Analytical Report on Education

National Focal Point for FRANCE

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1. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In France, all children of both sexes and regardless of national status are obliged to attend school from the age of 6 to 16. In accordance with the recognition of each child's fundamental right to education,[1] all children are admitted into French public schools even if their parents' do not have regularized immigration papers. The principles of compulsory schooling and equal treatment were entrenched by a law passed on the 28 March 1882[2]. These laid the foundations for the present-day notion of the schooling system as the primary locus of integration for children residing within French national borders (Emin & Esquieu, 1999)[3].

The schooling system is based on the broad principles of universal (uniform), equal, secular and compulsory education for all children residing on French national territory. *Universal* education is defined in terms of providing each child with the tools and opportunity to access and master the same universal body of knowledge. *Equality* refers to the treatment of all children as equal regardless of socio-economic, 'cultural', gender or historical factors which may account for differences among them. Last but not least, the principle of *secular* education refers not only to separating religion and state and only dealing with what is common and secular within the context of the curriculum, but also to the implicit understanding that religious affiliation and practices belong to the realm of the pupil and family's private life and have no place of expression within the context of the school or of schooling[4].

Drawing on the data collected by the French national focal point between 2000 and 2002 (official policy documents, media, academic research, national evaluations, official statistics), and on an in-depth analysis of academic research and official documentation related to the schooling and integration of children of foreign, immigrant or socially disadvantaged backgrounds, the report describes the situation for migrants, foreign scholars and French-born children of disqualified migrant groups in education today. It draws on national evaluations and statistical data to critically appraise the efficacy of educational policy and initiatives implemented to promote diversity and address

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[1] See Seksig, A. (1999). Enfants de « sans-papiers » à l'école. *Informations Sociales, 78*, 82-87

[2] Compulsory schooling was originally defined for both sexes between the ages of 6 and 13. This was extended to the age of 14 in 1936, and later to the age of 16 in 1959. This date marks the commencement of the Fifth Republic which reformed schooling and laid the foundations for the current system.

[3] Emin, J.-C. and Esquieu, P. (1999). A century of education. *INSEE.* At the time of publication, the authors were members of the DPM, Ministry of National Education, Research and Technology.

[4] These principles underscore the particular responses that are developed by government in regard to policies for addressing the needs of French and foreign youth of immigrant descent. They are also at the heart of France's often ambivalent response to diversity in education. For instance, the principle of equality renders it impossible to collect 'ethnic' and 'racial' statistics in France. As a point of fact, even the term "ethnic minority nationals" is rejected within the French system based on the fact that "ethnic minorities" are not recognised as communities for the individual citizen but rather as affiliations of choice. In the interest of *equality* and preventing differential treatment of scholars, the French National Education System effectively refuses any and all references to the 'racial', 'ethnic', 'religious' or 'national' origins of pupils, even when such information is essential to the monitoring of discrimination and inequalities in education or to implementing strategies for eradicating such phenomena.

discrimination over the past 20 years. Moreover, it draws on a larger body of theoretical and empirical studies in the field of sociology of education, and to a lesser degree of intercultural psychology to shed light on changing patterns and different forms that discrimination takes within National Education today. Processes such as 'ethnic' segregation and the production of differences, ethnicisation and the salience of ethnicity in a context of social asymmetry, and stigmatisation and the discriminatory function of discourses of "Othering" explain the possible causes and consequences of the continued presence and reproduction of inequalities among school population, despite, and in part due to, the very policies implemented to address these problems.

Educational policy in France is based on the promotion of equality and secularism and the combating of inequality in primary and secondary public education. In this regard, Priority Education was set up to deal with educational, language and social disadvantage of immigrant learners or children of disadvantaged socio-economic backgrounds. In spite of the efforts to promote equal opportunity within education, the data presented suggests that inequalities among learners persist at all levels of the schooling system and that priority education may in fact contribute towards producing and reproducing inequalities and discrimination. In this regard, the senior editor of the National Centre of Pedagogical Documentation recently stated that rather than fulfilling its mandate as a vehicle for promoting social equality among the working classes, the school has become a place where learners and educators grapple with the complexity of broader social problems of inequality, discrimination and violence, produced and re-produced in its midst. (Bier, 2000) Research studies on the situation of nationals of "immigrant descent" in schools have corroborated these findings and point to the problems related to the concentration of pupils of disadvantaged socio-economic backgrounds and disqualified origins in inner-city neighbourhood schools.

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3. TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS

ATOSS:	Administrative, technical, maintenance and service and healthcare personnel
BEP:	Vocational Studies Certificate
BEPA:	Agricultural Vocational Studies Certificate
BTS:	Higher Technician Certificate
CAP:	Vocational Aptitude Certificate
CAPA:	Agricultural Vocational Aptitude Certificate
CEFISEM:	Centres for Training and Information on the Schooling of Children of Migrants
CEL:	Local Educational Contracts
CEP:	Vocational Education Certificate
CEREQ:	Centre for Study and Research into Qualifications
CERI:	Centre for Research and Innovation in Teaching
CLA:	Adaptation Class
CLAS:	Extra School Help Contracts
CLIN:	Initiation Class
CLIS:	School Integration Class
CLS:	Local Security Contracts
COP:	Careers advisor – psychologist
CPA:	Preparatory Class for Apprenticeship
CPGE:	Preparatory Class for Specialised Schools
CPPN:	Pre-vocational course
DEA:	Advanced Studies Diploma
DESS:	Higher Specialised Studies Diploma
DEUG:	General University Diploma
DPD:	Directorate of Programming and Development
DOM:	French Overseas Departments
DUT:	University Institute of Technology Diploma
EP:	Priority Education
ELCO:	Courses for Languages and Cultures of Origin
EREA:	Regional Establishments for Adapted Teaching
FASILD:	Fund for Social Action and Fighting against Discrimination
FLE:	French as Foreign Language
GRETA:	Group of Secondary Education Establishments (Ministry of Education)
IEP:	Political Studies Institute of Paris
INALCO:	National Institute of Oriental Languages and Civilisations
INP:	National Polytechnic Institute
INSEE:	French National Institute for Statistics and Economic Studies
IUFM:	University Institute for Teacher Training
IUP:	University Institute for Professional Studies
IUT:	University Institute of Technology
LGT	General and Technological Secondary High School
LP:	Vocational Secondary High School
MEN:	Ministry of Education: this term is usually employed in the publication to refer to the ministry (or at certain times, the ministries) responsible for all French education, including higher education.
MJENR:	Ministry of Youth, National Education and Research

RASED:	Specialised aid network for children with learning problems
REP:	Priority Education Network
SEGPA:	Sections of Adapted General and Professional Teaching
STS:	Higher Technician Section
ZEP:	Priority Education Zones

4. GLOSSARY OF KEY TERMS USED

MAINLAND FRANCE:
This refers to all departments within mainland France.

FRENCH OVERSEAS DEPARTMENTS [DOM]:
French overseas departments include Guadeloupe, La Réunion, Martinique, Antilles.

NEWLY-ARRIVED NON-NATIONALS:
This term designates learners who have recently arrived in France (less than and including 1 year), and for whom insufficient mastery of the French language or of school knowledge interferes with the possibility of benefiting immediately from the range of courses dispensed in
the ordinary curriculum. (Source: Direction of Programming and Development, Ministry of National Education, http://cisad.adc.education.fr/enaa/ May 2003, p.2)

IMMIGRANTS:
In this report, the terms immigrants refers to all persons who have left their country of origin voluntarily or involuntarily and who have settled in France for a period of over a year.

MIGRANTS:
This term designates people who move from one country to another for a variety of reasons which may be voluntary or involuntary, and settle there for different lengths of time. The term is often used interchangeably with terms such as immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers, depending on whether the focus is on the more general or specific aspects of these phenomena.

REFUGEES:
This refers to people who are granted refugee status in France.

ETHNIC GROUP:
This term is used to connote a categorisation of people based on presumed common heritage or origin which is defined in "ethnic" terms. This term is usually reserved for certain groups of minority social, economic and political status.

ETHNICITY:
This term is used to designate the presumed "ethnic" origin or belonging of pupils both in official and academic writings in France. In the context of this report, "ethnicity" is placed in inverted commas to signify the non-essential, critical stance that the authors take in reference to this concept. Certain epistemological difficulties can be pointed out with regard to using the construct of ethnicity in research: Firstly, ethnicity has been used in the literature primarily to designate minority groups (i.e., those groups who do not enjoy equal access to political, economic, social and material capital); immigrant groups of former European colonies and their European-born children and grand-children; groups whose identity is constructed as different to that of dominant society on the basis of their ascribed "ethnicity". Moreover, "ethnicity" is a relational construct which has to do with insiders and outsiders – the frontiers between them are themselves historically, politically, economically, socially and symbolically defined in different ways at different

times and across different contexts – which leads Bekker (2004, p. 4)[5] to point out that *"it is often useful to speak of ranked ethnicity, where one group is perceived to be superordinate to another"*

ACCULTURATION:
In situations of prolonged and proximal contact between ethno-cultural groups, changes are brought about within each group's culture as a result of acculturation (Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits, 1936), and within individuals' behaviours, attitudes, values, worldviews, cultural conceptions of self and identity as a result of psychological acculturation (Graves, 1967)

ASSIMILATION:
Assimilation is a one-way form of acculturation in which changes (in values, behaviours and identity) occurring as a result of close and prolonged contact between immigrant (minority) and host (dominant) cultural groups only occur for the minority group. The dominant cultural group remains relatively impervious to minority cultural influences and tends to impose its cultural model through primary social institutions such as schooling, health care, employment etc.

INTEGRATION:
In a strict academic sense, integration describes a form of acculturation in which a person (usually an immigrant, a refugee or an ethnic minority individual) finds a way to combine her/his ethnic minority culture and the dominant national and social culture to varying degrees, within her/his inner world or only at the level of her/his behaviours and choices. However, as used in policy documentation and official discourses in the area of education, *social integration* or *integration* seem to signify the process of becoming socialised into a dominant French way of behaving, thinking and communicating (both verbal and non-verbal), for the purpose of finding one's place in society. The school is seen to play a primary role in ensuring this socialisation – through French-language teaching, transmission of French culture (primarily through literature classes) and official national history and education within a nationally defined system of codes, norms and sanctions.
In a social context which is characterised by asymmetrical relations between members of national majority and immigrant minority cultural groups, the social or educational aim to facilitate the *integration* of certain categories of learners is by no means un-political. It can be used to dissimulate the one-sided injunction to foster, encourage or facilitate their assimilation into dominant social culture, by inculcating its norms, codes and values to the exclusion of any official consideration or recognition for the value of cultural norms, values, codes, national and immigrant histories transmitted by their ethnic minority families and communities. In this sense, integration comes to signify the process of learning and accepting to live by the codes and values of dominant society, by renouncing ethnic minority cultural codes and values or relegating them to the sphere of the private.

CHILDREN OF IMMIGRANT ORIGINS:
This term is usually used within public and educational discourses to refer implicitly to two categories of learners: (1) children of immigrant nationality who arrive in France at different stages of their schooling careers, in the context of family immigration, and (2)

[5] Bekker (2001). Identity and ethnicity. In S. Bekker, M. Dodds, & M. Khosa (Eds.), *Shifting African identities, Vol. 2.* (pp. 1-6). Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council.

children born in France, who have the right to request French nationality at 18, and whose parents are French nationals or non-nationals born in Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, West Africa, Central Africa, Turkey.

ETHNIC MINORITIES

In France regional ethnic minorities (such as Basques, Bretons, etc.) are not officially recognised and no statistical data is recorded pertaining to these groups. Historically, it was the schooling system's role to teach French as a common national language to all children and prevent the use of regional languages in school.

In the context of this report, the term "ethnic minorities" is used to connote people who have limited access to social, economic and political resources and symbolic capital (as compared to the national majority).

DESCENDANTS OF THE SECOND GENERATION

No official documentation exists regarding the different labels used to distinguish between nationals according to the national origins of their parents, such distinctions have become common-place and need to be understood in order to decode whom educational policy, media and academic research is referring to when the term "children of immigrant origin" or "second generation immigrants" or "youth of immigrant origin" is used. One could safely state that these labels designate children who are considered culturally "too different" from the national norm to be integrated, because their 'cultural', 'religious' or 'ethnic' origins have come to be viewed as synonymous with school failure and social deviance. However, one needs to be cautious not to overlook thet fact that these children's origins are identified with former French colonies and that the racist stereotypes applied to this group has a real impact on reducing their chances of succeeding and finding a place for themselves and their home culture (integration) within the schooling system. This remains a highly contentious issue in France. At the risk of reinforcing the controversy, one could broadly state that an implicit distinction exists at the level of public discourse between "visible ethnic minority groups from developing countries" and "non-visible ethnic minority groups from western or developed countries", and that this distinction is often carried into the educational sphere. Children born in France of Asian parents are an interesting exception. While they could be included in this category, the positive stereotype that these children are overachievers in the French system prevails in the representations of teachers. No studies are known that directly examine this question.

LEARNING LAG

This refers either to falling behind in one's schooling career (as measured by age of child compared to the age-group for a particular school level) through late entry into the schooling system or repeating a year or two, or to falling behind in the skills and knowledge needed to understand and access the next level of schooling.

DISCRIMINATION

For the purposes of this report, discrimination is taken to refer to all forms of legislation, policies (social, political, economic, interpersonal and individual), practices or discourses that produce inequalities in the status and access of individuals and groups to socio-political and educational resources, whether on the basis of so-called 'racial', 'ethnic', 'religious', or 'cultural', 'national' categories, or gender. It further includes all discursive practices that attempt to legitimate, justify, normalise or entrench socio-historically

constructed differences and inequalities by resorting to explanations based on the individual's supposed 'racial', 'cultural', 'religious', 'ethnic' origin, or gender. This includes all official education policies and daily practices which participate in producing and re-producing segregation within education. It also extends to all discursive and professional practices which contribute towards stigmatising, ethnicising or segregating certain populations on the basis of a constructed "difference" which is taken as the cause of their difficulties and as a reason for the schooling systems' failure to integrate them.

ETHNICISATION

Ethnicisation is defined as a process of "Othering" (Riggins, 1997[6]) that constructs difference and legitimates inequalities on the basis of 'race' or its more politically-correct 'cultural', 'religious' or 'ethnic' substitutes. It does so by attributing the cause of certain socio-historically constructed phenomena (such as unemployment, school failure, delinquency) to a particular group, identified by its foreign origin (youth of immigrant descent) and by a so-called culture that is constructed as too different from that of the dominant to be integrated (the Maghrébins, Black Africans). Ethnicisation can be further understood as emerging through processes of social categorisation, stigmatisation and racial ideology. It always implies the idea of inequality, the other being constructed as handicapped by his or her so-called cultural difference or "cultural deficit" (Dubost (2000). The tendency to explain the school failure or violent behaviour of certain youth of so-called immigrant descent by referring to a supposed "cultural handicap" or "cultural deficit" (Dubost, 2000, p.10) is a case in point. Ultimately, ethnicisation underscores the superiority and legitimacy of the "true national" by rendering visible the illegitimacy of the "false national" (Balibar, 1990[7]) or by discursively repudiating the "unwanted immigrant" (Van Dijk, 1997[8]). Moreover, ethnicisation functions to legitimate, justify and normalise socio-historical inequalities constructed on the basis of 'ethnic', 'racial', 'national' or 'religious' criteria, by attributing the cause for these inequalities to the nature of the person supposedly categorised as possessing or belonging to a particular 'culture', 'religion', 'ethnicity' or 'race'. By rendering 'minority' individuals and their families responsible for the difficulties they encounter, ethnicisation allows the dominant group to divert attention from and deny responsibility for the very mechanisms through which 'ethnic' inequalities are constructed and maintained within society, and the socio-economic and political benefit they continue to derive from this process.

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[6] Riggins, S. H. (1997). The rhetoric of othering. In S. H. Higgins (Ed.), *The language and politics of Exclusion: Others in discourse* (pp. 1-30). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

[7] Balibar, E. (1990). 'Paradoxes of universality', in David Theo Goldberg (ed.), *Anatomy of Racism,* Minneapolis and Oxford: University of Minnesota Press, p. 284, cited in Bhabha, H. (1996). 'Culture's in-between', in Stuart Hall and Paul Du Gay (eds.), *Questions of Cultural Identity*, London: Sage Publications, p.55

[8] Van Dijk, T. A. (1997). Political discourse and racism: Describing others in Western parliaments. In S. H. Riggins (Ed.), *The language and politics of Exclusion: Others in discourse* (pp. 31-64). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

5. INTRODUCTION

It has been often argued that recent years have seen a significant increase in scientific research pertaining to the situation of migrants, non nationals and nationals of immigrant descent in education. This was explained (see for example Payet & Van Zanten, 1996[9]) as a response to the profound crisis that National Education has been experiencing, especially with regard to its stated aims to provide equal access to knowledge (measured through educational' achievement, length of schooling, tertiary education or vocational orientations) and promote social integration and mobility (measured through education's impact on reducing social inequalities, promoting mobility, and combating discrimination). The breakdown in discipline (as attested by an increase in so-called 'incivility'[10], violence, delinquency, truancy, drop-out) in schools with an high proportion of the most disadvantaged (defined in terms of socio-economic and cultural factors) sectors of the population, was further taken to indicate an incoming crisis in National Education in France.

The aim of this education report is to provide an analytic study of policy documentation, official and academic sources of statistical and field data, and media coverage of racism, xenophobia and discrimination in the field of primary, secondary and tertiary education in France. In addition to updating the Raxen 3 report on the situation in light of recent policies and legislation affecting the situation of pupils and students of immigrant and disqualified ethnic minority background, the present report pays specific attention to the questions and suggested areas of improvement indicated in the peer evaluation report. In this regard, the report aims to:

- Define main terms such as immigrants, ethnic minorities, newly-arrived learners, ethnicisation, and discrimination, even if these are not officially recognised or if consensus regarding definitions is lacking.
    - Provide a detailed outline of the organisation and functioning of primary and secondary schooling systems, and higher educational institutions.
    - Describe and analyse statistical data and research findings related to the access, performance, and experiences of newly arrived immigrants and children of immigrant descent (disqualified and recognised ethnic minorities) in primary, secondary, higher and vocational education, as compared to their native counterparts.
    - Substantiate or invalidate earlier claims regarding the differences in access, transition between school levels or types of institutions, performance, completion, drop-out and performance rates at different levels of the system based on empirical evidence and case study data.

[9] Payet, J.-P. & Van Zanten, A. (1996). L'école, les enfants de l'immigration et des minorités ethniques : une revue de la littérature française, américaine et britannique [School, the children of immigration and of ethnic minorities : A review of the French, American and British literature]. *Revue Française de Pédagogie*, *n° 117*, 87-149.

[10] This term became widespread after being used by Débarbieu, 1995, to designate certain behaviours (lack of discipline, lack of respect, aggression towards other pupils and teachers) among scholars mainly in school zones that are priority education areas.

- Pinpoint gaps in the available data relating to the access, performance, transition between levels, drop-out, and school careers of minorities of disqualified immigrant backgrounds in all spheres of education.
- Make concrete recommendations for monitoring (through data collection) discrimination in the education sector, evaluating the impact of initiatives, reducing discrimination and inequalities and promoting diversity and integration.

The report will integrate and update those parts of the RAXEN 3 report that remain relevant to the present study, namely:

- An overview of the political and ideological premises underpinning the current organisation of the National Education System and the national approach to questions of education for migrants, minorities and socio-economically underprivileged students, on the one hand, and discrimination and combating inequalities, on the other.
  - A critical and historically located analysis of official legislation and policies in the area of National Education, over the past three decades, for the purpose of integrating and educating migrant scholars and children of 'disqualified immigrant minorities', and redressing inequalities on the basis of gender and class.
  - An updated evaluation of the impact of these policies and the achievement of their intended outcomes, against empirical research findings, field experiences of teachers, pupils and their families, official reports, and statistical data.
  - A broader-based analysis of statistical data and research findings on direct and indirect discrimination of newly-arrived learners, stigmatised ethnic minorities, socio-economically disadvantaged scholars and girls within all levels of the education sector.
  - A description of research findings related to scholars', parents' and teachers' past experiences or expectations of 'racial' or 'ethnic' stigmatisation or discrimination.
  - An updated description and analysis of strategies, outside and inside initiatives and good practices for reducing discrimination (whether 'racially'-, 'ethnically'-, 'religiously'-, 'culturally'-, class- or gender-based) and promoting diversity at all levels of education.
  - An analysis of the issues at stake for promoting equality, combating discrimination and inequality, and sustaining diversity in French schools in the current socio-historical context.

The presentation of the data proceeds according to the framework defined in the guidelines. As such, the report commences by describing the peculiarity of the French approach to schooling migrants, integrating the children of migrants, and dealing with issues of diversity and discrimination in the National Education System. This provides a context for analysing the data regarding the situation of migrants, minorities and non-nationals schooled in primary, secondary, and higher education and vocational training. Before defining the particular manner in which diversity and discrimination are dealt with in education in France, we briefly define the theoretical and methodological approaches adopted in analysing the data.

5.1. THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH TO ANALYSING THE DATA

The report draws on the data collected by the ADRI - the French national focal point – in 2000-2003, as well as on an extensive review of the literature in the field over the past 10 years and an analysis of official documentation and statistics (Direction of Development and Programming, Ministry of Education), statistics and documentation generated by the National Institute of Pedagogical Research (INRP), the different regional CASNAV (ex-CEFISEM) centres, and national evaluation reports (Ministry of Education and university-driven). This data comprises education policy, research and media documents on the schooling of immigrants and children of migrants, and discrimination in education published between 1999 and 2002, as well as information on state-funded and NGO-based initiatives and resources for promoting diversity and combating discrimination in education.

In analysing the data, the first step entailed discerning the particular approach adopted towards diversity and discrimination within education in France. This entailed analysing official education policy documents and identifying initiatives aimed at supporting diversity and eradicating discrimination in schools. Particular attention was also given to the manner in which problems of 'racial' discrimination and 'ethnic' diversity in education are conceptualised and addressed within official and public discourse, and their relationship to everyday practices and experiences within schools. The second step consisted in analysing statistical data and research findings concerning the situation of non-nationals, newly arrived learners, and children of disadvantaged 'ethnic' immigrant backgrounds within primary, secondary and tertiary education. Special attention was given to analysing the possible causes and consequences of explicit and implicit forms of discrimination, by drawing on research and theory in this field, and making recommendations for future research and action in this regard. A third step entailed examining and analysing strategies, initiatives and good-practices for reducing racism and supporting diversity.

