

Spring 2019

A Cross-Cultural Examination of Social Reproduction in Educational Systems

Annie E. Girton

Bucknell University, aeg018@bucknell.edu

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**A CROSS-CULTURAL EXAMINATION OF SOCIAL REPRODUCTION IN
EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS**

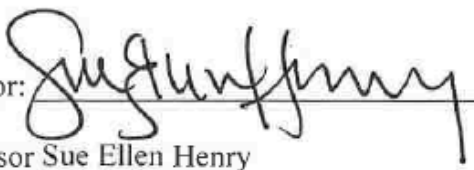
by

Annie E. Girton

An Honors Thesis Submitted to the Honors Council For Honors in Education

April 1, 2018

Approved by:

Advisor: 
Professor Sue Ellen Henry

Second Reader: 
Professor John Westbrook

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A Cross-Cultural Examination of Social Reproduction in Educational Systems

Chapter 1: Introduction

As immigration rates continuously rise, many in the world's leading nations are voicing negative rhetoric against allowing in new members. Though this is by no means a new phenomenon, the question of immigration and the subsequent integration of these incoming citizens is one that is highly controversial today. The United States and France are both at the receiving end of large numbers of immigrants, and therefore provide an appropriate example to look toward in analyzing integration patterns.

In 2017, 13.4% of the U.S. population was composed of immigrants, making it the country with the highest number of foreign migrants in the world (López & Bialik, 2017). Mexican immigrants represent 30% of all newcomers to the country and in conjunction with other Central and South American countries, Hispanics make up almost half of all U.S. migrants (López & Bialik, 2017; Bodvarsson & Van den Berg, 2013). Today, there are about 37.1 million U.S. born Latinos, a statistic that is ever increasing, especially considering the fact that immigrant populations are reported to have higher birthrates than U.S. born citizens (Flores, 2017; López & Bialik, 2017).

In France, immigrants from North Africa are the country's primary concern. Following the initial immigration of North Africans spurred by French colonization of African territories dating back to the early 1800s, the North African population in France has since shifted demographics, with more family systems emerging as well as second or third generation North African immigrant children being born on French soil ("France: North Africans"; Laurence & Vaïsse, 2006). In 2002, 551,560 children in France were living with immigrant parents from Algeria, the second highest percentage of immigrants in the nation (Laurence & Vaïsse, 2006).

Though the Hispanic population in the U.S. and the North African population in France have demonstrated a predominance in both countries, this does not necessarily elicit successful integration patterns. Hispanic immigrants are begrudged by some U.S. born citizens for being one of the most resistant minority groups to integrate, often taking several generations to fully learn and utilize English and most often remaining at a lower-class status (Bodvarsson & Van den Berg, 2013). North Africans in France are similarly met with contempt by French natives, for similar reasons regarding language, as well as other cultural differences branching off of their highly visible practice of Islam, both of which conflict with the nation's republican ideals of equality between citizens, a monolingual identity, and secularity in the public sphere (Hélot, 2003). With these glaring differences, it is often difficult for members of both minority populations to succeed in social institutions like schools or acquire higher-qualified job positions. With limited access to both of these sectors, social mobility is nearly impossible.

According to data collected by the National Center for Education Statistics, Latino children are less likely than their white peers to graduate high school on time, with an average rate of only 78% in 2013, in contrast to 86% of white, non-Hispanic students ("Toward a more Equitable Future," 2016). Latino children often also exhibit lower academic performance and testing skills, evidencing a prominent achievement gap. Some of this cohort's academic difficulty may revolve around language. According to the National Education Association, about 80 percent of the entire country's ELLs, or English Language Learners, are Hispanic ("Hispanics"). Even though these students have such a large presence in schools, state governments often times fall short in supporting them, mostly due to weak educational policy in the U.S. that does not require public school teachers to be trained in support for English Language Learners, a degree that only 2.5 percent of all teachers hold ("Toward a more Equitable Future," 2016; Quintero & Hansen, 2017;

“Hispanics”). The low performance in preparatory education enhanced by these structural shortcomings subsequently leads to decreased job opportunities and earnings, leaving grown children in disadvantaged situations that are very similar to those that they were born into (“Toward a more Equitable Future,” 2016).

Even though North Africans now make up a considerable percentage of the French population, they are nevertheless regarded as different, and immigrant families often reside in urban minority communities where residents are generally living at an impoverished level and are isolated from the rest of the population (“France: North Africans”). The children of these immigrants are faring just as poorly with 30% reported as not obtaining diplomas (“France: North Africans”). School systems are likely perpetuators of this situation, considering that French Republican ideals of equality again lead to the notion that all students should be receiving the same education, an ideal that often has negative ramifications for non-native French students who need specialized instruction in order to support their specific needs (Hélot, 2003). In France’s second language programs, “the main educational aim is for the child to shift from the minority home language to the dominant majority language as early and as quickly as possible” (Hélot, 2003, p. 266). A paradox thus emerges, as many students come to France with past academic experience and a strong ethnic identity, yet are expected to quickly comply with the fact that “the individual assimilation of immigrants and schools are supposed to be the main agent of integration for their children,” thus requiring the students to leave behind their past and eagerly look forward to the adoption of a new French identity (Hélot, 2003, p. 268).

Research Questions

My question, thus, revolves around the experience of immigrant students after they arrive in each country and begin the process of integration. With often times no knowledge of the languages dominating the instruction given in public schools, how is this demographic of children experiencing the school setting? How are administrators, teachers, and policy makers working to make schools more accessible for them? And how does second language instruction specifically influence the children's potential for social mobility? These questions will be the basis of my study, and I will work to examine them through the framework of social reproduction theory applied to the school setting.

Theoretical Framework

Throughout this thesis, I will explore the various elements that play into the process of social reproduction in the context of educational systems. For this purpose, I will draw most heavily from Pierre Bourdieu's work surrounding the theory of social reproduction, discussed further in Chapter 2, which, in essence, details the way that access to social institutions is transmitted between generations of families within the same social class. In comparing and contrasting the school experiences of immigrant, second language learner, secondary-school aged children in both the United States and France, I intend to uncover some of the social and cultural factors that play into the overall quality of education that these students receive and the impact that plays in the likelihood of them being immersed in the cycle of social reproduction.

Methodological Framework

Given social reproduction theory's heightened focus on inequalities between different classes of people, I will naturally be working within a critical theory paradigm. I will be examining, and in a sense critiquing, societal structures like public schools and the organizational bodies behind them that are impacting an "oppressed" group, or second language learner students, who may be receiving an unequal education to their peers, potentially impacting the trajectory of their later life experiences.

Methods

In order to determine how varying school systems may be implicitly contributing to the reproduction of quality of life and later prospects of immigrant children who are learning the native language as a second language, I will review and analyze literature pertaining to the experience of this specific population of children in both countries through an extended literature review. In order to best equate the population in each country on specific measures, I will focus on prevalent immigrant populations in each respective nation; that being Latinx children in the U.S., and North African students in France given the predominance of each as discussed above. For broader theoretical discussion, however, I will focus on the collective group of second language learner immigrant students in both countries, as many findings and policies are not tied to specific ethnic groups. I am primarily concerned with first-generation immigrants, or children who have entered either the U.S. or France at some point in their life after being born in a different country. In order to best represent the generalized situation of each country, I will concentrate on existing data collected within public schools.

This study is written in the form of an extended literature review. Though I have not collected original data, I will be utilizing original empirical data that others have previously produced in order to analyze, compare, and form ideas about the relevant situations in each country. Though not official data, I will be incorporating observations and information from two of my own field experiences with second language programs over the past year. During the spring semester of 2018 I had a field-placement as a required component to an education course which I carried out in the classroom of the main special needs and ESL support teacher at Eichhorn Middle School in Lewisburg, PA. During that semester, I primarily focused my observations on her work with special needs students, as was the objective of my course at the time, but still noted some of her work with ELLs. During the fall of 2018, I returned to Eichhorn to once again visit the ESL teacher's classroom. This time, I spent only one morning in her classroom and focused primarily on discussing the district's ESL initiative with her. That semester, I was also fortunate enough to receive funding to support a week of exploratory research travel in France. I took the opportunity to travel to Tours, France for a week this past February, and to observe the second language initiative at a local middle school, Collège Anatole France. While there, I had the opportunity to observe the main second language support teacher during her separate language support classes, as well as approximately ten other academic classes in which immigrant students were enrolled. My observations from both of these school visits will be included in my discussion of the structure and outcomes of second language initiatives in both countries.

