this thesis consisted of a range of quantitative and qualitative research tools, including detailed notes from classroom observations (Annexes 1-5), 5 surveys (Annexes 6-10), 19 formal interviews (10 of which are included in Annexes 11-19), numerous informal exchanges, teacher training observations, volunteer experiences, and face-to-face engagement within the three terrains of schools, teacher training institutions, and asylum-seeker and refugee agencies.

The key aim of understanding the role of L1 (and plurilingual competences) in students' learning processes was pursued through direct classroom observations of 42 newly-arrived immigrant students aged 11-18 in the two participating schools. Data gathered from 74 hours of classroom observations in the two participating schools for this study (one in Bordeaux, one in Wellington) forms the core part of the field research, divided into quantitative and qualitative data as follows:

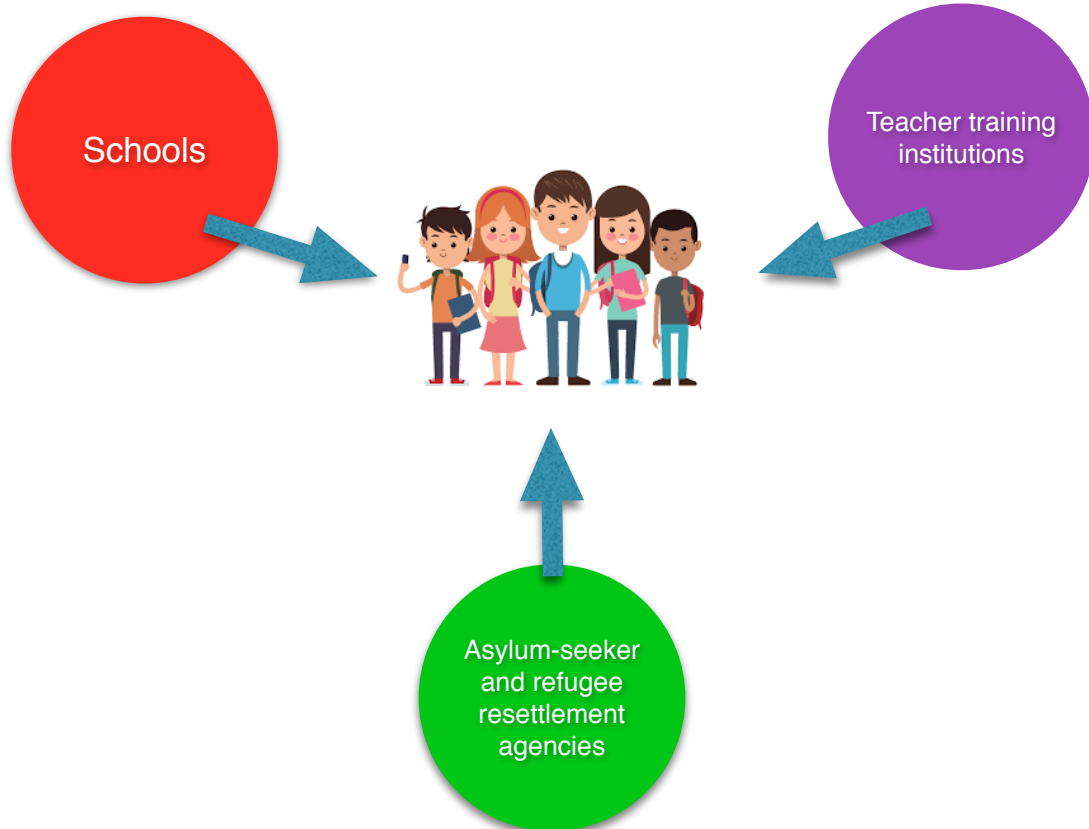
- (1) **Quantitative data on L1 language production** collected from 52 hours of classroom observations in UPE2A and EL classes will be presented and discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, based on (1) how the languages of immigrant students are used for a range of learning purposes in FLS and EL classes, (2) to what degree immigrant students choose to activate their L1 (and other languages) in the classroom, and for what range of purposes, (3) how frequently teachers authorise students' use of L1 (and other languages), and for what range of purposes.
- (2) **Qualitative data on integration into the school system** was collected through 22 hours of classroom observations of 7 newly-arrived immigrant students in their mainstream classes, as case studies from the two participating schools. This data will be presented and discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, looking at (1) each participant's individual learning strategies in mainstream classes, and (2) particular support in place for the student in their mainstream learning and integration. Further qualitative data collected from surveys of 23 participating students is used to build student profiles of family situation, languages spoken at home, how students perceive their L1 use at school, and how students perceive their own learning behaviours in the classroom.

Exploration of the other two terrains — teacher training institutions and asylum-seeker and refugee resettlement agencies — represents a substantial commitment of time and engagement in the field, and informs two important areas of the research:

- (1) how teachers are trained in France and New Zealand for working with newly-arrived immigrant students in schools, and
- (2) the experiences of asylum-seeker and refugee families in both countries.

Data collected in these two terrains is interwoven throughout the thesis work, as authentic material that informs the research in two ways:

- (1) by providing a place within the research for the voices of actors in the fields of teacher training and refugee-support agencies to be heard, and
- (2) by shaping and deepening the researcher's understanding through first-hand experience of how these two domains interrelate with the immigrant child's schooling.



Chapter 2

QUANTITATIVE data on L1 (and plurilingual) language production

Observations of 42 newly-arrived immigrant teenagers

in

FLS *français langue de scolarisation* (UPE2A) and EL *English language* classes

The key aim of understanding the role of L1 in students' learning processes was pursued through direct classroom observations of 42 newly-arrived immigrant students aged 11-18 in the two participating schools. This chapter presents quantitative data on language production collected from 52 hours of classroom observations in UPE2A and EL classes.

Firstly, I present findings on the various ways in which first languages of students are used, and how language inclusiveness practices in the classroom play a key role in language-of-schooling learning processes in FLS and EL classes. The use of *lingua franca* (English, Arabic) and alternative language-of-schooling (Māori) also played a role in students' learning in language-of-schooling classes, and this data is also discussed.

This chapter aims to bring together findings from quantitative data gathered in the two participating schools, to test the hypothesis that *“educational environments that allow space for plurilingual learning approaches create a platform from which to improve learning processes, engagement and construction of knowledge, thereby encouraging more effective learning for newly-arrived immigrant students.”*

Key questions for this chapter:

- How do newly-arrived immigrant students make use of their first languages and plurilingual repertoires in the UPE2A / EL classroom?
- What kinds of learning situations are “language inclusive” for students?
- Is there evidence that plurilingual learning approaches support student learning during the newly-arrived phase?

Introduction

A key aim of this thesis research is to understand the role of plurilingual learning approaches (use of L1, *lingua franca*, and other L2) in newly-arrived students' learning processes in two French/English language-of-schooling environments. This was investigated through classroom observations of 42 newly-arrived immigrant students aged 11-18 in the two participating schools. Data gathered from a total of 74 hours of classroom observations in the two schools that participated in this study (one in Bordeaux, one in Wellington) forms the core part of the field research, divided into quantitative and qualitative data as follows:

A. **Quantitative data on L1 and *lingua franca* language production** collected from 52 hours of classroom observations in UPE2A and EL classes is presented and discussed in this chapter, based on:

- (1) How the first languages of immigrant students (and plurilingual learning approaches) are used for a range of learning purposes in FLS and EL classes.
- (2) To what degree immigrant students choose to activate their L1 (and plurilingual repertoires) in the classroom, and for what range of purposes.
- (3) How frequently teachers authorise students' use of L1 (and plurilingualism), and for what range of purposes.

B. **Qualitative data on integration into the school system** collected from 22 hours of classroom observations of 7 newly-arrived immigrant students in their mainstream classes, as case studies from the two participating schools. This data is presented and discussed in Chapter 3, looking at:

- (1) Each participant's individual learning strategies in mainstream classes.
- (2) Particular support in place for the student in their mainstream learning and integration.
- (3) Further qualitative data collected from surveys of 23 participating students that builds profiles of family situations, languages spoken at home, how students perceive their L1 use at school, and how students manage their own learning behaviours and integration in mainstream classes.

1. Typology of L1 production: unauthorised and authorised

Key question: *How do newly-arrived immigrant students make use of their first languages and plurilingual learning approaches in classroom learning?*

Observation aims: *How immigrant students use their L1 (and plurilingual repertoires) for a range of learning purposes in FLS and EL classes; and the teacher's authorisation of L1 (and plurilingual learning approaches).*

During 52 hours of observations in FLS (*français langue de scolarisation*) and EL (English language-of-schooling) classes in the two participating schools, I aimed to capture quantitatively and qualitatively how newly-arrived immigrant students made use of their plurilingual repertoires in classroom learning. After observing the types of situations in which students code-switched in the FLS and EL classes, a typology of L1 and other plurilingual production (lingua franca, alternative language-of-schooling, other L2) was created as follows:

Table 1: Typology of L1 and lingua franca production

Unauthorised / student spontaneously produces in L1 or lingua franca	Authorised by Teacher / Teacher requests production in L1 or lingua franca
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • asking for clarification to other L1 classmates • responding to question in L1 from other L1 classmates • helping another L1 student to understand / spontaneous translation • off-task chat • other, seems to be work-related • using L1 or lingua franca with Teacher or non-L1 student • <i>student making a conscious interlanguage link / comparison between languages</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • sharing something about L1 in whole class learning task • translating for a weaker student, at teacher's request • responding to direct teacher question: "What is this word in your L1?" • giving help to L1 classmate (in L1) at teacher's request • other, with links to L1 • T speaking in student's L1 or lingua franca • <i>T directing student towards making a conscious interlanguage link / comparison between languages</i>

The main objective was to observe students' use of their first languages in the context of language-of-schooling classes. The teacher's attitude towards students' use of their first languages was also an important factor, but the study aimed to focus on the students and their language-learning behaviours — how did they make use of their existing language skills and knowledge in the process of learning the language-of-schooling? Is there something that we can learn as language teachers from students' self-directed use of L1 and other plurilingual skills?

- (1) Firstly, I wanted to see *when and why students choose to speak in their first languages, and if L1 functions to fulfil a range of learning purposes during the newly-arrived phase when students have little or no proficiency in the language-of-schooling.*

To examine this key question of when and why students choose to speak in their first languages, I made detailed notes of situations where students spoke in their L1 in the FLS or EL class context. Many examples of students speaking in their L1 were noted down — a total of 92 samples gathered from 32 hours of observation in FLS classes at the French school, and 133 samples from 20 hours of observation in EL classes at the NZ school = **225 samples of student-initiated L1 production in total.**

An initial typology (Table 1) was made to classify students' L1 production into two kinds of situations: (1) student-initiated use of L1 where they code-switched spontaneously, and (2) situations where the teacher specifically asked students to work in their L1 for a learning purpose. Each example was therefore

classified firstly according to whether the student(s) initiated a code-switch to L1 (unauthorised production), or whether the teacher directly asked students to work in their L1 (authorised production). This first break-down of data revealed quantitatively the ratio of student-initiated L1 production to teacher-directed L1 production. **The results show a strong bias towards students choosing to work in their first languages, with an L1 peer or L1 group, without direct instruction from the teacher authorising L1-supported work.**

Examples were then further classified according to the specific purpose of code-switching to L1 — as examples, (1) a situation of unauthorised L1 production where two students speak the same first language, so one student asked the other student in L1 for clarification about a task, or (2) a situation of authorised production where the teacher asked one student to translate into L1 for another student. This typology (Table 1) shows 6 types of L1 production by students: 5 for purposes related to a learning task, and 1 for social or “off-task” reasons. These 6 types of L1 production all relate to students who share a common first language speaking amongst each other.

- (2) A 7th category of language use is *students and/or the teacher speaking in a lingua franca* (a language other than the student’s L1 or language-of-schooling). I noticed during the Second Cycle of observations in the French school that English-as-lingua-franca also played a role in some students’ learning during the newly-arrived phase, and so I chose to include use of lingua franca between students, and between teacher and students, to examine how plurilingual students were using all of their languages flexibly as part of their process of learning the language-of-schooling. I had not included lingua franca use during the First Cycle of observations in the French school, as it was not a feature of language use with that particular group of students.

“Lingua franca” is defined in three ways in this study:

- (i) English as a lingua franca in the FLS class in the French school. Single words or simple phrases in English were sometimes spoken between non-anglophone students, or between the teacher and non-anglophone students, as a bridging language towards learning French or communicating.
- (ii) Māori as an alternative language-of-schooling in the EL class in the French school. Simple classroom instructions in Māori were sometimes given by the EL teacher, which is very common in New Zealand schools. The EL students had learned these instructions and responded to them.
- (iii) A language common to two (or more) students, which is not the L1 of one of the students. For example, students who had learnt Arabic as L2 in their home country (Eritrea or Somalia) sometimes spoke in Arabic with students from Syria or Iraq (who spoke Arabic as L1).

A total of 30 samples of lingua franca use were gathered from 32 hours of observation in FLS classes at the French school, and 33 samples from 20 hours of observation in EL classes at the NZ school = **63 samples of students’ lingua franca production in total**. This category is titled “using L1 or lingua franca with Teacher or non-L1 student” (as in Table 1).

- (3) Although the focus of the study is on *students as active agents in their own language learning processes*, I also wanted to see whether the teacher’s attitude towards L1 use in the classroom had an influence on when and why students chose to speak their first language.

To answer this question, I also made detailed notes of instances where the teacher authorised students to speak in their L1 or a lingua franca — for example, asking a student “What is this word in your language?”. A total of 80 samples of the teacher authorising L1 or lingua franca use were gathered from FLS classes at the French school, and 15 samples from EL classes in the NZ school = **95 samples of teacher-authorised L1 or lingua franca production in total**. Importantly, the majority of these 95 samples involved student language production, not the teacher speaking in a student’s L1 or lingua franca (only 30 examples were of the teacher speaking in the student’s L1 or a lingua franca). So the focus remained on how students themselves were using their L1 or a lingua franca in the classroom, however the “teacher authorised” typology highlights the teacher’s use of language inclusive approaches. These examples of teacher-authorised situations of code-switching also illustrate “plurilingual teaching and learning” in action in the two different types of classroom — FLS in France and EL in New Zealand. This, combined with how students themselves chose to make use of their L1 and lingua franca, raises our

awareness of a range of ways in which students can make use of their L1 in order to support learning of the language-of-schooling.

In total, this study gathered 313 samples of situations where students spoke in either their L1 or a lingua franca, plus 95 samples involving the teacher asking students to work in their L1 or initiating an exchange in a lingua franca. This data is displayed in Table 17 below.

Table 17: students' L1 and lingua franca production in FLS and EL classes
Quantitative data analysis #1 (378 samples)

	Samples of students' L1 production	Samples of students' lingua franca production	Samples of Teacher authorising L1 production	Samples of Teacher speaking in lingua franca or student's L1	Total samples of student plurilingual production from each observation cycle
French school First Cycle (16 hours)	55	0	36	0	91 (60.4% student-initiation/ 39.6% teacher authorised)
French school Second Cycle (16 hours)	32	30	21	23	83 (72.5% student-initiation/ 27.5% teacher authorised)
New Zealand school First Cycle (20 hours)	163	33	8	7	204 (96% student-initiation/ 4% teacher authorised)
Totals 52 hours of observation	250	63	65	30	378 (76.3% student-initiation/ 23.7% teacher authorised)
Totals compared French / NZ schools	87 / 163	30 / 33	57 / 8	23 / 7	174 / 204

The data for each Cycle of observations is discussed in detail in the following sections to this chapter.

2. Testing the hypothesis

The hypothesis:

Educational environments that allow space for plurilingual learning approaches create a platform from which to improve learning processes, engagement and construction of knowledge for immigrant students, thereby encouraging more effective learning.

To test the hypothesis, it was important to capture “real life and immediate” language use in the FLS and EL classroom contexts, in order to see what kinds of plurilingual learning approaches newly-arrived students and their teachers were employing. To achieve this, I observed and wrote down as many student utterances in L1 and lingua franca (or L2 other than the language-of-schooling) as possible during the 52 hours of observation in FLS and EL classes.

Each situation of a plurilingual approach (learning or social) was noted, and this built up a detailed description of how students were using languages for learning in the FLS and EL classes — the sequence of teaching and learning, how students responded to each learning activity, how students worked together plurilingually, how the teachers created plurilingual learning opportunities for students, and instances when students spoke in L1 or lingua franca (or L2 other than the language-of-schooling) socially.

From these detailed observation notes, each sample of a student utterance in L1 or lingua franca (or L2 other than the language-of-schooling) was analysed for type and purpose and quantified within the typology. This produced a quantified range of types of student utterances (Table 1) that reveals patterns and tendencies in student language use in the FLS and EL class context. This data is used to test the hypothesis in the following ways:

- How are students behaving plurilingually in the classroom (learning and social purposes)?
- What kinds of “plurilingual learning approaches” were observed (student-initiated and teacher-directed)?
- What does “allowing space for plurilingual learning approaches” look like in the classroom (real examples)?
- How did students respond to these plurilingual approaches, in terms of:
 - improved learning processes
 - engagement
 - knowledge construction ?
- Can we observe “more effective learning” for newly-arrived immigrant students, as an outcome of plurilingual learning approaches?

The following sections of this chapter present data from the 52 hours of observations in the French and New Zealand schools. The analysis is organised into the following sections:

- (1) First Cycle of observations of UPE2A students in the French school.
 - i) school, class and student profiles
 - ii) findings
 - iii) discussion
 - iv) summary
- (2) Second Cycle of observations of UPE2A students in the French school.
 - i) school, class and student profiles
 - ii) findings
 - iii) discussion
 - iv) summary
- (3) First Cycle of observations of EL students in the New Zealand school.
 - i) school, class and student profiles
 - ii) findings
 - iii) discussion
 - iv) summary
- (4) Comparison of findings
- (5) Further questions
- (6) Conclusion

First Cycle of Observations of UPE2A students in the French school

Observation objectives:

- to notice when and why students use their L1 in the classroom
- to see if there is a difference between authorised and unauthorised L1 production = frequency, reason, learning outcome
- to observe how the educational space treats L1 = encouragement/discouragement, view of place of L1 in child's learning, home/school separation & liaison

Observation dates, Friday mornings 10h-12h in FLS classes (français langue de scolarisation):

24/11/2017; 8/12/2017; 22/12/2017; 19/1/2018; 26/1/2018; 2/2/2018; 2/3/2018; 16/3/2018

= 16 hours of observation

School profile

Collège A., Bordeaux

Class profile

This is a UPE2A class of 17 students aged 11-16 years old, all newly-arrived in France and in their first year of schooling at *collège*. The class is linguistically and culturally diverse, as well as having a wide spread of ages. The youngest student, Havika from Laos, is 11 years old and age-wise should be at primary school. It was decided that Havika would start young at *collège* so that he would not be separated from his 13-year-old sister Leilani. The oldest student is 16-year-old Bojan, who likewise should be at high school, but as a newly-arrived student from Bulgaria with very little French language he is enrolled at *collège* to learn French for a year. There are a number of siblings in this class — Leilani and Havika (Laos), Camila and Matilde (Portugal), and Romina and Mpenda (Italy-Senegal).

The class is a mix of migrant, refugee background and asylum-seeker students, as well as two Roma students and one unaccompanied minor. Bordeaux also has a mobile school bus that visits Roma camps to provide some schooling for Roma children, as part of CASNAV education services.

Students are learning French as the language-of-schooling, and are grouped according to their level of French: beginners, intermediate, advanced.

Beginners: Leilani (Laos), Havika (Laos, 11 yrs), Lena (Bulgaria), Iosefina (Bulgaria), Bojan (Bulgaria)

Intermediate: Matilde (Portugal), Erlblin (Albania), Nadim (Syria), Rafael (Portugal), Ishmael (Pakistan), Romina (Italian-speaking, Senegalese), Gonçalo (Portuguese-speaking Brazilian)

Advanced: Osama (Eritrea), Mpenda (Italian-speaking, Senegalese), Camila (Portugal), Vladislav (Bulgaria), Merveildi (Spanish, mostly in mainstream)

UPE2A students usually have their first year of schooling in the French language class, then are placed full-time in inclusion classes. This year, Mme M. has quite a number of UPE2A students who are graduating on to high school or leaving for uncertain futures, at the age of 15 and 16. Mme M. commented that the teens became difficult and absent during the last few weeks of school, to the point where one student said to her, "All you do is tell us off!" (interview with Mme M., 18/3/2018).

Here are some of the student stories at the end of the 2018 school year, from an interview with Mme M. (18/3/2018).

Student profiles

- **Romina (14 years old, Italy-Senegal, brother is Mpenda in the same year at collège).** Romina was top student in FLS class, which surprised me as I never heard her speak or volunteer answers in inclusion classes. She is going onto high school. She presented a lot of attitude to the teachers apparently, and was reprimanded for being chatty and noisy on the bus during a school outing, to which she replied that in Italy they are allowed to speak loudly. Mme M. corrected her behaviour by saying that here in France things are not done like that, which she seemed to accept. Romina participated in the case studies for this research, and I observed her in Maths and Spanish classes.
- **Mpenda (15 years old, Italy-Senegal, Romina's brother)** is also going onto high school, and has done quite well in *collège* here. Mpenda showed very positive learning behaviours in all classes, and was a leader in the UPE2A class. He has good relationships with teachers, but expressed a sense of exclusion from other students in mainstream classes (student interviews, 18/3/2018).

- **Ishmael (15 years old, Pakistan)** is here as an unaccompanied minor. He lost both his parents in Pakistan, and was being looked after by an uncle and older brother in Pakistan. He didn't get along with his brother's wife. His uncle gave him the money to come to France, and he arrived as a typical refugee in a smuggler's boat, passing a night on the sea. Ishmael is now housed in a CAO (*centre d'accueil et d'orientation*) for unaccompanied minors seeking asylum. He's going to professional high school next year, where he will train for a job. In a follow-up conversation with Mme M., Ishmael has been doing well at high school, enjoying the course and gaining good grades. He had very positive learning behaviours in class, as well as maturity and kindness towards the other students. Ishmael stood out as being exceptional.
- **Camila (15 years old) and Matilde (13 years old) are sisters from Portugal.** Matilde participated in the case studies, and I observed her working in Maths class. Both girls were bright, keen to work, and had adjusted well to school life in France. Matilde was sociable, open and enjoyed working with other students. At the end of the school year, the family moved out of the school zone, and Matilde had to change to another *collège*, while Camila went onto high school.
- **Stanislav (15 years old, Bulgaria)** had a lot of absences, and then left school early, saying that the family were going back to Bulgaria from mid-June to late August. Mme M. said that the instant you meet his mother you understand everything — she seems to be still 18 in her head. Mme M. organised a meeting with teachers and the mother didn't show up, then when Stanislav rang her to see where she was, said that she was just leaving the house to catch a tram. So the meeting was cancelled. It's not clear what Stanislav will do once he finishes *collège*.
- **Bojan (16 years old, Bulgaria)** arrived in France at the age of 16, not speaking a word of French. Mme M. says he is mature and has worked really well in FLS classes. He wants to be placed in an apprenticeship, meaning that he has a week of study followed by 3 weeks of paid work every month. His level of French is about A1 CEFR, so the school careers advisor said it would be impossible for him to find a placement, and suggested Bojan look on websites himself. Mme M. was furious, asking, "What will become of him if we don't help him now?" So she used her contacts, and arranged a meeting for Bojan. She hopes that he may be lucky and be given a placement where someone speaks Bulgarian and he can be employed. Otherwise it's going to be very difficult indeed for him to establish a life in France.
- **Lena (13 years old) and Iosefina (12 years old) both come from travelling Roma families (Bulgarian-Rom speakers).** Iosefina's family moved away for the summer towards the end of this study. (I hoped to follow these girls the following semester but they did not come back to *collège*). Mme M. said that during the holidays she had some worries about the health and care of Iosefina, who had a toothache, and when it was looked at by the school nurse it was septic and needed urgent medical attention. The family didn't take her to see a dentist, in spite of Mme M.'s phone calls to parents, so Mme M. is trying to follow up on this with family.
- **Leilani (13 years old) and Havika (11 years old, Laos)** may be moving to another area and changing schools. They will possibly be back at Collège A. for the coming semester and then leaving — it's not yet clear. They are here in France with their mother who is Laotian and speaks some French, and their step-father who is also Laotian and speaks very good French. Mme M. has written a letter to the principal of their new school, asking for them to be looked after, as there is no FLS class there, and it will be difficult for Havika in 6ème and Leilani in 3ème, with their low level of French. She also said to the parents to make sure the children have plenty of French-speaking activities during the summer holidays, to be prepared for school in September. Havika attracted comments from other teachers that he is tired in class, very thin, came to school without socks on during the winter, and has an unhealthy pallor to his skin. While his older sister, Leilani, is in good health and seems well cared-for. Mme M. was worried that he may be neglected and is thinking of ringing social services. It's not possible in the French education system for teachers or principals to visit the family home — it is only in cases where schools report concerns for a child that social services can visit.
- **Osama (15 years old, Eritrea)** is going onto high school and wants to become a doctor. He has a lot of literacy/language difficulties in French, so it is going to be difficult for him at high school too. Osama is in France with his family as an asylum-seeker, and lives in a CADA residence while awaiting an outcome on the family's application for refugee status.
- **Nadim (13 years old, Syria)** is in France with his family as a refugee. He is very lively and often jokes around with friends in the UPE2A class. I observed Nadim in Maths class, where the Iranian teacher speaks some Arabic and at times worked with him in Arabic. The Maths teacher said that he has a level of Maths below that of his age cohort due to the war in Syria and fragmented schooling. Nadim has positive learning behaviours in Maths and asks for help when he needs it.

Findings — First Cycle of Observations in the French school

*Table 18: First Cycle of Observations in French school
Summary of samples of unauthorised and authorised language production*

First Cycle of Observations Nov 2017 — March 2018		Collège A., Bègles, Bordeaux, France	
Unauthorised by Teacher / Students spontaneously produce L1		Authorised by Teacher / Teacher requests production in L1	
• asking for clarification to other L1 classmates	24 examples	• sharing something about L1 in whole class learning task	13 examples
• responding to question in L1 from other L1 classmates	8 examples	• translating for a weaker student, at teacher's request	5 examples
• helping L1 classmate to understand / spontaneous translation	6 examples	• responding to direct teacher question: "What is this word in your L1?"	15 examples
• off-task/social chat	13 examples	• giving help to L1 classmate (in L1) at teacher's request	2 examples
• other, seems to be work-related	4 examples	• other, with links to L1	2 examples

In terms of the quantitative results of 16 hours of observation in UPE2A class, the following interpretations of students' use of L1 can be made:

Finding 1: higher use of spontaneous L1 by students than Teacher-authorised L1 production

- Quantitatively, there were more instances in which students spontaneously produced L1: **55 productions overall**; than instances in which the teacher specifically asked students to make use of their L1 for learning purposes: **37 productions overall**. This shows generally that this classroom has developed an inclusive culture within which use of L1 is generally recognised as being useful for learning purposes — ie, to access tasks in French and to improve understanding of the French language. The teacher is structuring learning so that students can make use of their L1 for learning purposes, and students are also initiating interaction in L1 with L1-speaking peers, mostly for learning purposes.
- It also suggests that students find it important to speak their L1, for a variety of reasons including accessing task requirements and doing classwork in French, but also for social reasons — building friendships, communicating with others who speak their L1, expressing the solidarity of being part of a group of L1 speakers within the larger group. This social learning aspect of UPE2A class is very important, as it is only within the UPE2A class context that students are working in their L1 with other L1 peers.
- There were no instances of UPE2A students communicating in their L1 in mainstream classes, even when there was another student with whom they could have communicated in L1. This suggests that when students feel safe and included within the familiar environment of UPE2A class, they can relax and make use of their L1 for a range of purposes — the dominant purpose being to learn French, however with the support of the teacher who authorises the use of L1 as a learning tool as part of classroom culture, and encourages support for learning amongst L1 speaking peers.

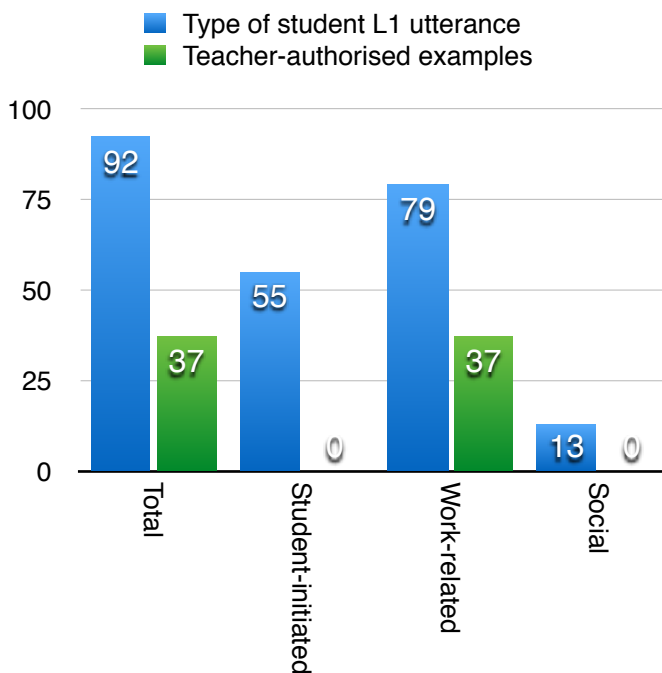
Finding 2: highest frequency of students' L1 production = 42 examples of work-related purposes

- The combined data in the category of student-initiated L1 production shows **42 examples of students code-switching to L1 for work-related purposes**, and only **13 examples of students speaking in their L1 for off-task or social reasons**. Furthermore, of these 13 examples of social exchanges in L1, 3 samples were of students speaking to each other in L1 at the beginning or end of a lesson as students arrived or left a class. 10 examples were of students chatting socially during the lesson, and speaking in L1 during "off-task" moments. This supports the finding that **students are choosing to use L1 most often during class for learning purposes**, and a minority of L1 situations during class were for social reasons unrelated to language-of-schooling acquisition. This is an important point to note, as a common criticism of allowing students to speak in their L1 in the classroom is that if the teacher does not understand

what students are saying in L1, it is difficult to monitor whether they are using L1 for learning or social/off-task purposes.

- A breakdown of data gathered in the category of student-initiated L1 production for work-related purposes shows that students most frequently spoke in L1 in the UPE2A class to “ask for clarification from L1 classmate” (24 samples). The second most frequent reason was “responding to a question in L1 from another L1 classmate” (8 samples), followed by “helping L1 classmate to understand / giving spontaneous translation” (6 samples). This indicates that students initiate L1 interaction amongst their L1-speaking peers most frequently to clarify their understanding of language-of-schooling tasks, and to help each other better understand and access learning in the language-of-schooling.

Figure 3: First Cycle of Observations in the French school
 Figure 3 shows the frequency and type of L1 utterance that students produced over 16 hours of observation in FLS classes.



**Discussion:
 First Cycle of Observations in the French school**

These two initial findings on first language use in the UPE2A class highlight two important points about language use amongst newly-arrived immigrant students at school. Firstly, that **students are spontaneously speaking their first languages in the classroom, in order to access language-of-schooling learning tasks.** This is a self-initiated learning behaviour that newly-arrived students used with their L1 peers uniquely in the context of UPE2A classes, and not in mainstream classes, even when an L1-speaking classmate was available to them. This suggests several possibilities about the role that L1 plays in classroom learning:

- That in the *safe learning environment of the UPE2A class*, where all students are non-experts in the language-of-schooling, they will use their L1 interactively for learning purposes. Classroom culture is therefore key to encouraging effective language learning processes. As supported by OECD (2015) findings on how immigrant students best succeed, in education systems where students feel a “sense of belonging” they achieve better schooling outcomes. UPE2A classes therefore play a very important role for newly-arrived immigrant students — a fact testified to by students in their surveys and interviews (presented in the Case Studies section of this chapter).
- That when “language learning” is the focus, *students make use of their existing knowledge of language (in L1) in order to access language-of-schooling (L2) tasks.* This supports the Developmental Interdependence hypothesis (Cummins 1979) that L2 development is partially a function of existing L1 competence types. The hypothesis sees that there is an interaction between L1 and L2, and the development of language skills is therefore relational, not separate. The evidence that students initiate

a working relationship between languages (L1 and language-of-schooling) suggests that plurilingual students intuitively seek to make links with their existing language skills in order to develop their L2 proficiency. Students therefore seem to experience L2 acquisition as easier when their L1 is included in the learning process, and are furthermore self-engaging with language learning in plurilingual ways.

- That students seek *verbal interaction in L1 to support their language learning and to process new linguistic information*. The tasks in the UPE2A classes observed were language-focused, and often presented content or concepts that were likely to be familiar to students — therefore the focus was on language acquisition and the content tended to be secondary. So students' attention was on language comprehension and language production, which they managed by working in both L1 and L2.
- That it is sufficient for the teacher to occasionally authorise and encourage L1 use amongst students, for learning purposes, for students to “run with this” and *make self-directed use of their L1 in their language learning processes*.

The second important point from these initial findings from the First Cycle of observations in the French school, is that **newly-arrived immigrant students are using their first languages for a range of learning purposes**. Quantitatively, the highest frequency of examples of students speaking in their L1 during UPE2A classes were for work-related purposes, rather than social or “off-task” purposes (42 samples of work-related utterances, versus 13 examples of social/“off-task” utterances). This answers one of the questions posed at the outset of this study: *to what degree are immigrant students choosing to activate their L1 in the classroom, and for what range of purposes?*

- The first important point to draw from this data is that *students were choosing to interact in their first languages for a range of learning purposes*. The majority of L1 exchanges for learning purposes between students were self-initiated, thus positioning students as active agents in their own learning. Their choice to use L1 as a way of facilitating their learning suggests that:
 - (a) students themselves find that the use of L1 reduces the learning burden when they are faced with a learning task in the language-of-schooling;
 - (b) students are active agents in their own learning and seek to succeed through employing their existing skills in both L1 and language-of-schooling;
 - (c) students find it effective to work interactively in L1 and language-of-schooling with their peers.

The fact that use of L1 in learning is a student-initiated choice is key here, as students are making a genuine choice to use L1 as the most effective tool for their own learning. The choice is autonomous and motivated by the student's desire to succeed in each task. The higher frequency of L1 utterances for learning purposes (as opposed to L1 for social purposes) also suggests that students like working together, and find it valuable to share knowledge and work in plurilingual groupings.

- The typology of 5 types of L1 production show a small range of frequent purposes in which students are choosing to use their first language in FLS learning situations. During this First Cycle of observations, the most frequent learning purpose was “**asking for clarification to another L1 student**” (24 examples), followed by “**responding to question in L1 from other L1 classmates**” (8 examples). An example of this below shows a situation in which 3 Portuguese students worked together in their L1 to try and work out the spelling of a French word:

Example from Observation #2, First Cycle in French school, 8/12/2017

- Rafael asked to a classmate in L1 **how to spell a French word**. **Classmate responded in L1**.
- When Rafael asked Teacher for spelling of “l'école”, **Matilde called out** to give her input in Portuguese.
- **Exchange on spelling** amongst three Portuguese students. Teacher asked Matilde what the other **student's question** was about spelling — which word was difficult.
- Another aside in L1 around **comprehension of text**. Teacher brought students' attention back to the whiteboard work in French.

This example highlights what I would describe as a “quality learning moment”, where the use of L1 in an interactive situation adds quality to student learning. Students were attempting to solve a problem related to their work in the language-of-schooling, by discussing and sharing their existing L2 knowledge. Although they did interact with the teacher in French to check their understanding, they were mainly focused on finding the answer themselves in L1 as a group. Here, the L1 fulfils a communicative function that allows students to interactively work out aspects of language-of-schooling, with L1 peers. This situation is characterised by a high degree of student autonomy in their L2 learning process, as well as strong social learning.

- The fact that students are choosing to use L1 as their preferred learning tool, when they have access to an L1-speaking classmate, also raises questions about UPE2A students who do not have access to another L1 speaker — for example, Erlblin who was the only Albanian student in the class in 2018. This kind of student has to function externally in French in both UPE2A class and inclusion classes. Is there an effect on the student’s sense of belonging and integration? Is there an effect on the student’s ability to access learning tasks and succeed? In observation of how students work together in the classroom, I suggest that this variable — access to another L1 speaker — has considerable impact on a student’s integration in that any interactive learning has to take place in the language-of-schooling, so the peer support aspect of learning that is strong amongst UPE2A students is less evident for students who do not have access to an L1-speaking peer. One possible effect on the learning of this kind of student is that they either develop more autonomous learning strategies (eg, using a dictionary), or seek out other students who are in the same linguistically-isolated situation. In Erlblin’s case, he worked mostly alone on written tasks, and contributed actively to whole class activities in French. (Erlblin’s case is discussed in more detail in the Case Studies section of this chapter). All other students in the UPE2A class had access to another L1 speaking peer, except for Ishmael whose first language was Urdu, but who also spoke an Arabic dialect (as L2) with Nadim from Syria.

Summary

To summarise, the First Cycle of observations on plurilingual learning approaches in the French school draws on 16 hours of observations of 17 newly-arrived immigrant students from linguistically and culturally diverse backgrounds at the participating *collège* in Bordeaux. Two initial findings about how students used their L1 in the FLS classroom context are discussed, supported by examples of language-of-schooling learning situations from this cycle. A basic typology of L1 production by students categorises each type of utterance according to purpose: for learning, for social reasons, initiated by a student, or suggested by the teacher. This quantitative analysis of observation data gives some initial indications for testing the hypothesis that “*educational environments that allow space for plurilingual learning approaches create a platform from which to improve learning processes, engagement and construction of knowledge, thereby encouraging more effective learning for newly-arrived immigrant students*”, by observing:

- (1) What kinds of spaces are created in the FLS class context for first language inclusion in language-of-schooling learning processes; and
- (2) How students themselves engage, construct knowledge and seek to learn French more effectively through their L1⁷⁰.

The main finding from this First Cycle of observations in the French school is that *students are initiating ways of working in their first languages in the classroom, in order to access language-of-schooling learning tasks*. This finding supports the hypothesis in the following ways:

- **Newly-arrived immigrant students with beginner proficiency in the language-of-schooling frequently initiate interactive work in their first language, if an L1-speaking peer is available to them.** The interactive aspect of language acquisition (French as language-of-schooling) through first languages (L1 amongst immigrant students who are more proficient in their L1 than they are in French) is

⁷⁰ **Note:** for this First Cycle of observations, language use was limited to L1 utterances by students. In the two later cycles of observations in the two participating schools in France and New Zealand, the typology was enlarged to include all of the languages used in the FLS and EL classrooms.

a key to constructing new linguistic knowledge. This inclusion of L1 in learning processes seems to accentuate the “sense of belonging” that newly-arrived immigrant students feel in the UPE2A context, a key factor to success in schooling for immigrant students (OECD 2015). This point will be developed in the section on Case Studies later in this chapter.

- **The use of L1 amongst students is most often for learning purposes, rather than social purposes.** Students are initiating plurilingual learning situations themselves, spontaneously, and thereby creating “a platform from which to improve learning processes and construct knowledge”. This finding supports the Developmental Interdependence Hypothesis (Cummins 1979) already well established and supported by findings from numerous international studies (see Baker 2011 for overview), that L1 and L2 skills are developed in relation to each other, not separately.
- **Students were more active initiators than the Teacher of plurilingual learning approaches in the ways they learned French.** This shows that students are active agents in their own learning and seek to succeed through employing their existing skills in both L1 and L2.
- **The UPE2A class culture supports interactive learning in L1 in a variety of ways.** When the teacher authorises L1 as a learning tool and encourages students to interact in L1 for learning purposes, this “allows space for plurilingual learning processes”, which is very positive for newly-arrived immigrant students. Teachers do not need to be afraid of allowing students to speak in their L1, as data from this study shows that students are mostly speaking in L1 for learning purposes, rather than for social or “off-task” reasons.

To conclude, **findings from the First Cycle of observations in the French school quantitatively support the hypothesis** that “*educational environments that allow space for plurilingual learning approaches create a platform from which to improve learning processes, engagement and construction of knowledge, thereby encouraging more effective learning for newly-arrived immigrant students*”. **This group of newly-arrived UPE2A students showed a preference for language-of-schooling learning processes that are interactive and include their L1 competences.** A question is also raised by these findings: When students cannot work interactively in L1, is there an effect on the student’s ability to access learning tasks and succeed? Is there also a negative impact on sense of belonging and integration? These are questions for future research.

Second Cycle of Observations of UPE2A students in the French school

Observation objectives:

- to notice when and why students use their L1 and other languages (eg, English as lingua franca) in the classroom
- to see if there is a difference between authorised and unauthorised L1 production = frequency, reason, learning outcome
- to observe how the educational space treats L1 and lingua franca = encouragement/discouragement, view of place of L1 and lingua franca in child's learning, home/school separation & liaison
- to observe links to plurilingualism in each child's approach to learning
- to observe integration over time = classroom behaviours, prior schooling & low levels of literacy, relationship with teacher & students

Observation dates, Friday mornings 10h-12h in FLS classes (français langue de scolarisation):

21/9/2018; 4/10/2018; 19/10/2018; 9/11/2018; 23/11/2018; 7/12/2018; 11/1/2019; 15/2/2019
= 16 hours of observation

School profile

Collège A., Bordeaux

Class profile

At the start of this Second Cycle of observation, the UPE2A class had 4 students, all newly arrived this year in France and at Collège A., Bordeaux. As the year goes on, more UPE2A students will join the class to a maximum of 25 places. There were 12 students in the class at the end of the observation cycle. There is often very little preparation time for the teacher before a new student arrives. Mme M. says that at times the student is just brought to class and begins that minute. In this class, there is a mix of ages as well as language backgrounds and levels of prior schooling. Mme M. works with this dynamic, helping each child to integrate according to their stage and profile. I observe, and also work with groups of students when Mme M. asks.

During the first 2 weeks of this observation period, new students arrived and the class filled up quickly. The majority of the students in UPE2A class were Arabic-speaking.

What was interesting and unique with this group, is that newly arrived students made more use of English as a lingua franca, particularly the Ukrainian student who speaks little French but is very quick and has clearly been schooled in his home country. He already has good work habits being able to copy writing correctly, understanding sentence structure, asking questions to help comprehension, being very focused on the task, working well independently. This use of English as a lingua franca seemed to have an influence on the language use of the rest of the class. A number of students had some existing knowledge of English as a second language, and therefore also began using English occasionally to communicate, in situations where it was more effective than French.

Beginners: Mahomet (Iraq, 14 yrs), Mahala (Iraq, 11 yrs), Zlatko (Afghanistan, 13 yrs), Rurik (Ukraine, 14 yrs), Katalina (Romania, 14 yrs)

Intermediate: Maria (Italy-Morocco, 14 yrs), Alvaro (Spain/Congo 15 yrs), Djouhra-Maanal (Algeria, 13 yrs), Aagati (Bangladesh, 14 yrs), Raisha (Algeria, 15 yrs), Halima (Syria, 13 yrs), Mustafa (Syria, 14 yrs)

Student profiles

- **Mahomet (Iraq, 14 years old)** is here with his younger sister, Mahala (11 yrs). They were both at school in Finland for 8 months and learnt some Finnish language. Mahomet is in 4ème and has lots of work to do in Maths, English, Spanish. He didn't complete 6ème and 5ème in his home country (Iraq), so is having to catch up. The system of placing immigrant children has changed this year, so that they have to be placed with their age cohort. Previously, there were 2 years' leeway where the child could be placed with a younger cohort, according to prior schooling and ability to cope with content. Mahomet wants to succeed and expresses motivation to progress, but does not yet have the skills in classroom learning or literacy. At times, he makes rude gestures across the classroom to his friend Alvaro. He asks for a lot of one-on-one help, not yet aware of when is the appropriate moment to seek the teacher's attention. He has a "slap-dash" approach to his work, and not a solid foundation in literacy yet in French. The Teacher

also commented that Mahomet is “macho” with his sister, and it seems to be cultural. Over the observation period, this dynamic seemed to improve as Mahomet adapted to a more egalitarian classroom culture. Mahomet & Mahala have older siblings too.

- **Mahala (Iraq, 11 years old)** is here with her older brother, Mahomet (14 yrs) (above). Both show signs of gaps in schooling, and behaviour that demonstrates they are not used to being in a classroom learning situation. For example, short attention span on learning tasks, easily distracted, not seeing the point of engaging with a reading/writing task, getting up and moving around, social interaction at inappropriate times. Both also show signs of poor literacy, difficulty in copying correctly from the board, difficulty in decoding simple written instructions for a task, seeking “quick-fix” answers to write down rather than working out correct answers. If the teacher works directly with Mahala, she is able to focus for a few minutes, but not able to work independently. As time goes on, it will be interesting to observe how she engages with school work, when she asks for help from teacher or classmate, and how she shapes her learning habits.
- **Maria (Italy, Moroccan heritage, 14 years old)**. Maria arrived yesterday (20th Sept 2018) and was tearful. Today she seems settled and has strong literacy and classroom learning habits. She studied French for 1 year in Italy, and already reads fluently, understands a lot, and speaks quite well. The teacher praises Maria as being strong in languages, if she has already mastered this much in French in the year before arrival.
- **Alvaro (Spain/Congo, 15 yrs)** also arrived at the start of this school year. His father has been working in France for 2 years, so the family has just joined him from Spain. He is in the same situation as Mahomet, as he has to be placed with his age-correct cohort. However, he does not have a place in the Maths class (not sure why), and is working independently to catch up. Alvaro’s home life is plurilingual, speaking 50% Lingala and 50% Spanish.
- **Maanal (Algeria, 13 years) and Raaisha (Algeria, 15 yrs)**. Maanal and Raaisha are sisters from Algeria, and are of the generation that is no longer schooled in French. Prior to Algeria’s independence, the language of schooling was French. This generation are schooled in Arabic, so Maanal and Raaisha had very little French language on arrival, although their parents would be fluent French-Arabic speakers. The family home is plurilingual, with Kibil (Berber indigenous language) and Arabic spoken.
- **Aagati (Bangladesh, 14 years)**. Aagati is newly-arrived from Bangladesh with her mother. She is plurilingual, speaking Bengali and English. The family is seeking asylum in France. Aagati often used English words within sentences, in the “Indian-style” of language mixing.
- **Mustafa (Syria, 14 years old)**. Mustafa is in France with his family as a Syrian refugee. On the way into class, Teacher says that the UPE2A students had an outing yesterday and one new boy (Mustafa) was a pain, and has arrived with poor behaviour. There is a group of 3 boys who are being boisterous and silly together (Mustafa, Mahomet and Zlatko). Mustafa is very quick in his class work, but subversive and at times rude to the teacher, pulling his tongue behind her back and being disruptive with Mahomet.
- **Zlatko (Afghanistan, 12 years old)**. When Zlatko had just arrived at school the Teacher was concerned that he was picking up poor behaviour from the other boys (Mahomet and Mustafa). I met Zlatko and his family at CADA this summer, during the Crisis Classroom workshop, with his mother, elder sister and baby brother. At the CADA parent circle evening with a child psychologist (Annexe 20), Zlatko’s father was present with a Farsi/Persian translator. The translator said that the family had spent several years in Iran, where Zlatko was not in school. Iran and Afghanistan are both Persian-speaking, but different dialects (like Quebec/Paris). Zlatko’s parents had visited the school for a meeting with Mme M. yesterday, with the translator, to talk about Zlatko’s literacy difficulties. Zlatko had English tuition in Iran, but irregular (or no) schooling.
- **Rurik (Ukraine, 14 years old)**. Rurik arrived during the 2nd week of observations. He is studious and quick, with positive learning behaviours. He spoke little or no French on arrival, and often used English as a lingua franca to communicate with the teacher and to check his understanding of learning tasks. This was an effective way for him to bridge his learning, and he often mixed French and English within sentences. Rurik is in France with his parents, who were going to enrol in the school’s free French language evening classes for parents.
- **Halima (Syria, 12 years old)**. Halima is Mustafa’s sister and joined the class late in the observation cycle.
- **Katalina (Romania, 14 years old)**. Katalina joined the class during the last session in the observation cycle.

Findings — Second Cycle of Observations in the French school

Table 19: summary of samples of unauthorised and authorised language production

Second Cycle of Observations		Collège A., Bègles, Bordeaux, France	
Unauthorised/spontaneous production in L1		Authorised/requested production in L1	
• asking for clarification to other L1 classmates	2 examples	• sharing something about L1 in whole class learning task	1 example
• responding to question in L1 from other L1 classmates	2 examples	• translating for a weaker student, at teacher's request	1 example
• helping L1 classmate to understand / spontaneous translation	1 example	• responding to direct teacher question: "What is this word in your L1?"	10 examples
• off-task chat	18 examples	• giving help to L1 classmate (in L1) at teacher's request	0 examples
• other, seems to be work-related	9 examples	• other, with links to L1	8 examples
• using L1 or lingua franca with Teacher or non-L1 student	30 examples	• T speaking in student's L1 or lingua franca	23 examples
• making a conscious interlanguage link / comparison between languages	5 examples	• making a conscious interlanguage link / comparison between languages	1 example

According to the results of 16 hours of observation in the Second Cycle of Observation of a UPE2A class, several interpretations of newly-arrived students' use of L1 and lingua franca can be made:

Finding 1: more frequent student-initiated than teacher-authorised L1 (or lingua franca) production

- Quantitatively, there were more combined instances in which students spontaneously spoke in L1 or lingua franca: **67 productions overall**; than instances in which the teacher specifically asked students to make use of their L1 (or lingua franca) for learning purposes: **44 situations overall**. This is broadly similar to the pattern during the First Cycle of Observations with the same FLS teacher, and shows that this teacher has developed a culture of language inclusiveness in the classroom within which the use of L1 (and lingua franca) is generally recognised as being useful for learning purposes — that is, to access tasks in French and to improve learning of the French language. As an example of student-initiated L1 production for learning purposes:

• Mustafa tries to hand in his test, T tells him to correct an error. He had written "Afrique" as the name of a country. T asks the class, "C'est quoi, Afrique?" Mahala replies "un continent". Mustafa asks Mahala in Arabic what it means, she replies to him in Arabic

Observation #7, 11/1/2019, Second Cycle in French school

- The teacher also frequently provides structured opportunities for students to make use of their plurilingualism. The most frequent type of authorised use is when the teacher asks students "What is this word in your L1?" (10 samples) or asks students to translate a passage from French into L1. For example:

• Alvaro asks "C'est quoi, sonne?" T makes ringing sound then asks him, "C'est quoi en espagnol?" Alvaro gives the Spanish word, then self-corrects to another similar Spanish word.

Observation #2, 4/10/2018, Second Cycle in French school

- However, if we look at the number of L1 productions alone, there are two things to notice:

(1) The number of L1 productions in this Second Cycle that appeared to be work-related overall were almost equivalent to the number of off-task L1 productions: **19 work-related productions in L1, and 18 off-task chat productions in L1**. This group were generally chattier with more off-task behaviour than the group observed in the First Cycle. However, 9 of the “off-task chat” utterances in L1 were at the beginning or end of a class, where students were simply greeting each other or having a quick exchange in L1 as one student left the class. The other 9 samples of “off-task chat in L1” were during class, meaning that students were still using L1 mainly for learning purposes during class. As a typical example of “off-task chat” during class:

• **Mahala (Iraq) shows the Italian girl that she has a hole in her pencil-case. She says something in Arabic, then repeats it with a gesture of throwing it away. She shows the hole in her pencil-case to her brother and talks in Arabic about it.**

Observation #1, 21/9/2018, Second Cycle in French school

(2) The number of teacher-authorized productions in L1 by students (20 samples) is greater than the number of student-initiated L1 productions for working purposes (19 samples). The difference is so small that it is negligible, yet reveals a different pattern of student-initiated L1 use than that of the First Cycle of observations (55 student-initiated L1 productions to 37 teacher-authorized L1 productions). This finding is explained according to students’ lack of access to L1-speaking peers within this particular classroom context (see discussion at the end of this section).

- The following example shows an instance when some students had access to an L1-speaking peer, and another student, Mahala (Iraq), did not have access to an L1-speaking partner:

- **10.37** Activity 1: class have paper out and are going to revise vocabulary. Two students are at the board: Maanal & Alvaro. They are going to write the words dictated by T on the back of whiteboard panels, where the class cannot see.
- T explains to the class that they are to write down the words that they know. If they hear words that they don’t know yet, they don’t need to write them — just the ones they have already studied.
- Dictation begins: “le salon; le canapé ...” Mahomet repeats: “la canapé”. T: “C’est pas toi qui dictais, c’est moi, merci. Ce n’est pas la canapé, c’est le canapé.”
- As T dictates list of words (house items + le/la + adjectives) students write them down.
- Mahala is sitting alone today. She has finished her verb conjugation task and sits biting her lip, looking around the room. Mahala is sitting doing nothing. T tells her off for doing nothing. M says, “Oui, mais je sais pas quoi faire!” T says: “Tu écris, comme tout le monde. La date, vocabulaire, les mots.” T had already told Mahala to write the date and title earlier. Without the support of working with a peer, she does not know what she is supposed to be doing.
- **10.49** T corrects the words on the board that the two students have written. It means that students see errors from peers, and T’s corrections (with group discussion about whether it is correctly spelt or not), as they correct their own work. Beginner students Zlatko & Rurik particularly enjoy this, are very engaged, looking at the board and smiling. All students are attentive and working.
- **Maanal and Raaisha (Algeria) exchange in L1 about spelling of words on board that Maanal has written, looking at corrections together.**
- T gives a mark 8/15 for each of the students who wrote on the board (Maanal & Alvaro). Students mark their own work, and give themselves a score.

Observation #4, 9/11/2018, Second Cycle in French school

- In the above example, without an L1-speaking peer to work with, Mahala was unable to get started on the learning task, and said, “*Je sais pas quoi faire.*”, even though the Teacher had given instructions to the whole class on what to do. Mahala often needed extra one-on-one support from the teacher, or other students, to understand instructions and begin a task. The two other Arabic-speaking students in this

example, Maanal and Raaisha (Algeria) often worked together in their L1 on learning tasks, and seldom asked the teacher for extra support.

- While amongst this group of students there were fewer instances of group work in L1 than in the First Cycle of observations in the French school, the students who consistently worked together in L1 (Maanal and Raaisha from Algeria working together in Arabic) were noticeably less dependent on the Teacher for input and instructions on how to do each learning task. Whereas the other students who seldom or never worked with an L1-speaking peer, either because there were no other students with the same L1 (Rurik from Ukraine, Zlatko from Afghanistan, Alvaro from Spain), or because they misbehaved if sitting together (Mahomet from Iraq and Mustafa from Syria) required a lot more one-on-one input from the Teacher.

Finding 2: students are using their plurilingual repertoires most frequently for a range of learning purposes (rather than for social reasons)

- This observation cycle records 49 samples of students using L1 or lingua franca for learning purposes vs. 18 samples of students speaking in L1 or lingua franca for social reasons. This finding concurs with the same finding in the First Cycle of observations in the same school, with the same teacher, but a different group of newly-arrived immigrant students.
- Examples of students speaking in their L1 for learning purposes were limited (19 samples out of 49), while there were 30 examples of students speaking in English as a lingua franca for learning purposes, with each other or with the Teacher. The most frequent type of learning purpose in L1 was “other, seems to be work-related”. While I do not understand all of the languages of the students, it was usually possible to tell from context whether students were speaking in L1 for learning or social purposes. For example, in the following situation where Maanal and Raaisha were doing a vocabulary worksheet together, they discussed in Arabic and then asked me in French about the meaning of a word on the sheet:

• **10.45am** While T is working with the whole class, **two Algerian sisters are writing on the sheet, talking quietly in Arabic.** Raaisha tells Maanal to ask me the meaning of a word. Maanal does, the word is “inseparable” - they understand my explanation in French, and Raaisha says, “très proche”.

Observation #7, 11/1/2019

- **It is a very positive finding for this study that in both the First and Second Cycles of observation in the French school students were using their plurilingual repertoires most frequently for a range of learning purposes, rather than social reasons.** This finding is discussed in more detail in the “Discussion” section for the Second Cycle.

Finding 3: frequent use of English as a lingua franca

- A new phenomena appeared with this group of UPE2A students and their teacher — the use of English as a lingua franca. Several of the students had some knowledge of English from prior schooling and travel — Rurik (Ukraine), Mahomet (Iraq), Aagati (Bangladesh) in particular. These students used English as a bridging language to communicate with the teacher, and sometimes with each other: **30 productions in English (or non-L1) as lingua franca.** The teacher also used a lot more English with this group, frequently giving the English word if a student didn’t understand the French word: **23 teacher productions in English (or a student’s L1) as lingua franca.**
- Several of the newly-arrived students self-identified as plurilingual, including English amongst the languages they speak:

• T asks new students to tell me which other languages they speak: T asks Mustafa, “Tu parles quelles langues?” Mustafa, “Arabe, un peu l’anglais, français.” T asks Zlatko, who replies, “Afghani, anglais, français.” Rurik replies, “Ukrainien, anglais, français.”

Observation #3, 19/10/2018

- The following examples show how students made use of English as a lingua franca, to communicate with the teacher and with each other. Mostly English was used for working purposes, in order to fill gaps in comprehension and production in French.
- At times, students used single English words to signal their understanding of French words, instead of giving longer explanations in French:

- T: “Veterinaire, c’est quoi comme métier?”
- **Rurik: “C’est doctor pour (er) ...”**
- **Mustafa: “Animal”**

Observation #6, 7/12/2018, Second Cycle in French school

- In other instances, students who did not know the English term chose to explain in French:

- T: “Qu’est ce que ça veut dire, “jumeaux”?”
- Rurik: “twins”
- **Other students explain in French.**

Observation #6, 7/12/2018, Second Cycle in French school

- Rurik (Ukraine) used English quite freely in class, with the teacher, with other students and with me. His English was at about an A2 level (CEFR), while his French on arrival was at a beginner A1 level. He coped with this at times by mixing English and French within sentences, for example:

- T explains in simple English to paste a page into his folder. He affirms understanding in simple French sentences. **Then says in a mixture of French and English, “Ça colle too? Ça only copy?”** T says, “Oui, copier et presenter.”

Observation #3, 19/10/2018, Second Cycle in French school

- The teacher’s use of English also helped her to communicate with certain students about administrative matters, such as parent meetings. One example is when the Teacher explained to the class that the school was offering free French language classes for their parents:

“Teacher does a round of the room, giving students a notice titled “Cours de français pour adultes” to glue into their carnet. At collège, parents are offered a free French course. T explains in simple French that parents can come and take these classes. The first information evening is Mon 19 nov @ 17h.

T asks students to read out little bits of info from the flyer, to make sure they understand and can talk to their parents about it. Running alongside the French classes will be a cooking class, where parents can learn French while cooking. Classes are Thurs 9h-12h and Fri 9h-11h30, beginning 15 Nov.

T asks students, “Pourquoi c’est important pour tes parents d’apprendre le français?” Then explains why = independent, can handle their own affairs without needing to be accompanied. Students understand this and become engaged with the idea of their parents coming to French classes.

T asks Rurik, the newest student, directly, “Est ce que tes parents apprennent le français déjà?” **Rurik doesn’t understand, then when he does, responds, “Oui, on internet.”** T replies, “C’est mieux que l’internet.” **Rurik asks a question about the French classes: “Every week?” T: “Oui, toutes les semaines.” Rurik: “Lundi?” T: “Monday.” Rurik: “La salle?”**

Observation #4, 9/11/2018

- This use of English as lingua franca, and language mixing, seemed to create quite a lively sense of linguistic fluidity in the class. Students knew that they could introduce an English word that they knew, in place of a new French word. The teacher also modelled this as an acceptable way of working towards understanding French, and building French vocabulary.

Finding 4: conscious interlanguage links made

- Another new aspect of language use in this Second Cycle of Observations was the students' conscious linking of language features across languages (L1, L2, language-of-schooling). This may be due to the fact that several of the students are plurilingual, for various reasons. For example, Mahomet and Mahala, brother and sister from Iraq, had been schooled for 8 months in Finland before arriving in France. Another student Maria speaks Italian as her L1 but has Moroccan heritage, so understands and speaks some Arabic; Aagati speaks several languages, having been born and raised in Bangladesh. Rurik speaks some English as L2, from prior schooling in the Ukraine.
- Here are two examples of how students made conscious interlanguage links. In the first example, an Arabic-L1 student hears a Spanish-L1 student pronouncing a French word with a rolling Spanish "r". She asks the Teacher about this "r" sound, and then comments that the Arabic "r" is not the same.

Example 1:

- "Mahala (Iraq) asks, "pourquoi "r"?", referring to Alvaro's rolling "r" in Spanish accent while speaking French. T explains it's because it's a Spanish "r". **M replies, "En Arabe on a "r", c'est tous" (comparing pronunciation of different "r" sounds across languages)."**

Observation #1, 21/9/2018

- In the second example below, the Teacher offers Mahala a choice of the two languages that she already speaks, helping Mahala to become aware of her plurilingualism and to access her existing language resources. It is done in an understated way, yet shows Mahala (and the other students) how it is possible to work across several languages and make connections. Also, the other students who understand some Arabic but may not be fluent speakers (Maria from Italy and Aagati from Bangladesh), add value to the learning experience by affirming their own plurilingual comprehension and Mahala's correct translation of the French sentence into Arabic. This is a valuable learning moment for these plurilingual students, as they make connections between French and the other languages that they have varying degrees of proficiency in, in the form of a simple translation. **Importantly, each child's plurilingualism is accepted in the UPE2A class context, and the Teacher encourages the students to work in plurilingual ways, while keeping the focus on learning French.**

Example 2:

- "T asks Alvaro to read in French and translate into Spanish. Then asks Maria to do the same in Italian. When Mahala (Iraq) is offered the choice to translate into Arabic or Finnish, she chooses Arabic. T asks Maria (Italy), "T'as compris?" Maria (Italy) understands Mahala's Arabic translation, and Aagati says, "correct!" **Mahala (Iraq) then asks if she can translate the same sentence into Finnish, which she does."**

Observation #1, 21/9/2018

- As well as a higher level of English use, students also made more overt references to their L1 in their learning processes than the group in the First Cycle. For example, Alvaro used the Spanish term "la cama" to solicit the French word "le lit" from the Teacher, knowing that she speaks some Spanish (21/9/2018). Mahala (Iraq) also responded "La" to the teacher's question in error, then explained that "La" means "Non" in Arabic (21/9/2018).