6. OVERVIEW OF PAST AND CURRENT LEGAL SITUATION RELATED TO DISCRIMINATION AND DIVERSITY IN EDUCATION

6.1. THE PECULIARITY OF THE FRENCH APPROACH TO MANAGING DIVERSITY AND ADDRESSING DISCRIMINATION IN EDUCATION

As is the case in other European and Western countries (Day, C., Van Veen, D. & Walraven, G., 1997; Driessen, G., 2000), the education policies and practices dealing with the position of so-called ethnic minorities in France have historically depended upon broader socio-political, institutional and economic factors, while remaining intricately linked to the Republican values of equal treatment, secular education, and universality. Despite the official tendency to portray France as a country of immigration since the XIX Century with a long history of dealing with the presence and schooling of immigrant children or the children of migrants within its National Education System, certain authors maintain that until the 1970s France "ignored itself as a country of immigration" (Noirel, 1988). In his review of the literature on *schooling immigrant children and ethnic minorities*, Payet[11] & Van Zanten (1996[12]) argue that up until the 1960s, the picture that researchers portray is one of a schooling system in which the issue of immigration is practically absent (Perotti, 1983). The question of schooling immigrant children or so-called *children of migrant workers*, *children of immigrants* or *foreign children* only appeared in the sociological literature in France as late as the nineteen seventies.

As Payet (1996, p. 90) points out, in the 1960s, sociologists of education were primarily concerned with evaluating the effects of the then recent "democratisation" of the education system through the extension of compulsory schooling to age of 16. At that time, socially-entrenched economic inequalities constituted the overarching factor to which inequalities in education were attributed, and the children of immigrants were subsumed within the larger working-class group. The discrepancy between the significant number of children of immigrants in French schools (as many in the thirties as in the seventies) and the late recognition of this phenomenon as a legitimate object of study can be attributed to the late emergence of immigration as a '*social problem*'. Once immigration was constructed as a "social problem", in the context of the economic crisis which began in the 1970s, and later, the ideological and moral crisis heralded by the 1980s, the integration of migrant populations and their children and the role of the school in this process were placed at the centre of scientific and political agendas. At the same time, renewed debates concerning the definition of the French nation in the context of both globalisation and European-Union building, the aggravation of the economic crisis and its exclusionary effects on vulnerable populations, and the increase in urban

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[12] The authors cite the interesting example of bilingual schools created in the 1920s and 1930s by private sector industry. While they represented a resource for migrant workers' children, such structures did not affect the public schooling system itself.

segregation and violence re-awakened public, political and scientific interest in the integrative role of the French Republican education system.

Since the 1970s, various education policies have been implemented to enhance the disadvantaged educational position of children of so-called ethnic minority origin. These have been shaped by changing socio-political and economic contexts, and have responded to the needs and definition of different waves of immigration to France. Since World War II, France has encouraged and relaxed its national borders at different times, primarily in response to its changing economic and demographic needs (Dewitte, 1999; Farine, 1999) : From 1945 to 1974, immigration was actively encouraged from Southern Europe, Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia, guided by the necessity to provide inexpensive labour. Economic migration officially ended in 1974 and was replaced in the 1980's with what is commonly referred to as 'family immigration'. This term designates the immigration of migrant labourers' next of kin for the purposes of reuniting families separated through economic migration.[13] According to the 1999 INSEE census, immigration has remained relatively stable over the past 25 years, if not for the fact of a noted feminisation of the immigrant population, largely accounted for by an increase in immigration of migrants' next of kin.

Today, French National Education continues to be characterised by the founding principles set out in 1881 and 1882, regarding the provision of secular (non-religious), compulsory and free education for all children residing in France (Emin & Esquieu, 1999). The Fifth Republic added the principle of equality to the above, by defining its end-goal as the promotion of effective equality and social equality according to each person's ability and merit. This has specific implications for the approach taken to the subject of schooling migrants and children of migrants in France and for the way in which it is possible to deal with discrimination in education.

As Payet (1999b, p.12) points out, "the Republican definition of the school acquires its value from the fact that it symbolises a model that articulates access to citizenship and access to nationality. The French schooling system is, in principle, indifferent to differences, and it is this secular attitude that constitutes the means through which a direct link is created between each individual, called upon to be a citizen, and the political community to which he or she belongs, namely the French nation". In keeping with the Republican imperatives of promoting national unity and secularity, pressure is placed on individuals to assimilate into secular society 'as individual citizens'. This entails renouncing all external manifestations of religious or 'cultural' affiliation within the public sphere. This assimilationist policy has been criticised for integrating individuals to the detriment of national (regional) and 'immigrant' minority identities, and the cultural vitality and the political representation of minority communities.

The Republican model of integration is based on a clear distinction between public and private spheres. The public sphere of education is governed by a principle of secularity, which as Benguigui and Pena-Ruiz (2000) argue, implies both the refusal of Proselytism and respect for the diversity of personal convictions, be they religious or other. The principle of equality further implies that the family is accorded the fundamental liberty to determine the type of education that they wish to impart to their children, outside of the

[13] Given the legal context for such immigration and the personal motivations of those concerned, we propose to use the term 'immigration of migrant's next of kin' in the context of this report.

schooling system. The state and the education system protect the right of all individuals to preserve and pursue the convictions of their choice within the private sphere. On the other hand, the school concerns itself only with imparting that which is common to all. The role of the Republican state and schooling system, is to organise and facilitate the peaceful coexistence of differences within the public sphere of civil society. This is done by promoting respect for private preferences (religious or other) while preventing these from annexing the public sphere, or making claims that could compromise the common good.

While there is clearly a discrepancy between the Republican ideals of equality and secularity as they are described above and their enactment in daily life and within institutions (Lorcerie, 2003; Payet, 2000, 2002), defenders ofsecularity argue that this should not discourage the pursuit of these ideals nor undermine their legitimacy and value (Emin & Esquieu, 1999). For instance, while the Republican right to be treated equally irrespective of 'immigrant' or native origin may not always be respected in practice, as is clearly attested by research on segregation and ethnicisation in education (See for example, Bordet, Costa-Lascoux et Dubost, 2002; Bouamama, 2000; Costa-Lascoux, 2001; Payet, 1999a, 1999b, 1999c, 1999d, 2000a, 2000b, 2000c, 2000d), some continue to maintain that this should be viewed as a failure on the part of the educational institutions to enforce this right rather than call into question the right itself (Benguigui & Pena-Ruiz, 2000; Emin & Esquieu,1999).

Today, far from having exhausted itself, the central question of how to reconcile Republican principles of secularity and equality with the particular status and needs of immigrant and 'ethnic' minority children, remains central to research and practice in education and has received increasing attention over the past few years. Moreover, the polarisation of school population, the politicisation of identities (Narvaez, M. & Seksig, A., 2001) and the growing expression of "Islamophobia" in public discourse since the events of the 11th of September has re-kindled debates surrounding the supposed 'irreconcilability' of Muslim and secular Republican values within education in France (Benguigui and Pena-Ruiz, 2000[14]). These debates highlight the urgent needs to address the causes and consequences of structural (segregation) and implicit (ethnicisation) forms of discrimination in France and re-define the approach adopted in dealing with diversity in education (Bordet, Costa-Lascoux et Dubost, 2002, Lorcerie, 2003, Payet, 2002).

[14] Benguigui, Y. & Pena-Ruiz, H. (2000). L'exigence laïque du respect mutual [The secular obligation of mutual respect]. *Manière de Voir 62, Le Monde Diplomatique,* pp. 38-42.

6.2. NEW POLICIES AND INITIATIVES RELATED TO THE SCHOOLING OF NEWLY-ARRIVED NON-NATIONALS, LEARNERS OF IMMIGRANT DESCENT AND SOCIALLY UNDERPRIVILEGED LEARNERS.

The schooling and integration of newly-arrived non-nationals (non-francophone and francophone) with little or no prior schooling, and nationals of underprivileged social and 'cultural' backgrounds continues to be a priority for National Education in France. A policy document dating back to 1989 had already stated that "schools cannot neglect any of their students. The national imperative that 80% of a school age group reach matriculation level cannot undermine the need to provide satisfactory qualifications for the 20% who will not manage to attain this level."[15]

Annex 2 provides an historical overview of France's changing immigration context over the past three decades and the concurrent attempt made by National Education to manage diversity in education and prepare teaching and educational staff for the task of educating and integrating these learners within a unified schooling system. While education policies are centralised and imposed at a national level, the academies often vary as regards the manner and extent to which they implement initiatives aimed at (1) tackling socio-economic and cultural disadvantage among students in primary and secondary schools; (2) promoting equal opportunities to succeed among learners at primary, secondary and tertiary education levels; (3) reducing discrimination and managing diversity within schooling establishments; and, (4) providing initial and ongoing training and specialised support for teachers and staff responsible for educating and integrating these learners.

This section provides a brief overview of the legislative and policy context relating to non-francophone and francophone newly-arrived learners, as well as learners of socially underprivileged backgrounds or immigrant descent. In the case of the latter, the term "immigrant descent" usually applies to learners who belong to minorities that are stigmatised and disqualified on the basis of their so-called ethnic origin. Special attention is given to highlighting new policies and initiatives and changes in orientation that they indicate.

6.2.1. THE SCHOOLING AND INTEGRATION OF NEWLY-ARRIVED NON-NATIONALS AND TRAVELLING CHILDREN

A recent policy document issued in April 2002, reiterated and redefined the national priority of facilitating the integration and schooling of newly-arrived learners and travelling children. In this regard, the 22 former CEFISEM (Information and Training Centres for the Schooling of Children of Migrants) were re-baptised CASNAV (Academic Centres for the Schooling of Newly-arrived Learners and Travelling Children) and placed under the control of academy rectors, for reasons outlined in the policy document as follows[16]:

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[15] Cited in Darnal, A. (1996). Scolarisation des enfants non francophones : un défi pédagogique. *Hommes & Migrations, n° 1201,* 31-43.

[16] Policy document n° 2002-102 issued on the 25/04/2002.

The CEFISEM were initially created in 1975 to provide information and training in the area of schooling children of migrants. In 1990, their objectives were redefined in terms of a focus on accompanying the development of priority education zones (ZEP), violence prevention, working with local partners, and responding to particular educational needs (e.g., French language teaching). At the time, there were fewer newly-arrived learners in France and fewer efforts needed to be made to promote their school integration.

Over the past few years, an opposite trend has been observed: Children who arrive from outside France are more numerous, often older and some of them have little or no previous schooling. These changes alone justify the privileged focus of the CEFISEM on facilitating the school integration of newly-arrived learners in primary and secondary schools, by accompanying the educational and teaching personnel. Moreover, the legislation passed in July 2000[17]relative to the reception and habitat of travelling people has lead to the setting up of new informal settlements and, consequently, has created more favourable conditions for an improvement of the schooling of travelling children.

Legislation pertaining to the schooling of both newly-arrived children and travelling children has been updated. In this regard, the CEFISEM are now expected to concentrate all of their activities on **helping with the integration of newly-arrived and travelling children, in and through the school.** For this purpose, they are to prioritise actions directed at educational and teaching personnel who are likely to receive and train these pupils, especially those who teach in initiation classes (CLIN) and adaptation classes (CLA) and who are likely to receive pupils over the age of 16. These centres are now called **Academic Centres for the Schooling of Newly-arrived Learners and Travelling Children (CASNAV)** and are placed under the responsibility of academy rectors.[18].

Newly-arrived non-nationals are initially assessed for French language proficiency, mathematics and prior schooling knowledge before being transferred into special classes within primary and secondary establishments. The CEFISEM (now called CASNAV) carry out these evaluations and provide teachers with necessary pedagogical materials and on-going training in French as a Foreign Language.

A number of key resources remain central to the educational institution's response to the schooling of newly-arrived non-francophone learners. These include **Initiation Classes** (CLIN[19]) and **Integrated Remedial Classes** (CRI) in primary schools and **Adaptation Classes** (CLA) and **Temporary Adaptation Modules** (MAT) in high schools continue to serve an important function[20]. These specialised classes provide a context for the integration of these learners within the schooling system, by enabling them to come to grips with the new social context, while focusing on facilitating their acquisition of basic reading, writing and communication skills (Darnal, 1996). Moreover, the CASNAV in

[17] Law n° 2000-614.

[18] A number of web sites exist for the CASNAV in each of the academies. See for example, http://www2.ac-toulouse.fr/ariege-education/fle/dispositifs and http://cefisem.scola.ac-paris.fr/frmain.htm

[19] These were implemented in 1975 and redefined in 1986.

[20] In his opening address to a conference on Schooling Newly-arrived learners in France, Jack Lang reiterated the importance of these structures, together with the CEFISEM. See Lang, J. (2001). Discours d'ouverture. *VEI Enjeux, Hors Série N° 3,* 5-17.

each academy provide a host of services ranging from initial and continued training for teaching staff, to centres that host migrant children and their families upon their arrival and provide advice and guidance with regard to schooling, administrative issues and language classes, to interventions within schools, to developing and disseminating pedagogical material for native-language teaching or for teaching cultures of origin; to providing documentation, practical guides and support around issues related to the school teaching of foreign scholars or the socio-cultural factors which impact on learning in the case scholars of so-called immigrant origin who may experience educational difficulties due to socio-cultural factors; to facilitating the liaison between schools and parents and between schools and local support structures.

Table 1: Summary of the different types of specialised classes

Level	Specialised Classes	Description
Primary	**Initiation classes** (CLIN[21])	Created for non-francophone pupils of foreign nationality. Provide ***French as a foreign language*** (FLE) to non-francophone learners and francophone learners with insufficient prior schooling (especially reading and writing skills), who simultaneously attended ordinary classes
Junior High	**Adaptation classes** (CLA)	Created for pupils who, for different reasons, experience difficulties with elementary teaching. Dispense FLE to scholars who can be simultaneously schooled in ordinary classes
	FLE	French as a foreign language teaching for non-francophone and francophone pupils whose language skills are insufficient to follow and benefit from ordinary classes.
Senior High	**GRETA (Grouping of Schooling Establishements for Further Education**	This involves the grouping of senior high schools for the purpose of providing further education to scholars over the compulsory school age of 16.
	MGIEN (General Insertion Missions within National Education)	As with the former, these dispense education to students over the compulsory school age of 16.

Source: Repères et Références Statistiques – 2002 sur les enseignements, la formation et la recherche, *Ministry of Youth, National Education and Research (MJENR) (ftp://trf.education.gouv.fr/pub/edutel/dpd/rers03/chap3_9.pdf, November 2003).*

6.2.2. PRIORITY EDUCATION IN PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Priority education (EP) comprises two types of specific aid structures: priority education networks (REP) and priority education zones (ZEP).

Priority education zones (ZEP) were set up in accordance with legislation passed in 1981, and aimed *"to reinforce educational action in areas where social conditions are such that they constitute a risk factor, or even an obstacle, for the school achievement of children and adolescents who live there, and ultimately, for their social integration."* The

[21] These were implemented in 1975 and redefined in 1986.

primary aim of this initiative was, and continues to be, *"to achieve a significant improvement of these pupils' school results."*[22] (BO n°3, Feb. 1990)

The rector of each academy[23] determines the grouping of schools to be accorded ZEP status, on the basis of a combination of criteria indicative of *socio-economic and cultural disadvantage*, namely:

- The employment status of learners' parents and the rate of unemployment in the area;
- The proportion of foreigners, newly-arrived learners, and children of migrants attending the school;
- The rates of failure, dropout, absenteeism, violence, disciplinary problems.

ZEP schools are allotted additional non-teaching staff (namely, pedagogical and educational counsellors, CPE), teaching staff per capita (classes are smaller and are restricted to a maximum 25 learners per teacher as compared to the usual 30), and financial resources (in the form of budgets for special school projects, life skills and violence prevention interventions). These are intended to reinforce existing educational activities and facilitate the implementation of innovative locally-based initiatives.

Today, educational inequalities continue to be addressed through centrally-defined education priority directives and policies. Educational inequalities are broadly defined as those factors – be they social, economic or 'cultural' (linguistic) - which place the learner at a disadvantage as compared to other learners in the education system. They include, inequalities related to the acquisition of French language skills (especially in the case of non-francophone newly-arrived learners, foreign pupils or learners whose mother tongue is not French), prior learning lags and social, economic or 'cultural' factors that interfere with the acquisition of knowledge dispensed in the schooling system and the achievement of satisfactory outcomes on national test scores, yearly grades and national diplomas. Ultimately, educational inequalities are seen to hinder later opportunities for employment, social integration and social mobility. In this sense, the school continues to be considered as the primary vehicle for social integration. It would appear that the construct of social integration as referred to in the educational policy documents remains largely unverified in empirical terms. While national statistics are collected regarding the success rates on national school examinations of pupils in priority education zones, no systematic research was found measuring their employment rates in different sectors of the market, their enrolment in higher education whether technical or academic institutions, or the percentage of these school-leavers who benefit from social welfare measures such as Minimal Integration Revenue. Moreover, research evaluating social integration would need to take into account the interactive effect of educational inequalities and discrimination in areas such as employment, higher education and housing.

A recent series of evaluations were undertaken to assess the impact and success of priority education over the past 20 years. The success of locally-implemented initiatives was based on their capacity to conceptualise and implement coherent pedagogical and

[22] Policy document n° 90-028, published in the Official Bulletin (BO) n° 3, Feb. 1990.
[23] Academies reflect geographical areas of jurisdiction defined by the National Education System. The curricula and overall educational policies are centralised and are disseminated through these academies.

educational plans in schools and is largely dependant upon the efforts and commitment of teaching and non-teaching staff.

Sensitive Schools created in 1993 and **Educational Priority Networks** (REP) in 1997 continue to define priority education in terms of target sites where the population is most at risk for schooling difficulties, failure or dropout, as well as violence, deviance and delinquency. Many of the schools which fall within priority education areas or networks enrol an overly high proportion of immigrant children and French children of immigrant descent. Paradoxically, however, the failure to recognise the "minority" status of these populations, while simultaneously deploying educational resources to improve their school results means that individuals continue to be exposed to implicit forms of discrimination (segregation, ethnicisation and stigmatisation) that affect educational outcomes without these factors being taken into account in official policy.

More recent policies and legislation regarding education for migrants, minorities, non nationals and scholars of so-called immigrant origin include a **National Council and initiatives for combating violence in schools** (implemented as of January 2000); reinforcing and rationalising extra school help through the creation of the **local contract for extra school help** (June 2000), a single program to replace the former Extracurricular Educational Activities Program (AEPS), the School Solidarity Networks (RSE), and the first generation Local Contracts for Extra School Help (Clas); and strengthening already existing programs design to tackle the educational needs of newly-arrived learners from foreign countries[24]. In November 2000 the scope of the **Local Educational Contracts** (CEL) was broadened to include the **extra school help contracts** (CLAS[25]) and **local security contracts** (CLS), and placed the emphasis on **cultural and artistic education**.

An **education-watch action plan** was also to be implemented in 2002 at all locations defined as priority sites in accordance with the city policy. The **education-watch units** are intended to help professionals anticipate and prevent school drop-out or situations where pupils leave the school system at the age of 16 without qualifications. Most recently, a document issued on the 20th of March 2002 clarified the modalities for registration of pupils of foreign nationality, in an attempt to speed up their access to schooling.[26]

6.2.3. AFFIRMATIVE ACTION IN TERTIARY EDUCATION: PRIORITY EDUCATION CONVENTIONS (CEP)

A prestigious tertiary institution in Paris, Science-Po implemented a positive discrimination policy in an endeavour to make the establishment accessible to school-leavers from Priority Education Areas. The need for such measures and the uproar it created attest both to the discriminatory practices that continue to place such institutions out of the reach of the ordinary student and to the reticence at reforming elitist institutions

[24] A Contract for Executives was signed on the 7th of March 2001 by the Direction of Populations and Migrations (DPM), the FAS and the Ministry of National Education

[25] These had been implemented in 1998 as a way of rationalising extra-school help by integrating existing measures under one single umbrella measure.

[26] See de Royer, S. (2001, 8 January). Rentrée scolaire pour onze enfants venus d'ailleurs. *La Croix,* p. 13, regarding the schooling of refugee children.

such as these that continue to be considered representative of French 'intellectual distinction'[27]. A recent evaluation of this endeavour yielded very favourable results and points to the importance of proactively endorsing affirmative action measures within tertiary institutions, particularly those that are historically inaccessible to socio-economically disadvantaged and minority origin student populations. These measures were depicted as an effective means of favouring social mobility and reducing racism at the structural level[28].

According to Science Po's communications department (http://www.sciences-po.fr/presse/zep/cep.pdf, November 2003), the Priority Education Conventions (CEP) procedure aims to recruit students on the basis of their merit and potential and not simply on the basis of their school record. While the level of candidates is generally high, this procedure also evaluates students on their personal qualities, openness, capacity for reflection and argumentation. The selection committees thus evaluate a candidate's potential for academic excellence rather than his/her achievement in terms of grades obtained at the end of secondary high school. Moreover, the presence of company representatives within these selection committees attests to their interest and support for such initiatives, the emphasis placed not only on ensuring that students have the capacity to succeed in their studies but also that they have professional opportunities for employment after completing their studies, and the importance they attach to diversifying the social composition of Science Po's student population.

To sum up the primary findings of this initiative:

- 7 secondary high schools were partners in this endeavour in 2001 and 17 students were admitted to Science Po (19% admission rate).
- 13 secondary high schools were partners with Science Po in 2002 and 33 students were admitted through this procedure (15% admission rate).
- 85% of the students admitted through CEP procedures **are from working class, employee or intermediate professions SES**, as compared to a mere 11% who enter Science Po through other admission procedures.
- A third of these students have dual nationality and three fifths have at least one parent who is not French.
- Women comprise 70% of those admitted through CEP procedures.
- CEP students represent almost 10% of the total number of first year students in the 2002 year.
- 15 of the 17 students admitted in 2001 passed. Overall, their academic results are comparable to those of students admitted on the basis of an entry examination.
- The students showed an excellent social integration within the Science Po community.

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[27] See Descoings, R., Euvrard, M., Fitoussi, J.-P., Pébereau, M. & Rémond, R. (2001, 11-12 March). Sciences-Po : égalité des chances, pluralité des chances. *Le Monde,* pp. 39-40; and Chartier, C. (2001, 17 May). Grandes écoles. Pour ou contre les quotas? *L'Express,* pp. 26-29.

[28] See the evaluation of the integration and academic achievement of the 2002 recruits in *Conventions Education Prioritaire (CEP)*, http://www.sciences-po.fr/presse/zep/cep.pdf, November 2003.

- This reform is reinforced by a vote taken in the National Assembly and the Senate, and is supported by the government and local authorities. The UNI (Union of the students of the Right Wing) saw their demands to cancel these conventions being denied and was condemned to pay 1500 € to Science Po.

The initiative is reported to have created a dynamic process which has increased the sense of motivation and the expectations regarding learning among participating ZEP secondary schools. In 2002, 218 secondary high school pupils applied for admission to Science Po. The increase in number of candidates over the past two years is taken as a sign of increased confidence among ZEP-going pupils. In comparison with what has sometimes been described as the lack of confidence, and consequently of motivation, among pupils and teachers in ZEP schools regarding the possibilities for further academic education[29], pupils attending secondary high schools that are in partnership with Science Po are seen by their teachers as having open-ended possibilities for future education (and hence for social mobility) which seems to heighten their motivation and improve attitudes towards learning. In this regard, it was found that the very fact of participating in classes to prepare entry into Science Po – by preparing candidates for argumentation and synthetic analysis of a large body of press releases as well as oral examinations, for instance – improved their attitudes towards their learning and matriculation exams, regardless of whether they went through to the entry examination itself[30].