My thesis begins with an overview of the theoretical framework of social reproduction that I will be drawing from and later referring back to during analysis. I will then progress into two parallel sections that discuss the framework of second-language instruction in both the U.S. and France. These are followed by a chapter dedicated to describing the experience of second language

learner, secondary students in both the U.S. and France, as evidenced by findings of existing studies. In this manner, the U.S. and France will serve as comparable case studies that demonstrate the immigrant experience of second-language instruction and the implementation and efficacy of these programs in each country. Following this, I will conclude my thesis by analyzing the data through a social reproduction lens in order to examine the apparent workings of social reproduction as facilitated through instruction, policy, and reported student experiences, or the lack thereof.

Educational Significance

Given the disadvantaged situation of the chosen student populations in each country, it is clear that action is needed to ameliorate the prospects for immigrant children in their respective societies. In completing this thesis, I hope to uncover certain educational policies and experiences that serve as mechanisms of social reproduction that may seem to be problematic in each country, but that also simultaneously present opportunities for improvement. In learning from the example of another country in a similar situation, I want my findings to serve as a groundwork for how future educational policy can address this specific issue and hopefully better the lives of large majorities of students in each of these nations.

Positionality

In applying the aforementioned theories and lens, I will be drawing off of my academic background as an Education major. Additionally, my thesis has been completed within the Education department with Professor Sue Ellen Henry as my advisor. Professor Henry's most recent research is focused on elementary school teachers' implicit bias in regard to lower-class students' bodily hexis (i.e., physical appearance, habits, and comportment). My thesis discusses

similar themes of cultural capital and habitus, however, I have taken a broader and more theoretical approach to my study and focused primarily on social reproduction within the cross-cultural context of American and French public middle-schools and amid the second language learner student population.

For the French based portion of my research, I have worked closely with Professor John Westbrook in the French department, who is serving as my second reader. As a French double major, I have taken an upper-level French course with Professor Westbrook and have been working on an ongoing research project with him since Spring of 2018, focused on science instruction in French primary schools under the Third Republic. I have been able to draw from French pedagogical theory and various literature that I have read under his guidance.

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To now transition into the content area of this thesis, the next chapter will open the text with a succinct overview of the relevant components of social reproduction theory to the purpose of this study. This portion of the text will serve as the foundational basis off of which all other information discussed within the thesis will build. When examining any features of second language instruction, their efficacy, or their long-term influences on second language students, social reproduction theory should be utilized as a guiding frame of thought.

Chapter 2: Social Reproduction

With the ever-increasing percentage of non-Native English speakers in the U.S.' student population, second-language instruction is a highly researched topic today. In order to provide a contextualization of the current findings in regard to English as a second language programming, this literature review will work through the nested layers contributing to the efficacy of these programs, including policy, frameworks, influence of teachers, and overall student success. Given this project's focus on assessing the degree to which second language instruction plays into social reproduction for language minority students, the review will begin with an exploration of this prominent theory.

Within this chapter, I provide an overview of the theory of social reproduction with a specific focus on Pierre Bourdieu's contribution to the theory. In an overview style, I touch on the components of his work that are most relevant to the educational context, and thus, most directly applicable to the phenomena I will be examining throughout the thesis. I briefly discuss the different forms of capital and the ways they are cultivated and maintained by social institutions like schools. After looking at how students from different social classes are regarded within the school, I shift my focus to Basil Bernstein's related focus on language and the ways in which it varies by social class.

This theoretical overview will frame the context within which I am evaluating each country's approach to second language instruction. While I later discuss concrete structures and objectives of second language programs in both countries, this chapter provides a basis for considering the degree to which specific features of each program play into the cycle of social reproduction as it considered today.

Bourdieu and Social Reproduction

Though the theory of social reproduction has been studied by many scholars spanning all the way back to Karl Marx, one of the most predominant contributors to the theory was French sociologist, Pierre Bourdieu (Collins, 2009). In the context of Bourdieu's work, social reproduction can be defined as "the intergenerational transmission of physical and symbolic property" between generations (Nash, 1990, p. 432). This "property" that is passed down through families can be broken into more specific areas of privilege, like economic, cultural, social, and linguistic capital. While economic capital deals with financial assets in a straightforward manner, the others are slightly more abstract. Cultural capital functions as a product of social class, pertaining to the cultural knowledge one derives from their social surroundings (Henry, 2014). Social capital is similarly focused on the attainment of socially transmitted knowledge and emphasizes one's network of social relations which provides the individual access to these forms of knowledge (Stanton-Salazar & Dornbusch, 1995). Linguistic capital is the knowledge of a language that facilitates the aforementioned social interactions and acquisition of cultural knowledge. Bourdieu furthered this theory by also introducing the nested theory of habitus, which refers to behavioral tendencies that are innately developed in individuals due to their membership to a specific social class (Collins, 2009; Henry, 2014). Each of these elements of social reproduction work to demonstrate the identity and capital of each class, as well as explain the process by which that social identity is continuously passed on and reproduced.

Bourdieu focused on contextualizing this process of social reproduction within educational systems, given that "in modern societies the school has become the most important agency for the reproduction of almost all social classes" (Collins, 2009; Nash, 1990, p. 432). From this perspective, schools promote social inequality, even though the public often views schools as great

equalizers (Collins, 2009; Nash, 1990). Reproduction theorists note that schools actually rely on “top-down structural determination” rather than “bottom-up agency by individuals or small groups” (Collins, 2009, p. 34). This organization means that schools are not organized to support social ascension for students coming from disadvantaged backgrounds, even if the student exhibits “talent and effort” (Collins, 2009, p. 34). Rather than mitigate the achievement gaps that form between different classes of students, implicit factors of language, culture, economy, and politics are working in a largely concealed manner to heighten these differences (Collins, 2009). For example, the way that schools are organized, in regard to daily structure, curriculum, and tracking, are reflective of certain social classes’ experiences (Collins, 2009). Consequently, when children enter into the school, they are incorporated into these social systems that will in many ways be “preparing them for their dominant or dominated places in the economy and society” when they eventually leave the school setting (Collins, 2009, p. 35).

Much of the way that these processes occur is also through the centrality of habitus consolidation within the school (Nash, 1990). Although habitus is thought to be a primarily family-driven concept, schools have been found to take a similarly active role in reinforcing the child’s habitus (Nash, 1990). This happens primarily due to the fact that schools often generate a particular habitus, often reflective of that of the dominant student population and of those who have also designed the school setting, which any student wishing to be successful must eventually interiorize (Nash, 1990). Thus, students must learn the rules and expectations placed on them by the school environment, which is a difficult task for children whose home habitus does not abide by the same socially accepted norms and knowledge as that of the classroom. It is theorized therefore, that if a school is indeed controlled by the dominant class, then students who are already coming from a home environment that inculcates that same class habitus will be regarded by the school system as

being “school-ready” (Nash, 1990). Students coming in with a habitus derived from nondominant classes, on the other hand, will be subsequently labeled as having a “learning deficiency” or being “culturally deprived”, largely because their means of accessing learning and their socially developed knowledge base is not aligned with that of the school (Nash, 1990). Though these “deficiencies” are incorrectly thought of as personal weaknesses of the child, Bourdieu would argue that they are instead reflective of “a deficiency on the part of the school to develop pedagogic practices responsive to the mental formation and behavioural dispositions such children bring to school” (Nash, 1990, p. 436). A school’s failure to address and support these differences is therefore often a cause for the lowered academic performance of these children (Nash, 1990).

The “culture of power” of the school setting exerts a similar influence to a school’s domineering habitus (Delpit, 1995, p. 24). A culture of power is created by the dominant social class and connotes many different types of power that some populations hold over others (Delpit, 1995). The culture of power dictates what is deemed acceptable in a specific setting (Delpit, 1995). It encompasses implicit rules as to how to direct oneself that thus lead to the attainment of more power (Delpit, 1995). For those that are not a member of the culture of power, accessing any of its resources can be extremely difficult (Delpit, 1995). Given that the rules are so implicitly known and transferred between members of the dominant class, it is difficult for outsiders to pick up on these rules on their own (Delpit, 1995). This difficulty is heightened by the fact that those with power rarely will address the rules or expectations that must be met in order to attain it (Delpit, 1995). People with this form of advantage are unlikely to be comfortable with accepting the degree of power they hold (Delpit, 1995). For that reason, they will often shy away from discussing it with non-members, making acquisition of the rules even harder (Delpit, 1995).