Finding 5: attitudes towards L1 use in the classroom

- While the use of L1 was encouraged and authorised in the French language classroom, there were also times when students were specifically told not to speak in their L1. In the first example below, the difference was made between speaking in L1 for learning purposes, and speaking in L1 for social purposes:

Example 1:

- “Mahomet is talking to another student in Arabic. T tells him off: **“Pourquoi tu continues à parler aux autres en Arabe, quand tu as du travail à faire?”** The whole class goes quiet and looks at T with wide eyes. (Was it the fact that he was told not to speak in Arabic, rather than just not speak when he’s supposed to be working?). Mahomet seems unperturbed.”

Observation #4, 9/11/2018

Example 2:

- “T asks students to get out homework on adjectives, to mark together. Mahomet (Iraq) makes a comment about Alvaro (Spain), who got told off for not doing work in his cahier du soir. **Mahomet exclaims, “Allah!”**, and T says, **“Tu ne dis pas ça en France, ou en classe de français, comme-même!”**

Observation #5, 23/11/2018

- In the first example, the Teacher tells a student off for speaking instead of working. The Teacher gave clear guidelines for classroom expectations, and off-task chat that detracted from classwork in any language was not tolerated. However, the labelling of the child’s L1 as problematic seemed to raise a question for the class about the appropriateness of speaking in L1 during the lesson. The context for this comment was that Mahomet had been frequently disruptive during the lesson with another L1-speaking peer, so his choice to speak in Arabic at this moment was also a choice to socialise rather than work. **The students have experienced in FLS classes that languages have value as a learning tool. However they also learn in this moment that the same rules of conduct apply to all languages — students must work during class time, and languages form part of their learning resources.**
- The second example highlights an attitude towards Arabic in the French public school context that is particularly interesting. When an Arabic-speaking student exclaimed “Allah !” the teacher corrected him quite firmly, saying that he cannot say this in France, or at least in a French class. This is because of the French law on *laïcité* which does not allow religious symbols or expressions of religious belief in schools. For non-French people, *laïcité* can seem discriminative or counter to individual rights. Nevertheless, it is a cultural marker of French civic life, and immigrants who chose to settle in France are obliged to respect the law on *laïcité*. For Muslims living in France *laïcité* is often problematic, as schools and other public institutions forbid the wearing of veils and religious expression. Perceptions of the Arabic language in the French education system are at times complicated by the law on *laïcité*, and the inextricable relationship between Islam and the Arabic language (discussed in Part 1, Chapters 2 and 6).
- Subsequently, two of the Arabic-speaking students, Mustafa (Syria) and Mahomet (Iraq), seemed to take a slightly political view of the place of Arabic in the classroom. In observations following these earlier two examples in which the Arabic language was singled out as slightly problematic (the example of a student exclaiming “Allah !”), Mustafa and Mahomet “took up arms” in defence of the Arabic language. They twice made reference to the fact that the French adults couldn’t understand Arabic, in what seemed to be a challenging way:

- **“Mustafa (Syria): “Est ce que les médecins parlent Arabe?”** Nurse and Teacher: “Non, mais toi tu parles français, donc pas de problème.” (The response is a little firm, like this is not a relevant question. Mustafa also appeared a little embarrassed to ask. Later during this session he brings up again a similar point that seems to be saying that French people don’t speak Arabic — he seems to be making a challenge of some kind?)”
- “In the text, the subject speaks several languages. **T asks Mustafa which languages the girl speaks. He reads them off the text, then says with a gesture of despair, “Elle parle pas l’Arabe !”** (This is the second time this session that he refers to others who don’t speak his language).”

Observation #6, 7/12/2018.

- “Teacher goes over questions that students will write answers for, checking their understanding of vocabulary. The word “inquiet”, **T asks for the English word, I say “worried”. When Mahomet (Iraq) hears the English word “worried” for “inquiet”, he says, “Si je le dit en Arabe, tu vas le comprendre?” Then he says the Arabic word.** (There is something of a pride or superiority for both Arabic-speaking boys in this class around their language. During session 6, Mustafa (Syria) was quite obvious about pointing out that French people don’t speak Arabic, twice during one class. Today, Mahomet (Iraq) made a point that Arabic is not a lingua franca in the French classroom, yet he insists on speaking words in his language.)”

Observation #8, 15/2/2019.

In both of these examples, two of the Arabic-speaking students (who were also at the rebellious age of 14 and pushing boundaries at school!) seemed to be making a political statement about the status of the Arabic language in France. As they saw it, not only do French adults not understand or speak Arabic, but it also does not occupy the same status as English as a lingua franca. In all Middle Eastern (including Israel) and North African countries, Arabic is taught as a second language in schools, and therefore has a high status. In France there has recently been serious discussion about teaching Arabic more widely in secondary schools, to avoid extremism or radicalisation of second generation Arabic-speaking youth who have felt excluded from mainstream French society on the basis of culture, language and religion. It is a discussion that without doubt signals important change in the French view of languages in education, and the potential for language education to effect positive social change. I examine some of the arguments for Arabic in French education in Part 1 (Chapter 6) of this thesis.

Finding 6: drawing on experiential knowledge of young migrants (Council of Europe indicator)

- Drawing on the experiential knowledge of young migrants is one of the methods of plurilingual and intercultural teaching and learning identified by the Council of Europe Language Policy Division (Castellotti, V. and Moore, D., 2010, “Capitalising on, activating and developing plurilingual and pluricultural repertoires for better school integration”, p.19). In this Second Cycle of observations, there were several examples of the Teacher using this method in the context of learning activities. The students responded very positively to this. There were instances of making links between their past experiences and existing knowledge, and the present school context:

Today, two public health nurses are visiting the class at the beginning to give information about a whole-school health check that is taking place in January. All students will take a bus into Bordeaux, to have teeth, eyes and ears tested, blood and urine samples taken, and general health checked.

- **10.20** Nurse explains about the blood test, students listen.
- **T: “Il y en a qui ont déjà eu un prise de sang?” Students raise their hands. Mustafa: “Madame, en Liban et ici.” Mahala: “En Iraq et en Finlande.”**
- They will also have their teeth checked, just to see, not to do any work.

Observation #6, 7/12/2018

- In another learning situation, the Teacher checked student understanding of the concept of “family tree” by asking them to say something about their own genealogy:

• **11.05** T hands out a text that students will work on: “Mon arbre généalogique”. **T asks each student about their genealogy, roots in their family, in relation to the text which is an autobiography:**

- Alvaro (African Guinea, Spanish)
- Mahala (Iraqi, little sister born in Finland)
- Rurik: “My father Ukrainian, my frère Ukrainian.”
- Zlatko: Afghani, Iranian
- Aagati: Indian
- Mustafa: Lebanese, Syrian, a little French
- Raaisha: Algerian, French

Observation #6, 7/12/2018

- Sharing cultural knowledge can also be a way of discussing cultural differences, and helping students to integrate into the new school system. For example, cellphone use came up in a text students were reading in FLS class, and animated a short discussion in French around school rules for cellphone use in the students’ home countries:

- Katalina comes from Romania, arrived 10th Dec, had an interview with her older sister as support, who said that in Romania they don’t study much in class. Katalina: “En Roumanie, c’est telephone et (makes a gestures for smoking a cigarette).”
- Rurik says that in Ukraine they hide their cellphones under the desk and text during class.
- Mahomet says in Iraq it’s not allowed, but in Libya students had cellphones in class. He looks across at his sister who agrees. She says: “Quand on mange à la cafeteria on peut jouer au telephone.” (talking about at the French school). Students discuss a bit the rules of cellphone use at school.

Observation #8, 15/2/2019

- In these examples, either the Teacher posed a direct question about experiential knowledge, or students spontaneously shared something from their experience related to the learning moment. It was very brief, and in simple French, yet through these moments students shared meaningful information about their past experiences — for example, Mustafa’s family spent time in Lebanon after fleeing the war in Syria; Mahala’s younger sister was born in Finland while the family sought asylum there for 8 months before coming to France. The Teacher and other students do not comment or pry into family backgrounds, the sharing is simply accepted by teacher and students alike as making a connection between past experiences and the present learning situation. This is a teaching and learning approach that seems to engage students more fully in the learning moment, through making connections to their own lives and lived experiences, in a safe learning environment.

Finding 7: mixing languages, even when the Teacher doesn’t understand (Council of Europe indicator)

- Allowing a mix of languages in the classroom, even when the Teacher doesn’t understand those languages is another way of developing students’ plurilingual repertoires, as identified by the Council of Europe Language Policy Division (Castellotti, V. and Moore, D., 2010, “Capitalising on, activating and developing plurilingual and pluricultural repertoires for better school integration”, p.19). In this Second Cycle of observations, there were several examples of the Teacher using this method in the context of learning activities. The students responded very positively to this, as the example below shows:

- **11.20** T writes question words on the board, and asks students to give the word in their own languages: où, pourquoi, qui.
- Students come to life and give the words in L1. Mahala is smiling, and confirms an Arabic word with Maanal.
- **11.25** T asks Mahala to read French words aloud and translate into Arabic. **Maanal calls out some words in Arabic**, T shushes her. (un lit, une lampe, un reveille, une table de nuit)
- **11.26am** T does a round of the class, asking each student how to say words in L1. They share these as a moment of interest.
- NOTE: when students share the words in their L1, there is a distinct shift in mood = less anxious, a part of themselves becomes present, as if they are all reminded that they are more than their limited ability in French.

Observation #2, 4/10/2018

- In this example, the French vocabulary revision activity gave all students a chance to participate through presenting their own languages within the whole class context. All students hear the different languages spoken by their classmates, and contribute words in their own L1. There are several language learning advantages to this simple activity, outlined in the discussion at the end of this section.
- Students who were already plurilingual on arrival and used to “language mixing” within sentences, as is Aagati from Bangladesh, mixed L1, L2 and French to communicate. As in Aagati’s case, “language mixing” is also a cultural behaviour, and while not common amongst French speakers, she used this strategy of drawing on all of her existing language resources simultaneously to communicate:

- T asks Alvaro, “A quel age on va à la maternelle en France?” Afterwards, T asks students about pre-school in their countries.
- **Aagati: “Kindergarten c’est pour les bébés. Pour moi, high school (+ an Indian word).”**
- Aagati, 12 years old from Bangladesh, speaks Bengali, Urdu, Hindi and English, and is now learning French. At home they speak mostly Bengali.

Observation #6, 7/12/2018, Second Cycle in French school

- In this example, Aagati takes a typically Indian pragmatic approach to language — there are no constraints on language separation within sentences, the aim is to communicate and “language mixing” is a way of achieving this. Depending on the child’s culture and existing linguistic strategies, “language mixing” can therefore help a newly-arrived immigrant child to participate linguistically, and to include her own cultural approaches to language learning. Over time, and with greater mastery of the French language, Aagati is likely to adopt French language conventions — that is, one language within a sentence, rather than several. For now, language mixing is a useful linguistic tool during the newly-arrived phase.

Finding 8: literacy, different alphabetic systems (Council of Europe indicator)

- Most of the students participating in this study are L1 speakers of languages that have a different alphabetic system to that of the language-of-schooling. There were several students in this Second Cycle of observations who struggled hugely with grasping basic literacy concepts, such as forming the letters of the French alphabet, writing words, and grouping words into short sentences. Copying from the board was

a major challenge for at least two of the students (Zlatko from Afghanistan, Mahala from Iraq). Below are two examples of the difficulties that Zlatko (Afghanistan) had with reading and writing just after his arrival:

Zlatko has the weakest level of French language proficiency in the class. Other students and the Teacher sometimes use simple English sentences to communicate with him. He also seems to have literacy issues, both in deciphering text and in writing, for example:

- **Activity 2:** Students are going to fill in gaps in genealogical tree. T explains what to do.
- T helping Zlatko to scaffold the task, starting by circling the names in the text. Zlatko's low literacy markers = he didn't easily find the names, being unable to scan for clues such as the capital letter at the start of a proper noun. Even once he was shown the capital letter at the start of a name, he did not easily follow and was not able to complete the task independently.

Observation #6, 7/12/2018

Zlatko had a lot of trouble decoding Teacher's handwriting from the board, although he didn't complain but just attempted to copy what he saw. The result was malformed words that did not make sense to him — it was just shapes. When I asked him to read what he had written he could not decode. I wrote individual words in printed script, which he again copied in rudimentary fashion, but did not seem to have an "aha" moment or make a connection between oral and two forms of written script.

Here, he is having to cope with multiple learning: the letters of the French alphabet, printed forms of each letter, cursive writing, forming words and meaning. He had trouble placing the accent **à** in the right place above the letter. Copying is a good learning activity for beginner students, to develop manual familiarity with the language, however made more complex by the cursive writing style in French.

Zlatko took a long time just copying down from the board, and did not seek clarification until he realised with teacher input that he was copying incorrectly.

Observation #3, 19/10/2018

What are some strategies for building literacy in the language-of-schooling, as well as oral communication skills, for this kind of student? According to the Persian translator at CADA who works with Zlatko's family, Zlatko has low literacy in his L1 (Farsi) and is therefore starting from a considerable disadvantage in terms of building literacy in French as a second language. I look at this question of literacy and different Alvarobetic systems further in the discussion section, and in Part 2, Chapter 4 on The argument for plurilingual and intercultural education.

- A further point observed in this Second Cycle of observations in the French school, were the “low literacy behaviours” of students with gaps in prior schooling. Some of the students had fragmented prior schooling due to migration and asylum seeking / refugee experiences. For example, Mahomet and Mahala from Iraq, had escaped from Iraq with their family and sought asylum initially in Finland. The children were at school for 8 months in Finland, and the family had recently arrived in France at the time of these school observations. There is little known about their prior schooling in Iraq, but it is certain that they have experienced gaps in schooling since leaving Iraq, and then had a period of schooling in Finnish as L2 before arriving in the French school system. Both children have some plurilingual skills as a result, but also had low literacy in French, and possibly in their L1 Arabic as well, at the time of this study. They were sometimes unwilling to work with text, and also showed limited ability to form letters and words in the French alphabet. For example:

“Mahomet (Iraq), Mahala (Iraq): I sat between Mahomet & Mahala, who are both beginners, to help them correct their test, which was on masculine/feminine adjectives + conjugation of *aller, faire*.

Mahala worked quite meticulously, looking back to check her notes and correct errors. **French is not the same script as Arabic, so she is reading letter-by-letter, with some difficulty retaining spelling in her rewriting. She also had an error in her original conjugation chart copied from the board (“tu vais” instead of “tu vas”).**

Mahomet recognised his errors visually and verbally, but was resistant to writing corrections down. He wants to advance and is impatient, but is not willing to do written corrections to master his existing level.

Mahala is also resistant to doing written work, as when T asks her to take a page and write the date down, she fluffs around and sighs, rolling her eyes. T tells her “*Au boulot! Tu le fais exprès, Mahala ! Tu tournes le classeur d'un page à l'autre ...*” Mahala smiles knowingly, admitting her reluctance to do the task.

Both these children from Iraq have strong personalities, a bit wild, likely gaps in schooling in home country and as a result of their refugee experience, and unused to working in a classroom environment.”

Observation #2, Second Cycle in French school, 4/10/2018

- One factor that potentially impacts on literacy for newly-arrived immigrant students in the French education system is that students are taught to write cursively. For newly-arrived students this can create an added “learning burden” as they are learning to read and write a script that may be different to their L1 writing system. Not only are they learning a new alphabetic system, but they are also having to decipher cursive letter forms, as well as reading printed letter forms in printed text. They are in effect having to learn TWO versions of a new alphabetic system!
- Even if the French alphabetic system is the same or very similar to their L1 (as for Spanish or Italian students), they may also have existing writing tendencies that will have to be re-formed during their schooling in France, in order to conform to French writing norms. For example, Maria from Italy, progressed quickly in French over the 4 months of observation, yet retained her way of writing in capital letters that had been acceptable in the Italian school. This meant that for other newly-arrived students, they were encountering yet another variety of the French alphabet, when Maria wrote on the board:

Maria is writing answers on the board. She is advancing quickly in French, and can take a leading role. She writes in block capital letters on the board. A learning curve for these beginner students is the style of writing in French. T uses cursive flowing script, while these students are just learning ABCs, and although they copy the cursive script (and it is important in French), they are having to learn multiple things at once about the nature of French language — the letters, the sounds of each letter, cursive script, joining letters to spell words correctly, and making meaning of words.

Maria has been writing answers on the board in capital letters. T asks her “Est ce que tu peux écrire comme moi?” and writes in cursive script as an example. Maria does so. One of the students, I think, signalled to T that it was difficult to read the capital letters.

Mahomet gets up, goes to board and asks Maria, “C’est quoi ça?”, pointing to unclear writing. Maria replies “salle de bains” (stat). Decoding script is a challenge for the two Iraqi students, who struggle to read “bains” (the script is very cursive in French handwriting — French children are expected to write like this).

Mahala (Iraq) approaches the board to check close-up on the writing.

Observation #2, Second Cycle in French school, 4/10/2018

- Sense of direction may also be conceptually different, if for example a child has learnt to write in Arabic where the writing goes from right to left (rather than French which is left to right). As example, Mahomet asked for clarification about which direction is meant by “*recule*” in a word puzzle task:

- T gives out a word puzzle, to decode a secret message according to instructions.
- Mahomet, when T says to “*recule*” (go backwards) a certain number of letter places in the alphabet, he asks with a gesture which direction is “backwards”. (Perhaps related to writing system of Arabic, which runs right to left).

Observation #8, 15/2/2019

To conclude, from the Second Cycle of observations in the French school, there are 8 findings on how newly-arrived immigrant students work in plurilingual ways in the FLS class, discussed in the following section.

Discussion: Second Cycle of Observations in the French school

The Second Cycle of observations in the French school revealed 8 findings about how newly-arrived immigrant students are using languages in French language-of-schooling classes. These 8 findings include both L1 and lingua franca use in the UPE2A class, and highlight 6 points about language use amongst plurilingual students at school during the newly-arrived phase, additional to those found in the First Cycle of observations at the French school.

I discuss these findings, linking the discussion back to the hypothesis established at the beginning of this thesis, that is:

The hypothesis:

Educational environments that allow space for plurilingual learning approaches create a platform from which to improve learning processes, engagement and construction of knowledge, thereby encouraging more effective learning for newly-arrived immigrant students.

The Second Cycle of observations in the French school confirmed similar findings to the First Cycle of observations in the same school, with the same UPE2A teacher, but with a different group of newly-arrived immigrant students. Findings 1 and 2 are consistent across both cycles of observation, and are discussed in (1) and (2) below.

- (1) *Students are often spontaneously speaking their first languages in the classroom, in order to access language-of-schooling learning tasks.* In addition to L1 production, during the Second Cycle students also spoke in English as a lingua franca, for learning purposes. I therefore, in the first instance, combine all non-language-of-schooling utterances in a global analysis of how students are using languages in their learning of French as the language-of-schooling. Quantitatively, there were more instances in which students spontaneously spoke in L1 or lingua franca (for learning or social purposes): **67 productions overall**; than instances in which the teacher specifically asked students to make use of their L1 (or lingua franca) for learning purposes: **44 situations overall**.

On the other hand, if the number of L1 productions for learning purposes is analysed as a single variable (without including English as a lingua franca), the number of teacher-authorised productions in L1 by students (20 samples) is greater than the number of student-initiated L1 productions for working purposes (19 samples). The difference is so small that it is negligible, yet reveals a different pattern of student-initiated L1 use than that found in the First Cycle of observations (55 student-initiated L1 productions to 37 teacher-authorised L1 productions). This can possibly be explained by two aspects of how the second group of students worked together in class, that was different to how the first group of students worked.

- (i) Firstly, the second group had more disruptive behaviour in class than the first group, and the teacher managed this by seating students separately in order to minimise off-task behaviour. This meant that the Arabic-speaking boys did not sit together (Mahomet and Mustafa) and therefore did not work together in their L1. Similarly, these same students tended to dominate the Arabic-speaking girls if they were seated together, so the teacher did not put them into group-work situations. This limited the number of L1 exchanges for working purposes amongst the Arabic-speaking students (6 students in total).
- (ii) Secondly, the other 6 newly-arrived students did not have an L1-speaking peer in the class and were therefore linguistically isolated (L1 = Ukrainian, Romanian, Farsi, Spanish, Bengali, Italian). They worked together in French as the language-of-schooling or in English as a lingua franca. Therefore, the use of L1 as a working language amongst students was to a large degree replaced by English as a lingua franca. This explains the lower number of student-initiated L1 productions, and the appearance of English as a working language with this group of students.

Once these variables are accounted for, the finding that **L1 production in class is mainly for learning purposes is very similar across both the First and Second Cycles of observation in the French school. That is, that newly-arrived immigrant students with beginner proficiency in the language-**

of-schooling frequently initiate interactive work in their first language, if an L1-speaking peer is available to them. The use of L1 is most often for learning purposes, rather than social purposes. The teacher may also encourage students to make use of their L1 for learning purposes, and to check their comprehension. However, it is the fact that students are frequently choosing to work in L1 that is interesting for this study, as it shows that students themselves find that interacting in L1 improves their learning processes in FLS classes. **This supports the hypothesis that newly-arrived immigrant teenagers are able to learn more effectively in a plurilingual learning environment, where their first languages are not excluded.**

Furthermore, these findings support the hypothesis that plurilingual learning approaches improve learning processes and engagement for newly-arrived immigrant students. The students showed higher levels of engagement during their French language learning processes when the teacher created space for them to speak in their L1 in the whole class context, and to listen to other students working in their L1. Students also actively contributed to the collective creation of plurilingual learning approaches during FLS classes, through their spontaneous use of L1 and lingua franca for learning purposes.

Figure 4 below shows a graphic representation of the different types of student non-language-of-schooling utterances, compared to teacher-authorized non-language-of-schooling utterances by students. It shows the nature of plurilingual interactions by students and their teacher in the FLS classroom, during the Second Cycle of observations.

Figure 4: Second Cycle of Observations in the French school

Figure 4 shows the frequency and type of L1/ lingua franca utterances that students produced over 16 hours of observations in FLS classes. It also compares student-initiated plurilingual approaches with the number of times that the Teacher initiated plurilingual approaches to learning.

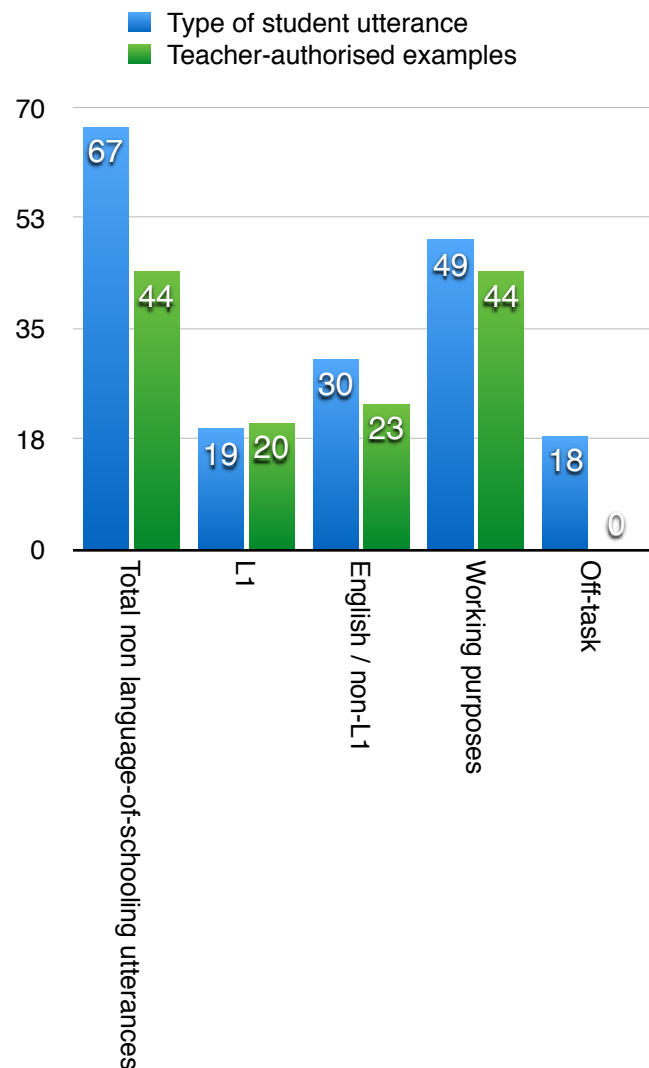


Figure 4 data shows that students were most frequently choosing to speak in their L1 and/or English as a lingua franca, for learning purposes in the FLS class. The FLS teacher was also actively providing opportunities for students to use their L1 and/or English to improve their understanding of French. However, students were more active in initiating L1 and/or English use in their French learning processes, in a range of ways that they found effective for their own learning. **This points to high levels of student motivation to engage with their language-of-schooling learning processes, when they could use their L1 and/or English as a lingua franca for learning purposes.**

- (2) The second finding from this cycle of observations that is consistent with the First Cycle of observations in the French school, is that *newly-arrived immigrant students are using their first languages for a range of work-related purposes*. This observation cycle records **49 samples of students using L1 or lingua franca for learning purposes vs. 18 samples of students speaking in L1 or lingua franca for social reasons**.

This finding of a tendency for students to speak in L1 (or lingua franca) for a range of learning purposes (rather than social reasons) is significant as it points to *student choice of L1 (or lingua franca) as the most effective working language for a range of learning purposes during the newly-arrived phase*. This finding across both the First and Second Cycles of observation in the French school gives us a quantitative and qualitative answer to the question posed at the outset of this study: *to what degree are immigrant students choosing to activate their L1 in the classroom, and for what range of purposes?*

Quantitative answer: The typology of range of purposes created for the First Cycle of observations in the French school was augmented for the Second Cycle of observations, to include new purposes for which this second group of students used their plurilingualism. In addition to the 5 types of student-initiated L1 utterance in the First Cycle (asking for clarification, responding to a question, helping classmate to understand/spontaneous translation, other work-related, off-task chat), two new types of student language use were added:

- (i) the use of English as a lingua franca amongst some students who had English as L2 from prior schooling, and between the Teacher and these students, and
- (ii) students verbalising interlanguage links between L1 and language-of-schooling.

These 7 categories in the new typology for the Second Cycle of observations (a) allowed a comparison of students' language use during the First and Second Cycles, and (b) reflected quantitatively the additional ways in which this group of students were using their plurilingual repertoires during the Second Cycle of observations.

Qualitative answer: Similarly to findings from the First Cycle, students' choice to work plurilingually during acquisition of the language-of-schooling, positions students as active agents in their own learning processes. Their choice to use L1 (and English as a lingua franca) as a way of improving their learning suggests that:

- (a) students themselves find that working plurilingually reduces the learning burden when they are faced with a learning task in the language-of-schooling; it is therefore a way to improve their learning processes;
- (b) students are active agents in their own learning and seek to succeed through drawing on their plurilingual skills; they are therefore demonstrating heightened engagement with their classroom learning;
- (c) students find it effective to learn interactively and plurilingually with their peers; they are therefore constructing knowledge together, through multiple languages.

The fact that plurilingual ways of working in the FLS classroom are a student-initiated choice is essential here, as students are demonstrating that plurilingual learning approaches are effective for their own learning. The choice is autonomous and motivated by the student's desire to succeed in each task.

This finding in both the First and Second Cycles of observation in the French school **provides strong evidence in support of the hypothesis** that educational environments that allow space for plurilingual

learning approaches create a platform from which to improve learning processes, engagement and construction of knowledge, thereby encouraging more effective learning for newly-arrived immigrant students.

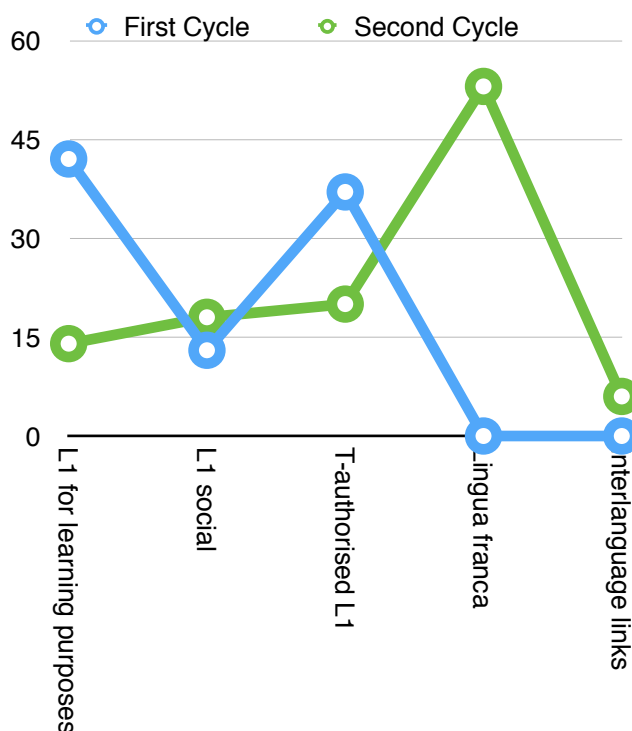
- (3) A third point of interest from these observations is **the use of English as lingua franca amongst this group of newly-arrived immigrant students and their teacher in the classroom** (Finding 3). The dominance of English as *lingua franca* in European education continues to be a source of concern and debate amongst linguists. Phillipson (2008) points out that the extensive and excessive spread of English across economic and cultural domains now threatens Europe’s self-proclaimed democratic value of multilingualism — a threat that represents a return to hegemonic goals that seek “*elimination of linguistic diversity*” (p.251). Phillipson contests the neutrality of the term “lingua franca”, instead likening English’s marginalisation of other languages in education to “*a cuckoo in the European higher education nest of languages ... a lingua cucula*” (Phillipson, 2008, p.252). This criticism seems to bear out in this Second Cycle of observations in the French school, as the use of English as lingua franca dramatically reduced first language use within this group of students. Graph 3 below shows two different patterns of language use amongst the groups of students in the First and Second Cycles of observation in FLS classes:

Figure 5: Comparing types of language use in the First and Second Cycles of observation in the French school

Figure 5 shows differences in type of L1/ lingua franca utterances that students produced between the two cycles of observation in FLS classes (32 hours of data).

Note: two new features of language use appear in the Second Cycle:

- English as a lingua franca
- interlanguage links



- Looking at Figure 5, there are several comparisons to make about how language use differed between the two groups of newly-arrived plurilingual students observed in the French school (First and Second Cycles of observation):
 - i) English was not as frequently spoken in the FLS classroom in the First Cycle (0 samples noted), whereas in the Second Cycle English as a lingua franca was the most frequent type of language production (63 samples).
 - ii) In the Second Cycle, the use of L1 for learning purposes dramatically reduced, and was replaced by the use of English as a lingua franca (for learning purposes).
 - iii) In both Cycles, students spoke an equal number of times in L1 for social purposes, so could potentially have been working together in L1 for learning purposes also. Did English as a lingua franca usurp the place of a diversity of L1 as working languages — acting as “*lingua cucula*” as Phillipson says?

These two different patterns seem to be largely influenced by the introduction of English as a lingua franca between some students and the teacher in the Second Cycle. The result was less frequent use of L1 for learning purposes, and more frequent “language mixing” with students composing sentences from a mixture of French, English and occasionally their L1. Students were mixing language creatively, however English played a much larger role in their learning processes than their first languages did.

This finding evidences the “hierarchy of languages” debate around the overly-dominant position of English in education. All of the newly-arrived students in this Second Cycle were plurilingual on arrival, either speaking more than one language at home (2 students), having prior schooling in more than one country and language (6 students), living in a multilingual community at CADA (1 student), or having studied English or another L2 previously (all 12 students). In their learning of French in FLS classes, they drew on some of their existing plurilingual repertoires (L1 and English), but other parts of their plurilingualism were neglected or remained unverballed (other home languages, L2 from prior schooling). I suggest that **structured pedagogical approaches for language inclusiveness with these kinds of plurilingual students could further improve learning, engagement and knowledge construction**, in the following ways:

- i) Working in multiple languages and via students’ plurilingual repertoires becomes normalised in learning processes, rather than English killing off language diversity as it seemed to in quantitative findings from these observations. While English is convenient as a working language shared amongst teacher and students, it is clear from this study that English became the “go-to language” in the Second Cycle, thereby usurping the place of other languages spoken by the students that could have played a role in their learning processes. I argue that the pre-dominant place of English in the students’ learning here, while pragmatic, also had a negative impact on language diversity in the classroom, and therefore truly plurilingual approaches to learning.
- ii) The FLS teacher employed a range of teaching strategies for including students’ L1 in their French learning processes, and was skilled at weaving these into the lessons in a “little and often” approach. For example, frequently asking students, “*Comment vous dites ... en [arabe/portugais/ L1 ...]?*” or asking students to use the L1-French dictionaries provided in the classroom. These simple strategies helped students to make direct connections between French and their L1, and could be extended to include and build on each student’s plurilingual competence in an inter-linguistic approach. For example, structuring learning activities so that students make not only lexical comparisons, but also develop a level-appropriate understanding of grammar, semantics and literacy across languages. Some ideas for pedagogical approaches for plurilingual students will be discussed in Chapter 7, Part 2.
- iii) Talking with students about ways in which they can make use of all of their languages in their learning processes — that English is just one language among many. This is one way of strengthening a plurilingual learning approach that this group of newly-arrived students were instinctively using when they noticed and commented on differences between French and their L1 (Finding 4, “making conscious interlanguage links”). What ideas do students have for including their plurilingual repertoires, and the languages of their classmates? What would they find useful and beneficial for their own learning of French, *as additive to their existing linguistic repertoire rather than subtractive?* Students who are active partners in their own learning processes feel more in control, and can become more engaged and autonomous learners.

One method of plurilingual teaching that works in this domain of building awareness of links between languages (language-of-schooling, L2 English and L1 minority languages), is “knowledge transfer and interlingual support”. This method aims to use prior learning and skills to advantage the learning of languages (language-of-schooling and other languages) (CoE 2010, p.16), and is exemplified in Chapter 3, Part 2.

- (4) There are three findings that link with Council of Europe indicators of how students’ plurilingual repertoires can be developed in education (Castellotti and Moore 2010, p.19):
 - Finding 6: drawing on experiential knowledge of young migrants
 - Finding 7: mixing languages, even when the Teacher doesn’t understand
 - Finding 8: literacy, different alphabetic systems

4.1 In Finding 6, the Teacher created moments when students could link past experiential knowledge with present learning (the example of reading a text about genealogy, and each student said something about their own genealogy), or a future experience at school (the example of an upcoming health visit, and in order that students understand what is involved in “prise de sang” the Teacher asked if anyone had already had a blood test). Language production is A1-A2 level, and does not need to be elaborate or lengthy — the purpose is simply linking students’ past and present (activating schema).

These moments of linking helped students to connect emotionally with their learning in the new context, and to make sense of new experiences within the unfamiliar context of the French school system. Being newly-arrived in France, the sense of continuity created by linking existing experiences to new experiences is part of the process of constructing a “sense of belonging” — the strangeness of feeling “outsider” to one’s new environment is more quickly dispersed by connecting memories of the past with the present. The child feels and expresses a range of cultural similarities and differences during this early phase often characterised by a sense of “separation, exclusion” from the dominant cultural group of peers. As Goï puts it, **integration is a process of gradual and mutual transformation over time** that deals with *“la question de la place et du traitement de l’altérité ainsi que celle des modalités et des critères de catégorisation mis en œuvre pour définir les relations et les frontières entre moi / nous / eux.”* (Goï and Huver, 2013, p.121). Thus, this process of integration for the newly-arrived adolescent can be supported by classroom activities and interactions that draw on experiential knowledge, in simple ways that are appropriate to the student’s level of proficiency in the language-of-schooling.

In these kinds of moments, teachers also get to know their students better, understand where they have come from, and develop empathy for where students are at now in their lives. The students who participated in this study have all lived experiences of migration and are currently newly-arrived immigrants to France, as are their families. Some of these students have past experiences of war trauma, the upheaval of family separation or loss of family members, and the instability of seeking asylum in more than one country. For UPE2A students, the relationship with the teacher is central to their school integration as well as acquisition of the language-of-schooling, and the relationship is constructed through many “teaching and learning moments” in class, as well as through all the background work the teacher does in home-school liaison, collegial discussions, and links to external providers such as CASNAV and CADA.

4.2 Finding 7, mixing languages even when the teacher doesn’t understand, is a way of capitalising on students’ plurilingual skills and placing high value on student autonomy in learning. In the Second Cycle of observations at the French school, there were two ways that language mixing was used amongst students. The first way was when students discussed and presented something in their L1 in the whole class context, as in the example of students translating the words “où, pourquoi, qui” and other new French vocabulary items into L1. The focus here is on each student’s individual cognitive processing and forming interlinguistic links between L1 and language-of-schooling. There are several advantages for language-of-schooling acquisition in this type of language mixing activity:

- i) Students who speak the same L1 confirm or correct their comprehension of French words amongst each other. If a student has not understood a word, they can hear the correct translation from another L1-speaking peer.
- ii) Students hear the French words repeated several times as each student says the French word and gives a translation in L1. This means that with 10 students in the class, students all hear the French words 10 times. Contextualised input and repetition of vocabulary items are part of an acquisition process (Nation, 2002).
- iii) The teacher can check student comprehension of new words. Even if the teacher does not understand the student’s L1, she can see whether a student easily gives a translation or hesitates and needs to revise the meaning.
- iv) Students become language experts and responsible for their own learning process. If they had learned these words for homework, and found the meanings in L1, they have a moment to showcase their learning with the class.

- v) Students became animated and motivated whenever space was created to work in their L1 in the whole class context. They simply loved sharing their languages and hearing their classmates speaking their own languages. This motivation and engagement is an important factor in effective language-of-schooling acquisition, as a high affective for learning aids memory and retention of new learning (Gardner & MacIntyre 1993).

The second type of language mixing is shown in the example of Aagati mixing languages within the same sentence, in a culturally Indian style of speech. This is a kind of **interlanguage** that two of the students in this group often made use of (Aagati and Rurik), as a way of compensating for a lack of vocabulary in French at this beginner stage of their learning. It was accepted by the Teacher as a way for students to “try and see” with the language elements that they had already acquired from their language repertoire, including French. In this way, students were working plurilingually within sentences that contained elements of French language — that is French words, a French grammatical structure — and elements of other languages they spoke to varying degrees of proficiency (often mixing English with French, and very little L1). **The result was an effective way of communicating that seems to offer multiple teaching and learning benefits**, such as:

- allowing the student to practise their newly-acquired French at A1-A2 level, without feeling inhibited or constrained by gaps in their language knowledge;
- showing the Teacher what the student doesn't yet know how to say in French (an unknown French word replaced by the English word), as well as what he has already mastered; and
- facilitating plurilingual work in the classroom context of language-of-schooling acquisition, thus encouraging all students to capitalise on their existing plurilingual competences.

This finding supports the hypothesis that allowing space for plurilingual learning approaches creates a platform from which to improve learning processes, engagement and construction of knowledge, thereby encouraging more effective learning for newly-arrived immigrant students. **The “platform” created is that of a flexible, inclusive and student-centred view of how languages can be used in learning.**

- 4.3** Finding 8 raises the question of **students with low literacy in L1 and the difficulties they encounter in developing literacy in the language-of-schooling as a result**. For students who are also learning a different alphabetic system in the language-of-schooling, as are most of the students in this study, this amounts to an accumulation of literacy challenges to overcome.

According to the **developmental interdependence theory** (Cummins 1979: see Chapter 6, Part 2, in this thesis), if the child has low literacy in L1, this is likely to have a limiting effect on the acquisition of literacy in the L2. The developmental interdependence theory sees that there is an interaction between L1 and L2, and the development of language skills is therefore relational. This forms part of the basis for an argument for plurilingual educational approaches — that is, in order for immigrant students to develop the L2 skills necessary for successful schooling outcomes, L1 competences play a key role and must therefore be developed alongside, and in complementarity to L2.

The three students presented as examples of low L1 literacy from this group (Zlatko, Mahala and Mahomet), all have a common educational background story: gaps in prior schooling due to their refugee experience, periods of no schooling due to war in their home country, and a few months of schooling in at least one other country of asylum (in another language-of-schooling) before arriving in France. This means that they are all orally plurilingual, yet have low literacy in their L1 and are therefore struggling to develop aspects of basic literacy in French. Working with text is problematic for them, and basic literacy skills such as forming letters (printed and cursive script), spelling everyday words, copying sentences accurately, punctuation and capitalisation are more difficult for them than for other students with age-appropriate literacy in their L1. More advanced literacy concepts such as extracting meaning from simple texts, forming simple and compound sentences, and simple writing structures are another literacy step that they need to master for schoolwork. For students who have not learned these basic literacy skills in their L1, they are faced with two major tasks to develop in a short space of time, in order to integrate into schooling with their cohort: acquisition of the language-of-schooling (French, in this case), and understanding and applying basic literacy concepts and skills

in both L1 and L2. **This is a big challenge that public schools, where asylum seeker and refugee students are for the most part enrolled, are not resourced to meet the pluriliteracy needs of students from minority language backgrounds.**

I ask the question for these kinds of students, what are some strategies for building literacy in the language-of-schooling, as well as oral communication skills? This is a key question that I hope to follow up in future research, and in the development of teacher training modules to support the learning of plurilingual immigrant students in schools.

Summary

To summarise, the Second Cycle of observations on plurilingual approaches in FLS learning in the French school draws on 16 hours of observations of 12 newly-arrived immigrant students from linguistically and culturally diverse backgrounds at the participating *collège* in Bordeaux. 8 findings about how students used their plurilingual repertoires in the FLS classroom context are discussed, supported by examples of language-of-schooling learning situations from this cycle. A typology of L1 and lingua franca production by students and their French teacher categorises each type of utterance according to purpose: for learning, for social reasons, initiated by a student, or suggested by the teacher. This quantitative analysis of observation data tests the hypothesis that *“educational environments that allow space for plurilingual learning approaches create a platform from which to improve learning processes, engagement and construction of knowledge, thereby encouraging more effective learning for newly-arrived immigrant students”*, by observing:

- (1) what kinds of spaces are created in the FLS class context for plurilingual learning approaches, and
- (2) how students themselves engage, construct knowledge and seek to learn French more effectively through their existing languages (L1 and English as lingua franca, in this case).

Several of the findings on plurilingualism in FLS learning are the same across the First and Second cycles of observations in the French school, with two different groups of UPE2A students and the same French teacher — these are tagged (Same 1st & 2nd cycles). The key findings in support of the hypothesis are:

- **Newly-arrived immigrant students with beginner proficiency in the language-of-schooling frequently initiate interactive work in their first language, if an L1-speaking peer is available to them.** They like working together and find it effective for construction of knowledge related to the acquisition of French. (Same 1st & 2nd cycles)
- **The use of L1 is most often for learning purposes, rather than social purposes.** Students are initiating plurilingual learning situations themselves, spontaneously, and thereby creating *“a platform from which to improve learning processes”*. (Same 1st & 2nd cycles)
- **Students were more active initiators than the Teacher of plurilingual learning approaches in their French learning processes.** This points to high levels of student motivation to engage with their language-of-schooling learning processes, when they could use their plurilingual repertoire for learning purposes. (Same 1st & 2nd cycles)
- Furthermore, the fact that *students are initiating plurilingual ways of working* in the FLS classroom is an essential point, as students are showing through their learning behaviours that they find plurilingual learning approaches effective for their learning. The choice is autonomous and motivated by the student's desire to succeed in each task. (Same 1st & 2nd cycles)
- English spoken as a lingua franca between some students and the teacher in the Second Cycle resulted in less frequent use of L1 for learning purposes, and more frequent “language mixing” with students composing sentences from a mixture of French, English and occasionally their L1. While this was still a “plurilingual approach to learning” it raises questions about the *“lingua cucula”* tendency of English to replace language diversity. In response to this concern, I have suggested a number of ways that structured pedagogical approaches for language inclusiveness with these kinds of plurilingual students could further improve learning, engagement and knowledge construction.

- Finally, three findings that link with Council of Europe indicators of how students' plurilingual repertoires can be developed in education are drawing on young migrants' experiences, mixing languages, and pluriliteracy. These findings have positive implications for plurilingual learning approaches, such as fostering "sense of belonging" during the early integration phase; and allowing students to co-create "platforms from which to improve learning processes" through flexible, inclusive interlanguage use. The finding on pluriliteracy also underlines a big challenge for public schools, to develop the skills and resources to meet the pluriliteracy needs of students from minority language backgrounds, in particular asylum-seeker and refugee-background students with low levels of literacy in L1 as a consequence of fragmented prior schooling.

To conclude, **findings from the Second Cycle of observations in the French school quantitatively support the hypothesis** that *"educational environments that allow space for plurilingual learning approaches create a platform from which to improve learning processes, engagement and construction of knowledge, thereby encouraging more effective learning for newly-arrived immigrant students"*. **Four of the key findings are the same in both the First and Second cycles, with two different groups of newly-arrived UPE2A students, which strengthens support for the hypothesis.** Two important questions are also raised by these findings: firstly, does the use of English as lingua franca in the French educational context pose a risk to minority language diversity? And secondly, how can French schools develop the necessary skills and resources to support pluriliteracy development in students with low L1 literacy and subsequent difficulties in basic French literacy?

First Cycle of Observations of EL students in the New Zealand school

Observation objectives:

- to notice when and why students use their L1 and other languages (eg, 3rd language as lingua franca) in the classroom
- to see if there is a difference between authorised and unauthorised L1 production = frequency, reason, learning outcome
- to observe how the educational space treats L1 and lingua franca = encouragement/discouragement, view of place of L1 and lingua franca in child's learning, home/school separation & liaison
- to observe links to plurilingualism in each child's approach to learning
- to observe integration over time = classroom behaviours, prior schooling & low levels of literacy, relationship with teacher & students

Observation dates, Monday afternoons 12.20-13.20 / 14.20-15.30 in EL classes (English Language):

11/3/2019; 18/3/2019; 25/3/2019; 1/4/2019; 8/4/2019 [school holidays 13/4-28/4]; 29/4/2019; 6/5/2019; 13/5/2019; 20/5/2019; 28/5/2019
= 20 hours of observation

School profile

High School A., Wellington, New Zealand

Class profile

The 13 students in this EL group are all of either refugee or migrant background, and there are no international fee-paying students in this class. As the year goes on, more students will join the class, which is organised by level of proficiency in English. This group are a mixed Beginners and Pre-Intermediate group, and all have high learning needs in English language and/or classroom learning behaviours. Mrs O. says that she is still struggling with this class, it is the most difficult group she has this year in terms of engagement and low levels of English proficiency. In most of the other EL classes there are international fee-paying students which creates a dynamic of mixed abilities in English, as well as prior educational advantages and classroom learning behaviours. In this class, there is a mix of ages as well as language backgrounds and levels of prior schooling. Mrs O. is working with older teenagers aged 14 to 18, which requires a different set of classroom management skills than the younger adolescents at *collège*. At the beginning of the observations period, students were often reluctant or apathetic and tending to be social and off-task if allowed. Classroom management evolved during the observation period, and students engaged well with simple reading and writing tasks structured around whole class and pair/small group learning.

Mrs O. is the Head of EL, an experienced teacher of 20 years, with a background in primary school teaching. Mrs O. also speaks some Japanese and French and has travelled. It will be a pleasure and a privilege to work with Mrs O. and learn from her expertise. Krista is also present, a 25-year-old German student who is on a 4-month internship at High School A.. Krista works with the beginners group in Mrs O.'s class and also follows some of the immigrant students into their mainstream classes, as a teacher assistant.

Beginners: Tahn (Vietnam, 18 yrs), Tanawat (Karen-Thailand, 14 yrs),
Bashiir (Somalia, 17 yrs), Maahi (Karen-Thailand, 15 yrs), Abdul (Syria, 14 yrs),
Lihua (China, 18 yrs)

Pre-intermediate: Alejandro (Colombia, 15 yrs), Sanoh (Karen-Thai, 17 yrs), Ma (Karen-Thai, 17 yrs),
Abdirahim & Yuusuf (Somalia, 15 yrs, twins)

Intermediate: Nadine (Syria, 14 yrs), Lola (Colombia, 15 yrs)

Student profiles

- **Abdul (Syria, 14 yrs)** has been in NZ for one year and arrived as a refugee through UNHCR. He is the youngest child in the family, with siblings aged 25, 27, 28, and is an uncle. He has a low level of English and trouble concentrating in class, also basic literacy skills such as map-reading are not yet stable. Abdul often needs one-on-one help to get started on a task. He is supported in mainstream classes by Rania (a Palestinian-Syrian teacher aide employed for 15 hours per week as bilingual Arabic-English support). Abdul's learning behaviours have developed since his arrival at the NZ school, and Rania notes progress in his integration, although his English reading and writing skills are slower to develop. Abdul participated in the case studies for this period of observations.

- **Lihua (China, 18 yrs)** has been in NZ for 7 months and is part of an immigrant family (not international fee-paying). He has a sister aged 23. Lihua had a period of truancy during the observations, with Chinese friends at the school.
- **Tanawat (Karen-Thai, 14 yrs)** has been in NZ for 2 years yet has low literacy and low levels of English language proficiency. He speaks Karen, from the hill-tribes of northern Thailand, and has refugee status. He is a good athlete and excelled in the school sports day this year. In the family there is a 24-yr-old brother, and two sisters aged 21 and 9. Tanawat is proud to say that he was an uncle at 11 years old. He struggles with Maths, but seems generally happy and well integrated at school.
- **Bashiir (Somalia, 17 yrs)** arrived in NZ in Nov 2018. His parents are not in NZ, but some of his family arrived as refugees through UNHCR and have been resettled in Wellington. It is unclear how many brothers and sisters he has, as there were two of his brothers at this high school last year, but they may be extended family not direct siblings (cultural difference possible here, that “brother and sister” may be broader terms than direct siblings). Bashiir generally has trouble engaging with school-based learning. He is supported almost full-time at school by Krista (intern from Germany who is at the NZ school for 4 months), but at times is unwilling, ignoring her help, late for class, and surly. Bashiir presented many interesting language and learning behaviours during observations in EL class, and although he was not a participant in the case studies, I decided to write about him in more detail in the “Case Studies” section.
- **Maahi (Karen-Thai, 15 yrs)** has been in NZ for 5 months but started school at the beginning of the 2019 school year (5 weeks ago). He speaks Karen and is quite sociable with the other students, including the Karen-speaking students. Maahi is supported by Krista (intern) in Maths and Computer Sciences. He is good at Maths, not so confident on computers, but has a willingness to learn, and a strong social network amongst other Karen-Thai classmates. Maahi participated in the case studies for this period of observations.
- **Nadine (Syria, 14 yrs)** has two brothers and a sister, and enjoys singing and music. She does not have strong learning behaviours in EL, and did very little work in class during observations, although she sometimes worked in L1 to help Abdul. Teachers said she was often truant from mainstream classes along with Lola. Nadine wears the hijab, and has the support of Rania as bilingual teacher aide.
- **Sanoh (Thailand, 17 yrs)** arrived in NZ with her mother and brother, and said she doesn't have a father (or her father is deceased?). She arrived at the start of the 2019 school year, likes playing guitar and doesn't like sports. Sanoh has strong learning behaviours, and supports her Karen-Thai classmates in L1 during EL.
- **Alejandro (Colombia, 15 yrs)** has been in NZ for 5 months. He is Spanish-speaking, has two sisters and a brother, likes bike-riding. He lives with his older brother. Towards the end of this period of observation, Alejandro had several weeks of unexplained absence.
- **Thanh (Vietnam, 18 yrs)** speaks very little English, arrived at the start of the school year and is in the beginners' group in EL. He likes football, and was able to say this with prompting in his self-introduction. Thanh works in a small group in EL class with extra help from Krista, the 25-year-old German intern.
- **Lola (Colombia, 15 yrs)** has been in NZ for one year and speaks and understands English quite competently. Outgoing, she is highly sociable and has trouble concentrating on her work. She has three sisters: Camilla (19) who has a daughter, Lorraine (17), and Marilyn (10). Lola loves being an aunty. At school, she likes football, art, English, maths, music, and doesn't like science and fashion. The family are in NZ on refugee status. With the EL teacher, Lola was selected to participate in the case studies, but was absent during the first observation and the Art Teacher said that she has high levels of truancy.
- **Ma (Karen-Thai, 16 yrs)** was absent for self-presentations. She comes from a Karen hill tribe family in Northern Thailand, and has refugee status in NZ under UNHCR. She works very well in class, at times speaking in L1 to help other Karen-Thai friends in EL class. She has a slightly more advanced level of English than the other 3 Karen-Thai students, and positive learning behaviours.
- **Abdirahim & Yuusuf are twins (Somalia, 15 yrs)** in NZ on refugee status with their family. They are cousins of Bashiir, and there are 9 family members living in the same home in Wellington. The boys share a room: 2 x 2 boys in each room. They have excellent learning behaviours, and are highly attentive and focused on achieving. They have small-group tutoring sessions in EL with Carolyn Stein (teacher aide who has 20 years' experience teaching adult refugees and adult English classes for immigrants). They are also supported by intern Krista (Germany) who acts as teacher aide during their mainstream classes in Maths. They speak Somali as a first language, and Abdirahim speaks Arabic quite well as L2. They both participated in the case studies for this period of observations.

Findings – First Cycle of Observations in the New Zealand school

Table 20: summary of samples of unauthorised and authorised language production

First Cycle of Observations		High School A., Wellington, New Zealand	
Unauthorised by Teacher /Students spontaneously produce L1		Authorised by Teacher / Teacher requests production in L1	
• asking for clarification to other L1 classmates	24 examples	• sharing something about L1 in whole class learning task	7 examples
• responding to question in L1 from other L1 classmates	7 examples	• translating for a weaker student, at teacher's request	0 examples
• helping L1 classmate to understand / spontaneous translation	53 examples	• responding to direct teacher question: "What is this word in your L1?"	0 examples
• off-task chat	31 examples	• giving help to L1 classmate (in L1) at teacher's request	0 examples
• other, seems to be work-related	49 examples	• other, with links to L1	1 example
• using L1 or lingua franca with Teacher or non-L1 student	31 examples (10 = off-task chat; 13 = other, seems to be work-related; 6 = helping classmate to understand; 1 = responding to Q from classmate; 1 = asking for clarification to classmate). TOTAL = 21 work-related, 10 social	• T speaking in student's L1 or lingua franca	7 examples (Māori and Japanese, simple instructions)
• making a conscious interlanguage link / comparison between languages	3 examples	• making a conscious interlanguage link / comparison between languages	0 examples

According to the results of 20 hours of observation of 13 newly-arrived students in their EL classes, several interpretations of students' use of languages can be made:

Finding 1: high spontaneous L1 production amongst students, very little requested production in L1 by Teacher

- In total, **196 student utterances in languages other than the language-of-schooling** were noted, and 15 instances of the Teacher using a plurilingual teaching approach in the EL learning context.
- Quantitatively, students spoke in L1 spontaneously in EL class and were free to do so without any specific direction from the Teacher: **164 productions overall**. Of these 164 situations of students speaking in L1, only **31 productions in L1 were noted as "off-task chat" = 133 productions for learning purposes**. This suggests that student productions in L1 are for the most part work-focused, and for a range of learning-related purposes. This is a very interesting finding, as in this learning context the Teacher is giving very little direct instruction to students on how to use their L1 for learning purposes: **only 8 instances of authorised L1 production**. This evidences a high level of learner agency and self-directed learning in this classroom context. Here are some examples of students engaged in learning situations in the NZ school, where they spoke in their L1 for a range of learning purposes:

Example of L1 utterance types "asking for clarification to other L1 classmate" and "helping L1 classmate to understand":

- Ma and Sanoh are reading. **Ma asks Sanoh the meaning of a word in L1 (Khmer)**. They are reading different books. **They discuss the meaning of the word for a minute in L1**.

Observation #5, 8/4/2019

Example of L1 utterance types “responding to question in L1 from other L1 classmates”:

- T tells students that after lunch we will get the dictionaries out, and students will have “as much time as you want” to write the profile of 5 to 10 sentences.
- Some students have already started. T goes around commenting.
- **Abdul asks Nadine in L1 (Arabic) what is “Arabic food” in English. Nadine tries to find a correct term, discussing in L1. Bashiir also joins in (speaking Arabic), and Abdul tells him the word in Arabic.**
- During this observation, there was a lot of Arabic spoken amongst the students, most of it focused on discussing work progress and translating words from Arabic into English. These exchanges made a marked difference to Abdul’s written production and engagement with the writing task. His English production, both written and oral, is at a beginner level, however the discussions in his L1 facilitated writing a few sentences in English. He was also engaged by being able to choose something that he likes from his own culture, a Syrian dish, and initiated (a) talking about this with Nadine, who is familiar with Syrian culture too, and (b) looking up the English translation, then (c) trying to explain this dish to the teacher. This was a point that could have been further drawn out by T, to solicit Abdul’s cultural knowledge in simple English.

Observation #5, 8/4/2019

Example of L1 utterance type “other, seems to be work-related”:

- T goes through the interview statements together, soliciting questions from the class “Do you like maths? Do you come from Somalia?”
- T asks Bashiir to make a question for “find someone who comes from Vietnam”. Bashiir successfully makes the question. T: “Excellent”.
- When students have practised the model questions, they begin moving around the class interviewing each other.
- **Tanawat compares his interview with Sanoh in L1 (Khmer),** then quickly moves on, intent on completing the task.

Observation #4, 1/4/2019

- This finding is similar to Finding 1 in the French school context with UPE2A students during the First Cycle of Observations, where students spoke spontaneously in L1 for learning purposes — that is, to access tasks in the language-of-schooling and to improve understanding of the language-of-schooling.

Finding 2: highest category of students’ L1 production = helping L1 classmate to understand, spontaneous translation

- Quantitatively, aside from L1 production that seemed to be work-related but it was unclear for what purposes, the highest number of instances in which students spontaneously produced L1 for work-related purposes was to help an L1 classmate to understand, or to spontaneously translate for a classmate: **53 productions**.
- In the NZ classroom context, students were free to sit where they pleased most of the time, and often chose to sit with their L1 classmates. This perhaps accounts for the high number of L1 productions overall, both work-related and off-task. In their L1 groups, more proficient EL students often helped their L1 classmates to understand at the start of a learning activity, then each student did their own work. The Khmer-speaking students were the biggest group of students with a shared L1 (4 students). They often discussed their work together and were more work-focused overall than the other students who did not always have an L1 partner to work with (Abdul in Arabic, for example).
- This finding is different to findings from the First Cycle of Observations in the French UPE2A class, where the highest category of L1 production was “asking for clarification to other L1 classmate” (24 samples). However in the Second Cycle of Observations in the French school, there were only 2 examples of students asking for clarification to another L1 classmate in their L1 — instead, this second group used English as a lingua franca much more frequently. Students in this second group were seated by the

Teacher for behaviour management purposes, rather than L1 working partnerships (eg, Mustafa and Mahomet who are both Arabic speakers, but misbehaved if sitting together). Gender divisions were perhaps also a factor, as the girls and boys did not choose to work together, even though they spoke Arabic as L1 (4 girls, 2 boys).

Across the 3 cycles of observations therefore, a pattern emerges that students were similarly choosing their L1 (or English as a lingua franca where no L1-speaking peer was available) for interactive working purposes in language-of-schooling learning. A difference is the type of L1/lingua franca utterances frequently made by students. In the NZ school, students most often spontaneously helped each other in L1, which may have been the result of two factors: (1) the highly student-directed learning style in this EL classroom — the less authoritative teaching style meant that students were often figuring things out amongst themselves in L1; (2) cultural approaches to learning, for example the Thai-Karen students tended to work collaboratively in L1.

Finding 3: use of lingua franca/L2 to communicate

- There were **31 examples** of students using a lingua franca to communicate amongst themselves in the classroom. In these cases, the lingua franca was the L1 of one of the students and another student's L2 : for example, exchanges in Arabic between Abdul (Arabic L1) and Bashiir, Abdirahim and Yuusuf (Somali L1, Arabic L2). Of the **31 productions in a lingua franca**: 10 = off-task chat; 13 = other, seems to be work-related; 6 = helping classmate to understand; 1 = responding to Q from classmate; 1 = asking for clarification to classmate. **21 out of these 31 lingua franca/L2 productions were related to classwork.**
- Students communicated in Arabic, Māori or other languages as lingua franca (languages other than English as the main language-of-schooling) for different reasons:
 - (1) Neither student had a strong command of English as the language-of-schooling, and used Arabic as a lingua franca to communicate about classwork, and to socialise. For example, Abdul is a native speaker of Arabic and Bashiir had studied Arabic as L2 at school in Somalia:

- Class divides into 3 groups. T has written each student's name on board in a group. Bashiir, Abdul and Ma are in one group.
- T: "And get out your 1B5. Sit down." (clear instructions, direct language)
- **Bashiir is speaking and singing in Arabic, with Abdul.** Abdul has his notebook ready. Bashiir continues singing as he looks for his notebook, standing up and looking in the book storage racks. Today he is smiling, still off-task often, but enjoying working with Abdul in Arabic. T tells him to stop looking for his book and sit down, that she will give him paper to write on. Bashiir sits with his back to the board and Teacher, facing into the group towards Abdul. Today is the first time I have seen Bashiir speaking with Abdul in Arabic — it is a mixture of social and learning purposes, and has made a big difference to Bashiir's communication and interaction with another student in EL class.

Observation #3, 25/3/2019

- (2) A student with low proficiency in the language-of-schooling sought help in Arabic from another student with plurilingual proficiency:

- Teacher shows students the pictures of different kinds of vegetables, and students are to write down the ones that they like. Teacher tells them they can only use these ones. At times students pronounce the vegetable words in English out loud to themselves. Or the English sentences they have written. **Abdirahim (Somalia) and Abdul (Syria) exchange in Arabic, with Abdul asking him a couple of questions about the meaning of some words or concepts in the activity.** Abdul says something to himself in Arabic as he is writing, as if working out or clarifying. **Abdul comments to other boys in Arabic about the sentences he is writing**, or the sentences Abdirahim has just said in English ("I like cauliflower. I don't like ...").