The results of the evaluation also attest to the possibility of mobilising teaching staff and pupils around the common goal of academic excellence. In this regard, the possibility of accessing an elitist institution offered by the CEP is reported to have given the teachers involved in this process a rekindled sense of their professional identity and the meaning of teaching. This is in contrast to what other authors have described as the impact that teaching in ZEP establishments has on the teacher's sense of their professional identity and teaching.

Lastly, the success with which these pupils adapted to the strenuous intellectual demands of their first year in Science Po and achieved a passing grade into the next year indicates the importance of implementing measures to redress pre-tertiary education discrimination by facilitating access to tertiary institutions and focusing on the skills needed by these pupils to adapt to the high demands of the new system and master its codes. Teachers in Science Po were actively involved in tutoring these pupils so as to ensure that they be given every opportunity to succeed once accepted.

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[29] This may be related to the awareness that discrimination exists in educational orientation procedures and that ZEP-going pupils are overrepresented among those who are oriented towards vocational and technical high schools as compared to mainstream ones (see chapter 3).

[30] These findings need to be considered with circumspection as they are based on observed behaviour among pupils participating in preparing the entry examination to this prestigious institution and are not based on systematic research with comparative samples of participating and non-participating schools. Also, the apparent effervescence and enthusiasm (as seen in the evaluation reports given by teachers in these schools) for these measures among teachers may have contributed towards the increased motivation and confidence levels observed among pupils. Further research is clearly warranted in this area.

7. DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA SOURCES

The schooling and integration of newly-arrived non-nationals and nationals of disadvantaged immigrant ethnic background in education[31] has become a cause for increasing concern in most European countries[32]. Their position has often been associated with low performance levels, absenteeism and truancy, drop-out and unqualified school-leaving, disciplinary problems and violence, relatively fewer transfers to higher levels of mainstream education. The disadvantaged position of these learners is compounded by the vulnerability of these groups to racism, racial discrimination, ethnicisation, segregation, and marginalization.

This section describes and analyses statistical data pertaining to the situation within the education system of non-francophone and francophone newly-arrived non-nationals, travelling children, socially underprivileged pupils, and children whose immigrant ethnic origins are stigmatised and disqualified. It also critically appraises the policies which currently drive the schooling and integration of these populations based on statistical data, quantitative evaluations and qualitative reports. It ultimately aims to track improvements in the situation of these learners which may be attributed directly or indirectly to the success of particular policies and legislation in this area and make recommendations for future research, data collection strategies or policy orientation.

7.1. THE SITUATION OF PUPILS OF FOREIGN NATIONALITY

Official instructions with regard to the census of pupils of foreign nationality specify that it is the nationality of the child and not of her or his parents that is to be recorded[33]. However, some inconsistencies are noted. In particular, children who recently acquired French nationality through naturalisation may be erroneously counted among this group, as too those children whose parents are of foreign nationality. A child is considered French if at least one of her or his parents are French (i.e. children of mixed French-foreign parents are French), or if born in France if at least one of her or his parents are born in France. The data presented in this section are based on the foreign nationality of the child as recorded by school heads. This school population differs from the population

[31] The ideas developed in this paragraph are largely drawn from Driessen, G. (2000). The limits of educational policy and practice? The case of ethnic minorities in The Netherlands. *Comparative Education, 36 (1),* pp. 55-72.

[32] See for example, Gillborn, D. (1997). Ethnicity and educational performance in the United Kingdom: Racism, ethnicity and variability in achievement. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly, 28,* pp. 375-393. ; Reid, I. (1997). Inequality and education in Britain in the 1990s: A diagnosis and prescription. *Research in Education, 57,* pp. 12-24.

[33] The definitions and data presented in this section are drawn from *Repères et Références Statistiques – 2002 sur les enseignements, la formation et la recherche* (Ministry of Youth, National Education and Research (MJENR) (http://www.education.gouv.fr/stateval/rers/repere.htm#12)

of immigrants (foreign pupils can be born in France for instance) and from the population of immigrant origin (these pupils can be French of foreign parents).

7.1.1. PRIMARY SCHOOLS

Based on an estimation for 402 public and 569 private schools, 372 300 foreign pupils were enrolled in primary school in 1999-2000. This represents 5.9% of all primary school pupils, 5.5% in pre-elementary schools and 6.1% in elementary schools. This figure is close to 23 000 short of the figure recorded in 1998 (- 5.8%), though this decrease only pertains to public schools. The proportion of foreign pupils in public primary schools has decreased progressively since 1990[34]: From 9.6% in 1990 to 9% in 1993, and from 7.5% in 1997 to 6.6% in 1999. Private schools, on the other hand, recoded an increase of 138 pupils in 1999-2000 as compared to the previous two years in which no change was recorded at all.

The proportion of foreign pupils in private schools in 1999-2000 is much lower than in public schools (1.6% versus 6.6%). Moreover, it varies considerably from one academy to the next. Foreign pupils are most highly represented in the academies of Paris, Créteil and Versailles (18.7%, 11% and 9.9%, respectively), and least represented in the academies of Rennes, Nantes and Caen (1.1%, 1.4% and 1.5%, respectively). It is interesting to note that while the overall proportion of foreign pupils in regular classes remains relatively low, they are overrepresented in special classes such as initiation classes, adaptation classes and school integration classes (70.3%, 12% and 10.7%, respectively). Moreover, while foreign pupils represent a wide range of nationalities, two thirds of these pupils are divided between five nationalities: Moroccan (23.1%), Algerian (14.5%), other African nationalities (12.9%), Turkish (12.9%), or Portuguese (10%).

Table 2. Proportion of foreign pupils in primary schools by nationality and geographical origin in 1999-2000 (Mainland France)

Nationality	Public	Private	Total	% of all foreign pupils
Moroccans	84 712	1 156	85 868	23.1
Algerians	52 887	1 167	54 054	14.5
Tunisians	26 793	450	27 243	7.3
Other African nationalities	47 147	929	48 076	12.9
Spanish	3 260	536	3 796	1.0
Portuguese	35 300	1 781	37 081	10.0
Italians	3 384	450	3 834	1.0
Other EU nationalities	12 284	2 972	15 256	4.1
Turks	47 487	613	48 100	12.9
Cambodians, Laotians, Vietnamese	11 336	469	11 805	3.2
Other nationalities	34 096	3 059	37 155	10.0
Total	**358 686**	**13 582**	**372 268**	**100.0**
% of all pupils	6.6	1.6	5.9	

[34] This pattern contrasts sharply with the increase in the number of foreign pupils from 7.7% (562 994) to 10.6% (710 335) between 1975-76 and 1984-85.

Source: Repères et Références Statistiques – 2002 sur les enseignements, la formation et la recherche, *Ministry of Youth, National Education and Research (MJENR) (ftp://trf.education.gouv.fr/pub/edutel/dpd/rers03/chap3_8.pdf, November 2003)*

Table 3. Proportion of foreign pupils in primary schools in 1999-2000, and their sub-division among different types of special structures (Mainland France, Mainland France + DOM, Public and Private)

		Pre-elementary	CP-CM2	Initiation Classes	Adaptation Classes	CLIS	Total
Public	N° of pupils	128 143	223 374	1 469	94	4 754	358 686
	% of total N° of pupils	6.1	6.8	72.6	12.8	11.3	6.6
Private	N° of pupils	4 348	8 974	42	173	45	13 582
	% of total N° of pupils	1.4	1.6	33.6	9.0	1.7	1.6
Total Mainland France							
N° of pupils		132 491	232 348	1 511	1 119	4 799	372 268
% of all pupils		5.5	6.1	70.3	12.0	10.7	5.9
Mainland France + DOM							
Public		132 201	230 592	1 477	951	4 961	370 182
Private		4 581	9 219	42	173	45	14 060
Total		**136 782**	**239 811**	**1 519**	**1 124**	**5 006**	**384 242**

Source: Repères et Références Statistiques – 2002 sur les enseignements, la formation et la recherche, *Ministry of Youth, National Education and Research (MJENR) (ftp://trf.education.gouv.fr/pub/edutel/dpd/rers03/chap3_8.pdf, November 2003)*

7.1.2. SECONDARY SCHOOLS

The number of pupils of foreign nationality schooled in secondary establishments in mainland France (in both private and public sectors) in 2001-2002 was 245 000. This is slightly lower than in 1999-2000 (4.6% as opposed to 5.1%), and considerably lower than in 1990-1991 (412 000 or 7.5% of all pupils).

Foreign pupils schooled in secondary establishments are mainly from Morocco (64 170), other African nationalities (32 125), Portugal (26 418), Algeria (26 046), Turkey (22 485) and Tunisia (18 195). Only 2 947 are Italian, 2 844 are Spanish, 11 433 are other EU nationals and 11 063 are of other European nationalities. Even fewer are Cambodians, Laotians, or Vietnamese (5 978).

Overall, certain nationalities are overrepresented in Sections of Adapted General and Professional Teaching (SEGPA) and in Regional Establishments for Adapted Teaching (EREA), two structures developed for children with severe learning or cognitive difficulties.

Table 4. Proportion of foreign pupils in secondary schools by nationality and geographical origin in 2001-2002 (Mainland France, DOM, Public and Private sectors)

Nationality	2nd Degree (not in adapted teaching)			Adapted teaching			Total in Secondary school	Post-Matricu-lation(1)	DOM (total) (2)
	Public	Private	Total	EREA	SEGPA	Total			
Moroccans	60 456	1 536	61 992	190	1 988	2 178	64 170	3 295	5
Algerians	23 584	1 499	25 083	88	875	963	26 046	697	8
Tunisians	16 876	648	17 524	47	624	671	18 195	554	2
Other African nationalities	27 023	3 729	30 752	151	1 222	1 373	32 125	1 931	315
Portuguese	23 421	2 084	25 505	57	856	913	26 418	605	13
Italians	2 413	468	2 881	9	57	66	2 947	103	18
Spanish	2 190	608	2 798	4	42	46	2 844	89	4
Other EU nationalities	8 349	3 012	11 361	8	64	72	11 433	277	170
Other nationalities of Europe	8 404	2 423	10 827	15	221	236	11 063	373	25
Turks	20 535	550	21 085	45	1 355	1 400	22 485	362	0
Cambodians, Laotians, Vietnamese	5 548	330	5 878	8	92	100	5 978	245	64
Other nationalities	16 669	4 277	20 946	54	348	402	21 348	772	6377
Total	**25 468**	**21 164**	**236 632**	**676**	**7 744**	**8 420**	**245 052**	**9 303**	**7 001**
% of all pupils	5.2	1.9	4.5	6.2	7.4	7.3	4.6	3.5	3.1
Algerians in 2000-2003	25 594	1 494	27 088	94	974	1 068	28 156	849	7

Source: Repères et Références Statistiques – 2002 sur les enseignements, la formation et la recherche, *Ministry of Youth, National Education and Research (MJENR) (http://www.education.gouv.fr/stateval/rers/repere.htm#12)*

- The post-matriculation includes the CPGE (Preparatory Class for Specialised Schools), STS (Higher Technician Section), and other complementary BTS (Higher Technician Certificate) courses.
- This includes the matriculation.

Table 5. Proportion of foreign pupils in different cycles and streams of secondary schools and their frequencies in 2001-2002 (Mainland France, DOM, Public and Private sectors)

		First Cycle	Adapted (EREA, SEGPA)	2nd Cycle Professional	2nd Cycle General & Technological	Total	Post-matriculation
Public	Freq.	131 570	8 379	37 387	46 511	223 847	7 673
	%	5.3	7.7	7.2	4.0	5.2	3.7
Private	Freq.	11 698	41	3 455	6 011	21 205	1 630

	%	1.8	1.1	2.4	2.0	1.9	3.0
Total Mainland France		**143 268**	**8 20**	**40 842**	**52 522**	**245 052**	**9 303**
% of all pupils		4.6	7.4	6.2	3.6	4.6	3.5
Mainland France + DOM		**148 192**	**8 720**	**41 945**	**53 134**	**251 991**	**9 365**

Source: Repères et Références Statistiques – 2002 sur les enseignements, la formation et la recherche, *Ministry of Youth, National Education and Research (MJENR) (http://www.education.gouv.fr/stateval/rers/repere.htm#12)*

7.1.3. UNIVERSITIES & TERTIARY INSTITUTIONS

The number of foreign students enrolled in a tertiary diploma course for a minimum of 1 year or in a preparatory course for national examinations (tertiary education courses include distance learning, continuing education, part-time courses or apprenticeships) has increased markedly since 1999 (+ 30.6%). This is in contrast with the noted decline in the number of French students registered between 1998 and 2001 (4.4% less). Consequently, there is a reversal of the pattern noted between 1985 and 1997 (5% drop in the number of foreign students) and the proportion of foreign students attending French universities has now returned to the level recorded in 1990 (11.4%) (see Table 6).

Table 6. Evolution in number of students enrolled in French universities (Mainland and Overseas France) [35]

	1980-1985	1985-1986	1990-1991	1995-1996	1996-1997	1997-1998	1998-1999	1999-2000	2000-2001	**2001-2002**
Number of students	110 763	131 979	136 306	130 376	125 764	122 111	122 126	129 469	141 616	**159 463**
Annual variation			3.5	-4.4	-3.6	-2.9	0.0	6.0	9.4	**12.6**
% of foreign students	12.9	13.6	11.5	8.8	8.6	8.5	8.6	9.1	9.9	**11.4**

Source: Repères et Références Statistiques – 2002 sur les enseignements, la formation et la recherche, *Ministry of Youth, National Education and Research (MJENR) (http://www.education.gouv.fr/stateval/rers/repere.htm#12)*

The number of non-European students has increased markedly since 1999, after having decreased from 1991 to 1997. On the other hand, while the number of European students from non-EU member states, especially from the East, has increased progressively since 1995, the number of EU students has dropped slightly.

The distribution of foreign students enrolled in French universities in 2001-2002 (Mainland France and DOM) varied according to the discipline and nationality of the students. Since 1998, Economics is the discipline which attracts the most students while

[35]These include National Polytechnic Institutes (IUP), Technology Universities (Compiègne, Troyes, Belfort-Montbéliard), the Political Studies Institute of Paris (IEP), the National Institute of Oriental Languages and Civilisations (INALCO), the Observatory of Paris, the Institute of Physics of the Globe, and the National School of Nature and Landscape of Blois, in addition to all the faculties of French universities.

the number of students enrolled in Health-related courses decreased up until 1998 and is slowly increasing since then. The choice of discipline varies according to the student's nationality: 60% of American students, 48% or Europeans and 40% of Asians prefer the Arts and Human Sciences, while Lebanese and Syrian nationals are more likely to be enrolled in Medicine or the Sciences. Students from the African continent are equally attracted by the literary, scientific and economics disciplines.

The feminisation of the foreign student population is another trend observed between 1985 and 1999. In 1999, 50% of the foreign student population were women as compared to a mere 34.5% in 1985. Interestingly, the proportion of female French students did not increase during this same period.

At present, official statistics of foreign students in French universities are based solely on nationality, which makes it difficult to gain a sociological understanding of the phenomenon of student migration[36]. Official statistics do not distinguish between those foreign students whose parents have immigrated and settled in France (EEI) and those whose parents reside abroad and who have come to France for the purpose of pursuing their higher education (EEE). In a sociological study of these two categories Borgogno & Vollenweider-Andresen (1998) track their evolution over the past three decades. A presentation of these results exceeds the space limitations imposed by this report.

7.2. THE SITUATION OF NEWLY-ARRIVED NON-NATIONALS

The Direction of Programming and Development of the Ministry of National Education recently undertook a study to determine the exact number of newly arrived non-nationals schooled in primary and secondary establishments in each department on three consecutive dates (October 2001, January 2002, May 2002). The study was intended to provide data that is difficult to collect through the normal yearly intake surveys. Data was collected through electronic mail from Academy Inspectors, who in turn collected the relevant data from school directors and principals. The data requested included the number of specific structures for newly-arrived learners in primary and secondary schools, the number of learners (whether they be schooled in specific structures or not), the number of learners already present in the previous year and kept in specific structures. A number of Academy Inspectors had difficulty collecting the data, and a number of inconsistencies in the data may indicate a lack of reliability of certain figures. Nonetheless, the data provides a clear picture of the differences in approach among academies or even departments within the same academy.

According to the report, in January 2002, 32 650 newly-arrived pupils were schooled in primary and secondary institutions in the French metropolis and overseas departments, as opposed to 28 500 in September 2001 and 25 300 in May 2001. This seems to suggest a significant rise in the number of newly-arrived pupils (+13% between May and September 2001; +15% between September 2001 and January 2002). These figures do not include the additional 1444 adolescents and young adults who in January 2002 were

[36] This section draws on a study undertaken by Borgogno, V. & Wollenweider-Andresen, L. (1998). Les étudiants étrangers en France : trajectoires et devenir [Foreign students in France : trajectories and future]. *Migrations Etudes, 79.*

schooled in General Insertion Missions of the National Education System (MGIEN), Groupings of Senior High Schools for Further Education (GRETA), or other structures set up to provide support for newly-arrived pupils over the compulsory school age of 16. The 4 000 additional pupils schooled between September 2001 and January 2002 matches the figures of 6 000 incoming pupils and 2 000 outgoing pupils (who were either integrated into ordinary classes or left the department).

The Ministry of National Education's official statistics reported a total of 38 000 newly-arrived non-francophone pupils in public primary and high schools for the 2002-2003 school year. These included 18 000 pupils in primary schools, just under 18 000 in junior high schools and approximately 2 000 in senior high schools. Most of the latter pupils (62%) were schooled in vocational and technical high schools. According to this source (ftp://trf.education.gouv.fr/pub/edutel/dpd/rers03/chap3_9.pdf, November 2003), 2350 pupils were enrolled in special structures for students over the age of 16 (MGIEN and GRETA). The data shows that 65% of newly-arrived pupils receive education in special classes (see Table 1 above for a description of these structures), though the types and number of special classes vary widely depending on the academy. In eight of the academies, 50% of newly-arrived non-francophone pupils are schooled in special classes, while this figure reaches 65% in ten other academies and 90% in the academy of Versailles. Similarly, special classes are used more frequently in primary schools than in high schools: In primary schools, 75% of pupils receive lessons in Initiation Classes (CLIN) and Integrated Remedial Classes (CRI), as compared to the 58% and 48% who are those schooled in Adaptation Classes (CLA) or in Temporary Adaptation Modules (MAT) in junior high schools and in senior high schools, respectively.

A recent article published in *Le Monde* (2001)[37] reported that the National Education System is apparently unprepared for this recent influx. "The insufficient number of initiation and adaptation classes, and the absence of specific structures for [children) over the age of 16" (limit of compulsory schooling)[38] was recently pointed out by the High Council for Integration. Moreover, while these classes have existed for over three decades, numerous children are still reportedly schooled in ordinary classes, where their specific language needs are not catered for.

7.2.1. PRIMARY SCHOOLS

Table 7 below indicates that the academies vary in terms of the number of pupils who are kept in a specific structure, from more than a third (Corsica, Reims, Clermont-Ferrand, Lyon and Poitiers), to 20% (Aix-Marseille, Amiens, Créteil, Lille, Montpellier, Nancy-Metz, Strasbourg, Toulouse, The Réunion).

Academies also vary in regard to the number of pupils who arrive in the schools after the start of the school year. For instance, in the academy of Caen, 90% of the pupils present in January 2002 were not present for the start of the school year in October 2001. In the

[37] Bronner, L. & Zappi, S. (2001, 10 nov.). L'école est mal préparée à l'afflux des enfants non francophones. *Le Monde,* 22.

[38] An article published by Rotman, C. (2001, 2 January). A l'école de la France. *Libération,* p. 8, presents an example of a class set up to assist the specific needs of newly-arrived pupils over the compulsory schooling age. In addition to teaching reading and writing, this class performs a follow up function with the children's families.

academies of Paris, Créteil, Lille and Martinique, these figures do not exceed 50%, and in the academies of Corsica, Amiens, Poitiers, Guadeloupe and the Reunion they remain below 10%.

It is interesting to note that less than 10% of the newly-arrived pupils present in most of the academies actually left specific structures to integrate ordinary classes (or to leave the department) between the two data collection dates (October 2001 and January 2002). In the academy of Strasbourg, 126 of the 144 pupils who left specific structures, did so to integrate ordinary classes, as compared to 156 pupils in the academy of Créteil, 44 (out of 51 who left) in the academy of Reims and 127 (out of the 190 who left) in the academy of Versailles.

Table 7. Flux of newly-arrived learners in primary schools*

	Ave. n° present between Oct. & Jan	N° already present in 2000-01 school year	Proportion of learners kept in specific structures	Proportion who entered between Sept. & Jan.	Proportion who left between Oct. & Jan. to integrate an ordinary structure or leave the department
Aix- Marseille	578	94	16.3%	156	38
Amiens	203	14	6.9%	19	7
Besançon	294	89	30.3%	43	18
Bordeaux	323	65	20.2%	76	33
Caen	73	12	16.4%	66	1
Clermont-Ferrand	176	67	38.1%	56	24
Corsica	184	83	45.1%	12	4
Créteil	1096	87	7.9%	553	156
Dijon	224	49	21.9	58	21
Grenoble	629	177	28.1%	121	50
Lille	279	30	10.8%	160	3
Limoges	154	28	18.2%	60	11
Lyon	1432	521	36.4%	327	32
Montpellier	617	95	15.4%	125	25
Nancy-Metz	383	16	4.2%	108	18
Nantes	174	36	20.7%	28	5
Nice	666	161	24.2%	119	51
Orleans-Tours	498	147	29.5%	144	50
Paris	665	152	22.9%	468	0
Poitier	291	108	37.2%	21	10
Reims	280	114	40.7%	85	51
Rennes	312	93	29.8%	93	18
Rouen	216	57	26.5%	102	55
Strasbourg	394	65	16.5%	184	144
Toulouse	537	83	15.5%	72	30
Versailles	1992	608	30.5%	564	190
French Metropolis	**12666**	**3051**	**24.1%**	**3811**	**1045**
Guadeloupe	81	0	0.0%	6	3
Guyana	1250	0	0.0%	0	0
Martinique	94	0	///	56	5
Reunion	1236	204	16.5%	53	11
DOM	**2661**	**204**	7.7%	115	**19**

French Mainland +DOM	**15326**	**3255**	**21.2%**	**3926**	**1064**

Source: Direction of Programming and Development, Ministry of National Education (http://cisad.adc.education.fr/enaa/)
**The figures contained in this table were obtained from data collected in October 2001 and January 2002.*

7.2.2. SECONDARY SCHOOLS

The majority of newly-arrived pupils are schooled in secondary establishments. Almost 14 000 pupils are schooled in 1 700 General and Technological (LGT) and Vocational Secondary High Schools (LP).

7.2.2.1. Lower Secondary Schools:

As in the case of primary schools, some academies keep more newly-arrived pupils in specific structures from one year to the next than others (Table 3). Rennes schools the highest number of pupils in specific structures (close to 96%), followed by Dijon (60%), Reims (over 50%), Limoges, Grenoble, Amiens, Caen (over 40%), and Versailles, Montpellier and Besançon, with over a third of newly-arrived non-nationals kept in specific structures from one year to the next.