Though abstract in theory, the concept of a culture of power is evident in the classroom setting (Delpit, 1995). Middle class white teachers are often the holders of great power, or capital, that they easily transmit to their students who come from the same dominant cultures (Delpit, 1995). For the students who don't come from this background, however, the potential for gleaning privilege from the class setting is much bleaker (Delpit, 1995). Given that children do not know the codes and rules of power associated with the school setting, such as "appropriate dress, interactional styles, embedded meanings, and taboo words or actions," they are unlikely to be able to successfully negotiate the rules from their teachers or peers who hold power (Delpit, 1995, p. 26). Inversely, teachers with power may not fully understand or know how to approach this power differential, using techniques that cannot reach their students from other backgrounds, or being vague in their directions so as to lessen the apparent discrepancy in power (Delpit, 1995). With this amassment of conflicts, schools rarely achieve a true exchange of power to those who do not already have it (Delpit, 1995). Access to capital is rather passed from one generation of dominant culture to the next, leaving those from the outside continuously trying to determine the rules to gain access to the inside (Delpit, 1995).

Language is one primary element of a school's habitus and culture of power that may lead to notable adaptation difficulties if the child's home language is different than that of the norm.

Language and Linguistic Capital

One of the major perpetrators of social reproduction is language facility. Language has an important role in the creation of social identity, as it is the primary means for one to be able to establish social relationships with others and integrate into the culture of a broader community (Collins, 2009). Language is also of notable influence in the sphere of education. The entire

premise of schools as a means for transmitting knowledge through teaching and learning is completely dependent on language (Collins, 2009). The British sociologist Basil Bernstein contributed significantly to reproduction theory in his study of language in relation to social class (Collins, 2009). According to Bernstein (1964), language can be delineated into two levels, the first being concerned with elements used for organization of language, like syntactic devices, and the second relating to objective reference, or vocabulary (Bernstein, 1964). Speech as its own entity thus builds off of language, demonstrating how one puts together vocabulary and language structure in the immediate moment (Bernstein, 1964). In between the two concepts of language and speech, Bernstein stated that social structure is actively working, as in every instance of speech, “the form the social relationship takes regulates the options which speakers select at both the structural and vocabulary levels” (Bernstein, 1964, p. 56).

Bernstein (1964) theorized that particular social classes tend to utilize specific codes of language, or predetermined planning and organizations of speech (Bernstein, 1964). Language codes are highly dependent on the social structure that the speech exists within, and therefore may take different forms dependent on the nature of the relationship (Bernstein, 1964). Two major linguistic codes are “restrictive” and “elaborated” codes (Collins, 2009; Bernstein, 1964).

Restricted codes are characterized by being highly predictable, as the speaker is employing a limited range of organizational features like syntax to develop their point, and the vocabulary used is often narrow in scope (Bernstein, 1964). The meaning delivered through restricted speech is not explicit and is often rather assumed and is also often developed through nonverbal methods of communication (Bernstein, 1964, p. 61). Overall, speech developed through restricted codes is generally “concrete, narrative and descriptive”, and plays out in social situations where social status across members is already known and predictable (Bernstein, 1964, p. 62).

In contrast, elaborated codes generally produce “analytical or abstract” speech which is generally represented by the unpredictable structure of this type of language (Bernstein, 1964, p. 62). Speakers employing elaborated codes are able to draw from a large store of organizational options and vocabulary in order to develop the meaning of their speech (Bernstein, 1964). Given the resulting ability to “expand and elaborate his meanings,” the speaker is able to transmit a much more discrete point (Bernstein, 1964, p. 63). While restricted codes are again very status-based, elaborated codes are thought to be more “person-oriented,” meaning that speech can be restructured to individuate between varying social relationships (Bernstein, 1964).

All children grow up in highly verbalized environments regardless of social class. However, “every time the child speaks or listens, the social structure of which he is part is reinforced” (Bernstein, 1964, p. 57). Thus, a child learns through constant observation to employ the language codes used by his or her parents. This becomes the innate process that a child uses to not only speak, but through which to also shape their reality, as the language they utilize determines their “intellectual, social, and affective orientation” as well (Bernstein, 1964, p. 57). The codes that a child uses are not always indicative of their intellectual capacity but is rather a manifestation of the linguistic patterns that have always surrounded them (Bernstein, 1964).

Bernstein states that children from lower classes are often limited to restrictive codes, while children from middle- and upper-class backgrounds will use elaborate codes, but also have control over restricted codes (Bernstein, 1964). Regardless of their social class, the linguistic codes a child uses are considered to be representative of their familial background, including their parents’ work and educational experiences (Collins, 2009, p. 39). Parents from a lower-class often transmit restrictive codes to their children which do not align with the language used in schools and academic settings, which leads to these students often falling behind because of communication

difficulties (Collins, 2009). However, the codes a child uses are reflective of the language environment that they have grown up in and are thus not necessarily representative of the child's intellect. Unfortunately, however, restricted codes are generally presumed to indicate some sort of deficiency, rather than simply a different communication style. Unavoidably, the language codes embedded in a child in early years has subsequent effects on their later literacy, and more broadly speaking, their following academic performance for years to come.

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The next two chapters focus on the historical and ideological development underlying the second language instructional initiatives in both the U.S. and France as they are commonly seen today. This chapter stands as a touch point to begin considering what aspects of each country's approach may be working towards lowering the potential for social reproduction by raising second language students' access to the aforementioned forms of capital that will ideally allow them a degree of social mobility later in life.

In concluding the thesis, I again will heavily draw from this framework, as I will be analyzing many of the questions related to social mobility raised throughout the trajectory of this project through a social reproduction lens. Though the research I have utilized in the rest of this study provides a comprehensive understanding of the ways that second language programs function today, the final, and most necessary component will be to take these frameworks and examine their many components individually to unearth their implicit influence on the process of social reproduction.

Chapter 3: The Place of Language in the U.S. School

Considering the necessity of gaining higher levels of capital to increase the possibility of social mobility, it is first necessary to look to social structures that provide access to these concealed goods. When considering the specific population of immigrant English language learner students, it follows that the social structure most influential in their lives will be the school system. The ways in which they are incorporated into the mainstream school culture, supported through second language instruction and acquisition, and regarded by the rest of the school's student and teacher population will all be influential on the opportunity for success made possible to these students.

To examine how each of these elements may either be aiding or inhibiting an ELL's achievement in the school system, it is important to first consider the educational environment a student is experiencing on a day to day basis. To begin to do this, I will first present the structure of second language instruction initiatives that are most present in U.S. schools today, along with a description of the students enrolled within these programs, their primary geographic locations, and the teachers that are implicated in their facilitation. I will detail each English as a second language instructional method, while examining how the ideology behind each is indicative of the American view of proper language immersion. Following this, I will then broadly discuss the history and ideology of second language instruction and language policy in the U.S. that will serve to contextualize why the programs that exist in the U.S. today are structured as they are. These perceptions are the basis for the second language frameworks present in U.S. schools today and have shaped much of the educational reform surrounding second language instruction. This analysis will allow me to reconcile the objectives of the second language instruction with the outcomes that are realistically seen in our society.

This informational overview will cover the underlying beliefs of the U.S. educational system, while also describing the initiatives that are put into action on a day to day basis. With a clearer understanding of how each practice or technique within the second language programming is deeply tied to historical and cultural ideologies, I will later be able to highlight specific practices that may indicate the cycle of social reproduction at work, or else the lack thereof.

English as a Second Language Instruction

A brief history of language policy in the U.S. school system. American schools started off as being quite open to linguistic diversity. A nation built by a conglomeration of immigrants, public schools in the eighteenth and nineteenth century catered to the particular needs of the first American citizens. Spanish schools were present in the South and West, French in the North East and Louisiana, and German in the Midwest (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990). With the majority of students being of similar immigrant status, bilingualism was accepted and even highly regarded in school systems (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990).

Variability in school-used languages at this time was made possible by the fact that schools prior to the twentieth century were very loosely controlled (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990). Individual schools were directed through local governments, and funding came from local families' taxes (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990). With this decentralized manner of control, schools generally adopted the language of the community as their instructional language; schools still taught English, but also had the freedom to simultaneously instruct in other communal languages (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990).