Observation of small group with Teacher Aide, 27/5/2019

(3) Students sought a social connection through a lingua franca, which would have been harder for them through the language-of-schooling:

- **Abdul and Bashiir exchange in Arabic about what they did in the weekend,** and Bashiir responds in English as well, with gestures, more extended sentences than I've ever heard from him. **They are using lots of gestures using Arabic to facilitate their use of English words,** as Abdul points to his stomach and Bashiir asks for the vocabulary. Bashiir is smiling, working with Abdul, they have an animated exchange with lots of hands touching and focused on the task content.

Observation #3, 25/3/2019

(4) Students were interested in each other's L1, and sometimes taught each other words in their L1:

- Bashiir says a word in Somali to Tanawat, who repeats it, then asks, "How you say 100 in your language?" Bashiir replies in L1. T-N: "Eleven?" Bashiir replies in L1. Tanawat asks for a few other numbers in Somali.

Observation #5, 8/4/2019

(5) A student occasionally greeted another student in that student's L1, as a gesture of friendship:

- Students do their self-introductions. Most of the students are beginners with little English yet, so the introductions are simple, focused on family information, age, likes and dislikes. **Tanawat (Khmer-Thai) says "hola" to Alejandro (in Alejandro's L1, from Colombia).**

Observation #1, 11/3/2019

(6) A student spoke a simple Māori phrase to the class in general, as the class had learned some Māori classroom instructions:

- Students are working. **Teacher: "Listen up. Whakarongo. It is lunchtime now."**
Alejandro (Spanish L1, Colombia): "E tu." T: "E tu, it's time for kai."

Observation #5, 8/4/2019

- The high number of exchanges amongst students in a lingua franca (Arabic, Māori as alternative language-of-schooling, or the other student's L1) suggests a range of learning and social purposes. For learning purposes, Arabic served as a lingua franca between the Somali students (who told me that they had studied Arabic as L2 at school in Somalia) and Abdul from Syria who speaks Arabic as L1. When Abdul could work with Abdirahim and Yuusuf (twin brothers from Somalia), he tended to talk to them in Arabic about the work, and was more focused and productive in his EL learning.
- In Bashiir's case, he spoke in Arabic as a lingua franca with Abdul to form a friendship. Bashiir (17 years old from Somalia) had low proficiency in English and poor literacy skills. At the same time he is a plurilingual speaker of Somali (L1) and Arabic (L2). Bashiir's English was too limited to answer the student survey on language use at school and at home, but his cousins Abdirahim and Yuusuf, with whom he lives in an extended family situation, responded that at school they speak in Arabic 10-15% of the time, while at home they speak Somali 90% of the time and Arabic 10% of the time (student surveys). Bashiir had few social connections with other students in the EL class, and was silent most of the time. But with Abdul he communicated often in Arabic, and formed a friendship through his choice to speak in a lingua franca.

- Bashiir also spoke Arabic at times with Abdul to make connections to learning English. The example (3) above shows how the two boys worked together on an English speaking activity, using gestures and Arabic to find English vocabulary for the task.
- In other isolated cases, social connections were signalled by students showing an interest in another student's L1 (as in the example (4) of Tanawat asking Bashiir "How you say 100 in your language?"), and by offering a greeting in the other student's L1 (as in the example (5) of Tanawat who speaks Khmer as L1 calling out "Hola" to Alejandro who is a native Spanish speaker from Colombia).

Finding 4: Simple classroom instructions in Māori as an alternative language-of-schooling

- The use of Māori as a lingua franca for classroom instructions was initiated by the Teacher during a session where students learned a song in Māori and English:

- **T: "tahi, rua, toru, wha", and asks class if they know this. Lihua has been taking Te Reo Māori at school and says, "1, 2, 3, 4".** T says, "Have you learnt that in Māori?"
- T asks for gestures to go with words. Hands out written words. T reads Māori, students read English.
- T plays guitar, asks students to do actions and sing English words. They manage gestures but not much English. Students are doing gestures and singing without inhibition.
- Note: everyone is very involved and enjoying being able to participate as language and gestures together provide extra challenge.

Observation #3 in NZ school, 25/3/2019

- Māori is a national language of Aotearoa New Zealand, and an alternative language-of-schooling. Children in New Zealand schools learn Te Reo Māori from pre-school, and are familiar with simple expressions and classroom instructions given by their teachers in the Māori language. For immigrant students arriving into NZ schools, they will therefore quickly become used to hearing some Māori language spoken in their environment and learn basic phrases used in the classroom:

- Māori serves as an alternative language-of-schooling in the NZ educational environment. The teacher is giving the students simple instructions in Māori, such as "E tu (stand up)" "Whakarongo (listen)" and students have definitely learnt these and respond physically. The song today introduced some more common Māori phrases that NZ children would learn at creche or primary school, and that would (hopefully) follow them all their school lives in classroom instructions, depending on the school culture and the teacher's willingness to use them. This therefore forms an important part of integration into NZ schooling for immigrant students. Mrs O.'s background is as a primary school teacher, and she has some teaching skills that relate to ways of teaching younger children — physical movement, and the song today, for example.

Observation #3 in NZ school, 25/3/2019

Discussion

The First Cycle of observations in the New Zealand school revealed 4 findings about how newly-arrived immigrant students are using languages in English language-of-schooling classes. These 4 findings show some aspects of plurilingual learning in an EL class that are unique to the NZ educational context (such as Māori language use in the role of alternate language-of-schooling), as well as two key findings about language use amongst plurilingual students at school during the newly-arrived phase that are similar to those found in the First and Second Cycles of observations at the French school.

I discuss the findings from the New Zealand school here, and their implications for the hypothesis, before finally making a comprehensive comparison of similarities and differences found in the French and New Zealand schools during the 52 hours of observation in language-of-schooling classes, in the concluding section to this analysis of FLS/EL observation data.

The First Cycle of observations in the New Zealand school confirmed two similar findings to the First and Second Cycles of observations in the French school. The two consistent findings from all three cycles of observations are that:

- (1) *Students are often spontaneously speaking their first languages in the classroom, in order to access language-of-schooling learning tasks.* In a quantitative analysis of language use amongst students in this EL class, there were significantly more instances in which students spontaneously spoke in L1: **164 productions overall**; than instances in which the teacher specifically asked students to make use of their L1 for learning purposes: **8 situations overall**. Of these 164 situations of students speaking in L1, **31 productions in L1 were noted as “off-task chat” = 133 productions for learning purposes**. This shows that student productions in L1 are for the most part work-focused, and for a range of learning-related purposes.

Similarly to findings from the observations in the French school, this discovery from this study is important as it points to **high levels of student initiation of plurilingual learning approaches in their processes of acquiring language-of-schooling**. In addition to the remarks already made about this finding of high frequency student-initiated L1 use (French school First and Second Cycles), I observed further points that support the hypothesis:

- **Plurilingual learning approaches appear to be a natural way for newly-arrived students to acquire the language-of-schooling.** Students are making good use of their existing plurilingual repertoires, in spontaneous ways, speaking amongst each other with an emphasis on using languages for communication and learning purposes (L1, L2, languages-of-schooling). This strongly suggests that **the role of teachers is to recognise the natural place of plurilingual learning approaches, and to encourage, facilitate and structure learning around plurilingual methods**. This is a different teaching approach than “imposing” methods for plurilingual learning: it is about observing how students interact of their own free will, and being responsive to particular learning styles and ways of using languages that they are already adept at. **In order for teachers to skilfully respond to students’ plurilingual learning processes, training is needed in effective and appropriate plurilingual and intercultural methods.**
- **Language inclusiveness is also a natural part of classroom culture in language-of-schooling classes.** Students are naturally including and accepting all of the languages spoken in their educational environment — the language-of-schooling (English, in this case), all the L1 of students in the class (Chinese, Vietnamese, Khmer, Arabic, Spanish, Somali), all of the L2 students had learnt in prior schooling (Arabic for Somali students, Thai for Khmer students), Māori as the alternative language-of-schooling in NZ schools, and any other L2 spoken by the Teacher (Japanese). **This cycle of observations particularly affirmed how students create a language-rich environment as a platform to support their learning of the language-of-schooling.** Not only were the first languages of students important in their individual learning processes, but the culture of language inclusiveness in EL classes seemed to raise levels of engagement, motivation, interaction for learning and friendship, and student participation in how they learned.
- In the context of this group of students in the NZ school, the Teacher gave very little structure around activities in terms of plurilingual learning approaches. The EL classes were instead rich in English language, and all other languages were welcomed and permitted, but without a clear pedagogical

framework for capitalising on students’ plurilingualism. While this study is not designed to focus on the individual teachers’ approaches, it is nonetheless a very interesting finding that “allowing space for plurilingual learning approaches” (that is, simply allowing students to freely make use of their existing plurilingual repertoires for learning purposes with little pedagogical intervention) can also improve learning processes and construction of knowledge. In this case, we observe that **the plurilingual approaches initiated by students “create the space” and skilful pedagogical intervention by teachers trained in plurilingual and intercultural methods could “build the platform” for more effective learning processes and successful outcomes.**

- (2) The second finding from the observations in the New Zealand school, that is also consistent with the First and Second Cycles of observations in the French school, is that *newly-arrived immigrant students are using their existing language competences for a range of work-related purposes.* This observation cycle records **154 samples of students using L1 or lingua franca for learning purposes vs. 41 samples of students speaking in L1 or lingua franca for social reasons.**

Figure 6 below shows a graphic representation of the different types of student non-language-of-schooling utterances, compared to teacher-authorized non-language-of-schooling utterances by students. It shows the nature of plurilingual interactions by students and their teacher in the EL classroom, during the 20 hours of observations of EL classes in the New Zealand school.

Figure 6: First Cycle of Observations in the New Zealand school
 Frequency and type of L1/ lingua franca utterances that students produced over 20 hours of observation in EL classes.
 Student-initiated plurilingual approaches compared with the number of times that the Teacher initiated plurilingual approaches to learning.

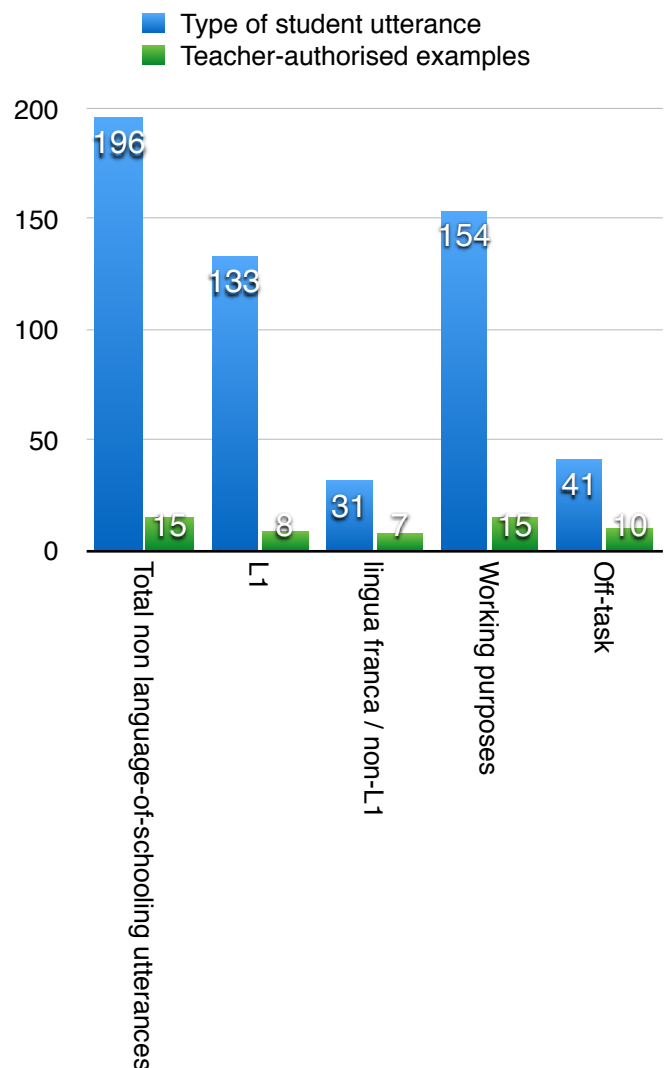


Figure 6 data shows that students were most frequently choosing to speak in their L1 and/or Arabic as a lingua franca, for learning purposes in their English learning during EL class. The EL teacher was providing very few structured opportunities for students to use their L1 and other plurilingual skills to

improve their learning processes of English. However, students were very active in initiating L1 and/or other languages in the English Language classroom, in a range of ways that they found effective for their own learning. **This points to high levels of student motivation to engage with their language-of-schooling learning processes, when they could use their L1 and/or L2 as a lingua franca (Arabic, in this case) for learning purposes.**

To reiterate the points already made in the First and Second Cycles of observations in the French school, this finding of student choice to initiate plurilingual ways of working together in the context of language-of-schooling classes shows that:

- i) *Interacting plurilingually with peers who speak the same language (L1 and/or L2 as a lingua franca) reduces the learning burden of language-of-schooling tasks for newly-arrived immigrant students.* Students who had access to L1-speaking peers, such as the group of 4 Khmer-speaking Karen-Thai students (Sanoh, Ma, Tanawat and Maahi) often worked together in EL classes, discussing their work in L1 and completing the tasks in English. Abdul sometimes asked for help from the Somali students (Abdirahim and Yuusuf) in his L1 Arabic, spoken by the Somali students as L2. As the two Somali students were more proficient in English than Abdul, he was able to get help in his L1 that reduced the learning burden of working *on* language-of-schooling tasks and *in* the language-of-schooling at the same time. In contrast, students who did not have access to either an L1-speaking peer or who did not share an L2 as lingua franca with other students (Thanh from Vietnam, Lihua from China), were noticeably silent during EL classes and dependent on the teacher aide Krista for one-on-one help.
 - ii) *Students were active agents in their own learning processes, as they engaged with language-of-schooling tasks via their L1, as a choice.* While the Teacher directed *what* they would learn, students determined *how* they would approach their language learning. What is most interesting from the results of these observations in the New Zealand EL class, is that the Teacher did not model or structure plurilingual ways of learning, but left students free to choose which language they would work in, and quantitative results show that students still made frequent use of their plurilingual repertoires for learning purposes.
 - iii) *Working plurilingually with peers helps students with low proficiency in language-of-schooling to mutually construct knowledge about the language-of-schooling, through interaction.* 6 of the students who participated in the New Zealand part of this study had beginner proficiency in English (Thanh, Lihua, Bashiir, Maahi, Abdul, Tanawat), and 5 had pre-intermediate proficiency (Abdirahim, Yuusuf, Sanoh, Ma, Alejandro). Students frequently sought help from each other to ask for clarification about task instructions, check their understanding, translate, ask about spelling, check grammar and find vocabulary. They therefore pooled their language knowledge and supported each other's language development, while capitalising on their existing plurilingual competences as a vehicle for communication.
- (3) The 3rd and 4th findings on how students used lingua franca or an L2 other than the language-of-schooling (Arabic, Māori as alternative language-of-schooling, occasional word in another student's L1) observed 6 reasons for this type of plurilingual interaction in the EL context. These types of interaction can be grouped together into the range of situations that each language was used for:
- i) Students spoke in **Arabic** (L1 for Syrian student, L2 for Somali students) because it allowed them to communicate more effectively than speaking in English, due to one or both students' beginner proficiency in the English language-of-schooling. This gave Abdul some learning support in Arabic (his L1) from two Somali students who were plurilingual and more proficient in English (Abdirahim and Yuusuf). This also allowed Bashiir (Somali) to form a friendship with Abdul (Syrian) through Arabic, as Bashiir had very low proficiency in English (A1) and could not easily communicate with the other students.
 - ii) The students learned some everyday **Māori language** phrases in EL class, and quickly became used to hearing and following simple instructions in Māori. Māori language in the New Zealand educational context is an alternative language-of-schooling to English, and it is a cultural imperative for all students in NZ schools to be at least exposed to Māori language, if not to formally study the language. Some of the EL students were also taking Māori classes and enjoying learning this language which is unique to Aotearoa New Zealand. I suggest that the active presence of Māori

language and culture augments positive attitudes towards minority languages and plurilingualism in the NZ educational environment generally, and as a result immigrant students feel a sense of inclusion of their own languages and cultures. In the EL class context, the use of Māori classroom instructions added to the sense of language diversity, and that all languages have a place in school.

- iii) Students occasionally spoke a word in, or expressed an interest in **another student's L1**: "how do you say this in your language?" This seemed to be a way for students to connect with each other in an "awakening to languages" type approach that was still related to learning English as the language-of-schooling. This is similar to instances observed in the French school where the teacher asked students to present a word or phrase in their L1 to the class, as a translation of French. It is a way for students to enjoy the sounds of other languages, and turns the EL/FLS classroom into a place where all languages are included, useful and relevant to language-of-schooling learning processes. In the EL classes observed, this "awakening to languages" approach was not used as a pedagogical strategy, however students occasionally discussed their own languages amongst themselves.

These findings from 20 hours of observations in the EL classroom in New Zealand present **quantitative evidence for student autonomy in plurilingual learning approaches in their language-of-schooling learning processes, as well as strong social learning and language inclusiveness aspects.**

To conclude, findings on how students make use of their plurilingual repertoire in learning the language-of-schooling in a New Zealand school, as well as in the participating French school, **provide strong quantitative evidence in support of the hypothesis** that *educational environments that allow space for plurilingual learning approaches create a platform from which to improve learning processes, engagement and construction of knowledge, thereby encouraging more effective learning for newly-arrived immigrant students*. Student autonomy and student-initiated choice to work in ways that include all of the languages in their learning environment is a key point here, as students are demonstrating that they find interactive plurilingual learning approaches effective for learning, engaging, natural, and useful for constructing new knowledge. This leads me to conclude that **plurilingual learning that includes all the languages in the educational environment (languages-of-schooling, L1, L2, lingua franca, languages spoken by teachers) is therefore the "platform from which to improve learning processes, engagement and construction of knowledge"**.

Summary

To summarise, the First Cycle of observations on plurilingual learning approaches in EL learning in the New Zealand school draws on 20 hours of observations of 13 newly-arrived immigrant students from linguistically and culturally diverse backgrounds at the participating high school in Wellington. 4 findings about how students used their plurilingual repertoires in the EL classroom context are discussed, supported by examples of language-of-schooling learning situations from this cycle. A typology of L1 and lingua franca production by students and their English teacher categorises each type of utterance according to purpose: for learning, for social reasons, initiated by a student, or suggested by the teacher. This quantitative analysis of observation data tests the hypothesis that *"educational environments that allow space for plurilingual learning approaches create a platform from which to improve learning processes, engagement and construction of knowledge, thereby encouraging more effective learning for newly-arrived immigrant students"*, by observing:

- (1) what kinds of spaces are created in the EL class context for plurilingual learning approaches and a culture of language inclusiveness, and
- (2) how students themselves engage, construct knowledge and seek to learn English more effectively through their existing languages (L1, Arabic as lingua franca/L2, in this case).

Two of the findings on how newly-arrived immigrant students use their plurilingual repertoires to support their EL learning strongly agree with findings from the French school, compiled from 32 hours of observations of two groups of students with similarly linguistically and culturally diverse profiles. **Two other findings are unique** to the New Zealand educational and language context, and to this group of students and their teacher. **All four of these key findings support the hypothesis**, and are summarised below to highlight the implications for the hypothesis of how students were working plurilingually:

- **Newly-arrived immigrant students with beginner proficiency in the language-of-schooling frequently initiate interactive work in their first language, if an L1-speaking peer is available to them.** They like working together and find it effective for construction of knowledge related to the acquisition of English as the language-of-schooling. (Same in the French school). In the case of this group of students, the EL Teacher rarely directed students towards plurilingual learning strategies, and in contrast this highlighted the strong tendency of students to *naturally* initiate plurilingual ways of working together, when left with free choice. This suggests a future direction in teacher training, that perceives that *the role of teachers is to recognise the natural place of plurilingual learning approaches, and to encourage, facilitate and structure learning around plurilingual methods.*
- **The use of L1 is most often for learning purposes, rather than social purposes.** Students are initiating plurilingual learning situations themselves, spontaneously, and thereby creating “*a platform from which to improve learning processes*”. (Same in the French school).
- **Students were more active initiators than the Teacher of plurilingual learning approaches in their English learning processes.** This points to high levels of student motivation to engage with their language-of-schooling learning processes, when they could use their plurilingual repertoire for learning purposes. (Same in the French school)
- Furthermore, the fact that *students are initiating plurilingual ways of working* in the EL classroom is an essential point, as students are showing through their learning behaviours that they find plurilingual learning approaches effective for their learning. The choice is autonomous and motivated by the student’s desire to succeed in each task. (Same in the French school)
- Students are happy to accord all languages in their educational environment a place in classroom learning. In the NZ context, this means English as the language-of-schooling, Māori as an alternative language-of-schooling, L1 and L2 of all students in the class, lingua franca spoken amongst only some students in the class (Arabic), and other languages spoken by the teacher but not by the EL students (Japanese). This cycle of observations particularly affirmed how newly-arrived immigrant students create a language-rich environment as a platform to support their learning of the language-of-schooling. Not only are the first languages of students important in their individual learning processes, but **the culture of language inclusiveness in EL classes raises levels of engagement, motivation, interaction for learning and friendship, and student participation in how they learn.**
- Finally, the important place of Arabic as a lingua franca amongst students in the EL class was a surprising finding from these observations. Arabic is considered a minority language in New Zealand, spoken by only 0.27% of the population of less than 5 million (Statistics NZ, 2013). Within this group of students, Arabic played a role in learning and friendship-building between the Syrian and Somali students, as a lingua franca. Arabic as a lingua franca facilitated communication and English language learning amongst these students, showing that working plurilingually with peers helps students with low proficiency in language-of-schooling to *mutually construct knowledge about language-of-schooling and in the language of their choice (in this case Arabic as lingua franca).*

To conclude, **findings from the First Cycle of observations in the New Zealand school quantitatively support the hypothesis** that “*educational environments that allow space for plurilingual learning approaches create a platform from which to improve learning processes, engagement and construction of knowledge, thereby encouraging more effective learning for newly-arrived immigrant students*”. **Two of the key findings are the same in both the New Zealand and French schools, with three different groups of newly-arrived immigrant students, which strengthens support for the hypothesis.**

A further important question about teacher training and appropriate pedagogy is also raised by these findings in the NZ school: How can teacher training for plurilingual and intercultural education support and strengthen the plurilingual learning approaches already frequently initiated by newly-arrived immigrant students as part of their own language-of-schooling learning processes ? I have argued that **the plurilingual approaches initiated by students “create the space”, and skilful pedagogical intervention by teachers trained in plurilingual and intercultural methods could “build the platform” for more effective learning processes and successful outcomes.** A question for future research is therefore what kind of training in plurilingual and intercultural methods can build this platform for more effective learning processes, that *recognise and work alongside student-initiated plurilingual approaches* ? Absolutely central to this question is the finding from this study that *newly-arrived immigrant students themselves* have

demonstrated a range of ways that plurilingual approaches enrich and support their learning processes in the FLS / EL classroom. It is therefore the task of teacher training to work *with and alongside the ways in which students use their languages naturally for learning purposes*, thereby preserving “the space” created by students, while helping teachers to “build the platform” through skilful pedagogical accompaniment of student learning.

Chapter 3

Comparison of QUANTITATIVE findings: **How newly-arrived immigrant students learn plurilingually** **in language-of-schooling classes** **in a** **French school (UPE2A/FLS) and New Zealand school (EL)**

Chapter 3 compares findings from quantitative data on L1 and plurilingual language use amongst 42 newly-arrived immigrant teenagers in their language-of-schooling learning, collected from 52 hours of observation of FLS and EL classes in the participating schools in Bordeaux and Wellington, over 2 years (2017-2019).

The main aim of the field research part of this project was to directly observe the experiences of newly-arrived immigrant teenagers in schools, in order to compare how two education systems (French and New Zealand) manage the school-based learning and integration of these students, particularly in terms of language inclusiveness and learning the language-of-schooling.

This schools-based part of the field research examines these two factors — (1) learning processes in language-of-schooling classes, and (2) integration into the school system — through the lens of plurilingual and intercultural approaches to education (as defined and discussed in Chapter 6, Part 2).

The rationale for this experimental research approach is to test the hypothesis that *“Educational environments that allow space for plurilingual learning approaches create a platform from which to improve learning processes, engagement and construction of knowledge, thereby encouraging more effective learning for newly-arrived immigrant students”*, by observing the learning behaviours and in-class experiences of newly-arrived immigrant teens in two different educational settings (France and New Zealand). How these two educational settings create particular learning contexts may condition the experiences of immigrant students, with the effect of either reducing barriers to language-of-schooling learning and school integration, or exacerbating difficulties in learning and integration.

Findings from the 3 Cycles of observation (2 Cycles in the French school, 1 Cycle in the NZ school) are compared and discussed below.

Introduction

This final chapter on quantitative data presents a comparison of findings on **L1 and plurilingual language use** amongst 42 newly-arrived immigrant teenagers in their language-of-schooling classes, collected from 52 hours of classroom observations in FLS (school in Bordeaux) and EL (school in Wellington) classes. This comparison brings together observations and data presented earlier in this Chapter 2, where findings from both schools were discussed based on:

- (1) How the first languages (and plurilingual repertoires) of immigrant students are used for a range of learning purposes in FLS and EL classes;
- (2) To what degree newly-arrived immigrant students choose to activate their L1 and plurilingual repertoires in the classroom, and for what range of purposes; and
- (3) How frequently teachers authorise students' use of L1, and include language diversity, and for what range of purposes.

Three key findings on how newly-arrived immigrant students use their plurilingual repertoire to support their language-of-schooling learning are common across all 3 Cycles of observations. These three findings are:

Finding 1: Newly-arrived immigrant students with beginner proficiency in the language-of-schooling frequently initiate interactive work in their L1, if an L1-speaking peer is available to them.

Finding 2: Students were more active initiators than their teachers of plurilingual learning approaches in their language-of-schooling learning processes.

Finding 3: Plurilingualism plays an important role in classroom learning and integration processes for newly-arrived immigrant students.

Within each finding, quantitative differences between schools are highlighted and discussed. With these variables examined, I conclude that these three main findings from this study support the hypothesis that:

“Educational environments that allow space for plurilingual learning approaches create a platform from which to improve learning processes, engagement and construction of knowledge, thereby encouraging more effective learning for newly-arrived immigrant students.”

1. Methodology

The methodology for how this field research in schools was carried out is summarised below (see Chapter 1, Part 2 for a full explanation of methodology).

1.1 School profiles

Two schools participated in the study — a *collège* in Bordeaux, France and a high school in Wellington, New Zealand. While the schools have quite different profiles, they are similarly representative of an ethnically and linguistically diverse student population that is reflective of the diversity of the national populations in France and New Zealand. Both schools are also working with inclusive practices, and share a similar school culture in terms of a team-based staff work ethic, positive teacher-student relationships, and a core staff of experienced teachers who retain a long-term commitment to teaching at the school. Both schools are public state schools, who receive newly-arrived immigrant students every year, and offer specialised classes in the language-of-schooling (French or English respectively) for these students.

1.2 Participants

The focus group of participants are 42 newly-arrived immigrant students enrolled in either one of the participating schools in Bordeaux or Wellington, and taking a specialist language-of-schooling class with other immigrant students. This study observed these 42 immigrant students in their language classes: 29 newly-arrived students in two UPE2A classes in France, and 13 students in one EL class in New Zealand. The participants were all aged between 11 and 18 years old at the time of the study, and from this broader age group, 7 students aged 13-15 were selected as case studies (see Chapters 4 & 5 on Case Studies).

Table 21: school observation dates, hours of observation, participant numbers

First Cycle in French school	Second Cycle in French school	First Cycle in NZ school
<p>Nov 2017-March 2018 UPE2A classes = 8 visits - 2 hour classes x 8 = 16 hours of observation</p>	<p>Sept 2018-Jan 2019 UPE2A classes = 8 visits - 2 hour classes x 8 = 16 hours of observation</p>	<p>March 2019-June 2019 EL classes = 10 visits - 2 hour classes x 10 = 20 hours of observation</p>
<p>17 students (aged 12-15)</p>	<p>12 students (aged 11-16)</p>	<p>13 students (aged 13-18)</p>

1.3 Methodology of ‘mirror studies’ in two schools

This research followed a “quasi-experimental” design — that is, students were observed in their FLS/EL classes, and variations in conditions were compared as to how each educational environment allowed space for plurilingual learning approaches. The methodology was largely consistent between schools, with the aim of carrying out a “mirror study” in each school. Three key methods of research were applied in each school:

- (1) Classroom observations in (i) FLS and EL classes, (ii) mainstream classes (case studies).
- (2) Surveys of (i) UPE2A and EL students in whole class context, (ii) mainstream class teachers.

- (3) Interviews with (i) UPE2A and EL teachers, (ii) school principals, (iii) other staff working closely with participating students, such as teacher aides and tutors.

This final section of the chapter compares findings on student language use and plurilingual learning approaches in FLS and EL classes.

1.4 Classroom observations

Two key areas of immigrant students' experiences were observed in both schools — Languages and Integration. The Languages area was studied through 52 hours of observations in FLS and EL classes (presented in this Chapter 2), and the Integration area was studied through Case Studies of 7 students (presented in Chapter 4). This chapter focuses only on the Languages area, and analysis, discussion and comparison of quantitative data, looking at:

LANGUAGES: (1) the role of the child's first language (L1) in the classroom and in the child's learning processes; and (2) the level of language diversity in the classroom — that is:

- how other languages were used amongst the students
- how students came into contact with each other's languages
- the use of Māori language as an alternative language-of-schooling by the NZ teacher
- the use of English as a lingua franca between the FLS teacher and students / or between students
- how students who speak more than one language drew on their plurilingual repertoires in their language-of-schooling learning processes.

The following language observation objectives for FLS and EL classes were established for the field research part of this study:

Table 12: observation objectives in Languages (3 Cycles of observations in FLS / EL classes)

First cycle of observations Nov 2017-Mar 2018 UPE2A class, Bordeaux	2nd cycle of observations Sept 2018-Jan 2019 UPE2A class, Bordeaux	First cycle of observations Mar 2019-June 2019 EL class, Wellington
<p>Observation objectives:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to notice when and why students use their L1 in the classroom • to see if there is a difference between authorised and unauthorised L1 production = frequency, reason, learning outcome • to observe how the educational space treats L1 = encouragement/discouragement, view of place of L1 in child's learning, home/school separation & liaison 	<p>Observation objectives:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to notice when and why students use their L1 and other languages (eg, English as lingua franca) in the classroom • to see if there is a difference between authorised and unauthorised L1 production = frequency, reason, learning outcome • to observe how the educational space treats L1 and lingua franca = encouragement/discouragement, view of place of L1 and lingua franca in child's learning, home/school separation & liaison • to observe links to plurilingualism in each child's approach to learning • to observe integration over time = classroom behaviours, prior schooling & low levels of literacy, relationship with teacher & students 	<p>Observation objectives:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to notice when and why students use their L1 and other languages (eg, Arabic/Māori as lingua franca) in the classroom • to see if there is a difference between authorised and unauthorised L1 production = frequency, reason, learning outcome • to observe how the educational space treats L1 and lingua franca = encouragement/discouragement, view of place of L1 and lingua franca in child's learning, home/school separation & liaison • to observe links to plurilingualism in each child's approach to learning • to observe integration over time = classroom behaviours, prior schooling & low levels of literacy, relationship with teacher & students

The observation criteria evolved between the First and Second Cycles in the French school, as I was observing new aspects of language use amongst students and their teacher that I felt were important to capture. Using this more developed observation criteria across the two school settings (France and NZ) finally allowed me to observe similarities and differences in student learning within two very different styles of educational context. To generalise, in French schools, classroom learning is teacher-centred, whole class

and individual, and students interact directly with the teacher to ask and answer questions, rather than with each other. In NZ schools, classroom learning is student-centred, with students working in pairs and groups, and students interact with each other to solve problems and complete tasks.

2. Global data comparison

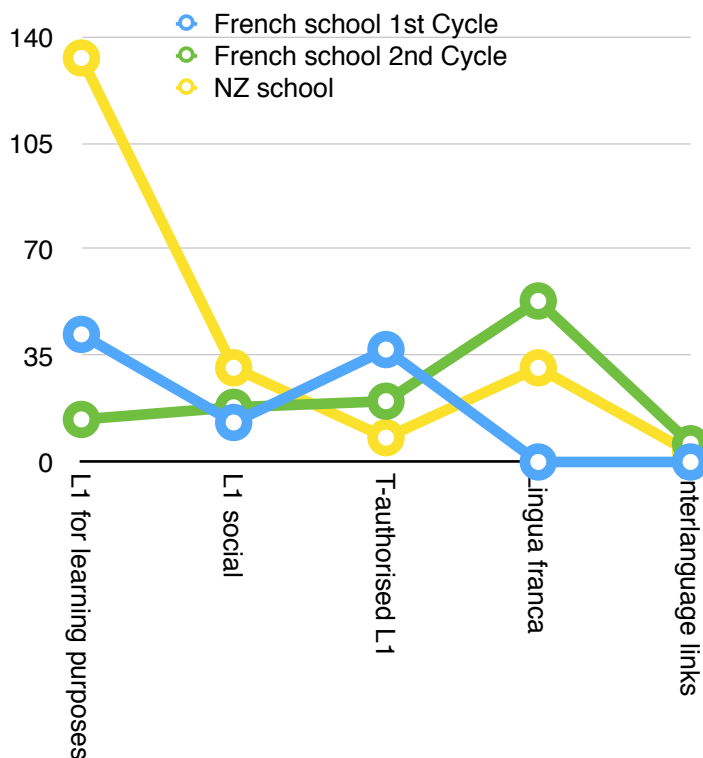
Figure 7 below shows a global comparison of quantitative data on how the 42 participating students used languages during UPE2A / EL classes.

Figure 7: Comparing types of language use in the EL class in NZ with First and Second Cycles of observations in the French school

Figure 7 shows differences in type of L1/lingua franca utterances that students produced between all the cycles of observations (20 hours in EL, NZ school / 32 hours in FLS, French school).

Note: three major areas of difference:

- highest levels of student L1 production for learning purposes in NZ school
- English as a lingua franca in French school / Arabic as lingua franca in NZ school
- higher levels of Teacher intervention to support L1 learning in French school



The 3 major areas of difference noted are discussed below.

3. Comparison of Findings

The quantitative analysis of data on language use from 3 Cycles of observations in the French and NZ schools tests the hypothesis that “educational environments that allow space for plurilingual learning approaches create a platform from which to improve learning processes, engagement and construction of knowledge, thereby encouraging more effective learning for newly-arrived immigrant students”, by observing:

- (1) What kinds of spaces are created in the FLS / EL class context for plurilingual learning approaches and a culture of language inclusiveness; and
- (2) How students themselves engage, construct knowledge and seek to learn French/English (as the language-of-schooling) more effectively through their existing languages (L1, English/Arabic as lingua franca, other L2 spoken by students or teachers, in these cases).

Findings from observations of language use amongst plurilingual newly-arrived immigrant students in both schools in France and New Zealand support the hypothesis. Three key findings on how newly-arrived immigrant students use their plurilingual repertoire to support their language-of-schooling learning are common across all 3 Cycles of observations. These three findings can be compared in the following way:

*Finding 1: Newly-arrived immigrant students with beginner proficiency in the language-of-schooling frequently initiate **interactive work in their L1**, if an L1-speaking peer is available to them.*

All 3 cycles of observations show that students were frequently initiating **learning in their L1 in FLS and EL classes, through interaction with an L1-speaking peer**. Table 22 below shows the total number of times that students interacted in L1 with other L1 peers, for learning purposes (83.1% overall). When compared to the number of times students interacted in L1 for social reasons (16.9% overall), it is clear that *first languages are a learning tool that students make frequent use of in their FLS and EL classes, in both school settings*.

Table 22: Comparing student use of L1 for learning vs social purposes in the FLS/EL classroom

	Samples of students speaking in L1 for learning purposes	Samples of students speaking in L1 for social purposes	Total samples of students speaking in L1 from each observation cycle
French school First Cycle (16 hours)	79	13	92 (85.9% learning purposes/ 14.1% socialising)
French school Second Cycle (16 hours)	39	18	67 (74.2% learning purposes/ 26.8% socialising)
New Zealand school First Cycle (20 hours)	133	16	149 (89.3% learning purposes/ 10.7% socialising)
Totals 52 hours of observation	251	47	308 (83.1% learning purposes/ 16.9% socialising)
Totals compared French / NZ schools	118 / 133	31 / 16	159 / 149

It is clear from this finding in both the French school and the NZ school, that newly-arrived immigrant students themselves find that L1 interactions support their acquisition of the language-of-schooling. In other words, when “language-of-schooling learning” is the focus, in the context of language-of-schooling classes, we observe several important things about the way plurilingual students work, that is similar in both settings:

- (1) *Students make use of their existing knowledge of language (in L1) in order to access language-of-schooling (FLS/EL) tasks.* This suggests that the use of L1 reduces the learning burden for students when faced with language-of-schooling learning tasks. *Students seem to experience language-of-schooling acquisition as easier when their L1 is included in the learning process. They decode L2 learning tasks through L1.* This may in part be explained by the Developmental Interdependence hypothesis (Cummins 1979) — there is an interaction between L1 and L2, and the development of language skills is therefore relational, not separate. The evidence that students set up a working relationship between languages (L1 and language-of-schooling) suggests that plurilingual students intuitively seek to make links with their existing language skills in order to develop their FLS/EL proficiency. This finding should be tested in other educational settings to see how students process new linguistic information via existing languages, and what kinds of links they are making between L1 and language-of-schooling.
- (2) *Students interact most frequently in L1 (when an L1-speaking peer is available to them) to support their language learning and to process new linguistic information.* The tasks in the FLS and EL classes observed were language-focused, and often presented content or concepts that were likely to be familiar to students — therefore the focus was on language acquisition and the content tended to be secondary. So students’ attention was on language comprehension and language production, which they managed by working in L1, and at times plurilingually between all of the languages in their repertoire (L1, language-of-schooling, lingua franca). *This suggests that plurilingual students experience advantages in working together interactively in their L1, and language-of-schooling teachers can support this by pairing and grouping students according to languages in the FLS/EL classroom.* In brief, **interaction** improves learning processes, and during the newly-arrived phase students find it easier to interact in L1 about their work.

- (3) It is unique to FLS and EL classes that students are learning with other plurilingual peers, and all students are non-experts in the language-of-schooling. *Results from this study show that within this safe learning environment of the FLS/EL class, students use their L1 interactively for learning purposes, whereas in mainstream classes they do not.* Classroom culture is therefore key to encouraging effective language learning processes for newly-arrived immigrant students, through allowing space for plurilingual learning. This relates to international OECD (2015) findings that immigrant students best succeed within education systems where students feel a “sense of belonging”. This indicates the importance of all subject teachers adopting “language inclusive” approaches to learning, so that plurilingual ways of working become an accepted part of classroom culture throughout the school.

In summary, this important finding that *newly-arrived immigrant students with beginner proficiency in the language-of-schooling frequently initiate interactive work in their L1, if an L1-speaking peer is available to them*, gives three indications for supporting student learning during the newly-arrived phase:

- (i) Working in L1 supports language-of-schooling learning, and students both initiate and engage with plurilingual learning processes.
- (ii) L1 interaction supports language-of-schooling learning, so classroom seating should pair and group students so that they can work plurilingually.
- (iii) A safe, language-inclusive classroom culture supports students to work plurilingually, thereby cultivating a “sense of belonging” and success in learning.

We can conclude from this finding that **this study provides evidence that for newly-arrived immigrant students, interacting in L1 with L1-speaking peers supports their learning processes in language-of-schooling classes** (FLS in a French school and EL in a New Zealand school, in this case).

Finding 2: Students were more active initiators than their Teachers of plurilingual learning approaches in their language-of-schooling learning processes.

All 3 cycles of observations show that students were also more active than the teacher in initiating plurilingual learning approaches in the FLS/EL class context. Table 17 below (reproduced from Chapter 2) shows the total number of times that students initiated an interaction in any language other than the language-of-schooling (L1, lingua franca, other L2). **When compared to the number of times the teacher directed students to work in L1 or lingua franca, it is clear that students are the main initiators of plurilingual learning approaches in FLS and EL classes, in both school settings.**

Table 17 (reproduced from Chapter 2): Students’ L1 and lingua franca production in FLS and EL classes

	Samples of students’ L1 production	Samples of students’ lingua franca production	Samples of Teacher authorising L1 production	Samples of Teacher speaking in lingua franca or student’s L1	Total samples of student plurilingual production from each observation cycle
French school First Cycle (16 hours)	55	0	36	0	91 (60.4% student-initiation/ 39.6% teacher authorised)
French school Second Cycle (16 hours)	32	30	21	23	83 (72.5% student-initiation/ 27.5% teacher authorised)
New Zealand school First Cycle (20 hours)	163	33	8	7	204 (96% student-initiation/ 4% teacher authorised)
Totals 52 hours of observation	250	63	65	30	378 (76.3% student-initiation/ 23.7% teacher authorised)
Totals compared French / NZ schools	87 / 163	30 / 33	57 / 8	23 / 7	174 / 204

If we look at 100% of student utterances in either their L1 or a lingua franca (English as L2, Arabic as L2, Māori as alternative language-of-schooling), we see high levels of *student-initiated* plurilingual utterances in both schools. The compared totals show that in both schools students were more active initiators of plurilingual learning approaches than their teachers. In the NZ school, 96% of student interactions in L1 or lingua franca were initiated by students, and an average of 66.5% across both Cycles in the French school. These figures focus solely on students' speaking, not the teacher speaking in a lingua franca or a student's first language. So in the NZ school, 4% of students' plurilingual production was a result of the EL teacher directly asking students to work plurilingually, and 33.5% in the French school.

The main difference to note within this finding is that teacher intervention to support plurilingual ways of working in FLS/EL learning varied significantly between the two schools. Interestingly, the two different teaching styles still resulted in students initiating plurilingual learning more often than their teachers, which I explain as follows:

Difference: higher levels of teacher intervention to support language-of-schooling learning in the French school

- In comparing student learning in the two schools, the amount and range of plurilingual teaching and learning strategies modelled by the two FLS and EL teachers varied significantly. The FLS teacher actively and consistently intervened to include students' languages in a range of ways, whereas the EL teacher passively allowed space for students' languages. These were two different approaches that showed two different outcomes in terms of "teacher-authorized language production by students", but similar quantitative results in terms of "students' use of L1 and plurilingual repertoires". This is interesting, as it seems to indicate that **even when the teacher does not intervene and direct students towards plurilingual learning strategies, students nonetheless make good use of their plurilingual competences in the FLS/EL learning context.**
- In the French school, the teacher's "little-and-often" approach to soliciting student use of their languages seemed to provide a useful model for students for how to capitalise on their plurilingualism for learning. As example, the teacher frequently asked students "*Comment tu dis ça en (Albanais/Portugais ...)?*" This directed students towards verbalising (in L1) their growing acquisition of language-of-schooling, and encouraged an openly plurilingual learning space in the classroom.
- In contrast, in the NZ context similar opportunities for supporting learning were missed by the EL teacher. While this EL class was advantaged by a strongly student-centred style of learning, some teacher input could have affirmed plurilingual learning strategies intuitively employed by students. I suggest that some **clear pedagogical structuring around plurilingual learning activities can strengthen and support students' development of plurilingual learning strategies** (verbalising links between L1-L2, language sharing in whole class context, feedback to teacher on language comprehension, metalinguistic development). Nonetheless, the teaching method of "allowing space for plurilingual learning approaches" was effective in that students engaged with language-of-schooling learning processes through frequent plurilingual interaction, of their own free will. These points on teacher input as a variable, and structured approaches to support plurilingual learning strategies, are discussed in Part 2 Chapter 6 *The argument for plurilingual and intercultural education*, and Chapter 7 *Types of plurilingual and intercultural teaching and learning*.

In summary, this finding that students were more active initiators than their teachers of plurilingual learning approaches in their language-of-schooling learning processes in both schools is important, as it shows that **students themselves are creating and maintaining "spaces" for plurilingualism in their ways of working together in the language-of-schooling classroom.** *Teachers can support this newly-arrived learning phase by structuring and modelling effective ways of working plurilingually with students, as well as simply "allowing space". This study has shown that even if the approach is simply "allowing space", students will make good use of their plurilingual skills anyway, in a range of ways, mainly for language-of-schooling learning purposes.*

Finding 3: Plurilingualism plays an important role in both classroom learning and social integration processes for newly-arrived immigrant students.

All 3 cycles of observations show that students made use of their plurilingual repertoires more often for learning purposes than for social purposes in the FLS/EL class context. Table 23 below shows the total number of times that students spoke in one of their languages (excluding language-of-schooling) for working or social purposes. **When comparing the number of times students chose to work plurilingually with the number of times students chose to socialise plurilingually in the classroom, it is clear that students are mostly using their plurilingual skills to improve their learning processes in FLS and EL classes, in both school settings.**

As Table 23 shows, across all 3 Cycles of observations the majority of plurilingual exchanges amongst students were for learning purposes (76.1% average across the 3 Cycles) and a minority of plurilingual exchanges were for social reasons (23.9% average across the 3 Cycles). This finding is reassuring for teachers of plurilingual students, as it means that teachers do not need to be afraid of including languages in the classroom even when the teacher does not speak those languages.

Table 23: Comparing students' use of plurilingualism for learning vs. social purposes

	Samples of students speaking in L1 or lingua franca for learning purposes	Samples of students speaking in L1 or lingua franca for social purposes	Total samples of students speaking in L1 or lingua franca from each observation cycle
French school First Cycle (16 hours)	42 (76.4%)	13 (23.6%)	55
French school Second Cycle (16 hours)	49 (73.1%)	18 (26.9%)	67
New Zealand school First Cycle (20 hours)	155 (79.0%)	41 (21%)	196
Totals 52 hours of observation	246 (76.1% average)	72 (23.9% average)	318
Totals compared French / NZ schools	91 / 155	31 / 41	122 / 195

While students' choice to work plurilingually while acquiring the language-of-schooling is a key finding in both schools, there are also differences to compare between schools in how students employed their plurilingual skills in the FLS/EL classroom:

Difference 1: highest levels of student L1 production for learning purposes in NZ school

- Students in the NZ school interacted more frequently in their L1 (or a lingua franca) for learning purposes than the students in the French school. This difference is significant, with students in the NZ school interacting 155 times for learning purposes during 20 hours of observations, while students in the French school interacted 91 times during 32 hours of observations (see Table 23 above). This evidences a higher level of learner agency and self-directed learning in the NZ classroom context. Why? I suggest that **the emphasis on student-centred learning at this particular NZ school, coupled with a less authoritarian teaching style and a fairly free student seating-plan, contribute to a classroom culture where students talk more, feel more relaxed, but also work more interactively.** The EL classroom appeared less structured around teacher-centred approaches than the FLS classroom, and the older age of the adolescent students in the NZ context called for a less authoritarian style of classroom management. Surprisingly however, the relatively free learning style of the NZ context produced quantitative results that indicate high levels of student-initiated plurilingual learning, rather than increased levels of off-task chat.

Difference 2: English as a lingua franca in French school / Arabic as lingua franca in NZ school

- English was often used as a lingua franca in the French school (Second Cycle), to facilitate learning and communication amongst some students and their FLS teacher. Arabic was sometimes used as a lingua franca in the NZ school to facilitate learning and build friendships amongst students from Syria and Somalia. This was an unexpected finding about language use, and indicates that plurilingual learning goes beyond L1 use for some students. **If the context allows students to choose which language(s) are most effective for the situation (learning or social), they will easily code-switch and capitalise on their existing plurilingual repertoires.**
- Lingua franca had three uses for newly-arrived students:
 - (1) English as a lingua franca seemed particularly beneficial for newly-arrived students who were linguistically isolated (for example, the only Ukrainian student in the French school who spoke English with the FLS teacher).
 - (2) Arabic as a lingua franca helped to form friendships between students from Arab states and African countries (for example, the Syrian and Somali students in the NZ school).
 - (3) Māori as alternative language-of-schooling was part of cultural learning about New Zealand.

In summary, this third finding that *plurilingualism plays an important role in both classroom learning and social integration processes for newly-arrived immigrant students* gives two indications for supporting student learning during the newly-arrived phase:

- (i) Students are using their plurilingual repertoires mostly for learning purposes (76.1% average across the 3 Cycles of observations) and less frequently for social reasons (23.9% average across the 3 Cycles). This indicates that newly-arrived immigrant students make good use of their plurilingual skills in language-of-schooling acquisition.
- (ii) Plurilingual students also make use of lingua franca (English, Arabic and Māori, in these contexts), for both learning purposes and friendship. Allowing space for all of the languages that students speak not only facilitates language and cultural learning, but also helps students to integrate socially.

We can conclude from this finding that **this study provides evidence that for newly-arrived immigrant students, plurilingualism plays an important role in both language-of-schooling learning and social integration, in both school settings** (FLS in a French school and EL in a New Zealand school, in this case).

4. Further questions

This study took place in two countries (France and New Zealand), each with its particular educational setting. The main findings on how students make use of their plurilingual repertoires in learning the language-of-schooling, are consistent between the two countries. In the future, it would be interesting to further this research in the following ways:

- (1) Can these quantitative findings be proved in other countries and educational contexts? Findings could be tested in other countries, to see how newly-arrived immigrant students in other educational contexts are seeking to learn plurilingually in language-of-schooling classes. In which situations do variables such as teacher input and guidance, task structure, classroom organisation, treatment of languages, classroom culture, or other variables in the educational environment show a positive effect on student learning?
- (2) This study followed a “quasi-experimental” design — that is, observation of naturally-occurring linguistic and cultural factors in the classroom; how students learned plurilingually in their own ways, and how teachers taught the language-of-schooling in their own ways, with no intervention applied by this study. To test the effects of intervening in student learning with plurilingual and intercultural approaches, an “experimental” research methodology could be applied to further studies of how newly-arrived immigrant students can most effectively learn the language-of-schooling. For example,

asking teachers to try out specific approaches, interactive plurilingual learning tasks, and ways of guiding students towards plurilingual interactions in their learning.

- (3) The finding that students were more active initiators than their teachers of plurilingual learning approaches in their language-of-schooling learning processes in both schools is important, as it shows that students themselves are creating and maintaining “spaces” for plurilingualism in their ways of working together in the language-of-schooling classroom. This positions students as active agents in their own learning processes, and affirms that plurilingualism is a skill-set that is essential to successful classroom interaction and language-of-schooling learning processes for newly-arrived plurilingual students. It is therefore a strong starting-point from which to build on existing teacher training programmes for teachers working with plurilingual immigrant students, as the teacher’s role is to support, affirm, model and reinforce plurilingual learning that students are naturally engaging in, rather than intervention. A question for future research is therefore, how can teacher training programmes support plurilingual learning for newly-arrived immigrant students, taking into account strategies that students themselves are already employing in their approaches to language-of-schooling learning?

Conclusion

The three key findings from this study, compared in this chapter, are supported by quantitative data gathered from 52 hours of observation of plurilingual learning approaches by newly-arrived immigrant teenagers in their FLS / EL classes in two schools in France and New Zealand.

This study provides consistent, quantitatively-derived evidence on:

- (1) the role of the child’s first language (L1) in the classroom and in the child’s learning processes; and
- (2) the level of language diversity in these two language-of-schooling classrooms.

Three key findings on how newly-arrived immigrant students use their plurilingual repertoires to support their language-of-schooling learning are common across all 3 Cycles of observations. These three findings are:

Finding 1: Newly-arrived immigrant students with beginner proficiency in the language-of-schooling frequently initiate interactive work in their L1, if an L1-speaking peer is available to them. In both school settings observed, data shows that **for newly-arrived immigrant students, interacting in L1 with L1-speaking peers supports their learning processes in language-of-schooling classes** (FLS in a French school and EL in a New Zealand school, in this case).

Finding 2: Students were more active initiators than their teachers of plurilingual learning approaches in their language-of-schooling learning processes. In both school settings observed, quantitative data shows that **students themselves are creating and maintaining “spaces” for plurilingualism in their ways of working together in the language-of-schooling classroom** (FLS in a French school and EL in a New Zealand school, in this case).

Finding 3: Data from this study provides evidence that **for newly-arrived immigrant students, plurilingualism plays an important role in both language-of-schooling learning and social integration, in both school settings** (FLS in a French school and EL in a New Zealand school, in this case).

After analysing the quantitative data, discussing findings, and examining different variables impacting on results, I conclude that these three main findings from the study support the hypothesis that:

“Educational environments that allow space for plurilingual learning approaches create a platform from which to improve learning processes, engagement and construction of knowledge, thereby encouraging more effective learning for newly-arrived immigrant students.”

Chapter 4

QUALITATIVE data on integration into the school system

CASE STUDIES

4 newly-arrived immigrant students and their classroom learning behaviours

Qualitative data on integration into the school system was collected through 22 hours of classroom observations of newly-arrived immigrant students aged 13-15 in their mainstream classes, as case studies from the two participating schools. Two “special” case studies are added, to discuss particular learning needs and teaching approaches.

This data is presented and discussed in this chapter, looking at:

- Each participant’s individual learning behaviour
- Support in place for students in their mainstream learning and integration
- How students experienced their school life during the first year, based on interviews with students and their teachers

Key questions:

- How are students integrating / being integrated into mainstream classes?
- What are student experiences of their schooling during the newly-arrived phase?

Introduction

Alongside **language use amongst newly-arrived immigrant students** (discussed in Chapters 2 and 3), a second key aim of this thesis research is to examine **integration processes for newly-arrived immigrant teenagers in schools in France and New Zealand**. This was investigated through 22 hours of observations with 7 newly-arrived immigrant students in their *classes d’inclusion* / mainstream classes in the two participating schools. I present 4 of those case studies in this chapter. I decided to also include two other students as “special case studies”: a 12-year-old girl from Iraq in the French school, and a 17-year-old boy from Somalia in the New Zealand school, observed in their FLS/EL classes. Both of these students highlight interesting things about school integration. This data forms the qualitative part of this study, on students’ integration into two different school systems.

Chapters 2 to 5 (Part 2) present the field research part of the study, examining two factors in the schooling of newly-arrived immigrant teenagers, through the lens of plurilingual and intercultural approaches to education (as defined and discussed in Chapter 6, Part 2):

- (1) Chapters 2 and 3: The role of plurilingual learning in language-of-schooling classes (**quantitative data** on language use amongst plurilingual immigrant students in FLS/EL classes).
- (2) Chapters 4 and 5: Integration of newly-arrived immigrant students into the school system (**qualitative data** on learning behaviours, classroom support and integration processes).

Qualitative data on integration into the school system was collected from 22 hours of classroom observations of 7 newly-arrived immigrant students in their mainstream classes. Further data was collected on these students in observations of how they work in FLS/EL classes. The 4 case studies selected from these observations and data gathering are presented and discussed here, looking at:

- (1) Each student’s individual learning strategies in mainstream classes.
- (2) Particular support in place for the student in their mainstream learning and integration.
- (3) How students experienced their school life during the first year, based on surveys with 23 of the participating students from the cohort, and interviews with some of the 4 case study students and their teachers.

The qualitative data on school integration in this chapter tests the hypothesis that “*Educational environments that allow space for plurilingual learning approaches create a platform from which to improve learning processes, engagement and construction of knowledge, thereby encouraging more effective learning for newly-arrived immigrant students,*” by observing the learning behaviours and in-class experiences of newly-arrived immigrant teens in two different educational settings (France and New Zealand). How these two educational settings create particular learning contexts may condition the experiences of immigrant students, with the effect of either reducing barriers to language learning and school integration, or exacerbating difficulties in language learning and integration.

1. How the case studies were conducted

A total of 4 students from the participating UPE2A and EL classes were selected as case studies, in order to gain a fuller picture of how each school’s general culture of inclusion and mainstream classes work together to integrate newly-arrived immigrant students (according to Integration objectives, see Table 13). Students were selected within the target age range of 13-15 years old, including a range of cultural backgrounds and languages of origin, and in consultation with the UPE2A and EL teachers.

In the French school, case studies of 2 newly-arrived UPE2A students were carried out during the first cycle of school visits, over 3 weeks (27/2/2018-24/3/2019) — a total of 14 hours of observation in mainstream classes. I followed the 2 students into some of their mainstream classes in Music, Maths, Italian and English. Similarly in the New Zealand school, I followed 2 newly-arrived EL students into some of their mainstream classes over a 2-week period (15/5/2019-31/5/2019), yielding a total of 8 hours of observations in Maths and Computing Science.

A profile of each student’s learning behaviours was built up over the periods of intensive observations in some of the student’s mainstream classes. Detailed data was gathered through a “fly-on-the-wall” approach in class — observing how the student worked in class across a range of activities, how teachers interacted with the student and how the student responded, what kind of active and passive learning behaviours the student engaged in, how other students related to the newly-arrived immigrant student, strategies teachers implemented that had an effect on the student’s ability to participate, and other factors such as one-on-one help from a teacher aide or bilingual teacher aide.

These case studies revealed significant differences and similarities between classroom practices in France and New Zealand, and common effects on the learning of newly-arrived immigrant students in this age group (13-15 years old), such as:

- Teacher-centred learning vs. student-centred learning
- Organisation of the classroom — individual seating vs. group seating plan
- Structure of lessons — introduction and conclusion to lessons, type and quantity of activities, transition between learning activities, routine and classroom expectations
- Structure of learning activities — presentation of task, scaffolding, individual/pair/group work, variety of activities, verbal/visual/kinaesthetic learning, interactive/receptive learning, key role of teacher aide
- Language of schooling — teacher’s language(s), teacher-class exchanges, language complexity of tasks, participant strategies for understanding, verbal/written language support, question and answer forms, repetition, pace and volume, key role of teacher aide
- Participants’ first languages — bilingual teacher aides, classroom teacher use of L1, student use of L1, dictionaries
- Classroom culture — teacher-student relationships, student-student relationships, inclusion/exclusion of immigrant students, treatment of diversity in mainstream class context

The objective in all classroom observations was to focus on the immigrant child’s responses to these variables, in order to see how their learning is impacted, whether they are active participants or passive observers in the mainstream classroom context, how they manage interactions in each context in order to access learning activities, and what their general experience of learning is in mainstream classes. I emphasised to participating classroom teachers that I was not there to observe the teacher or make comments on their teaching practices, but to observe the newly-arrived student and their learning strategies.

The findings from these case studies therefore examine two sides of the child’s integration processes into mainstream classes: (1) ways in which the child copes with new learning in the mainstream, and how the child responds to mainstream classroom culture and structures of learning, and (2) how the learning environment supports the child’s particular learning needs in terms of language and integration. These two aspects combined link to the principle of integration as a “two-way process” between the child and the educational environment.

A brief profile of the students who participated in the case studies is as follows:

Table 15: student case study profiles (French school: Erlblin and Matilde) (NZ school: Maahi and Abdul)

Participating students from school in Bordeaux, France	Participating students from school in Wellington, New Zealand
<p><i>Erlblin, 14 years old, Albania</i> Erlblin is in France as asylum seeker with family, since September 2018. In Dec 2018, the family were evicted from CADA residence (they are a family of 4), as their application for asylum was refused. Very unstable time for the family. They are now in France without papers, staying with friends in a village some distance from Bordeaux. Erlblin continued at school, catching the bus 90 mins each way. He is the only Albanian student in the class, and there is one other Albanian student at the school. There is also an Albanian staff member whom Erlblin talks to sometimes if he needs help understanding school administration. The school does not have teacher aides, so he works independently in mainstream classes.</p>	<p><i>Abdul, 13 years old, Syria</i> Has been in NZ for one year and arrived as a refugee through UNHCR. He is the youngest child in the family, with siblings aged 25, 27, 28, and is an uncle. He has a low level of English and trouble concentrating in class, also lacking basic literacy skills such as map-reading; often needs one-on-one help to get started on a task. He is supported in mainstream classes by Rania (teacher aide employed for 15 hours per week as bilingual Arabic-English support). Abdul’s learning behaviours have developed since his arrival at school, and Rania notes advancements in his integration although his English reading and writing skills are slower to develop. He also has small-group tutoring sessions in EL with Ms. S. (teacher aide who has 20 years’ experience teaching adult refugees and adult English classes for immigrants).</p>
<p><i>Matilde, 13 years old, Portugal</i> Has been in France for 9 months with family as immigrants. Older sister Camila (15) is in the same UPE2A class and they interact in Portuguese, although Matilde usually works with other UPE2A students her own age, in French. She has a lot of positive learning behaviours and was eager to be part of the case studies. She is highly social and engaged in her learning in UPE2A classes. After this first observation period, the family moved houses over the summer break and Matilde was zoned into another school zone, and had to change schools which she was upset about.</p>	<p><i>Maahi, 15 years old, Karen hill tribe, Thailand</i> Has been in NZ for 5 months but started school at the beginning of the 2019 school year (5 weeks ago). He speaks Karen as L1 and Thai as L2 and is quite sociable with the other students, including the Karen-speaking students. Maahi is supported by Krista (intern from Germany, English-speaking teacher aide) in Maths and Computer Sciences. He is good at Maths, not so confident on computers, but has a willingness to learn, and a strong social network amongst other Karen-Thai classmates.</p>

1.1 Two “special” case studies

I decided at the end of these observation periods to add comments on two “special” case studies: Mahala (Iraq, 12 years old) and Bashiir (Somalia, 17 years old). While they are outside of the target age range for this study, both of these students were very interesting cases of newly-arrived plurilingual students, as they both spoke more than one language on arrival, and had lived a refugee experience with fragmented prior schooling as a result. Both Mahala and Bashiir have low L1 literacy and struggled with developing basic literacy in the language-of-schooling during the newly-arrived phases observed. As well as this, their classroom learning behaviours were quite different to the other students — they found it hard being in a classroom and lacked many basic “learning behaviours”. This meant that their integration into school was more challenging, they needed extra support, and their FLS and EL teachers were working hard on integration processes so that these two students could begin learning effectively.