Similarly, academies varied significantly with regard to the number of pupils who arrived after the October 2001 data collection. This was the case for over 30% of the newly-arrived pupils schooled in the academies of Paris and Rouen, and approximately 25% of those schooled in the academies of Marseille, Bordeaux, Clermont-Ferrand and Créteil.

Last but not least, less than 10% of these pupils left specific structures to be integrated in ordinary classes in all but the academy of Aix-Marseille, where 92 of the 103 pupils who left specific structures did so to integrate ordinary classes.

Table 8. Flux of newly-arrived learners in secondary schools*

	Ave. n° present between Oct. 2001 & Jan; 2002	N° already present in the previous school year	Proportion of learners kept in a specific structures	Proportion who entered between Oct. 2001 & Jan; 2002	Proportion who left between Oct. & Jan. to integrate an ordinary structure or leave the department
Aix- Marseille	811	77	9.5%	212	103
Amiens	340	140	41.2%	77	24
Besançon	213	72	33.8%	44	15
Bordeaux	319	32	10%	40	14
Caen	73	30	41.1%	19	6
Clermont-Ferrand	117	60	51.3%	30	14
Corsica	159	47	29.6%	24	5
Créteil	1789	287	16%	468	146
Dijon	217	131	60.4%	54	13

Grenoble	400	175	43.8%	67	18
Lille	493	134	27.2%	103	30
Limoges	202	93	46%	28	8
Lyon	746	119	16%	124	11
Montpellier	962	379	39.4%	176	39
Nancy-Metz	377	15	4%	64	25
Nantes	249	57	22.9%	36	14
Nice	730	45	6.2%	143	47
Orleans-Tours	265	85	32.1%	43	21
Paris	1080	300	27.8%	333	51
Poitier	215	55	25.6%	23	10
Reims	233	117	50.3%	58	8
Rennes	303	290	95.7%	46	20
Rouen	238	32	13.4%	85	33
Strasbourg	362	92	25.4%	83	75
Toulouse	476	119	25%	91	44
Versailles	1949	769	39.5%	346	86
French Metropolis	**13312**	**3752**	**28.2%**	**2817**	**880**
Guadeloupe	53	22	41.5%	5	4
Guyana	281	0	0%	64	15
Martinique	55	4	7.3%	9	1
Reunion	///	///	///	///	///
DOM	**389**	**26**	**6.7%**	**78**	**20**
French Mainland +DOM	**13702**	**3778**	**27.6%**	**2895**	**900**

Source: Direction of Programming and Development, Ministry of National Education (http://cisad.adc.education.fr/enaa/)
**The figures contained in this table were obtained from data collected in October 2001 and January 2002.*

7.2.2.2. Secondary High Schools:

The highest numbers of newly-arrived non-nationals are enrolled in the academies of Ile de France (Paris, n=324; Créteil, n=296; Versailles, n=232), followed by the academies of Toulouse (n=171), Limoges (75 pupils, of whom 66 are enrolled in Vocational High Schools) and Aix-Marseille (n=73). Flux was generally minor, though slightly higher for LGT (22% of new pupils versus 0.4% who left) than for LP (18% new pupils versus 0.1% who left).

7.2.2.3. Pupils awaiting placement:

In October 2001, 830 newly-arrived non-nationals were awaiting placement in a secondary school on the French mainland and overseas departments, as compared to 560 in January 2002.

7.2.2.4. Pupils over the age of 16:

Of the 1444 adolescents and young adults who were taken into MGI, GRETA and other support structures, 294 arrived (versus 50 who left) between the October 2001 and January 2002 data collections (French mainland and overseas departments).

7.3. THE SITUATION OF LEARNERS IN PRIORITY EDUCATION

According to the data published in *Repères et Références Statistiques – 2002 sur les enseignements, la formation et la recherche* (Ministry of Youth, National Education and Research (MJENR)[39], at the start of the 2001 school year, France had 706 Priority Education Zones (ZEP) and 808 Priority Education Networks (REP), comprising a total of 8551 public schools or establishments. The number of ZEP or REP schools varies significantly from one academy to the next. Within the whole of Priority Education (EP), the percentage of schools ranges from 5.1% in the academy of Caen to 32.7% in Paris and 26.9% in the academy of Créteil. The percentage of lower secondary schools in ZEP or REP ranges from 6.4% in the academy of Limoges to more than a third of all schools in the academies of Aix-Marseille, Corsica, Créteil, Lille and Rouen. As compared to mainland France, where 13.6% of all secondary schools fall within priority education and 10.9% in ZEP, these figures were much higher for the overseas French departments (DOM) (34.9% and 24.1%, respectively). Since the overall reform of the priority education map in 1999, there is little reported change in the number of EP schools from one year to the next. Only 30 secondary schools either entered or left EP.

In the same year, 675 000 pupils (21.5%) were schooled within EP secondary schools, as compared to 17.9% in 1999. These figures are 17.3% and 15.2% respectively if one only considers ZEP establishments. Of the 1260 secondary schools in EP, 1085 (86%) are lower secondary schools, and 70% of the 175 secondary high schools are vocational. The number pupils enrolled in lower secondary schools in EP varies according to academies, from 7.9% in the academy of Limoges to 31.3% in the academy of Rouen and 35.5% in the academy of Créteil. The creation of the first 8 REP in Corsica in 2002 meant that it almost tripled its number of pupils taught in EP. Similarly, the setting up of 18 REP in the Reunion saw a significant increase in the number of pupils enrolled in EP in the DOM (36% of lower secondary pupils in 2001). Nine academies have no secondary high school pupils enrolled in EP: Corsica, Lille, Nantes, Paris, Poitiers, Rennes, Guadeloupe, Guyane and Martinique.

Primary and secondary schools in EP have less pupils per class (-1.5 and -2.4 respectively) than non-EP schools. This is true for all the academies excepting primary schools in Corsica (Table 4). Moreover, in secondary schools the differences between EP and non-EP classes are more marked, with up to four pupils less per class in Strasbourg and Nice. As mentioned previously, EP is particularly well-developed in the DOM, particularly in Guyane where over 50% of pupils are educated in EP structures. The number of pupils in these classes is generally higher and the difference in the number of pupils in EP and non-EP classes is slightly lower.

[39] All statistical data was obtained from the MJENR web site : (http://www.education.gouv.fr/stateval/rers/repere.htm#12)

Table 9. Number and proportion of pupils (1) enrolled in Priority Education in each academy at the start of the 2001 school year and size of classes as compared to non-EP schools

	Pupils in Priority Education (EP)(2)						Proportion of EP pupils in ZEP		
		Primary schools		*Lower secondary schools*			*Lower secondary schools*		
Academies	**Total(3)**	**%**	**Size of classes EP (non-EP)**	**Number**	**%**	**Size of classes EP (non-EP)**	**Total (3)**	**N°**	**%**
Aix- Marseille	52 235	22.8	22.4 [24.8]	37 992	30.8	22.0 [24.7]	42 001	30 210	24.5
Amiens	25 043	17.7	21.3 [22.7]	22 633	24.1	20.5 [23.1]	23 368	21 396	22.8
Besançon	12 575	12.8	20.6 [21.9]	11 664	23.1	20.9 [23.2]	8 945	8 945	17.7
Bordeaux	21 157	14.8	21.8 [23.4]	17 582	14.7	21.7 [24.1]	14 484	10 909	9.1
Caen	6 766	8.0	21.1 [22.5]	6 372	10.5	20.1 [23.0]	5 922	5 922	9.8
Clermont-Ferrand	11 004	10.1	20.0 [20.3]	10 081	21.4	22.6 [22.9]	2 889	2 536	5.4
Corsica	7 674	27.4	22.5 [22.1]	7 674	58.6	22.0 [24.5]	2 868	2 868	21.9
Créteil	76 345	30.1	22.4 [24.9]	69 488	35.5	21.8 [24.0]	69 653	64 304	32.8
Dijon	17 416	13.8	20.1 [21.9]	15 517	20.9	21.6 [23.4]	16 438	14 969	20.2
Grenoble	27 216	11.8	22.0 [23.3]	22 994	17.9	21.8 [24.3]	20 634	18 035	14.0
Lille	56 611	28.1	22.7 [24.0]	56 611	31.3	20.3 [23.1]	49 531	49 531	27.3
Limoges	2 506	7.0	18.8 [21.2]	2 205	7.9	19.9 [22.6]	2 506	2 205	7.9
Lyon	36 112	17.6	22.6 [24.4]	27 153	23.6	21.4 [24.1]	27 623	21 140	18.3
Montpellier	18 400	13.4	21.7 [23.5]	16 688	15.9	20.9 [24.3]	16 604	14 892	14.2
Nancy-Metz	18 857	13.1	20.8 [22.0]	16 575	15.0	20.5 [23.5]	14 807	14 807	13.4
Nantes	12 206	11.5	21.1 [23.7]	12 604	12.1	20.7 [23.4]	7 672	7 672	7.3
Nice	11 096	9.8	21.1 [24.6]	8 934	10.1	20.3 [24.4]	8 934	8 934	10.1
Orleans-Tours	18 752	13.1	20.6 [23.2]	17 328	15.6	20.7 [23.1]	15 582	14 158	12.8
Paris	15 188	31.4	22.9 [25.7]	15 188	26.0	23.2 [25.9]	11 7	11 711	20.0
Poitier	5 953	6.9	21.4 [23.0]	5 953	8.6	21.0 [23.5]	5 524	5 524	8.0
Reims	18 011	16.3	20.9 [22.3]	15 285	24.2	21.0 [22.9]	15 427	14 796	23.4
Rennes	7 265	7.1	21.4 [23.5]	7 265	8.1	20.5 [23.3]	4 256	4 256	4.8
Rouen	34 700	21.4	20.9 [23.3]	28 419	31.3	21.7 [23.7]	29 061	24 015	26.4
Strasbourg	11 217	11.0	22.3 [23.9]	10 917	13.4	20.4 [24.6]	10 917	10 917	13.4
Toulouse	10 676	9.3	19.7 [22.5]	9 544	9.2	21.0 [24.6]	5 833	5 544	5.3
Versailles	88 590	22.5	23.2 [25.4]	59 119	23.7	21.9 [24.7]	75 317	46 354	18.6
French Metropolis	**623 969**	**17.3**	**22.0 [23.5]**	**531 785**	**20.8**	**21.3 [23.9]**	**508 507**	**436 550**	**17.1**
Guadeloupe	10 037	25.6	22.8 [24.2]	9 088	31.3	21.5 [22.8]	5 001	4 052	14.0
Guyana	5 489	53.8	24.9 [25.6]	4 642	33.2	21.5 [21.8]	5 489	4 642	33.2
Martinique	10 168	34.9	21.8 [23.4]	9 108	32.6	21.7 [23.4]	7 078	6 018	21.5
Reunion	25 386	26.9	23.9 [24.5]	23 419	40.6	23.5 [24.5]	16 592	14 625	25.4
DOM	**51 080**	**17.9**	**22.1 [23.6]**	**46 257**	**36.0**	**21.4 [23.8]**	**34 160**	**29 337**	**22.8**
French Mainland +DOM	**675 049**			**578 042**	**21.5**		**542 667**	**465 887**	**17.3**

Source: Repères et Références Statistiques – 2002 sur les enseignements, la formation et la recherche, *Ministry of Youth, National Education and Research (MJENR) (http://www.education.gouv.fr/stateval/rers/repere.htm#12)*

- Complete data is not available for primary schools.
- Establishments in ZEP and/or REP.

- The total includes general and vocational secondary high schools in EP.

The policy of positive discrimination has led to a consistent increase in the level of education and the length of schooling for pupils of all social groups over the past 30 years (Emin and Esquieu, 1999). A quantitative national study undertaken in the 1990s, (Vallet and Caille, 1995, 1996a, 1996b[40]) examined the school careers of new immigrants and nationals of French-origin and immigrant-origin of similar socio-economic backgrounds. The results of this study suggested that when socio-economic conditions were controlled for, i.e., "all things being equal", students from immigrant backgrounds had better chances of succeeding (measured by school achievement, length of schooling career, and orientation in mainstream versus vocational streams) than their immigrant and French-origin peers. The results were taken to suggest that children of immigrant descent are assimilated into the education system, insofar as their access and performance levels improve as they advance through primary and secondary schooling, as compared to their French-origin peers from similar socio-economic backgrounds.

These studies have been criticised for masking inequalities and discrimination at local (within schools and academies) and national levels (Payet & Van Zanten, 1996), and for not giving a detailed picture of the actual practices and realities that prevail within schools. Moreover, since the orientation of the students towards general or vocational secondary high schools and outcome of the individuals' education (as measured through matriculation results) was not taken into account, these findings provide a distorted view of the overall situation of foreign students, socio-economically disadvantaged pupils and children of disadvantaged 'ethnic' minority backgrounds in priority education.

The studies reviewed in the more recent literature concur that inequalities persist among French-origin and immigrant-origin school-goers (in terms of achievement, length of schooling, mainstream or vocational orientation, likelihood of involvement in risk behaviours such as delinquency, truancy, drop-out). In spite of the concerted efforts made by governmental and non-governmental organisations to eliminate inequalities and foster school achievement of these populations, the very policies implemented to address these problems[41] may in fact be part of the root causes of the types of problems that are becoming common-place in priority education today (for instance violence, disciplinary problems, teacher burn-out, and the mobility of teachers).

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[40] Vallet, L.-A. & Caille, J.-P. (1995). Les carrières scolaires au collège des élèves étrangers ou issus de l'immigration [The junior high school careers of foreign learners and learners of immigrant descent]. *Education et Formations, 40,* 5-14 ; Vallet, L.-A. & Caille, J.-P. (1996a). Les élève étrangers ou issus de l'immigration dans l'école et le collège français. Une étude d'ensemble . *Les dossiers d'Education et Formations, 67,* (Ministry of National Education, DEP) ; Vallet, L.-A. & Caille, J.-P. (1996b). Niveau en français et en mathématiques des élèves étrangers ou issus de l'immigration [Achievement levels in French and Maths among foreign learners and learners of immigrant descent]. *Economie et Statistique, 293,* 137-153.

[41] See for example, Payet J.-P. (2000, Nov.). *Civilité et ethnicité à l'école. Une sociologie morale des mondes scolaires disqualifiés*. Habilitation à diriger des recherches, Université Lumière Lyon 2 ; Payet J.-P. (1999). Dérives éthiques dans les relations enseignants-parents. *Cahiers Pédagogiques*, n° 5 ; Payet J.-P. (1992). Civilités et ethnicité dans les collèges de banlieue. Enjeux, résistances et dérives d'une action scolaire territorialisée. *Revue Française de Pédagogie*, n° 101.

In the section that follows, we present and discuss quantitative and qualitative data pertaining to the impact of legislation and policy to redress social inequalities, promote the cultural integration of immigrant or immigrant-origin students, and reduce discrimination on the basis of 'race', 'ethnicity' or gender. While these initiatives are implemented nationally, in accordance with centralised national policy for education, the academies often vary as regards the manner and extent to which they implement these measures within schools. The data presented is based on the results of national evaluations of these initiatives - undertaken either by the National Education Ministry or contracted out to independent researchers - qualitative research and national statistical data. In cases where data is not available, the possible reasons for this are explored and recommendations are included in the last section of this report. This presentation is by no means exhaustive; rather, it attempts to enhance an understanding of the situation of 'minority' and migrant youth in schools and universities and the manner in which social pluralism is dealt with.

Overall, the findings suggest that considerable inequalities continue to persist among pupils educated in Priority Education (EP) and non-EP schools (Tables 10-12). The socio-professional status of parents continues to predict significant disparities in school-leavers' length of schooling and level of education. Moreover, since the beginning of the nineteen eighties, there has been a reported increase in the recorded disparities among new entrants to junior high schools[42], on the basis of their socio-professional category of origin, their nationality and the age of first entry into junior high school (Emin & Esquieu, 1999). The authors attribute this social polarisation of junior high schools in large part to residential segregation, especially in urban agglomerations, and to the consumerist-type behaviour adopted by those parents who are in a position to avoid sending their children to the schools for which they are zoned**.**

An analysis of the national reference statistic indicators (ICoTEP) prepared by the Ministry of National Education for use by establishments which are part of ZEP and REP, provides useful insights into some of the differences between Priority Education (EP) and non-EP with regard to the type of population enrolled (social and school characteristics), the resources and personnel capacity of these schools, the pupils' school careers, and their test scores on national evaluations.[43] As seen in table 4, significant differences continue to exist insofar as the socio-environmental backgrounds of pupils educated in EP versus non-EP schools are concerned: 62% of all pupils attending EP establishments (with or without a SEGPA) have parents who are unskilled workers or inactive as compared to 39% of pupils in non-EP schools. Moreover, pupils attending EP schools are overrepresented for all indicators of underachievement (learning lags and repeated years) other than repeating the 3rd grade. More pupils seem to enter EP lower secondary schools (6th grade) with a learning lag than non-EP schools. The discrepancy between EP and non-EP pupils' learning lags is clearly visible both at the beginning and end of the 3rd grade (26% and 30.8% versus 14.7% and 18.1%, respectively). While the number of pupils having repeated 2 years or more at the end of 3rd grade is almost double in EP versus non-EP schools, the percentage of pupils that repeat this year is only slightly higher in EP schools. This may be explained by the higher proportion of EP pupils who

[42] All pupils attend a single junior secondary school and are oriented towards a general and technological or a vocational branche in secondary high school after the end of 3rd grade. Both these branches lead to matriculation certificates.

[43] Source: MEN, Direction of Schooling, Direction of Programming and Development (http://cisad.adc.education.fr/icotep/ November 2003)

are oriented towards vocational secondary high schools as compared to non-EP pupils (37% versus 24%) and the correspondingly lower proportion of EP pupils oriented towards general and technological streams of secondary high school (49% versus 60%). In this sense, orientation towards vocational branches may represent a form of sanction for EP pupils who underachieve in 3rd grade, while repeating a year represents the same sanction in the case of non-EP underachievers.

Table 10. Type of Population Schooled: A comparison of EP versus non-EP schools

	EP	Non-EP	Total
Social Environmental Indicators			
Proportion of 6th graders (with SEGPA) whose parents are unskilled workers or inactive.	62.8%	39.9%	44.7%
Proportion of 6th graders (not in SEGPA) whose parents are unskilled workers or inactive.	62.1%	39.2%	44%
Learning Lags or Repeated Years			
Proportion of pupils lagging behind at the beginning of the 3rd cycle	26%	14.7%	16.7%
Proportion of pupils lagging behind at the end of the 3rd cycle	30.8%	18.1%	20.3%
Proportion of pupils repeating a year among 6th graders	11.3%	9.3%	9.7%
Proportion of pupils having repeated two years or more in 6th Grade	7.4%	4.1%	4.8%
Proportion of pupils repeating a year among general 3rd graders	8.1%	7.8%	7.9%
Proportion of pupils having repeated two years or more in 3rd Grade	12%	6.6%	7.7%
Early Schooling			
Children enrolled at 2 years of age in the public sector	37.9%	30.7%	32%

Source: MEN, Direction of Education, Direction of Programming and Development (DPD) (http://cisad.adc.education.fr/icotep/ November 2003)

Table 11. Pupils' school careers: A comparison of EP versus non-EP schools

	EP	Non-EP	Total
Access Rates			
Access rate from 3rd grade to General and Technological 2nd grade	49%	60%	57%
From 3rd grade to Vocational 2nd grade	37%	24%	27%
From 3rd grade to 2nd grade	85%	84%	84%
From 6th grade to Vocational 2nd grade	26%	18%	20%
From 6th grade to 2nd grade	61%	63%	62%
Future of 3rd grade pupils by the end of General and Technological 2nd Grade			
1st S (Scientific)	20.5%	29.1%	27.6%
1st L (Literary)	9.7%	10.9%	10.7%
1st ES (Economic and Social)	12.4%	15%	14.6%
1st SMS or STS	18.7%	12.8%	13.9%
1st STL or STI	7.1%	6.6%	6.7%
1st BTN Specific	0.2%	0.4%	0.4%
BEP or CAP	4.4%	2.7%	3%
Repeat year	22%	17.4%	18.2%
Other	5%	5%	5%
Future of 3rd grade pupils at the end of Vocational 2nd Grade			
Terminal BEP or second year of CAP	80.3%	83.8%	82.9%
Reorientation (transfer to other branch) or repeat year	6.9%	4.8%	5.4%
Other	12.7%	11.3%	11.6%

Source: MEN, Direction of Education, Direction of Programming and Development (http://cisad.adc.education.fr/icotep/, November 2003)

Table 12. Resources and Personnel: A comparison of EP versus non-EP schools

	EP	Non-EP	Total
Personnel Resources			
Number of teachers per 100 pupils in schools	5.56	4.75	4.89
Hours of teaching per secondary high school	1.1332	1.213	1.237
Number of education assistants per 100 pupils in primary schools	0.99	0.42	0.52
Number of education assistants per 100 pupils in secondary schools	1.00	0.38	0.50
Stability of Personnel			
Proportion of teachers in same primary school post for less than 2 years	36.2%	31.2%	32.2%
Proportion of teachers in same secondary school post for less than 2 years	39.5%	32.7%	34.2%
Proportion of ATOSS in same secondary school post for less than 2 years	25.1%	21.7%	22.4%
Age of Personnel			
Proportion of teachers under 30yrs of age in primary schools	20.5%	12.3%	14%
Proportion of teachers under 30yrs of age in secondary schools	24.8%	15.5%	17.6%
Proportion of ATOSS under 30yrs of age in secondary schools	8.9%	8%	8.2%

Source: MEN, Direction of Education, Direction of Programming and Development (http://cisad.adc.education.fr/icotep/ November 2003)

7.4. STRUCUTRAL AND COVERT FORMS OF DISCRIMINATION

Research in the area of discrimination in education in France points to three broad areas in which discrimination operates to produce or re-produce inequalities and hinders integration within the schooling system. While these cannot be logically separated, they are presented separately for the purpose of clarity. They include, (1) 'ethnic' segregation and the production of differences; (2) ethnicisation and the salience of ethnicity in a context of social asymmetry; (3) stigmatisation and the discriminatory function of discourses of "Othering".

The report ends with a review of some of the shifts in orientation with regard to education for citizenship and dealing with diversity and 'ethnic' discrimination in schools and makes recommendations for how to re-define concepts of common culture and national identity in an attempt to respond to the challenges of social plurality.

7.4.1. SEGREGATION

Using socio-anthropological methodologies, Payet (2002a)[44] has done extensive field research in schools to uncover the contradictory reality in which integration and exclusionary practices coexist within schools. These studies have revealed the role of segregation at the urban, school and intra-school levels in reproducing inequalities and segregating 'ethnic' minority pupils from their French-origin peers. Segregation in

[44] Payet J.-P. (2002a). The Paradox of Ethnicity in French Secondary Schools. In C. Stack, L. Roulleau-Berger (Eds.). *Urban Youth and Unemployment in United States and Europe.* Academic Publishers Brill.

schools has been found to reflect and reinforce urban segregation (Payet, 2000[45], Barton, 1997, 1998)[46], creating urban 'ghettos' where immigrant populations are held captive at the margins of society. As Payet has shown previously (Payet & Van Zanten, 1996), schools situated in these marginalized areas are themselves marginalized from a common norm, and tend to be overly burdened with a concentration of difficulties. At the same time, priority education areas do not prove to be spaces in which innovative pedagogical practices are created, but rather where disciplinary action is overly deployed in an attempt to deal with "savage children"[47], and teachers experience high levels of fatigue associated with over-exposure to problems of marginalization, distress, suffering, exclusion (moral and physical) (Payet, 1997)[48], school failure, and institutional and interpersonal violence. Payet (1998, pp. 23-25)[49] identifies a number of factors that contribute towards creating and maintaining segregation and inequalities within education.