Towards the end of the nineteenth century a second wave of immigrants started to arrive in the U.S., but this time they came from much poorer and less-educated backgrounds (Malakoff

& Hakuta, 1990). The already settled Americans feared the effects these new-comers would have on the increasingly solidified American identity (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990). Soon following this shift, local governments began to advocate for mandatory schooling (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990). Obligatory education was regarded as a necessary step towards forming model American citizens out of the immigrant children (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990). In order to achieve this goal, schools would be held responsible for both teaching English language and literacy to these children, but also for imparting American and democratic ideals while simultaneously socializing them within the American society (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990).

This objective was further pursued by the standardization of language in schools. As states began to gain more control over schools, they also began to exert more influence over the manner of instruction (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990). By the end of the nineteenth century, many states had passed legislation mandating that instruction only be carried out in English (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990). This was again in attempt to consolidate the American identity that was continuously building.

The support of English-only instruction was bolstered in the early 1900s through anti-German feelings following the first World War (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990). Americans were hesitant of any foreign influences, and thus turned to the school as a place to protect and foster the American identity (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990). By the early 1920s, over thirty U.S. states had mandated English language instruction (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990). The question of the place of foreign languages in schools was subsequently not broached again for several more years.

Nearly half a century later, conversation surrounding non-English speaking students in the U.S. recommenced. In the early 1960s, several schools throughout the country were experimenting with bilingual education programs (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990). National attention towards these

initiatives resulted in the Bilingual Education Act in 1968, passed as a title under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990). In conjunction with stipulations under the Civil Rights Act of 1964, limited-English-proficient students would be guaranteed access to the basic right of an appropriate education and optimally benefit from bilingual programming that the federal government would now be involved in funding and researching (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990). This period of reform saw an increased acceptance and encouragement of cultural and ethnic diversity in the educational sphere (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990). It also began to push against the boundaries of English-only instruction and inspired the beginnings of a revolutionary change in perspective regarding the difference between equal and equitable education (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990).

More concrete reform came with the Supreme Court case of *Lau v. Nichols* in 1974. Though recent legislation had been advocating for the development of bilingual programming, the Bilingual Education Act did not explicitly create or maintain these programs (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990). While a report by the Department of Housing, Education and Welfare set forth guidelines stating that no minoritized child should be withheld the right to an appropriate education, this recommendation was not universally honored (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990). In the case of *Lau v. Nichols*, a group of Chinese students from the San Francisco public school district took up a suit against the district on the basis that half of the 2,856 English learner students in the school district were not receiving language services, and thus did not have equal access to educational opportunity (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990). The basis of this debate surrounded whether or not these services would actually make the ELL students' school experience equal. On one hand, the school district believed that providing the students with additional resources that were not also enjoyed by their English-speaking peers gave the ELL students an unequal advantage (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990).

On the other end of the debate, the students and their supporters argued that without additional services focused on language acquisition, the standardized curriculum was inaccessible, and thus these students' educational access was severely limited (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990). While the conclusion of the case obligated school districts and states to provide "appropriate" services to ELLs, it remained up to the state or district to determine the duration of their second language services (Hakuta et al., 2000). Beyond this decision, *Lau v. Nichols* symbolized the question of what is "equal treatment," raising the question that if a student could not speak English, of what use was it to ensure that they still received the same textbook, teachers, or curriculum as everyone else? (Reeves, 2004). This essential question and the wide variety of responses form the basis of all second language initiatives today.

Demographics of ESL students in the classroom today. In the United States there are currently over 5 million English learner students enrolled in public schools (Cook et al., 2011). This population of students includes a mixture of both first-generation immigrant children, but also students who were born to immigrant parents in the U.S., yet do not speak English as their home language (Fix & Passel, 2003). In terms of age distribution, there are more ELLs in secondary schools than at the elementary level, an unfortunate reality considering that middle and high schools typically have less infrastructure for providing language services to these students (Fix & Passel, 2003).

Some of the most predominant ethnic backgrounds of ELL students are Hispanic, Asian, and Indian (DiCerbo, 2000). For the purpose of this paper, Hispanic students will be the predominant focus, as they represent the largest school age immigrant group in the U.S. Though this general ethnic background is common among this sector of ELLs, it is still difficult to say

what the “typical” ELL looks like, due to many other influencing factors. This diversity is well encapsulated by García (2019):

Latinx students are a very complex group – some are new to what schools call English, some are new to what schools call Spanish, others have had lots of experience with what schools call English and/or Spanish, others have less, and this varies according to whether they are listening, speaking, reading or writing. Some Latinx students are born in Latin American countries, although Spanish may, or may not be, their ‘first’ acquired language. Some are born in the U.S. and, again, English may or may not be their ‘first’ acquired language (p. 160).

It is evident that the population of ELLs is extremely diverse in regard to geographical background, and what prior schooling experiences they are bringing to the U.S. school with them. Though it is clearly impossible to define the ELL population as a whole, there are a few other uniting factors for this sector of the population upon arrival in the U.S.

According to Fix & Passel (2003) 80% of ELLs were being raised by parents who were also of limited-English proficiency. Though this may not be problematic for the students’ development of their native language, it hinders their English acquisition. In comparison to native English peers born to English speaking parents, ELLs are not likely to benefit from language enhancement in the home through games, toys, and stories, that may be commonly enjoyed within the families of their peers (DiCerbo, 2000). This disparity in access to both language and enrichment is indicative of the different levels of cultural and linguistic capital that language learner students experience in comparison to their peers. Without linguistic models of English in

family and peers within the home setting, English language learners are also more likely to adopt restricted codes, as their exposure to elaborated codes remains limited to the instructional setting.

A high proportion of language minority families are also disadvantaged by their geographic location in the United States. The majority of immigrant families are based in the West and Northeast and are usually found in poorer metropolitan areas within those regions (DiCerbo, 2000; Fix & Passel, 2003). These locations are often areas of concentrated poverty, with a majority of the community members being of a similar socio-economic status (DiCerbo, 2000). The schools in these areas reflect this under-resourced standard of living, as many “schools with high concentrations of poor students tend to be poorly maintained, structurally unsound, fiscally underfunded, and staffed with large numbers of minimally prepared and unlicensed staff” (Dicerbo, 2000, p. 5). With both challenging neighborhood and school lives, these students are further set up for the possibility of school failure (DiCerbo, 2000).

ESL program formats. As a whole, the state governments of the U.S. now demonstrate a relatively elaborate English Language instructional program, though these progressions were not made until about the 1960s. Given the fact that educational matters such as ESL instruction are handled on a state government level, the shift to implementing this form of instruction has been sporadic and unbalanced. Florida was the first state to adopt ESL legislation in 1963, and Pennsylvania was the last in 2001. Though comprehensive ESL instruction in the U.S. was only adopted within about the past half century, the nation as a whole has made significant strides in developing a standard of instruction since then. Today, nearly all public schools’ programs fall on a spectrum of seven different models of English Language Instruction, well elaborated by Oberg de la Garza & Mackinney (2018):

- **Sheltered English Instruction:** Instruction is delivered exclusively in English
- **Structured English Immersion:** English instruction with occasional clarification in native language
- **ESL Pull-Out:** Students receive specialized instruction in sessions outside of the classroom
- **ESL Push-In:** Students are in the mainstream classroom with an ESL support teacher or aide
- **Bilingual Early-Exit:** Instruction in native language followed by mainstreaming to regular classes taught in English after 1-3 years
- **Bilingual Late-Exit:** Instruction in native language followed by mainstreaming to regular classes taught in English after 5-7 years
- **Dual Language One-Way/Two-Way instruction:** All students in the mainstream class receive a portion of the instruction in the majority language and a portion in the minority language

This spectrum reflects a continuum between subtractive and additive methods of language instruction (Oberg de la Garza & Mackinney, 2018). Subtractive methods call for full English

immersion of English Language Learner (ELL) students at the cost of their native language (Oberg de la Garza & Mackinney, 2018). Proponents of subtractive methods believe that the best way to improve ELL learners' proficiency is to send them straight into English instruction with no opportunities for turning back to their native language as a "crutch" (Oberg de la Garza & Mackinney, 2018). Given this mentality, Sheltered English Immersion is most representative of the extreme subtractive end of the spectrum. On the other end, additive methods draw on the student's native language facility to make connections and further English development (Oberg de la Garza & Mackinney, 2018). Additive supporters believe that learning a second language is enhanced when connections can be made to the native language, and also value the preservation and recognition of the child's proficiency in their native language (Oberg de la Garza & Mackinney, 2018). Today there is a significant contrast in types of programs enacted in schools, with all seven structures being incorporated into various public-school programs throughout the United States (Oberg de la Garza & Mackinney, 2018). However, out of all of these methods, Dual Language Instruction has been considered to have the strongest impact on English Learners' academic achievement, as well as helping native English speakers develop into bilingual speakers (Oberg de la Garza & Mackinney, 2018). Despite this resulting benefit, this approach is still the most difficult and costly to implement and therefore less common, as it requires teachers to be certified in two languages and educational content (Oberg de la Garza & Mackinney, 2018). In order to make steps towards implementing this model on a wider scale, school leaders need to focus on teacher preparation and professional development in order for all teachers to be better prepared to foster this sort of learning environment in the general classroom (Oberg de la Garza & Mackinney, 2018).