A profile of these two students chosen as “special case studies” is:

Table 16: student “special” case study profiles (French school: Mahala) (NZ school: Bashiir)

French school, observations of integration into school	New Zealand school, observations of integration into school
<p><i>Mahala, 12 years old, Iraq</i> Has just arrived in France with family as refugees. Older brother Mahomet is in the same UPE2A class. She speaks Arabic at home and spent 8 months at school in Finland. She is an absolute beginner in French, and I observed her only in FLS classes as she had few <i>classes d'inclusions</i> at this early stage. Mahala appears to have low literacy in L1, as well as fragmented prior schooling. She has a short attention span and was often easily distracted and needed to work one-on-one with the FLS teacher. When Mahala got glasses part-way through the observation period, her learning behaviours improved dramatically, and she was able to participate much more fully during lessons.</p>	<p><i>Bashiir, 17 years old, Somalia</i> Arrived in NZ last November (5 months ago), and is living with extended family as refugees. Cousins Abdirahim and Yuusuf are in the same EL class, and last year two older “brothers” were at the same school. He speaks Somali at home and learned Arabic as L2 in Somalia. He is an absolute beginner in English, and I observed him only in EL classes. He has constant teacher aide support in both EL and mainstream classes. Bashiir has very low literacy in L1, fragmented prior schooling, and teachers describe him as “surly, resistant, doesn’t want my help”. He often seemed disengaged from learning in EL classes, and at times disruptive. There was a “breakthrough moment” when Bashiir suddenly became very engaged with learning and participated when kinaesthetic music activity was presented.</p>

2. Testing the hypothesis

The hypothesis:
 Educational environments that allow space for plurilingual learning approaches create a platform from which to improve learning processes, engagement and construction of knowledge, thereby encouraging more effective learning for newly-arrived immigrant students.

At the outset of the case studies, I had intended to test the hypothesis by observing how students made use of their plurilingual repertoires in mainstream classes. However, the immigrant students were for the most part silent in the mainstream class context, or working in the language-of-schooling. In the French school, the immigrant students were also linguistically isolated — they usually did not have an L1-speaking peer to work with in mainstream. Even when they did, they conversed very little in L1 in their mainstream classes. In the NZ school, the immigrant students were supported by either the bilingual teacher aide (Rania, Arabic-English speaker) or the English-speaking teacher aide (Krista, 24-year-old intern from Germany). So instead of pursuing the “plurilingual learning approaches” angle with the case studies, instead I decided to look at how students were being integrated into mainstream classes, and what kinds of learning strategies they themselves employed to cope with total immersion in the language-of-schooling, as well as new learning at their cohort level.

To achieve this, I set the following objectives for observing how students are integrating / being integrated into mainstream learning in each school:

Table 13 (reproduced from Chapter 1, Methodology): observation objectives in Integration (case studies in Bordeaux and Wellington schools)

Observations in <i>classes d'inclusion</i> Nov 2017-Mar 2018 Collège A, Bordeaux	Observations in mainstream classes Mar 2019-June 2019 High School A, Wellington
<p>Observation objectives:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to observe classroom culture, teaching and learning style, how activities are structured for inclusion (eg, individual/pair/group work) • to observe student's learning strategies in mainstream classes (links to resilience, self-management, adaptability, initiation) • to observe teacher-student relationships and effect on student • to observe particular support in place for student (eg, teacher aide, visual support, language support) 	<p>Observation objectives:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to observe classroom culture, teaching and learning style, how activities are structured for inclusion (eg, individual/pair/group work) • to observe student's learning strategies in mainstream classes (links to resilience, self-management, adaptability, initiation) • to observe teacher-student relationships and effect on student • to observe particular support in place for student (eg, teacher aide, visual support, language support)
<p>Case studies:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2 newly-arrived students from UPE2A class, aged 13-15 (plus one student aged 12 in FLS classes), mix of countries of origin and L1 • Subjects: Music, English, Italian, Maths 	<p>Case studies:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2 newly-arrived students from EL class, aged 13-15 (plus one student aged 17 in EL classes), mix of countries of origin and L1 • Subjects: Maths, Computing Science

The same observation criteria in the two school settings allowed me to observe two very different styles of classroom learning, and how students responded in each context. On the following pages, each case study is presented, with examples of classroom culture and activities, each student's learning strategies in mainstream classes, teacher-student relationships and particular learning support in place. A short summary of qualitative findings is given at the end of each case study.

Qualitative findings of integration processes in the French school and the NZ school are then discussed in more detail.

Finally, the two "special" case studies of Mahala and Bashiir are presented at the end of this chapter.

The Case Studies

CASE STUDY 1: Erlblin, 14 years old, Albanian (French school)

Profile:

Erlblin's integration into the school is academically steady, and he has friends from UPE2A class but seems isolated from his mainstream class peers. He attends regularly and is very reliable, making a big effort to travel by bus more than an hour each way from La Bastide to school in Bordeaux. In an interview (24/1/2019), Erlblin recounted the long voyage his family made to escape from corruption in Albania, where life was difficult for his father. The family travelled by plane to Greece, then via Brussels to France to seek asylum. They were evicted from CADA after a year when their asylum application was refused. Erlblin had been attending school for 6 months at the time of this case study (March 2018).

Erlblin says that at school in Albania he was in an older class, and attended school from 8am to midday. The most difficult thing to adapt to is the French language, which has few similarities with Albanian. He says that the French students "do not bother him, don't say anything to him" and he can work easily enough in inclusion classes. If there is something he doesn't understand, he can show it to the teacher. He likes Italian classes, but Maths is more difficult this year than last year. He misses UPE2A classes, as he could just focus on learning French and not subject matter (in French schools, newly-arrived students are entitled to one year in UPE2A classes, and are then fully mainstreamed).

Erlblin is in a class of multilingual and multicultural students, but he is the only one who is newly-arrived and doesn't speak French fluently. He interacts very little with his classmates, although he is aware of students who speak Arabic, Bulgarian and Portuguese in the class. He hangs out with another Albanian boy at the school, and there is an Albanian staff member, Eralda, who sometimes translates for his mother at parent-teacher meetings. When he first arrived at school he would sometimes talk to Eralda if there were changes to the school timetable that he didn't understand, such as strike days.

When asked, "how is your school work this year", he replied that Maths is sometimes difficult. His notes are at least 10/20 for the most part now, whereas for his first tests in Maths, Physics and Chemistry his marks were below 10 (failed). He says it was because he didn't understand the chapter content, the exercises, not the French language. When asked if he talks to his parents about what he's doing at school, he replied yes, but not for help with homework as they don't speak French. His mother did attend the free French language classes for parents at the school.

Classroom culture, learning strategies:

- To observe classroom culture, teaching and learning style, how activities are structured for inclusion (eg, individual/pair/group work)
- To observe student's learning strategies in mainstream classes (links to resilience, self-management, adaptability, initiation)

I observed Erlblin in Music, Maths, English and Italian classes. In the French school, **the classroom teaching and learning style is teacher-centred**, whole class and individual, and students interact directly with the teacher to ask and answer questions, rather than with each other. This creates a classroom culture where the teacher explains concepts and tasks to the whole class and students have one chance to understand, in French, what the new learning is and how they will practice it. For all of the newly-arrived immigrant students that I observed in this French school, this meant that the student worked in silence, individually on tasks, and often had a moment when they did not know what to do or how to get started. For example:

- E (and whole front row) are attentive. Not writing yet, holding page up in front of his face. Looking at neighbours' pages to see what to do. Seems unsure. When a boy asks the girl between E and himself, "*Qu'est ce qu'on doit faire, parce que je n'ai pas bien compris?*", T tells him "*Tais-toi.*" E doesn't seem to know what to do, and watches what the girl next to him who is writing.
- T makes herself available to E, he doesn't ask for her help until she asks him directly, "*Est ce que tu comprends?*" He replies (can't hear what), and T asks "*T'as rien compris du tout?*" An exchange follows where E asks a question or explains what he seems to have understood. T affirms with "*Ou bien ...*" E has a little moment of seeming to get started writing down, then stops (he can't have written more than a sentence).

Erlblin in Music class, 13/3/2018

It also meant that the student had to compete with other students for the teacher's attention. And if he did not get the help he needed to successfully complete the task, he quickly gave up. In these learning situations, all students have to be assertive to get their learning needs met — it's "survival of the fittest" — and a newly-arrived immigrant student with little French language will simply not be able to compete to get the one-on-one help from the teacher that he needs. For example:

- Simple manual task of gluing graph paper activity into book = E applies himself, knows what to do and it's a manageable activity. Students with hands up when finished, T circulating to check work.
- E does not raise his hand to ask T to check, works slowly but diligently. When E has finished, he hesitates to get T's attention, holding out his page with completed forms. Class is a sea of hands up, students calling out "Monsieur, Monsieur!" T has a quick look at E's paper, points out one area to correct (but it's not clear what is wrong). E doesn't seem to understand, but sits quietly, following T with his eyes as other students take T's attention. A small push-fight breaks out between 3 students and T's attention is drawn away from E's work.
- Two girls next to E discuss their graph work — E looks, comparing his own, but does not ask either students or T for feedback on his own work. Sits with fist bunched over mouth or on cheek. Body language says, "I'm not sure of the words, how to ask, so I stay quiet."

Erlblin in Maths class, 28/2/2018

Erlblin's learning strategies were passive rather than active in this kind of mainstream class situation. Understandably, **the whole class teaching and learning context had challenges for him, particularly linguistic obstacles** — the speed and fluency of native-speaker French as the teacher delivers instructions, the amount of chatter in French from other students that makes listening difficult for non-native speakers, written instructions in unsimplified French, new vocabulary and unfamiliar grammar structures. However, Erlblin also did not take advantage of moments when he could have asked other students for help with his work. For example:

E turns around, looking briefly at other students' work, not yet sure whether his work is approved and can be stuck into his book. Atmosphere is that everyone continues with their own corner of activity (socialising, working, interacting with T) and the silent child goes unnoticed. There is a moment when a boy stands kindly beside E, and could be available to help, yet E doesn't look up or seek contact = self-imposed exclusion.

Erlblin in Maths class, 28/2/2018

I think that this passiveness in a mainstream class learning situation is due partly to feelings of being "an outsider" as a newcomer who has not yet mastered French. But also due to age, sense of group belonging or exclusion, and teenagers generally feeling more self-conscious and inhibited than younger children. Teenagers may be reluctant to draw attention to themselves, or to expose their lack of skill or knowledge, especially in a situation like Erlblin's where they have not yet made friends within the group. Erlblin, at the particularly vulnerable age of 14, chose to work in isolation, not seizing moments to ask students around him what to do or to check his work. *Breaching social barriers can be very challenging for newly-arrived immigrant teens, and a teacher-centred class culture where students work individually can accentuate this so that it becomes a barrier to effective learning.* Making friends and feeling accepted is much more than social integration, it is also an important access into learning support in the classroom context. **Learning is social, and small group and pair learning structures can help newly-arrived immigrant students to interact, and construct knowledge more effectively.**

An exception to this kind of classroom culture in the French school was the Italian-as-second-language class. Even though the Italian class was also a teacher-centred style of learning, the fact that none of the students were language experts (except for one student with Italian parents) created a learning space in

which all students were learning language and content at the same level. For Erlblin, this allowed him to participate more easily, and in this example we see the difference this makes to his participation:

- Erlblin = he has responded voluntarily to two questions on the weather. The first time, he is not spot-on for pronunciation and T corrects, but also other students are in the same boat. T treats him like all the other students = a sense of equality in this class, where nobody is fluent in Italian except for the T and one boy with Italian parents.
- T asks E a question about colour, and he can answer. T says “Brava!” Again, he is treated like all the other students, no more or less praise. T poses another question to the class in Italian, E half-raises his hand. He is an engaged, active participant.
- T manages the class in Italian, asking one boy for eye contact, checking around the room for students to get started writing down.
- E writing everything down — the pace is good for him, and there is enough for everyone to do — the class is working at the same pace, he is not left behind. This is still whole class teaching, but well-managed for student participation and activity.

Erlblin in Italian class, 1/3/2018

In this learning context, Erlblin, who is linguistically isolated as the only Albanian speaker in both FLS classes and *classes d'inclusion*, is keen to participate, initiates responses, self-manages his learning and demonstrates greater integration into the class culture. *The key is of course that the whole class is working plurilingually in Italian and French.* For Erlblin this means working in L2 and L3, and he is able to just focus on language learning, without the extra learning burden of content. *In this context, his lack of mastery of the French language is less important, and he is able to make plurilingual links with Italian that possibly help his learning of French too.*

Teacher-student relationships, learning support:

- To observe teacher-student relationships and effect on student
- To observe particular support in place for student (eg, teacher aide, visual support, language support)

In *classes d'inclusions*, Erlblin barely interacted with the other students, but did make a point of **interacting with the teacher at the beginning or end of class**, to make sure he handed in papers and had the homework written down for his parents. For example:

- T writes note to parents in E's notebook for a Baroque outing tomorrow morning. He will translate for parents, have them sign. (Music, 27/2/2018)

As in the above example, *communication between school and home is also a plurilingual event*, as teachers write a message in French which Erlblin will translate into Albanian for his parents. The “*carnet*” serves an important function for integrating parents into school routine and expectations, as well as the student.

Teacher-student relationships are key to integration during the early phase, and for newly-arrived students to feel noticed and supported by the teacher. For newly-arrived teenage students, the fact that they are silent does not mean they do not need help, and teachers during these observations checked in once or twice during a lesson with Erlblin to see that he had understood. How and when teachers offered a moment of one-on-one help to Erlblin made a difference to his learning. It was noticeable that if it was done discreetly or within the context of “doing a round” to check all students’ understanding, it was welcomed and reassuring for the student. As examples:

- T goes to E to point out quickly what to do to complete his writing. (Italian, 1/3/2018)
- After giving instructions to the whole class, T asks Erlblin quietly if he understands what to do. He says yes. (Music, 13/3/2018)

Whereas if the child felt singled out by the fact that he is not a native speaker of French and therefore needs extra help, he tended to feel embarrassed, for example:

- T writes in English on the board and the class copies down. E is onto it and begins writing, although he flushes awkwardly when T singles him out to look at his workbook (for no obvious reason) and asks if he can see the board well enough.

English, 1/3/2018

Again, *supporting learning for newly-arrived immigrant teenagers in the mainstream class context means the teacher being aware of the child's sense of inclusion and emotional safety, and recognising the need for extra support without over-emphasising his relative lack of proficiency compared to peers.*

Summary of qualitative findings:

In summary, Erlblin's case shows that immigrant teenagers are coping with multiple academic and psychological barriers to effective learning in *classes d'inclusion*. As well as the combined learning burden of *acquiring content plus language-of-schooling*, there is also the classroom culture of teacher-centred learning that means Erlblin did not have easy access to native-speaker peers, as he would have had if classes were structured for interactive pair or group learning. It therefore seems important **to adapt teaching and learning approaches so that newly-arrived immigrant students are more easily included within their cohort, and to offer opportunities for interaction with native-speaker peers, in order to support content plus language-of-schooling learning.**

A second point raised from Erlblin's case is that teenagers are often more inhibited socially than younger children. Teenagers may not initiate positive learning strategies, such as asking other students or the teacher for help, when they have to "go public" with their learning needs. Therefore **to support learning, classroom organisation should be consciously adapted for social learning as well as academic objectives** — for example, grouping students in ways that are supportive of learning for new students who have not yet mastered the language-of-schooling; planning tasks that scaffold learning into manageable chunks; providing multiple opportunities for students to interact with each other in the language-of-schooling about their learning. These student-centred learning approaches can benefit all students, while offering particular benefits for immigrant students.

In these observations, the teachers could not be available to respond to the needs of all students in the class, due to the teacher-centred structure where students interacted directly with the teacher to ask questions, rather than discussing and problem-solving in groups. This meant that for a student like Erlblin, his learning systematically suffered as he was not able to gain the teacher's time and attention, and therefore did not complete tasks fully and did not get feedback on how to improve his work. A student in this situation quickly falls behind — it's a "sink or swim" situation for learning.

CASE STUDY 2: Matilde, 13 years old, Portuguese (in the French school)

Profile:

Matilde is 13 years old, from Portugal, and arrived in France 9 months before this observation period in school. Her family are regular immigrants, and her elder sister Camila (15 years old) is at the same school. Matilde is doing quite well at school, is outgoing and positive about her learning, confident and sociable with other students in the UPE2A class. During observations in mainstream classes, she made friendly overtures towards a French girl sitting next to her in Maths class, but was persistently ignored, in spite of her friendliness and open personality. Without much French language it seems difficult to be accepted by the other local teenagers, and friendship *cliques* have already been formed that are hard to break into. Social integration was not easy for most of the newly-arrived students in these case studies, and they were generally isolated and silent in their mainstream classes, in contrast to the local students who were chatty and sociable with each other. In the UPE2A classes, the students have made good friendships.

Matilde was very keen to participate in the case studies, and has an easy connection with adults.

At the end of the year, the Portuguese family with two girls, Matilde and Camila, moved out of the school zone. Their school received an administrative letter advising that Matilde was now enrolled at another school and would no longer be attending the *collège*. However, somehow this was not communicated to the family, so Matilde turned up on the first day of school. This was quite traumatic for her, and it had to be explained that she had changed schools because of zoning.

Classroom culture, learning strategies:

- To observe classroom culture, teaching and learning style, how activities are structured for inclusion (eg, individual/pair/group work)
- To observe student's learning strategies in mainstream classes (links to resilience, self-management, adaptability, initiation)

I observed Matilde in Maths. This was a younger class of 13-year-old students, with a light and lively energy amongst the group. Another UPE2A student, Nadim (Syrian) is in the same class. Matilde sat in the 2nd row at the front amongst 4 girls, and Nadim sat in the front row amongst 4 boys. This meant that they could see the board well and had easier access to the teacher. Matilde's older sister Camila commented on the importance of seating in mainstream classes, saying that she had trouble in English class because she was seated at the back and couldn't get the teacher's attention, and had to ask the teacher to seat her up the front (UPE2A class interview, 23/3/2018)

The way Matilde's Maths teacher used language in the classroom was highly skilled. She targeted both content and language development, and it provided valuable learning for the French students at this age, as well as for the immigrant students. I observed a range of **language-based teaching and learning strategies that seemed to be highly effective for Matilde's learning of Maths and French language at the same time**. Here are 5 examples of *how the teacher used language to support content learning*.

Example 1: the teacher consistently used simple, short sentences as she talked to the class about their Maths work:

T's pace and structure of language is excellent, as she forms simple questions, "*Qui a mis vrai?*" Students raise hands. "*Pourquoi vous avez mis vrai?*" Explains in few words, simply, with focus on students giving responses. (Matilde in Maths, 13/3/2018)

Example 2: the teacher had French students write answers to a Maths problem on the board, then corrected language as well as Maths content. This was useful for French students as well as immigrant students:

One student reads the problem aloud and offers the solution. Many students raise their hands saying, "*non, non!*" Mathilde and Nadim do not raise their hands. One French student is called to write his answer on the board. T also pays attention to his use of language: "*Pas la taille, l'âge*"; spelling of "*proportionel*" in masculine (because it relates to "*le poids*"): "*Faux, le poids n'est pas proportionel avec l'âge.*" This method of marking work is excellent, as students hear an oral response, then see a written response on the board. Also the T creates the possibility for correction of language, and for highlighting the specialised vocabulary of maths. Students are given time to copy down the correct answer from the board.

Matilde in Maths, 13/3/2018

Example 3: the teacher drew attention to "the language of Maths", raising student awareness that each subject has its own particular "language". At the same time, Matilde learned that "*parce que*" and "*car*" are synonyms:

Students are working on Maths questions that have a “*vrai / faux*” answer, and they are expected to give an explanation for their choice. T asks students to give their answers. A student gives an oral response, “*Faux, parce que ...*” On the board, T writes the student’s response and corrects “*parce que*” to “*car*”, and says we are putting it into “the language of Maths”. T: “*En mathématiques c’est mieux d’écrire “car”: “Faux, car ...*”

Matilde in Maths, 13/3/2018

Example 4: the teacher talks with the class about a specialist Maths term, then writes a definition on the board, and all students copy down the definition. In this way, students have discussed the meaning of the word, then see a good written definition on the board, then write it down. They have improved their understanding of a new Maths concept in 3 ways, with clear input in simple language-of-schooling followed by a more complex written language version. This is excellent language-of-schooling development for immigrant students, as well as placing a scaffold around learning a new Maths concept for all students:

T asks class, “*C’est quoi la proportionnalité?*” T affirms two responses that students give, then repeats and clarifies the example given by a student. This way of re-stating, extending and clarifying is good language input for UPE2A students. Next, T writes a definition of *proportionnalité* on the board. Definition: “*Deux grandeurs sont proportionnelles si les valeurs de l’une s’obtiennent en multipliant les valeurs de l’autre par un même nombre, appelé coefficient de proportionnalité.*” (Some complex words, subject-specific vocabulary, but the way the T has worked through this with students verbally helps understanding).

Matilde in Maths, 13/3/2018

Example 5: the teacher interacts verbally with the whole class to explain solutions to Maths problems in simple steps. She repeats simple sentences, writes each step on the board, and gives an out-loud narration in simple French as she writes. In this way, Matilde is learning key French verbs for Maths (*diviser, multiplier*) in both oral and written forms. The repetition of simple, comprehensible input is high quality learning for both language-of-schooling and content.

T explains an example, while repeating simple sentences, following each step with out-loud narration and asking questions to the class: “*Qu’est ce que je fais pour diviser?*” “*Multiplier par 3,50*”.

Matilde in Maths, 13/3/2018

These examples highlight the importance of the teacher’s language use in mainstream classes for immigrant students’ learning. *The way this teacher spoke in simple sentences, repeated key ideas, asked questions to the class, worked with student responses in written form, corrected errors in language, and defined Maths terminology in simple steps, were all highly skilled yet simple methods of combining language-and-content.* For Matilde, as well as for the rest of the class, **these language-based approaches to learning Maths seemed to make the concepts accessible through language.**

Teacher-student relationships, learning support:

- To observe teacher-student relationships and effect on student
- To observe particular support in place for student (eg, teacher aide, visual support, language support)

Matilde’s Maths teacher, Mme S., is originally from Iran and has learnt French as a non-native speaker, and also speaks some Arabic as L2. This seems to create a particular rapport in teacher-student relationships where the teacher has lived an immigrant experience and is plurilingual herself, so understands the integration process that students are going through. In the Maths classes observed, the teacher occasionally explained the work to Nadim (Syria) in Arabic. She tells me that she always asks an immigrant

child to relate what they are learning now in Maths to how they learnt the same thing in their home country (pre-class chat with Mme S., 14/3/2018).

Matilde arrived early to the Maths class one day while I was there to observe, to ask a question about something she didn't understand. This was a positive learning strategy, as she had a little time with the teacher before the other students arrived:

Before class: Matilde arrives, first student in class, and tells T she doesn't know how to do division. T asks why Matilde didn't ask in class; M says that she did ask. T asks, why didn't I explain it to you? M says, you did but I still don't understand. T says, it's the same division that you studied in your home country. M looks a bit blank, but smiling, nodding.

Matilde in Maths, 14/3/2018

While Matilde may not have got the help she needed on-the-spot, she has made the teacher aware that she hasn't understood the work and would like help. From there, the teacher will be able to follow up.

Matilde is also pro-active about asking questions in class when she doesn't understand. The teacher's way of answering reinforces the "no question is a stupid question" teaching approach, as she addresses her answer to the whole class, in case other students have also not understood:

Matilde raises her hand and asks her question. T explains the unclear maths problem to the whole class: "*Il a acheté 10 croissants à chacun. Et il a acheté 100 pains au chocolat, mais on ne sait pas le prix. En tout il a payé 152. Donc, combien un pain au chocolat?*" A couple of French boys comment that it's called a "*tartine au chocolat*", non? T smiles, says yes, here in Bordeaux we say "*tartine*", in Paris it's "*pain au chocolat*".
9.40 - Matilde has attacked the patisserie problem, and raises her hand again to ask T if she has answered correctly. T replies, "*Non, je ne peut pas te dire.*" (for the integrity of the test).

Matilde in Maths, 14/3/2018

In the above example, the teacher gives help, but keeps the same rules for immigrant students as for all students. This seems to create a supportive yet fair classroom culture, where all students have access to the extra learning support offered.

Summary of qualitative findings:

In summary, the qualitative experience of Matilde's schooling is significantly improved by *how a teacher uses language* in a mainstream class. The 5 examples above illustrate the different ways that language and content can be combined to make mainstream learning more accessible for immigrant students, as well as simplifying and improving learning for local students. *The language barrier is greatly reduced by consistent use of language-based strategies: simple sentences, repetition, having local students write answers on the board, correcting grammatical errors even though it is not a language class, raising student awareness that each subject has its own particular "language", developing from oral to written through student input, and defining specialist vocabulary.* In this way, **every subject teacher is also a language teacher.**

A second point raised from Matilde's case study is *the positive initiative of asking questions*. In Matilde's case, she arrived early before class to ask a question about something she had not understood in Maths. She also raised her hand to ask questions in class, and **the teacher's "no question is a stupid question" approach created a safe classroom culture within which any student can ask questions.**

Summary of qualitative findings on Integration: 2 Case Studies in the French school

The findings from these 2 case studies in the French school reveal several points about newly-arrived immigrant teenagers and their integration processes into *classes d'inclusion*, within this educational environment. These can be summarised under two sub-headings:

- (1) Ways in which the child copes with new learning in the mainstream, and how the child responds to mainstream classroom culture and structures of learning, and;
- (2) How the learning environment supports the child's particular learning needs in terms of language and integration.

These two aspects combined link to the principle of integration as a “two-way process” between the child and the educational environment.

(1) The child

In the French school, *the teacher-centred classroom teaching and learning style* had an isolating, silencing effect on both Erlblin and Matilde in mainstream classes in terms of seeking help from peers. Both were focused on learning from the teacher, and opportunities for interacting with French-speaking peers that could have been positive for integration, were minimised in this learning environment. This resulted in **fewer opportunities for speaking in French with native-speaker classmates, and no apparent friendships created by either student with their local peers**, in spite of 6-9 months at the school since arrival. *Friendships and acceptance into the peer group are important for teenagers*, and there was a marked difference between the way the immigrant students interacted with each other in UPE2A class (relaxed, interactive learners, good friendships) and in mainstream classes (quiet, passive observers on the whole, no interaction with peers). This suggests that *a more student-centred structure to learning in mainstream classes could help newly-arrived immigrant students to integrate more quickly and fully into their peer group*. For example, structuring learning so that students work interactively in pairs, or discuss in small groups to solve problems and check answers, or are seated around tables rather than at individual desks facing the teacher. In this way, the social and academic aspects of integration can be enhanced, through structuring classroom learning for students in a variety of ways.

These two case studies also show how **a passive or active approach to learning by the individual student makes a qualitative difference to their experiences in mainstream classes**. Erlblin at the age of 14 was more inhibited and passive, and did not take social risks or actively compete for the teacher's attention, whereas at 13 Matilde is less self-conscious and more active in asking questions and getting the help she needs in Maths. Developmentally there is a big difference between the age of 13 and 14, and while emigrating and integrating into a new school during adolescence brings its own set of challenges, for 14-year-olds it can be more emotionally complicated. I suggest that **it is part of the school's role to facilitate both social and academic integration processes for teenagers, as the two work together to support students to succeed at school**.

(2) The learning environment

The **teacher-centred approach of whole class teaching renders the learning environment competitive and individualised, rather than cooperative and focused on socially-constructed learning**. Students have to compete for the teacher's attention by raising their hands to ask a question, or to have their work checked individually by the teacher. For the newly-arrived immigrant students observed in these case studies, this seemed to increase barriers to successful integration, both socially amongst their peer group and academically. There were moments when Erlblin clearly did not understand what to do, yet he was not successful in getting the help he needed from the teacher. Matilde was more pro-active about asking questions in the whole class context, and less inhibited in the Maths class, perhaps due to that teacher's particularly affirming style. *Both coped with this by speaking with the teacher before or after class, a strategy that other UPE2A students identified in the student survey*. This however relies on the teacher being available to give extra time outside of class to support one student — in most cases, an unsustainable solution for learning support.

Language use by teachers in mainstream classes is absolutely key to success for newly-arrived immigrant students. These case studies highlight differences in how aware teachers were of “language”

as a learning area in their subject, and the value for all students (not only immigrant students) of including some teaching of the language of the subject. In Matilde's case, the Maths teacher skilfully used language-based approaches to learning Maths that made the concepts accessible through language, whereas in Erlblin's case the Maths teacher focused on content without particular attention to language use. The former case **reduced the language barrier, making content more easily acquired** (acquiring content with language-of-schooling support = reduced learning burden), whereas the latter case **did not address the language barrier, making content less easily accessible** (acquiring content plus language-of-schooling = increased learning burden). This point is absolutely central to success for plurilingual immigrant students at school — **every subject teacher is also a teacher of the language of their subject**. This is an area for initial and ongoing teacher training in both France and New Zealand to emphasise, as there are *benefits for all students in language-based approaches to subject learning*, as well as clear benefits for newly-arrived immigrant students.

In summary, these two case studies in the French school highlight that school integration is a “two-way process”, in which the child develops a set of strategies and responses to mainstream learning, and the educational environment's particular “culture of learning”. Language is a key component in school integration, and how teachers and students use language for learning purposes can either reduce or increase the learning burden for newly-arrived immigrant students. Schools and teachers can work with language as a tool for learning across all subject areas, and teacher training institutions can support the development of pedagogy in this area.

CASE STUDY 3: Maahi, 15 years old, Karen-Thai (in the New Zealand school)

Profile:

Maahi has been in NZ for 5 months, but only started attending school at the beginning of the 2019 school year (5 weeks before these case studies). Maahi is a refugee-background student from a Karen hill tribe on the Thai-Burmese border, and is in NZ with his mother, father and 5-year-old sister. He speaks Karen (80%) and Thai (20%) at home and is sociable with the other students, mainly working with the 3 other Karen hill tribe students in EL class.

Maahi is supported by Krista (intern from Germany, English-speaking teacher aide) in Maths and Computer Sciences. He is good at Maths, not so confident on computers, but has a willingness to learn and is attentive in class. Maahi responded in the student survey that he “*can't reading Karen languages*” so he never looks up words in a dictionary, but instead relies on listening to teachers, copying notes off the whiteboard, and help from Krista in mainstream classes. It is possible that Maahi has little prior formal schooling, as the Karen hill tribe people tend to live in remote hill regions and have suffered persecution and segregation from the Thai government. He is a newly-arrived refugee-background student with low L1 literacy, low English proficiency and possibly little prior schooling in his home country. He is however plurilingual, speaking two languages already, and may have some literacy in Khmer, the written language of Thai.

Classroom culture, learning strategies:

- *To observe classroom culture, teaching and learning style, how activities are structured for inclusion (eg, individual/pair/group work)*
- *To observe student's learning strategies in mainstream classes (links to resilience, self-management, adaptability, initiation)*

I observed Maahi in a Year 10 Maths class (one year below his age cohort) and Computing Science. In both classes, he was assisted by Krista, an English-speaking teacher aide who is visiting for a 4 month internship as part of her teacher training in Germany.

The classroom culture in this New Zealand school has an “open plan”, student-centred feel. Students are seated at tables in small groups and work interactively. Teachers manage students in a variety of less teacher-centred ways — for example, Maths classes get students focused with a 5-minute revision activity in silence, teachers move around the room helping students in their groups, students are kept busy and are expected to self-manage to complete work within the time-frame. In the first example below, in the Computing Science class observed, the teacher gave a short presentation at the beginning of class as an example of the work students were to do, then the class worked for 50 minutes on their choice from the activities proposed, while the teacher circulated:

12.07: T asks students to come off computers and do a warm-up activity as a whole class on the ppt. It is about solving a computer-data-language problem. Maahi looks questioningly at us, then turns to the board. A Kiwi student solves the problem quickly.

T explains the solution, the class is quietly attentive, then applauds when the problem is solved.

T puts up an image on ppt that looks like a crossword, titled “Parity Trick”. Directs students to “go to that website, there are a few little activities to do ...”

T comes straight over to Maahi, who is logged into student page. T finds the correct page titled “Cording, Control error”, then scrolls down to the correct place, explaining to Krista what to do.

Maahi in Computing Science, 23/5/2019

A second example shows differentiated learning in Maahi's Maths class. Before Maths class the young NZ teacher explained that the two Karen students (Maahi & Tanawat) are doing a separate programme in a booklet of easier Maths. I ask if the booklet is one that she made especially for ESOL students. She says no, that the Maths department has booklets at each level of the curriculum, and that this booklet is at Year 4 level (4th year of primary schooling in NZ). During Maths classes Maahi therefore works on this booklet in a

pair with Tanawat (also a Karen L1 student), assisted by Krista, while the rest of the class work with the teacher. The class begins like this:

12.24: students arrive and go to their seats, classroom arranged in groups of 3-4 students. Maahi and Tanawat are seated together at the back of the room, with Krista working with them. Students come in noisily, chatting and getting gear out of bags.
12.27: T says, “Ready? Week 12, session 2, Go!” and sets a timer. Students go quiet and are all working with concentration on the activity. It is impressive how quickly the students get to work and how they remain focused and concentrating during the first activity time.
T had explained that Maahi and Tanawat do some of the work topics with the class, but she has prepared a special booklet at their level.

Maths, 16/5/2019

For newly-arrived immigrant students, **evaluating their level of ability in a subject area like Maths is possible in their first language** (NZ Ministry of Education’s Bilingual Language Assessment Services), **and this enables integration into subject areas at the right level for their existing knowledge**. Teachers are also prepared to put individual learning programmes in place for students who have particular learning needs, such as gaps in prior schooling. It is the EL teachers who ultimately oversee each student’s learning programme, and teacher aides work one-on-one with students in their mainstream classes and EL classes, reporting back to EL teachers on how the student is coping and progressing. *Teacher aides are “the eyes and ears” for EL teachers, and fulfil a crucial role in student wellbeing and integration into mainstream learning.*

In observing Maahi as a case study of his learning strategies, it is clear that he is kinaesthetic, and finds sitting still in the classroom for any length of time difficult. He gives himself “mini pauses” between Maths exercises, getting up and moving around. NZ classrooms tend to be quite kinaesthetic, with teachers often asking students to move desks around into new formations for different activities, or to stand up and move around as part of a learning activity. So it is usually acceptable for a student who needs to move around to do so (within reason), as Maahi does:

Maahi leans over to have a look at the working-out that Krista is doing (upside-down so that Tanawat can see), then gets up and goes to the window to open it. He then hangs around a bit by the window, as he has finished the problem that Tanawat is working on. Krista calls Maahi back to his seat, and begins explaining the next Maths problem, which is written as a paragraph. M is restless, flicking his pen, but listening to Krista’s explanation.

M is quite lively, able to interact in simple sentences with Krista to check his understanding and achieve each task. However, he doesn’t work on his own yet. As soon as he has finished an exercise, he is moving around, making gestures with his hands, as he waits for K to be free to show him how to do the next question.

Maths, 16/5/2019

For kinaesthetic students, **movement can be built into learning activities, or students can be allowed to move around between exercises — classrooms don’t have to be static with students seated listening at their desks.**

Even though Maahi is working at a lower level than his age cohort in Maths, he is enjoying the tasks and seems satisfied with his results. For newly-arrived immigrant students with gaps in prior schooling who are having to “catch up”, they do not need to feel anxious or that this is already a failure in their schooling. **Motivation can be built by interacting about their work with a teacher**, putting in effort to improve their learning processes (such as legible handwriting), and **receiving genuine praise for successful outcomes at the level they are working at**. In Maahi’s case, having Krista check his work and give instant feedback, correction and praise was motivating, and a higher quality learning experience than working alone on a Maths workbook:

With guidance from teacher aide, Maahi is able to zoom ahead on each question, and seems quite quick in his mathematical understanding. He also calls out the answers in English as he works it out, even interrupting Krista's work with Tanawat, "One hundred and ten. Yes, it is." K checks and tells him "good". M continues to work and his answers are accurate. K tells him the next step to do, he listens and says "ok" then goes ahead and does it, asking K "how many?", she replies, "have a look".

T-N is having a lot more trouble, working out simple multiplication and division. He yawns, rubs his nose, as Krista is trying to explain to him.

Maahi gives his answers to Krista, and smiles. He is motivated, active, going on now to write down the next part of his working-out, mumbling to himself as he does so.

When he has finished, he drops his pencil down on the page with a satisfied air, and pushes the page towards K to check.

K asks him what some of the numbers are, where his writing is unclear. While K is checking his work, he gets up to stick his head out the window. T-N can't sit down for this long, and asks Teacher if he can go out to the toilet.

With Krista, Maahi is talking through the maths equation, saying to K: "yes! yes!"

When K checks with him, he does the sum again, saying "72", and when it's not correct, he listens to K and does each step of the sum out loud with her. Then K says: "Oh, you were right!" He's very happy, smiling and going to look out the window again.

Maahi: "This one, 300, 400, 90, 490 ..." as he reads out the numbers he has written, at K's request, as his handwriting is not clear. Krista to me: "He's really good!"

Maths, 16/5/2019

It is also a strength of the Maths department at this high school that they have work prepared for students at different levels (remedial and extension) and students can work at their own pace.

Teacher-student relationships, learning support:

- To observe teacher-student relationships and effect on student
- To observe particular support in place for student (eg, teacher aide, visual support, language support)

In Maahi's case, having an English-speaking teacher aide working with him in Maths broke down the language so that he could understand and solve the mathematical problem. Krista tells me that Maahi is good at Maths, and manages the tasks well. But the language-of-maths is too dense and he doesn't understand anything. Krista has to explain each question to him, and then he can do the maths problems fine. In her view, he needs **more maths problems that are numbers-based, to avoid the learning-burden of maths language**. For example:

Krista discusses the maths problems with Maahi and Tanawat. Maahi asks questions to clarify understanding. Krista breaks down the maths questions into simple chunks of English. M attempts a step in the maths problem. Krista tells him, "half of 26". M: "half?" M works through the rest of the steps with Krista and writes it down. Maahi says some numbers in L1 to himself, as he is writing them down, then checks with Krista in English.

Maths, 16/5/2019

In this example, Maahi is **working plurilingually** between his L1 and English, with the help of the teacher aide Krista, to access Maths concepts that he is competent at. There are several cognitive processes going on in order to access seemingly straightforward Maths exercises.

In another example of a teacher-student relationship, the Computing Science teacher structured a lesson so that students were given free range to choose puzzles to solve from an online activity. Maahi chose a simple puzzle and just worked on that, while other students worked on several different complex puzzles. Even though Maahi was working with teacher aide Krista, **the class teacher checked Maahi's work, gave him**

some corrective feedback and interacted directly with the student rather than through the teacher aide. This positions the student as the main actor in his own learning, and forms a good connection with the mainstream teacher:

Teacher finishes explanation and comes over to Maahi, asking “Did you get that working?” Krista replies for him. T checks the rows that M has been working on, finds an error and asks M “where do you think the arrow is?” Instructs M “click that one”, which he does. M is listening to T’s instructions, and replies, “that one” as he chooses the squares to change. T goes through saying, “that’s ok, that’s ok” as he checks the squares. T asks Maahi “did you agree?”, M nods. T: “That’s good, fantastic.”

Maahi in Computing Science, 23/5/2019

In a final example of the kind of support provided by Krista as teacher aide, she skilfully scaffolded her help so that once Maahi knew what to do, he was learning as autonomously as possible and she only stepped in when he asked for help. This meant that **help was available to get started, but did not replace the student’s own independent learning**:

11.51: Maahi and Krista continue working on each puzzle (still 6x6). Krista: “What about this way?” Maahi makes some clicks, gets it right, Krista: “yes, good !” Maahi has mastered the concept, and how to do the puzzles and is speeding up. He looks closely at the patterns on the screen, the concept is mathematical. When he doesn’t understand, he makes a comment to Krista, who only helps him now when he asks for her help, by showing that the doesn’t understand.

Maahi in Computing Science, 23/5/2019

Summary of qualitative findings:

In summary, the qualitative experience of Maahi’s school learning is hugely enhanced by **one-on-one help in mainstream classes from an English-speaking teacher aide**, Krista. The teacher aide fulfils multiple roles in support of Maahi’s learning, to break down language into comprehensible chunks, to explain learning tasks in simple language, and to support and follow his progress in Maths and Computing Science reporting back to EL teachers. Importantly, **interacting with the student one-on-one about their work, giving small amounts of corrective feedback and praise, seem to be motivating**. While mainstream teachers do not have time to do this for every student, teacher aides in class with individual students do.

A second point raised by Maahi’s case study is that **the learning burden of language must be reduced, so that newly-arrived immigrant students can work with content**. This was done in several ways in Maahi’s case:

- (i) The teacher aide asked Maahi questions about what he was learning in simple language (rather than explaining or giving instructions), so that he could see what the task required — an interactive approach in language that the student could understand and respond to.
- (ii) Maahi worked plurilingually in Maths, talking to himself about the sums (in Khmer) and to Krista (in English). This showed that his cognitive processing was taking place in L1 as he worked on Maths problems, while his communication about his work with the teacher aide took place in English.
- (iii) More numbers-based problems would be helpful for Maahi’s development in Maths, as this would allow him to bypass language and work directly with mathematical concepts.

A third point observed from Maahi’s case study is **the effectiveness of individual learning programmes that allow students to work at their current level**. In this case, the Maths department at the school have a series of booklets at different levels, and a student with gaps in prior schooling, like Maahi, can stay with the class but work at the level appropriate for their learning.

Finally, I observed healthy teacher-student interactions around Maahi, where help was given at the outset of a learning activity, but as he mastered a new concept or skill, the support was reduced to allow him to continue working independently. This kind of learning support seems very positive for teenagers particularly, as it **scaffolds learning** for the student, and affirms that **a newly-arrived immigrant student is on a trajectory towards independent learning.**

CASE STUDY 4: Abdul, 13 years old, Syria (in the New Zealand school)

Profile:

Abdul arrived in New Zealand with his family from Syria 1 year ago — his mother and 3 older siblings. Abdul's father disappeared in Syria during the war, and one of his elder brothers has taken an authority role in the family. The family have resettled in Wellington under the UNHCR refugee resettlement programme. As with most refugee-background students, Abdul's prior education is fragmented, as before arriving in NZ he had a waiting period in Libya where he didn't attend school.

Abdul has low proficiency in English and trouble concentrating in class, also lacking basic literacy skills such as map-reading. He often needs one-on-one help to get started on a task in EL, and clear instruction in order to achieve basic literacy tasks and understand what is expected of him in the classroom. He is supported in mainstream classes by Rania, a teacher aide employed for 15 hours per week as bilingual Arabic-English support for the Arabic-speaking students. Abdul's learning behaviours have improved since his arrival at school, and Rania notes advancements in his integration although his English reading and writing skills are slower to develop. He also has small-group tutoring sessions in EL with Carolyn Stein, a teacher aide with 20 years' experience teaching adult refugees and adult English classes for migrants.

I observed Abdul working in Year 9 Maths classes with one-on-one help from Rania. Rania's role as bilingual teacher aide is central to Abdul's learning in Maths, as she translates from English to Arabic and works in Arabic on maths problems in class. She is also a "mother hen" to the Arabic-speaking students at school, checking in to see how they are integrating, making sure they are going to class, liaising with families, and discussing progress with teachers. Rania is also something of a caregiver for Abdul at school, as in class she organised his stationery, liaised with the teacher in English on his behalf, and even handed in his work to the teacher. This may be partly a cultural difference — in Arabic cultures, the mother cares intensively for a longer period, whereas in NZ high school students are expected to "self manage" as much as possible. For Abdul's integration, having Rania, while important for language and accessing content knowledge in the classroom, also shields him from having to manage his own integration — for example, working with other students, making Kiwi friends, interacting with the teacher, and managing classroom instructions in English.

Classroom culture, learning strategies:

- *To observe classroom culture, teaching and learning style, how activities are structured for inclusion (eg, individual/pair/group work)*
- *To observe student's learning strategies in mainstream classes (links to resilience, self-management, adaptability, initiation)*

I observed Abdul in Maths classes, where he was accompanied by Rania. The class has 23 students and is taught by an experienced teacher who has been at the school for more than 20 years.

New Zealand generally places high value on multiculturalism, and this school is known as an inclusive place where diversity is accepted and celebrated. It was the month of Ramadan during these observations, so Abdul and Rania were both fasting, as were the Muslim students from Somalia who participated in this study. Students do not wear uniform at this school, and Muslim students and teachers can choose to wear the *hijab*, as Rania does. The EL teacher was organising an end-of-Ramadan dinner for the refugee families at the school:

"Families will bring a dish to share, students are decorating the space, and families are invited to eat and share together."

Interview with EL teacher, 13/3/2019

This type of activity **supports whole community integration into the school, rendering visible the cultural practices of the various school communities.**

In Maths class, students are asked to use calculators for some of the work. Rania tells me later that she really doesn't agree with this, as it is so different to how Maths was taught in Syria (pre-war). It is however a skill that the school requires students to learn, but **may be experienced as a cultural difference between education systems in the home country and NZ:**

T goes to board and class goes quiet to listen to explanation. T asks clear questions, for example "What is pi? What is the number for pi? Your calculator has a pi button, you don't have to remember the number. If you can't find it, I will come and show you."
T asks students to put down their calculators. T explains radius and diameter, while drawing diagrams on board.
Abdul is listening and watching T's explanation on board.
T tells students to bring up pi on calculators and times it by 9. Abdul gets a calculator from T's desk. He twiddles with the numbers, then asks Rania how to do it. Rania looks at calculator and works out how to do the sum, with Abdul watching her press numbers.

Maths, 30/5/2019

On this point, the NZ education system is trending towards **more technology use in schools**, which is controversial and may be perceived by new migrant students as either "dumbing down" education, or further complicating their learning. For example, Abdul was offered the choice in his Maths class of using a textbook to complete some exercises, or doing the same exercises online. He chose a textbook:

T directs students to exercises in "MyiMaths" online or in the textbook. Rania explains to Abdul what T has just said. Abdul gets up and goes for a textbook. Other students have chosen either textbooks or online page.

Maths, 30/5/2019

The bilingual work in Maths class may help Abdul to build both mathematical concepts and language:

Rania reads out the question, also working with Abdul in English so that he hears the maths terms and gains some English, then translating. She works in fact between the two languages, which is very helpful for integration of learning in both languages: conceptual and linguistic.

Abdul asks questions to Rania to clarify his understanding. The work is quite intensive for him, as he is learning new concepts, methods and steps towards solutions in both languages. He is also learning calculator skills

Maths, 30/5/2019

With bilingual support, Abdul seems engaged, keen to succeed and follow the steps to find the solution. **It is important for him to have this high level of support, as working on his own in mainstream classes would not be possible, with his low level of English and gaps in prior schooling.**

Teacher-student relationships, learning support:

- To observe teacher-student relationships and effect on student
- To observe particular support in place for student (eg, teacher aide, visual support, language support)

The Maths department follow a similar structure for classes throughout the school, beginning with a warm-up activity to revise new learning, working sequentially through text books and workbooks, and sitting practice tests to prepare students for final evaluations. In this first Maths lesson observed, Abdul followed the same work as his peers, assisted in his L1 Arabic by Rania:

14.25 Activity 1: T says, “*Week 12, activity 13, Go!*” and students open their booklets and begin doing the sums. Abdul is doing the same level of Maths as the rest of the class. Rania sits alongside him, speaking a little in Arabic quietly. As well as translating, she is at times tutoring and correcting his answers. Students are working with calculators. Class atmosphere is of work, students know what to do, this is part of their rhythm. The activity is one page, 5 minutes.

14.30 T: “*Let’s get ready to mark the answers. For the mental strategies ...*” T reads out answers and projects them on ppt. Abdul did not finish all the exercises, but gained 22/30.

Year 9 Maths class 14h20-15h20, 16/5/2019

Working with the bilingual teacher aide, Abdul is closely supported and **gains high quality one-on-one input on maths concepts, as well as the structure of the activity** — showing each step in the equation on paper, for example. This is important, as Rania explained to me after class that the way Maths is taught in Syria teaches mental arithmetic — students calculate in their heads and just write the response, whereas in NZ schools students are taught to show maths processes on paper, writing each step. This is also marked in the final evaluation. So Abdul is also learning a NZ way of studying Maths, for example:

14.35 T hands out practice test, one copy to Abdul and one to Rania. Rania is explaining the structure of the test, and Abdul listens and asks questions in Arabic, looking at the test together. Other students have already started the practice test, and Abdul and Rania are taking a few minutes to work out the test, which is sums not language-based.

Rania indicates the squared blank paper they have been given, and explains all of the questions in the test in Arabic before Abdul begins. Abdul is listening with good attention, looking at the page. Abdul asks a question about how to approach the test, indicating the blank paper and whether he will work out his sums there.

Year 9 Maths class 14h20-15h20, 16/5/2019

After this Maths class, Rania (who has 3 children of her own in a New Zealand school) expressed that she prefers the Syrian way of teaching Maths, and that when her children first started school in NZ she had to get used to a style of learning where students do lots of short activities, do not rote memorise, and use technology in the classroom from a young age. This cultural view of differences in educational approaches may be common amongst immigrant parents, and differences can be viewed as “less effective for learning”.

A further benefit of working with a bilingual teacher aide is that Abdul also has **immediate help and feedback, in his first language, at each step of the new learning**. If there are errors, his teacher aide can re-teach the part of the Maths process that he has not mastered. For example:

14.44 Abdul is working slowly, it's clearly quite hard for him. Doing Question 3 on the sheet now, and always checking in with Rania to see if he has understood and has each step correct.

14.50 Rania shows Abdul some working-out on the blank page, and Abdul asks questions about the process. This is the most focused I have ever seen Abdul in class. He is learning a lot about process — following each step to get an outcome that will lead onto the next step and eventual answer.

14.53 Rania ticks Abdul's answers for the exercise he has done. There are some errors, which she re-teaches, drawing out a dotted line on the blank page. Abdul asks questions in L1 to clarify his understanding, and Rania helps him to understand some concepts.

Year 9 Maths class 14h20-15h20, 16/5/2019

For Abdul, who has multiple obstacles to learning to overcome on arrival in the New Zealand school (language-of-schooling, refugee background, gaps in prior schooling, low literacy in L1, different education system and style of learning), this intensive learning support provided by a bilingual teacher aide is absolute gold during the early integration phase. Without Rania's support in mainstream classes, it would be a near impossible learning situation for Abdul and his teachers. **The bilingual teacher aide system in NZ schools is funded by government, for newly-arrived students who have low proficiency in English:**

Summary of qualitative findings:

In summary, the qualitative experience of Abdul's school learning is underpinned by the presence of Rania in the school. Bilingual English-Arabic assistance in Maths classes provides a high quality learning structure around Abdul, by which he learns multiple skills and new knowledge in his L1 and English simultaneously. **For newly-arrived immigrant students like Abdul with low L1 literacy, low language-of-schooling proficiency, and gaps in prior schooling, the government-funded bilingual teacher aide system in NZ schools is an essential support service.** Refugee-background students are eligible for a range of learning support assistance funded by the government, and schools that host international fee-paying students are also often willing to allocate some of those tuition fees to pay (bilingual) teacher aides.

A second point raised from Abdul's case study is how **this school treats integration into school life as a cultural and community process, that benefits the individual student's social and academic integration.** The school principal talked about the Māori cultural view of "*whānau*" (*extended family*), that forms part of the school's philosophy of building strong links with family and community. In this case study, the EL teacher was organising the annual *Eid-al-fitr* community dinner, as a way of including the cultural practices of the school's Muslim community. This is an example of integration as a two-way process, in which the school demonstrates openness towards the cultural practices of students' home communities, and provides a welcoming space for cultural exchange.

A further point observed in this case study is that of **cultural differences between education systems in the home country and NZ**, some of which may be controversial or considered "poor education". The widespread use of technology in NZ schools is an example, as while for immigrant students from some European countries technology in the classroom may be normal, for other students from Asian, African and Arabic countries it may not be familiar in classroom learning.

In brief, Abdul's case is very interesting in the NZ context, as **the refugee student school integration process is linked to a network of community and governmental support services.** As the Minister of Education's spokeswoman replied to my questions about government support for newly-arrived immigrant students, there are specialised education services for migrant and refugee-background students, including Bilingual Language Assessment Services, Refugee Flexible Funding Pool, Refugee Pathways and Career Planning, and specialist advisors within the Ministry of Education (letter 18/3/2019 from NZ Ministry of Education).

Summary of qualitative findings on Integration: 2 Case Studies in the New Zealand school

The findings from these 2 case studies in the New Zealand school reveal several points about newly-arrived immigrant teenagers and their integration processes into mainstream classes, within this educational environment. These can be summarised under two sub-headings:

- (1) Ways in which the child copes with new learning in the mainstream, and how the child responds to mainstream classroom culture and structures of learning, and;
- (2) How the learning environment supports the child's particular learning needs in terms of language and integration.

These two aspects combined link to the principle of integration as a "two-way process" between the child and the educational environment.

(1) The child

The qualitative experience of integration in these case studies was high, due largely to the way that both students in the NZ school were **accompanied by teacher aides who supported mainstream learning in multiple ways**. Teacher aides provide one-on-one help for the child during their newly-arrived phase at school, that is invaluable to students like Maahi and Abdul who are from a refugee-background, have little English proficiency, low literacy in L1, fragmented prior schooling, and entered the NZ school system as teenagers.

The teacher aide system in NZ schools is government-funded, and as refugee-background students with low English language proficiency on arrival both Maahi and Abdul were eligible for several hours per week of (bilingual/English-speaking) teacher aide time in their mainstream classes. Integration into mainstream learning is advantaged by teacher aide work with students, in multiple ways:

- i) The learning burden of language-of-schooling is reduced as the teacher aide either works bilingually with the student (as in Abdul's case) or in simplified oral and written English (as in Maahi's case).
- ii) The learning is scaffolded (content, task structure, language) so that the student's trajectory towards independent learning is supported.
- iii) The student's learning becomes interactive and they feel motivated, as they talk with the teacher aide about how to do learning tasks, receive direct feedback at each stage of the learning process, and are encouraged in their work.

Maahi and Abdul both responded positively to mainstream learning with teacher aide support, and reported in the student survey that they find it very helpful for their learning to have assistance from Krista and Rania in Maths. **Teacher aides therefore support the integration process for newly-arrived immigrant students with low English proficiency, as they help to navigate unfamiliar school learning structures, provide immediate learning support, and reduce language barriers so that content becomes accessible to the student.**

(2) The learning environment

In the New Zealand school, there is a *student-centred style of teaching and learning* that is evident in the 2 case studies carried out. Individual work is prioritised within interactive small group structures, and students can work at their own level and pace in "**individual learning programmes**". For newly-arrived immigrant students this means that they can be integrated into NZ Curriculum levels, either through remedial or extension work, depending on prior education in their home country. Immigrant students can also have their existing knowledge assessed on arrival, through the Bilingual Language Assessment Services. The **NZ Ministry of Education funds other learning support services for migrant and refugee-background students**, including ESOL programmes and scholarships for teacher training, bilingual liaison workers (Refugee Flexible Funding Pool), higher education and employment support

(Refugee Pathways and Career Planning), as well as Advisors for Refugee and Migrant Support (letter from Ministry of Education, 18/3/2019).

A second point on integration for newly-arrived immigrant students and their families that was raised from these case studies, is **the school's welcoming attitude towards the cultural practices of local immigrant communities**. As examples, there is no school uniform or restrictions on ethnic clothing such as the *hijab*, and an *Eid-al-fitr* dinner was being planned with Muslim parents. In this way, the school is making a place for the home and community cultures of its students, and families also participate in school life.

In summary, these two case studies in the New Zealand school affirm that school integration is indeed a "two-way process", in which the child develops a set of strategies and responses to mainstream learning, and the educational environment's particular "culture of learning". There are **particular support structures in place in the NZ education system for migrant and refugee-background students** (teacher aides, government funding), that support different phases of integration — the newly-arrived phase and integration into mainstream learning, and the school-leaving phase and integration into work or further study. While this student-centred approach to learning in NZ schools has definite advantages, parents of immigrant students may also perceive aspects of the NZ education system negatively: such as increasing technology use in the classroom, and a culture of teacher "facilitation of learning" that is less authoritarian, and therefore seen as less effective for learning.

**2 “Special” Case Studies:
Mahala (Iraq, 12 years old, in the French school)
Bashiir (Somalia, 17 years old, in the NZ school)**

Two “special” case studies

I decided at the end of these observation periods to add a short comment on two students: Mahala (Iraq, 12 years old) and Bashiir (Somalia, 17 years old). While these students are outside of the target age range for the case study focus, they are very interesting cases of newly-arrived plurilingual students, as they both spoke more than one language on arrival, and had lived a refugee experience with fragmented prior schooling as a result. Both Mahala and Bashiir have high oral literacy in L1, but low L1 written literacy. They therefore struggled with developing basic written literacy in the language-of-schooling during the newly-arrived phases observed, but there were instances where they were highly responsive to oral language in the FLS/EL learning context.

As well as this, their classroom learning behaviours were quite different to the other students — they found it hard being in a classroom and lacked many basic “learning behaviours” when faced with traditional “sit still, listen to the teacher, write down what you have learned” type activities, yet showed aptitude in kinaesthetic and aural learning activities. This meant that their FLS and EL teachers were working hard on integrating these two students into conventional “ways of learning” in the classroom, with the result that little space was left for their existing strengths in learning to be activated. I therefore felt it was important to present a comment on these two students as “special case studies”, to discuss ways in which integration into learning can be adapted to the existing strengths and learning styles of newly-arrived immigrant students.

A profile of the two students chosen as “special case studies” is:

Table 16: student “special” case study profiles (French school: Mahala) (NZ school: Bashiir)

French school, observations of integration into school	New Zealand school, observations of integration into school
<p><i>Mahala, 12 years old, Iraq</i> Has just arrived in France with family as refugees. Older brother Mahomet (14 years old) is in the same UPE2A class. She speaks Arabic at home and spent 8 months at school in Finland. She is an absolute beginner in French, and I observed her only in FLS classes as she had few <i>classes d’inclusions</i> at this early stage. Mahala appears to have low literacy in L1, as well as fragmented prior schooling. She has a short attention span and was often easily distracted and needed to work one-on-one with the FLS teacher. When Mahala started wearing glasses part-way through the observation period, her learning behaviours improved dramatically, and she was able to participate much more fully during lessons.</p> <p>There has been a recent war in Iraq (2014-2017) where ISIS seized various cities. Bombings by external forces (US, Iran), and suicide bombings in Jan 2018 in Baghdad claimed by ISIS.</p>	<p><i>Bashiir, 17 years old, Somalia</i> Arrived in NZ last November (5 months ago), and is living with extended family as refugees. Cousins Abdirahim and Yuusuf are in the same EL class, and last year two older “brothers” were at the same school. He speaks Somali at home and learned Arabic as L2 in Somalia. He is an absolute beginner in English, and I observed him only in EL classes. He has constant teacher aide support in both EL and mainstream classes.</p> <p>Bashiir has very low literacy in L1, fragmented prior schooling, and teachers describe him as “surly, resistant, doesn’t want my help”. He often seemed disengaged from learning in EL classes, and at times disruptive. There was a “breakthrough moment” when Bashiir suddenly became very engaged with learning and participated when activities were kinaesthetic or musical.</p>

CASE STUDY 5: Mahala, 12 years old, Iraq (Second Cycle of observations in the French school)

Classroom learning behaviours:

Mahala's classroom learning behaviours at the start of this observation period were quite weak and fragmented, as if she had become disengaged with formal schooling due to the asylum-seeking and refugee experience of change. She started in 6ème at the French school but had missed almost 2 years of schooling in Iraq before the family sought asylum in Finland, where she was at school for 8 months. They also spent time in Lebanon on the voyage from Iraq to Europe. Both Mahala and her brother Mahomet (in the same UPE2A class) are in the same situation with lots of work to do in Maths and other subjects, in order to catch up with their age cohort in France.

Both Mahala and Mahomet show signs of gaps in schooling, and behaviour that demonstrates they are not used to being in a classroom learning situation. For example, short attention span on learning tasks, easily distracted, not seeing the point of engaging with a reading/writing task, getting up and moving around, social interaction at inappropriate times. Both also showed signs of poor literacy, difficulty in copying correctly from the board, difficulty in decoding simple written instructions for a task, seeking "quick-fix" answers to write down rather than working out correct answers. Mahala and her brother have learning behaviours that are markedly different to those of "normal" children, even others who have arrived as asylum seekers.

If the FLS teacher worked directly with Mahala, she was able to focus for a few minutes, but was not able to work independently. Any more complex thinking skills were difficult for Mahala. She has a short memory, often asking questions about the meaning of a word that has just been discussed in class, or that she has just translated into her L1.

The following extracts from observations in FLS classes show examples of Mahala's learning behaviours at that time:

10h40 Mahala (Iraq), Maria (Italy): The two girls are working together quite quietly, looking at the images on the sheet, using French and gestures to understand the task. Maria (Italian) is not an L1 speaker of Arabic, but has a Moroccan parent so does understand some Arabic. Mahala (Iraq) quickly switches off from the task; Maria (Italy) looks around, left to work it out on her own. Teacher arrives and engages Italian girl. T brings Mahala (Iraq) back to the task.

10h45 Two girls continue working on task, with Mahala (Iraq) easily disengaging. Even though T authorised the girls to speak in Arabic, they do not, but continue to use single words and simple sentences in French.

Observation #1, 14/9/2018

Mahala is sitting doing nothing. Teacher tells her off for doing nothing. M says, "Oui, mais je sais pas quoi faire!" T says: "Tu écris, comme tout le monde. La date, vocabulaire, les mots." T had already told M to write the date and title earlier.

Teacher tells her to hurry up, she is very slow in her work habits, and has to speed up to catch the class.