The existence of a private sector of education serves as a resource for parents (mostly affluent classes) wanting to avoid the problems encountered in disadvantaged suburban schools. Private schooling was found to participate in the social differentiation of the school system. While public sector education depends on territorial factors, such as being zoned for schools in one's residential area, the private sector does not follow this logic. An analysis of parents' motivations for choosing private schools reveals that, rather than being chosen on the basis of ideological premises (for instance religious), the private sector is used increasingly as a resource when wanting to avoid the educational and social problems associated with disadvantaged suburban public schools. This, however, poses the problem of equality, since resorting to private sector education is more often within the means of socially affluent families. This is corroborated by Langouët & Leger's (1991)[50] that have found that the transfer from public to private sector schools is more frequent among socially affluent categories. Moreover, since a number of private schools are in fact affiliated to a religious body (dispensing both secular and religious education), the lack of Muslim private schools, as compared to the historical presence of Catholic and Jewish schools (which are in part sponsored by the state) raises another issue that cannot be excluded from our overall analysis.

The consumerist-type strategies of socially advantaged parents are a second factor. These strategies include shopping around for an appropriate school, requesting a transfer from a school in one's residential area to a "better" school, and pulling strings to ensure that one's child receives the best quality education within the public school system. The attempts made by parents to avoid enrolling their children in priority education areas schools or in classes with low-achievers and slow-learners, were also found to contribute

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[45] Payet J.-P. (2000). L'éthnicité dans l'école française. De la censure républicaine à la reconnaissance démocratique. *Pour, n° 65.*

[46]Barthon, C. (1997). Enfants d'immigrés dans la division sociale et scolaire. L'exemple d'Asnières-sur-Seine. *Les Annales de la Recherche Urbaine, 75*, 70-78 ; Barthon, C. (1998). La ségrégation comme processus dans l'école et dans la ville. *Revue Européenne des Migrations Internationales, 1*, 93-103.

[47] As mentioned earlier, this inflammatory term was used to designate youth involved in violence on the front page of *France-Soir*, last edition, 5 February 1996.

[48] Payet J.-P., (1997). Le « sale boulot » . Division morale du travail dans un collège en banlieue. *Les Annales de la recherche urbaine*, n° 75.

[49] Payet J.-P. (1998). La ségrégation scolaire. Une perspective sociologique sur la violence à l'école. *Revue Française de Pédagogie,* n° 123.

[50] Langouët, G. & Leger, A. (1991) *Public ou privé? Trajectoires et réussites scolaires.* Paris : Publidix/Editions de l'Espace European.

towards the "fabrication of classes" within a school (Payet, 1992[51], 1995[52]). Field based research in inner-city schools and an analysis of their class-profiles revealed that school heads faced with the flight of those pupils whose parents can either afford to enrol them in the private sector or who have access to existing means of having their children transferred from disqualified schools within their residential areas, tend to unofficially endorse practices that allow the creation of internal divisions among "good" and "bad" classes. Pupils' origins constituted an important criterion in their strategic allocation to "good" or "bad" classes within the same section: Girls and pupils born to French parents were overrepresented in classes with few if any low-achievers or slow-learners, and conversely, boys and pupils born to non-French parents were overrepresented in classes with a high concentration of low-achievers and slow-learners (Payet, 2002a). In a context where the choice of school has come to represent a crucial factor for the quality of education, the "reputation' of schools and other visible factors such as the proportion of foreign, non-European students, are used as a short-cut for determining the quality of a school. This has contributed to what the author calls "the ethnicisation of the school market", where the 'ethnic' background of a school's population becomes a legible criterion for qualifying the offer and demand of that school.

More recently, in a nation-wide study of the processes of segregation in education, Payet (2002b)[53] undertook a comparative analysis of the outcomes (positive or negative) of parents' requests for authorization to transfer their children from their neighbourhood school (for which they are officially zoned) to a school of their choice. The results reveal a significant discrepancy in these outcomes based on the applicants' national or non-national origins. Authorizations for school transfers are granted more frequently when requested by French parents than their immigrant counterparts. At the same time, the overrepresentation of parents of immigrant pupils among those requesting such authorizations is a clear indicator of the strong school mobilization of this population[54]. This individual initiative is subsequently denied by the schooling system, through the lack of favourable outcomes.

According to the author, these apparent inequalities cannot be attributed to direct discrimination on the part of the administration handling these applications. Rather, they emerge through the paradoxical treatment of 'ethnic' origins and point to the limitations of the Republican taboo on 'group differences': Officially, the 'ethnic' origins of the applicant are rendered invisible by the refusal to recognise 'cultural' differences within public space, while they remain implicitly visible through such indicators as the applicant's family name, the high school frequented, and the residential area for which the scholar was initially zoned. At the same time, the acceptance of only those applications whose arguments for requesting re-zoning are formulated in a language that

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[51] Payet J.-P.(1992). Civilités et ethnicité dans les collèges de banlieue. Enjeux, résistances et dérives d'une action scolaire territorialisée. *Revue Française de Pédagogie*, n° 101.

[52] Payet J.-P. (1995). *Collèges de banlieue. Ethnographie d'un monde scolaire*. Paris : Armand Colin.

[53] Payet, J.-P. (Ed.) (2002b). *Mondes et territories de la segrégation scolaire.* Programme Mixité Urbaine et Ségration à l'Ecole, ARIESE-RESEAU.

[54] In this regard, see Arnaud, D. (2001, 15 February). Du Val-Fourré à la bonne école. *Libération,* p. 15, the story of a father who fought tooth and nail to have his son re-admitted into a class in a school for which he had not initially been zoned. He was motivated by the strong belief that only access to quality schooling would protect his children from social problems and facilitate their mobility and integration.

conforms to the codes of "politically correct" administrative discourse implicitly discriminates against all families who do not master the necessary 'cultural' codes and arguments. The author highlights the need to explore the ways in which families in disqualified residential areas, mainly immigrant families, can contest this process of segregation.

According to Payet (2000a, p. 2-3), "processes of segregation do not only entail a social dimension, but also, and primarily an 'ethnic' dimension. The public disqualification of the suburbs and the schools situated in their midst was largely based on an 'ethnic' dimension". The polemic raised by the 'Islamic veil[55]' constituted one of the most remarkable, but not the only, developments of this negative public ethnicisation (by the media and political structures). Children of immigrants become the targets of significant public stigmatisation directed at their 'ethnic' group. Ethnicity in schools it isn't only constructed through outside influences – social representations and stereotypes. Rather, it becomes salient and operant within the daily functioning of the school, where strategies for dealing with ethno-cultural diversity become emblematic of the position that the school adopts in its interaction with minorities. In France, this position is most often characterised by a refusal of differences or 'ambivalent' adjustment to the conditions that asymmetrical contact between diverse groups generates within the school. It is less often characterised by a recognition and accommodation of social pluralism, not to mention support of diversity in schools. The different strategies adopted for dealing with the fact that a large proportion of the schooling population observes the *Ramadan,* is an example in point.

While the Republican value of separating public and private spaces has found justification on the basis that it is inadmissible to attribute 'ethnic' identities to pupils that enclose them within particular groups rather that freeing them to exercise their individual rights and citizenship, the ethnicisation of daily practices within schools continues to render the 'ethnic' identity of students and professionals salient. Moreover, the dynamic interaction between processes of segregation and 'ethnic' stigmatisation within the ambit of the schooling system makes it impossible to eradicate ethnicity or redefine it in a positive way without calling into question the very mechanisms that embed it structurally, interpersonally and symbolically.

Payet (2000a, p. 3) argues that the schooling system today has become one of the primary vehicles for the production of social hierarchies. This is due to the increasing prevalence of a logic of segregation, and a concurrent subordination of the citizenship function of education to the instrumental function. Such processes subvert the overarching goal of promoting universality and rationality and create a schooling system that benefits those who have the most access to economic, social and cultural capital, while reinforcing the disadvantage of those who do not. Moreover, the proliferation of discourses and practices of "Othering" and exclusion (through the forms of segregation mentioned above) at both the structural organisational and ordinary functional level have a significant impact on the representations held by professionals, pupils and parents.

[55] The school system considered the wearing of the veil to school to be an ostentatious manifestation of religious affiliation that had no place within secular space.

7.4.2. ETHNICISATION

Ethnicisation (defined above) is reported to be an increasing problem within the schooling system. The child's 'ethnicity' is increasingly used to explain the difficulties associated with schooling newly-arrived foreign pupils and French-born children of migrant workers and the implications that this has for interpersonal relations (among teachers and pupils, teachers and parents, pupils of different 'ethnic' origins) and discrimination in education (segregation, orientation practices). At the same time, the increased politicisation of 'ethnic' identities within schools and in public discourse creates a double-bind for educators and policy makers who cannot respond effectively to these issues without compromising on the basic principles of equal, secular Republican education. Payet (2000, p. 191) insists that the "Republican taboo on ['ethnic', religious, or 'cultural'] origins" blinds the school system to an ever-widening gap between the principles underpinning National Education [equality, tolerance, non-discrimination on the basis of group differences] and the ordinary practices which take place daily within its 'jurisdiction'. Moreover, this taboo prevents the institution and its professionals from conceptualising and addressing the question of discrimination as it takes place in education and within the school.

In a recent article on the ethnicisation of school relations, Perroton (2000)[56] explains the challenges facing the schooling system as it grapples with the contradictions between the Republican model of education and the ambiguity of the ethnicisation of school relations. As the author puts it, "the educational institution has always tended to perceive itself as a neutral, non social space, in which there was no place for social, political, cultural or ethnic differences." (p. 131) In its Republican tradition, the schooling system construed itself as the symbol of tolerance and the representative of a welcoming and progressive type of universality. This was characterised, among other things, by a "colonialist-type" interest in cultural differences and a desire to assimilate them through the force of *Reason* and *Progress*. At the same time, the schooling system imagined itself able to resist the external assault of racism, by firmly entrenching a strong antiracist verbal norm and an idealised image of itself as the cradle of the "French melting pot" – the vehicle for the integration of minorities and the great equaliser of socio-economic and 'cultural' conditions. However, the democratisation of education brought with it a greater heterogeneity in the school population and an increase in problems related to school failure and inequalities. These transformations awakened the theme of ethnicity that had up until then remained dormant within the education system.

Today, the growing tendency to explain differences among students (both in regard to their educational needs and performance) by drawing a parallel between school failure and 'cultural' difference contradicts these fundamental Republican values of indifference to difference and of secularity. More importantly, it leads to what the author characterises as ever-growing focus on ethnic categories in the education system and a tendency to transform social relations into relations between 'ethnic' groups. Teachers were found to be ambivalent in their treatment of 'disqualified minorities', and oscillated between their desire to valorise the other, and the stigmatisation of these pupils' 'ethnic' differences.

[56] The paragraph that follows is taken directly from the article published by Perroton, J. (2000). Ambiguïtés de l'ethnicisation des relations scolaires: l'exemple des relations école-familles à travers la mise en place d'un dispositif de médiation, *VEI Enjeux*, n°121, pp. 130-144.

In this regard, Franchi (2003)[57] found that the ethnicisation of relations between pupils, in the form of insults based on the ethnic origins of schoolmates or exclusionary practices based on these same criteria, were identified by 14 out of 19 5th graders as the most severe form of violence from the point of view of the pupil. Respondents were a class of 25 pupils participating in an action research pilot project involving the implementation of a violence prevention programme in a ZEP in the Lyon region. The author contends that this evidence points not only to the uptake of ethnicisation in the behavioural repertoire of pupils educated in ethnicised neighbourhoods and establishments, but also symbolise the violence experienced when an ideology of racism subordinates the legitimacy of their identity to a differentiation based on an 'ethnic' origin that is presumed to be theirs. She concludes by stressing that the use of such identity labels by the very victims of ethnicisation serves to underscore their reticence to compromise on issues of identity and to pretend that all is equal when in fact they are the living proof of the violence of carrying within their selves the identity stigmata within which society imprisons them. In this sense, the uptake of defamatory identity signifiers based on 'race' or 'ethnicity' serves to contest the 'ethnic' boundaries that society uses to separate legitimate nationals from illegitimate ones.

A growing body of publications, conferences, and to a lesser degree teacher and staff training programs, addresses the question of the 'ethnicisation' of immigrants and children of immigrants in education. Examples include the recently published proceedings of a FAS-DIV sponsored seminar on the emergence of the ethnic question[58], a special issue of *VEI Enjeux* reporting the proceedings a FAS-RIE[59] sponsored conference on "teaching in ethnicised contexts", held in March 2002 in Paris, and a recently commissioned study on "ethnicisation of school relations and 'ethnic' discrimination in education", currently being undertaken for the GELD and the DPM. While no official policy document regarding teacher training in this area could be found, disparate efforts to introduce on-site teacher training programs are made in certain academies[60].

7.4.3. STIGMATISATION AND DISCOURSES OF "OTHERING"

The educational policies presented in the previous section reiterate a widespread tendency to designate the French-born children of migrant workers and immigrants from Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia, as the major source of concern for the education system today. While the 'ethnic' origins of these youth are absent from official documentation, implicit references are made through such terms as children of migrants and "second-generation immigrants".

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[57] Franchi, V. (2003). Ethnicisation des rapports entre élèves. Une approche identitaire. *Enseigner en milieu ethnicisé face à la discrimination, VEI Enjeux*, *hors série n° 6,* 25-40.

[58] Bordet, J., Costa-Lascoux, J. & Dubost, J. (2000). *Séminaire FAS-DIV: Emergence de la question ethnique dans le lien social, tabou et affirmation. Actes du séminaire et propositions de poursuite.* C:\ WINNT\Profiles\fdb.000\Bureau\Actes Séminaire Emergence Ethnique.doc/JB/ChL 14/01/02.

[59] FAS stands for Social Action Fund; RIE stands for the Intercultural Education Network

[60] This information is based on the author's own experience of running such trainings in the Academy of Lyon and on informal exchanges with other academics and school teachers, counsellors and heads.

The use of terms such as "second generation immigrants", "youth of immigrant origin", or "inner-city neighbourhood youth" is not restricted to media. Since the 1980s, the tendency to highlight the foreign origins and/or immigrant status of youth of Algerian, Moroccan, Tunisian and African descent as "immigrants" rather than their French nationality has pervaded scholarly writings especially in the social sciences (Franchi, 1999[61]; Baillet, 2000)[62]. The use of such etiquettes, whether they focus on these youngsters' "ethnic" origin – such as "second generation youth of Maghrébine immigration" (Lapeyronnie, 1987)[63], – on their immigrant status – such as "second generation" – or on their religious background – such as "Muslims in France", "Muslims of France" and "French of Muslim origin" - undermine the legitimacy of their rightful claim to the recognition of their French citizenship, and reinforce the idea that there is some fundamental, irreconcilable difference between these youth and their peers (Franchi, 1999). The use of this "identificatory language of discrimination" not only banishes these youth to the margins of 'true' French culture by politically assigning them the identity of 'false nationals', but also underscore their difference from 'true nationals', thereby confirming the superiority of the latter (Balibar, 1990).

The discourses on immigration and immigrants constructed through and in the media over the past 10 years in France have clearly singled out children of North African origin as the most prone to involvement in acts of violence[64], delinquency or drug-related behaviour, not to mention school drop-out, truancy, and disciplinary action, and more recently gang rape[65]. This negative media coverage propagates already widespread negative stereotypes of these youth and significantly contributes to their continued stigmatisation, exclusion and vulnerability to discrimination. Moreover, the media consistently depicts these youth as foreigners, when in fact they are either French citizens (by virtue of being born in France)[66], or will become French citizens automatically upon reaching legal maturity – 18 years of age – or have the right to claim French citizenship between the ages of 16 and 21 (Baillet, 2000). Moreover, by eliding the rightful citizenship of these youth, these discourses operate as "rhetorical strategies of Othering" (Riggins, 1997): they discursively re-inscribe historically entrenched 'racial' or 'ethnic'

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[61] Franchi, V. (1999). *Approche clinique et sociocognitive des processus identitaires et de la représentation de soi en intercultural* (A clinical and intercultural study of the construction of identity at the interface of cultural affiliations). Unpublished Doctoral thesis, Laboratoire IPSE, University of Paris X – Nanterre.

[62] Baillet, D. (2000). Jeunes d'origine maghrébine en France. Une question d'appellation. *Migrations Société,12(71)*, 37-46.

[63] Lapeyronnie, D. (1993). L'individu et les minorités. La France et la Grande-Bretagne face à leurs immigrés. Paris : P.U.F.

[64] Débarbieu (1996) *Op. cit.* highlights the excessive media coverage of misdemeanours in schools for the period of 1995-1996, and the inflammatory reference to youth of immigrant descent as "savage children" (see *France-Soir*, last edition, 5 February 1996).

[65] For a more in-depth analysis of the discourses on immigration and immigrants constructed through media articles published in ten different newspapers and weekly magazines that are taken to be representative of French political opinions, see Bonnafous, S. (1991). *L'immigration prise aux mots.* Paris : Editions KIME.

[66] Automatic citizenship was granted to those born in France according to Article 44 of the 1973 Nationality Code, which was in vigour until 1993. This was replaced by the Pasqua Laws according to which the person was required to make an official request for citizenship between the ages of 16 and 21. This law applied to those born after the 1st of January 1976. The Pasqua Laws were in vigour between 22 July 1993 and June 1997, when they were reformed and replaced by the Guigou Law, which returned to the *jus soli*. (Baillet, 2000)

dichotomies by legitimating the supremacy of 'true' French nationals. In so doing, these rhetorical strategies legitimate and re-create the exclusion and discrimination that these youngsters experience in their daily lives, (at school, in their neighbourhoods, in public transport, in the streets, at the entrance to discotheques, etc.). Equally important, they perpetuate an ideology that blames the disqualified individual and group for its socio-economic and political disadvantage, and undermine the effectiveness of the so-called positive discrimination strategies adopted in education over the past two decades.

These populations are today the most vulnerable to discrimination and at high risk regarding inequalities in school, socio-economic integration, and social mobility (Tribalat, 1995)[67]. It is difficult to empirically determine the exact role that 'ethnic' stigmatisation played in creating this vulnerability in the first place, however, the designation of certain French-born youth as "children of migrants", "children of foreign and disqualified origins", or "immigrants" further stigmatises and excludes them from society. Numerous studies provide evidence of the widespread internalisation of negative identity stereotypes among French youth of North African descent (Vinsonneau, 1996)[68], and other youth who are systematically disqualified and devalued on the basis of their "immigrant origins" (Franchi, 1999). Moreover, the experience or perception of being vulnerable to discrimination and social and school problems has been found to increase the adolescent's depressive thoughts and feelings, the idea of being "different", and the fear of contact between family and school, and reduce the adolescent's use of the full range of his/her intercultural competencies (Franchi, 1999).

In psychology, researchers have focused quasi exclusively on the psychosocial problems and difficulties associated with this population. While in the case of clinical psychology, research will inevitably deal with human suffering and psychopathology (Mesmin et al., 1995[69]; Moro, 1994[70]), the lack of concurrent research focusing on the resources, resilience and intercultural competencies that bicultural youth develop and mobilise in the face of socio-economic, political and educational adversity and prejudice, (Franchi, 1999) paints a bleak picture of these youth and reinforces their social stigmatisation . When referring to youth of North and West African parents, the literature abounds with articles that deal with topics such as: «family conflicts that are exacerbated, especially during adolescence, by the confrontation of differing and often conflicting cultural values and models of self» (Beauchesne & Esposito, 1981[71]; Camilleri, 1990[72]; Wallet, Nehas, & Sghiri, 1996[73]); identity crises among youth raised in intercultural contexts and

[67] Tribalat, M. (1996). *De l'immigration à l'assimilation : Enquête sur les populations d'origine étrangère en France.* Paris : La Découverte/INED.
[68] Vinsonneau, G. (1996). L'identité des jeunes en société inégalitaire. Le cas des maghrébins en France. Paris : PUF.
[69] Mesmin, C. et al. (1995). *Psychothérapie des Enfants de Migrants* [Psychotherapy of children of migrants].Paris : La Pensée Sauvage.
[70] Moro, M. R. (1994). *Parents en exil : Psychopathologie et migrations* [Parents in exile : Psychopathology and migrations].Paris : PUF.
[71] Beauchesne, H., & Esposito, J. (1981). *Enfants de migrants* [children of migrants]. Paris : PUF
[72] Camilleri, C. (1990). Identité collective et gestion de la disparité culturelle: essai d'une typologie. In C. Camilleri, J. Kasterszein, M.E. Lipiansky, H. Malewska-Peyre, I. Taboada-Leonetti et A. Vasquez (Eds.), *Stratégies identitaires,* Paris: PUF.
[73] Wallet, J.-W., Nehas, A. & Sghiri, M. (Eds.). (1996). *Les perspectives des jeunes issus de l'immigration maghrébine.* Paris : L'Harmattan.

confronted with contradictory models of how to be a person (Camilleri, 1989[74]), the intrapsychic suffering engendered by contact between two reference cultures and having to negotiate their competing demands (Malewska-Peyre, Taboada-Leonetti, & Zaleska, 1982[75] ; Kaës et al., 1998[76], Yahyaoui, 1989[77] ; Mesmin et al., 1995[78]), the rupture, crisis and changes affecting adolescents who are « between two cultures » (Beauchesne, 1989)[79], and the link between identity crises and social deviance among "youth of immigrant origin" (Malewska-Peyre et al., 1982)[80].

While these explanatory frameworks certainly account for a part of the reality presented by subjects upon whom the studies were based, the generalisation of the problems encountered by a small minority of research or clinical subjects to all French-born youth of North and West African parents[81] and raised in intercultural contexts can have the effect of normalising and ethnicising these problems. They encourage the belief that not only is it considered 'normal' and 'the norm' for this population to be experiencing these difficulties, but social actors in the helping and educational professions can come to expect such problems among the youth identified as belonging to this population. At the same time, the causes of the problem are attributed to the person's so-called cultural background and to some irreconcilable "difference" this entails. Notwithstanding the major part played by the media and by political discourse in this process, it is perhaps, in part, this manner of writing about "minority" youth in academic research[82] that has contributed unwittingly to the ethnicisation of problems such as drop-out, failure and violence in French schools (Débarbieu, 1996)[83] and delinquency.