Certification and professional development of ESL teachers. The focus on teacher preparation for successful second language instruction aims success for ELL students at another location: teacher certification. Though a mainstream teacher may demonstrate all the qualities of an ideal teacher, these are not sufficient to universally support all students, notably those students who are English language learners (de Jong & Harper, 2005). This situation arises primarily because ESL instruction is not simply naturally developed by teachers, but rather requires deliberate teacher preparation and development (de Jong & Harper, 2005). In order to best support ELL students, linguistic and cultural diversity should be accounted for within the teacher's basic pedagogical practices (de Jong & Harper, 2005). Unfortunately, most teachers self-report not feeling prepared to teach this population of students, especially since most also report having very little professional development in regard to ESL instruction (Lucas et al., 2008). Teacher education programs vary widely in their coursework focused on ESL preparation, and most teachers in the U.S. are not proficient in a second language (Lucas et al., 2008). Without a foundational background in bilingual pedagogy, these teachers frequently turn to known, but ultimately ineffective techniques like "focus[ing] mostly on basic skills and repetitive drills, rather than on high level content, language and comprehension skills that help students build on what they know" (DiCerbo, 2000, p. 5). Unfortunately, these sorts of "lower order skills are less likely to hold students' attention, motivate them to learn, and guide them to use lessons learned across multiple subjects" (DiCerbo, 2000, p. 5). This approach to second language instruction is far too common, considering that only 2.5 percent of the nation's teachers hold an ESL degree (Lucas et al., 2008; Quintero & Hansen, 2017).

This weakness in teacher preparation should be considered with utmost concern, especially considering that teachers are a predominant source of influence on students' academic success. In

fact, teacher support of middle and high school-aged Latinx students has been found to have a mitigating effect on the risk of school failure for this population of students, primarily because these relationships promote school engagement (Brewster & Bowen, 2004). In 2004, Latino students were reportedly dropping out at a rate four times higher than white students nationally (Brewster & Bowen, 2004). In examining the causes behind this high dropout rate, social capital has been found to correlate with student achievement (Brewster & Bowen, 2004). One of the most important social relationships playing out in the school is that of the teachers with their Latino students, especially when they are enforcing high expectations, as this is a means of transferred “social capital” to the student (Brewster & Bowen, 2004).

Beliefs on the duration of language acquisition and the attainment of proficiency. In the political sphere, language proficiency is defined by three components, according to Cook et al. (2011), including:

1. Proficiency on state content assessments
2. Success in the classroom
3. Full participation in society

This definition of proficiency is representative of what the outcome of achieving language proficiency should look like but does not indicate the full extent of the process leading up to this point. Language proficiency extends well beyond a score on a standardized test or a grade in a class. For English language learners, proficiency means meeting not only “the language demands of the academic classrooms,” but also progressing at the same rate as their peers, and continuously

evolving in their language proficiency (Cook et al., 2011, p. 69; Hakuta et al., 2000). Given this range of demands, full proficiency does not look the same for all language learners, and definitely is not reached at the same speed. In fact, proficiency is even further influenced by variables including a student's background, what generation immigrant the student is, their age at initial arrival in the country, their educational experience in their home country, including their exposure to directions, routines, and assignments typical of a school setting, and proficiency in their native language (Cook et al., 2011).

Consideration of these factors enables the school to more accurately assess an ELL's language acquisition trajectory. However, this type of consideration is not often followed through with, as most schools function with a standardized measure of proficiency – basing the student's level of acquisition on annual English proficiency testing (Cook et al., 2011). Problematically, performance on these standardized language tests is what determines when students will be exited from the ESL program, with little consideration for the individual student's actual proficiency outside the context of an exam (DiCerbo, 2000). Students are generally expected to reach this point within just a year or two of entering into the second language programming. This is regrettably the case in even states like California, Colorado, and Massachusetts that have soaring populations of ELL students, but still restrict second language services to a year of sheltered English immersion classes (DiCerbo, 2000; Hakuta et al., 2000). The program structures are not aligned with research stating that the development of oral proficiency in a language takes between three to five years while academic proficiency can take from four to seven years (Cook et al., 2011; Hakuta et al., 2000).

In reality, ELLs are often grouped together in superficial levels of proficiency, given the limited numbers of teachers and resources that make it difficult to work with each individual

student at their respective proficiency level (Cook et al., 2011). Younger children are also often considered more apt to acquire a second language, however this belief may be adopted rather hastily when structuring ESL programs to only last a couple years; even though young children do pick up languages quickly, their proficiency in the language is not always deep; rather, they are more likely to use “formulaic utterances, conversational strategies, and a highly simple code,” or what Bernstein would term a restricted code of language (Hakuta et al., 2000, p. 6). This is where the school must consider what their true goal for the students is to develop Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills (BICS) that can be acquired by the child a bit quicker, or to generate control of academic language in a variety of subject areas, acknowledged as Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) (Hakuta et al., 2000, p. 6). Though both of these capacities are extremely important for the ELL transitioning into a new society, the limited duration of ESL programs leaves time for only certain proficiencies to be highlighted.

To better support these students in transitioning from ESL support to the mainstream school system, it is imperative that schools redefine what “proficient” means, by accounting for variability in students’ native languages, cultures, educational backgrounds and experiences that all lead to different rates and levels of proficiency within a highly variable timeframe (Cook et al., 2011).

Objectives for second language learner students. In the earlier years of ESL programming, the goal of the initiative was to foster the basics of communicative and social language in ELLs. However, “research suggests that the academic achievement of English learners in American schools is inextricably tied to long-term support for academic language development within socioculturally appropriate environments” (Cook et al., 2011, p. 69). For this reason, “social” English, that “has less complex grammatical forms, few uses of technical vocabulary,

frequent use of slang and idioms, frequent cultural and contextual references, and a much more personal sense,” is regarded as inferior to academic English that requires a more sophisticated use of these elements (Cook et al., 2011, p. 67). The difference between these two approaches also lies in what processes are developed along with the spoken language. While social English enables an ELL to negotiate the English-driven social context of the school on a day to day basis, obtaining academic proficiency requires the ELL to “learn to negotiate multiple academic environments, make sense of complex content, articulate their understanding of that content in academic forms, and assess their own growing understanding”. That is, they learn to use ‘academic languages’” (Cook et al., 2011, p. 66). In order for a student to reach this level of true knowledge and command over the language in academic spheres, they need direct “instruction,” but also more subtle “support” and “enculturation” fused into their education (Cook et al., 2011, p. 67). In this way the workings of coded languages may be present. At a solely social level understanding of language, a student will most likely only be employing the restricted codes they’ve gleaned from peer communication. With more academic language comes a better control over language facilities, and a greater likelihood of the student being able to use both elaborated and restricted codes.

Language Statuses in the U.S. School System

Overview of major schools of thought surrounding bilingualism. Even though the United States has no official language, the American identity is steeped in the tradition of the English language. Americans have long been resistant to the presence of non-English languages in the U.S., as they believe the use of other languages will deteriorate the power of English as a unifying force over the nation (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990). This resistance is predominantly focused at Spanish speaking immigrant populations that are considered to be more resistant to

English-driven assimilation, and more likely to continue the use of their home-language, and even expect services in that language (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990).