M so often seems lost, unable to comprehend her purpose in the class, unable to think independently and act. She is not yet an actor in her own education, but remains an observer, dependent on the T to guide her behaviour and work at every step. Today she seems less "coquine" and more unsure, still goofing around at times and being bravado, but starting to get the message that she has to work, she is losing ground and must get to grips with what is expected of her at school. She almost needs a support buddy who speaks her L1 in the class, to keep her on-track with what she should be doing at each moment.

Observation #4, 9/11/2019

Learning behaviours begin to stabilise:

In Observation #6 with this group of UPE2A students, it was noticeable that Mahala's concentration had improved and she was participating more readily in class learning activities. What had changed? Firstly, Mahala had had a test of her vision and was now wearing glasses:

Now that Mahala can see with her new glasses, she is much more of a participant — amazing change in her engagement, concentration, participation — a different child in the classroom.

Observation #6, 7/12/2018

A second reason for Mahala's improvement in learning behaviours after 2 months in class may have been that the teacher intervened in the sibling relationship. After one observation session, the FLS teacher said that the relationship between Mahala and her elder brother was somewhat bullying, with Mahomet being too dominant. The teacher found this unhealthy for Mahala's self-esteem and learning, and is managing this in the classroom so that Mahala can get on with her work:

When Mahomet wants a book from the shelf, he gestures at his sister to get it for him. T tells him to get it himself, saying "Do you expect the girls to wait on you?"

T puts students in pairs to work on revision exercises. She moves Maanal next to Mustafa (two Arabic speakers), and Mahala next to Raisha (two Arabic speakers).

Observation #5, 23/11/2018

The above example highlights how for immigrant children, integration into a school system also comes with a host of other "cultural norms and differences". What kind of gender relationships are acceptable in a French school, that may be different to home country or family cultural norms? Teachers may also work with integration on an interpersonal level with students, as recorded in my observation notes:

"The integration point that came up in this lesson is the male-female cultural norms for the children from Arab countries. Mahomet (from Iraq) was made aware of his attitude towards the girls twice — once as he interrupted his sister who was answering a question posed by the teacher, and again when he expected one of the girls to fetch a dictionary for him. Mahomet also displayed a sense that he has the right to dominate the girls when he made a comment about his sister's clothing, and picked up Halima's work without asking her. The teacher works with this by directly addressing the behaviour: "Do you expect the girls to serve you?" and "It's not your turn to speak, she is speaking." After class, I talked with the Teacher about this, asking is it in her view a cultural difference? She replied, yes, this is certainly the case, but rather than generalising the issue into "Arab cultural norms", she is working with the principles of what is expected in a French classroom. Looking at the source of the issue is less important than establishing the cultural norms of behaviour in a classroom in a French school, now that the children are here." (Observation notes 23/11/2018)

Schools can set standards for cultural safety for all students:

These two changes in Mahala's experiences at school — glasses so that she can see the board, and the teacher managing her brother's behaviour so that Mahala is not dominated in the classroom — marked a turning-point in her integration into classroom learning. As noted in my observation notes:

"Mahala (Iraq) worked hard during the first part of this class, expending a lot of energy being present for the exercise writing on the board and correcting errors. During the second hour, she completely zoned out at times — the fatigue of working in the French language? She is a fascinating case study, as she has come ahead in leaps and strides since she arrived in September. She is wearing more teenage clothes, paying attention to her hair and appearance and mixing with the other girls who are a bit older and seem more mature. She also has glasses and this has transformed her concentration and ability to engage and contribute in class. She seems at ease constructing simple sentences in French and can be quite assertive when expressing herself. She is at risk at times of being dominated by her older brother, but the teacher is aware of this and it has made a big difference in Mahala's trust relationship with the teacher too." (Observation notes, 7/12/2018)

As Mahala's case shows, teachers who work closely with newly-arrived immigrant students often take on a pastoral care role, as well as teaching the language-of-schooling. School integration is also about the child's well-being, health and increasing sense of stability and belonging. Newly-arrived immigrant children are going through a resettlement process, as is their whole family, and this can also have an impact on learning behaviours and school progress. A teacher's benevolent view, coupled with clear expectations for positive learning behaviours, can make a profound difference to the child's integration into school learning.

CASE STUDY 6: Bashir, 17 years old, Somali (in the New Zealand school)

Classroom learning behaviours:

Bashir's classroom learning behaviours during this observation period showed that he was generally disengaged from classroom learning. He does not "tune into" teacher instructions like the other students, and is often sitting looking disinterested, or with his back to the whiteboard. Often late to class, yet at school, he is at times openly resistant to being in the classroom and ignores teacher aide guidance that could help him with learning. He "drags his feet" when the EL teacher sets literacy-based tasks, and has a lot of difficulty with reading and writing.

Arriving in NZ at age 17, with a level A1 English proficiency plus resistance to being in school, it is hard to see what Bashir's "next step" after school will be. He is however already orally bilingual — Somali L1 and Arabic L2 — but has low written literacy in both of these languages. When I helped him with writing responses in class, his letters are malformed, and basic spelling and control of simple sentences is not yet stable. Somali uses the Somali Latin alphabet for written language, which contains the same letters as the English alphabet except for "p, v and z". So Bashir's probable gaps in prior schooling in Somalia have left him with low written literacy in Somali, which could have helped him with his English literacy in NZ. (See sample below from student survey):

2. What is difficult for you in mainstream classes ?

Listening is difficult for me

3. What do teachers do that helps you to learn in mainstream classes ?

• *slowly*

The following extracts from observations in EL class show examples of Bashir's classroom learning behaviours:

Bashir was asked to put his cellphone away by the teacher aide a couple of minutes ago and didn't. Krista now insists, but he ignores. At lunchtime today, Krista and the EL teacher said that he is pretty much constantly disengaged, and Krista has to go find him in the gym to bring him to class, then he wants to have a drink of water and is late to class. Krista is working hard with Bashir in class today, but the Teacher does not intervene.

Observation #2 in NZ school, 18/3/2019

13h11 Students are working in pairs, looking at words on cards. Teacher tells students to spread words out in front of them, which they do. Two students with teacher aide Krista (Bashir, Thanh): Thanh is spreading out cards, Bashir is disengaged, not even looking at the words. Teacher projects an image on ppt. T tells class she will read and each time they hear a word, put it to the top.

Krista asks Bashir to join the activity, but he shakes his head. Other pairs are managing the task well, hearing the words and placing them at the top.

13h20 All students are engaged as Teacher reads and projects images on screen. Even Bashir has joined in now :)

Observation #2 in NZ school, 18/3/2019

In the second example, the learning activity had several components to engage students: aural (listening to a text), visual (images on ppt), single word recognition (matching spoken to written word), kinaesthetic (moving a card to the top) and collaborative (working in a pair). However, it took some time for Bashiir to engage and become convinced that he could participate in the activity.

A “breakthrough moment”:

There was one EL observation session when Bashiir had a “breakthrough moment” in his learning, and the transformation was quite remarkable. It was in response to the EL teacher playing her guitar and singing, to teach the students a bilingual song in English and Māori. The activity did not rely on written language, and students listened to the teacher sing, then sang the English parts:

- 12h55 Bashiir is now looking out the window, looking bored as Teacher announces the next activity, which will be singing a Māori song.
- Teacher asks students to sit in a semi-circle. Sanoh and Tanawat stand up and get ready to move. Teacher directs other students into positions: “Bashiir you can sit over there.” **Bashiir calls to Abdul in L1 (off-task), who looks away. Bashiir tuts, when he catches his eye says a word in Arabic.** Abdul winks and smiles but doesn’t interrupt Teacher.
- 12h56 Teacher sings a song introducing Māori phrases “*Tena koutou.*” Students clap after Teacher’s singing of the song.
- 13h00 **T: “tahi, rua, toru, wha”, and asks class if they know this. Lihua has been taking Te Reo Māori at school and says, “1, 2, 3, 4”.** T says, “Have you learnt that in Māori?”
- Teacher asks students to come up with gestures to go with words. Hands out written words. T reads Māori, students read English.
- 13h05 **Bashiir is quite engaged now, and gives gesture for listening with two hands to both ears. He’s smiling, doing all the gestures, singing along, watching Teacher. When Teacher says, “Do we need to do it again?” Bashiir says, “Ok!”** Teacher plays guitar, asks students to do actions and sing English words. They manage gestures but not much English. Most students are doing gestures and singing without inhibition.
- Everyone is very involved and enjoying being able to participate as language and gestures together provide extra challenge. Teacher asks students to add a gesture for each expression. When it gets to “*E tu*”, 2 students and the teacher aide stand up. Teacher says: “Well done, Bashiir, Sanoh and Krista!” The rest of students stand up, smiling.
- 13h10 As Teacher gives Māori words, it is Bashiir who is calling out all the English words and doing the gestures. He is more engaged than I’ve ever seen!!!

Observation #3 in NZ school, 25/3/2019

This “breakthrough moment” was triggered for Bashiir by music and movement in a language learning activity. He did not read the English words like the other students, but instead when he had direct access to oral language, supported by rhythm and song, he was completely engaged and led the class in this learning activity. In my observation notes, I wrote:

“Bashiir was the most motivated and positively participating of any session that I have observed. He responded so well to the song in Māori, making up gestures to go with the words, singing along, and responding enthusiastically when Teacher suggested they do the song again. He enjoys singing, and had been singing in Arabic earlier in the class. He is also very movement-oriented, and as soon as there were gestures to go with the words, he was smiling and speaking the English words, doing the gestures, also remembering the meaning of the Māori phrases.” (Observation notes, 25/3/2019)

Adapting learning to existing strengths of the student:

Bashiir's "breakthrough moment" showed that he has "an ear for language" when music and rhythm are involved. He quickly went from being bored and disengaged to being animated and smiling, and learned some new English and Māori phrases. He has existing strengths in oral language learning, having already learned Arabic as a second language, and this skill could be a way for him to learn English orally.

Bashiir may also be an example of a student who comes from a culture with a strong oral tradition, where less importance is placed on written forms of the language. He may also become cognitively "switched on" by music, dancing and other forms of expression which are arts-based, and if his teachers are willing to work with his existing strengths creatively, there may be more of these "breakthrough moments" in his schooling experiences in New Zealand. In an interview with Joan Costello, a teacher of Te Reo Māori at Te Papa Museum in Wellington, she talked about song in language learning:

"If learning happens through a story for me it settles in, and I remember it for a long time. That's a real key to learning, and exists in Maori teaching and culture very strongly. When I trained in Maori teaching, I had to come up with a little story for teaching transitive and intransitive verbs, and every student came up with their own way of teaching the thing. The songs are stories too, and people can tap into that.

"Always when you learn things in Maori, you have performance, even if it's some kind of song. That comes from the oral tradition of Maori, to help develop the memory. It's also pictorial, like the word for airplane "rererangi" that we looked at today. And the word for the old kitchen space, "kaauta" = ka: ignited fires; uta: shore = guided by fires on the shore. Everything is so rich and telling you about scenes. I find as a language teacher, that if I take people on the journey and break it down and show them, they can remember. Whereas in English, the word "kitchen", I can't find anything in it."

(Interview with Joan Costello, Te Reo teacher, 29/3/2019)

Bashiir's case shows that with immigrant students, language teaching needs to be open to diverse approaches, such as learning through song, story-telling, drama, movement, games and pictures. As Joan says, "songs are stories too", and language exists in places and forms that are non-traditional for Western classrooms, yet can open the way to effective learning for students from non-Western backgrounds.

Chapter 5

Comparison of QUALITATIVE findings: How two schools in France and New Zealand integrate newly-arrived immigrant students into mainstream learning

Further qualitative data collected from surveys of 23 participating students, in the French and New Zealand schools, is used to build profiles of family situations, languages spoken at home, how students perceive their L1 use at school, and how students manage their own learning and integration in mainstream classes.

Finally, I offer a comparison of integration processes for newly-arrived immigrant students in the two participating schools — how is integration during the early phase after arrival managed differently in a French school and a New Zealand school?

Key questions:

- How do students themselves perceive their integration into mainstream classes?
- How is integration during the early phase after arrival managed differently in a French school and a New Zealand school?

Introduction

This chapter goes further with the qualitative data gathered during this study. Firstly, the study is interested in students' own experiences of schooling. So in both schools, students were given surveys in their FLS and EL classes, followed up with a whole-class interview about their responses. How students talked about their own learning behaviours in mainstream classes revealed more about their individual experiences, and reasons why they felt able to participate or not. These findings are presented and discussed here.

Secondly, the qualitative data gathered in both schools is compared — case studies, surveys and interviews with teachers, surveys and interviews with students — to reflect on strengths and weaknesses of integration processes in place for immigrant students in both schools, during the newly-arrived phase.

1. Student Surveys

Classroom observations were supported by student surveys and interviews in both schools. A survey of UPE2A and EL students was completed in the whole class context, with the UPE2A/EL teacher present. A similar survey was given in French for the UPE2A students, and in English for the EL students (see reproduced below). The survey asks about the student's experiences of language and learning strategies in mainstream classes, as well as in FLS/EL classes. Questions in the survey aim to find out about the languages students speak at home and at school, how often they work in L1 at school and for what kinds of purposes, what teachers do that helps them to learn, and what learning strategies students themselves employ in the classroom.

Sample surveys from French and NZ schools:

Survey EL students. 25/5/2019

Profile:

1. How long have you been in New Zealand?

6 months

2. Who is your family?

In NZ: mother, father, 1 sister, 1 cousin

Other countries: 1 sister

3. Which languages do you speak, and how much normally?

<u>At school:</u>	English	<u>70</u> %
	language 1 <u>Karen</u>	<u>30</u> %
	language 2 <u>Karen</u>	<u>70</u> %
<u>At home:</u>	English	<u>50</u> %
	language 1 <u>Karen</u>	<u>50</u> %
	language 2 <u>Thai</u>	<u>10</u> %

ENL class with Mrs. Jenny Olsen:

1. How many hours per week are you in ENL classes ? 50 min

2. What is important for you in the ENL class ?
listening, writing, reading, looking

3. Do you often work in your other languages in the ENL class, and how does that help you ?

I look up words in a dictionary:

- often
- sometimes
- never

This helps me because ...
I can't read Karen languages

I talk about my work with a friend who speaks my language:

- often
- sometimes
- never

This helps me because ...

I translate in my head:

- often
- sometimes
- never

This helps me because ...

4. When you make links between English and your first language, is it important for you?
Why / why not ?

Good work everyone !

Enquête élèves UPE2A 23/3/2018

1. Depuis combien de temps es-tu en France? 1 ans
2. Qui est ta famille?
 En France: personne
 Autres pays: Tout ma familles en pakistan

3. Quelles langues parlez-vous et combien de temps normalement ?

<u>A l'école:</u>	français	<u>100</u> %
	langue 1 _____	_____ %
	langue 2 _____	_____ %
<u>A la maison:</u>	français	<u>50</u> %
	langue 1 <u>punjabi</u>	<u>25</u> %
	langue 2 <u>Hindi</u>	<u>25</u> %

4. Est ce que tu travailles avec ta langue 1 souvent à l'école, et comment cela t'aide ?

Je cherche les mots dans un(e) dictionnaire:

- très souvent
- parfois
- jamais

Cela m'aide parce que ...
jamais

Je parle de mon travail avec un copain/une copine qui parle ma langue 1:

- très souvent
- parfois
- jamais

Cela m'aide parce que ...
jamais

Je traduis dans ma tête:

- très souvent
- parfois
- jamais

Cela m'aide parce que ...
parfois

5. Qu'est ce que font les enseignants pour t'aider à apprendre?

- Lire
- ecoute dialogue
- ecrir de texte

6. Qu'est-ce-que tu fais en classe?

- | | |
|---|--|
| • Ecouter mes enseignants | <u>très souvent</u> / parfois / jamais |
| • Copier les notes du tableau | <u>très souvent</u> / parfois / jamais |
| • Lever ma main quand je ne comprends pas | très souvent / <u>parfois</u> / jamais |
| • Demander mon voisin quand je ne comprends pas | très souvent / parfois / jamais |
| • Travailler en pair ou en petit groupe | très souvent / <u>parfois</u> / jamais |
| • Parler avec le prof / la prof après le cours | très souvent / <u>parfois</u> / jamais |



Bon travail à tout le monde !

2. Results of student surveys in both schools

12 surveys were returned from the UPE2A class (First Cycle in the French school), and 11 surveys from the EL class (NZ school). Information shared by students in these surveys gives additional quantitative and qualitative data on the two areas observed in classroom observations:

- (1) The role of L1 in students' learning at school.
- (2) Integration into mainstream classes, and students' strategies for learning.

The results of student surveys on using L1 at school for learning purposes show that **in both schools, newly-arrived immigrant students frequently work in a variety of ways in their first languages** (majority of answers "sometimes/*parfois*" and "often/*très souvent*").

Table 24: student survey results on how students use L1 for learning purposes

How do you work in your L1 in class?	Immigrant students in the French school		Immigrant students in the NZ school	
Dictionary use	<i>très souvent</i>	2	often	2
	<i>parfois</i>	7	sometimes	8
	<i>jamais</i>	3	never	1
Talk with L1 friend	<i>très souvent</i>	3	often	1
	<i>parfois</i>	6	sometimes	10
	<i>jamais</i>	2	never	
Make links between L1 and school language	<i>très souvent</i>	4	often	9
	<i>parfois</i>	7	sometimes	
	<i>jamais</i>	1	never	

Students gave the following reasons for why working in their L1 at school is helpful for them:

- *"Because similarities (between L1 and English) help me to understand words, sentences."*
- *"The both (L1 and English) is important for me because first language is my language and English is important because all people in New Zealand talking English."*
- *"Yes, this (making links between L1 and English) helps me remember. Like "carrot" in English is "carro" in Somali."*
- *"We work together (talking with L1 friend), we can do and can speak. Not hard."*
- *"I can think more complex in my language."*
- *"Cela m'aide parce que je comprends plus."*
- *"C'est plus facile, c'est meilleur pour le travail."*

The responses to questions in the student survey about **integration and learning strategies in mainstream classes, showed that the most difficult thing is vocabulary and complex language, so students find it helpful when teachers simplify language-of-schooling, both verbally and on worksheets.** In response to the question *"What do teachers do that helps you to learn in mainstream classes? / Qu'est ce que font les enseignants pour t'aider à apprendre?"*, students answered:

- *"Ecrire sur le tableau / écrire les mots."*
- *"Les profs parlent avec moi / Ils me donnent plus attention / Talk to me slow."*
- *"Ils m'expliquent les mots / Charte pour les verbes / They describe words, they give examples."*
- *"Ils me donnent des fiches plus facile à comprendre / Mme donne le travail pour demain."*
- *"On me explique le travaille à faire / The teacher explain for me."*

These student responses clearly affirm earlier findings from this study, that **how teachers use language with newly-arrived immigrant students can have a significant effect on their learning.** To support effective learning, teachers should pay attention to working with vocabulary, simplifying the language of

worksheets, speaking slowly and simply, speaking directly with the student to explain the work, and giving homework related to the next lesson so that the student has time to prepare before class.

Student responses to further questions about integration and their own learning strategies in mainstream classes, showed that **in both schools the lower the student’s proficiency in the language-of-schooling, the less active they were in seeking help for learning.** Most students were at a beginner level in the language-of-schooling and showed more tendency to rely on passive learning behaviours, and stayed silent in class rather than asking for help, as results below reflect in Table 25.

Question: “What do you do to help your learning in mainstream classes? / Qu’est ce que tu fais en classes d’inclusion?”

Table 25: student survey results — passive and active learning strategies in mainstream classes

Learning strategies PASSIVE	Immigrant students in the French school	Immigrant students in the NZ school
	<i>Très souvent</i>	<i>Often</i>
Listen to my teachers / <i>Ecouter mes enseignants</i>	12	8
Copy notes off the whiteboard / <i>Copier les notes du tableau</i>	11	5
Work in a pair or small group / <i>Travailler en pair ou en petit groupe</i>	2	2
Learning strategies ACTIVE	Immigrant students in the French school	Immigrant students in the NZ school
	<i>Très souvent</i>	<i>Often</i>
Raise my hand when I don’t understand / <i>Lever ma main quand je ne comprends pas</i>	7	4
Ask my neighbour when I don’t understand / <i>Demander à mon voisin quand je ne comprends pas</i>	3	4
Speak with the teacher before/after class / <i>Parler avec le prof avant/après le cours</i>	1	0

This tendency amongst newly-arrived students to be silent in mainstream classes is not surprising. They are after all newcomers with little proficiency in the language-of-schooling, and are building receptive skills in the language through listening in class, and copying down notes. However it was surprising that more students did not “often” seek out the teacher’s help before or after class (9 students in the French school responded “*parfois*” and 2 “*jamais*”, while 8 students in the NZ school responded “sometimes” and 1 “never”). **It therefore also seems important for immigrant students to have a little one-on-one time with their subject teachers, and that they be encouraged to check in with their teachers after class to clarify understanding.** Students in the NZ school have an exceptional learning situation, where they are often being supported with one-on-one help from a (bilingual) teacher aide, and therefore this kind of extra input from subject teachers may be less important. However in the “sink-or-swim” mainstream experience in the French education system, students are much more reliant on teacher input to support their understanding, learning processes, and eventual success in education.

3. Why are students passive learners in mainstream classes?

I wanted to find out more about why the newly-arrived immigrant students in both France and New Zealand tended to be passive learners in mainstream classes, and was curious to see whether it is related to language, or whether there are other environmental factors. I therefore interviewed students in the French school about their learning behaviours, and reflected on their answers, how they had responded to the

survey, and what I had observed in their mainstream learning. I present reflections on four types of learning behaviours below: silence, raising hand, asking a neighbour for help, and working in pairs or small groups.

3.1 Silence

During observations of **students in *classes d'inclusion* / mainstream classes in both schools, students tended to be silent in the whole class context**, and language production was one-on-one with the teacher (before or after class) or teacher aide during class. The responses to the survey indicate that newly-arrived students often need to ask the teacher for clarification or help, but tend to do so more often outside of the whole class context, thereby avoiding speaking up in front of their peers. I asked students in the French school about this in the whole class interview, and they gave several reasons for not speaking up during class, such as:

- (i) Not liking the class — it's difficult to speak in front of people you don't like.

Mpenda talking about Spanish class:

S: *"Je suis observateur."*

T: *"Pourquoi?"*

S: *"Parce que je n'aimes pas la classe."*

T: *"C'est difficile de parler devant les gens que tu n'aimes pas?"*

S: *"Oui, c'est ça."*

Nadim talking about his English class, which Mme M. explained didn't work at any level, with the other students, with the teacher, with the subject:

T: *"C'était difficile?"*

S: *"Oui, trop."*

- (ii) Being afraid because of not knowing the other students in the class, particularly due to not having been in inclusion class very long:

Mpenda, talking about history-geography class:

"Je suis observateur, parce que c'est la dernière inclusion et je connais pas trop la classe."

Mpenda, talking about maths class:

"Maths je participe parce que les élèves je les connais et je n'ai pas peur."

- (iii) Not knowing the answer to the teacher's question:

Camila talking about English class:

"Ici je suis autre fois les deux (observateur, participateur). Quand je participe c'est quand je sais."

- (iv) Seating position in the class and being ignored by the teacher:

Camila talking about English class:

"J'aime bien la classe, mais je suis dans un dernière table, et elle me voit pas. Maintenant je dis à Mme, et elle me met devant."

3.2 Raising hand in class

A second point came up from the student surveys and observations about **the tendency for immigrant students to be passive learners in mainstream classes, whereas in their FLS/EL classes they tended to be very active learners**. One of the "active learning behaviours" students were asked about in the survey was how often they "raise my hand when I don't understand / lever ma main quand je ne comprends pas". Their survey responses were somewhat incompatible with what I had observed in mainstream classes, where as well as the 7 students followed as case studies, there were at times several other UPE2A / EL students in the same classes. I wanted to find out more about this gap between how students perceived their own learning behaviours as "active", and what I had observed as "passive" learning, and so examined the question of "hand-raising" more closely with the students in the French school, with the following findings:

Instances of UPE2A students raising their hands to speak during classes observed were limited. The younger students (Nadim and Matilde) did raise their hands to ask an individual question in Maths, and Erlblin participated very actively in whole class work during one Maths lesson in Week 3 of observations. By contrast, in the student surveys, 7 out of 13 students responded that they raise their hands “very often when they don’t understand” in inclusion classes, while 5 out of 13 responded “sometimes” and 1 responded “never”. During interviews in the whole class context of UPE2A, it became clear that “sometimes” raising a hand could mean as little as once during several months of inclusion classes (as Ishmael replied).

Students also made little differentiation between their active participation in UPE2A class and inclusion classes, when actually what I observed was a marked difference in participation between the two class contexts. In terms of speaking in French to ask for help, the results of the survey, interviews and observations show that immigrant students tend to speak less (to very much less) in the context of being surrounded by native French speakers in inclusion classes. The students surveyed generally reported that they raised their hand in both classes an equal amount (6 out of 9 students). However, I observed that actual instances of raising hands were far fewer in inclusion classes, tending towards zero for most sessions of inclusion observed. Whereas in UPE2A classes, students either raised their hands spontaneously in response to the teacher’s questions, or were called on by the teacher to participate. This highlights two important differences:

- (1) The teaching style in UPE2A class is that the teacher calls on every student to participate during a lesson. No student is allowed to observe passively, no student is ignored, every student is given opportunities for language production in every class. Whereas in inclusion classes, the tendency is towards whole class teaching where students raise their hands if they wish to respond, otherwise the teacher will not call on them to respond. In foreign language classes (Italian and Spanish), there was more of the inclusive teaching style that takes place in UPE2A, as the focus is also on language production, although not to the degree observed in UPE2A class. This suggests that **if language production is also identified as a learning objective for *classes d’inclusion*, active learning strategies and participation by immigrant students can be encouraged.**
- (2) Two types of raised hand:
 - (i) Student doesn’t understand the work so has to seek the teacher’s help. In this type, UPE2A students demonstrated reluctance to ask for the teacher’s help, even when the teacher made themselves physically available near the student’s desk during task time (there were several instances of this with Erlblin, and at least one with Romina).
 - (ii) Student does understand the work and is responding to a question posed by the teacher in the whole class context. In this type, students can participate only if they have appropriate content knowledge and enough courage in the moment to raise their hand and answer a question in front of the whole class. There was only one class in which I observed this type of raised hand during the 3 weeks’ observation, and it was Erlblin in Maths (22/3/2018).
 - (iii) Student wants to deal with an administrative issue — for example, to say that he can’t attend the class outing. I observed two occasions of this in Music class with Erlblin.

However, in the student survey, only 3 out of the 9 students surveyed who are in both UPE2A and inclusion classes responded that they raise their hand more often in UPE2A class than in inclusion. The other 6 students said they raised their hand the same amount in both classes (*très souvent*). This indicates that either (a) students are not necessarily conscious of their level of participation, or (b) that they may have perceived the survey as a test of their participation and answered blandly to disguise the difficulties they may be experiencing in participating in inclusion classes.

Table 26 below summarises the ways in which students surveyed noted differences in their learning behaviours, comparing UPE2A classes and *classes d’inclusion*.

Table 26: student survey results — how students perceived differences in their learning behaviours in FLS / classes d'inclusion

Student	UPE2A	Inclusion
Camila	Lever la main quand je ne comprends pas parfois	jamais
Matilde	no difference	no difference
Nadim	Copier les notes du tableau très souvent Demander à mon voisin quand je ne comprends pas très souvent	parfois jamais
Ishmael	no difference	no difference
Merveildi	Ecouter mes enseignants parfois Lever la main quand je ne comprends pas très souvent	très souvent parfois
Rafael	no difference	no difference
Osama	no difference	no difference
Romina	Lever la main quand je ne comprends pas très souvent	parfois
Mpenda	Copier les notes du tableau parfois Parler avec la prof après le cours jamais	très souvent parfois

3.3 Asking neighbour for help

A third type of speaking in the context of inclusion classes is when students ask their neighbour for help if they don't understand. To this question in the survey, 3 out of the 9 students surveyed who are in inclusion classes responded "*très souvent*"; 5 responded "*parfois*" and 1 responded "*jamais*". Of the 12 students surveyed in UPE2A class, 3 responded "*très souvent*", and 9 responded "*parfois*". The students do not therefore perceive a great difference in their frequency of communication with classmates in order to clarify their work in class. However, in observations of inclusion classes I noticed that the UPE2A students tended to be silent and working in isolation, whereas the French students were chatty and often sought contact with classmates to work together, checking progress and answers verbally. I saw only one instance of a UPE2A student asking a classmate for help (Nadim in maths, 14/3/2018). I observed other instances of a UPE2A student attempting contact with smiles and eye contact (Matilde in maths, 13/3/2018) and being ignored by the French child, and other instances of French students attempting contact with a UPE2A student with smiles and eye contact (Erlblin in maths 28/2/2018, and Erlblin in music 21/3/2018). These were moments when peer help and contact could have been established, but was rejected either by the French student or the UPE2A student.

This raises the question of language barriers and/or attitudes towards difference in the French school context. **In the absence of teachers using pedagogical strategies to foster interaction between UPE2A students and French students, the immigrant children are left to either form their own links over time, or work in isolation.** In each class I observed, there was a stark contrast in the amount of social contact that the French children exchange amongst themselves, and the lack of social contact for the UPE2A children, who usually work alone and in silence. What is the basis for this difficulty in integrating between local children and immigrant children? I would like to explore this question in future studies with immigrant students, to ask more about their feelings while in inclusion classes and in the playground.

3.4 Working in pairs or small groups

A fourth category of spoken production in the context of both inclusion classes and UPE2A classes is when students work in pairs or small groups. In the First Cycle of observations in UPE2A classes, students were grouped according to ability, with the class seating plan organised so that a small group of 4-5

beginners form a group in the centre of the room, and the middle group is seated around the outside of this group. This seating means that the beginners group works together on tasks adapted for their level, at times with the teacher and at times in communication with each other in L1 or simple French.

During the First Cycle of observations, UPE2A students were at times encouraged by their teacher to work in pairs, and discuss with classmates before seeking the teacher's help. The environment was a combination of whole class teaching and the choice of pair work/group work during reading and writing tasks, as a means of facilitating students' comprehension rather than specifically for language production in either French or L1. Students often chose to sit with L1 classmates, and to discuss their work in L1.

In the beginner's group, 3 students speak Bulgarian and 2 students speak Laotian, which facilitated discussion of work in L1. In the middle group, there are 4 speakers of Portuguese (3 from Portugal, 1 from Brazil), 3 speakers of Arabic (1 from Syria, 1 from Eritrea (who also speaks an African language), 1 from Pakistan (Punjabi, Hindi, a little English), 2 speakers of Italian (who also speak Wolof, an African language of Senegal), 1 speaker of Spanish (who also speaks Kingala, an African language), and 1 speaker of Albanian. In the middle group, students also chose to discuss in their L1 if it was available to them, or in French if not. In UPE2A class, while the teacher did not always organise specific tasks to be completed in pairs or as a group, there was nonetheless a relatively high and consistent level of interactive work — a visible classroom culture of cooperative work.

In contrast to the collaborative learning style of FLS classes, in the inclusion classes the teaching mode was consistently whole class teaching. That is, the teacher taught the class as a whole and students completed individual tasks following the teacher's explanation. There were no instances of pedagogy that set up pair tasks or small group tasks during the weeks of observation. In terms of UPE2A students, this style of teaching has limitations for both their integration into inclusion classes and their language production in French. **If pair work and / or small group work were to be established, this would offer students the chance to interact, for UPE2A students to pose questions to a native French speaker in a one-to-one or small group context, to deconstruct the learning task with French students, and to speak in French to complete the task objectives together.**

Also, at an integration level, requiring students to work together puts learners in a situation where they have to interact towards a common purpose, and UPE2A students can become more included in the process of understanding and completing tasks. **These are important moments of interaction which can potentially foster a two-way integration process in which immigrant students can perform language within parameters defined by the teacher, and become active participants in inclusion classes; and in which French students develop skills in interacting with students from other language and cultural backgrounds.** During observations, the absence of interaction between UPE2A students and their French classmates was markedly apparent — that the invisible walls of language and cultural difference placed UPE2A students within a silent space of heightened listening and observation, an active state of absorption, but not yet an active state of participation and language production. Therefore, the process of integration and language production in inclusion classes could be accelerated with particular pedagogical approaches that effectively scaffold UPE2A students into the inclusion class context, at the same time placing French students in a leadership role and demonstrating a supportive stance towards immigrant students.

I suggest that a classroom culture of higher awareness of how all students are included, together with pedagogical approaches for inclusion, could improve both participation and language production for UPE2A students. Other integrative benefits could include interaction between UPE2A and French students, leading to improved communication and cooperation on learning tasks.

**Findings compared:
How do two schools in France and New Zealand
integrate newly-arrived immigrant students
into mainstream learning?**

These case studies, student surveys and interviews revealed significant differences and similarities between classroom practices in France and New Zealand, and common effects on the learning of newly-arrived immigrant students in this age group (teenagers, with a focus on case studies of 13-15 years old), such as:

- Teacher-centred learning / student-centred learning
- Organisation of classroom — individual seating vs. group seating plan
- Structure of lessons — introduction and conclusion to lessons, type and quantity of activities, transition between learning activities, routine and classroom expectations
- Structure of learning activities — presentation of task, scaffolding, individual/pair/group work, variety of activities, verbal/visual/kinaesthetic learning, interactive/receptive learning, key role of teacher aide
- Language of schooling — teacher's language(s), teacher-class exchanges, language complexity of tasks, participant strategies for understanding, verbal/written language support, question and answer forms, repetition, pace and volume, key role of teacher aide
- Participants' first languages — bilingual teacher aides, classroom teacher use of L1, student use of L1, dictionaries
- Classroom culture — teacher-student relationships, student-student relationships, inclusion/exclusion of immigrant students, treatment of diversity in mainstream class context

How is integration during the early phase after arrival managed differently in a French school and a New Zealand school? What can we learn about best practices for integrating newly-arrived immigrant students into mainstream learning, from this study of students with similar profiles in two schools with different educational structures and approaches to learning? To address these questions, I compare the key findings on school integration processes from this part of the field research, grouped into 3 areas:

- (1) Classroom organisation (seating, teaching and learning style, classroom culture)
- (2) Structure of learning (lesson structure, learning activities)
- (3) Language use (language-of-schooling, first languages)

4.1 Classroom organisation (seating, teaching and learning style, classroom culture)

4.1.1 The two schools who participated in this study organise schooling differently, with consequent effects on the integration of students followed in this study. The teacher-centred learning in the French school system and student-centred learning in the NZ school system have evolved out of differing views of the role of teachers and students, summed up from a New Zealand perspective as:

“What we’re looking at is a teacher creating a community of learning — the relationships within that community hold the power, whereas in the French system the teacher holds the power and the knowledge. In the New Zealand system, the teacher doesn’t have to hold all the knowledge — this will impact on how teachers see the immigrant students, as they [the students] have knowledge that can be brought to the situation. The skill of the teacher is how they craft the situation so that those funds of knowledge can be tapped.” (interview with Carolyn Tait, Head of Education, Victoria University of Wellington, 11/4/2019)

In the French school, **teacher-centred learning can restrict interactions between local and immigrant students**, with the effect that all of the case studies had minimal (to no) interaction with their local peers, and were very hesitant to seek help from the teacher during class time. In the New Zealand school, students were supported by teacher aides (one of whom is bilingual Arabic-English), within a student-centred learning environment where the class were seated in small groups and encouraged to interact to complete learning tasks. While the students in the NZ school were hugely **supported by one-on-one help from the teacher aides**, they were just as isolated from their local peers as the immigrant students in the French school, and **did not therefore benefit directly from potential interactions with peers in the student-centred classroom organisation**. However, newly-arrived immigrant students did have high levels of interaction about their work with teacher aides, and were therefore actively engaged within the mainstream learning context. In the French

school, newly-arrived immigrant students were also engaged, but relied heavily on their receptive language skills, rather than interactive participation.

In the teacher-centred classroom organisation of the French school, students also found it very challenging to interact with the teacher, and preferred to stay silent. Students themselves said that this was due to both affective and cognitive factors — not liking (or not feeling part of) the class, fear of speaking in front of the group, or simply not knowing the answer to the teacher's questions. Integration into mainstream classes in this context was characterised by **passive learning behaviours** — silent observation, minimal hand-raising to ask or answer a question in the whole class context, very little (or no) asking classmates for help with understanding the work, and a contrast between the collaborative style of working in the FLS classroom with the individualistic style of learning in *classes d'inclusion*. In the NZ school, both EL and mainstream classrooms were organised around student-centred learning, however the students I observed as case studies did not reap the mutual benefits of peer interaction with local students, as they were either working closely with a teacher aide, or working silently on simplified worksheets at the appropriate level for their learning.

So in both school mainstream learning contexts, immigrant students were isolated socially from their local peers. This is a point that, in my view, schools need to address as part of a two-way integration process with mutual benefits for immigrant and local students. How can schools socially integrate newly-arrived immigrant students, so that friendships are fostered with local students, with a view to cultivating intercultural understanding, a sense of belonging for immigrant students, and social cohesion for the school community? One way is through classroom interactions. Within both these types of classroom organisation, teachers could **build in short, regular amounts of interactive learning between immigrant and local students**, so that newly-arrived students have some contact with their local peers. For example, during the last 5-7 minutes of the lesson, students discuss key points from the lesson in groups, and write a summary in bullet points. For immigrant students, this type of activity is learning-rich in both language and content, as well as a moment of interaction with local peers that begins the two-way integration process.

4.1.2 **Teacher-student relationships were at times equally fragile between newly-arrived immigrant students and their mainstream teachers.** In the French school, students “sometimes” sought help from the teacher before or after class, and teachers also made themselves available to immigrant students at least once during a lesson. However, a teacher-centred classroom culture meant that students were wholly reliant on subject teachers for one-on-one help, and it was not possible to gain enough of the teacher's time and input. In the NZ school, the students had regular one-on-one help from a teacher aide in some of their classes (Maths, in these cases), and subject teachers “checked in” during the lesson, at times communicating via the teacher aide as intermediary. In case study observations, **teacher-student relationships in mainstream classes appeared to be stronger and more supportive of learning in cases where either (a) the teacher used language-of-schooling skilfully to communicate clearly with all students in the class (Matilde in Maths), or (b) the class were all learning a foreign language (Erlblin in Italian), or (c) the teacher checked the student's work and gave corrective feedback directly to the student, rather than in the whole class context or through the teacher aide (Maahi in Computing Science).**

Where immigrant students have strong teacher-student relationships is, of course, with the FLS / EL teachers, who take a pastoral care role and are responsible for family and community integration into school life. In the French school, for example, the FLS teacher organised class projects to mix immigrant students and local students through common learning tasks:

“Les activités proposés à propos de l'intégration des élèves UPE2A sont le projet paysage avec des sorties et un voyage, des interventions de professionnels (architectes et paysagiste), et le mélange des deux classes.” (Arts Plastiques teacher, teacher survey 18/1/2019)

There are therefore **two aspects of mainstream learning integration during the newly-arrived phase that stand out from these two educational contexts: social integration (equally minimal in both contexts) and academic integration (multiple barriers in the French school due to teacher-centred classroom culture, strong support in the NZ school due to the government-funded teacher aide system).**

In both contexts, it seems important to adapt teaching and learning approaches so that newly-arrived immigrant students are more easily included in their cohort (for social integration), and to offer opportunities for interaction with native-speaker peers, in order to support content plus language-of-schooling learning (for academic integration).

4.2 Structure of learning (lesson structure, learning activities)

- Structure of lessons — introduction and conclusion to lessons, type and quantity of activities, transition between learning activities, routine and classroom expectations
- Structure of learning activities — presentation of task, scaffolding, individual/pair/group work, variety of activities, verbal/visual/kinaesthetic learning, interactive/receptive learning, key role of teacher aide

In terms of how lessons are structured in each school, I noticed several points of obvious difference between the school cultures of the New Zealand high school and the *collège* in France. As example, boundary-setting, classroom rules, and expectations of students in terms of “managing self” (NZ Curriculum, 5 key competencies) are areas that are closely linked to school integration and individual development, for immigrant teenagers as much as for local teenagers. I observed different structures around these areas in each school, as follows.

4.2.1 Although the target age for these case studies is 13-15 year olds, the age range of students in each school covers different phases of adolescence, with more young teenage immigrants in the French *collège* (majority 12-14 year olds) and older adolescents in the NZ high school (majority 15-16 year olds). This meant that teachers managed adolescent behaviour differently according to age, and also according to teacher training (for *collège* or high school), school culture (more liberal in the NZ school), and social expectations (more hierarchical teacher-student relationships in France). I observed **several effects on student integration and learning, linked to structure around expectations of “self-management” and management of student behaviour by staff in each school.**

In the NZ school, there is an expectation of increasing self-management in terms of getting to class on time, having effective learning behaviours in place, organising learning materials, and so on. However, there were several newly-arrived immigrant students who were late to class or absent without consequence, and I had to abandon one case study with a 15-year-old refugee-background student from Colombia, as she had chronic truancy:

“[Lola’s] progress this year has been hindered by her inconsistent attendance. If she wishes to improve her English Language skills she will need to attend more regularly.” (EL report comments, 2019)

In spite of being older adolescents, the participant group of newly-arrived immigrant students in the NZ school had a wide range of self-management skills, from excellent to very poorly developed. They therefore **could have benefited had a tighter structure been put in place by the school on basic routine and readiness for study, as part of their school integration process.** However, the school culture communicated to students that responsibility for learning was equally shared between students and teachers, and students who wished to learn would attend class and make the most of the learning opportunities offered (which are numerous and excellent).

In the French school, student attendance was also at times difficult to monitor, particularly for the Bulgarian Roma students who lived in nomadic caravan camps and moved out of the school area:

“Iosefina (Bulgaria) is still at school, and her younger sister Dimka has also started school, but is not in UPE2A. The family is living in a car (could also be part of a gypsy caravan community). It’s good news that the family has not moved out of the area, so the girls are still in school.

Lena had a short period at school this year, then disappeared. She is also part of the migratory Roma community. The Roma camp at B..., behind the supermarket, was evicted and the ground overturned by bulldozers so that families can no longer camp there.

The UPE2A teacher thinks yes, the Roma community is subjected to the worst discrimination in France. When it comes to applying for social housing or jobs, they will not be considered.” (Interview with UPE2A teacher, 18/2/2019)

In both schools, there are immigrant students who are particularly fragile in terms of school attendance, each with a family story behind truancy. How schools manage this can be delicate, as in spite of laws in both countries that all children must attend school until the age of 16⁷¹, there are family situations that destabilise regular schooling. In Bordeaux, there is for example a “mobile classroom” that provides part-time schooling for children living in Roma camps, with 350 students enrolled (CASNAV 2019), so schooling comes to the students’ homes. In NZ, young refugees receive extra care and support from the Red Cross resettlement workers, who liaise between school, home and translation services, when needed. **Schools are therefore part of a broader framework around education for immigrant students, working alongside families and support agencies involved in resettlement, to monitor attendance and importantly, to support teenagers to develop resilience and self-management skills, as much as possible.**

While this study was conducted with an ethos of an uncritical view of schools and teachers, this point about how schools structure “self management skills” for immigrant teenagers is worth raising, as schools are places where young people are prepared for the workplace, for participation in society, and are furthermore developing key interpersonal and intra-personal competencies for their working lives later on. For young immigrants, this aspect of their schooling is just as important as language development, as they are faced with a multitude of adaptations for successful integration into the new society — different cultural norms, ways of relating, skills for the workforce and the ability to function independently, as well as language and local knowledge. While the stereotype of “the hard-working immigrant” carries negative overtones of having to “prove” oneself in order to succeed in the host society (school system, workplace), it is nonetheless part of the school’s role to keep expectations high for immigrant students, and to structure learning so that they have every advantage for success at school and in their future lives. At times, too much empathy for the refugee story can get in the way of useful development and sound pedagogy, with the result that refugee-background students are treated as vulnerable and labelled as a particular group that are less capable than their migrant peers. During observations, I noted that:

“At times, newly-arrived immigrant students were “babied”, with teachers and teacher aides fetching them supplies that students had not organised for themselves, or giving the answer instead of making students think and work harder. With a view to helping students establish positive learning behaviours, part of the EL class function must be to set up these small goals for students: get to class on time (with a consequence), have materials organised, take more ownership of the classroom space (fetch dictionaries and textbooks by themselves). All of these things are meaningful tasks for these students who have limited participation in terms of English language and literacy, but they can participate fully in their physical organisation, with clear and consistent direction from teachers.” (Observation notes in NZ school, 11/4/2019)

In the French school, the FLS teacher sets up a structure for learning that includes parents in the child’s school experience and work ethic:

“This session was excellent in terms of data for integration. The UPE2A class is where the children learn how to manage the school system, set up good study habits, and acquire many skills for how to succeed within the school environment. The teacher often begins a class with “housekeeping/administration”, and has systems for passing information to the parents and liaising between school and home. The students have a class-work folder (classeur), a homework book (cahier), and a homework notebook (carnet) which serves as a key link in communicating between school and parents. Students are learning to organise their work in ways that will help them to build a coherent organisation of their school work, and help parents to see how they are doing at school.

Even though students’ level of French is very basic, these organisational skills provide a solid foundation for their integration — once they have mastered these, they will be able to organise their learning, learn how to present their written work well, and feel a sense of autonomy in their school work. For most of these students, this basic learning has challenges — those who are not used to being in a classroom and have come from a place of chaos (eg, the Iraqi brother and sister) are already showing progress in their organisation of work, and understanding of the importance of

⁷¹ In NZ, school attendance is compulsory from the age of 6 to 16, while in France the age was recently lowered to 3 years old with Macron citing immigrant children as the particular target of this law change: the earlier children are in school, the sooner they will learn French, succeed and integrate into society. (Macron, annonce 28/3/2018)

following orderly systems. The teacher really takes time with this, and does not let the organisation go slack.

Also for their parents, there is a great deal of learning in this — parents are required to be involved in the child's schooling, to read the homework diary and follow up on homework expectations, meeting dates, attending school events, supporting their child's learning and integration. So that as the child is integrated, so too at the same time the parents are integrated. This school-home-child triangle functions through the systems that the UPE2A teacher puts in place for the children in her classroom.” (Observation notes in French school, 9/11/2018)

The two examples above from my observation notes illustrate the very different ways in which FLS/EL teachers approach self-management skills with newly-arrived immigrant students. For teenagers who arrive into a foreign education system after the age of 13, they have precious little time in which to complete their schooling and prepare for entering the workforce or higher education. **It therefore seems very important that schools structure learning around immigrant students, in order to keep expectations high and place students on a pathway towards self-management for success in schooling and participation in society.**

Finally, as example of a student success story, in an interview with an ex-UPE2A student in the French school, Martina (who arrived from Georgia at the age of 16 as an asylum seeker), she looked back on her motivation to work hard at school in order to succeed in her future studies:

“Même en UPE2A je savais que je voulais faire la faculté de droit. Je veux étudier le droit, puis faire l'Ecole de la Magistrature et exercer mon métier ici en France. Ça sera aussi l'occasion de la remercier, pour me donner le plus important: L'éducation. Grâce à mon histoire et parcours, malgré beaucoup des malheurs vécues, je suis prête à tout et aujourd'hui je suis plus forte. En arrivant en France, j'ai appris la langue, mais aussi j'ai appris à vivre et à surmonter des obstacles de la vie.” (Interview with Martina, 22/10/2018)

Martina is now studying law at university and passed her first year in 2020 (interview with FLS teacher, jan 2020).

4.2.2 A second point of difference between how the two schools structure learning for newly-arrived immigrant students was observed in **the variety of activities and how each activity scaffolded students' learning**. New Zealand ways of learning tend to be very kinaesthetic (movement, physical learning), while the learning I observed in the French school tended to be aural supported by visual (writing on the whiteboard, use of PPT). Again, the effect on how immigrant students were able to access learning was noticeable in terms of how interactive and dynamic the students were in the FLS/EL classroom. For example:

“It is striking how kinaesthetic the learning is in an NZ classroom! During this session, Teacher asked the students to move desks and chairs several times for different activities. Even when I trained as a teacher in NZ 20 years ago, it was part of teacher training to change the space often, to have students working in groups, standing up and moving around the classroom, changing partners, with a strong emphasis on communicating. It is in contrast to a French classroom where students sit at their desks, the Teacher moves around to check work, and students only move with the permission of the Teacher. The atmosphere is much more free in an NZ classroom, where students often have choice as to how they approach a task, but there is less external structure and therefore students who have not yet developed strong classroom learning behaviours produce less (written) work in this environment. Does this point to two different language-learning emphases? Communicative and creative ways of working with language in EL / written and evidence-based ways of working with language in FLS ?” (Observation #1 in EL class in NZ school, 11/3/2019)

As noted, the dynamic aspect of learning in **an NZ classroom favours a holistic engagement from students — learning is physical and interactive, as well as cognitive**. Students receive language input and learn from each other, as well as from the teacher. There is often a sense of “learning through play” in the form of learning activities: for example, a ball passed between students in a speaking game, or groups competing in a “running dictation”. Education should be fun, lively and varied for students in the NZ classroom, as this engages interest, aids experiential memory, and motivates students emotionally. There may however be a disadvantage in terms of written work

produced and rote learning of language-of-schooling rules, which are preferred in the French classroom where the students were observed learning through memorising verb conjugation charts, practising grammar forms within sentences, reading aloud for pronunciation, and being tested on vocabulary. **The French style of learning is more “old school”, yet students gain cognitively as they develop a metalanguage (can identify and describe language functions), and focus on literacy skills (reading and writing).** In terms of integration of students during the newly-arrived phase, the French system prioritises literacy development (reading fluency, reading comprehension awareness, phonemic accuracy, vocabulary, spelling, alphabetic system, print awareness, writing skills), whereas the New Zealand system values communicative competence (listening, speaking, question and answer structures, vocabulary, interlanguage development, oral language production, frequent interaction for communicative purposes). However, **in both schools the FLS and EL classes integrate students into aspects of language use that are culturally valued by each, as well as establishing a social and learning community amongst newly-arrived immigrant students.**

4.2.3 A third crucial point of difference in **how schools structure learning for support during the early phase, is the teacher aide system in NZ schools, which does not exist in French schools specifically for immigrant students.** As covered in some detail in the case studies, migrant and refugee-background students in NZ schools are supported by a range of government-funded services, including an entitlement to a teacher aide, or bilingual teacher aide where one is available. In the French public school system, teacher aides are employed to work with special needs students, but not immigrant students. Teacher aides are invaluable during the early phase after arrival, as they **support the mainstream integration process for newly-arrived immigrant students with low English proficiency, help to navigate unfamiliar school learning structures, provide immediate learning support, and reduce language barriers so that content becomes accessible to the student.**

In summary, these three points of difference in how learning is structured in an NZ and a French school highlight strengths and weaknesses in each education system’s approach to integration. The first point, structuring learning so that students develop competencies in “managing self” within the school context, seems essential to schooling success for immigrant students. I argue that **setting high expectations and helping immigrant students of all backgrounds to develop strong self-management skills could serve several important purposes in their integration,** such as:

- Self-organisation of learning in FLS/EL classes can lead to a greater chance of success in mainstream classes. For example, mastering the basics of organising work in notebooks, use of dictionaries, attending class regularly, keeping up with homework — these are organisational skills that students can transfer to the mainstream learning context.
- Taking pride in and strengthening what students can do. Even if newly-arrived immigrant students cannot participate linguistically on a par with local students, they can demonstrate high levels of classroom learning behaviours; such as self-organisation skills.
- Language-of-schooling acquisition for functional classroom purposes, such as following instructions from the teacher, and knowing how to communicate effectively with teachers and peers in the classroom.
- Setting clear and fair expectations is universal for this age group, and is simply a part of teaching teenagers. As Celia Lashlie taught, when teenagers know where the boundaries are they feel safe, and can learn within those boundaries. If they don’t know, they keep themselves busy testing the boundaries, and therefore spend less time learning.

The second point, **the variety and type of learning activities, shows that learning can be scaffolded in different ways depending on teaching and learning style, and cultural values embedded in language.** The NZ approach in EL learning favours kinaesthetic, holistic engagement for language reception and production through interaction; whereas the French approach to FLS learning favours aural and visual language learning activities. There appear to be gains and losses in both approaches. A similarity is that **both approaches emphasise memory in language learning** — learning and remembering through physical experience and interaction in EL, and learning and memorising through repetition, testing and error correction in FLS. A difference is that differing sets of cultural values are expressed in the aspects of language-learning that are prioritised — physical, “can do”, communicative language in NZ; literacy development, and accurate text-based language use in France.

The third point is the “integration into mainstream learning” function of the one-on-one teacher aide system that is government-supported in the NZ system, but is not available to immigrant students in the French school system.

4.3 Language use (language-of-schooling, first languages)

- Language of schooling — teacher’s language(s), teacher-class exchanges, language complexity of tasks, participant strategies for understanding, verbal/written language support, question and answer forms, repetition, pace and volume, key role of teacher aide
- Participants’ first languages — bilingual teacher aides, classroom teacher use of L1, student use of L1, dictionaries

The case studies carried out in both the French and NZ schools showed two common areas of language use that effect students’ integration into school learning: (1) teachers’ language use, and (2) how students use language differently in mainstream classes and FLS/EL classes. Key points are compared below, supported by further examples from data gathered in schools (case studies, classroom observations, teacher surveys, student interviews).

4.3.1 Teachers’ language use in both schools had a significant impact on accessing learning for newly-arrived immigrant students. In Matilde’s case study, examples of how the Maths teacher used language showed some of the **ways that language and content can be combined to make mainstream learning more accessible for immigrant students**, as well as simplifying and improving learning for local students. In these observations of the child’s learning, the language-of-schooling barrier was greatly reduced by the teacher’s consistent use of linguistic strategies: simple sentences, repetition, having local students write answers on the board, correcting grammatical errors even though it is not a language class, raising student awareness that each subject has its own particular “language”, developing from oral to written through student input, and defining specialist vocabulary. This is one example of a teacher applying the principle that **every subject teacher is also a language teacher**.

A second point on how the teacher’s use of language can encourage newly-arrived immigrant students to become active participants in their mainstream learning was shown in two ways: (i) how teachers interact with the student about their work, and (ii) reducing the learning burden of language so that newly-arrived immigrant students can work with content.

4.3.1.1 In the first instance of teacher’s language use, examples of how students ask questions when they do not understand the work, and how teachers respond, were seen in case studies in both schools. In Matilde’s case study, the teacher encouraged all students to ask questions in class, by creating a safe classroom culture within which **“no question is a stupid question”**. In Erlblin and Matilde’s case studies, the students sometimes asked questions before or after class, as they were unable to get the help they needed during class time. This was due to the **teacher-centred style of learning** in which students often had to raise their hand and ask a question in the whole class context, which was intimidating for newly-arrived immigrant students. The same problem did not exist in the NZ classroom context for two reasons: students followed in case studies were working one-on-one with teacher aides so help was readily available, and the **student-centred classroom structure** meant that students worked together and teachers circulated to check on groups. In the student-centred learning style, students interacted about their work and gained more learning support from each other, so teachers had more time to spend with each group.

In the NZ case studies, **teacher aides often scaffolded learning for students by asking simple questions** that helped to break the task down into manageable steps. As students responded to these simple questions, they understood how to approach the task and were quickly able to work independently. In these cases, the teacher aide’s language effectively responded to students’ initial non-comprehension (a form of passive question in itself) through a **“teach a man to fish” approach**. This means modelling for the student how to access a task through asking simple questions that reduce the task’s complexity and create a scaffold within which the student can successfully complete the task. In this way, students were learning strategies that they could eventually adopt and internalise themselves.

4.3.1.2 In the second type of teacher language use, reducing the learning burden of language, **this was observed more consistently in the NZ school mainstream class context than in the French *classes d'inclusion* context.** The NZ school had a number of systemic strategies in place for simplifying language so that immigrant students could work with content, such as:

- Maths booklets in simplified language and content at an appropriate level of the curriculum that took into account students' prior schooling (a Maths department initiative).
- Bilingual and English-speaking teacher aides (funded by the government/student intern programme).
- Teachers checking in with the immigrant student at least once during the lesson, and interacting both directly with the student as well as with their teacher aide.

In the French school, the learning burden of language was comparatively higher in *classes d'inclusion*, as without teacher aides and group learning structures, students were immersed in a dense, monolingual language-of-schooling context. Teachers in the French school were generally in favour of this “sink or swim” approach to learning in *classes d'inclusion*, as reflected in the teacher survey. In answer to the survey question “*Pour vous, qu'est ce qu'est important dans l'apprentissage des UPE2A?*”, teachers commented that their approach was not differentiated but rather treated the newly-arrived immigrant student like all other students:

“Pas de difference avec les autres élèves: la volonté, la persévérance et la curiosité.”
“C'est selon son investissement personnel (participation orale et travail personnel).”
“Mêmes supports et mêmes exigences.”
“La maîtrise du français.” (Teacher surveys in French school, janvier 2019)

However, some teachers in the French school used language very skilfully to reduce the learning burden, and interestingly these were teachers who were themselves plurilingual (the Maths teacher, the foreign languages teachers). I consider this a key point to communicate to teacher training institutions, as **bilingual and plurilingual teachers bring a wealth of linguistic and cultural knowledge to the profession, and where teacher training programmes reinforce pedagogy for working plurilingually and inter-culturally in the classroom, the potential to capitalise on teachers' existing skills and experiences is heightened.**

4.3.2 The second common area of language use in the schools in France and New Zealand that seemed to have an impact on students' integration into school learning, is how students use language differently in mainstream classes and FLS/EL classes. There was an observable difference between how students used languages actively in plurilingual contexts, and how they preferred passive learning strategies in the monolingual mainstream class contexts. **This point is highly interesting for this study, as it strongly supports the hypothesis that in learning spaces where students can work plurilingually they become interactive learners, and show that they are adept at using their repertoire of languages for a variety of learning purposes.** Some differences and similarities observed in the participating schools are:

4.3.2.1 Both schools place “learning the language-of-schooling” at the heart of education for immigrant students. Directly, this learning takes place in FLS / EL classes where students study French/English respectively. **In both school contexts,** newly-arrived immigrant students showed a strong preference for working plurilingually in their acquisition of the language-of-schooling in FLS and EL classes. Wherever possible, they actively made use of their plurilingual repertoires (first languages, second languages, lingua franca) and worked flexibly between all languages in their learning environment (including languages-of schooling, first languages of all students in the class, and other languages occasionally referred to by their teachers). This shows that the **students themselves like working plurilingually, and furthermore find that plurilingual learning approaches improve their learning processes.** This important finding is evidenced quantitatively by 52 hours of observation data from FLS and EL classes, and qualitatively by student survey responses and interviews.

In contrast to the active learning approaches students initiated in their FLS/EL classes, where they often worked plurilingually, the same students were often passive learners in their mainstream classes where they tended to learn monolingually. This finding was similar in both schools, however more pronounced in the French school. In both schools, the monolingual language-of-schooling mainstream classroom prevails, and in this context the newly-arrived immigrant students observed were generally passive in the whole class context (interacting only with the teacher aide in their bubble in the NZ school, and alone in an isolated bubble in the French school). This finding is the result of strong qualitative evidence from 22 hours of observation of 7 newly-arrived immigrant students in mainstream classes (with and without teacher aides), and student and teacher surveys and interviews.

4.3.2.2 In terms of active participation and passive observation in mainstream learning, a philosophical difference stands out that helps to explain this, that is the French “*égalité – pas de différence entre élèves*” and the NZ “differentiated learning”. A key difference between the two school systems is that **in the French school, newly-arrived immigrant students are treated like every other student in their mainstream learning** – they are immersed in the language-of-schooling and expected to access content with little extra language support. **In the NZ school system, it is recognised that immigrant students need extra support, and differentiated learning is normal** (other types of learning needs are also given extra government-funded support, such as handicaps, dyslexia, autism, and students with learning difficulties). The teacher aides serve as a “language bridge” for newly-arrived immigrant students within the monolingual mainstream context. That is, teacher aides either work bilingually to translate from English into L1, or they work in simplified English. (For example, Abdul worked bilingually with his bilingual teacher aide in Maths class, and Maahi worked somewhat bilingually with his English-speaking teacher aide in Maths class, as he talked aloud to himself in his L1 as part of his learning process). The result is that students in the NZ school system can work with plurilingual support in mainstream classes, while in the French school system they cannot.

However, in the French school, some teachers reported higher levels of student success in subjects that rely less on language for access to content: Art and Sports. For example, the Sports teacher reported that a teaching strategy he uses is: “*Explication orale (pas de traduction) et démonstration. C’est plus facile en EPS, où le corps entre en jeu*” (teacher survey, jan 2019). Similarly in the NZ school, mainstream teachers reported that immigrant students did “*very well in practical, hands-on work*” and when teachers use “*non-language based instruction – diagrams and demonstration*” (teacher survey, April 2019). This suggests that **teachers of some subjects are more aware of strategies to support successful learning for newly-arrived immigrant students, and certain subjects lend themselves to non-language based methods of learning.**

In both schools, teachers did not express an interest in training specifically for working with immigrant students. In the teacher survey, the same question was asked to teachers in both schools:

“Has the school had training sessions for working with ENL students? Would you like to? Why, why not? / *Les enseignants au collège, avez-vous fait une journée de formation CASNAV? Voudrez-vous? Pourquoi, pourquoi pas?*”.

Teachers in both schools replied that they did not see a need:

“*Had some training, would rather prefer money spent on trained teacher aides. / Pas forcément nécessaire. Mme M. nous donne les renseignements utiles, en plus de la fiche CASNAV.*”

In summary, these collated findings from observations of students in FLS/EL and mainstream classes shows that in learning spaces where students can work plurilingually they become interactive learners, whereas in monolingual learning spaces they rely on passive learning. Students can participate more actively and succeed under monolingual conditions if non-language based methods of learning are available to them. Language-of-schooling acquisition takes time, and this comparative study shows that plurilingual, interactive approaches in learning can transform newly-arrived immigrant students from passive to active learners. **Teachers who are aware of their language use in the classroom**

(and bi-plurilingual teachers can be particularly skilled in this area), can effectively reduce the learning burden of language-of-schooling for immigrant students. This is a key to success in schooling for plurilingual immigrant students, as they are already adept at using their language repertoires for a range of learning purposes, and teachers and school systems can respond to this by structuring the learning environment so that language use is purposeful, accessible and inclusive.