7.4.4. PERCEIVED DISCRIMINATION AND NEGOTIATING IDENTTY IN INTERCULTURAL CONTEXTS

Research in applied social psychology and intercultural psychology in France has focused on the relationship between school achievement and adaptation, identity politics and perceived discrimination among stigmatised 'ethnic' minority youth taught in *de facto*

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[74] Camilleri, C. (1989). La notion de crise en situation d'acculturation. In A. Yahyaoui (Ed.), *Identité, culture et situations de crise* (pp. 17-24). Paris : La Pensée Sauvage.
[75] Malewska-Peyre, H., Taboada-Leonetti, I., & Zaleska, M. (1982). *Crise d'identité et déviance chez les jeunes immigrés.* Paris : La Documentation française.
[76] Kaës, R. (1998). *Différence culturelle et souffrances de l'identité.* Paris: Dunod.
[77] Yahyaoui, A. (1989). *Identité, culture et situations de crise.* Paris : La Pensée Sauvage.
[78] Mesmin, C. et al. (1995). *Psychothérapie des Enfants de Migrants.* Paris : La Pensée Sauvage.
[79] Beauchesne, H. (1989). Rupture, crise et changement chez l'adolescent entre deux cultures. In A. Yahyaoui (Ed.), *Identité, culture et situations de crise* (pp. 25-31). Paris : La Pensée Sauvage.
[80] Malewska-Peyre, H., Taboada-Leonetti, I., & Zaleska, M. (1982). *Crise d'identité et déviance chez les jeunes immigrés.* Paris : La Documentation française.
[81] These research studies spoke less of youth of Turkish parents or non-sedentary pupils, two groups that are most often added to the list of disqualified "minorities" today.
[82] It should be noted that while the subject matter of studies in this area in France remains quite similar to that of studies reported in the Anglophone international literature, the methodology adopted and the results differ quite markedly. The tendency to identify the problem primarily within the subject, and to attribute cultural reasons to its manifestation, appears to be a peculiarity of the French literature.
[83] Debarbieux, E. (1996). Violence et ethnicisation dans l'école française [Violence and ethnicisation in French schools]. *Hommes et Migrations, 1201*, 12-17.

pluralist school environments. For instance, Franchi (1999, 2000[84]) undertook a large-scale empirical study among 850 male and female scholars between the ages of 10 and 20, sampled in seven junior and senior high schools in priority education areas in the Paris region. The study used a multi-dimensional instrument to measure the relationship between identity dynamics, discrimination and school achievement. The results indicated that self-evaluated school achievement and social integration (in the present and for the future) was based on (1) experienced or perceived discrimination as a member of a stigmatised minority group, (2) perceived opportunities to succeed as a member of a minority group, (3) a sense of embeddedness and affiliation within both one's ancestral family culture and native French social culture. These results suggest that individuals perceive their chances at succeeding in school to be greater when the education system is able to recognize and legitimate the intercultural embeddedness of their sense of identity and the pluralist nature of their reference systems. Conversely, personal and interpersonal stress was found to increase when youth experienced or perceived greater discrimination or when they were ascribed identities that defined them solely in terms of their ancestral-family or their social-school affiliations. These findings are in fact closer to the Republican conception of equality and non-discrimination than to the communitarian conception of multiculturalism. They contradict the previous tendency to focus on the necessity to recognize 'ethnic' minority pupils as *different* on the basis of family's culture of origin. Rather, they suggest that the school context should be pluralist in its recognition of any one individual's right to define him or herself in terms of multiple, shifting identities and systems of reference, while remaining careful not to impose or ascribe any one group identity to an individual by virtue of some externally-determined 'cultural', 'ethnic', 'religious' or 'national' group membership.

7.4.5. SCHOOL-RELATED ATTITUDES, REPRESENTATIONS, PERCEIVED DISCRIMINATION AND POSITIONING AMONG STUDENTS OF MIGRANT DESCENT

The results of a study undertaken by Favre & Manigand (2000)[85] in two ZEP junior secondary schools in the Bordeaux region between 1993 and 1998 suggest that the school achievement of pupils of migrant descent differs in concert with their differing school-related attitudes, representations and positioning.

A total of 120 interviews were carried out among pupils of different immigrant backgrounds, divided into three equal 'ethnic' groups: Turkish, African, North African. A French control group completed the design. The research questions were centred on the school-related representations and positioning of migrant's children in junior secondary schools and the specificity of their representations and positioning as compared to French-origin pupils. The respondents' school results provided an independent measure and were used to divide the respondents into three relatively homogenous sub-groups: Average students (n=77), very good students (n=11) and students with serious school

[84] Franchi, V. (2000, July). *Positioning of self at the intersection of differing acculturation discourses, cross-cultural study of identity strategies among youth taught in Paris*. Paper presented at the XVth Congress of the International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology, Pultusk, Poland, 16-21 July.

[85] Favre, J. & Manigand, A. (2000). Les adolescents de migrants au collège. Représentations et positionnements scolaires. *Migrations Société,* 71, 21-36.

difficulties (n=34). The authors found that the differences in school achievement among pupils could not be explained by socio-economic background alone as all pupils were from underprivileged socio-professional backgrounds. Nor could they be explained on the basis of nationality - as members of the three groups shared the same nationality. While gender was found to influence the way in which pupils conceptualised and went about achieving at school, this variable could not be used to create two meaningful sub-groups (male and female). Rather, this variable accounts for differences within the three sub-groups.

For the purposes of this report, the following results seem pertinent to the questions at hand: The first group of **average achievers** comprises pupils with good grades and who have not repeated a school year, as well as pupils with average or acceptable grades and who have repeated up to two years of schooling.

- This group's attitudes towards teachers are characterised as respectful and positive, though critical and reserved. While they hold a positive opinion of their teachers, relations between pupil and teacher are to be kept cordial and distant and contact and dialogue is to remain limited. They consider themselves as belonging to a pupil in-group and teachers as belonging to the out-group and accept this we/them distinction. The expectations of a teacher are that he or she be both competent and effective and sympathetic and able to listen.
- These pupils expect the teacher to be just and fair. While they denounce the discriminatory and unfair practices of some teachers towards their classmates, they do not perceive themselves as victims of such discrimination. The authors conclude that these pupils develop "theories on the stigmatisation of others" and criticise such practices in the name of equality. The greater their classmate's school difficulties, the more severe their criticism of discrimination. Such practices are not only found at the level of marking but also in the behaviours and attitudes of teachers, especially in regard to differential attribution of punishment and favouritism.
- Most of these pupils report liking school, even more than holidays which are boring. This is due to the presence of friends. Their interest in school is motivated by the future goal to find a good job and be employed. In this regard, the greater possibility of being unemployed because they are children of migrants is very present in their minds, as to is the fear that the immigration of their parents will have been for nothing. Their motivations for learning are both instrumental and based on the desire to acquire knowledge and have a measure of cultural "know-how". Equally important, they highlight their parents' illiteracy or low level of schooling; school enables one to learn French and get a job, two interdependent goals. Lastly, self-development is associated with the aim of achieving greater autonomy.
- The difference between this group and the high achievers is their poor understanding of the educational system, their short-term study goals and their inappropriate strategies for achieving their future job aspirations. As regards their school-related aspirations they are more focused on passing than on attaining a certain level. Therefore, their strategies include saving their efforts for those subjects in which they do best, doing homework only in these subjects, and sometimes cheating. While many studies seem to suggest that pupils of migrant backgrounds have little understanding of the codes that govern the schooling

system, these results seem to indicate that they not only understand these codes but also create strategies to achieve their aims given the constraints.

The second group of **high achievers** comprised the top of the class pupils and none had repeated a year. However, some could have a learning lag due to their late arrival in France and attendance in an Initiation Class. The particularity of this group is the importance that their migrant families attach to their education and their efforts to encourage, assist and promote their child's achievement. This parental attitude and behaviour was found to foster either an over-investment of the relational and strategic aspect of schooling (in the case of boys) or the intellectual and self-development aspect (in the case of girls).

- Expectations of teachers had more to do with their competence and pedagogical style (being able to explain in detail) than with their affective availability and all pupils had positive relationships with their teachers.
- These pupils considered discipline and punishment as necessary components of schooling and in the rare occasions where they themselves had received punishment they felt it to be justified.
- As compared to the other group, they did not interpret teachers' errors in terms of favouritism or racism nor did they think that teachers had favourites or scapegoats. None of these children had experienced racism at school. They perceived teachers to be fair and not to discriminate between foreign- and French-origin pupils. For some, teachers are in fact more attentive to students of foreign origin and these pupils use teachers as a resource when they need school-related advice.
- These pupils have clearly defined future aspirations with regard to their education (long-cycle studies such as engineering) and realistic strategies for attaining them. Moreover, they have a good understanding of the schooling system and the path to follow in the pursuit of one's goals. Their aspirations are in part influenced by the goals that their parents have for them and the place that their achievement occupies in the parents' migration project: their success justifies the sacrifices made and the suffering endured in the past. A two-way dialogue with parents around their schooling is also particular to this group.
- As compared to the other groups, these pupils are less integrated in their classes and have a reduced circle of friends, often good students like themselves. They live with a fair amount of school pressure and are afraid of going off course. Boys and girls differ in their experience of school: Boys have a more instrumental approach – they find it necessary (money, job, family) to remain top of their class but hate school – while girls like school and find that it is culturally interesting and intellectually satisfying. They find pleasure in exploring the literary and human science subjects but consider mathematics and the scientific subjects the most useful but the least enjoyable.

The third group of **pupils with severe difficulties** were all underachievers who had repeated up to three years and would be oriented towards short-cycle studies at the end of the 5th or 3rd grades. The particularity of these pupils is the suffering they associate with their school careers and the fact that their only motivation for

attending school is that it is compulsory, that they need to find employment and their friends. While they are aware that in theory working hard at school is necessary, they have lost pleasure in school and their relationships with the educational institution is characterised by hostility, conflict and criticism.

- While some of these pupils have good relationships with their teachers and have no disciplinary problems, others have both disciplinary problems and learning difficulties.
- Their expectations of teachers are mainly interpersonal – the teacher must be approachable, nice, impartial and not too demanding.
- They have a high expectation of equity which is associated with their strong feeling of injustice and discrimination on the part of teachers. In addition to marking unfairly, treating certain students better than others, encouraging some and not others, refusing to answer questions at the end of the course and labelling some as incapable and de-motivating others, teachers were severely criticised for discriminating and stigmatising some when it comes to discipline. In this regard, these pupils feel persecuted and always blamed for everything. In their view, the mark given depends on the "clients' face" rather than on objective criteria. They can be more prone to revolt and insubordination and conflict with teachers (verbal aggression) can escalate to the point of physical confrontation – boys were found to be prone to such behaviour from an earlier stage than girls.
- School is experienced as boring and as requiring much too much work. School is seen as compulsory, which is why they are there, but they don't seem to understand the link between education and employment. Their strategies involve finding ways to do the least possible. As regards future orientations, they consider it understandable that they will be oriented towards a short-cycle vocational stream given their difficulties and the fact that long-cycle studies offer more of what they dislike. Moreover, vocational schools teach one a trade and this is useful. This idea is equally endorsed by family members who seem to value a trade more than education *per se*. Parents of these students were found to exert little control on their school-work and where necessary students find ways of avoiding such controls. The most important aspect of school is friends.

7.4.6. IMMIGRANT FAMILIES' STRATEGIES WITH REGARD TO SCHOOLING

As was seen in the previous section, pupils' school-related attitudes and positioning is largely dependant upon identifying an interest in their learning, for their own lives and related to their migrant parents' immigration project and aspirations for them. Based on a series of interviews dealing with parents' and pupils' relationship to knowledge and school motivation in junior secondary school, Dubreuil (2001[86]) also found that children of North African origin succeed at school if they find an instrumental interest in learning, for their lives, their future, their project within society or their goal to be like everyone else.

[86] This section is based on an article published by Dubreuil, B. (2001). Immigration et stratégies familiales en milieu scolaire. *Migrations et Société, 75-76.*

As far as the migrant families are concerned, the author found that when these families find an interest in playing the educational system and manage to obtain a transfer for their child from a neighbourhood school to a better school, this elicits a compensatory overinvestment in their child's schooling. The school culture is not experienced as threatening to the family culture, nor is it seen to be devalued by comparison to the school culture. Rather, such families imagine it possible to continue preserving the value of their culture as a reference for their children's identity even if the latter progressively abandon its practices. While their culture of origin may have been socially valued in their own country, they do not compare it to the school culture and do not expect it to be recognised within the host country. They preserve it intact, like a precious souvenir whose beauty cannot be altered (Dubreuil, 2001, p. 79).

Another example concerns young girls of North African origin: For some, three generations of women correspond to a shift from domestic work (grandmothers) to employment (mother) to the aspiration to become qualified and have a profession (themselves). In such situations, the grandmother was usually illiterate, the mother was educated in her country of origin and then left and the daughter has a family who support her in her schooling and her professional project.[87]

Such family strategies are underpinned by a strong family identity. According to the author, all families consider themselves more or less able to participate in the social game and fulfil certain requirements in order to gain access to certain resources. However, whether the family dares or dares not imagine certain possibilities in order to overcome its present situation depends largely upon the prior experiences of its members. The authors summarise their results in terms of three different models of the relationship between family identity and school-related strategies, namely:

- In the case of families who do not have secondary schooling, or who have received no formal education, the primary strategy used in order to tame this unknown environment was to identify a primary reference person within the schooling system and use him or her as a mediator. This person is seen as an extension of themselves within the system, helping them to know what is going on with their child and how to help him or her. Given the importance that these parents attribute to schooling, in most cases they place their unconditional trust in this person. Parents can also require one of the older siblings to mediate between themselves and the school. The schooling experience of these siblings becomes the basis for either coming to understand the system better, or in fact loosing trust in it. This kind of families usually showed cohesion as a result of the existence of an identity that federates its members.
    - In cases where a family uses the older children to act on its behalf, the behaviour and attitudes of these siblings will be used as a model for younger children. In such cases, one would expect that if an older sibling upholds society's rules, his or her younger siblings will follow suit, and vice versa. The authors found, however, that this was not always so. In some cases, the difficulties of older siblings were due to their late arrival in France and the

[87] See, in this regard, Aggoun, A. (2001). Le projet de vie de l'adolescente d'origine maghrébine en situation de réussite scolaire. *Migrations Société, 73,* 7-16 ; M. Belhadj (2001). Les jeunes femmes françaises d'origine algérienne au centre d'une dynamique sociale et familiale. *Migrations Société, 74,* 7-18.

younger siblings were able to achieve at school. Similarly, those children whose older siblings had succeeded were found to sometimes choose to excel in different areas (such as sports or music) as a way of forging a different place within the family and affirming one's own identity.

- The last example refers to the finding that while some children complain that their parents cannot help them with school work or supervise their homework because they know little about the system, are illiterate or do not speak the language, this may in fact prompt the child to become his or her own supervisor and develop a personal schooling project. This may also provide an occasion for independence.

7.4.7. LANGUAGE STRATEGIES, CULTURAL PRESERVATION AND SOCIAL INTEGRATION

According to Leconte (2001)[88], from the French perspective, an immigrant population is considered to be integrated when its descendents abandon the language of their ancestors (p. 77). However, two factors are peculiar to the linguistic practices of African families in France: The African continent is plurilingual and the relationship between French and African immigrant languages in France is a continuation of the sociolinguistic situation that dominated during colonisation. It follows that the tension that underpins linguistic transmission is a reflection of the dual imperative of parents, to transmit their language of origin (to which they are emotionally and historically attached and which ensures the continuation of their culture and history), to become integrated within society (which necessitates mastery of spoken French in the case of adults) and to ensure the social mobility and promotion of their children (which necessitates mastery of written French). The author undertook a study in the Rouen region from 1993 onwards to measure the vitality of African languages in France, as well as the linguistic strategies of immigrant parents and the sociolinguistic practices of their children in and outside of the family.

A total of 350 primary and junior secondary pupils (a quarter of the African immigrant population in this area) participated in a survey. This was followed up by interviews with 10 adults and 10 children, as well as with representatives of African women's groups and NGOs working in the areas of promoting migrant cultures and languages and integration of migrants and their families. The design was completed by a series of observations of linguistic practices in African families, undertaken over a 10 year period.

The author found that over 30 African languages, spoken in over 10 countries, were reported by children as the "the language in which I learned to speak". Only 17% of these children reported speaking French as a mother-tongue in addition to an African language. Moreover, 5% reported more than one African language as mother-tongue[89].

Five languages were cited most often as being those in which the child's mother and father spoke to him or her:

Primary Language	African vernacular	French	Both

[88] Leconte, F. (2001). Familles africaines en France, entre volonté d'insertion et attachement au patrimoine langagier d'origine. Langage et Société, 98, 77-103.

[89] These children probably learned to speak their parents' mother tongue and the language of their social environment (Leconte, 2001).

	Mother	Father	Mother	Father	Mother	Father
Manjak	68%	60%	7%	12%	25%	28%
Poular	76%	61%	3%	7%	21%	32%
Soninké	70%	47%	10%	10%	20%	43%
Wolof	33%	32%	39%	39%	28%	28
Lingala	18%	2%	32%	62%	50%	36%

Source: Adapted from Leconte (2001), p. 86.

The author further found that children rarely contested the linguistic strategy of his or her parents, and when he or she did so, this primarily concerned speaking French in addition to the language used by the parent.

The results indicate that vernacular languages spoken by migrants from rural regions are transmitted more often to their children in France than those spoken in urban contexts. Wolof, which is both the language of an ethnic group and the language used for commercial and social transaction in Senegal, occupies an intermediary position between vernacular languages (Poular, Manjak and Soninké) which are transmitted to children and Lingala (a vehicular language which is not attached to any ethnic group), which is rarely spoken in France. The language practices of parents varied depending on their country of origin. For instance, for Congolese parents, Lingala (a language used for commercial and social transactions in urban areas) is more easily replaced by French (given their primary function as languages of social status and mobility) than vernacular languages spoken in rural settings. While it is rarely transmitted to children, though, it continues to be spoken by adults among themselves. On the other hand, vernacular Senegalese languages, which are the carriers of traditional culture, are transmitted to children. This is explained, not in terms of the benefits that a child can derive from being multilingual, but in terms of the cultural values that these languages transmit to the child. Moreover, grandparents and elders of the home country are considered to be the keepers of values and memory. These cannot be transmitted from grand-parent to grand-children if the child does not speak the vernacular language. Languages used in urban contexts are too recent to be considered carriers of traditional culture and are sometimes viewed circumspectly due to their association with "social upheavals due to urbanisation and the calling into question of traditional values" (p. 88). Moreover, immigrants from urban areas usually have a greater mastery of French. Lastly, given that visits to the parents' country of origin are less frequent among children than parents, the latter carry the full burden of linguistic and cultural transmission in the interest of preserving identification to their culture of origin.

As regards linguistic practices among siblings, the author found that children used French most often when communicating with their brothers and sisters:

Primary Language	African vernacular	French	Both
Manjak	7%	69%	24%
Poular	5%	65%	30%
Soninké	27%	66%	7%
Wolof	5.5%	89%	5.5%
Manjak	2%	82%	14%

Source: Adapted from Leconte (2001), p. 90.

Children who speak the parents' primary language(s), alternate these with French, mix languages or used them separately when speaking with their siblings. The age of the child and the duration of his or her stay in France also impact on language use in the family,

though to a lesser degree than parents' linguistic strategies. On the other hand, when a sibling arrives in France those who are already settled in the country will help him or her to acquire the French language, even if they are the younger siblings. Parents will also help the child adapt and acquire French as fast as possible. Storytelling is also a way that parents and older siblings transmit cultural and linguistic competencies to the younger siblings. Parents tell stories in their primary language, thus ensuring the transmission of an understanding of life and their family's past in the home country. On the other hand, by telling younger siblings stories in French, older siblings facilitate their adaptation within the new social and educational context.

Older children also play a role in their parents' acquisition of French. The extent to which they will be called upon to mediate between their parents' language and the French language will depend on their parents' level of schooling and French-language proficiency. In this regard, when parents are illiterate these siblings translate incoming mail and write outgoing correspondence. The author found that these older siblings were proud of this role and were often more proficient in written French than the younger siblings do not fulfil such vital communication functions.

Differences in language proficiency were found among men and women. Men who arrived in France earlier and are required to work outside the home, speak French more fluently than women. The latter are often the guardians of the mother tongue by virtue of their presence in the home and lack of proficiency in French. However, many of these women expressed the desire to learn French, in order to obtain a driving licence (which symbolises their desire for independence, freedom and greater mobility). This desire was not perceived as contradictory with their desire to transmit their language and culture of origin to their children. Rather, their preference would be for a additive French-African language(s) bilingualism for themselves and their children.

Two concerns were voiced by these parents about the educational institution. Firstly, many parents expressed the confusing messages received from teachers regarding the transmission of their primary language. Many teachers suggested only speaking French at home even when the parents spoke it poorly. On the other hand, parents expressed the concern that if bilingualism does not interfere with their children's school achievement, then perhaps the fact that few obtain a school-leaving certificate is due to ostracism of African children on the part of the educational institution.

7.4.8. EXPERIENCES OF DISCRIMINATION AND RACIAL OFFENCES

A number of interviews (ADRI database) point to the experience of 'ethnic' discrimination among immigrant parents in regard to the schooling of their children. For instance, a 49 year old father of three children testified regarding the difficulties he had had when trying to register two of his children (aged 7 and 8) in the primary school in his area. While the school principal agreed to register his children, the city council morally harassed the man (with interrogations and refused to regularise his situation, creating one reason after another to refuse his application), and later placed pressure upon the school principal.

Another example is provided by a 43 year old mother of 3 children who related the difficulties that her 10 year old child was experiencing at school. He encountered

problems with the school canteen personnel, was regularly insulted ('racial' slur) by his peers because of the colour of her skin, and the teachers refused to punish his comrades, supposedly because her child was failing at school. The mother's attempts to appeal to the school principal and teachers met with little satisfaction as they usually turned things around to focus on her child's learning deficits and behavioural problems. She eventually removed her child from the school after informing the inspector of the academy and this seems to have resolved the problem.

In analysing the consequences of experiences of racism and discrimination, Bouamama (2000[90]) uses the Algerian word "*hogra"* - which means disgust, humiliation, injustice and abuse of power – to signify the experience that youth in France have of their relations with a society that struggles to come to terms with its colonial and Republican history. According to the author, while there has been a lifting of the taboo on speaking about discrimination (especially in employment) in public and political discourse, this "is not sufficient to deal with the destructive effect that the violence of 'subtle' and often invisible forms of discrimination have on the subjects concerned."(p. 38) The author further charges that French society's history of colonialism and its inheritance of models[91] that continue to propagate violence against people of immigrant origin can in fact hinder its capacity to effectively deal with discrimination in the present.

Last but not least, attention needs to be drawn to the increase in acts of anti-Semitism, on the one hand, and a reinforcement of ideas regarding the incompatibility of Muslim and secular Republic values since the events of the 11th of September and the war in Irak.

[90] Bouamama, S. (2000). Le sentiment de « Hogra »…Discrimination, négation du sujet et des violences. *Hommes et Migrations, 1227*, 38-50.
[91] The author gives the example of an over-willingness to include individuals within the nation at the expense of their 'culture', through processes of assimilation that negate the subject.

8. STRATEGIES, INITIATIVES AND GOOD PRACTIVES FOR REDUCING RACISM AND SUPPORTING DIVERSITY

The following section presents a number of initiatives undertaken to support diversity and reduce racism within schools. The details and results of these initiatives are also provided where possible.