This perspective connotes an implicit desire for non-English speakers to assimilate to the English driven U.S. society at a rapid pace. With this objective in mind, schools are looked to as the primary place to convert a non-English speaker into a fluent English-speaking American. However, this process is not quite as simple as teaching a Spanish-speaking child a few translated vocabulary words. Rather, an ELL student entering into a second language program is in for a much more circuitous path as they go through the Americanization process. This trajectory is best encapsulated by García (2019):

Language education programs build bilingualism/multilingualism as additive with a goal of bilingual/multilingual development, meaning two or more Western named languages, and usually including English. For minoritized people, language education programs, even those that use two languages as medium of instruction, often cultivate what Lambert (1974) called ‘subtractive bilingualism;’ that is, transition to a dominant named language(s) other than what is considered the learner’s ‘first’ language. And even when the schools’ expectation for minoritized multilingual speakers is that of ‘additive bilingualism,’ the enforcement of named languages as wholes to be used separately stigmatizes even further their more dynamic and fluid multilingual practices (García, 2019, p. 157).

To put this explanation in simpler terms, the U.S. educational system essentially takes a bilingual child, a speaker of both Spanish and English for example, and demands that they become monolingual, shedding their home language, and adopting English as their new primary tongue, in

a process referred to as “subtractive bilingualism” (García, 2019, p. 157). Even when a school works through an “additive” framework, they still emphasize each language as a distinct entity, rather than two languages that work together to help the student communicate (García, 2019, p. 157). This concept will be elaborated further in discussion of the language statuses tied to a plurilingual student.

Language statuses in schools. In Western societies, schools have been one of the predominant forces assigning “statuses” to languages. In categorizing the languages present in the school setting with labels of “foreign,” “second,” “heritage,” and “first,” boundaries are put on languages, in much the same way that political systems define what is considered a dialect, in comparison to what is considered a language (García, 2019, p. 153). Rather than viewing languages as interconnected systems that can work together and build off of each other to facilitate communication, labeling languages within distinct categories separates them into individual wholes. Thus, a multilingual person is viewed as “two monolinguals in one,” or someone who has two fully developed language systems that they can use in appropriate but separated contexts (García, 2019, p. 153).

Rather than considering language as a fluid means of individual communication tactics, the aforementioned labels separate languages and associate them with a hierarchical status. When a person is described as possessing a language as their “first” language, this insinuates “having been born into it in one land” (García, 2019, p. 152). Utilizing a language as a “second” language implies a lack of ownership to that language that is “belonging to another land” (García, 2019, p. 152). These labels are not without implicit consequences in the overall society. By separating out “first” languages from “second” languages, the educational systems play into society’s larger goal to

“protect the named dominant language of the nation-state,” and control the addition of any additional languages that are approached through a distanced and controlled manner (García, 2019, p. 157-58).

Equitable schooling. As described earlier in this chapter, a trend throughout the educational reforms related to second language instruction was the debate between equal and equitable schooling. Given the country’s foundational pursuit of equal rights, it took a long time, in fact up until *Lau v. Nichols*, to really question if guaranteeing “equality” is always the optimal approach to education, especially when language minority students are involved.

The following debate of equality versus equity is embodied by the two concepts of universalism and differentiation within the school setting (Reeves, 2004). When a school practices universalism, their goal is equality. By meeting the needs of the collective student body, the school equalizes the educational experience for all students (Reeves, 2004). When practicing differentiation, on the other hand, the school renders access to an appropriate education equitable by meeting the needs of each individual student (Reeves, 2004). To an extent, proponents of universalism believe that just having access to an education is sufficient for promoting equal opportunity. This gives little regard to the individual and environmental differences that may impede a student from truly accessing the educational content even once obtaining a basic access to education (Reeves, 2004). Though viewed as the ultimate equalizer, “access to schooling, however, does not ensure that educational opportunity has been equalized. The disproportionate number of linguistically and culturally diverse students who fail in school, drop out, or get placed in low-track or special education courses suggest that merely having access to schooling is an inadequate measure of educational opportunity” (Reeves, 2004, p. 45). Ideally, educational

opportunity would be instead measured through “parity in graduation rates, test scores, dropout rates, and college admittance” (Reeves, 2004, p. 44).

With these measures in mind, it is difficult to definitively state which form of second language instruction is most beneficial. While immersion is regarded as a positive initiative for integrating the ELL into the social system of the school, it also submerges them in a linguistic domain in which they may not yet be able to stay afloat. On the other end of the spectrum, separated ESL classrooms may seem to hold an advantage in allowing a comfortable space for progressive language acquisition, but nevertheless hold the double-edged sword of restricted integration into the actual school community. Considering this paradoxical situation, it is nearly impossible to answer the question of whether quickly mainstreaming ESL students after only a year in an immersion program is really equalizing their educational opportunity if they are not prepared for full immersion. Though maybe a bit more vague than desired, it seems as if the only solution to this dilemma will come through the understanding that “equalization of educational opportunity requires an approach that neither assimilates nor structurally separates culturally and linguistically diverse students” (Reeves, 2004, p. 47). This mediated perspective gives a first look into how second language programs may best approach reforms in the future to stray away from extremes and rather provide ELLs with a balanced and equitable chance at academic success.

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It is impossible to consider the efficacy of second language instruction in the U.S. without a thorough understanding of the background and cultural ideology behind it. This chapter primarily served to contextualize the experience of immigrant students and English language learners in U.S. school systems. By describing the features of this system, critical elements came to light that lead

us to question the beliefs surrounding language, equality, and success that will be valuable when later considering the effect that this framework also has on this same population of students later social mobility.

The United States has long approached language instruction in public schools as a means of which to instill American ideals in young citizens. Where immigrant students are concerned, this objective is even more intense, as the adoption of English is viewed as an essential part of the Americanization process. Currently, the U.S. school system employs several different English as a second language frameworks, varying from those that are more closed off and focused on eliminating native languages to be replaced with English, to others that support integration and the development of English through connecting with the students' languages of origin. Each framework on this spectrum reflects different ideologies of equality and equity that have long influenced educational reform relating to second language instruction. In considering the diverse backgrounds of English language learners, and the different points of adversity they face in the U.S., it is up to the school to decide how best to approach guaranteeing these students an "equal" access to education.

In keeping with the structure of a cross-cultural comparison, this development of the context surrounding second language instruction in the United States will serve as a point of comparison with France, a description of which follows in the next chapter. With a full consideration of both programs and perspectives, they will ideally work together to raise points of concern when considering how programs for second-language instruction may be inhibiting students, while also uncovering beneficial practices that could serve as models for other countries.

Chapter 4: The Place of Language in the French School

In comparison to the United States, France is about eighteen times smaller, and in comparison to the plurality of U.S. citizens distinguished by location, ethnicity, and religion, the French nation is a considerably homogenous group of people. The conception of what it means to be “French” is engrained not only in stereotypes of foreigners but are also held by native French citizens who pride themselves in their far-extending French roots. The French identity is composed of many uniform traits, but one that is most immediately perceived is that of language.

This idealized view of France is far from reality. As immigration rates continue to rise in the country, so too does the presence of other cultures, religions, and languages. More than ever before, the traditional French identity is continuously challenged by the ever-increasing presence of other ethnic identities. Similar to the United States, public schools are still considered to be a predominant force in raising future French citizens. However, the task of modeling French citizens is becoming increasingly challenging, as each year there are over 50,000 non-native students enrolled in French secondary schools (Prevos Zuddas, 2018). The question now is how space will be made for expanding diversity in the monolingual French educational system.

With the objective of comparing the efficiency of the United States’ model of second language instruction to that of France, this chapter will follow a similar organization as the previous, exploring the history, underlying beliefs, and current practices shaping the French nation’s educational programs for immigrant students learning French as a second language. The chapter begins with an overview of the evolution of second language instruction in France and an explanation of the underlying conceptual progressions behind each structural change. The most predominant second language instruction practices today will be highlighted, and I will discuss how they are influenced by themes of teacher preparation, school location, and structural

constraints. Following this portion of the chapter, I will broaden the discussion to examine how the current models of second language instruction are reflective of how language has historically been regarded in France, notably in relation to foreign languages and the statuses and biases attached to these. Knowledge of these perspectives will help in understanding the way France has incorporated second language instruction into their schools. While the structure of second language programs in France share some of the same ideological purposes and similar organizational components with the United States, there are many differences in regard to implicit beliefs surrounding language and integration that will be unveiled through this discussion.