Chapter 5 conclusion

In conclusion, observations in mainstream classes / *classes d'inclusion* find similarities and differences in how integration during the early phase after arrival is managed differently in a French school and a New Zealand school. Three areas are compared: classroom organisation, structure of learning and language use. Students in both schools have similar profiles (age, countries of origin, proficiency in language-of-schooling, plurilingualism), and the two participating schools have different educational structures and approaches to learning. The ways in which student learning was impacted within these two settings shows that students are more active and learn more effectively in spaces that:

- (a) allow students to activate their plurilingual repertoires for learning purposes, and/or
- (b) reduce the learning burden of language-of-schooling through a range of systemic or teacher-initiated supports.

As a result, this study is able to identify, describe and explain a set of common best practices for integrating newly-arrived immigrant students into mainstream learning. This finding supports the practical rationale for plurilingual education articulated by the Council of Europe, that:

“ ... pupils' experience and knowledge repertoires should be mobilized and stimulated to engage their participation, and to support their plurilingualism as an asset for learning and socialisation ... This approach stems from the way plurilingualism is defined: as consisting of competences of different types and levels within a repertoire of usages and linguistic and cultural practices; it integrates the idea that learning skills, linguistic and intercultural experiences and the different forms of knowledge are transferable and thus, constitute assets and tools for better learning (Dabène, 1994; Coste, 2002; Coste, Moore and Zarate, 1997).” (Castellotti and Moore, 2010, p.5)

Chapter 6

The argument for plurilingual education

This chapter presents an argument for plurilingual education in order to test the hypothesis of this PhD research - that Educational environments that allow space for plurilingual learning approaches create a platform from which to improve learning processes, engagement and construction of knowledge, thereby encouraging more effective learning for newly-arrived immigrant students.

The argument for plurilingual education is supported by theories of L2 acquisition and research findings into bilingualism and the role of L1 in language-learning.

I present key theories in these areas, linking to (a) findings from my observations of newly-arrived immigrant teenagers in schools in France and New Zealand, and (b) the potential for teaching training institutions to include plurilingual education in teacher training programmes.

Key questions:

- What can 50 years of research into bilingual and plurilingual education tell us?

Introduction

A major evolution has taken place over the past 50 years in research into bilingual minority language children in schools, and the relationship between first and second language acquisition. From early interests in psychology and cognitive development, the focus has moved into a wider context of socio-political ideas (Baker & Hornberger 2007, p.13). Influenced by the individualistic perspective of behavioural sciences and psychology in the 1960s (Skinner and Watson 1960s), studies in bilingualism and the education of bilingual minority language children have shifted towards an interest in effecting change in education policy, and concern with power and language (Cummins, Skutnabb-Kangas, Krashen, Swain, May, Hélot, among other research from the 1970s-present).

Theories of language acquisition can be generally classified under four main models: behaviourist, cognitive, innatist and sociological (Cruttenden 1979).

1. Behaviourism, based in psychology, is now largely refuted as being unable to comprehensively explain language acquisition. Attempts to apply a behaviourist model (stimulus and response) to human language acquisition have failed to explain the innate complexities of language use.
2. Cognitive models of language acquisition are founded in Piaget's work on child development. The principle is that at various stages of cognitive development, the child's language capacity increases. Piaget's model has been adopted in empirical studies testing the age at which cognitive development usually allows the child to become metalinguistically aware, and the question of whether bilingualism can promote earlier cognitive development. For example, Ianco-Worrall's (1972) well-known study compared a group of 4-6 year old bilingual Afrikaans-English children with a similar group of monolingual children. The study found evidence that bilingual children can develop this cognitive ability 2-3 years earlier than monolingual children.
3. Innatist models evolved out of Chomsky's theory of Universal Grammar, an important theory underlying L1/L2 acquisition. Chomsky defines Universal Grammar as "*the system of principles, conditions, and rules that are elements or properties of all human languages...the essence of human language*" (Chomsky, 1978).

This principle that language is a universal and defining characteristic that is unique to human beings was further developed by Chomsky to articulate a view that a language capacity is innate in children from birth - the "**innateness hypothesis**". As Johannson (1991) puts it, the innateness hypothesis "... postulates not only a general ability in humans to acquire language, but also that this our ability

comes from a specific language-acquisition device in the brain, equipped already at birth with specific grammatical rules and principles.” (p.3). In terms of age and L2 acquisition, the innateness hypothesis points to the possibility of age-related “sensitive periods” for acquiring certain language competences. Innatism also refutes behaviourist explanations of language learning, saying that language production is a creative internal process, not purely a repetitive, imitative response to external language input.

4. Sociological models are interested in language as part of the child’s development towards a social imperative to communicate and interact. Language is therefore seen as a tool by which the child develops socially; language is independent of, and subordinate to, cognitive development. As Halliday (1993) captures this sociological concept of language: *“Language is not a domain of human knowledge ...; language is the essential condition of knowing, the process by which experience becomes knowledge.”* (p.94)

In this concept, language is a vehicle for knowledge construction and social development of the individual — a kind of inner-outer dynamic that takes place between thinking processes and language. We see an example of a sociological model for language acquisition in the ‘interaction approach’ (Krashen 1982, Swain 1985, Gass & Mackey 2015) described later in this chapter.

This chapter presents theories central to L2 acquisition and bi/plurilingual education, linked to one of the three post-Behaviourism models above that have been of interest to researchers since the 1970s: cognitive, innatist and sociological. Beginning from **definitions of bilingualism and plurilingualism**, this chapter sets out the major research foundations for understanding the **cognitive advantages of bilingualism** in the 1970s. From this early research, important questions arose about immigrant students and the **effect of age on L2 acquisition** — is there a ‘critical period’ for language learning? Although a ‘late arrival penalty’ after the age of 12 has been identified, there is also research that shows certain advantages for teenage second language learners. Theories and research findings on migrant students who arrive during teenage years are highly relevant to this PhD research, and I look at the implications of these for this study, giving examples from my own study of 42 newly-arrived immigrant teenagers in schools in France and New Zealand.

Next, the chapter examines in more depth three of Cummins’ theories (1979-1999) that help to explain some important aspects of bi/plurilingual students and language-of-schooling acquisition over time. **Threshold Theory** (1976) looks at how bilingualism can advantage learning, while **Developmental Interdependence Hypothesis** (1979) takes this idea further to examine how including students’ first languages in the L2 learning process has advantages for bilingual development. Cummins’ theory of two types of language proficiency — **BICS and CALP** (1979, 1999) — explains why migrant students may have difficulty acquiring sufficient academic language proficiency to succeed in school. These three theories combined strongly inform this PhD study in several ways. The implications of these theories for this research are explained in this chapter, particularly in support of language-of-schooling for immigrant students that is ongoing throughout their school years, includes students’ L1 in their learning processes, and teaches both communicative (BICS) and academic (CALP) language skills.

Following on from these essential theoretical foundations in L2 acquisition and bi/plurilingualism, the chapter looks at **theories for successful bi/plurilingual education**. The ‘interaction approach’ is presented as a dominant model in second language acquisition research, that has positive implications for classroom practice and supporting the learning of immigrant students.

Subsequently, I briefly overview **bilingual education in France and New Zealand** looking at the place of regional languages schools in France, and Māori immersion schools in NZ. Both of these types of bilingual education have implications for the advancement of **plurilingual education** for migrant and minority language students in both countries.

Finally, I present an argument for **plurilingual education**, based on three areas that can advantage schooling processes and outcomes for all students, but particularly immigrant students: (i) social cohesion objectives in education, (ii) a language inclusiveness perspective, and (iii) second language acquisition theories.

1. Defining bilingualism / plurilingualism

It is far from simple to define bilingualism from monolingualism; and from there, to define plurilingualism from bilingualism. Defining bilingualism and plurilingualism are major challenges for researchers because, as May, Hill and Tiakiwai (2004) observe, *“as with most cognitive and linguistic processes, bilingualism is an extremely complex phenomenon – one that may vary widely among individuals, and even within individuals with respect to the languages concerned.”* (p.10)

Bilingualism is not simply defined as ‘being proficient in two languages’, but involves a multitude of variability among individual speakers, as well as situational variables, that impact on language comprehension and production. This fact is captured by Baker (1988), as follows:

“Between the notions of complete bilingualism and complete monolingualism there are not only different shades of grey, but different shades of a great range of different colours. Deciding which colours must be included in definition and measurement and the strengths of the shades of colour is a near impossible task. There are no definitive cut-off points to distinguish the bilingual from the monolingual”. (p.2)

The key point is to avoid maximal and minimal definitions of bilingualism — that is, the maximal or fractional view of bilinguals as having ‘native-like control of two or more languages’ (Bloomfield 1933); or at the other extreme the minimalist definition that includes tourists with a few phrases in a foreign language in the ‘incipient bilingualism’ category (Diebold 1964). Grosjean (1992) argues for a **holistic view of bilinguals** which rejects the notion of ‘two monolinguals in one person’, instead seeing bilingual individuals as a “complete linguistic entity, an integrated whole” (in Baker 2001, p.9). The holistic view recognises that bilinguals (and by extension, plurilinguals) use their languages selectively and flexibly in response to contexts, purposes and interlocutors.

Baker (2001) uses the term ‘functional bilingualism’ to distinguish between a bilingual’s use of their languages (languages in practice) and language proficiency (level of competence). Functional bilingualism refers to language behaviour, which is highly contextual and varies depending on where, when and with whom either language is used. In other words, how the speaker activates their languages for a range of functions. An example of language behaviour is ‘codeswitching’, or moving between languages, which was negatively perceived as a lack of language mastery (Weinreich 1968), but has since come to be seen as a positive feature of functional bilingualism - a linguistic tool that the proficient speaker uses to switch between languages in response to audience and appropriateness (Genesee 1996; Franceschini 2011).

Definitions of ‘bilingualism’ are still being debated, as there are complex interrelated variables to consider involving language acquisition processes, cognitive functioning and bilingualism, language development through formal education, and individual differences. As a useful starting point therefore, two aspects of language use provide some definition of bilingualism: **language proficiency** and **language acquisition/use over time**.

1.1 Language proficiency

May, Hill & Tiakiwai (2004) warn against appropriating a monolingual conception of language use to the more complex context of bilingual language use. The question with respect to fluency is, do speakers need to attain a level of proficiency equal to that of a monolingual speaker in both languages, in order to be considered “bilingual”? The notion of ‘balanced bilingualism’ is often used as the ideal measure of bilingualism, and describes highly balanced levels of proficiency between L1 and L2 (Baker 2001; Carranza 2009; Hakuta & Diaz 1985). However, this may not be the experience of many bilingual speakers, as language proficiency develops according to complex language contexts in which proficiency is either promoted or limited by the speaker’s individual identity, wider social attitudes towards L1/L2, and opportunities to speak L2. The result is that bilingualism is often “unbalanced”, as many speakers *“have one language that is stronger than the other, exhibit varying degrees of control over their respective languages at any given point in time, and often use their languages in different domains and for different purposes”* (May, Hill & Tiakiwai 2004, p.19).

Additional connotations around bilingualism and plurilingualism are degrees of language proficiency that arise from social circumstances — for example, the ‘elective’ bilingual who is socially advantaged by linguistic choice, in contrast to the ‘circumstantial’ bilingual whose L1 is not the majority language of the society, and they therefore live a ‘minority’ experience (Valdés and Figueroa 1994). In the case of ‘elective’

bilinguals, the element of choice is important as well as how the learning of an additional language is valued or actively promoted. In this context, the additional language is often a 'prestigious' language such as English or French, and the acquisition of L2 takes place at no cost or threat to L1. This language learning context is described as 'additive' bilingualism. On the other hand, 'circumstantial' bilinguals are often in a learning context of 'subtractive' bilingualism. That is, they must learn the majority language in order to integrate and succeed, and this may be at the expense of their first language. In this context, the minority language is seen as low status, and the majority language as "more useful", even essential to the immigrant's future. Bilingualism for minority language speakers is therefore problematised, and the cognitive advantages of educating immigrant children in these contexts are neglected in favour of replacing first languages with the dominant majority language (May, Hill & Tiakiwai 2004, pp.8-12).

Language proficiency is therefore subject to connotations of social expectation and relative levels of acquisition — either by choice ('elective') and relative to standards of self-determined L2 goals and objectives; or imposed by circumstances of migration ('circumstantial'), with L2 goals relativised by native-speaker norms and social expectations of the majority society.

1.2 Language acquisition / use over time

As language acquisition and use are part of an individual's life story, bilingualism can also be viewed as waxing and waning over time, in accordance with life chapters and experiences. Bilingualism is not fixed, but often fluid and fluctuating over time. For example, a child who fluently speaks Japanese during a period of schooling in Japan may then 'lose' his bilingualism when he returns to an English-speaking country (as was the case with my son), but regain a different level of proficiency when returning to work in Japan as an adult. Terms such as "ascendant" and "recessive" describe the phenomena of one language developing or decreasing over time (Baker 2001, p.3). Language acquisition is therefore not an arrival point, but an ongoing process that includes the possibility of increasing proficiency and periods of language dormancy, as well as diminishing proficiency and language loss.

Related to Chomsky's theories of a universal grammar and 'innateness hypothesis', all babies are born with an innate linguistic potential, and therefore all human beings have the potential to become bilingual or plurilingual over time, given the right conditions. 'Simultaneous bilinguals' are children who acquire two languages at the same time, usually as a result of exposure to languages in the family. Studies on the cognitive advantages of bilingualism suggest that "bilingualism might have the most beneficial cognitive effects for those children who learn their two languages simultaneously" (Hakuta & Diaz 1985). 'Sequential or consecutive bilinguals' are those who learn a second language later, often at school or as a result of migration.

This raises the question of how language acquisition may differ depending on age and learning environment: does the 'simultaneous' bilingual (two languages learned from early childhood, in the informal learning environment of family) have an advantage over the 'sequential' bilingual (L2 encountered later in childhood/adulthood, often in a formal learning environment)? One view is that younger children are likely to more easily acquire a second language and to maintain proficiency over the long term (Lenneberg 1967). Another view is that adolescents and adults bring more developed cognitive skills to language learning, and can become proficiently bilingual (Singleton 1989; Singleton & Ryan 2004). The question of age and language acquisition will be explored later in this chapter.

2. Plurilingualism — definitions and principles

'Plurilingual education' is a term central to concepts outlined in the work of the Council of Europe, that describes processes and objectives of education that integrate the teaching and learning of languages into general education. This principle of language integration gives rise to various formulations such as '*éducation plurilingue et interculturelle*', '*enseignement plurilingue*', '*approche(s) plurielles(s) de l'apprentissage*', and '*compétences plurilingues*'. As an approach to education that emphasises the advantages of integrating language learning in all subject areas, plurilingual education is both the process and outcomes of education through languages:

"... connotée par les travaux du Conseil de l'Europe, "éducation plurilingue et interculturelle", présente l'avantage relatif de pouvoir recouvrir à la fois la finalité (éducation à) et la démarche (éducation par)." (Coste, 2013, p.12)

'Plurilingualism' refers to the individual who has a capacity in two or more languages. As an education strategy, teaching and learning for plurilingualism was most recently defined by Daniel Coste (2019) as "the construction of learning via two or more languages — not simply the development of languages, but centralised on the construction of knowledge through language".

Coste (2013, pp.34-35) sets out some objectives for plurilingual education, which could be flexibly applied to educational contexts in order to exploit opportunities offered by the inclusion of all languages present. The aim is to reduce preferential classifications of languages already commonly in use in education, which serve to privilege some languages over others, such as:

- the order of language acquisition: L1, L2, L3 (or in the case of bilingual families: L1, L1a, L2, L3)
- the combinations of languages in formal use at school: language(s)-of-schooling + foreign language options (first and second) + mandatory regional/indigenous language learning in primary schools (note the absence of minority and migrant languages)
- status of languages: national languages (eg French/English), regional languages (eg Basque, Occitan, Catalan), official languages (eg Māori language in NZ), minority languages (eg Farsi, Somali), migrant languages (eg Arabic, Chinese), indigenous languages (eg African languages), nomadic languages (eg Romani).
- degrees of standardisation: language varieties, vernacular speakers, dialects, sign languages ...

In re-thinking the status quo on languages in education, there are potentially positive linguistic and literacy outcomes for all students, including bilingual and plurilingual students. For example:

- languages can be acquired and developed simultaneously rather than sequentially.
- language combinations can be more creatively combined, by including minority/regional/indigenous languages in core subject learning — and why not include minority/regional/indigenous forms of knowledge about these subjects too?
- plurilingual educational approaches can re-shuffle the hierarchy of languages — for example, '*éveil aux langues*' programmes in French primary schools can let children experience the richness and value of minority and nomadic languages, among other languages.
- an appreciation of non-standard language forms can be brought about through plurilingual approaches that, for example, expose children to local vernacular or dialect.

The principles that set out a rationale for plurilingual education include the following:

1. Plurilingual education is part of a set of language rights, and guarantees the right to a quality education.
2. The teaching and learning of languages at school should not be reduced to an instrumental purpose, but should be seen as part of a whole education project that contributes to individual identity, and to the capacities of each individual as a social actor.
3. Schools have a responsibility, as sites of multicultural diversity, to contribute to the intercultural competences of children.
4. Education in a diversity of languages and cultures can develop the linguistic skills and literacy of all students.

The concept behind plurilingualism and plurilingual education is therefore that language is a lived reality, and language diversity is a 'social fact' — societies are made up of increasing numbers of speakers of languages other than, and in addition to, the national language(s). So schools (as sites of social, cultural and linguistic interaction) have a responsibility to educate children in the necessary skills for successful plurilingual and intercultural interaction within their local community, and larger society. This can be achieved through a plurilingual perspective on education — processes of language inclusiveness, leading to outcomes of more (pluri)linguistically competent individuals.

3. Implications for this study of newly-arrived immigrant teens in France & NZ

The 42 immigrant teens involved in this study have a similar profile as beginner learners of the language-of-schooling. All were 'sequential' learners of the language-of-schooling and were in a situation of 'circumstantial' language learning in school environments whose practices in FLS/EL indicate a 'subtractive' view of language acquisition for migrant students.

- (1) *Sequential / consecutive learners.* All of the participants are 'sequential' learners of L2 as the language-of-schooling — that is, none had had sufficient informal or formal exposure to the L2 (French or English) before arriving in France or New Zealand to directly enter mainstream schooling. All of the participants were therefore learning the language-of-schooling through the support of FLS/EL classes. All of the participants had a beginner level of proficiency in the language-of-schooling, and could therefore only be considered 'bilingual' in terms of the holistic definition of 'ascendant bilinguals'. That is, an emerging proficiency in the language-of-schooling, supported however by an existing linguistic proficiency in their first languages.

However, some of the participants were already 'simultaneous bilinguals' in two other languages (eg, Italian/Wolof, Spanish/Lingala, Punjabi/Hindi, Karen/Thai, Arabic/Berber, Bulgarian/Rom), having been raised in the family home speaking two languages prior to arriving in France or NZ. Other participants who were raised in monolingual homes had been exposed to another language in their primary schooling — for example, Rurik, a 14-year-old Ukrainian boy (in the French school) who had learned English as a second language at school in the Ukraine and whose parents supported his learning by speaking a little English at home; and Abdirahim, a 15-year-old Somali boy (in the NZ school) who had studied Arabic as a second language at school in Somalia, and had a sufficient level of functional bilingualism that he could speak Arabic with a fellow student from Syria, and occasionally help him with his class work. Other participants are plurilingual, having been in contact with several languages either in their country of origin or through periods of schooling in other countries — for example, Mahomet and Mahala, a brother and sister from Iraq (in the French school) who were schooled for 9 months in Finland before arriving in France, prior to which they had spent a few months at school in Libya, speak Arabic as their first language, and understand and speak a little English.

This has several implications for individual language development for these students. For the 'simultaneous bilinguals' they already have a substantial linguistic knowledge in two languages on arrival, which may serve to help them acquire the language-of-schooling more efficiently. This is particularly the case for those who have proficiency in a Latin language (Spanish, Italian) where language similarities can make learning French/English easier. For the plurilingual students, they may additionally benefit from a 'global linguistic competence' effect that supports quicker acquisition of language-of-schooling. These are hypotheses that need to be tested in longitudinal studies, and in correlation with other individual and socio-educational variables.

- (2) *Circumstantial language learners.* All of the 42 participants in the study were from either asylum seeker, refugee or migrant background families who were newly-arrived in the country (France or New Zealand), and with the exception of 3 students in the NZ group, were in their first year of schooling in the host country. They were learning the majority language in an immersion context, without support for first language maintenance in their formal schooling. All speak mostly their first language at home, with 13 out of 42 reporting a little bit of majority language use in the home (5%-50% of French or English spoken at home. Note however that the one student who reported speaking 50% French at home is Ishmael, a 15-year-old unaccompanied minor seeking asylum, who is housed in a COA centre where he would have to communicate in French as a lingua franca with the other residents and staff). The implication is that over time, these young immigrants are prioritising acquisition of L2 at a potential cost to their L1 as a minority language in the larger social context. Furthermore, there is the risk of losing formal aspects of their L1 competence, particularly literacy, as formal education of their L1 is not being maintained in the state schooling context. This is typical of the 'circumstantial' language learner's experience of 'subtractive' L2 acquisition, where the majority language is prioritised at a potential cost to aspects of L1 proficiency over the long term.

Most of the participants' first languages are not offered as foreign language options in the schools they attend. The exceptions in the French school are 3 Italian-speaking students and 2 Spanish-speaking students; and in the NZ school, 1 Chinese-speaking student and 2 Spanish-speaking students. These students had access to foreign language classes offered by the school in their first languages, whereas the other immigrant students did not. The languages spoken by the majority of the participants in this study (Arabic, Bulgarian, Portuguese, Karen, Somali) are either not offered at all or not widely offered as foreign language options by schools. This means that students' L1 occupy a low status within the educational environment, and students are living a 'subtractive' experience in their language(s) development - that is, the fact that they have not mastered the language-of-schooling is problematised as an obstacle to their schooling and their future integration into larger society. The educational attitude that

is conveyed to students is that their existing L1 (or bilingual/plurilingual) knowledge is inconsequential in the context of the dominant language-of-schooling environment. They must acquire the language-of-schooling as quickly as possible, but without the support of inclusive language pedagogies and practices that provide a role for their existing linguistic skills.

In summary, conditions surrounding sequential and circumstantial language learners highlight how the migrant child's profile as already bilingual or plurilingual can become problematised by the education system's attitude towards, and treatment of, minority languages. This in turn impacts on the immigrant child's experience of learning the language-of-schooling, which is essential for success at school. The key question is, how can the language-of-schooling be taught in order that (a) the child effectively acquires L2 while minimising the potentially counter-productive impact of 'sequential' bilingualism and 'subtractive' language learning practices; and (b) the potential benefits of bilingual/plurilingual cognitive development are maximised through inclusion of L1 in the child's learning processes? These questions are addressed in this chapter, with concluding responses summarised in the final conclusion.

4. 1970s research – foundations of understanding bilingualism

The foundation for understanding successful outcomes for bilingual children in education was laid down by research in the 1970s. Success (or failure) for immigrant learners came to be understood as the result of "particular constellations of societal factors" (Cummins 1979, p.5), rather than treating variables such as language or socio-economic status as independent. Importantly, language moved from being problematised as an obstacle to the child's educational achievement, to being understood as a resource and a potential asset for the child and the school community (Baker & Hornberger 2007).

In early research, first language had often been viewed as the reason for the child's 'learning difficulty': school contexts emphasised the child's inadequacy in terms of a lack of mastery of language-of-schooling, and viewed the child's home-school language switch as a deficit to learning. This view changed as researchers during the 1970s began to examine links in the causal chain between sociocultural background factors (first language, prior schooling, socio-economic status, attitudinal variables), school programmes (immersion/submersion, additive/subtractive) and academic outcomes for minority language children (Bowen 1977; Tucker 1977).

Findings from research carried out in the 1970s suggested that bilingualism can positively influence both cognitive and linguistic development, if a combination of other sociocultural and school conditions are also present to support the child's learning. Bowen (1977) found that the choice of language of instruction is not the only determining factor in school achievement, as students studying in L2 matched or excelled over students studying in L1. Social conditions were also found to influence outcomes. Tucker (1977) found that educational environmental factors impact negatively on success, such as denigration of the home language by the community, gaps in prior schooling, and schools that are insensitive to the cultural values of students.

Cummins strongly supported this more holistic environment-oriented approach:

"... one must consider the dynamics of bilingual children's interaction with their educational environment if any answer is to be found to the central question of whether or not the academic progress of children of limited English-speaking ability will be promoted more effectively if initial instruction is in their L1." (Cummins 1979, p.11)

This view remained however confined to the narrow range of second language pedagogies available at the time - the choice between either initial instruction in L1 or "submersion / immersion" L2 instruction. The need for new pedagogies and studies on the benefits of a range of teaching approaches for bilingual students within school programmes was first recognised during the 1970s.

5. Cognitive advantages of bilingualism

The cognitive advantages of bilingualism have been tested and confirmed in more than 150 studies carried out since the early 1960s, with consistent findings that bilinguals perform better than monolinguals in cognitive flexibility, metalinguistic awareness, and communicative sensitivity.

The first study to show evidence of bilingual children demonstrating superior thinking skills in some learning situations was the 1962 study conducted by Peal and Lambert, involving French-English bilingual and

monolingual children in six schools in Montreal. The findings were in contrast to a large number of earlier studies in which bilingualism was shown to have an adverse effect on verbal and academic performance (see for overview Torrance et al 1970; Tsushima & Hogan 1975), and bilingual children were even stigmatised by ‘mental confusion’ and ‘a permanent disadvantage in intelligence’ (Saer 1923). The Peal and Lambert study was ground-breaking, as it compared only “balanced bilinguals” — children who had achieved high levels of proficiency in both L1 and L2 — with monolinguals. Additionally, the study controlled for socio-economic status between groups. On both of these points — selection for balanced bilingualism and equal socio-economic status - earlier studies which had reported bilingualism as having negative effects on intelligence were later assessed as methodologically flawed (Hakuta & Diaz 1985; Cummins 1979):

“Peal and Lambert’s (1962) empirical distinction between bilinguals and pseudobilinguals made a significant (and much needed) methodological contribution to the field. Their distinction has forced recent investigators to select their bilingual sample with greater care and measure the sample’s actual knowledge of the two languages.” (Hakuta & Diaz 1985, p.323)

Many studies on bilingual children in education, since this turning-point in 1962, concur that bilingualism, when conditioned by other individual, environmental and educational variables, can be an advantage:

“... it is now widely recognised that bilinguals mature earlier than monolinguals in acquiring skills for linguistic abstraction, are superior to monolinguals on divergent thinking tasks and in their analytical orientation to language, and demonstrate greater social sensitivity than monolinguals in situations requiring verbal communication (see Baker, 2001, Corson, 1998; Cummins, 1996, 2001; Romaine, 1995).” (May 2003)

5.1 Cognitive flexibility involves two general areas: divergent thinking and convergent thinking. Divergent thinking is the ability to generate a range of solutions to a question that has many possible answers. An example of a question testing divergent thinking is *“think of a paper clip and tell me all the things you could do with it.”* (May, Hill and Tiakiwai 2004). Convergent thinking, in contrast, is the ability to synthesise various bits of information to converge on a particular solution. Bilingualism has consistently shown a cognitive advantage in both divergent and convergent thinking (see May, Hill and Tiakiwai 2004 for an overview).

Several studies comparing cognitive flexibility in bilingual and monolingual children highlight either divergent or convergent thinking, on a range of language-based tasks. For example, Kharkhurin’s 2009 study of Farsi-English bilingual children found that *“bilingualism facilitates the innovative capacity, the ability to extract novel and unique ideas”*. Similarly, Kessler & Quinn’s 1987 study of language minority children in the US examined children’s linguistic creativity. The study found positive results for convergent thinking in bilingual children in the use of complex metaphoric language in their second language, indicating that *“linguistic and cognitive creativity is enhanced by bilingual language proficiency”* (p.173).

5.2 Metalinguistic awareness is knowledge about language that can be demonstrated by awareness of phonology, syntax or grammar, and words — in other words “the ability to objectify language, to focus on the form rather than on the meaning of sentences” (May, Hill & Tiakiwai 2004, p.26). One of the earliest researchers to note a positive relationship between bilingualism and metalinguistic awareness was Leopold (1954). In observing his own bilingual children, he observed an ability to separate the phonetic component of a word from its meaning — and furthermore, that there was a connection to the children’s bilingualism and this plasticity with language. Vygotsky (1962) also identified the relationship between enhanced metalinguistic awareness and bilingualism. His tests observed that younger children were unable to separate word from meaning, whereas older children and bilingual children had a more developed sense of metalinguistics and were able to examine language as separate from meaning. Other studies have demonstrated that bilingual children develop metalinguistic awareness earlier than monolingual children, in tests involving detection of grammatical accuracy (Bialystok 1988, 1999; Cromdal 1999). Other findings suggest more developed sensitivity to the linguistic requirements of **communicative** situations, for example reading non-verbal situational cues, code-switching (Genesee et al 1996; Yow & Markman 2016).

Further studies have tested correlations between variables already found to be advantaged by bilingualism, such as Ricciardelli’s 1989 study of the effects of bilingualism on metalinguistic awareness and creativity amongst Spanish-English speaking children. The study involved multiple testing of children aged 5-9 years,

correlating variables including length of time at primary school, age, sex, parental education and socio-economic status, finding that bilingual children performed better overall on the majority of tests of metalinguistic awareness and creativity, in spite of background variables.

Studies of the effects of bilingualism on executive cognitive functioning have extensively focused on children, with conclusively positive findings on the superior ability of bilingual children *“to control attention, inhibit distraction, monitor sets of stimuli, expand working memory, and shift between tasks”* (Bialystok & Craik, p. 20). Now, the cognitive advantages of bilingualism are thought to extend to the entire cognitive system and throughout the lifespan (Bialystok & Craik 2010).

6. Age of arrival

The age factor in L2 acquisition is highly relevant to this PhD research, as the school-based studies carried out in two schools in Bordeaux and Wellington examine classroom language use amongst a cohort of 42 newly-arrived immigrant students aged 11-18 years. This study is particularly focused on the school integration of students in the age range of 13-15 years old, and includes case studies of 4 students in this age range. During adolescence, the question of L2 acquisition becomes key for immigrant students and their success in schooling, particularly during their first year of contact with the language-of-schooling. Newly-arrived immigrant students aged 13-15 have a short ‘window of opportunity’ in which to acquire sufficient communicative and academic language-of-schooling proficiency in order to (a) cope with curriculum-based learning and classroom interactions, and (b) prepare for school assessments at age 15 — a pivotal point for assessing school performance and determining future educational choices. It is for these reasons that language acquisition and development (including language-of-schooling, second language learning and L1/plurilingual maintenance) for this age group is so important.

Therefore, a key focus of this study is observing and understanding the various ways in which L1 and lingua franca — in other words, the child’s existing language repertoire — come into use in the initial language-of-schooling learning phase in the classroom. Do schools create space for **‘additive’ bilingualism** to develop? How do students themselves make links between their existing **L1 and plurilingual proficiencies**, while acquiring a functional level of language-of-schooling? While initially developing **communicative skills** in the language-of-schooling, how does the classroom learning environment cultivate communication through including all of the children’s language competences?

There are conflicting age-related arguments of language acquisition, within which there are two main areas to discuss: (1) age-related hypotheses and theories of L2 acquisition (2) practical findings from language education and age of exposure — the various advantages of beginning language learning in early or later childhood.

6.1 Age-related hypotheses and theories of L2 acquisition

Two questions that continue to be debated amongst linguists and educators are (Singleton 2004): Is there an ideal age for language learning? Is L2 proficiency connected to age of exposure and developmental phases?

The **Critical Period hypothesis** proposes that full proficiency in L2 is only possible if language learning begins early, before adolescence (Lenneberg 1967). It hypothesises that the ideal period for acquiring languages is between the age of 2 and before the onset of puberty, as adolescence alters plasticity of the brain, making language acquisition more difficult for older learners. However, criticism points to the need to recognise advantages conferred at different stages of development — in particular, the cognitive advantages of analytical and metalinguistic awareness in older language learners.

The debate for and against this hypothesis continues, with some studies showing advantages for younger L2 learners in interpersonal communicative skills (Oyama 1976; Ekstrand 1978; Audin et al 1998), while many other studies show that older learners are advantaged by cognitive maturity (Burstall et al 1974; Sanoh and Hoefnagel-Höhle 1978; Krashen 1973). In spite of these inconsistent findings, it is commonly believed amongst linguists that there are numerous advantages to beginning second language learning at an early age, such as interpersonal communication skills, classification skills, creativity, visual-spatial skills and the ability to form concepts (Bialystok 1991). A plausible explanation for resolving these contradictory findings about the age factor is to distinguish **rate of L2 acquisition** from **level of proficiency attained**. As Krashen et al (1979) propose:

“...adults and older children in general initially acquire the second language faster than young children (older-is-better for rate of acquisition), but child second language acquirers will usually be superior in terms of ultimate attainment (younger-is-better in the long run)” (p. 574).

This is an explanation that is supported by a large body of research that showing reliable correlations between second language proficiency variables and the cognitive advantages of age (see Cummins 1981 for an overview). For example, Sanoh and Hoefnagel-Höhle (1978) carried out a longitudinal study of English-speaking immigrants learning Dutch during their first year in Holland. The study showed that 12-15 year olds learned the Dutch language faster initially, and were the most proficient group on a range of measures by the end of the year. Children in the 3-5 year old group scored lowest on all tests of L2 proficiency. This finding supports the ‘rate of acquisition’ distinction, as all participants were tested during their first year of L2 emergence, and the older participant group scored highest during this initial phase of language learning. However, the argument for ‘younger-is-better in the long run’ would need to be tested by follow-up studies, to test for differences in levels of proficiency between older and younger immigrants over an extended period. In another example, Oyama (1976) tested Japanese immigrants to the US for degrees of ‘non-native speaker accent’ in their English production. Findings suggest that younger children who acquire a language before puberty can acquire more native-speaker-like accents than older children and adults, supporting the Critical Period hypothesis for ‘a sensitive period’ for the acquisition of a non-native phonological system. There are therefore differing advantages in language learning for younger children and adolescents — stages of susceptibility to various language aspects, rather than a single definitive point in age after which all aspects of language learning become more difficult.

Singleton (2004) summarises the age factor debate in L2 acquisition as follows:

- (1) Overall, younger learners are not more or less efficient than older learners in L2 acquisition. Age is simply one factor among many individual variables.
- (2) Starting early on L2 learning tends to lead to higher levels of proficiency. Older language learners can also become highly proficient, however. Younger children seem to have a higher sensitivity to the sound systems of a new language, and so can develop a native-like accent.
- (3) In formal language learning, older learners initially learn quicker than younger learners. However, the length of exposure (years of learning) is also a factor. So starting early and continuing throughout schooling tends to lead to higher proficiency over time.
- (4) Language education should have a different rationale at different ages. That is, the benefits of young children learning languages can be about enjoyment rather than acceleration, as research does not evidence significant advantages in starting early.

In conclusion, therefore, the argument for a “critical period” in language learning with a cut-off date in adolescence is not definitively supported by second language research. Baker (2001) reframes the notion, stating that *“[w]hile there are no critical periods of language learning, there are advantageous periods”* (p. 107). Hakuta (1999) agrees that *“[t]he evidence for a critical period for second language acquisition is scanty ... [t]he view of a biologically constrained and specialized language acquisition device that is turned off at puberty is not correct”* (p.12).

6.2 Language education and the age of exposure

The ‘starting early’ argument in language education remains divided between the advantages conferred by a primary school languages curriculum, and the view that the advantages are insignificant and formal L2 learning can be equally successful when started in later childhood. Burstall et al (1974) examined a large-scale project for beginning teaching French in British primary schools, and refuted the pre-conception that an early start in L2 is an advantage. Similarly, Ekstrand (1978), in a study of immigrant children learning the language of schooling in Sweden and Finland, found that the only variable on which younger learners performed better than older learners was oral production. Interestingly, the two studies differ in that the British study looks at an ‘additive’ language learning context where learners are ‘elective’ language learners; whereas the Nordic study looks at children in a minority situation as ‘circumstantial’ language learners, where presumably the priority was learning the language-of-schooling and the learning context was possibly ‘subtractive’ in terms of L1. Findings on the advantages for younger children in L2 learning seem to be

consistent across the two different language-learning contexts: that is, the studies refute the pre-conception that starting early confers advantages that cannot be regained later.

In Aotearoa NZ, there has been insufficient study of the long-term benefits of language learning in early childhood Te Reo Māori language nests (*kōhanga reo*), as part of the language revitalisation movement taking place (May et al 2004). To date, there have been very few studies of Māori language proficiency as a result of starting from a young age in a formal learning environment. Rather, it is celebrated that an increasing number of young parents are choosing Māori immersion early childhood education for their children, and that there are more children exposed to the Māori language in early childhood and primary schooling than ever before in NZ, regardless of eventual proficiency.

In 2004 a longitudinal study of 111 *kōhanga reo* and *kura kaupapa* Māori students (Cooper, Arago-Kemp, Wylie & Hodgen 2004) tracked three cohorts of children during their first year in Māori immersion schooling, measuring language development, knowledge of Māori cultural practices and mathematics (Cooper et al 2004). Multiple variables of language use were identified in both school and home environment, and an interesting finding by the authors is that measures of “success” in Māori educational environments are not the same as non-Māori variables. For example, as well as measuring receptive and productive Māori language skills, the study surveyed student performance in terms of social skills, perseverance and curiosity. A *kaiako* (teacher), when asked about Te Korowai (philosophy of education in *kohanga reo*) responded:

“It is through play that they learn. This is our learning approach. This is all done in te reo Māori. We don’t measure their performance by how many Māori words they know.” (Cooper et al 2004, p.22)

This indicates that measures of outcomes in minority language education need to take into account cultural and philosophical approaches, and researchers should adapt their objectives and methods to these perspectives accordingly. In other words, concepts of knowledge are culturally embedded and therefore studies of children in bilingual education must try to highlight and affirm these knowledge forms within the literature. A culturally inclusive and open-minded research approach may be helpful in encouraging more research into bilingual Māori education, and perhaps in other minority language contexts as well.

In terms of the effect of age of exposure on language development, the 2004 Te Rerenga report notes that older students scored better on measures of oral language production, due to time spent in Māori immersion education. This is also an interesting finding, as not all students were exposed to fluent Māori in the home before beginning Māori language education. So their language development was largely a result of formal educational input:

“... some students began kōhanga reo with relatively good fluency in te reo Māori, while others had very limited prior exposure to the language. Thus the tēina [younger] children show a wide range in ability. However, children who have been in a kaupapa Māori environment for some years are all more nearly equally fluent, resulting in the very narrow spread of scores in tuākana [older students].” (Cooper et al 2004, p.118)

Reading development for students in Māori immersion schooling was observed to be similar to that of immigrant children learning the language-of-schooling in a minority context, with a 7-9 year lag in catching up with native-speaker peers (Cummins 2000). These two factors align with the consensus that the number of years spent learning in formal language education, and continuity of language development, is equally as important for proficiency as an early start (Cummins 1981; Hakuta & Diaz 1985; Halliday 1993; Baker 2001; Mendonça Dias 2020).

The OECD identifies a ‘late arrival penalty’ for immigrant students in education, derived from results of PISA testing of 15-year-old students across OECD countries. Immigrant students who arrive in the destination country after the age of 12 (‘late arrivers’) have been shown to be at a significant disadvantage in educational achievement to students who arrive at or before age 5 (‘early arrivers’). This is particularly the case for students who arrive from countries of origin where (a) the language-of-schooling is not the same as that of the destination country, or (b) education systems are less developed or significantly different to that of the destination country (OECD 2012). Language education and acquisition is again a key to success for immigrant teenagers, as PISA testing has found that about 68% of first generation immigrants speak a language other than the language-of-schooling at home, and that the effect of the language barrier is most pronounced in literacy testing:

“The performance gap between first-generation immigrant students and students without an immigrant background tends to be wider in reading than in mathematics or problem solving. This suggests that language barriers to text comprehension may be key in explaining performance differences between these two groups of students ... the performance gap in reading between first-generation immigrant students and non-immigrant students shrinks considerably once the language students speak at home is taken into account.” (OECD 2015, pp.2, 10)

The language barrier is therefore higher the later students arrive, particularly after the age of 12. International PISA testing of students at the age of 15 reveals that the educational difficulties are the same for immigrant students in most countries, and seem to be mostly language and literacy-related.

6.3 Implications for this study of newly-arrived immigrant teens in France and NZ

The immigrant students participating in this PhD study are newly-arrived first generation immigrants aged 11-18, all from language backgrounds other than the language-of-schooling. The question of how age impacts on language acquisition and educational outcomes is therefore highly relevant. International research shows two different areas at work: (1) research into language acquisition and the development of theories, and (2) practices within education systems and real-life outcomes for immigrant students.

A substantial body of research now supports the potential for older children to become proficient in a second language, even when language learning begins during adolescence. The notion of a ‘critical period’ in language learning with a down-turn in L2 learning efficacy at the onset of puberty has been disproved, leaving open the possibility that these kinds of immigrant students who arrive as teenagers can benefit from the ‘older-is-better (rate of acquisition)’ advantage. So while this age group may be cognitively equipped to initially learn faster in a formal language-learning situation, their progress is also subject to other individual and contextual variables — for example, length of exposure (years in L2 classes), motivation, prior schooling, and current educational context.

The age of arrival penalty does however disadvantage newly-arrived migrant students in the 13-15 year old age bracket, as they are faced with insufficient years of schooling to prepare for the exams at age 15 that mark the first major assessment of preparedness for higher education. In France, the *Brevet* exam in the final year of *collège* is one factor in determining which type of *lycée* students will be able to apply to — professional or academic. In New Zealand, Level 1 NCEA is a school-leaving qualification that evidences a basic standard of achievement — Level 1 literacy and maths are particularly important for future employment. Both of these national qualifications require communicative and academic proficiency in the language-of-schooling, and the OECD identifies language acquisition as one of the major obstacles for immigrant students in school achievement. Research also suggests that L2 acquisition in communicative skills (BICS) takes 2-3 years, while academic proficiency in a second language (CALP) takes 7-9 years (Cummins 2003). Teenage immigrant students are therefore significantly disadvantaged by the fact that school exams and assessments are only administered in the language-of-schooling. In this study, I observed three important differences between the French and NZ school systems that impact on how immigrant students are prepared for exams and assessment during this newly-arrived phase:

- (1) Firstly, in the French school system student achievement is assessed through an exams system (*Brevet*, *Baccalauréat*), and students are therefore individually evaluated on a single “moment-in-time” and on their ability to produce responses in written form; whereas in the NZ school system student progress is evaluated throughout the year in internal assessment units (NCEA), so a profile of achievement is built up over time and in both oral and written forms.
- (2) Secondly, in the French school system there are no teacher aides to accompany immigrant students in their learning in mainstream classes, meaning that one-on-one language and content support is not available; whereas in the NZ school system English-speaking and bilingual teacher aides may be employed to work one-on-one with immigrant students in their mainstream classes, particularly during the newly-arrived phase.

As examples, in the NZ school that participated in this study, two teacher aides worked closely with some of the newly-arrived students to support their mainstream learning: (i) a bilingual Arabic-English speaking teacher aide, Rania, who is employed for 15 hours a week by the school. Rania supports all of the Arabic-speaking students, and was working closely with Abdul, a newly-arrived 13-year-old boy from Syria, in his Maths classes; and (ii) an English-speaking intern from Germany, Krista, who was at the

school for 4 months as part of her teacher-training, and worked closely in both EL and mainstream classes with Bashiir (a 17-year-old Somali refugee student), Thanh (an 18-year-old Vietnamese migrant-background student), Maahi (a 15-year-old Karen-Thai refugee student), and Abdirahim and Yuusuf (15-year-old Somali refugee twins). In my observations of Abdul, Maahi, Abdirahim and Yuusuf as case studies, Rania and Krista were often working with these students in Maths classes. Their help with both language and content is invaluable to these newly-arrived students with beginner proficiency in the language-of-schooling. In contrast, the teacher aide system for migrant students does not exist in the French school system, and therefore newly-arrived students must work on their own in mainstream classes. The difference is extremely marked when observing these newly-arrived teenagers functioning within two different education systems. It is the difference between “sink or swim” as a non-French speaking student in a French school, or “progress with one-on-one language support” as a non-English speaking student in a New Zealand school.

- (3) Thirdly, in French schools immigrant students are usually in UPE2A classes for the first year following their arrival — if a UPE2A class exists within the school, and a place is available (the maximum capacity being 25 students). After the first year, UPE2A students are commonly left to cope with mainstream learning without the ongoing support of French language classes. While many *collèges* have a UPE2A class, most *lycées* do not, and this can have an impact on students’ language development and ability to succeed at school. As example, two ex-UPE2A students interviewed for this study — Sadira from Syria and Martina from Georgia, who both arrived in France at the age of 15 — said that the UPE2A class at *collège* was absolutely central to learning during their first year at school. Once they reached high school they no longer had access to French language support as there was no UPE2A class, and they depended on offers of extra support for French language from individual subject teachers. As Martina describes it:

“Sans la classe d’UPE2A, je ne veux même pas penser à quel point l’apprentissage de langue serait compliquée. C’est à dire suivre le professeur et comprendre ce qu’il explique aux élèves qui savent parler en français déjà et tu ne parle ni un mot, ça serai un choc psychologique. Donc je pense que c’est une classe très importante pour les élèves étrangers qui souhaitent apprendre la langue française.” (interview with Martina, 22/10/2018)

In contrast, immigrant students in New Zealand schools usually have ongoing support for English language learning throughout their schooling, in EL classes. Most high schools have several EL classes that cater for various levels of English proficiency. Students can therefore follow an EL course alongside their mainstream studies throughout their high school education. NZ universities also have English language support for students, through Foundation English Courses and IELTS testing to ensure a level of academic language proficiency suited to tertiary study.

Clearly, aspects of the NZ education system work in favour of immigrant students’ progress by reducing the heavy learning burden of ‘language plus content’, with a kind of bridging support provided by teacher aides who work as either bilingual translators or to simplify and decode the English language and make content more accessible. The NCEA system also aims to assess qualities as well as skills, and identifies specific skills that students need to develop; whereas the exams system still in place in the French education system reduces learning to a “pass/fail” equation, in the form of a summative end-of-year assessment of knowledge.

In both systems ‘language’ remains the main vehicle for evaluating student learning, as there is often either an oral and/or a written component. However, unlike the French exam system where students must demonstrate knowledge through writing, in the NZ system students are also evaluated on a range of non-language skills: for example, “resilience skills, community awareness, developing practical knowledge” (Year 9 assessment areas in Yuusuf’s report, Term 4 2019). The result is that the students who participated in the NZ study received teacher feedback on how they were progressing in these types of skill areas, with generally positive comments such as *“He is very cooperative and works well with others / He has worked well this year with the teacher aide and always approaches his learning in a positive manner / He is a self-directed learner who always tries his best”* (reports for Yuusuf, Abdul and Maahi, Term 4 2019).

In summary, the two school systems are to varying degrees assessing two sets of competences: language *and* content knowledge — or, more accurately, **content knowledge through the language-of-schooling**. If education systems were to redirect the language testing component of these crucial assessments of academic achievement at age 15 — and there are multiple options for the forms this could take, for example evaluating students on content knowledge in their L1, or with bilingual assistance, or by including samples of

internally-assessed school work in core subjects — **content knowledge could be evaluated independently of language-of-schooling**. The emphasis would shift to evaluating student progress age-appropriately on what they do know, in a language they have already mastered, rather than allowing their lack of mastery of the language-of-schooling to (perhaps falsely) indicate a lack of progress in terms of knowledge. This approach also opens up the possibility for newly-arrived immigrant students to pursue content knowledge in their L1 at an age-appropriate level, thereby reinforcing what they are learning in school in L2.

I argue for this approach to school testing for immigrant teenagers who are in the process of acquiring the language-of-schooling, and do not yet have enough proficiency to demonstrate content knowledge in summative testing situations, on the basis that:

1. The types of newly-arrived immigrant teenagers in this study are all 'circumstantial' L2 learners in 'subtractive' language learning situations. That is, they find themselves in education systems where they become minority language speakers, and must learn the language-of-schooling in order to participate and succeed at school. According to extensive research and international findings (OECD 2015), this kind of student is disadvantaged by these kinds of educational conditions, and schools have a responsibility to reduce the barriers to learning for all students, including immigrant students.
2. Research on immigrant students who arrive after the age of 12 identifies a 'late arrival penalty' that is largely attributed to having to master the language-of-schooling in a short space of time before performance-based national educational testing at the age of 15 (OECD 2015). The inclusion of L1 in the early phase after arrival could (a) support content learning and prevent students from falling behind due to language, (b) support language-of-schooling acquisition through parallel learning of vocabulary and concepts in school subjects in L1 and L2.

The option of assessment of learning in L1, or with bilingual support, could create a clear distinction between the student's progress in two key areas of learning: language-of-schooling and content knowledge.

7. Cummins' theories

Threshold Theory (1976), Developmental Interdependence hypothesis (1979) BICS and CALP (1979, 1999)

The work of Jim Cummins during the 1970s was central to a change in theoretical framework around how the schooling of bilingual children is seen (Baker and Hornberger 2007). Studies carried out during the 1970s showed evidence that bilinguals have more developed cognitive skills in some areas, due to dual linguistic systems (Torrance et al 1970; Tsushima and Hogan 1975). These findings led Cummins to develop two theories to explain the potential advantages of bilingualism for cognitive performance: Threshold Theory (Cummins 1976, 1978(c)) and the developmental interdependence hypothesis (Cummins 1979).

1. The **threshold theory** proposes that in order to reap the cognitive and academic benefits of bilingualism, bilingual children may have to meet a threshold level of linguistic competence.
2. The **developmental interdependence** hypothesis states that L2 development is partially a function of existing L1 competence types.

These two theories combined recognise the potential for bilingualism to improve school performance, once a basis of proficient skills in the first language are established: *"... bilingualism that is cognitively and academically beneficial can be achieved only on the basis of adequately developed first language (L1) skills."* (Cummins 1979b, p.2)

7.1 Threshold Theory (Cummins 1976)

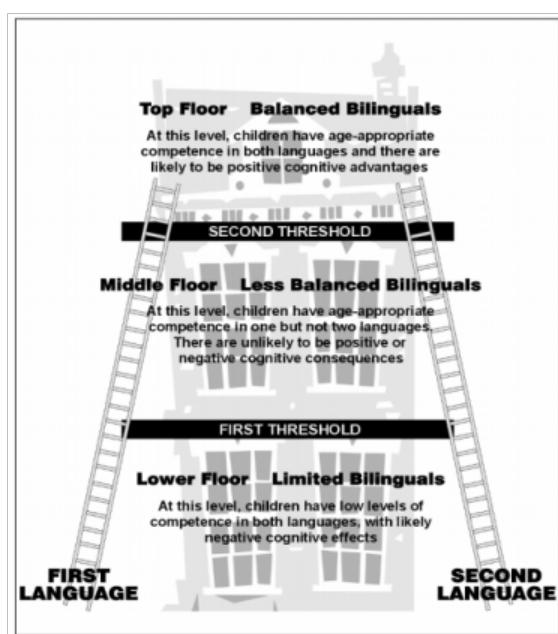
Cummins' theory of a threshold of linguistic competence helped to explain different findings amongst studies of bilingual children's cognitive skills. Cummins (1976) attempts to explain these contradictory findings on cognitive ability, by proposing a theory that:

“... there may be a threshold level of linguistic competence which a bilingual child must attain both in order to avoid cognitive deficits and allow the potentially beneficial aspects of becoming bilingual to influence his cognitive functioning.” (p.2)

The premise of the Threshold Theory was that there are degrees of bilingualism: (1) partial bilingualism, where the child does not have mastery of either language and (2) functional bilingualism, where both languages are mastered to a high level of proficiency. Once a child has reached a certain level of competence in their second language, there may be certain cognitive benefits. However, below that level of language acquisition in the second language, there are unlikely to be extra cognitive advantages that distinguish bilingual brain functioning from that of monolinguals.

Baker (2011) illustrates Threshold Theory in the image of a 3-level house (pp167-168):

- **Bottom level** - the child has insufficient competence in both languages, relative to their age group. This results in negative cognitive effects, as the child is unable to cope with curriculum learning and language expectations in the classroom. Here, the child is below the first threshold at which the negative cognitive effects of bilingualism can be avoided.
- **Middle level** - the child has age-appropriate competence in one language, but not the other. This child is partially bilingual, and has neither positive nor negative cognitive effects in learning. The child is functioning at the first threshold level, which is little different cognitively to how a monolingual child functions.
- **Top level** - the child has age-appropriate competence in two or more languages. They are considered ‘balanced bilinguals’, and are able to cope with curriculum learning in either language. This is the second threshold, at which positive cognitive advantages of bilingualism over monolingualism may appear.



(From Baker 2011, p.168)

Research testing the Thresholds Theory supports this concept of increasing language competence producing eventual benefits in areas such as deductive reasoning (Dawe 1983) and metalinguistic awareness (Bialystok 1988). Bialystok (1988) tested groups of French-English speaking children aged 6-7, at various stages of bilingualism. She found that all bilingual children (both partial bilinguals and balanced bilinguals) performed better than monolingual children on tasks requiring high levels of control of processing, and that fully bilingual children out-performed others on tasks requiring high levels of analysis of knowledge. Dawe (1983) found that bilingual Panjabi, Mirpuri and Jamaican children aged 11-13 show differing levels of competence corresponding to lower and higher thresholds of bilingualism, on deductive mathematical reasoning. These and other studies suggest that the closer a child moves towards balanced bilingualism, “the greater the likelihood of cognitive advantages” (Baker 2011, p.166).

Implications for newly-arrived immigrant students are that on arrival, they will spend time in either the ‘bottom level’ (below the first threshold) or ‘middle level’ (at the first threshold), while acquiring the language-of-schooling. This means that for children who arrive with limited or no proficiency in the language-of-schooling there will naturally be a period of disadvantage in curriculum learning, while the child focuses on L2 learning. The key to success for immigrant students is, of course, time to develop L2 proficiency, firstly in communicative fluency (2 years) then in academic language skills (5-7 years). And from there, it is possible that the child’s bilingualism in two or more languages may advantage their learning.

7.2 Developmental interdependence hypothesis (Cummins 1979)

From the Thresholds Theory a series of more refined theories of bilingualism evolved. The Thresholds Theory looked at the relationship between a bilingual’s two languages and the possibility of cognitive advantages. The next evolutionary phase in theories of bilingualism was the ‘developmental interdependence’ hypothesis (Cummins 1979).

This hypothesis suggests that first language (L1) and second language (L2) skills are interdependent, not separate. So the level of L2 competence a bilingual child attains is in part dependent on areas of L1 competence that the child has already developed at the time that intensive exposure to L2 began. For newly-arrived teenage immigrants, this means that at the time of arrival and beginning of immersion in the language-of-schooling, if the child has adequate L1 literacy from prior schooling she has a good chance of developing a similar level of L2 literacy, over time. If however the child has less well-developed aspects of L1, these are likely to impede the acquisition of those skill areas in the L2. In the latter case, the less well-developed aspects of L1 lead to a limiting effect on the development of those same aspects in L2 (Cummins 1979).

The developmental interdependence theory sees that there is an interaction between L1 and L2, and the development of language skills is therefore relational. This forms part of the basis for an argument for plurilingual educational approaches — that is, in order for immigrant students to develop the L2 skills necessary for successful schooling outcomes, L1 competence plays a key role and must therefore be developed alongside, and in complementarity to L2.

7.3 Implications for this study of newly-arrived immigrant teens in France and NZ

For the participants in this study — newly-arrived teenagers aged 11-18, the majority asylum-seeker/refugee and/or lower socio-economic background, many with fragmented prior schooling — the implications for L2 acquisition to a level that facilitates positive academic outcomes are multiple:

- (1) Prior schooling in L1 has a significant impact on the child’s potential to development sufficient literacy in L2 (language-of-schooling) to enable success in the new educational environment. Children with gaps in prior schooling, and/or lower levels of L1 literacy, are already at an added disadvantage in their L2 acquisition on arrival. However, the child may have some aspects of L1 more highly developed than others, that can benefit equivalent aspects of L2 learning. I discuss two examples from my in-school observations of students for this study:
 - (a) The first example is that of Bashiiir, a 17-year-old boy from Somalia at the school in NZ. Bashiiir has a refugee background, and had been enrolled in the NZ school for 5 months at the time of the study. He has very low levels of literacy in Somali, probably due to limited schooling in Somalia, and often appeared disengaged from classroom learning in the Wellington school. His writing in English is extremely limited, with difficulty forming letters, spelling simple words, and reading simple texts. Bashiiir’s teacher aide and EL teacher described him as “surly and disruptive” and “doesn’t want my help”. However, when the EL teacher taught the class a bilingual song in English and Māori, Bashiiir became suddenly very engaged, smiling, and was noticeably quicker than the other students to pick up on the words to the song. He responded to the rhythm, followed gestures easily, and sang the melody with enthusiasm. It was a somewhat remarkable moment, to see how Bashiiir, who presented as an “unwilling, resistant” student when faced with traditional literacy-focused forms of teaching and learning (reading and writing), transformed into a quick and capable student when learning language through song and movement. This suggests that Bashiiir may have an existing first language proficiency in the aural ‘musicality’ of language, that awakened in response to learning language through song in L2 (English) and L3 (Māori).

(b) The second example is that of Zlatko, a 13-year-old boy from Afghanistan at the school in France. Zlatko’s family (father, mother, two younger sisters) are seeking asylum and are housed at the CADA centre in Villenave d’Ornon. In UPE2A class, Zlatko’s writing is very limited in French — he copies from the whiteboard with difficulty, forming letters and words as shapes with no meaning. A Farsi-French translator at a CADA parents’ evening (12/01/2019) tells me that Zlatko has very low literacy in his L1 of Farsi, due to gaps in schooling in Afghanistan followed by conditions of war and fleeing to Europe. It will be important for Zlatko to have help with developing a foundation in L1 literacy skills in Farsi, in order to progress in his learning of French at school. It is unlikely that this help will be available in his current circumstances — living in crowded communal conditions at CADA, with little or no access to learning materials in Farsi — the family are in the unstable situation of applying for asylum, and clearly have priorities other than helping Zlatko develop an already low level of literacy in his L1. Zlatko is just one example among many children in unstable situations of asylum-seeking. In the same class, other students are in equally precarious situations — awaiting decisions on family asylum applications (13-year-old Osama from Eritrea), or living in Roma gypsy camps (12-year-old Iosefina from Bulgaria), or irregular migrants without papers (14-year-old Erlblin from Albania), or unaccompanied minors housed in COA (15-year-old Ishmael from Pakistan).

(2) Proficiency in L2 can be best supported by ongoing literacy development in L1. In other words, language learning is mutually beneficial — and developing both languages interdependently is better for L2 acquisition, cognitive development and quality of learning. As Baker (2011) puts it:

“Speaking, listening, reading or writing in the first or the second language helps the whole cognitive system to develop. However, if children are made to operate in the classroom in a poorly developed second language, the quality and quantity of what they learn from complex curriculum materials and produce in oral and written form may be relatively weak and impoverished.” (p.166)

(3) Language-of-schooling programmes for immigrant students should work closely with students’ L1, and teachers need training for language inclusiveness pedagogy.

7.4 Two kinds of language proficiency: BICS and CALP

Cummins distinguishes between two types of language proficiency, termed BICS and CALP (Cummins 1979; 1999). BICS stands for basic interpersonal communicative skills, and CALP stands for cognitive academic language proficiency. These two acronyms, designed by Cummins (1979), distinguish between two different kinds of language ability: everyday conversational fluency and the ability to use language for academic purposes. The matrix below shows the difference between BICS and CALP in terms of cognitive and linguistic demands:

BICS are cognitively undemanding activities

	A		C
Context Embedded	Following directions Face-to-face conversation Buying lunch at school Music, Art, PE classes	Note on the refrigerator Written directions (no visuals) Telephone conversation Oral presentation	Context Reduced
	B		D
	Demonstrations/Experiments Audio-visual assisted lessons Basic math computations Projects and activities Making models/charts/graphs	Standardized Tests Reading/Writing in content areas Math concepts and applications Lecture with few illustrations Textbooks	

... and CALP are cognitively demanding

Cummins Language Development Matrix

The upper axes areas show that BICS skills are engaged in everyday language operations that are cognitively undemanding. The learner in 'context-embedded' situations is helped by paralinguistic and context-derived information, whereas in 'context-reduced' situations the learner has to rely heavily on language-based indicators and existing working knowledge of language (Cummins 1979).

The BICS and CALP distinction clarifies why ongoing language-of-schooling support, during and beyond the newly-arrived phase, helps immigrant students to succeed, as learners need both in order to succeed academically:

"BICS and CALP are conceptually distinct insofar as they follow different developmental patterns. To reiterate the point: both native-English-speaking and immigrant children usually reach a plateau in the development of native-like phonology and fluency after several years of acquisition but CALP continues to develop throughout schooling." (Cummins 1999, p.4)

Immigrant children can typically acquire conversational fluency on a par with their native-speaker peers within 2 years of schooling, but academic proficiency in a second language takes much longer — 5 to 7 years (Collier 1987; Cummins 1984).

The language distinction theory evolved from a study of Finnish immigrant children in Sweden carried out by Skutnabb Kangas and Toukamaa in 1976. The Finnish children showed conversational fluency in both Finnish and Swedish, yet performed poorly on academic tasks in their L2. This revealed a 'surface fluency' beneath which cognitive and academic proficiency in L2 had not yet been acquired (Cummins 1981, p.134). The age of the Finnish children in this study, who were all 10 years old, raised questions about age-of-arrival and the ability to acquire academic language and linguistic skills related to higher level cognitive thinking. Was age a factor in the acquisition of BICS/CALP in L2?