8.1. PROMOTING INTEGRATION

A number of state and NGO initiatives have been implemented locally and nation-wide to combat racism, prevent discrimination, and promote the integration of newly-arrived learners, persons arriving in the context of immigration of migrants' next of kin, and youth of immigrant descent. Moreover, programs implemented for the benefit of immigrant families provide services that include, assisting them with language needs (literacy and language classes), with gaining familiarity with the educational system (tours around the school grounds, arranged meetings with staff and informative introductory talks), and with administrative procedures (such as understanding and completing paperwork).

Public policies implemented to promote integration include inner-city contracts (Contrats de ville), launched in 1993 and re-scheduled for the period of 2000-2006. These focus on accompanying immigrants through the crucial stages of the integration process, namely, the moment of arrival, early childhood, schooling, entry onto the job market, gaining access to nationality. Past evaluations of these programs indicate that they have not been implemented in a uniform manner.

In cases where local governing bodies are not eligible for inner-city contracts, Local Contracts for Hosting and Integrating (CLAI) the families of migrants, the spouses of nationals and the families of refugees provide a framework within which services such as French-language teaching, promoting participation in local activities, facilitating dialogue, providing mediation can be dispensed.

A large number of teacher training workshops (initial and further education) are offered by the Ministry of National Education in partnership with various associations, university training centres and independent trainers. These focus on ways of promoting the successful school integration of newly-arrived learners, children of immigrants and travellers, identifying new ways of responding to their schooling difficulties, and integrating pedagogical materials for native-language teaching and teaching of cultures of origin. The trainings take the form of formal courses, interventions by external resource-persons and follow-up of projects implemented on-site. Unfortunately, few of these interventions actually undergo systematic evaluation regarding their effectiveness. Moreover, the lack of transparency with regard to the content and methods used makes it difficult to generalise locally-generated innovative forms of practice.

Documentation centres open to the public constitute another resource in the area of schooling migrants and their children, integrating newly-arrived learners and combating

inequalities and discrimination in education. Internet databases such as MIGRINTER and REMISIS, specialised journals such as *VEI-Enjeux* (Ville, Ecole, Integration – Enjeux), *Migrations Société,* and *Hommes et Migrations,* and specialised resource centres such as the ADRI provide extensive information regarding processes of discrimination and integration and access to practical and technical information about training and resource persons in these domains. In addition to *Hommes et Migrations*, *Adri Info*, *Adri Presses*, and *Ressources Integration*, ADRI also publish a monthly journal entitled *Migrations Etudes*, practical guides, directories and conference proceedings.

Examples of other initiatives include programmes aimed at promoting access to education and protection of civil rights for travellers; providing French-language classes and literacy classes for children and adults; providing immigrants with access to valuable information needed for administrative, school, or other daily purposes and preventing violence against young girls of immigrant origin in schools. In response to growing concern regarding the violence and discrimination experienced by young girls and women of immigrant descent (often of Muslim origin), associations such as the Nanas Beurs organise interventions in schools which aim to inform and prevent the most recurrent problems facing these young girls.

Other activities include facilitating intercultural dialogue through workshops for parents and youth of all social categories and backgrounds. These aim to reduce the conflicts that may arise through contact between differing, and often divergent, value systems by promoting mutual understanding and breaking down taboos. Such activities are based on the premise that the difficulties encountered in intercultural contact situations can be attributed to a clash between differing cultural systems of reference. It is disconcerting to note that such initiatives have, as yet, only focused on contact between people of French and North African origin. Moreover, while such initiatives may create awareness about intercultural communication, they run the risk of reinforcing the idea that intercultural contact is about culture and difference rather than asymmetrical power relations and an ideology of racism.

More recently, critics of such intercultural type interventions have drawn attention to the fact that the focus needs to be more clearly on the implicit and explicit forms of racism propagated by institutions, media, public and political discourse and social structures (Lorcerie, 2003[92]; McAndrew, 1999[93]). Moreover, the focus on "conflictual" encounters between French and North African cultural systems may in fact reinforce the belief in the irreconcilable difference between these two groups and runs the risk of reconstructing children and youth of North African origin as "Other" and stigmatising them further, rather than recognising the fact that many of these youth are French nationals (Franchi, 1999).

[92] Lorcerie, F. (2003). Ouverture. *Enseigner en milieu ethnicisé face à la discrimination, VEI Enjeux*, *hors série n° 6,* 6-9.
[93] McAndrew, M. (1999). L'éducation et la diversité socioculturelle: un champ de recherché et d'intervention en redefinition. In M.-A. Hily & M.-L. Lefebvre (Eds.), Identité collective et Altérité: Diversité des espaces, spécificité des pratiques (çç. 287-304). Paris : L'Harmattan.

8.2. REDUCING RACISM

Anti-racism initiatives include CODAC (Departemental Commission for Access to Citizenship) - a national program for combating all forms of discrimination, notably those directed at persons of immigrant background and especially youth. These initiatives are run through the concerted efforts of different administrations (labour, social services, youth services, legal aid, public safety, delegates of the FASILD) and public service agencies (such as the unemployment agency). Their activities aim at assisting youth with finding employment and becoming integrated in society, and combating all forms of discrimination within the contexts of employment, housing, or social activities. Equally important, a national telephone line – the 114 – was set up to receive calls regarding acts of discrimination and racism. The calls dealt with locally under the auspices of the CODACs, and callers can elect to have their reported incident followed up by competent local authorities.

The Anti-Racism Education Week is a nation-wide initiative, initially launched in 1989 by SOS Racisme and endorsed by the Ministry of National Education and the Teaching League. It provides a national context for informing youth and debating around themes related to racism and Human Rights. Most of these activities are implemented within schools. Within this context, educational and prevention campaigns are implemented yearly for the purpose of educating youth aged between 10 and 18 in respect to their citizenship rights and obligations. A range of activities are organised with junior and senior secondary school pupils during the "Anti-Racism Education Week". These include debates, meetings, film screening with discussions and theatrical presentations. In addition, a range of extra-school activities exist, including memory workshops run by historians on the Shoah, Armenia and Rwanda. The testimonies of witnesses or victims of these atrocities promote awareness and heighten children's sensitivity to questions of discrimination and inter-'ethnic' conflict. At present such initiatives lack the financial means to broaden their scope of intervention.

In addition, a number of ad-hoc initiatives are reported. For example, training programmes related to problems of racism and discrimination aim to inform newly-arrived students, non-nationals and nationals, with low qualifications of their rights and obligations in this domain. This type of activity has proven difficult to evaluate in the short term, and clearer definition is needed with regard to the scope of trainers' intervention. Interventions in schools aimed at informing youth about racism and discrimination provide another example. For instance, a "wall of peace" was erected following the upsurge of anti-Semitism in September-October of 2000, and circulated from school to school throughout France accompanied by debates held in senior high schools in collaboration with the UEFJ (French Jewish Students Union) and the Fidi (Union of Senior High School Pupils). While the results of such initiatives are difficult to quantify, anecdotal evidence points to their local effectiveness in dealing with racism and discrimination.

Local strategies found by teachers in response to acts of racism provide another example. As seen in the example below, these strategies provide ways of sensitising children to cultural difference, promoting intercultural awareness and fostering openness to diversity. The incident in question involved four pupils in a primary school (in a class of 26) who wrote, typed out and printed a song called "Les Manouches", denigrating travellers whose children sometimes frequented the school in a small village of 352 inhabitants North-

West of Lyon (Guigon, 2001[94]). The song expressed and promoted hatred, fear and rejection on the basis of 'cultural' origin. In response to this act of racism, the school teacher deprived the children of certain liberties (such as being able to move around freely in class, give one's opinion, and make decisions) and prescribed homework involving extensive documentary and internet research on the life and customs of "travel people", equality, justice and the law, and on ways of getting rid of one's prejudices. A day was also planned in which a 50-year old man from this community came to speak to the class about the difficulties he had encountered succeeding and becoming integrated in society.

Other examples include activities aimed at raising awareness of different forms of discrimination, their incompatibility with Republican principles, and the ethnicisation of social problems. Meetings organised amongst professionals, employees and volunteers provide a context for fruitful exchange, analysis and theorising of participants' experiences, and identifying effective forms of recourse. These take the form of workgroups, conferences and debates with youth representatives, parents and teachers, and training workshops for professionals in education. Workshops bringing together local representatives, professionals, local inhabitants and NGOs with the objective of identifying situations in which discrimination is likely to occur, identifying local resources that could be mobilised to transform these situations and defining a future course of collective action constitute another form of intervention.

Activities focusing on the prevention of violence, though less numerous, appear to confirm the current tendency to understand youth-related violence as intricately linked to phenomena of discrimination and segregation (Payet, 1999, 2000[95]; Franchi, 2002) in education. For instance, a participatory action research violence and racism prevention, entitled "Talk Taboo", piloted in a ZEP junior secondary school in 2002 (Franchi, 2002), was implemented in over 15 classes in two junior and two senior secondary schools in the Academy of Lyon over a period of 5 months in 2003. This programme represents a joint initiative between the University of Lyon 2, the Academy of Lyon, and the teaching and non-teaching staff in local ZEP junior and senior secondary schools. The programme is divided into four parts: (1) a participatory field study of experiences of violence and discrimination among teachers, pupils, but also the wider community, using interviews, informal interviews, observation, questionnaire and secondary data analysis methods; (2) a two-day training workshop for participating teachers and non-teaching staff (educational counsellors, nurses, social workers), centred around their experiences and strategies for dealing with violence and racial prejudice and training in the actual Talk Taboo programme; (3) an implementation of the programme by teachers and non-teaching staff in their classes over a 12 week period; (4) an evaluation of the programme using interviews and questionnaires. The implementation of this programme is currently being evaluated and a report will be submitted to all concerned in July 2003.

Though a significant number of social action programs address problems of discrimination and support diversity through different educational and experiential

[94] Guigon, L. (2001, 7 June). A Boz, l'instituteur offre une « réponse pédagogique » au dérapage raciste de ses élèves. *Le Monde,* p. 8.

[95] See Payet J.-P. (1999). Violences et civilités dans l'école urbaine : une perspective interactionniste. *Revue internationale de psychosociologie*, vol.V, n°12 ; Payet J.-P. (2000). Violence à l'école et ethnicité. Les « raisons pratiques » d'un amalgame », *Ville Ecole Intégration*, n° 121.

approaches, a general lack of systematic evaluations does not permit a reliable tracking of the changes they induce or an understanding of the reasons for the results produced (be they positive or negative/nonexistent). The actual effectiveness of the programmes is rarely the direct focus and where evaluations have been carried out, they are usually descriptive and qualitatively oriented. They focus on the implementation of small scale projects and generally find them to be successful. Moreover, the methodology and measures used vary from one researcher or NGO to the next, making comparison of good practices difficult.

Another critique which could be levelled is that many of these activities target the effects, or hypothesised effects (e.g., lack of integration, inter-group conflict, lowered self-esteem, identity issues) of racism and discrimination for potentially stigmatised populations (non-nationals and nationals of immigrant origin). This is often at the expense of developing and implementing initiatives aimed at promoting diversity and intercultural competence among all scholars and professionals. Focusing only on youth who are seen to be at risk for 'ethnic' discrimination, without simultaneously addressing the attitudes, experiences, levels of awareness and positioning of all pupils, parents and school staff can reinforce the unwanted effect of further stigmatising these populations, while simultaneously negating the effects of the division created between dominant and minority groups around issues of "culture" and racism.

8.3. SUPPORTING DIVERSITY

In this sub-section we examine different ways in which scholars and public figures have defined and understood ways in which to support diversity in the French education context. The sub-section is at the interface of the strategies, initiatives and good practices section and the recommendations section, by virtue of the fact that it examines ways in which to improve strategies, initiatives and practices in this domain.

In addressing the definition that an education for citizenship in a pluralistic context might take, Lorcerie (2003, p. 13-16) argues that a definition of *common culture* requires one to distinguish between the descriptive and normative dimensions of national culture. From a descriptive perspective, national culture is constantly being confirmed and reworked within the multitude of social interactions that develop across the different contexts. Ethnic categorisation forms part of *common culture,* in the descriptive sense of the term. From a normative perspective, *common culture* is defined as the totality of norms, values, and behaviours that guarantee the stability of the democratic regime within national space. Lorcerie (2003) notes that a critical re-definition of what is to constitute common culture, in the normative sense of the term, and national identity have not taken place within France. This is in spite of the fact that the "integration crisis" that the educational system has known for the past decade also comprises a normative crisis. The actuality of debates surrounding the manner in which to reconcile Republican values of secularity, equality and universality with the need to recognise and integrate social pluralism within the educational system is a case in point.

Benguigui & Pena-Ruiz (2000) provide a number of useful suggestions about how to support diversity through a number of symbolic gestures, "without transgressing the principles of secularity and the necessity to preserve the school (public space) from all ostentatious manifestations of religious affiliation" (p.42). They suggest, for instance, that

dietary restrictions could be discretely dealt with by offering a choice between two main courses in all school canteens. Similarly, an exceptional authorisation for absence, each year, on religious high holidays would be another way of manifesting a certain consideration without implementing official policy of differential treatment based on different origins. Furthermore, the curricula in certain disciplines (History, Literature, Philosophy, Music, and Art) could possibly be defined more broadly to include a wider study of the major cultures, without compromising the secularity of education, which necessitates that knowledge be approached in a reasoned and distanced manner that does not proselytise in any way.

Dubost (2000, p. 14) correctly points out that the perceived or imagined threat to one's values or culture constitutes one of the factors underpinning the affirmation of identity in ethnic terms, or the ethnicisation of others' identity. In this regard, the former Minister of Education, Jack Lang, suggested that offering Arabic as a language option for all children in public schools would in fact promote integration[96]. It would help to re-valorise the identity of children of North-African descent, by gaining recognition for the value and status of Arabic as a language which is on the same level as other languages taught at school[97], while at the same time satisfy a growing demand which is at yet only finding a response within the private sector (Koranic schools). The need to integrate religious education on Islam in public schools has also been raised as a way of dealing with the general lack of understanding of Islam, and the intolerance it generates, among pupils and within society, on the one hand, and as a way of bringing such teachings, which are now the exclusive domain of Koranic schools, within the jurisdiction of secular French education, on the other hand[98].

The official recognition of the historical implication of France on the African continent and in Algeria in particular, and its moral accountability for the suffering engendered through its politics of colonisation and de-colonisation, through the history curriculum for instance, may be another important area that needs to be reinforced within the syllabus. Supporting diversity and promoting responsible citizenship among European children and within schools cannot happen without manifesting openness to critical engagement with the history of each country and its historical relationship to the countries with which its school populations continue to maintain ties.

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[96] Lang, J. (2001, 28 March). Un projet qui favorisera l'intégration. *Le Parisien,* pp. 19-20.
[97] In this regard see Billiez, J., & Trimaille, C. (2001). Plurilinguisme, variations, insertion scolaire et sociale. Langage et Société, 98, 105-127. The authors report their earlier findings that one of the ideal conditions for learning Arabic is to teach it in such a way that the child does not learn the language as an object that sets him or her apart from the larger community in which he or she lives, but rather as an object that is common to all and endowed with equal dignity.
[98] Tincq, H. (2001, 24 October). Enseigner l'islam à l'école. *Le Monde,* p. 22.

9. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The report has examined some of the issues at stake for combining the pursuit of equality and the recognition of pluralism as a social reality, in an endeavour to promote equality of rights, equity and inter-'ethnic' harmony in present-day France (Lorcerie, 2003). The peculiarity of the Republican approach to deal with diversity and discrimination emerged as a *leitmotif* throughout this process. It became apparent quite early that the issue of discrimination is not necessarily addressed directly through policy documents. Moreover, while educational policies focus on teaching immigrants and reducing inequalities related to socio-economic disadvantage, empirical research highlights the central role that structurally-entrenched and implicit forms of 'ethnic' discrimination, such as segregation and ethnicisation, play in producing and reproducing inequalities in education. This has particular implications for government sponsored and independent initiatives aimed at improving schooling conditions for new immigrants, integrating French nationals of all socio-cultural backgrounds in public schools, promoting equality and equity of educational opportunities, performance, and outcomes (whether measured in terms of school or employment outcomes), combating racism, 'racial' discrimination and segregation in schools and within education, and supporting "education for citizenship in pluralistic contexts." (Lorcerie, 2003)

The policies presented in the database pertained in the most part to initiatives implemented for the benefit of migrant and "disadvantaged" pupils. This poses the problem of stigmatising certain populations and encourages the idea that intercultural education, for instance, is only a matter for minority pupils. Similarly, the lack of centralised information regarding training programs focusing on increasing the professional's intercultural competencies and ability to manage diversity and combat discrimination makes it difficult to estimate their number in different academies or measure the impact they have had in terms of promoting diversity as well decreasing job-related stress and burn-out among professionals and social agents who are in daily contact with the challenges and difficulties of working in 'ethnicised' school contexts.

Lastly, the data presented in this report reflects the areas where little or no data exists in France. For instance, whereas public school education is widely covered by educational policy, media and academic research, tertiary education in university and technical training institutions and private education from primary to tertiary levels are underrepresented. Similarly, statistical data regarding the number of pupils of "immigrant origin" in primary and secondary schools is not recorded by National Statistics bureaus in France. The paucity of data pertaining to the social and educational conditions of students in tertiary institutions, whose parents are non-EU immigrants, and their success rates as compared to the general population, creates a problematic gap in our understanding of discrimination in education. Similarly, the relative lack of research regarding the situation of migrant and 'ethnicised minority' pupils in private schools creates a blind-spot in our analysis of discrimination in education in France, especially since private education is often a solution sought by immigrant parents wanting to avoid the problems encountered in certain disqualified inner-city public schools.

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11. ANNEX 1: OVERVIEW OF THE STRUCTURE AND FUNCTIONING OF THE EDUCATION SYSTEM

A1.1. GENERAL CONTEXT

France has 60 million inhabitants living in 22 metropolitan regions and 4 overseas departments of Guadeloupe, Martinique, Reunion, Guyana (1,7 million). While the country's population is increasing at an approximate rate of 0.4% *per annum*, the proportion and number of young people under the age of 25 is decreasing. There are currently 19 million young people living in the metropolis. This is only 32% of the total population as compared to 35% in 1990 and 40% in 1970. The slow aging of the population, though evident, is less significant than in neighbouring European countries such as Germany and Italy. This is accounted for by an increase in birth-rates.

The total number of school-goers and students is close to 15 million (which is 25% of the population), of which a little over 2 million attend tertiary institutions.

In 2001, the GNP was close to 1 450 billion €, or 24 000€ per habitat. Of this amount, 100 billion € are awarded for education, including initial and continued education (7.1% of the GNP). Of the total expenditure within education (see graph below), 77.3% was used for salaries, social charges and pension funds for personnel, 15% for other running costs and 7.7% was invested. In addition, the state also provides financial aid to pupils and their families through a system of bursaries, funds allocated per school-goer to assist families with expenses at the beginning of each school year, financial aids to pay for the school canteen, etc.

State Expenditure within Education

Sub-division of expenses according to the nature of the costs (2001)

The financial investment in initial education places France in an average position on the international scale, below Nordic countries such as Sweden and Denmark, but way above countries such as Italy and Japan.

Of its total active workforce of 26 million, of which 2.2 million are unemployed[99], 1.5 million perform jobs in the fields of education and training (of whom 1 million civil servants).

A1.2. ORGANISATION OF THE EDUCATION SYSTEM

The French Republic built and consolidated its identity through a centralised education system, whose task it is to teach and educate its future citizens. The National Education System is controlled by the State which continues to play a fundamental role in defining and implementing educative policies, and national teaching programs (curricula, teaching objectives, etc.) The state also recruits, trains and employs teachers in both primary and secondary schools.

[99] The rate of unemployment has dropped below the 10% mark.

The state also retains the monopoly over certification. Since 1808, the matriculation certificate is the anonymous national diploma which represents the culmination of one's school career and an entry certificate for tertiary education. Since the beginning of the 20th Century, vocational training has also developed under state control. Integrated into the school system as a separate branch of senior secondary schooling, vocational training grants access to two types of diplomas: the certificate of professional aptitude (CAP) and the *brevet* of professional studies (BEP).

Over the past twenty years, France has moved towards both the de-concentration and de-centralisation of its Educational System, which has afforded it greater diversity and organisational flexibility.

De-concentration consists of granting greater powers to regional and local administrative authorities, placed under the aegis of the minister. The rectors who are in charge of the functioning of schools within each of the 30 geographical zones[100] placed under their responsibility (academies), receive a global amount from the central administration each year, which they are then responsible for distributing among the educational establishments.

At the local level, this trend has given actors in the field, especially school principals, greater flexibility and freedom to manoeuvre. As opposed to primary schools, junior and senior secondary schools (colleges and lycées) have become public local teaching establishments (EPLE), imbued with moral personality and financial autonomy. They have also progressively acquired a measure of pedagogical autonomy. This is translated through "school projects" (projet d'établissement), which define particular modalities for implementing objectives and national programs in a way that is best suited to the school population they receive.

The 1982 and 1983 decentralisation laws have essentially increased the role of elected territorial collectives, i.e. regional, departmental and communal assemblies endowed with important own budgets, and whose participation in funding the total expenses for education amounts to 20%. Each collective is responsible for one level of teaching. The communes are responsible for creating pre-primary and primary schools (maternelles & primaries) and manage their budgets; they also remunerate non-teaching staff. The departments are responsible for the maintenance and construction of junior secondary schools (colleges), and finance school transportation. The regions are responsible for the maintenance and construction of senior high schools, finance transportation and participate in school planning (regional training plan, provisional investment program).

While it is claimed that decentralisation has led to increased efficiency and flexibility, this national trend and its related reforms have elicited public controversy and tension among National Education staff. This is evidenced by the widely followed national strike of teaching and auxiliary staff, nurses, social workers, pedagogical and educational counsellors and psychological and orientation counsellors in May 2003.

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[100] These include Rennes, Nantes, Poitiers, and Bordeaux to the west, Caen, Rouen, Amiens and Lille, in the north, Paris, Créteil, and Versailles around the capital, Nancy-Metz, Strasbourg, Besançon and Grenoble to the east, Reims, Orléans-Tours, Dijon, Lyon, Limoges, Clermont-Fd in the centre, and Toulouse, Nice, Aix-Marseille, Montpellier in the south, Corsica, and the four overseas academies of Guadeloupe, Martinique, Guyane and Réunion.

A1.3. THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

France's school-going population is of 13 million. Schooling has been compulsory for all children aged 6 to 16 since 1967.

The schooling system itself comprises three levels: primary schools (écoles), junior secondary schools (colleges) and senior secondary schools (lycées). The progressive implementation of this particular structure from 1960 to 1970 represents a definitive break with the past, when a much more rigid separation existed between primary and secondary school levels.

At the primary school level, 60 000 schools receive children for the five year period from the first year of preparatory classes (CP) to the 2nd year of intermediary classes (CM2). Since 1970, France has also developed its pre-schooling. By comparison to the past, nowadays all children between the ages of 3 and 5 attend preschool classes (*classes maternelles*).