French as a Second Language Programs

History of français langue seconde (FLS) programs. Attention was not given to non-French speaking students' educational experience until the early 1970s. Though non-francophone children had been present in France before this time, the French education system made no mention of them in national curriculum or policy planning (Prevos Zuddas, 2018). What finally brought attention to this situation was the influx of immigrants to France in the 1970s (Prevos Zuddas, 2018). Many immigrant workers were now permitted to bring their family into the country, and thus, many immigrant students were now filling the French schools (Prevos Zuddas, 2018). Initially, the public schools were overwhelmed by the newcomers (Prevos Zuddas, 2018). An educational brochure was published in 1970, which finally addressed the education of migrant children, and a temporary solution was devised in the name of *les classes d'initiation (CLIN)* and *les cours de rattrapage intégrés (CRI)*, which can be roughly translated as an "introductory class" and an "integrated catch-up class" (Prevos Zuddas, 2018; Lazaridis, 2001). Within a few years, these classes were replaced by *les classes d'adaptation (CLAD)*, or "adaptation classes" in

secondary schools, which enrolled children who had past educational experience for up to a year, and students with no prior education for two (Prevos Zuddas, 2018). By the early 80s, the title of the programming had once again changed to *classe d'accueil*, or a “reception class” (Prevos Zuddas, 2018). This title was thought to hold a less negative connotation, as it focused on the temporality of the students’ stay in this program (Prevos Zuddas, 2018). Recognition was further delegated to FLS in 2000, when an educational brochure titled *Le français langue seconde* (“French as a second language”) was published, which further defined the domain of FLS and also shared pedagogical techniques that should be used in its implementation (Hamez, 2006).

Most recently, *la loi d'orientation et de programmation pour la Refondation de l'école* (“The Law of Orientation and Programming for the Refoundation of the School”) in 2013 stated that newly arriving students should be put into mainstream classrooms, but still receive special services through a specific pedagogical team called *Unité Pédagogique pour Elèves Allophones Arrivants (UPE2A)*, or a Pedagogical Unit for Allophone Students (Audras, 2018, p. 3). While this new approach assembled a team of FLS providers, it also emphasized the importance of collaboration amid all academic disciplines, due to the fact the second-language students would be right in the French-speaking classrooms, echoing goals of immersion and quick assimilation (Audras, 2018).

Composition of FLS students. Students within FLS programs are an extremely diverse and heterogenous group. Though the technical term for these students has been *enfants étrangers nouvellement arrivés en France (ENAF)*, or “foreign children newly arrived in France” (Prevos Zuddas, 2018) since 2002, these students were long referred to as *primo-arrivants*, or newcomers, a term well defined by Davin-Chnane et al. (2004):

Primo-arrivants désigne les élèves qui viennent d'être scolarisés en France depuis un ou deux ans. C'est un public assez hétérogène par l'origine géographique et sociale, l'âge, le parcours scolaire, la langue et la culture d'origine, la motivation et le mode de vie. Il représente plusieurs catégories d'apprenants selon les besoins linguistiques : ceux qui ont suivi un parcours scolaire normal mais qui ont encore des difficultés linguistiques, ceux qui viennent d'arriver ne maîtrisant pas la langue et qui ont été mal ou peu scolarisés dans leur pays d'origine, ceux qui n'ont jamais été scolarisés antérieurement (pg. 96-97).

Newcomers refers to students who have enrolled in school in France within the past one to two years. It is quite a heterogeneous group by geographic and social origin, by age, academic past, original language and culture, and motivation and style of life. It represents several categories of learners according to their linguistic needs: those who have followed a normal school program but still have linguistic difficulties, those who have come without mastering the language and who were poorly or scarcely educated in their country of origin, and those who were never educated previously.

It is clear that there is no clear-cut model FLS student. They will each come with their own educational, cultural, and linguistic background. For this reason, a strong FLS curriculum will ideally permit a degree of flexibility that allows the instructors to teach to the speed and level of each individual student (Davin-Chnane et al., 2003). Though each student has a varying degree of past education and different levels of proficiency in French upon arriving in France, it is important for teachers to recognize that all FLS students have some form of past knowledge; the problem is

that this knowledge base is currently inaccessible due to the fact that it is coded in a different language, and thus extremely difficult for a newcomer student to express verbally or in writing (Davin-Chnane et al., 2003).

FLS programs are most likely to be in highest demand and predominance in cities, due to the fact that immigrants are mostly concentrated in urban areas (Davin-Chnane, 2006). Considering the average socio-economic status of immigrants, it follows that they are highly present in *Zones d'Education Prioritaires (ZEPs)*, or Priority Education Zones, which are school districts in disadvantaged areas that receive more government funding (Davin-Chnane et al., 2004; Prevos Zuddas, 2018). The ZEP program began in 1982 with the objective of equalizing opportunities between social classes, considering that these residential zones were generally concentrated with lower class residents (Prevos Zuddas, 2018). These programs are less common in the countryside where the immigrant population is much smaller, leading to FLS being a point of controversy in rural areas (Davin-Chnane, 2006). Again, the commonality of geographic location of FLS students lends to the unified experience of second language programming and highlights particular confounding influences that need to be considered when thinking about the ways in which second language programs play into an immigrant student's achievement and later potential for success. Coming from less-resourced and minoritized backgrounds housed in these separated areas, FLS students are unlikely to have a habitus that aligns with that of the school.

FLS program formats. Since their creation, *Français Langue Seconde (FLS)* programs have taken many different forms when implemented in schools, often varying by school level. The first types of second language classes implemented in the early 1970s were *les classes d'initiation (CLIN)* and *les cours de rattrapage intégrés (CRI)*.

- **Les classes d'initiation (CLIN):** These were the first classes for immigrant students in primary schools that focused on second language instruction. Services in these classes lasted a year and aimed to foster integration of these students into the normal school environment (Davin-Chnane, 2006; Davin-Chnane et al., 2004; Lazaridis, 2001).
- **Les cours de rattrapage intégrés (CRI):** Particular to secondary schools, these classes emerged around the same time as CLINs. Students in these courses were integrated into several classes with French students and were then pulled out for about 7-8 hours of FLS instruction each week (Lazaridis, 2001).

Over the 80s and 90s, these two basic class structures were widely adopted and adapted to different schools. While some schools preserved the same title, similar programs were viewed under the labels of CLA (*classe d'accueil*), CLACC (*classes d'accueil*), NF (*non francophones*), and CLAD (*classes d'adaptation*) (Lazaridis, 2001, p. 205). In the early 80s, CLA was legitimized as the proper name for all these initiatives (Lazaridis, 2001). This was a relatively progressive transition, as the full title “*classes d'accueil pour élèves allophones*,” or “reception classes for allophone students,” focused more on the language needs of the students, the temporary duration of the program, and the pedagogical foundation of the programs (Lazaridis, 2001). This structure remained in place until 2013 when the UPE2A initiative (*Unité Pédagogique pour Elèves Allophones Arrivants*) was adopted, effectively replacing all forms of *classes d'accueil* (Lazaridis, 2001).

Regardless of which framework was used, all students coming to France with no, or very limited, educational experience in their home country were termed as ENSA or *élèves non scolarisés antérieurement* (Lazaridis, 2001). Classes for these students are designated by the term FLS-ENSA, or *français langue seconde pour les élèves non scolarisés antérieurement*.

As mentioned just above, the most recent reform to second language instruction occurred in 2013 with the creation of the UPE2A team. The UPE2A was a noteworthy initiative, as it dispelled any closed-off approaches of the past, and instead encouraged “open systems which promote rapid inclusion in the ordinary class” (Prevos Zuddas, 2018, p. 133). This framework supports the notion that through immediate integration, the FLS students will ideally be gaining quick exposure to the French school structure, as well as their native speaking peers (Prevos Zuddas, 2018). Though past programming encouraged a “welcoming period” to help adapt the students to the school, the UPE2A does not consider mastery of French to be necessary before being mainstreamed into normal classes (Prevos Zuddas, 2018).