Other studies that investigated this question consistently found advantages for older L2 learners in L2 syntax, morphology and literacy-related L2 skills (vocabulary, reading comprehension) (Burstall et al 1974; Ervin-Tripp 1974; Fathman 1975; Genesee, 1979). However, older learners did not always show clear advantages in aspects of L2 proficiency related to communication (oral fluency, listening comprehension) (Asher & Garcia, 1969; Fathman, 1975, Oyama, 1976; Seliger, Krashen & Ladefoged, 1975). For example, Ann Fathman (1975) examined rate and order of acquisition of English grammatical structures among ESL students (aged 6-15) in US schools. She found that older students achieved features of CALP more quickly than younger children — supporting the theory that age advantages *rate of acquisition* in formal learning situations.

Combined findings from these studies suggest two things for language-of-schooling programmes:

- (1) there are advantages for older age-of-arrival students in the acquisition of CALP in L2, due to cognitive maturation and better ability to meet the demands of academic language (Cummins 1981), (however, other variables such as prior schooling and existing literacy in L1 also have an impact on older students' ability to acquire CALP); and
- (2) that it is important to recognise this distinction in language skills (BICS/CALP), and to support the development of both conversational (BICS) and academic language proficiency (CALP) in L2.

In summary, these examples of studies from the 1970s formed a body of research on bilingual children that revealed that there are in fact two kinds of language proficiency: communicative skills (BICS) and academic language skills (CALP). Acquisition of these two areas in L2 rely on different stages of maturation, and older students have an advantage in developing academic proficiency which does, however, take several years.

7.5 Implications for this study of newly-arrived immigrant teens in France and NZ

For the schooling of newly-arrived immigrant teens, there are several important implications from the findings on BICS and CALP as two areas of language proficiency, summarised as follows.

- (1) These students may benefit initially from instruction in both BICS and CALP in L2. Their low proficiency in English or French (as the languages-of-schooling) does not preclude them from learning academic terms, as well as communicative language. However (and it is a big "but"), CALP learning depends on

prior schooling and development of CALP in the child's L1. As we saw in interdependence hypothesis, the development of language concepts in L2 is dependent on existing comparable skills in L1.

- (2) Ongoing FLS/EL support throughout the child's schooling years is important, to allow time for BICS proficiency to become established (2-3 years) and for CALP proficiency to develop (5-7 years). L2 learning at school should be understood as preparation for higher education (where CALP proficiency is essential), as well as school success (where in the senior high school years CALP is also important).
- (3) FLS/EL programmes should distinguish between the two types of language proficiency — BICS and CALP. For older immigrant students, school success can be supported by classes that target CALP skills, and aim to support vocabulary and terminology that students need to cope with increasingly complex content in their mainstream subjects. CALP development can be further supported by cross-curricular collaboration between FLS/EL and mainstream teachers on language development (Gouaich and Chnane-Davin, 2020; Mendonça Dias, 2020).
- (4) FLS/EL teachers need training for classroom pedagogy on plurilingual education for immigrant students (Auger 2020). As well as theoretical training on the advantages of simultaneous L1 and L2 development and language inclusiveness, teachers need practical teaching and learning resources for working effectively with plurilingual students in the classroom. These could be based around:
 - resources that create space for students to build strong links between L1 and L2
 - tasks that require students to develop L1 and L2 literacy in parallel
 - homework assignments that work with the language(s) of the home
 - technology that supports plurilingual learning.
- (5) Students also need to understand the benefits of maintaining and improving L1 literacy and developing both BICS and CALP, as beneficial to their language-of-schooling proficiency. Especially for teenage students, active ownership of their own language learning processes (both L1 and L2) can improve motivation and self-directed study habits. If students perceive value in working strongly with both L1 and L2 in the classroom, and after school, they affirm their individual learning processes as linguistically rich (additive bilingualism), rather than linguistically deficient (subtractive bilingualism).
- (6) Parents need to understand the value of L1 maintenance and development, as part of facilitating L2 learning in both BICS and CALP. Parents have a role to play in continuing to “feed” their child's L1 with age-appropriate reading materials, and L1 input on school content — for example, viewing science documentaries in L1 on topics being studied at school. A potential key to plurilingual approaches is for schools to foster triangular relationships between teacher-parent-child, to support L1 learning alongside language-of-schooling development. In this way, families need not feel that their home language functions “in resistance to” school learning programmes and monolingual language policies; but rather, that language learning is mutually supported by a home-school orientation.
- (7) When CALP learning is integrated into both FLS/EL and mainstream subject courses, this signals a change in how the teaching and learning of language-of-schooling is managed. This could be a change in both how language *functions* in mainstream classes, and in how FLS/EL classes are *perceived*. In terms of how language functions, subject class teachers become more involved in explicitly teaching the academic language and specialist terms for their subject — to all students, not just immigrant students. In terms of perception, the multilingual community of the FLS/EL classroom becomes a long-term learning support structure that sustains language learning throughout the child's schooling, rather than a kind of temporary “special needs unit” within the school until the child is mainstreamed.

In summary, the implications of BICS and CALP as differentiated areas of language proficiency open up exciting possibilities for the success of immigrant teenagers in schools. Most importantly, the fact that developing language proficiency takes time (5-7 years for CALP) underlines the importance of ongoing formal language-of-schooling support throughout the child's schooling. Secondly, teacher training institutions have a key role to play: teachers who know how to help students develop CALP skills in their subject area, and understand the importance of this for school success, can make a significant difference for immigrant students in schools. Finally, the triangular teacher-parent-child relationship is key to student success. The home language development of CALP is the bedrock upon which language-of-schooling CALP can be developed. Therefore, meaningful homework tasks that link L1 and language-of-schooling can improve school learning processes and outcomes for immigrant teenagers.

8. Theories for successful second language, bi/plurilingual education

There are three over-lapping areas of language education: second language, bilingual and plurilingual. In second language acquisition, a clear model has been developed from two existing hypotheses (Input and Output) — the ‘interaction approach’. I outline this approach below, and explore its implications for this study of plurilingually inclusive teaching and learning approaches for newly-arrived immigrant teenagers.

Next, I make a brief comparison of theories for successful bilingual and plurilingual education. Aotearoa New Zealand is an example of bilingual education stemming from indigenous language rights, underwritten by the constitutional bicultural agreement in the Treaty of Waitangi. As touched on earlier, plurilingualism is an educational goal shared amongst many EU countries, and theories for plurilingual education have been developed by the Council of Europe. The Nordic countries are often cited as examples of successful plurilingual education, and I briefly look at the example of Sweden to illustrate.

8.1 The interaction approach

The **interaction approach** is a dominant model in second language acquisition (SLA) research, as it both describes processes that learners engage in during SLA, and draws on theories explaining these processes, such as ‘noticing, working memory, and attention’ (Gass & Mackey 2015, p.181). Since the 1980s, the approach has become increasingly accepted as a highly effective model in second language teaching and learning. Research has shown robust and consistent links between interaction as a second language learning process leading to acquisition (Lyster & Saito, 2010; Russell & Spada, 2006).

The interaction approach incorporates some aspects of **the Input Hypothesis** (Krashen 1982) and **the Output Hypothesis** (Swain 1985). It is an approach to understanding how languages are learned, that explains the importance of four different modes of interaction in developing proficiency: input, interaction, feedback and output.

(1) **Input** is native-speaker-like, meaningful and contextualised listening material that the learner receives in the target language. Gass & Mackey (2015) explain the importance of input in the language acquisition process as:

“In all approaches to second language acquisition, input is an essential component for learning in that it provides the crucial evidence from which learners can form linguistic hypotheses.” (p182)

This principle applies at all levels of L2 proficiency, as input that is adapted to the level of beginner speakers, even when simplified to phrases or incomplete sentences, has the same effect of allowing the learner to clarify their existing hypotheses of language forms. An example of a kindergarten teacher varying her language as she talks to children who are native speakers and non-native speakers at different levels of proficiency, illustrates this (Kleifgen 1985, in Gass & Mackey 2015).

Instructions to a kindergarten class

- a. Instructions to English NSs in a kindergarten class
*These are babysitters taking care of babies. Draw a line from Q to q.
From S to s and then trace.*
- b. To a single NS of English
Now, Johnny, you have to make a great big pointed hat.
- c. To an intermediate-level native speaker of Urdu.
No her hat is big. Pointed.
- d. To a low intermediate level native speaker of Arabic.
See hat? Hat is big. Big and tall.

- e. To a beginning level native speaker of Japanese.
Big, big, big hat.

The example illustrates that language input needs to be modified to make it comprehensible to the learner. If the language input is not comprehensible to the listener, they are unable to use it to construct their second language grammars. Krashen's Input Hypothesis (1982) states that for learners to acquire language, they need to move from *i* (existing competence) to *i + 1* (*+1* = the next level of competence). How can this be achieved? According to Krashen, by providing optimal input that helps the learner to focus on meaning, rather than form.

"The input hypothesis runs counter to our usual pedagogical approach in second and foreign language teaching. As Hatch (1978a) has pointed out, our assumption has been that we first learn structures, then practice using them in communication, and this is how fluency develops. The input hypothesis says the opposite. It says we acquire by "going for meaning" first, and as a result, we acquire structure!" (Krashen 1982, p.22)

The essential is that in order to acquire language, input should be comprehensible, yet structured a bit beyond the current competence of the listener. In this way, the learner grasps meaning that is presented in forms that introduce new linguistic structures into the learner's repertoire (the concept of *i + 1*).

Further aspects of the Input Hypothesis of language acquisition are that input needs to be interesting and/or relevant to the learner, and sufficient in quantity in order for language to become automatised.

8.2 Interaction / feedback

The interaction approach places importance on interactive processes for second language acquisition. It is through interaction — conversation — that the learner receives information about the comprehensibility of the language they produce. If the learner makes errors and therefore receives 'negative evidence', this gives an opportunity to notice errors, negotiate understanding, and self-correct or receive further input. The key to learners improving their proficiency through interaction is **attention**. Interaction is a process that develops the learner's attention to incorrect forms in their interlanguage use, and helps to improve communicative proficiency in certain language features — particularly pronunciation and word forms. Attention is therefore one of the central components of the interaction approach (Gass & Mackey 2015, p. 198).

A study by Mackey, Gass and McDonough (2000) examined how learners perceive **feedback** during interaction. Do learners perceive the feedback as feedback? And are they able to recognise the linguistic target(s) of the feedback? The study found that learners were mostly able to accurately perceive feedback on lexicon (words) and phonology (sounds, pronunciation), but did not always recognise feedback on morphosyntax (grammar forms). This finding is consistent with the hypothesis that attention is central — that is, the learner has to either notice an error and negotiate through interaction to find the correct form, or receive feedback from the interlocutor that draws attention to an error.

This raises the question of explicit/implicit feedback — how is attention drawn to mistakes? And is one type of feedback more effective than the other? The research on interaction-based SLA has not to date thoroughly addressed this question, instead concurring that both explicit and implicit feedback are beneficial (see Goo & Mackey 2013 for an overview of the literature). Instead, it is the process of engaging in interaction that puts the learner into a situation of externalising language, at whatever level of proficiency the learner is at. And through interaction, the learner will receive feedback (explicit or implicit) as an integral part of the communication. If the learner is able to accurately perceive the nature of the feedback, through bringing attention to a specific type of language error, they can improve.

Crabbe (2007) points to the importance of teachers interacting with students about their learning, as a way for students to become more aware of their own learning and develop independent strategies. The value of language-learning tasks is improved when students have to develop their own tools and strategies for completing tasks. Teachers should "help learners to manage learning" by communicating about the *processes* of learning, that is:

"... the degree of strategic behaviour that [learners] consciously engage in to build vocabulary recognition, increase fluency, acquire grammatical and discourse patterns, and so on." (p.118)

8.3 Output

Swain's Output Hypothesis (1985) grew out of her observations of children in immersion programmes in Canada, who still had low levels of proficiency in spite of years of language immersion. She hypothesised that the problem was insufficient opportunities for second language output that would help learners to shift their linguistic knowledge from grammar-based to meaning-based through conversation:

"...output may stimulate learners to move from the semantic, open-ended nondeterministic, strategic processing prevalent in comprehension to the complete grammatical processing needed for accurate production. Output, thus, would seem to have a potentially significant role in the development of syntax and morphology." (Swain 1985, p.128)

This hypothesis forms part of the interaction approach, in that speaking in interactive situations requires the speaker to be accurate in order to be understood — to produce more target-like utterances. Furthermore, interaction allows the learner to be spontaneous and creative, to take risks, to "try and see what happens" with language forms they are not sure about — in other words, the learner can test their hypotheses about the target language. Over time, output promotes automaticity, an important feature of language acquisition (McLaughlin 1987, p.185).

The interaction approach as a whole therefore recognises the connection between internal language processes and language production, within a context of meaningful interaction where the learner has the possibility of receiving feedback, and focusing attention on errors:

"...negotiation for meaning, and especially negotiation work that triggers interactional adjustments by the NS or more competent interlocutor, facilitates acquisition because it connects input, internal learner capacities, particularly selective attention, and output in productive ways." (Long 1996, pp. 451-452)

8.4 Implications of the 'interaction approach' for this study

The implications of the 'interaction approach' for newly-arrived immigrant teenagers in schools are extremely positive, and offer practical direction to teachers on how to work effectively with the language learning processes of immigrant students in their classes. Three main points stand out on how acquisition of language-of-schooling can be supported.

- (1) How do teachers adapt their language when speaking to immigrant students? If the Input Hypothesis is correct, language input needs to be effective in both quality and quantity. Quality means simplified for comprehensibility at the student's level of proficiency, and including language forms that slightly extend the student's understanding. For classroom teaching, this means that both spoken and written forms of the language-of-schooling should be simplified so that students can more easily access the content in order to succeed. This can include how the teacher talks to non-native speaker students one-on-one, and simplifying written language for worksheets or tests.
- (2) Are immigrant students given opportunities to interact with native-speaker peers on the learning tasks? Second language learners need chances to interact, to test their hypotheses about language, to make errors, and to be in communicative situations with more proficient language users where they can negotiate for meaning. This means that interactive small group or pair learning structures on classroom tasks are very helpful for non-native speaker students. Teachers who adapt classroom learning to be more interactive by putting students into mixed groups of native and non-native speakers, are creating optimum conditions for immigrant students to become more proficient in the language-of-schooling.
- (3) What kind of support are teachers receiving from teacher training institutions? The link between educational theory and practice can be facilitated by teacher training institutions. The 'interaction approach' is a theoretical model that is clearly applicable to classroom teaching practices. Teachers can benefit from initial or ongoing teacher training to support their work with immigrant students, in which effective classroom practice is explained by proven theoretical models, such as the 'interaction approach'. Many teachers are teaching classes that include immigrant students, and need workable, simple strategies for supporting both the language acquisition and social integration of newly-arrived

second language learners. Teacher training institutions have an important role to play in bringing these concepts to teachers, in ways that translate easily into adapted ways of working in the classroom with immigrant students.

9. Bilingual education in France and New Zealand

In both France and NZ, there are two distinct types of bilingual education systems operating. One is immersion or bilingual schooling for ongoing heritage language maintenance — regional languages in France, and Māori language in New Zealand. The other is a form of ‘elitist’ bilingual education — for example, the international schools in France, or the joint venture Japanese-English bilingual schooling initiatives in NZ. This second form, ‘elitist’ bilingual education, is a choice of the privileged, and allows the children from a more privileged milieu to follow their home country curriculum, with a view to returning eventually to their country of origin. It is therefore less relevant to this study than Māori bilingual and regional language schooling, which have an important role to play in forging a path in education policy for recognition of migrant minority languages.

Heritage language maintenance tends to be aligned with a set of language rights, and has connotations of resistance to political conditions reinforced by majority language dominance. As articulated by Stephen May (2003):

“... the real challenge for [Minority Language Rights] is the same as it has always been: to influence, and if possible change, the wider social, cultural and political processes that have seen the construction of and distinction between so-called minority and majority languages in the first place... the social and political forces arraigned against minority languages, and in favour of the ongoing processes of linguistic ‘modernisation’, remain both firmly in place and considerable...” (p.118)

Bilingual and immersion schooling in NZ consists, in the main, of 290 Māori bilingual schools (Education Counts, July 2019) and 30 schools providing bilingual Pacific language education in Auckland (ERO, August 2019). The research consensus is that bilingual schooling programmes have been shown to improve schooling outcomes for Māori and Pasifika learners, yet there is insufficient government support for existing programmes, let alone expansion and replication of what is working in education for Pasifika students (Kepa and Manu’atu 2006; Tuafuti and McCaffery 2005). This amounts to ‘*subtractive views of bilingualism among the monolingual English-speaking population*’ (May 2005) — that is, the conviction that bilingual approaches to learning represent a deficit to proficiency in the majority language, whereas international findings unequivocally support the fact that bilingual and plurilingual children do better in education where their languages are included in school-based learning (Corson 2001; Cummins 2001; Coste et al 2013).

The current challenge in NZ is for government, schools and immigrant communities to work together to strengthen existing bilingual school programmes, around objectives of better outcomes for bilingual students through developing their linguistic and cultural capital in ways that can be applied to advantage social, economic and political participation as future adults. In response to this challenge, ERO found in 2019 that:

“... Pacific bilingual education programmes were somewhat idiosyncratic. They tended to be developed locally, and were resourced out of schools’ baseline funding. Schools expressed a general philosophy regarding the importance of Pacific languages, culture and identity, but were less likely to have developed an approach focused on bilingualism and informed by research literature and best practice.” (p.4)

This points to the need for government to support professional development for bilingual teachers, and for universities to develop initial and ongoing teacher training programmes in both language content and pedagogy for working with immigrant students and their languages in the classroom. In addition to action from government and teacher training institutions in support of bilingual education, the school-community partnership aspect is also key. The *kohanga reo* movement has demonstrated that strong community relationships foster both inter-generational sustainability and quality of bilingual and intercultural education:

“In Aotearoa New Zealand it has become clear that programs started by people in a community are a better possibility for robust partnership and practice in education. In fact, Indigenous Māori grassroots work to establish Te Kōhanga Reo: Early Childhood Education conveys this point well. ... partnership and practice are enmeshed in social networks that emphasize the richness

of Māori language and the complex ways Māori people live their lives.” (Kepa and Manu’atu 2006)

It is clear that bilingual education for Māori and Pasifika students has very important and ongoing work to do in forging pathways into the somewhat resistant landscape of educational policy and practice in NZ. In order for language inclusiveness to make headway in the NZ education system, a shift away from monolingual English-speaking complacency towards research-informed understanding of the advantages of bilingualism and plurilingualism is required.

In France, the regional languages movement is equally political, and the small number of bilingual schools in the regions still struggle for status alongside the French monolingual education system. French national monolingualism finds its roots in French Republican constitutional principles dating back to 1794, under which the French language unifies the nation as ‘one people speaking one language’. Escudé (2013) describes the stark division this has created between French as the national language and France’s regional languages, as follows:

“Langue de la nation, des Lumières et de l’éloquence, langue universelle et unique langue publique, langue du pouvoir et de la réussite, langue sacralisée à l’extrême d’un côté ; de l’autre, dialectes privés et provenant de la sphère de l’intime, du bas, de l’amusement, de l’ombre, sans grammaire ni littérature, patois communautaires comme autant de menaces à la laïcité.” (Escudé 2013, p.4)

According to latest *Éducation Nationale* figures on regional language education, around 272,000 students were learning a regional language in 2013 — about 2% of the student population. Of these, 72,000 are in bilingual schools in the regions, which function on a combination of government and community funding. Of France’s 26 regional languages, those mainly taught are Alsatian on the German border of Alsace (73,000 students), Occitan in the Aquitaine region (62,000), Breton in Brittany (35,000) and Corse on the isle of Corsica (34,000) (Le Figaro, 5/5/2017).

However, while monolingualism still characterises the French education system, the Council of Europe work on languages (particularly during the decade of 1991-2001) marks a radical turning-point and paradigm shift away from monolingualism towards a plurilingual vision for Europe. This in turn has profound implications for the teaching and learning of languages in French schools (Ducancel & Simon 2004, p.7).

In France, the regional languages debate is seen as pursuing an independent set of rights and interests to those of migrant languages. However, as seen with the progress made by Māori language rights in furthering the interests of minority languages in the NZ political landscape (notably greater recognition of Pacific languages), there are shared interests between heritage and migrant language politics. Until regional languages gain state recognition and support in France, migrant languages stand little chance of strengthening their position for greater inclusion in education. The regional languages debate hinges on France’s non-ratification of the European Charter of Regional and Minority Languages (1992). Ratification would accord state support for recognition, encouragement and provision of means for teaching and learning of regional and minority languages (Council of Europe 2020). It is therefore of considerable interest to advocates for language inclusiveness in education in France — language-of-schooling, regional, minority and migrant languages — to follow the regional languages debate, and to work collectively and in solidarity with representatives of regional languages in education⁷².

10. Plurilingual education — where are we today in 2020 ?

The hypothesis of this research is that *Educational environments that allow space for plurilingual learning approaches create a platform from which to improve learning processes, engagement and construction of knowledge, thereby encouraging more effective learning for newly-arrived immigrant students.* So what are ‘plurilingual teaching and learning approaches’?

In fact, ‘plurilingual education’ is almost invariably paired with the term ‘intercultural’— ‘plurilingual and intercultural education’ — a pairing that acknowledges the interconnectedness of language and culture. For the purposes of this PhD study, and in particular the in-school observations carried out with migrant students

⁷² One such forum is ADEB (Association pour le Développement de l’Enseignement Bi/plurilingue) (<http://www.adeb-asso.org>), which is a strong French collective of academics, teachers and Council of Europe Language Policy Division members.

in UPE2A and EL classes, I have chosen to focus on language alone rather than including ‘culture’ or the concept of ‘intercultural education’. This is because ‘culture’ is a huge concept in its own right, that diverges into questions of identity (national identity, intercultural identity, youth identity and adolescent development), cultural norms and differences, degrees of cultural adaptation and intercultural competence, first and second generation migrants and culture loss, to mention but a few areas of interest. These are certainly topics that form a significant part of the newly-arrived migrant teenager’s experience. However, the focus of this PhD research is on **language, education and immigration**, and how these three areas intersect the newly-arrived immigrant teen’s experience at school, particularly in terms of **language use** in the classroom. I therefore choose the term ‘plurilingual education’ to retain this focus on ‘languages *in* education / languages *for* education’ (Coste 2013) and the role of L1 in student learning processes in the classroom.

The Council of Europe defines four founding principles of ‘**plurilingual and intercultural education**’ as follows:

- (1) *“Recognition of linguistic and cultural diversity as guaranteed by Council of Europe conventions.*
- (2) *Everyone’s right to use their language varieties as a medium of communication, a vehicle for learning and a means of expressing their affiliations.*
- (3) *Every learner’s right to gain experience and achieve a command of languages (language of schooling, first language, foreign language, etc) and the related cultural dimensions according to their personal needs and expectations, be they cognitive, social, aesthetic or affective, so as to be able to develop the necessary competences in other languages by themselves after leaving school.*
- (4) *The centrality of human dialogue, which depends essentially on languages. The experience of otherness through languages and the cultures they carry is the precondition (necessary but not sufficient) for intercultural understanding and mutual acceptance.”* (Council of Europe, 2020)

These four principles establish a rights-oriented view of plurilingual education that is linked to cultural identity and social equity.

10.1 Which languages for plurilingual teaching and learning?

Plurilingual education is defined earlier in this chapter as an approach to education that emphasises the advantages of integrating language learning in all subject areas. Plurilingual education is both the process and outcomes of education through languages. As defined by Daniel Coste at the ADEB conference in Paris, 2019, plurilingual education is *“the construction of learning via two or more languages – not simply the development of languages, but centralised on the construction of knowledge through language”*. This view opens up exciting possibilities for teaching immigrant students across all subject areas, as an educational approach that allows space for students’ first languages to be part of their learning processes clearly facilitates and supports access to content, and thereby knowledge construction, and ultimately schooling success.

A key question is, which languages could be involved in plurilingual teaching and learning processes, and why? I argue this question bringing together key elements from (i) social cohesion objectives in education, (ii) a language inclusiveness perspective, and (iii) second language acquisition theories.

10.1.1 Social cohesion objectives

In Part 1 of this thesis, I put forward several notions about plurilingual education as a means of cultivating social cohesion. A common thread that runs through these ideas is that ‘old ways’ of integrating and assimilating immigrant students into education systems have run their course, and have failed to produce consistently positive outcomes for young migrants. The context in 2020 calls for more socially sensitive and research-informed directions in catering for the educational needs and aspirations of migrant students at school. I argue that plurilingual educational approaches can be a central part of new responses and initiatives in education policy and practice, that can foster deeper social cohesion at school that carries forward into the futures of young people schooled in this way.

To recap key points from Part 1 on plurilingual education for social cohesion:

- Plurilingualism is a contemporary **social reality**, as schools are peopled by plurilingual and multicultural student populations; and therefore education policies and practices that adopt student-centred approaches will embrace the plurilingual character of schools today.
- Plurilingualism is increasingly framed as “a way of life” in Europe, and an **educational objective** for European schools. This is due in large part to the Council of Europe’s work in disseminating research findings on the multiple individual, educational and social benefits of plurilingualism.
- Both France and New Zealand are characterised by highly culturally and linguistically diverse populations. However, in **school practice** the plurilingual development of immigrant children is not prioritised, and as a result there is a significant breach between the social reality of plurilingualism in schools and the ability of schools to respond to this diversity.
- Changes may be precipitated in education policy and practice with respect to the plurilingual and intercultural education of immigrant children, in response to:
 - (a) the increasing numbers of migrant children who have been arriving in Europe since 2016 as asylum-seekers and refugees, and the pressure on education systems to adapt their teaching and learning methods;
 - (b) immigrant communities already established in both countries, who represent a significant linguistic proportion of the immigrant language groups spoken, are asking governments for greater recognition of their languages and cultures (Pasifika communities in NZ, and Arabic communities in France); and
 - (c) the increasing relevance of the recommendations and aspirations expressed in international instruments, as Europe sees herself faced with political divisions over immigration and the reconstitution of a unified post-Brexit European identity from 2021.

So, for social cohesion objectives, which languages could be involved in teaching and learning processes, and why? Simply, all the languages spoken by children and teachers of the class. Even if the teacher only speaks the language-of-schooling, finding ways for plurilingual children to work in their first languages and to share their existing linguistic knowledge can create a language-rich learning environment in which all children in the class positively perceive the linguistic competence of their peers. The work of Nathalie Auger in the short documentary *‘Comparons nos langues’* is a beautiful illustration of how a plurilingual classroom can function.

10.1.2 A language inclusiveness perspective

Language inclusiveness is an approach to languages in education that calls for space to be created for the languages of all participants within the educational environment. It forms part of an aspiration shared amongst teachers and educators for better educational outcomes for immigrant children, and advocates for innovative approaches in education that recognise the multiple benefits of both foreign language learning and the strengthening of first and heritage languages.

- A language inclusiveness approach to education is one that acknowledges the plurilingualism of the student population in schools, and seeks to maximise learning opportunities by treating plurilingualism as a rich asset to be treasured, cultivated and capitalised on.
- The two-way social and educational benefits of language inclusiveness are yet to be fully understood. Yet, it is a concept that offers us considerable scope for developing directions in education that create education policies and practices that include the languages of our immigrant populations, thereby:
 - (a) striving for equality in education that can yield better educational outcomes for immigrant children;
 - (b) adopting new perspectives on languages in teacher training that include the formal training of speakers of indigenous, regional, minority and immigrant languages in the community as plurilingual school teachers; and
 - (c) encouraging deeper forms of intercultural understanding and cohesion in societies, through more equitable exchanges of linguistic and cultural capital.

Which languages could be involved in teaching and learning processes, and why? In a language inclusiveness approach, the objective is for migrant students to access knowledge through their first language competences, particularly during the initial phase after arrival when language-of-schooling is insufficiently proficient. The first languages of migrant students are therefore key in a language inclusiveness approach, in conjunction with their development of language-of-schooling.

It seems that while teacher training institutions have a role to play in heightening teacher awareness about potential benefits of language inclusiveness, it will be teachers themselves who will be able to design activities for various ways of working with the existing language diversity in their own classrooms. While teacher training can 'plant seeds', it is classroom teachers who know their students best, and constantly observe how the child is learning, which teaching approaches are most effective for particular students, and where the child has difficulty. Teachers are highly adept at finding solutions, and are often creative and innovative in trying out different ways of teaching and learning.

At this stage, language inclusiveness is a concept, an aspiration, and the development of pedagogy and effective approaches will certainly come from teachers who are working 'on the chalk face' with migrant students. Researchers also have a key role to play, in identifying teachers who are working in diverse ways with language inclusiveness principles, and collaborating closely with those teachers to carry out studies on outcomes of classroom practice. Thus, practice-based methodologies supported by research-evidenced results will be an important next phase in defining 'language inclusiveness' pedagogy.

As an example from this PhD study, in the first cycle of observations in the French school's UPE2A class, the teacher sometimes had students working in same-language pairs on reading comprehension tasks. The students talked to each other in their L1, to decode the task requirements and check understanding of the French text. Students appeared motivated and on-task, and over the 8-week observation period produced more utterances in L1 that were task-oriented than L1 utterances that were off-task. This suggests that when students have learning conditions in place where they can use L1, they tend to do so constructively and skilfully as part of an autonomous learning process.

10.1.3 Second language acquisition theories

In spite of theoretical developments and research findings since the 1970s, today there is still no consensus on how language-of-schooling programmes can help immigrant students to succeed. There are arguments for the merits of the three main types of programmes: language-of-schooling only, transitional bilingual support, and ongoing heritage language maintenance. In predominantly monolingual educational environments, schools still tend to teach in "submersion" style — language-of-schooling only (FLS in French schools / EL in New Zealand schools). Teachers remain ambivalent about the place of L1 in language programmes, and teacher training in this area is essential, if plurilingual education is to be understood and practiced in schools.

Findings from research in language education consistently support the view that including pluralities of identities and languages, and those of cultural heritage in particular, creates a platform from which to improve learning, engagement, and construction of knowledge, with a view to academic success. Research into the cognitive functioning of plurilingual people has found that the ability to use more than one language tunes other cognitive functions in the brain, such as attentional control (Abutalebi, 2016; Cummins 1979, 2001). Other research shows that plurilingualism favours creativity, as it allows thoughts to be organised in a different way and offers alternative platforms from which to view the world (Berthoud, Grin & Lüdi, 2013). An underlying concept of the creative effect of plurilingualism is that human activity is contextual and interactional, termed the "integrative model" of plurilingualism (Berry 1997). In the integrative model, language acquisition is more than skills-based, rather it is the development of a "repertoire in language competence", defined as an ensemble of verbal and non-verbal resources (Lüdi, 2019). Including this linguistic and cultural repertoire in the child's learning processes therefore opens up areas of cognitive functioning that potentially enhance learning.

Which languages could be involved in teaching and learning processes, and why? Second language acquisition theories strongly support the role of first languages in L2 acquisition (Cummins 1979, 1999) and interaction for developing L2 proficiency (Gass & Mackey 2015). Therefore, for immigrant students, the strength of the plurilingual education model is that their first languages can be included in learning processes, with the objective of developing a high standard of proficiency in the language-of-schooling.

Within the plurilingual education model is the suggestion of linguistic flexibility, enjoying a sense of 'play' with languages, and co-creation of learning through language. This approach requires a shift away from teacher-centred learning styles towards student-centred learning, where the child has space to play creatively with language in a learning environment that is safe, and at the same time structured for language-and-content learning objectives.

One very wonderful example of the success of an immigrant child in the French education system comes from Maria-Rose Moro. In interviews published in *"Enfants de l'immigration, une chance pour l'école"* (2012), Moro describes her experiences as a child of Spanish immigrant parents in France, being educated in a school directed by a couple who carried a strong sense of social justice. Moro describes key moments in her education when the teacher positively framed her identity as a non-native speaker of French, to encourage her and shine a light on her efforts to succeed in communicating, saying to other students "you have a poetess in your midst!" This is an example of a positive teacher attitude towards language learning that recognises interlanguage development as healthy creative language use, rather than error.

In an example of a recent study with emergent French-English bilingual children in France (Cohen, Bauer & Minniear 2021), findings underline the need for approaches other than bilingual pedagogical practices in the French context. The study shows that teachers still have choice in monolingual educational settings, and the challenge is *"to navigate educational policies and the needs of their students"* (p.21). The authors support classroom strategies that scaffold language objectives into content-based tasks, and provide students with multiple angles of attack on a given task or project, through languages.

In another example from my own PhD study, in the New Zealand EL classes observed, the teacher used a lot of interactive activities such as roaming/rotating interviews, Q&A throwing a ball, pair work, and small group work with a teacher aide. As the students were all at a beginner or pre-intermediate level of English, their sentences were full of errors. However, the interactive activities provided multiple opportunities to notice errors and gain explicit or implicit feedback from both peers and teachers. The teacher also had students repeating and consolidating the same language during an activity repeated over several days (roaming interviews asking each other "What did you do in the weekend?"), which noticeably helped students to improve their production and fluency in English question and answer patterns.

Chapter 6 conclusion

The hypothesis of this research is that *"Educational environments that allow space for plurilingual learning approaches create a platform from which to improve learning processes, engagement and construction of knowledge, thereby encouraging more effective learning for newly-arrived immigrant students"*. A key point of interest from this chapter therefore is how theories of plurilingual education can be linked to education practices, in order to better support migrant teenagers to succeed at school. I attempt to answer this question by summarising three areas of theory addressed in this chapter, further linking each area to teaching and learning practices for newly-arrived immigrant teenagers, as follows:

1. Language-of-schooling acquisition for migrant students is central to school success. In language-of-schooling acquisition, there are two main theories that can inform effective classroom practice: teaching for BICS and CALP proficiencies, and 'the interaction approach'. Theories of L2 acquisition recognise that bilingualism can promote certain cognitive advantages, some of which are particular to older language learners and may help to balance the disadvantages of a late start in language learning.
2. First languages of migrant students have a role to play in school success. This is supported by the developmental interdependence hypothesis (Cummins 1979), and a language inclusiveness perspective on education. The teacher-parent-child triangular relationship is an important support structure for working with first languages in education.
3. Plurilingual education approaches have strong potential to effect positive change within educational environments, that can improve learning processes and schooling outcomes for migrant students. Defined and elaborated in Council of Europe documents, plurilingual education is supported by a strong global network of researchers, educators and linguists. Teacher training institutions have a key role to play in integrating theories of plurilingual education into school teaching practice.

11. Language-of-schooling acquisition: theories into practice

It is essential for migrant students to become proficient in the language-of-schooling, in order to succeed at school. So a key question is how can the language-of-schooling be taught in order that the child effectively acquires L2 while minimising the potentially counter-productive impact of 'sequential' bilingualism and 'subtractive' language learning practices?

This question is addressed within theories of L2 acquisition developed since the 1970s, that highlight multiple areas to amplify in language education strategies for migrant children: (1) capitalising on the advantages of bi/plurilingual education, (2) recognising certain cognitive advantages for teenage language learners that counter-balance the disadvantages of the 'late arrival penalty', (3) teaching communicative and academic language skills across all subject areas, and (4) adopting interactive approaches to language learning.

One area to amplify as a strategy in language education for immigrant students is the teaching of language-of-schooling through bilingual or plurilingual approaches. Bi/plurilingualism has come to be viewed as a resource and potential asset in the child's learning, that can positively influence both cognitive and linguistic development, if a combination of other sociocultural and school conditions are also present to support the child's learning. Research concurs that bi/plurilingual development (rather than monolingual) can result in advantageous outcomes for the child's schooling, if the negative effects of 'subtractive' language learning environments are minimised. Monolingual learning environments often 'subtractively' frame the minority language child's experience of education, in that schools may be places that are insensitive to the cultural values and home languages of students, and where the child's lack of mastery of language-of-schooling is perceived as a 'deficit to learning'. Theories of L2 acquisition therefore point to the importance of plurilingual approaches in education as one link in a causal chain of sociocultural and attitudinal factors that can potentially advantage the minority child's learning of the language-of-schooling. Māori bilingual schooling in New Zealand, and regional language bilingual schooling in France are simultaneously instrumental in forging pathways into education policy for recognition of minority languages.

Secondly, the question of the older migrant child's age of arrival and exposure to the language-of-schooling is another area that is informed by research into L2 acquisition. The argument for a 'critical period' in language learning, whereby full proficiency in L2 is only possible if language learning begins before adolescence, is not definitively supported by second language research. While a 'late arrival penalty' (after the age of 12) has been identified by OECD international testing, studies also find that older learners can become proficient in L2, even when language learning begins during adolescence. Teenage learners can benefit from a faster rate of acquisition in L2 due to cognitive maturity, specifically in syntactic and metalinguistic awareness. This benefit can be supported by other contextual variables in formal language-learning situations, such as length of exposure to language-of-schooling in FLS/EL classes, and how the education system structures language support around assessment of learning — particularly how conditions and criteria for national educational testing at age 15 are organised around language and content. The NZ education system shows strength in this area, as language support can be provided through bilingual or English-only teacher aides in the classroom, and the NCEA system allows for internal assessment of student learning throughout the year across a diverse range of skills. If it were possible for schools to test content knowledge independently of language-of-schooling (through plurilingual approaches), the educational disadvantages created for migrant teenagers who are 'circumstantial' L2 learners in 'subtractive' language learning situations could be reduced.

Thirdly, language-of-schooling learning can be supported by teaching across all subject areas that distinguishes between two types of language proficiencies: communicative (BICS) and academic (CALP). Based on a language distinction theory that evolved during the 1970s (Skutnabb-Kangas & Toukamaa 1976, Cummins 1979), the BICS and CALP distinction clarifies why ongoing language-of-schooling support, during and beyond the newly-arrived phase, helps immigrant students to succeed, as both kinds of language proficiency are needed at school. Immigrant children can typically acquire BICS proficiency on a par with their native-speaker peers within 2 years of schooling, but it takes much longer for CALP proficiency to develop (5-7 years). Furthermore, numerous studies have consistently found that acquisition of these two areas in L2 rely on different stages of maturation, and older students have an advantage in developing academic proficiency due to cognitive maturity and an initially faster rate of acquisition. It is therefore possible that newly-arrived teenage immigrants may benefit initially from instruction in both BICS and CALP in L2. However, CALP learning will be more effective if (a) the child already has existing language concepts

for CALP in L1, or, (b) if the child has gaps in prior schooling, CALP proficiency can be developed simultaneously in L1 and L2.

Finally, language-of-schooling acquisition can be optimised by adopting interactive learning approaches. As a model in second language acquisition, the interaction approach incorporates theoretical aspects of input (Krashen 1982) and output (Swain 1985), as well as pedagogical aspects of interaction and feedback. For teachers of migrant students, the interaction approach can provide a useful structure for language learning processes in two ways:

- (i) Teachers can adapt language input (written and spoken) according to the student's level of proficiency, so that it is effective in both quality and quantity.
- (ii) Teachers can organise interactive learning activities by putting students into mixed groups of native and non-native speakers, so that students are in communicative situations where they can test their language hypotheses and negotiate for meaning.

In summary, these four theories of L2 acquisition — bi/plurilingual development, age of arrival (teenage learners), BICS and CALP, interaction approach — offer direction for effective teaching of the language-of-schooling that can minimise the disadvantages of subtractive learning situations for migrant teenagers in education, and improve chances for school success.

12. L1 have a role to play in school success: theories into practice

Is it important to include the minority language child's L1 in their learning processes?

Theories of bilingualism and language education support the hypothesis that first languages of migrant students have an important role to play in school success. A body of research since the 1970s consistently affirms findings that proficiency in L2 is best supported by ongoing literacy development in L1. When both languages are developed interdependently (developmental interdependence hypothesis, Cummins 1979) there are potential benefits in cognitive development, language-of-schooling acquisition, and quality of learning. However, in order for the learner to gain the cognitive benefits of bilingualism, a threshold of functional proficiency in both languages must be reached (Threshold Theory, Cummins 1976).

The developmental interdependence hypothesis proposes that the level of L2 competence a bilingual child attains is in part dependent on areas of L1 competence that the child has already developed at the time that intensive exposure to L2 began. This has clear implications for the role of L1 in the child's learning processes — that in order for minority language students to develop the L2 skills needed for successful schooling outcomes, L1 competence plays a key role and must therefore be developed alongside, and in complementarity to L2. If the child's existing competences in L1 are the foundation on which L2 proficiency can be built, schools need to have accurate information about the child's prior schooling and existing literacy in L1, in order to benefit equivalent aspects of L2 learning. This means reception phase school entry testing in L1, with the support of bilingual educators.

Students like the 42 participants in this study who are minority language speakers, many from refugee-background and asylum-seeker families, with gaps in prior schooling and lower levels of L1 literacy, are already at a disadvantage in their L2 acquisition on arrival. However, school learning programmes that include L1 during the newly-arrived phase, and find ways to support the development of L1 literacy throughout the child's schooling, give the child a good chance of developing a similar level of L2 literacy over time. The big question is how can this type of commitment to L1 and L2 development be supported by schools?

Firstly, if teachers, students and parents understand the benefits of maintaining and improving L1 literacy, alongside and in correlation with language-of-schooling learning, language learning can be mutually supported by a home-school orientation. Furthermore, if teachers, students and parents perceive value in working strongly with both L1 and L2 in the classroom and in homework tasks, language learning becomes 'additive' rather than the child feeling, and being treated as, 'linguistically deficient'.

Secondly, teachers need training in plurilingual approaches for minority language students, and teacher training institutions have a very important role to play. As well as theoretical training on the advantages of simultaneous L1 and L2 development and language inclusiveness pedagogy, teachers need plurilingual

resources for classroom use. The type of resources that can be effective are those that (a) help students to build strong links between L1 and L2, (b) require students to develop L1 and L2 literacy in parallel through task-based projects, (c) generate relevant homework assignments that link to content and language across subject areas, and (d) encourage students to become autonomous bilingual learners, (eg, bilingual research skills, use of technology to support L1 and L2 learning, self-directed learning in L1 and L2).

A final point on the inclusion of L1 in the child's learning processes is that this aligns with a 'language inclusiveness' perspective, which seeks to maximise learning opportunities by treating plurilingualism as a rich asset to be treasured, cultivated and capitalised on. The inclusion of L1, with the objective of developing high levels of communicative and academic L2 proficiency, is a way of practising equity in education that can yield better educational outcomes for migrant children.

13. Plurilingual education can effect change within educational environments: theories into practice

Plurilingual approaches to education offer huge potential to effect positive change for migrant students within educational environments, both in improving learning processes and schooling outcomes. Language competence determines access to education and success at school. One major challenge for education systems is to give learners, during their school education, language competences which will enable them to acquire knowledge, maintain and build on existing skills, and enjoy the rights of full social participation: this is part of the vision of plurilingual education (Council of Europe 2020).

For plurilingual education to move from "an ideal vision" to school-based practice, education researchers and schools need to work together, to bridge the divide between theory and practice. This can take place in a number of ways, for example:

- (i) Research into plurilingual education can be strengthened through consultation with, and collaboration between, university researchers and school teachers: for example, through joint research-teaching projects carried out in schools.
- (ii) Universities, schools and other institutions can work collectively to share academic findings and classroom observations of the benefits of plurilingual education: for example, through associations such as ADEB in France and TESOLNZ in New Zealand.
- (iii) Teacher training institutions can build 'plurilingual education approaches' into their initial teacher training programmes. In this way, beginner teachers go into schools with the knowledge and skills to include the languages of their migrant students, and an enthusiasm for bringing plurilingual teaching and learning approaches to their classes.
- (iv) Teacher training institutions can work alongside, and in consultation with, organisations that support migrant student education in schools, such as CASNAV in France and the Red Cross in New Zealand. In this way, ongoing teacher training can be supported by linking the vision of plurilingual education with teachers' observations and needs in teaching practice.

In short, teacher training institutions have a very important role to play in integrating plurilingual education theories into teaching practice in schools. If plurilingual approaches can be promoted in ways that are meaningful and practicable in schools, schools can in turn become places that are more receptive to, and supportive of, the needs and competences of migrant students. Education researchers within universities also have a role to play in forming relationships with schools and teachers of migrant students, and seeking to build stronger links between theory and practice.

A potential longer-term effect on educational environments from these types of collaborations, is that the framework for learning may become more adapted to migrant students and their language competences, thereby creating better conditions for success. In this way, the educational environment adapts to the plurilingual reality of its students, moving away from the current one-way integration processes that are characterised by the monolingual dominance of language-of-schooling and exclusion of migrant students' first languages from learning and assessment. The vision of plurilingual education is exactly this — that a holistic approach to the teaching of all subjects through languages (a plurality of languages), can enable all students, and particularly migrant students, to succeed at school.

Chapter 7

Types of plurilingual and intercultural teaching and learning

Chapter 7 outlines types of plurilingual and intercultural teaching and learning. Here, I draw on Council of Europe Language Division publications, effective language inclusiveness approaches observed during this study, and methods of plurilingual teaching and learning trialled in other studies. Recommendations for supporting asylum seeker and refugee background students in their first year of schooling are also given an important place.

This chapter focuses on plurilingual and intercultural approaches to the teaching and learning of newly-arrived immigrant students in their first year of learning the language-of-schooling (French / English in this context), that include the child's existing and developing language repertoire in their learning process.

I seek to present "best practice" methods, and to make links with original findings from this study of 42 newly-arrived 11-18 year olds in two schools in France and New Zealand.

Key questions:

- What are some effective methods for plurilingual and intercultural teaching and learning?
- What are some ways of working with asylum seeker and refugee-background students during their first year of schooling after arrival?
- What does 'best practice' in teaching and learning for newly-arrived immigrant students look like?

Introduction

Plurilingual and intercultural education is a values-based, humanist approach to teaching and learning, which aims for all students to develop openness to diversity and otherness, contextualise knowledge as a common resource, and furthermore aims to position young people as social actors, and to encourage civic participation (Castellotti and Moore, 2010, p.7). The principle underlying this education is that plurilingualism is an asset, and that schools have a key role to fulfil in maintaining and developing plurilingual and intercultural competences, for reasons of social cohesion, integration and civic engagement by everyone.

It is an education that responds to the increasingly diverse composition of European populations, and intensified migration and mobility globally. The provision of plurilingual and intercultural education requires curricular development towards a vision of creating societies that embrace and live within (rather than "live alongside") plurality, diversity and heterogeneity. The principles of such a curriculum include strengthening:

- the interconnectedness and complementarity of languages and learning
- the linking of past, present and future-oriented knowledge and competences
- the recognition of experience (linguistic and cultural) in cognitive development (Castellotti and Moore, 2010, p.7)

While this education emphasises the benefits of languages and intercultural communication for all, the provision of this type of language-culture-oriented approach clearly has particular benefits for young plurilinguals from migrant backgrounds, that support success in learning. This entails:

- implementing school practices that capitalise on the plurilingual and multicultural repertoires of immigrant students;
- appreciating young migrants for what they offer, as well as addressing their needs — particularly in terms of language(s) of schooling;
- promoting plurilingual strategies and intercultural dialogue within daily classroom routines, school culture and curriculum goals (Castellotti and Moore, 2010, p.7)

1. 3 types of plurilingual and intercultural education

There are three main orientations in plurilingual and intercultural education, which helpfully group the various teaching and learning approaches. Each orientation is characterised by a positive view of plurality of languages / cultures, as follows:

- (1) Biographical approaches: acknowledging diversity and mobility as legitimate life pathways.
- (2) Building plurilingual and intercultural competence at school: a global (rather than compartmentalised) concept of language learning.
- (3) School and community links that promote social cohesion: families and parents, culturally diverse viewpoints, pluriliteracy.

In classroom teaching and learning activities, each orientation lends itself to various forms of learning — project-based, task-based, interactive or individual — and examples are drawn from Council of Europe Languages Division publications, observations from the two schools in France and New Zealand for this research, and findings from international studies.

1.1 Biographical approaches: acknowledging diversity and mobility as legitimate life pathways

Biographical approaches take into account the migration experience as a legitimate life pathway. Learning activities focus on process rather than evaluation of outcomes, and can involve reflexive work, audiovisual and written multimedia, forms of online and arts-based presentation, and linguistic and cultural dimensions that communicate plurality as biography.

- 1.1.1 One example is the *European Languages Portfolio* in which plurilingual pathways are validated in the development of language bridging strategies, interlingual correlations, and the child's experience of language and culture across place and time. The *European Languages Portfolio* is linked to the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages*, the importance of which is stressed for languages in education, both in its standardising function of establishing language proficiency levels and descriptors, and in its view of language education as a factor in social development (Candelier et al 2003, p.14). Key objectives of the *Common European Framework* (2001) include:

“⇒ *promoting plurilingualism and diversification in the choice of languages in the curriculum*

⇒ *supporting the development and demonstration of the plurilingual profile of individual learners*”

- 1.1.2 Interweaving a biographical approach into classroom interaction is also a way of incorporating the experiential knowledge of young migrants into their language-of-schooling learning processes. “Learning moments” are reinforced when students make connections between past and present experiences, at the same time forming interlanguage links. In the following examples from this current study with newly-arrived migrant adolescents in two schools in France and New Zealand, students with an A1-A2 level of proficiency in the language-of-schooling make links to their past experiences, at the same time reinforcing vocabulary acquisition by discussing in their first languages:

Example 1: Two Bulgarian students in UPE2A class:

- T asks Lena, “Tu connais la neige? Tu as déjà vu de la neige en Bulgarie?” Bojan understands and answers “oui” in place of Lena.
- T asks Lena, “Tu comprends un bonnet?” Bojan is very engaged now. **He and Lena exchange in L1**, with gestures about what is “un bonnet” that goes on your head, and “une écharpe”, where it wraps around the throat.

Observation #4, First Cycle in French school, 19/1/2018

Example 2: Three students in EL tutorial with teacher aide:

- Students stumble over pronunciation of “garlic”. T asks them to talk about the colour of garlic and onions, whether they like these vegetables, then the colour of other vegetables.
- *For the word “avocado”, Yuusuf says “Is same in Somali, “Avocado”.* T says avocado is expensive in NZ, is it expensive in Somalia? Abdirahim and Yuusuf say yes.
- Abdul describes how they vitamise avocado with another vegetable. T says we don’t have this vegetable in NZ. **Abdul and boys discuss the name of this vegetable in Arabic, then Abdul looks into his phone to find a picture of it.** T says to show her the picture when he finds it.

Observation, First Cycle in NZ school, 27/5/2018

In these two examples, students make connections to memories from their home country experiences (the weather, food), related to new language learning. It is a “learning moment” that lasts only a few seconds, yet is significant for these students whose engagement is visibly heightened when they speak about past experiences (in Example 1, Bojan makes animated gestures to explain “*bonnet, écharpe*”) and/or make interlingual connections (in Example 2, Yuusuf says that the word for “*avocado*” is the same in Somali as in English). In both cases, students spontaneously engage with the task using their plurilingual skills: they discuss in their first languages, clarify the meaning of new words being acquired in the language-of-schooling, make conscious interlanguage links, and search for equivalent words in the language-of-schooling. They also share cultural knowledge with the teacher: another vegetable eaten with avocado in Syria, the shared experience of snow in Bulgaria. Here is a moment where the students become experts, take a leading role, and have new and interesting things to share with their teacher. As a result, motivation is high, attention is fully engaged, students are actively contributing to the learning context, and these factors add quality to the conditions for language acquisition.

Clearly, plurilingual and intercultural learning through a biographical approach does not have to be complex or project-based, it can also be the teacher taking a “little and often” approach that allows space for students to make connections between present language learning and past memories. These kinds of learning activities where students can express their own cultural knowledge and plurilingual skills, help to build confidence and a sense of ownership of their own learning processes.

- 1.1.3 In one example of a study carried out in France with non-French-speaking adolescents at *collège*, students felt that their own linguistic and cultural history was given value when they learnt French through the reading and writing of simple portraits of other people speaking several languages (Leconte and Mortmet 2005).

1.2 Building plurilingual and intercultural competence at school

This approach centres on the explicit teaching of plurilingual skills, and is characterised by “*a global rather than compartmentalised concept of language education which, using different methods, applies several linguistic and cultural varieties (Candelier, 2009)*” (CoE 2010, p.12).

- 1.2.1 One example is CARAP (*Cadre de référence pour les approches plurielles des langues et des cultures / Framework of reference for pluralistic approaches to languages and cultures*), a document produced by the Council of Europe, that aims to help teachers in developing creative ways of working with plurilingual and intercultural teaching methods in schools for the benefit of all students, not just immigrant students. The example of CARAP is elaborated further in Part 1, Chapter 8, as a reference framework for schools to coordinate curriculum goals and structure learning programmes, that is relevant to European countries but also adaptable to the New Zealand context.

- 1.2.2 Another example is the European textbook EUROMANIA (Escudé 2008), which provides teaching activities in six Romance languages (French, Italian, Occitan, Portuguese, Romanian and Spanish) for integrated learning across school subjects (science, technology, mathematics, history). These types of educational activities aim to transfer knowledge while building inter-comprehension capacities. Such capacities can be linguistic (lexical transparency, similarities between languages) or non-linguistic (text layout, construction of text genres, drama-based), and aim to build understanding of others without formally learning “other languages”. The CREOLE textbook volumes also work in this area of inter-comprehension, with a more direct focus language awareness activities that establish links between related languages — for example, African Bantu languages (Linguala, Kikongo,

Kidinga), or regional and national languages (Occitan, Catalan, French) (CREOLE magazine No. 5, 2001).

1.2.3 During this study in the French and NZ schools, examples of explicit ways of building plurilingual and intercultural competences were interwoven into the ways teachers worked with students. In the first example in the French school, the teacher asked students to write “happy new year” in their L1 on the board. Students were very engaged with this simple sharing of their languages, and all languages became present and interesting in the classroom. Also, students who speak varieties of the same language can make comparisons and notice differences — in this case Arabic variations.

Example 1: Making language learning a plurilingual exercise

- Teacher writes “Bonne et heureuse année” on the whiteboard, and asks students to write it in their L1 on the board and to teach how to say it to the class. Students begin doing this, with excitement and interest - they have become experts teaching the class something about their L1 !
- Students give pronunciation of French first.
- T asks Nadim how to say “Bonne et heureuse année” in Arabic. He hesitates. When T writes it in English, **Nadim understands and gives Arabic orally**. T points out that there is not one single Arabic form. Discussion around differences in Nadim’s Arabic and what another student Osama wrote .
- Nadim (from Syria) replies, “Moi je comprends Osama”. **T asks whether when Nadim listens to Osama, he understands** that he’s not from Syria. Nadim nods.
- As **Borislav is writing on whiteboard in Bulgarian L1**, the other Bulgarian students are very engaged, watching, smiling, pointing.
- Borislav speaks or writes two languages - Bulgarian and Turkish. When he writes on the whiteboard, **he “corrects”** what has already been written there in Bulgarian. The two Bulgarian girls Lena and Iosefina protest and say, “C’est pas comme ça, Madame!”
- T asks if there are several possibilities for writing in Bulgarian?

Observation #4, First Cycle in French school, 19/1/2018

In example 2, students read aloud sentences they have translated from French to L1, so that the class hears the sounds of their different languages. From there, they make comparisons between their languages and French, talking about the different sounds and letters of the French alphabet:

Example 2: Noticing differences between language-of-schooling and languages of students:

- **Leilani is asked to read out her sentence in Laotian**. All students enjoy repeating the sounds. T asks Leilani how many sounds there are in Laotian, Leilani replies that there are 70 different sounds.
- **T asks the whole class how many letters there are in their language** and they can generally reply, except for Nadim (Arabic-speaking from Syria) who says “about 24 or 25, something like that”.
- T then teaches students about the French alphabet and sounds.

Observation #4, First Cycle in French school, 19/1/2018

In a third example, the teacher helps students to make conscious links between language-of-schooling and L1, allowing time for students to discuss meaning together in their L1. Remembering that all of the students who participated in this study have a beginner level of proficiency in the language-of-schooling, it is still possible, and even an ideal stage at which to make use of plurilingual learning approaches. In the following example, students are working on verb meanings and have an open option of how to demonstrate understanding of the verb “se fâche”, in language or para-language. As a next step, they work in their L1 in direct translation:

Example 3: Helping students to make direct links between language-of-schooling and L1

- T asks class to explain reflexive verb “se fâche”. Erlblin makes a grimace to show “get angry”. T asks what is “se fâche” in Portuguese. **Students discuss a little in L1, find the Portuguese word then say it aloud to the Teacher**.
- T draws attention to other French verbs. Asks students to say infinitive forms, **then to translate into L1 for each other**.

Observation #1, First Cycle French school, 24/11/2017

Feunteun's (2007) study of this type of interlanguage work involved 128 children aged 5-7, and 5 teachers, in two French primary schools. The study examined ways for students to make links between language-of-schooling (French), L2 (English in this case) and minority languages (not necessarily L1 for these children but in their family background and experience). The work included annotated drawings and biographical work, and concludes that:

“Sans vouloir forcément en faire un « outil pédagogique » au sens où l'on entend habituellement ce terme, la vraie question nous semble celle de savoir comment enrichir le profil personnel et professionnel de chaque enseignant, en formation initiale et continue, pour qu'il prenne le risque au quotidien, dans sa classe, de guider ses élèves dans leur négociation perceptive de l'altérité.” (p69)

It is a question that is also raised as a result of my study on immigrant adolescents in France and New Zealand: how teacher training (initial and ongoing) can help teachers to build personal and professional competences that enable them to put into practice various aspects of plurilingual and intercultural education.

1.3 School and community links that promote social cohesion

The third group of plurilingual and intercultural approaches is an inclusive education model that encourages links between families and parents, community diversity and school expertise. Inclusion of the wider community in the child's learning places value on diversified methods of learning and knowledge transmission, as resources that benefit every child in their educational experience. This approach cultivates a support network around the child that will help her to succeed, characterised as:

“... an experiential, integrated and holistic approach to plurilingual and intercultural education resting on the enhancement and sharing of learners' life knowledge and a reflexive stance concerning those aspects so that pupils will be better prepared to succeed at school.” (CoE, 2010, p.21)

- 1.3.1 CASNAV is the central organisation in France for coordinating the education of immigrant students, and supports school-parent-community links through teacher professional development, plurilingual and intercultural teaching and learning resources, resettlement assistance for newly-arrived families. The role of CASNAV in education of migrant children is essential, and is explored later in Chapter 8, Part 1.
- 1.3.2 Another example from France is ADEB (*Association pour le Développement de l'Enseignement Bilingue*), a respected national association of educators and researchers offering a wide range of teaching resources promoting plurilingualism for migrant and local children, social cohesion, and education against discrimination. ADEB promotes plurilingual education in schools, along principles of improving individual success in schooling, inclusion and social cohesion, and democratic citizenship.
- 1.3.3 In Aotearoa New Zealand, language education is almost exclusively the domain of government, and there is a gap to be filled by associations and organisations that can effectively bring together teacher training, learning resources and community involvement in plurilingual and intercultural education (Royal Society of NZ, 2013). An Education Review Office programme 2014-2017 focused on school-community relations as a factor in success in education for plurilingual adolescents, finding that school leaders who understood this intention *“created productive partnerships with parents, whānau (family), hapu (community), iwi (tribe), communities and business focused on educational success”* (Mitchell 2017, p.181). Other Ministry of Education strategies in recent years focus on each group of language speakers as a separate entity with particular educational needs: Māori language and cultural education, with a focus on supporting learning for Māori students (*Tau Mai Te Reo 2013-2017, Ka Hikitia*), Pacific languages education (*Pasifika Education Plan 2013-2017*), refugee and migrant background learners (*Refugee background students, English Language funding, Senior Advisers for Refugee and Migrant Support*), and international fee-paying students in New Zealand (*International Education Strategy 2018, International Student Wellbeing Strategy*).
- 1.3.4 Examples from this study reveal a variety of ways in which the wider plurilingual community can be involved in students' experiences of school-based learning. In the NZ school, a bilingual Arabic-English teacher aide is employed for 15 hours per week to support the Arabic-speaking students in

their mainstream classes. She forms a key link between school, refugee families and the wider Arabic-speaking community, as she is herself from a refugee background, settled in NZ 12 years ago, and understands the families' experiences.

Staff at the NZ school are ethnically and linguistically diverse, with Māori, Indian and Asian teachers; similarly at the French school the staff include Iraqi, Albanian and other European language-speaking teachers. Both schools have a pool of translators who can be called on for parent-teacher meetings. At a CASNAV teacher training day observed, teachers commented on ways that the school has strengthened their community ties:

Since the previous CASNAV workshop in May 2017, teachers have made several changes to support the integration of immigrant students and their families. One of the FLS teachers had the students reproduce their timetables in their home language, to facilitate communication between parents and the school. The school also employed translators of Bulgarian and Turkish for parent-teacher meetings.

Observation of CASNAV training day, Collège in Bordeaux, 22/1/2018

At the CADA centre where I volunteered as an English teacher from 2017-2019, there are a number of families with children at the local schools, including children who participated in this study. Links between local community and residents are organised to support integration of asylum-seeking families in several ways:

The CADA in Bordeaux housed 544 asylum seekers in 2017, and reported increased work pressure on CADA staff due to rising numbers of asylum seekers arriving, notably from Syria, and that the role of volunteers is also becoming increasingly important as support staff. In 2017, CADA had 55 volunteers on the books, fulfilling functions such as French teachers, English or Arabic teachers, orientation of newly arrived asylum seekers, accompanying residents to appointments and official engagements, buddying and friendship, and integration into local community activities.

CADA also welcomes students for short periods of work experience. One of these students who was with CADA in 2018, Mélanie, organised a multilingual newsletter to go out to volunteers and residents in French and Arabic. The newsletter announced weekly events, such as a women's outing into Bordeaux for lunch at a solidarity centre on International Women's Day. Again, it was a light, friendly moment for us as women from different countries to come together and piece together conversation in our various languages.