Pre-school and Primary School
Variation in the number of pupils

Rate of Pre-schooling among 2 year olds, 3 year olds, 4 year olds and 5 year olds (1960-2000)

Secondary schooling is subdivided into two successive cycles. Almost all children between the ages of 11 and 15 now complete the four year cycle from the 6th grade to the 3rd grade, in the junior secondary schooling system which has become a single system since 1975. After completing the 3rd grade, pupils are oriented towards one of the three branches of the senior secondary cycle: general, technological and professional which give access to the correspondent matriculation examinations (usually passed at the age of 18), or to initial diplomas such the certificate of professional aptitude (CAP) and the *brevet* of professional studies (BEP).

Transfers between levels (repeating a year, passing to the higher grade, changing branch) happen through a particular procedure, in which a dialogue is set up in each school, between representatives of the schooling institution (teachers and administrators) on the one hand, and pupils and their families on the other. Teachers express their opinion regarding such orientations during the class councils held at the end of each semester. Parents, on the other hand, have the opportunity to make an appeal regarding orientation decisions that do not suit them. For instance, depending on the level of studies, they may want to have their child pushed through to the next level rather than repeat a level, or repeat a level rather than be passed and have to go to a undesired (technical or professional) branch of senior secondary school. Today, 3rd grade represents the first crucial level for future orientation in one's school career.

Junior and Senior High Schools
Variation in the number of pupils

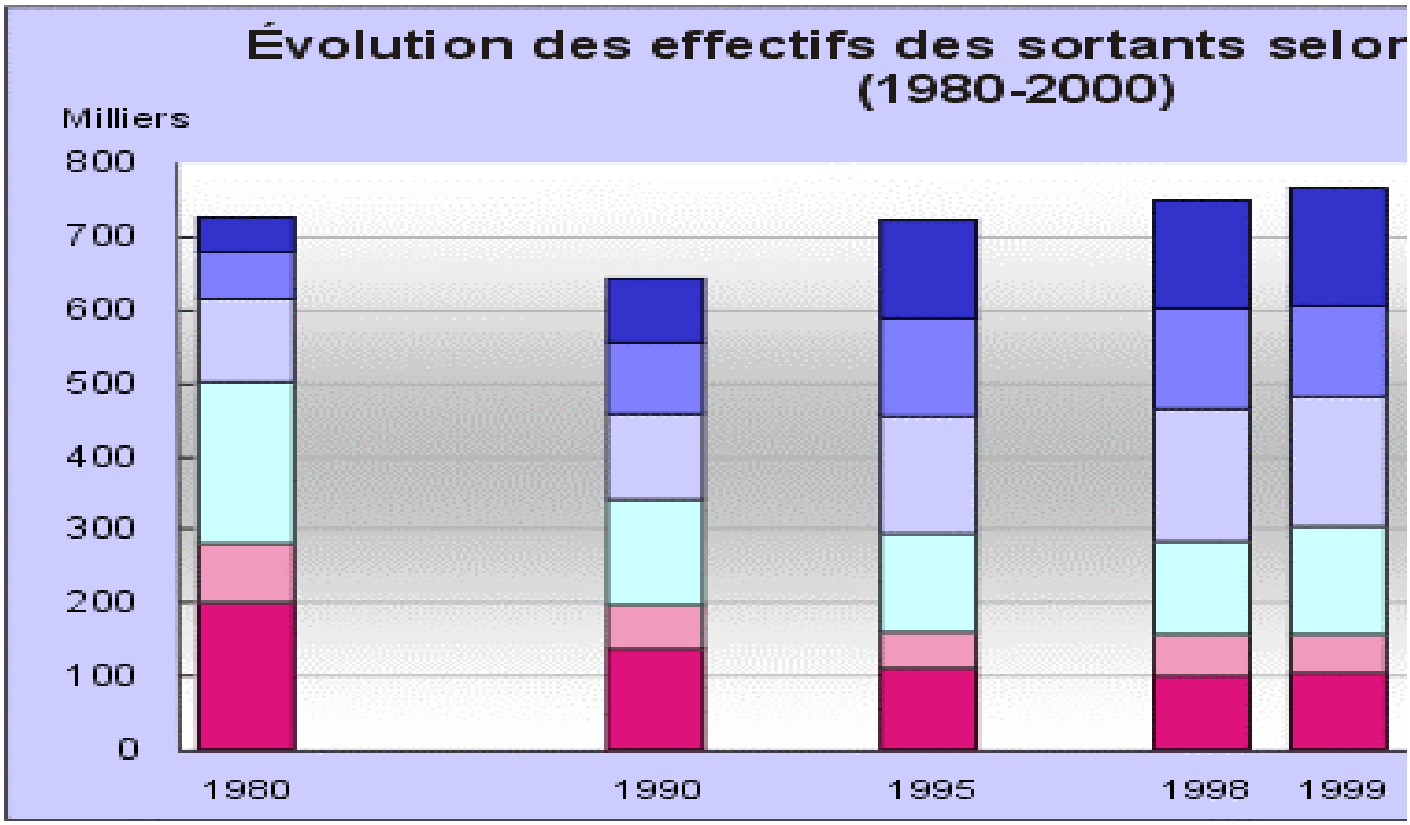
Rate of access to level IV
Changes in the rate of access to matriculation level

While the large majority of pupils attend schools which fall under the national minister of education, approximately 100 000 pupils (notably those suffering from different disabilities) are placed in specialised *medico-social schools* which fall under the minister of health, and 200 000 receive technical and professional training in *agricultural schools*. More than 300 000 others, aged below 16, follow *apprenticeship courses* (through work contracts). Since the 1987 reform, these courses prepare pupils for all types of professional diplomas.

Specialised or adapted education is a system which runs parallel to ordinary education. Most often, this system is integrated within ordinary primary and secondary schooling establishments (in the form of school integration classes [CLIS] or special general and vocational education classes [SEGPA]), though specialised schools do exist. Approximately 5% of a generation are taught in this system, which aims to prepare them for a minimal level of qualification (CAP).

Schools placed under the auspices of the Ministry of National Education can be private or public. Private education concerns approximately 15% of pupils in the primary school level and 20% in the secondary level. These figures have remained stable over the past 10 years. The majority of these schools are Catholic (denominational) schools, which enter into a contract of association with the state (which remunerates its personnel). Less than 50 000 pupils attend private schools that do not have a contract with the state, and rely heavily on the financial participation of families.

School-Leavers (1980-2000)
Changes in the rate of school-leavers according to the type of diploma



Source : MEN-DPD

A1.4. HIGHER EDUCATION

Higher education refers to all education and training programs that lead to the continuation of studies after matriculation, which is considered to be the first level of higher education. Higher education institutions are mostly scientific, cultural or professional (EPSCP). Unlike the case of primary and secondary schooling institutions, legislation passed in 1968 and 1984 entrenched the administrative, financial, pedagogical and scientific autonomy of tertiary institutions. State funding is negotiated on the basis of four-year programs submitted and approved by the ministry of education. The EPSCP encompass universities, institutions outside of universities (mainly engineering schools), ivy league establishements and overseas French institutions.

The number of students enrolled in higher education institutions has almost doubled over the past 20 years (300 000 in 1960; 1.2 million in 1980; 2.1 million in 2002), and has remained relatively stable over the past 5 years. In light of forecasts regarding demographic changes, these figures should remain constant in the next few years. Access to higher education in France has now become comparable on average to that of other OCDE countries, and is proportionately higher for access to short cycles (matriculation + 2 years of tertiary education).

Numbers of Students Registered
Variation according to type of tertiary institution

Higher education in France is characterised by the coexistence of a diverse range of institutions, whose outcomes, administrative structures, admission criteria and organisation of studies vary widely. The breakdown of students per type of tertiary education institution is as follows:

- 1.4 million in 89 universities;
- 82 000 in University Teacher Training Institutes;
- Over 300 000 in post-matriculation courses in secondary high schools (public or private under contract);
- Nearly 400 000 in other types of public and private tertiary institutions.

A1.4.1. Universities:

These public institutions are, for the most part, multidisciplinary. They dispense general and professional courses in the three education cycles: 1st cycle (1st two years – DEUG); 2nd cycle – (3rd year – Licence and 4th year - Maîtrise); 3rd cycle (DESS, DEA, and Doctoral studies).[101] Universities also encompass Technical Institutes (IUT) and engineering schools. University Teacher Training Institutes are linked to universities, and

[101] Note that this structure is currently undergoing a reform and will in future be based on a 3-5-8 system, with the 1st cycle comprising the first 3 years of tertiary studies leading to a Licence diploma), the second cycle will comprise 2 years of study leading to a research or professional Masters, and the 3rd cycle will comprise a minimum of 3(maximum of 5) years of further studies leading to a Doctoral qualification.

are responsible for the initial training of teachers in primary and secondary public schools.

A1.4.2. Post-Matriculation Courses

Set up within secondary high schools (public and private under contract with the state), these courses are run for a 2 year-period by secondary high school teachers. Running and investment costs are financed by the region, in accordance with decentralisation laws. The state funds the salaries of teachers and pedagogical costs. Post-Matriculation Courses comprise:

- Preparatory classes for access to ivy league schools (CPGE). They prepare students for entry examinations to engineering schools, commerce and management schools, and écoles normales supérieures.
- Superior technical sections (STS) prepare students for superior technical diploma examinations, which are intended to facilitate direct access to employment.

A1.4.3. Other Private and Public Tertiary Institutions

These include:

- Paramedical and social schools, under the auspices of the minister of health;
- Engineering institutions separate from universities, under the auspices of the minister of education or the ministers of defence (Polytechnic School), agriculture (School of Agronomy), industry (Mining and Telecommunications School), and equipment (Ecole des ponts et chausses). These institutions have often been in existence since the French Revolution and are responsible for preparing future engineers for the elite technical corps of Government:
    - Schools of commerce and management, which are for the most part private or dependant upon the chamber of commerce;
    - Superior schools of arts and culture (architecture, fine arts), under the auspices of the minister of culture.

Tertiary education is characterised by a selective (or elitist) and non-selective (or democratic) component. The question of selection is a sensitive issue which is posed as of the beginning of tertiary education. In accordance with article 14 f the 1984 legislation on higher education (later known as Article L of the education Code), access to the 1st cycle (2 years) of higher education should, a priori be non-selective. However, in practice, numerous exceptions controvert this principle: University technical institutes, preparatory classes for the ivy league schools, certain sections of superior technicians, and branches of the health sector which apply a nationally-fixed numerus clausus following an entrance examination passed after the first year of study.
Access to non-selective branches represents slightly over 60 % of general bachelor degrees, while short cycle (2 year) technological bachelor degrees are mainly selective.

Levels of Learning

Level	Description
VI	Pupils who leave the school system during the course of junior secondary school (6th, 5th or 4th grade) or first-year pre-vocational courses (Vocational Education Certificate [CEP], Pre-vocational course [CPPN] and Preparatory Class for Apprenticeship [CPA]).
Vb	Pupils who leave the school system at the end of junior secondary school (3rd grade) or before the final year of short-term training courses (3rd or 4th grade of technical junior secondary school)
V	Pupils who leave the school system at the end of the final year of short vocational courses, or before completing the last year of the general secondary education (equivalent to last year of secondary high school).
IV	Pupils who abandon their school careers at the end of the final year of general secondary education (last year of secondary high school), or who drop out of post-matriculation higher education courses before reaching Level III.
III	Students who exit the higher education system with a 2-year diploma (e.g., DUT, BTS, DEUG, healthcare or social-care training school).
II & I	Students who leave the higher education system with a 2nd or 3rd cycle university diploma (equivalent of a Bachelor's degree or post-graduate university degree), or a diploma from a specialised school.

Source: Ministry of Youth, Education and Research. Adapted from The State of Education, *29th May, 2003, (http://www.education.gouv.fr/stateval/etat/eetat12/eannexes.htm, November 2003).*

A1.5. INSPECTION AND EVALUATION

Inspection and evaluation of the education system is carried out by the following bodies:

- The *General Inspection of National Education* (IGEN) participates in controlling the activities of all personnel in inspection, teaching, management, education and orientation sectors. This body participates in the overall evaluation of the education system.
- The *General Inspection of the National Education's Administration* (IGAENR) evaluates the overall functioning and efficacy of the education system, the administration and research.
- *Regional Pedagogical Inspectors* fall under the academy rectors or inspectors and are responsible for evaluating and marking secondary school teachers on their pedagogy. National education inspectors are responsible for inspecting primary schools and their teaching staff.
- The *national committee for the evaluation of public establishment of a scientific, cultural and professional character*, created in 1984 (law passed on 26th of July), is an independent administrative authority mandated to evaluate all the activities of higher education institutions.
- Among its attributions, the *Direction of Programming and Development* also fulfils the mission of evaluating the education system, including its pupils, the educational establishments and pedagogical practices.
- A *High Council for the Evaluation of Schools* was created by decree on the 27 of October 2000, comprising various actors and partners of the education system, as well as French and European experts in the area of evaluation and education. It gives its opinion on the evaluations carried out by the ministry of education and

other operators and writes an annual public report for the minister on the state of evaluation.

Personnel in the National Education System
Sub-division according to sectors and levels of education

ANNEX 2: HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF THE LEGISLATION AND POLICIES PERTAINING TO THE SCHOOLING AND INTEGRATION OF NEWLY-ARRIVED LEARNERS AND CHILDREN OF MIGRANT DESCENT

The reception and schooling of newly-arrived learners, children of migrants and socially underprivileged learners in primary, secondary and higher education levels has historically been defined through a series of policies and legislation promulgated by the Ministry of National Education since 1970. These education policies and legislation defined the changing status of these learners in the education system as well as the conditions of their access, performance and transfer within and between levels of the system.

As in most European countries, legislation and policies concerning the education of non-nationals or ethnic minorities are intricately bound up to broader immigration policies and socio-economic contexts. The particular way in which problems and policies are formulated and the specific focus of educational measures are indicative of changing definitions of the place to be allotted to non-national newly-arrived learners and children of migrants in French society in general and in the school system in particular.

Up until the second half of the 1970s, educational policies focused on promoting the speedy *assimilation* of children of migrant workers into the school system. During this period, known as the "glorious thirties", labour immigration from North Africa, the Antilles and francophone Africa was encouraged and the school system willingly accommodated children arriving in the context of family immigration (Dubost, 2002).

SCHOOLING OF NON-FRANCOPHONES & CHILDREN OF MIGRANTS

Immigration officially ended in 1974, a year which heralded a decisive turning point in education policies and legislation (Payet & Van Zanten, 1996). From 1975 to 1978, the first legislation and policy decisions regarding foreign pupils were passed in the public school system. They took cognisance of the specific needs of these learners, defined in terms of greater learning difficulties they may encounter and the uncertainty of their future within the French school system.

More importantly, these measures can be seen to reflect the beginning of "the implementation of a system for the '*ethnic management*' of the schooling of children of immigrants" (Payet & Van Zanten, 1996, p. 98). They included:

- Measures for teaching **French as a foreign-language** (FLE) to non-francophone newly-arrived learners or learners with insufficient prior schooling, who simultaneously attended ordinary classes:
  - **Initiation classes** (CLIN[102]) in primary schools;
  - **Adaptation classes** (CLA) in secondary schools.

[102] These were implemented in 1975 and redefined in 1986.

- **Courses for languages and cultures of origin** (ELCO[103]) were also arranged within public schools, and were most often dispensed by teachers from the countries in question, under contract to the French National Education System.
- **Centres for Training and Information on the Schooling of Children of Migrants** (CEFISEM) were set up in 1976. These aimed to equip school professionals with the necessary knowledge and pedagogical tools (such as French as a foreign-language teaching for non-francophone pupils and newly-arrived learners) to respond to the specific challenges of schooling the children of migrants.

The creation of these CEFISEM, as well as the implementation of the other measures, reflected the recognition, at the time, that these learners were "here to stay". In other words, they were no longer viewed as foreigners passing through the educational system, but rather as pupils to whom new immigration laws accorded the right to settle in France permanently in order to be reunited with their migrant next of kin. At the same time, the "anthropological orientation" of intercultural education at the time (McAndrew, 1999) encouraged the belief that teaching these children required a non-judgmental understanding of their cultures of origin and of the issues at stake for their acculturation within the schooling system.

The school system outwardly encouraged the maintenance of the child's culture of origin and mother tongue as a means of accelerating assimilation of French culture and integration within the French educational system. While certain measures, such as the teaching of certain native languages and cultures of origin (such classes were not available for all the represented cultures), were officially implemented to facilitate the integration of foreign pupils, while allowing them to maintain their cultural ties to their country of origin, these were unofficially implemented to reinforce the child's affiliation to a country other than France. They formed part of an overall strategy aimed at facilitating the child's predicted future re-integration within their parents' countries of origin. It has been argued that these policies were founded on the objective to "promote the departure" of migrant workers and their families by "facilitating their return" to their country of origin once their labour was no longer needed (Henry-Lorcerie, 1983[104], 1986[105], 1989a[106], 1989b[107] in Payet and Van Zanten, 1986).

TOWARDS A POLICY OF POSITIVE DISCRIMINATION

[103] These classes for the study of native languages and cultures of origin were implemented in 1975 and were run by teachers employed in each of the countries of origin and integrated into the school system by bi-lateral national agreements with the source countries.
[104] Henry-Lorcerie, F. (1983). Enfants d'immigrés et école française. A propos du mot d'ordre de pédagogie interculturelle. In L. Talha (Ed.), *Maghrébins en France, émigrés ou immigrés ?* [pp. 267-298] Paris : Editions du CNRS.
[105] Henry-Lorcerie, F. (1986). Education interculturelle et changement institutionnel : l'expérience française. *Sociologie du Sud-Est, n° 49-50,* 103-126.
[106] Henry-Lorcerie, F. (1989a). L'intégration scolaire des jeunes d'origine immigrée en France. In B. Loreyte (Ed.), *Les politiques d'intégration des jeunes issus de l'immigration* [pp. 95-124]. Paris : CIEMI/L'Harmattan.
[107] Henry-Lorcerie, F. (1989b). L'Universalisme en cause? Les équivoques d'une circulaire sur la scolarisation des enfants d'immigrés. *Mots,* 38-56.

The 1980s saw a further shift towards a *policy of positive discrimination*, aimed at "[reducing] the impact of social inequality on educational achievement." (Emin & Esquieu, 1999) **Priority Education Zones** (ZEP), were created in 1981, to address the needs of *all pupils* – enrolled in primary, junior secondary and senior secondary (mainstream and vocational) high schools - living in areas where educational problems are seen to be created or compounded by socio-economic and cultural factors. The Republican injunction regarding the provision for differential treatment on the basis of 'ethnic' or other origins meant that the policy had to be formulated in general terms – as addressing the educational needs or difficulties of all pupils whose disadvantaged social, economic or 'cultural' situation hinders their achievement or integration within the educational system.

- The rector of each academy[108] determines the grouping of schools to be accorded ZEP status. This status is attributed on the basis of a combination of criteria indicative of *socio-economic and cultural disadvantage*, namely:
- The employment status of pupils' parents and the rate of unemployment in the area;
- The proportion of foreigners, newly-arrived pupils, and children of migrants attending the school;
- The rates of failure, dropout, absenteeism, violence, disciplinary problems.

ZEP schools are allotted additional non-teaching staff (namely, pedagogical and educational counsellors, CPE), teaching staff per capita (classes are smaller and are restricted to a maximum 25 learners per teacher as compared to the usual 30), and financial resources (in the form of budgets for special school projects, life skills and violence prevention interventions). These are intended to reinforce existing educational activities and facilitate the implementation of innovative locally-based initiatives.

POLICIES FOR THE EDUCATION AND INTEGRATION OF NEWLY-ARRIVED LEARNERS

The education of non-francophone and francophone newly-arrived learners with no prior schooling constitutes another challenge for the public education system. A policy orientation document issued in 1989 stated that "schools cannot neglect any of its scholars. The national imperative that 80% of a school age group reach matriculation level cannot undermine the need to provide satisfactory qualifications for the 20% who will not manage to attain this level."[109] The first three classes specialised in schooling *Previously Unschooled Learners* (Ensa) were opened in Paris during the 1992-93 school year.

According to Darnal (1996), these classes provide a context for integration by enabling the student to come to grips with the new social context of schooling. This is in addition to their primary focus to provide schooling and facilitate the acquisition of reading and writing skills. The CEFISEM provide initial assessments of the learners' needs upon their

[108] Academies reflect geographical areas of jurisdiction defined by the National Education System. The curricula and overall educational policies are centralised and are disseminated through these academies.

[109] Cited in Darnal, A. (1996). Scolarisation des enfants non francophones : un défi pédagogique. *Hommes & Migrations, n° 1201,* 31-43.

arrival to the school system, and ongoing training and pedagogical tools to their teachers. The age (14 years old) and heterogeneity of this school population – francophones and non-francophones of different nationalities and home languages; learner with no previous schooling, or with little or irregular schooling; low achievers and those who were incorrectly assessed at the outset – makes it difficult for teachers to manage the class from a pedagogical perspective. A number of directives were issued in 1986 defining the specificity of the needs of this population and the pedagogical approach to be adopted in these classes. These highlighted the importance of accompanying the individual's integration within society and the necessity to create links to future employment especially for those pupils who are over the age of 15 when they arrive in France.

Today, educational inequalities related to language acquisition, socio-economic disadvantage and discrimination, and the problems these pose for the learner, the class, the educators and the schooling system, continue to be addressed within these broadly-defined blanket policies. More recently, **Sensitive Schools** created in 1993 and **Educational Priority Networks** (REP) in 1997 continue to define priority education in terms of target sites where the population is most at risk for schooling difficulties, failure or dropout, as well as violence, deviance and delinquency. Many of the schools which fall within priority education areas or networks receive an overly high proportion of immigrant children and French children of immigrant descent. Paradoxically, however, the failure to recognise the "minority" status of these populations, while simultaneously deploying educational resources to improve their schooling outcomes, means that individuals continue to be exposed to implicit forms of discrimination (segregation, ethnicisation and stigmatisation) that interact with educational outcomes without these factors being taken into account in official policy.

While the policy of positive discrimination has apparently led to a consistent increase in the level of education and the length of schooling for pupils of all social groups over the past 30 years (Emin and Esquieu, 1999), considerable inequalities continue to persist. The socio-professional status of parents continues to account for significant disparities in school-leavers' length of schooling and level of education. Moreover, since the beginning of the nineteen eighties, there has been a reported increase in the recorded disparities among new entrants to junior high schools[110], on the basis of their socio-professional category of origin, their nationality and the age of first entry into junior high school (Emin & Esquieu, 1999). The authors attribute this social polarisation of junior high schools in large part to residential segregation, especially in urban agglomerations, and to the consumerist-type behaviour adopted by those parents who are in a position to avoid sending their children to the schools for which they are zoned.

Similarly, access to different types of senior high school orientations and entry to prestigious tertiary education institutions is still largely determined by parents' socio-professional status, though the CEP implemented by Science-Po is an example of a successful endeavour to make elitist tertiary establishments accessible to school-leavers from Priority Education Areas (primarily socio-economically disadvantaged and ethnic minority student populations).

[110] All pupils attend a single junior secondary school and are oriented towards a mainstream or a vocational stream in senior high school, both of which lead to matriculation certificates