The open-door policy at this local CADA in Bordeaux allows for exchange between residents and the local community. Once a month, a staff member organises an evening which is open to the local community to attend, at which residents give a short presentation in French about their home country.

Observation notes 2017-2019

The philosophy of school leaders and perceived value of creating strong community links is also important, as evidenced in an interview with the school principal at the Wellington school that participated in this study:

"We run evening school classes that are free for ESOL adults, and not just parents of our students, anyone is welcome. We have run free Te Reo Māori and NZ Sign Language classes, that anyone can attend. The Te Reo Māori classes are fully enrolled, very popular right now. Te Reo Māori learning is gaining in momentum, and there's a genuine shift in learning Te Reo. Any language learning is beneficial and builds empathy. As I said, all of our Year 9 students learn Te Reo, plus they have the choice of another language. That's how we build understanding, and that's how we're mainly working on teaching students about inclusiveness and acceptance of each other. We've just got to embrace difference. As Muslim culture integrates more with Western culture, surely what comes out of that is mutual learning and respect. I grew up Catholic in Australia (I'm not Catholic now), and it's different now to when I was young: we're no longer separate, we have to learn how to live well together."

Interview with Wellington school principal, 18/3/2019

These examples show organisational reflection on immediate as well as longer term benefits of community ties where multiple language and cultural backgrounds interact. The mutual social and educational benefits are recognised in communicating plurilingually and interculturally in a variety of forums: parents meeting with teachers, parents learning languages in evening classes, plurilingual communication through newsletters and school timetables, local volunteers interacting with asylum-seeking families, and bilingual teacher aides who form a home-school bridge for refugee background families.

1.3.5 In other examples, contexts where indigenous and minority languages are integrated into school systems can enrich the curriculum and valorise community languages and cultural perspectives. New Caledonia, for example, has recently developed plurilingual history and geography textbooks in French and Kanak languages (Drehu, Nengone, Païçî and Ajië), enabling plural learning of local history, colonisation and decolonisation, and valuing of indigenous experiences. In another example, regional languages in France are accorded greater recognition within the public education system since the 2013 *Loi d'orientation et de programmation pour la reconduction de l'école de la République*. Positioned within and beyond language education, regional languages are now part of French patrimony and supported by teaching resources in geography, music and art history, as well as teacher certification, and special recognition of indigenous languages taught in the extended French territories (for example, Amerindian languages of Guyane, Futunien and Wallisien in Wallis-et-Futuna) (Cassabois, 2013).

Chapter 7 conclusion

This initial grouping of plurilingual and intercultural approaches into three orientations provides a useful overview of how educational environments are currently organising teaching and learning for language inclusiveness and cultural diversity. As a way of educating through **humanist values**, these approaches view plurilingualism as an asset worth developing, and cultural difference as a collective resource. Furthermore, the social realities of linguistic and cultural diversity brought about by migration and mobility call for a response and adaptation from education systems.

Biographical approaches acknowledge migration as an increasingly common life pathway for young people. The *European Languages Portfolio*, linked to the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages*, offers a model for recording individual stories of language acquisition and intercultural identity over time. Another approach, as found in this study of newly-arrived immigrant adolescents, is an interweaving of past and present experiences of language and cultural similarities (as well as differences), that can engage students more authentically in their language-of-schooling learning and support the psychological process of adapting to the new culture.

The second orientation, **building plurilingual and intercultural competence at school, acknowledges that schools have a role in maintaining and extending students' plurilinguistic repertoires.** Two European models of plural approaches to languages and cultures, CARAP and EUROMANIA, exemplify a global rather than compartmentalised approach to learning languages, working through language awareness. As evidenced in this study, this approach can be cultivated through a language-inclusive classroom culture, in which students are at once linguistic experts and language learners. Activities such as comparing linguistic features of first languages and language-of schooling (transparent words, different and similar sounds, alphabetic systems, varieties of Arabic, for example) train students in metalinguistics, orthography and etymology, as well as offering "an experience of languages".

The third orientation, **strengthening links between school, families and community, is a holistic, child-centred approach that supports learning in diversified ways, community-based knowledge transmission, and involving families in the child's learning.** In both France and New Zealand there are numerous actors in the educational environment that form a framework for this community-oriented approach in a variety of ways: plurilingual resources for school parents, professional development for teachers, language workshops for parents/teachers/children, resettlement assistance, support for refugee-background students and families (CASNAV, ADEB, NZ Ministry of Education, CADA, NZ Red Cross). This study takes a particular interest in students from asylum-seeking and refugee backgrounds, and the support structures available to them in the educational environment. A very important point to note from this study is that effective, meaningful support for these students in vulnerable situations is all about community links. The study revealed an extensive support network of people and agencies around asylum-seeker and refugee students and their families (translators, bilingual teacher aides, CADA staff and volunteers, CASNAV teacher

training specialists). Teachers in schools are often the initiators and facilitators of these links, and are aware of the importance of establishing relationships with parents and families. Attitudes of school leaders towards languages and the cultural diversity in the community is also influential, and pro-active approaches to language learning and social integration set the tone for the whole school (interview with the NZ school principal, March 2019).

These education models of pluralistic approaches to language and cultural diversity enhance and enrich the learning of all children, as well as having particular benefits for migrant children's success at school. The principles of plurilingual and intercultural approaches are inclusive of all learners, and value interlinking of knowledge systems, interweaving of cultural values, and interrelating for deeper understanding and acceptance of each other. Educational goals are both pragmatic and values-oriented: in practice, learning "in and through languages" enhances plurilingualism and pluriliteracy, including proficiency in the language-of-schooling; while in a values-based perspective, integration and social cohesion are emphasised. Plurilingual and intercultural teaching methods can thus be viewed as explicit educational projects "*in which access to social and school resources gains from being conducted in several languages for mutual benefit in knowledge appropriation*" (Castellotti and Moore 2010).

Part 3, Conclusion

Immigrant teenagers in schools – languages and learning during the newly-arrived phase

A comparative study of educational environments, language diversity and plurilingualism in France and Aotearoa New Zealand

Introduction

Part 3 concludes with identifying problems and solutions in the educational environments in France and New Zealand, that impact on school learning for immigrant students during the “critical transition phase” (OECD, 2018). I synthesise key findings from this study to draw conclusions about the experiences of plurilingual immigrant students within the two educational environments. I extend on the perspective presented in Part 1, that educational environments are highly politically-informed, as evidenced in school-based practices, and that newly-arrived immigrant students are therefore learning within sites that potentially facilitate or oppose their educational success.

This concluding part is organised as follows:

- The main questions posed at the outset of this comparative education research project are revisited, with a reflection on outcomes of the research. A summary of findings from this study tests the hypothesis that *“Educational environments that allow space for plurilingual learning approaches create a platform from which to improve learning processes, engagement and construction of knowledge, thereby encouraging more effective learning for newly-arrived immigrant students”*.

The main questions:

- (1) How do policies of immigration, education, and language shape the educational environments that newly-arrived migrant, asylum-seeker and refugee-background students are learning within?
- (2) How can the chances for “successful schooling” for newly-arrived immigrant teenagers be maximised through plurilingual learning approaches that create space for the first languages (and plurilingual repertoires) of students?
- (3) Where do educational conditions and individual learning behaviours intersect to enhance language acquisition and integration, leading towards successful outcomes at school?

- Finally, I propose future directions for research into the education of newly-arrived immigrant teenagers and the potential role of plurilingual learning approaches to further support their success in schooling.

Key questions in Part 3:

- Have the main questions been answered by this research?
- What do findings from this study say about the hypothesis?
- Which questions has this research not been able to answer?
- What do I propose as future directions for research into the potential role of plurilingual learning approaches to support school success for immigrant teenagers during the newly-arrived phase?

Conclusion to findings

Introduction

At the outset of this research, I identified the problematic that *“in spite of a greater awareness of the advantages of plurilingualism, the schooling of young immigrants continues to be framed in terms of “linguistic deficit”, even though more than 50 years of research supports additive views that include the child’s existing linguistic competences.”* (Part 1, introduction). I pointed out that **comparative education research** has an important role to play in investigating issues of **power and participation** being enacted within education systems. From this point of view, my research is interested in questions of equal access to the benefits of education for young immigrants, with a particular focus on **language and plurilingualism as a means of participation**.

I have therefore approached this problematic from two comparative perspectives, situating the whole against the backdrop of an ecological systems model (Bronfenbrenner, 1979):

- (1) A wide-angle perspective on the politics of immigration, education and languages in the two countries being compared (Part 1); and
- (2) A close-up perspective on the schooling experiences of young immigrants during the newly-arrived phase, focusing on language use and learning behaviours in mainstream learning, in both national educational contexts (Part 2).

In this concluding Part 3, I review key findings from my research and reflect on what this indicates for “education-based solutions”, and teacher training for plurilingual pedagogies in particular.

The in-schools study

At the heart of this thesis is a study of 42 newly-arrived immigrant students learning in schools in the educational contexts of France and Aotearoa New Zealand. The students who participated in this study share common elements in their profile: they are teenagers (aged 11-18) from a migrant, asylum-seeker or refugee background, who had little or no proficiency in the language-of-schooling on arrival. There are high levels of linguistic and cultural diversity amongst the students, with 22 different countries of origin, 24 different languages spoken in homes, and 21 children speaking more than one language at home (other than language-of-schooling).

Students with this kind of profile face obvious disadvantages in school learning: “the late arrival penalty”, low language-of-schooling proficiency, unfamiliarity with the education system in the host country, and in some cases the trauma of the asylum-seeker or refugee experience. However, **this study has examined how plurilingualism can empower learners, how teachers and schools can capitalise on the existing plurilingual skills and knowledge of their students, and what the learning behaviours of these students indicate for teacher training and language education policies**. Findings affirm the positive and important role of plurilingual learning approaches in supporting students to become active learners and participants in the classroom — a key element in school success and integration.

The in-schools study (2017-2019) had two main objectives:

1. To observe **students’ language-learning behaviours** — how did they make use of their existing language skills and knowledge in the process of learning the language-of-schooling? Is there something that we can learn as language teachers from students’ self-directed use of L1 and other plurilingual skills?
2. To observe **students’ learning strategies and integration processes in mainstream classes**. What kinds of learning strategies did students in this study use in mainstream classes? How did the two schools support newly-arrived students with little or no proficiency in the language-of-schooling to participate in mainstream classes? What can we identify as helpful support structures during this newly-arrived phase?

Findings in these two areas of language-learning behaviours and integration into mainstream learning (presented, analysed and discussed in Part 2) provide quantitative and qualitative support for the hypothesis that:

“Educational environments that allow space for plurilingual learning approaches create a platform from which to improve learning processes, engagement and construction of knowledge, thereby encouraging more effective learning for newly-arrived immigrant students”.

This hypothesis was tested by extensive data gathered from 52 hours of observation in FLS and EL classes in the two participating schools (Bordeaux and Wellington), plus 22 hours of observation in *classes d’inclusion* / mainstream classes (examples of case studies). Based on the study’s findings (Part 2), I emphasise two key areas: firstly, the study affirms the stance of **students themselves as actors in initiating and maintaining these “spaces for plurilingual learning approaches”**, and therefore as co-creators of the “platform from which to improve learning processes, engagement and construction of knowledge”; and secondly, **the study strongly supports teachers training in plurilingual learning approaches** to encourage more effective learning for immigrant students.

I conclude that:

“These collated findings from observations of students in FLS/EL and mainstream classes show that in learning spaces where students can work plurilingually they become interactive learners, whereas in monolingual learning spaces they rely on passive learning. Students can participate more actively and succeed under monolingual conditions if non-language based methods of learning are available to them.

Language-of-schooling acquisition takes time, and this comparative study shows that plurilingual, interactive approaches in learning can transform newly-arrived immigrant students from passive to active learners. Teachers who are aware of their language use in the classroom (and bi-plurilingual teachers can be particularly skilled in this area), can effectively reduce the learning burden of language-of-schooling for immigrant students. This is a key to success in schooling for plurilingual immigrant students, as they are already adept at using their language repertoires for a range of learning purposes, and teachers and school systems can respond to this by structuring the learning environment so that language use is purposeful, accessible and inclusive. ... As a result, this study is able to identify, describe and explain a set of common best practices for integrating newly-arrived immigrant students into mainstream learning.” (Part 2, conclusion)

In this concluding Part 3, I attempt to mobilise the concept of “an ecological systems model” to better understand interactions between the study’s findings and aspects of educational environments in both countries, as set out in Part 1. In this way, the study’s orientation on the intersection between comparative education and languages-and-cultures may also become more visible.

1. The main questions

Have the main questions been answered by this research?

The three main questions posed at the outset have been explored as fully as possible within the timeframe and scope of this research. The key findings in response to each question are summarised below.

Q1: How do policies of immigration, education, and language shape the educational environments that newly-arrived migrant, asylum-seeker and refugee-background students are learning within?

The answer to this question is wide-reaching and complex, and this thesis has attempted to respond to selected aspects of immigration, education and language policies in France and Aotearoa New Zealand that shape educational environments. Situating this question within an ecological systems model shows the interactive nature of these macro and micro elements, with students’ experiences at the centre.

Table 27 below sets out a visual summary that links a few selected policies with features of education systems in each country. Examples of how immigrant students may be impacted by these are drawn from this study of 42 newly-arrived students in the two participating schools.

Table 27: Immigration, education and language policies in France and NZ / education systems / examples from this study of impact on immigrant students

Immigration, Education, Language <i>What types of policies are in place in France and NZ?</i>	Education systems <i>How are these policies in evidence in education systems?</i>	Examples from this study <i>How may immigrant students be impacted (positively / negatively)?</i>
<p><u>Immigration</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • France’s protectionist response to “refugee crisis” since 2016 / NZ’s humanitarian rhetoric (marginal increase in refugee quota) • France has no IFP programme in public schools / NZ has attracted a significant IFP “market” since 2003 	<p><u>Immigration</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • UPE2A classes = no changes, no extra provision of teachers or extra learning support / NZ ministry funding for refugee student learning support in EL (no change) • Limited funding in French schools means that UPE2A teachers work alone, manage home-school liaison, individual learning programmes for students / IFPs in NZ education have transformed EL into well-supported International Departments within schools = flow-on benefits for refugee and migrant-background students 	<p><u>Immigration</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some newly-arrived students could not attend FLS classes as it was at full capacity, so the UPE2A teacher supported them in after-school sessions / Bilingual teacher aide supported Syrian refugee students in the NZ school (funded by government) • Students in French school depend entirely on UPE2A teacher for learning + integration support / Students in NZ school have a network of staff who support learning + integration + home-family liaison. The NZ school employs several EL teachers, and EL classes for all levels of proficiency. Some IFP funds are also spent on a full-time English tutor for refugee students.
<p><u>Education</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PISA results compared: Immigrant students in the NZ education system are performing on a par with NZ students, while in the French education system immigrant students are performing at 36% below French students • “Sense of belonging” a key OECD indicator of integration into education system: all students in French system report lower-than-average sense of belonging / immigrant students in NZ system report high sense of belonging on a par with local students • <i>Égalité</i> = all students treated the same / Diversity = differentiation = teaching according to individual needs 	<p><u>Education</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • NZ’s open curriculum + internal assessment (NCEA) / France’s fixed curriculum + external exam system = competitive exams vs. individual achievement • School climate measured according to teacher-student relationships, student-student relationships, discipline = impacts on student sense of belonging and wellbeing = integration. France’s “teacher-centred” style of schooling seems to raise barriers to student participation and sense of belonging • Whole class teaching in France, teacher-centred = leads to exclusion within education system, as specific learning needs are inadequately supported / in NZ school student-centred teaching: small groups, differentiated learning materials, teacher aide system = recognises learners’ need for language + content support 	<p><u>Education</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Newly-arrived students in NZ school are evaluated at their level in mixed ability learning environment = age and stage not a barrier to achievement / in French school, students prepare for “one chance” Brevet exam at age 15 = determines future education pathway, more immigrant students redouble than French-speaking students • Students surveyed reported “liking and not liking” as reasons for how much they felt able to participate in mainstream classes. Affective factors are significant in student integration and engagement with learning. • Teacher-centred = students were passive in mainstream classes, little or no interaction with peers (academic + social integration weak). Case studies observed students being more active learners in FLS and 2nd language classes / Student-centred = teacher aide interaction strong (academic integration strong), however interaction with local peers minimal due to “working in a bubble” with teacher aide (social integration weak).

Immigration, Education, Language What types of policies are in place in France and NZ?	Education systems How are these policies in evidence in education systems?	Examples from this study How may immigrant students be impacted (positively / negatively)?
<p><u>Languages</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • French and English have high status amongst world languages = hegemonic dominance over minority languages • French monolingual Republican ideology resists official recognition of regional languages / NZ bicultural (but not bilingual) constitution = Māori is an official language since 1986 • Both Europe and NZ recommend plurilingual education as a way of improving socio-economic outcomes for immigrant students. Gap between “recommendations”, policy and practice = issues of power and participation. As a result, histories of poverty, unequal access to higher education and long-term social disadvantages persist in both France and NZ. 	<p><u>Languages</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • French and English are the languages-of-schooling, and many migrant languages have low status in education systems = the potential advantages of language diversity need developing in schools • France does not officially support teaching of regional languages, but bilingual schools in all regions + bilingual teacher training programmes / Māori is taught as a language option throughout NZ; Māori bilingual education shows better academic outcomes for students • In NZ, bilingual education for Māori and Pasifika strengthens evidence for benefits of plurilingual education for immigrant students / In France, Arabic is the most widely spoken L2 = tensions around teaching Arabic in schools are due to <i>laïcité</i> and fear of Islamic radicalisation. 	<p><u>Languages</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Students may find a place for their L1 in classes with plurilingual learning approaches (FLS/EL), but not in the rest of the school = indicates need for mainstream teacher training in plurilingual education. • Students in the French school are immersed in French in mainstream classes = sense of monolingual environment / Students in the NZ school are immersed in English but may be exposed to some Māori language and culture at school = sense of language inclusiveness • Students who speak the 2nd languages taught at school can gain high grades in that language option (English in particular) = academic success. Students in this study said they enjoy the second language classes, can participate, it is easy for them, they can make links to existing language knowledge = multiple benefits of plurilingual education found in L2 classes.

To summarise, as a reflection on the 3 axes of this research: Immigration, Education and Language, there are clear interactions between policies and their implementation within education systems; with an impact on the experiences of newly-arrived immigrant students, as illustrated by examples of how individual students in this study reported their experiences (in surveys and interviews), or the types of learning behaviours observed in students’ mainstream classes (in the case studies).

Furthermore, these links highlight how education systems are shaped by policies, that are in turn constructed by national ideologies and particular histories of immigration (assimilationist / integrationist), constitutional values that inform education policies (Republican / biculturalism; *égalité* / diversity), and views of languages (majority / minority). This macro-micro effect is evident in how schools organise learning for immigrant students, and helps to explain why it is not simply a question of “changing the way schools teach” or “adapting pedagogy for the needs of our plurilingual students”. Education systems are a reflection of national ideologies that have developed over time and out of singular histories and national experiences, and any change probably therefore entails a shift in political ideology. This point has been explored in some depth in this research (Part 1, Chapters 1-6).

Q2: How can the chances for “successful schooling” for newly-arrived immigrant teenagers be maximised through plurilingual learning approaches that create space for the first languages (and plurilingual repertoires) of students?

This question has been addressed through this PhD research project in three ways:

- (1) Identifying main theories of plurilingual education and linking those to teaching and learning practices (Part 2, Chapters 6 & 7).
- (2) The study carried out in two schools with 42 newly-arrived immigrant students highlights numerous ways that spaces are created for first languages and plurilingual repertoires of the students, in FLS/EL language-of-schooling classes and mainstream classes (Part 2, Chapters 1-5).
- (3) An overview of resources available to teachers in France and New Zealand to support their work with immigrant students, evidences the strong interest in plurilingual learning approaches shared amongst researchers, educators and support agencies (Part 1, Chapters 7 & 8). These three areas are visually summarised below in Tables 28, 29 and 30.

(1) Identifying main theories of plurilingual education and linking those to teaching and learning practices

Firstly, in Part 2 Chapters 6 & 7, I examined how theories of plurilingual education can be linked to education practices, in order to better support migrant teenagers to succeed at school. The argument for plurilingual education is supported by three areas of theory that can be translated into schools-based plurilingual learning approaches that create this “space for languages” that is of interest to this study. In Table 28 below, theories are linked with schools-based practices.

Table 28: Theories of plurilingual education / teaching and learning practices

THEORIES of PLURILINGUAL EDUCATION What are the potential benefits for plurilingual students?	TEACHING & LEARNING PRACTICES How can chances for successful schooling for newly-arrived immigrant students be maximised?
<p><u>1. Teaching for BICS and CALP proficiencies</u> (Skutnabb-Kangas & Toukamaa 1976, Cummins 1979)</p> <p>Immigrant children can typically acquire BICS proficiency on a par with their native-speaker peers within 2 years of schooling, but it takes much longer for CALP proficiency to develop (5-7 years).</p> <p><u>2. The ‘interaction approach’</u> The interaction approach incorporates some aspects of the Input Hypothesis (Krashen 1982) and the Output Hypothesis (Swain 1985).</p> <p>Four different modes of interaction help develop proficiency: input, interaction, feedback and output.</p>	<p>Language-of-schooling acquisition for migrant students is central to school success.</p> <p>1. Language-of-schooling learning can be supported by teaching in all subject areas in ways that address two types of language proficiency: communicative (BICS) and academic (CALP). The BICS and CALP distinction clarifies why ongoing language-of-schooling support, during and beyond the newly-arrived phase, helps immigrant students to succeed, as both kinds of language proficiency are needed at school.</p> <p>2. Language input needs to be modified to make it comprehensible to the learner. If the language input is not comprehensible to the listener, they are unable to use it to construct their second language grammars. Teachers can simplify language in class (oral and written).</p> <p>Teachers can organise interactive learning activities by putting students into mixed groups of native and non-native speakers. This puts students into communicative situations where they can test their language hypotheses and negotiate for meaning.</p>
<p><u>Developmental interdependence hypothesis</u> (Cummins 1979) states that L2 development is partially a function of existing L1 competence types.</p>	<p>First languages of migrant students have a role to play in school success.</p> <p>Bi/plurilingual education shows proven cognitive and social advantages. Home-school ties should be strengthened, as the teacher-parent-child triangular relationship is an important support structure for working with first languages in education.</p>
<p><u>Late arrival penalty</u> (OECD international studies)</p> <p>Age of arrival and exposure to the language-of-schooling is informed by research into L2 acquisition. While a ‘late arrival penalty’ (after the age of 12) has been identified by OECD, studies also find that older learners can become proficient in L2, even when language learning begins during adolescence.</p>	<p>There are strategies for mitigating the ‘late arrival penalty’ disadvantage for immigrant students who arrive after the age of 12</p> <p>Teenage learners can benefit from a faster rate of acquisition in L2 due to cognitive maturity, specifically in syntactic and metalinguistic awareness. This benefit can be supported by schools: length of exposure to language-of-schooling in FLS/EL classes, and how the education system structures language support around assessment of learning — particularly how conditions and criteria for national educational testing at age 15 are organised around language and content.</p> <p>Do schools create space for ‘additive’ bilingualism to develop? How do students themselves make links between their existing L1 and plurilingual proficiencies, while acquiring a functional level of language-of-schooling? How does the classroom learning environment cultivate communication through including all of the children’s language competences?</p>

In summary, linking theory to practice highlights why plurilingual education is a key to school success for the kind of newly-arrived immigrant students that this research is interested in. **Of critical importance, language-of-schooling acquisition is central to school success for immigrant students, and plurilingual education is a way of improving acquisition for students who are “late arrivers” after the age of 12.** Students’ first languages have a key role to play in their learning processes, and schools can capitalise on this through plurilingual education and home-school approaches to support the child’s learning.

For immigrant students who arrive as teenagers, schools can target pedagogies for cognitive language learning, and ensure the child is accompanied by FLS/EL classes throughout their schooling. Student

success could be further supported by national educational testing at age 15 that differentiates conditions and criteria, in order to accommodate the language proficiencies of students (low proficiency in language-of-schooling, high proficiency in L1).

The above theories are selected amongst others for their particular relevance to immigrant students with a specific profile, such as those who participated in this study: that is, teenagers on arrival who may have gaps in prior schooling resulting in needs in L1 literacy development (alongside language-of-schooling). It is in these early theories formulated by Cummins and Krashen that we find the roots of how bilingual development has particular advantages for late arrivers. The need to develop academic language for school success is paramount, and this is facilitated by **simultaneously developing academic language concepts and skills in L1, alongside language-of-schooling proficiency in both communicative and academic sets of concepts and skills**. This is a key point to retain as an argument for plurilingual teaching and learning approaches for teenage immigrants, as the more quickly and effectively schools can prepare these students for the decisive school evaluations at age 15, the greater their chances of success.

(2) This study highlights numerous ways that spaces are created for the first languages and plurilingual repertoires of the students, in FLS/EL language-of-schooling classes and mainstream classes.

Secondly, as this study of language use amongst 42 immigrant teenagers in language-of-schooling classrooms during the newly-arrived phase has shown, **students themselves are actively creating these spaces in which they can make use of their first languages and plurilingual repertoires for language-of-schooling learning purposes**. This is a very important finding, as it sheds light on language-learning behaviours by students from similar backgrounds with similar profiles (late arrivers from migrant, asylum-seeker or refugee backgrounds, with low proficiency in language-of-schooling but proficient in one or more other languages), in two different educational environments. This study has shown that in both of these educational environments, students are actively positioning their plurilingualism as part of their language-of-schooling learning processes, right from the newly-arrived phase. **This is extremely interesting, as it suggests that for immigrant students with low proficiency in language-of-schooling, their existing plurilingual skills are an essential tool for learning that they will naturally make use of within the new schooling context that they find themselves in.**

The types of learning spaces created by students, and the implications of this for how teachers can maximise these spaces through plurilingual learning approaches in their classrooms is summarised in Table 29 below.

Table 29: Language use / plurilingual spaces / indications for teaching

LANGUAGE USE Findings from this study common to both educational environments	PLURILINGUAL SPACES What kinds of learning spaces does this create for newly-arrived immigrant students?	INDICATIONS for TEACHING How can this be maximised through plurilingual learning approaches?
<p><u>Finding 1</u> Newly-arrived immigrant students with beginner proficiency in the language-of-schooling frequently initiate interactive work in their L1, if an L1-speaking peer is available to them.</p> <p><i>Combined % of L1 productions for learning purposes: 81.5% (18.5% for social reasons)</i></p>	<p>(i) Students both initiate and engage with plurilingual learning processes = they like working with L1-speaking peers.</p> <p>(ii) Plurilingual interaction supports language-of-schooling learning.</p> <p>(iii) A “sense of belonging” and wellbeing can grow when students can work in any of their languages, which in turn may cultivate success in learning.</p>	<p>(i) If working in L1 (and plurilingually) supports language-of-schooling learning during the newly-arrived phase, teachers should create diverse opportunities for working with LANGUAGES in learning activities (as well as content).</p> <p>(ii) Language learning is social, so classroom organisation for pair and group interaction is key (mixing of migrant and local students).</p> <p>(iii) Design tasks where students can use their languages to communicate and participate (moving between cultural and linguistic worlds = sense of belonging = successful learning for migrant children) (<i>CoE, Languages in Education</i>).</p>
<p><u>Finding 2</u> Students were more active initiators than their Teachers of plurilingual learning approaches in their language-of-schooling learning processes.</p> <p><i>L1 productions initiated by students: NZ school 95.4%, French school 76.1% (85.7% combined)</i></p>	<p>(i) Students themselves are creating and maintaining “spaces” for plurilingualism through their ways of working together in the language-of-schooling classroom.</p> <p>(ii) This points to high levels of student motivation to engage with their language-of-schooling learning processes, when they can use their plurilingual repertoires for learning purposes.</p> <p>(iii) A safe classroom culture encourages students to initiate their own learning processes, and to interact in all of the languages available to them = creating a language-rich learning environment in the FLS/EL classroom = all languages have a place.</p>	<p>(i) Teachers can support this newly-arrived learning phase by structuring and modelling effective ways of working plurilingually with students, as well as simply “allowing space”.</p> <p>(ii) If teachers, students and parents perceive value in working strongly with both L1 and L2 in the classroom and in homework tasks, language learning becomes ‘additive’ rather than the child feeling, and being treated as, ‘linguistically deficient’.</p> <p>(iii) Teachers need training in plurilingual approaches for minority language students: (a) theoretical training on the advantages of simultaneous L1 and L2 development and language inclusiveness pedagogies, and (b) using plurilingual resources in the classroom. (Part 2, Chapters 6 & 7).</p>
<p><u>Finding 3</u> Plurilingualism plays an important role in classroom learning and social integration processes for newly-arrived immigrant students.</p>	<p>(i) Students in both schools used their plurilingual repertoires mostly for learning purposes (almost 80% of utterances) and less frequently for social reasons (about 20% of utterances), indicating that newly-arrived immigrant students put their plurilingual skills to work in language-of-schooling acquisition = teachers don’t need to be afraid to let students speak their languages.</p> <p>(ii) Allowing space for all of the languages that students speak not only facilitates language and cultural learning, but helps students to integrate socially (relationships formed through learning, as well as friendships)</p>	<p>(i) Initial and ongoing teacher training in the 3 orientations of plurilingual and intercultural approaches: Biographical (European Languages Portfolio); schools building plurilingual and intercultural competence (CARAP, EUROMANIA); strengthening school-home-community links (see Part 2, Chapter 7).</p> <p>(ii) School leaders’ attitudes are influential: proactive approaches to language learning and social integration set the tone for the whole school (example of two-way integration processes at school in Wellington, see interview with school principal + Case Study of Abdul, Part 2).</p>

To summarise, three findings from this study help to clearly define what “plurilingual spaces” look like in school learning. Knowing what “plurilingual spaces” are gives indicators for how teachers can respond effectively to support student learning processes. This in turn offers strong potential for how **teacher training programmes** can include resources for plurilingual education (as discussed in the following question and Table 30 below), and link theories of language inclusive pedagogies to classroom practices that teachers can use. This point is developed further below.

(3) An overview of resources available to teachers in France and New Zealand to support their work with immigrant students, evidences the strong interest in plurilingual learning approaches shared amongst researchers, educators and support agencies.

In a third area of maximising chances for success for immigrant students, this research has revealed that there is a **wealth of resources available to teachers for plurilingual approaches in the classroom**, particularly in the European context of “plurilingualism as a way of life” (for examples see Part 1 Chapters 1, 6, 7 & 8; Part 2 Chapter 7). However, to capitalise on these resources, teachers need support from training institutions in both initial and ongoing training. This teacher training support should be two-fold:

- (1) Theoretical and research-based evidence on the advantages of simultaneous L1 and L2 development, language inclusiveness pedagogies, and plurilingual and intercultural education (Part 2 findings from the in-schools study + Part 2 Chapter 5); and
- (2) Classroom practices and task design, so that teachers can both access existing resources and strategically create their own according to the needs of their students. As discussed in Part 2, the type of resources that could be effective for immigrant students are those that:
 - help students to build strong links between L1 and L2 (language-of-schooling)
 - support students to develop L1 and L2 literacy in parallel through task-based projects
 - generate relevant homework assignments that link to content and language across subject areas
 - encourage students to become autonomous bilingual learners and active participants in classes.

However, teachers and teacher training institutions in both France and Aotearoa New Zealand are faced with limitations imposed by school curricula, that are in turn subject to the limitations of language education policies (Part 1 Chapters 1, 6 & 7). While the principles of plurilingual and intercultural education are well-defined in the literature (Part 2 Chapter 6), and benefits for the education of all students are promoted (Part 1 Chapters 6 & 8), **curriculum revitalisation to strengthen the place of languages in cognitive and social development is an essential step towards improving schools practice** in this area. As examined in Part 1 (Chapters 1 & 4), OECD studies into how immigrant students best succeed in education support the view that educational environments have a responsibility to become informed about the specific needs of immigrant students, and to adapt in order to advantage learning processes and outcomes for this group, and curriculum development is a big part of this adaptation.

Table 30 summarises the various types of resources available to support teachers in working plurilingually with immigrant students in France and New Zealand.

Table 30: Plurilingual teaching and learning resources / Teacher training

PLURILINGUAL teaching and learning resources	TEACHER TRAINING Implications for teachers?
<p><u>National government agencies:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CASNAV (France) • NZ Ministry of Education tki.org.nz website 	<p><u>Type of support:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In both France and NZ, centralised national education support is available with specialist training and resources for working with immigrant students • Teacher training institutions can make use of CASNAV in initial training courses (France), and tki.org.nz exemplars, particularly in differentiated teaching and learning with immigrant students (NZ) • Ongoing teacher training is offered in both countries by national education: CASNAV teacher training days (Part 1 Chapter 8) / extensive resources for teacher planning, freely available on tki.org.nz (Part 1 Chapter 8)
<p><u>Initial teacher training requirements:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2-year Masters (MEEF) in France (all levels) • 3-year Bachelor of Primary Education (NZ) • 1-year Graduate Diploma of Teaching (NZ High schools) 	<p><u>Type of training:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • teacher-centred pedagogy (France) / student-centred pedagogy (NZ) • B2 proficiency in a European language (France) / basic proficiency in Te Reo Māori (NZ)
<p><u>National/international associations for teachers:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ADEB (France-Europe) • TESOLANZ (NZ) 	<p><u>Type of training:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conferences, symposiums, publications, bringing together international researchers + educators
<p><u>Support for plurilingual teaching and learning:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For teachers in France, focus on plurilingualism in Europe / regional bi-lingualism / migrant language inclusiveness: Council of Europe, CARAP, Eskola Futura, ADEB, RIED ... • For teachers in NZ, focus on Māori cultural competency training: <i>Tātaiako</i> / EL training for teaching IFP and migrant students of all ages: CELTA, TEAL ... 	<p><u>Type of training:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In France: optional and chosen by teachers with interest in plurilingual teaching and learning approaches • In NZ: compulsory for teachers of Māori students, optional for EL teachers in schools. Less available for NZ teachers who are specifically interested in plurilingual teaching and learning approaches (umbrella term “differentiated learning”)

To conclude the opening Question 2, this research has followed three main routes to examine how *the chances for “successful schooling” for newly-arrived immigrant teenagers can be maximised through plurilingual learning approaches that create space for the first languages (and plurilingual repertoires) of students.*

Firstly, identifying main theories of plurilingual education and linking those to teaching and learning practices explains why plurilingual education is a key to school success for the kinds of newly-arrived immigrant students that this research followed. **Language-of-schooling acquisition is central to school success for immigrant students, and plurilingual education is a way of improving acquisition for students who are “late arrivers” after the age of 12.** This study provides new evidence for *students actively initiating plurilingual spaces for a variety of learning purposes*, as well as motivation through, and engagement with, plurilingual learning opportunities in their educational environment.

Secondly, the 2017-2019 study carried out in two schools with 42 newly-arrived immigrant students highlights numerous ways that spaces are created for first languages and plurilingual repertoires of the students, in FLS/EL language-of-schooling classes and mainstream classes. Three key findings from this study illustrate the types of plurilingual learning spaces that students are creating and working within, and these are therefore linked to indications for teacher training in plurilingual pedagogies. **This study provides numerous and rich examples of student language use in FLS and EL classes, that show that language-learning is social, so teachers can support this by setting up interactive, communicative learning tasks where students can use their language repertoires to participate.** For these students, it seemed that their sense of wellbeing and belonging was strongest in FLS and EL classes, where they could “move between their linguistic and cultural worlds” more fluidly with their plurilingual peers and the FLS/EL teachers. Student success at school is further linked to “sense of belonging” (an OECD measure of successful education systems), and school integration is supported by a safe classroom culture, cultivating

social networks and pro-active attitudes of school leaders towards diversity and inclusion. Examples of the degree to which these variables are operating for or against immigrant students in the educational environments in France and New Zealand have been identified and discussed throughout this thesis.

Thirdly, Table 30 gives an overview of resources available to teachers in France and New Zealand to support their work with immigrant students. Initial teacher training programmes in both countries include language components. In France, the focus is on teachers developing a high level of proficiency in a European language, whereas in New Zealand teachers are required to develop cultural knowledge and a basic level of proficiency in Te Reo Māori. National associations for language teachers in both countries offer chances for professional development and exchange between teachers, educators and academics. Other organisations in both countries provide ongoing training options tailored for the educational context of each country. This overview evidences a certain framework in place to support teachers who are interested in plurilingual pedagogies.

Q3: Where do educational conditions and individual learning behaviours intersect to enhance language acquisition and integration, leading towards successful outcomes at school?

I have found in this study in two schools in France and New Zealand that policies in immigration, education and languages create particular types of educational environments, that in turn directly inform the ways that schools are organising the education of immigrant students, and the ways that teachers are teaching immigrant students in the classroom. Students themselves are also responding with individual learning behaviours (as described in the Case Studies of six students presented in Part 2 Chapter 4), and it is this **intersection between educational conditions and the individual** that is further scrutinised below.

To re-orient the reader, in Part 1 Chapter 1, I defined “educational environments” to include macro and micro level factors that frame the educational experiences of immigrant teenagers. Several macro level factors have been dealt with in Questions 1 and 2 of this Conclusion:

- international recommendations and guidelines on the education of immigrant students
- actors and agencies within the international and national education space
- theories on best pedagogy for inclusion of diverse languages and cultures
- national education policies and how various groups of immigrant students are treated
- education systems and how immigrant students perform within these systems
- national curricula: treatment of languages and plurilingualism
- teacher training (initial and in-school) for working with immigrant students

Here in Question 3, some of the micro level factors of educational environments will be re-visited. How students’ learning behaviours intersect with these educational conditions, in ways that could enhance language acquisition and integration, are summarised in Table 31 below.

Table 31: Educational conditions / individual learning behaviours / language acquisition and integration

EDUCATIONAL CONDITIONS Organisation of learning in schools	INDIVIDUAL LEARNING BEHAVIOURS Examples from this study	LANGUAGE ACQUISITION and INTEGRATION Indicators of success?
<p>Teacher-centred learning vs. student-centred learning</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Academic integration: Passive learning behaviours in teacher-centred <i>classes d'inclusion</i> (French school observations + surveys) / Active learning behaviours in student-centred mainstream classes due to teacher aide interaction (NZ school observations + surveys) • Social integration: Interactions with mainstream teachers + local peers very minimal in both schools = newly-arrived immigrant students tend to be socially isolated • Attendance / truancy: "self-management" expectations of teenagers = tighter management in French school, voyager Roma families sometimes on the margins of school system (examples of Iosefina and Lena); some students had frequent truancy in NZ school (example of Colombian refugee student Lola) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "In both contexts, it seems important to adapt teaching and learning approaches so that newly-arrived immigrant students are more easily included in their cohort (for social integration), and to offer opportunities for interaction with native-speaker peers, in order to support content plus language-of-schooling learning (for academic integration)." (Findings from Case Studies) • "In both schools, there are particular types of immigrant student who are particularly fragile in terms of school attendance, each with a family story behind truancy." [Example of CASNAV's mobile education bus for Roma children in Bordeaux; refugee support from Red Cross in Wellington] (Findings from Case Studies)
<p>FLS / EL classes for newly-arrived immigrant teenagers</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In both schools, students used their languages differently in mainstream classes (passive learning in monolingual contexts) and FLS/EL classes (active language use in plurilingual contexts), and this seemed to have an impact on students' participation in school learning, and their own sense of belonging. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • When students can work plurilingually they become active learners: higher levels of interaction, students initiate and maintain interactive learning conditions, L1 speaking peers (or lingua franca) are important. Observations of these positive learning behaviours in FLS/EL classes lead me to wonder, "How would students work in mixed language groupings in mainstream classes, with local peers as well?"
<p>Mainstream classes – support for learning, integration into subject learning</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "Teachers' language use in both schools had a significant impact on accessing learning for newly-arrived immigrant students." (Findings from Case Studies) • In NZ school, the "teach a man to fish" approach: <i>"teacher aides often scaffolded learning for students by asking simple questions that helped to break the task down into manageable steps"</i> (Maahi's case study) • In French school, the "no question is a stupid question" strategy: <i>"the teacher encouraged all students to ask questions in class, by creating a safe classroom culture"</i> (Matilde's case study) • "Some teachers in the French school used language very skilfully to reduce the learning burden, and interestingly these were teachers who were themselves plurilingual (the Maths teacher, the foreign languages teachers)" (Findings from Case Studies) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Applying the principle that "every subject teacher is also a language teacher": simple sentences, repetition, having local students write answers on the board, correcting grammatical errors even though it is not a language class, raising student awareness that each subject has its own particular "language", developing from oral to written through student input, defining specialist vocabulary. • Questions as a learning tool (two different ways of questioning in Case Studies): In the French observations, in teacher-centred classrooms students often felt too intimidated by whole-class context to ask questions; instead they asked before or after class. In the NZ observations, teacher aides used questions to model strategies for reducing a task's language complexity in order to access content. • Reducing the learning burden of language: bi-plurilingual teachers bring a wealth of linguistic and cultural knowledge to the profession; teacher training and schools should capitalise on this.

EDUCATIONAL CONDITIONS Organisation of learning in schools	INDIVIDUAL LEARNING BEHAVIOURS Examples from this study	LANGUAGE ACQUISITION and INTEGRATION Indicators of success?
Structure of learning activities — scaffolding, individual/pair/group work, variety of activities, verbal/visual/kinaesthetic learning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kinaesthetic learning (NZ school) / aural + visual learning (French school) = implications for levels of interaction, cultural values around language reflected in learning style (communicative competence in English; literacy development in French) • Teachers in both schools reported higher levels of student success in subjects that rely less on language for access to content (Art and Sports) (Findings from Case Studies) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In NZ kinaesthetic learning style: advantages = communicative competence, learning through play, movement, engagement and motivation, aids experiential memory; disadvantages = less time spent on literacy development, less written work produced, less metalinguistic awareness • In French aural + visual learning style: advantages = students gain cognitively as they develop a metalanguage, focus on literacy skills; disadvantages = more time spent on reading, writing and testing than on interactive learning for communication (Findings from Case Studies) • When teachers are aware of non-language based strategies this can support successful learning for newly-arrived immigrant students: diagrams, demonstrations, hands-on work, physical.
The role of teachers in integration, teacher-student relationships	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • FLS/EL teachers play a central role in student integration into school system. • In both schools, bilingual staff were also important for newly-arrived students (Erlblin sought help from Albanian-speaking secretary about school timetable in French school; Rania worked closely with Arabic-speaking students and their families in NZ school) • In French school, students “often” speak with mainstream teachers before or after class (student surveys). In NZ school, teacher aides often liaise between students and mainstream teachers (observations). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Where immigrant students have strong teacher-student relationships is, of course, with the FLS/EL teachers, who take a pastoral care role and are responsible for family and community integration into school life” (Case Study findings) • Staff who speak the student’s L1 can also serve as “cultural mediators” between the school and home cultures (examples in both schools). • Accessibility of mainstream teachers is crucial. Students in this study sought teachers out for one-on-one interaction (mostly before or after class).
Parental involvement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • School principals model school culture of inclusiveness: strong evidence in Wellington school (interview with principal = <i>whanau</i> approach); little evidence in Bordeaux school (staff felt under-supported by principal in home-school liaison) • FLS/EL teachers in both schools organised intercultural events and invited parents to attend (UPE2A students’ exhibition in French school; Eid-al-Fitr shared meal in NZ school) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Teachers in French schools reported that it can be difficult to involve parents of newly-arrived immigrant students in school activities. (CASNAV training day + interview Mme M.) How can schools organise authentic intercultural sharing, where parents can participate and share their home culture as well as learning about school culture? • Parents can feel that school culture is at risk of replacing home culture: the child is “becoming French” (CADA parent circle + interview Mme M.) How can schools open this question for discussion with parents?

In summary to Q3, it is clear from findings in this study that the micro conditions in educational environments that are conducive to successful student learning are those that perceive integration as “a two-way process”, and take action accordingly. That is, where schools are open and receptive to the existing languages and

cultural ways of being of immigrant families, and show this through employing ethnically and linguistically diverse staff, organising cultural events, and involving parents. During the newly-arrived phase, it seems important that schools find ways for newly-arrived students and their parents to **participate in a variety of ways** that include their home languages and cultures, as well as **learning about (and in) the language-of-schooling and local culture**. The concept of integration as a two-way process is that learning is mutually enriching and equally valued, and that adaptation takes place for both immigrants and local community. This is different to the assimilationist version of integration, in which migrant languages and cultures are situated as marginal or irrelevant to the national context, and this leaves them struggling to find a place within the educational environment.

In the points about school integration processes raised above, examples have been drawn from school observations in France and Aotearoa NZ, as well as exchanges with teachers, students and parents. **Throughout this study, it has become clear that languages play a crucial role in school integration and classroom learning processes in so many ways:** academic integration, social integration, whether students are active or passive learners, how teachers use language in the classroom to make content more accessible, how teachers and teacher aides can reduce the learning burden of language-based tasks, how aware teachers are of non-language-based learning strategies, bilingual staff in schools, and the various ways that students' own plurilingualism finds its place at school. Table 31 above sets out a summary of some of the ways in which language use and plurilingual approaches to learning provide indicators for successful schooling, as supported by this study. These findings should be tested in further studies with newly-arrived immigrant teenagers in other types of educational environments (see section on "future research direction" later in this Conclusion).

It is also clear from the Case Studies of 6 newly-arrived immigrant students, that each child is an individual and their learning behaviours are an expression of that individuality: age, gender, language and culture of origin, prior schooling, experience of immigration, family's socio-economic situation, literacy in L1, other languages the child has acquired, range of existing "learning competences", and so on. The findings are therefore about individual students, and the risk of generalising findings should be avoided. At the same time, **this study has resulted in some quantitatively and qualitatively evidenced findings that were consistent in both schools, among 42 participants who share similar profiles as a group of learners, even though the educational environments also have significant differences.** These findings are partially summarised in this Conclusion, and explained and discussed in detail in Part 2.

Finally, the indicators for language acquisition and integration are intended to highlight successful strategies already in place in the two schools: how students were observed learning, how teachers were observed teaching, and how schools reported on their integration processes for immigrant students and parents. While other parts of this study accentuate differences observed between the two educational environments, and the French system is at times criticised as retaining characteristics of an "old school" traditional system that accentuates disadvantages for immigrant students in their education, the points summarised above indicate that **at a micro level both educational environments in France and Aotearoa NZ have elements that advantage student learning. It also shows that students themselves are adept at seeking out these advantages and incorporating them into their repertoire of strategies for successful learning:** for example, students who sought out bilingual staff as "cultural mediators", or students who arrived early to class to speak with mainstream teachers. **This further affirms my hypothesis that students are active in co-creating the "platform from which to improve learning processes, engagement and construction of knowledge" within the educational environments they find themselves in.**

2. Testing the hypothesis / outcomes

What do findings from this study say about the hypothesis?

The summaries of findings from this study, detailed in concluding sections to each chapter, provide strong evidence in support of the hypothesis that *"Educational environments that allow space for plurilingual learning approaches create a platform from which to improve learning processes, engagement and construction of knowledge, thereby encouraging more effective learning for newly-arrived immigrant students"*.

Outcomes of this research are rich and multiple, and the result of a three-and-a-half year bilingual research process (French and English) carried out through open and in-depth engagement within two multilingual and intercultural educational contexts.

As a comparative education project carried out in France and Aotearoa New Zealand, this research has, I hope, yielded some unique outcomes, being:

- closely examines and compares the educational environments in France and New Zealand
- includes both francophone and anglophone literatures and perspectives
- documents and discusses the schooling experiences of 42 newly-arrived immigrant teenagers (and the 6 case studies selected), with particular care for asylum-seeker and refugee-background students
- identifies and affirms a range of plurilingual learning strategies employed by newly-arrived immigrant students themselves in their language-of-schooling acquisition
- provides contemporary original evidence for strengthening links between plurilingual learning theories, teacher training and teaching practices, supported by analyses of students' own use of languages in FLS and EL classes
- provides contemporary original evidence for the potential benefits of “two-way integration processes” for schools, immigrant students and their parents, supported by case studies of 4 newly-arrived immigrant students learning in mainstream classes
- recognises and values the key support roles fulfilled by teachers, teacher aides, other educators and parents of immigrant students
- gives clear indicators for teacher training development (plurilingual pedagogies + school integration + strategies for success in mainstream learning)

Explored against the backdrop of an ecological systems model, centred on the schooling experiences of immigrant teenagers and their interactions with proximal elements of the educational environment, this research also supports the fact that **language learning is social**. Furthermore, that **during the newly-arrived phase, immigrant students are most actively participating in the construction of their own language learning processes if they can communicate in their home languages**. Where can they do that? Within the plurilingual learning communities of their FLS and EL classes. As articulated by Steffenson and Kramsch (2017):

“The idea that language learning is not a purely cognitive or linguistic activity but a lived, participatory social activity within communities of practice, subject to the multiple, changing, and conflictual forces of everyday life, is an accepted tenet of current theories of second language acquisition and socialization.” (p.10)

The aspect of language learning through “social interaction processes” of adolescents is central to my research. This is language acquisition taking place within narrowly-defined “*communities of practice*” in the FLS/EL classes, where newly-arrived immigrant students can test their emergent L2 skills safely. This research has a clear focus on the early phase of language-of-schooling learning — the first few months at school after arrival, when L2 skills are emergent and L2 acquisition is intensively supported by FLS/EL classes. **I have argued for the important role of plurilingualism during this phase, for language learning purposes, participation and social integration. My study involving 42 participants has shown strong evidence that plurilingual approaches support second language learning processes (how students are learning, rather than how teachers are teaching) during the newly-arrived phase.**

I emphasise that language *acquisition* (how much students learned over time) was never a focus of this study. Instead, it is the “*spaces for plurilingual learning approaches*” that are of interest, and which have been identified within both educational settings as being:

- (1) initiated and maintained by students themselves,
- (2) useful for language-of-schooling learning purposes, and

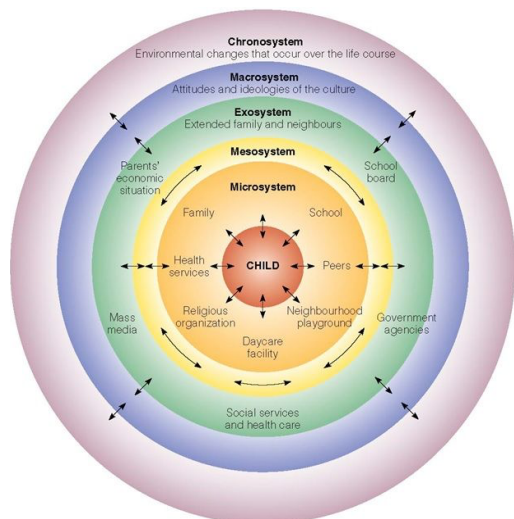
(3) important for social integration (friendships amongst immigrant students).

The study has also shown that when students can use their plurilingual skills (in the FLS/EL classroom context) they become active participants, are “engaged” with their own learning processes, and therefore “learn more effectively”; whereas when they cannot use their plurilingual skills (in teacher-centred classes d’inclusion) they become observers and therefore have difficulty participating in other elements of learning such as “construction of knowledge”. These findings support the research hypothesis.

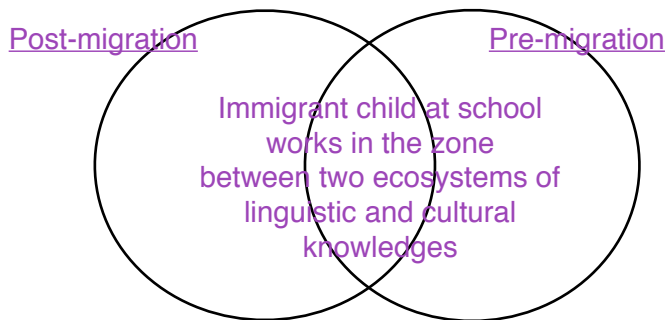
A weakness in my hypothesis is the wording “create a platform from which to improve ...”. This fails to capture the sense of students working within an ecosystemic environment of learning, where students’ language use is interacting with multiple variable elements in the schooling environment, such as classroom organisation of teaching and learning, and types of learning support in mainstream classes. Rather than the image of “a platform”, the study highlights relationships and interactions that are not fixed points of departure, but orbiting in varying configurations.

The research has revealed some of these configurations in the macro-systemic zone of politics, histories and ideologies (Part 1), and has asked questions about interactions between macro-systemic and micro-systemic elements of the child’s schooling (Part 2 and Conclusion). Alongside Bronfenbrenner’s ecological systems model of child development, I proposed at the outset an extension of this model as two over-lapping ecosystems representing the child’s “pre-migration” and “post-migration” situations (see below). This represents the immigrant child’s daily reality of “living between two linguistic and cultural worlds”: the child is functioning across **two ecosystems of linguistic and cultural knowledges**. This research is interested in how schools can increase the area of overlap between the two, to enlarge the zone that the child is working within as he acquires new linguistic and cultural skills within the receiving environment. This is conceptualised in the hypothesis as “spaces for plurilingual learning”, which may improve school learning processes for the child during the newly-arrived phase.

Bronfenbrenner’s model of child development



An adaptation of Bronfenbrenner’s model:
Migrant child functions across two ecosystems



3. Questions this research has not been able to answer

Other questions have come up during the research process, which this study has not been able to answer, and which I would like to explore in future studies.

- Are the effects of plurilingual learning approaches measurable in language proficiency outcomes / rate of acquisition? This study is interested in processes of learning, not outcomes in terms of whether students have a faster rate of acquisition, for example. Krashen (1979) has found this to be the case for teenage students (late arrivers) and initial language acquisition. Whether it is possible for teenage students to more effectively acquire aspects of communicative and academic language-of-schooling, is also a very interesting question.

- *Does teacher awareness of plurilingual learning improve learning processes for students?* This question was not an objective of this research, yet results indicate that in the FLS/EL classes teacher awareness had little impact on students' use of plurilingual strategies to improve their own learning. Students in both schools were equally spontaneous and pro-active in their use of plurilingual approaches to their learning, even though the NZ teacher rarely directed students and the French teacher did so more often. In mainstream classes, the importance of teachers' own language use and scaffolding of learning through languages was much more marked. This study found examples of teachers who did this very expertly (Matilde's maths teacher, Erlblin's Italian teacher), and there was a positive effect on the student's participation.
- *When students cannot work interactively in L1, is there an effect on the student's ability to access learning tasks and succeed? Is there also a negative impact on sense of belonging and integration?* These questions were raised in response to findings in Cycle 1 Observations in the French school, and the case study of Erlblin (14 years old, Albania) in *classes d'inclusion*.

4. Future directions

Taking this PhD research forward, I propose several directions for further understanding languages in education, and the role of plurilingualism, as well as contributing to teacher training in practical ways.

First and foremost, in an INSPE teacher trainer role, I aim to develop modules within teacher training programmes that focus on plurilingual pedagogies, intercultural education, language inclusion strategies in the classroom, and approaches to language teaching and learning that recognise the needs and existing competences of immigrant students. It has always been my hope that this research could be useful in practical ways for teachers working in schools with newly-arrived immigrant students — “filling that gap” between education research and practice. This is a future direction that I would like to pursue, through contributing to initial and ongoing teacher training (in French-English bilingual programmes) that works closely with teachers to support reflexive, inclusive processes that are useful and applicable in contemporary school contexts.

Alongside teacher training work, I would like to reflect, write and publish on topics related to languages and multilingual communities, the effects of individual plurilingualism in learning, languages in-and-for education, and teaching in language diverse contexts, with a particular interest in educational access and better educational outcomes for young migrants, refugees and asylum-seekers in schools.

I would like to continue working with French colleagues to advocate for plurilingual teaching and learning approaches. This could include advocacy for recognition of plurilingualism within our mainstream teacher training programmes at French INSPE, so that bi-plurilingual trainee teachers (for example Arabic and African language speakers) can have their existing plurilingual skills included and valued in teacher training pathways.

Within this role, I am also interested in helping high schools and universities to set up “transition into tertiary” programmes for senior immigrant students in French / New Zealand schools, to improve access to higher education and strengthen support during the transition phase. I would like to give particular care to supporting refugee-background students to prepare for and access higher education.

I would of course love to connect more deeply with the comparative education work of both French and New Zealand colleagues, and welcome any opportunities for collaborative research projects involving the University of Bordeaux and Victoria University of Wellington.

4.1 Action research in schools — education for immigrant youth

The findings from this study should be tested in further similar studies in schools in France and New Zealand. Ideally, I would like to bring elements of intervention and experimental research design into future studies, for example:

- asking FLS and EL teachers to try out specific plurilingual pedagogies with their students

- asking mainstream teachers to try out language inclusive approaches in classes that include plurilingual students in a variety of ways, and to notice any changes in learning processes and outcomes
- asking students (immigrant and local) to reflect on how they experienced these types of activities

This is an essential next step to take the research further into the domain of “what are the effects of plurilingual pedagogies?” It would build on the contextual and comparative groundwork established in this thesis.

Schools in other regions of France and New Zealand could be invited to participate and collaborate in these types of studies. For example, in the NZ context where refugees are now being resettled in small towns or semi-rural areas, these types of action research studies would be an excellent way of pro-actively supporting schools receiving newly-arrived refugee students for the first time. In France, the number of asylum-seeking children in schools was increasing pre-Covid, and we may see a new influx when migratory movements begin again. To support this specific group of plurilingual students, studies in schools could be linked to CADA and CASNAV in various regions. These types of intervention studies could also provide useful support for teachers, as students in situations of seeking asylum may have gaps in prior schooling, low L1 literacy and may change schools after the first year. Teachers therefore need a toolkit of teaching and learning strategies that they can apply straight away with positive short-term outcomes for students — language inclusion is one of these tools.

A further useful extension of this research could be to collaborate in government-commissioned projects researching and reporting on schooling for refugee students in New Zealand and France. There is a need for this kind of research in both countries, to provide up-to-date information about how these two groups of students are performing in education systems, and where education provision can better serve the needs of interests of young refugees.

4.2 How are other countries teaching languages / developing pluriliteracy in schools?

I would like to carry out several small-scale studies in other countries that I already have a connection with, in order to look at how different types of education systems, schools and teachers are working through languages and literacy with their immigrant students (Scotland, England, Japan, Sweden).

I continue to be concerned about issues of unequal access to education for marginalised local children in South East Asia, and hope to be able to follow up on work begun in 2014, supporting teachers through English language training sessions in Thailand, Cambodia and Vietnam.

5. Reflection

As a final reflection, this PhD experience has profoundly enriched my knowledge of, and passionate interest in, language teaching-and-learning processes and the experiences of immigrant students in schooling. The research process and outcomes have raised new questions, and a fresh desire to investigate further along the pathways opened up by this international comparative education study.

I am humbled by the generosity of spirit shown by so many people who have participated in this study. I have been looked after and guided as a researcher, and welcomed with “*bienveillance*” on both sides of the world. I have learned that research is not a solitary task, it is a collaborative process involving dynamic exchanges of ideas from which authentic connections and knowledge arise. It is also an interweaving and reconciling of past and present experiences — those of young immigrants, as well as my own. I now hope to be able to honour the contributions of everyone involved in this research, and in particular the experiences of the 42 young immigrants who participated, by taking the findings forward into further meaningful areas of research and work.

*Whaowhia te kete mātauranga
Whangaia ka tupu ka puawai*

*Fill the basket with knowledge
That which is nurtured blossoms and grows*

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Codes and Laws

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1958 French Constitution (France)

1987 Māori Language Act (NZ)

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European Social Charter (revised, 1996) (Europe)

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Annexes Volume 2

NOTE: Some of these Annexes contain sensitive information. In order to protect the privacy of participants the Annexes remain confidential and may only be made available upon written request to the researcher, and at the sole discretion of the researcher.

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- Annexe 18 — interview Emma Stein, English Language Partners, Wellington, 8/4/2019 (NZ)
- Annexe 19 — interview Carolyn Tait, Victoria University of Wellington, 11/4/2019 (NZ)

Group events

- Annexe 20 — discussion circle, CADA parents, 29/1/2019 (France)
- Annexe 21 — journée d'études, *Études anglophones / langues et cultures*. EA/LC et LACES, Université de Bordeaux, 9/10/2017
- Annexe 22 — seminar *Allophone et apprentissages*. Nathalie Auger, INSPE, Université de Bordeaux, 18/10/2017

Annexe 23 — journée d'études, *La/les langue(s) de scolarisation*. INSPE, Université de Bordeaux, 17/11/2017

Annexe 24 — journée d'études *L'enfant migrant, ses langues et leurs histoires à l'école*. DILTEC, Université Paris Sorbonne Nouvelle 3, 28/11/2018

Annexe 25 — journée d'études *Allophonie, coopération, hétérogénéité, interactions, langage, école*. CASNAV, Université de Bordeaux, 20/11/2019

Annexe 26 — symposium *Le bi-plurilinguisme dans l'éducation*. ADEB (Association pour le développement de l'enseignement bi/plurilingue), INALCO, Paris, 23-24 Nov 2019

Annexe 27 — seminar *Santé et parenté sans papier*. Education sans Frontières, Université de Bordeaux, 17/2/2020

School reports

Annexe 28 — NZ school, EL students report comments, 2020

Letters

Annexe 29 — letter from NZ Minister of Education's office, March 2019

Presentations and publications

Annexe 30 — presentation *Empowering teachers for inclusion in schools? Comparative perspectives across Europe*. LLAKES/LACES collaboration, Institute of Education, University London College, England, July 2019

Annexe 31 — proposal *L'éducation en situation migratoire*. Colloque EDUCINCLU, INSHEA, Université Paris Sorbonne, 13/11/2020

Annexe 32 — proposal *Comparaisons internationales de l'offre de formation des enseignants en charge des élèves plurilingues migrants*. Contribution projet d'un numéro Migrations Société (2021-2022)

Annexe 33 — publication journal article. Smythe, F. (2020). Language Inclusiveness in Education: Implications for Immigrant Students in France and New Zealand. *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies*, 55(1), 215-246