Though the UPE2A initiative is progressive in the fact that it supports full inclusion of FLS students in the school community, it still suffers from some detrimental structural issues. Another educational brochure from 2012 restricted the duration of UPE2A services to one year, with a maximum of 8-12 hours per week in separate FLS courses. The rest of the students’ time would be spent in the normal classroom (Prevos Zuddas, 2018). Though this is not an atypical duration for second language services in France, it still does not support research findings demonstrative of the much longer duration of language acquisition. UPE2A teams are not controlled nationally, so their structure is quite variable by location, and are controlled by *académies*, lower level organizational bodies, who can independently organize the programs budgets and resources (Prevos Zuddas, 2018).

Certification and professional development of FLS teachers. In general, FLS programs are lamented for their inefficacy. Often times, the teachers who are delegated to teach in their school's version of an FLS program do not hold the proper background or certification to qualify them for this position (Davin-Chnane 2004). Most commonly, either an FLM, *Français comme langue maternelle* (French as a native language), or FLE, *Français comme langue étrangère* (French as a foreign language) teacher will be expected to take over the FLS programming, as it is considered to be of close proximity to their actual area of expertise (Davin-Chnane 2004). However, this often results in these teachers just using the techniques for either FLM or FLE to teach the FLS students, rather than using a pedagogy geared more to the specific needs of these students (Davin-Chnane, 2004). Though coming from a sound pedagogical basis, these practices are not necessarily the best for this unique sector of students. Another sector of teachers often relegated to FLS are very young and inexperienced teachers who may just be in the school system for a short duration (Davin-Chnane 2004). Complicating the job of both of these sets of teachers is the fact that there is no national curriculum for FLS, and very little data detailing the efficacy of these programs (Davin-Chnane 2004). Thus, these teachers are left to their own devices, leading them to pull together a program mostly based on techniques used in other disciplines (Davin-Chnane 2004).

With this situation in mind, it is clear that the French school system is in dire need of more FLS teachers (Davin-Chnane 2006). Unfortunately, if the teachers are not coming from degree programs specifically training them in FLS instruction, there is little opportunity to complete this training later (Davin-Chnane 2006). FLS development is not commonly included in yearly teacher training, and in reality, proper training in this area would span much more than a few days, as teachers would ideally be working in FLS classes for up to a year (Davin-Chnane 2006).

Though the majority of French teachers do not come from a background in FLS, there is a small population of teachers, roughly 9.5% of all French language teachers, who are certified in this area (Prevos Zuddas, 2018). Français Langue Seconde (FLS) preparation has been a part of university-level academics since 1983 (Cadet & Tellier, 2007). In this context, FLS certification is pursued through a Masters in either Didactique du Français Langue Etrangère or Didactique du Français Langue Seconde (Cadet & Tellier, 2007). Students who are pursuing a diploma in the science of language are also eligible to pursue a certificate in one of these two areas after their third year of study (Cadet & Tellier 2007). The certification program incorporates several critical points of preparation. At its core, the program provides the students preparing to be FLS or FLE teachers with the foundational theories, methodology, and practices relevant to this domain (Cadet & Tellier, 2007). Students are required to complete a professional project, which will most likely be an internship with either FLS adults or students (Cadet & Tellier, 2007). Students in this program will also take courses in another language, with the goal of experiencing the reality of a second-language learner (Cadet & Tellier, 2007).

From a generalized perspective, an ideal FLS teacher is able to appropriately serve as a linguistic model of the French language for their students (Audras, 2018). They will ideally hold some degree of the background preparation detailed above but will more abstractly also be mentally prepared to deal with a wide array of diverse and complex students, and will know how to incorporate the native languages and cultures of their students into their instruction (Audras, 2018). Through years of experience, they will have developed a “reflexive” approach to teaching which is defined as the ability to draw on their expertise to adapt to any situation that arises in the classroom (Audras, 2018).

Pedagogical foundations. Similar to the preferred ideal of an FLS teacher, most FLS programs are inspired by similar pedagogical beliefs and practices. At its core, a good FLS program should be *interdidactique, pluriméthodologique, transdisciplinaire, and pluricultural*, all of which translate to ideas of interdisciplinary and multicultural approaches (Davin-Chnane, 2004, p. 72). *Progression spiralaire*, or spiral progression, is a strongly encouraged pedagogical orientation (Davin-Chnane et al., 2003). It encourages FLS instructors to create room for and acceptance of error on the part of their students in the FLS classroom (Davin-Chnane et al., 2003). The basic idea is that any answer that a student can produce is valuable regardless of how correct it is (Davin-Chnane et al., 2003). Even an incorrect answer demonstrates an FLS student's ability to attend to information, interpret the task, and respond in a way that they believe is most appropriate, all in the newly adopted language (Davin-Chnane et al., 2003). The acceptance of failure is also further supported when the classroom functions as a *communauté d'apprenants*, or a community of learners (Davin-Chnane et al., 2003). In this context, students should recognize the attempts and progress of others and work together to answer questions and progress their own and others' learning (Davin-Chnane et al., 2003).

Models of successful FLS programs also suggest many direct and effective pedagogical techniques. One of major importance is allowing for extra time for FLS students (Davin-Chnane et al., 2003). A task that might take native speakers fifteen minutes to complete could take up to an hour for FLS students (Davin-Chnane et al., 2003). The extended time takes into account the extra effort that these students must dedicate to accessing their knowledge in their native language, translating into French, and then verbally expressing or writing it (Davin-Chnane et al., 2003). Though it may take the students longer to complete a task, it is important to not immediately lower the level of demand (Davin-Chnane et al., 2003). The most important modification in this sense is

altering the pace of instruction (Davin-Chnane et al., 2003). The trajectory of an FLS student's instruction should match their own constantly evolving mastery of the French language (Davin-Chnane et al., 2003). On a more direct level, FLS teachers can also use practices like having students read aloud, which enhances performance motivation, as well as utilizing recordings and films that can help students to pick up language and communication styles (Davin-Chnane et al., 2003). All things considered, it is most important for the student to be constantly motivated to push their language mastery to the next level, while still feeling comfortable in their learning community.

Beliefs regarding the duration of language acquisition. One influence on the length of time it takes to acquire a new language is the fact that the addition of the new language will often disrupt the development of the first. This is problematic because the “reference language,” generally the home language that serves as a touch point for students to build linguistic facility off of, is not as developed as it otherwise would be, which inevitably slows down the speed of second language acquisition as well (Lucchini, 2005). The reference language is most commonly where the child has developed their “metalinguistic abilities” which can be defined as:

Des activités d'analyse et de contrôle de la langue que l'on parle, et elles permettent donc l'apprentissage et la stabilisation du/des nouveau(x) système(s) linguistique(s) sans la déstabilisation du/des premier(s), par des comparaisons contrastives et des traductions (Lucchini, 2005, p. 305-6).

Analytical activities and control over spoken language, they permit the learning and stabilization of new linguistic systems without destabilizing the first, through contrasting comparisons and translations (Lucchini, 2005)

With this definition in mind, the necessity of building upon the two languages of a nonnative speaker seems indisputable and highly beneficial for second language acquisition. However, the validation of both languages is rarely the case in the actual French classroom. Given the many languages spoken by immigrant students, it is nearly impossible for a single FLS teacher to provide bilingual instruction in both the students' home languages and French. As a result, the students are often pushed through the assimilation-oriented model, which soon stunts the continued development of their reference language and only leads to lower levels of language reflected through the use of restricted codes. This practice is not without consequences, as leaving the origin language unattended has been found to have impacts on the students' later literacy acquisition in French (Lucchini, 2005).

Though this issue may be somewhat remedied by a prolonged second language program with bilingual instruction, the strict limitations on FLS programming make such an initiative difficult to realize. Even though researchers have determined that French language learners need anywhere between two to eight years to catch up with their native peers and at least seven to develop academic language proficiency, actual programs rarely reflect the belief that language acquisition is a slow and prolonged process ("L'enseignement du Français Langue de Scolarisation", 2012). While experts have encouraged the UPE2A system to continue service throughout the entire four years of an FLS student's time in *collège*, these initiatives generally enroll students for just one year, and at most two. After that point, the students are transitioned out

of the program and fully integrated into the mainstream classroom, usually without any continued additional support, and also meaning that from that point on they will be regarded in an equal manner to every other student, including native French speaking peers (“L’enseignement du Français Langue de Scolarisation”, 2012; Davin-Chnane, 2006; Hamez, 2006). While the eventual transition of the student out of FLS services is always an end goal, doing so on a basis reflective of the individual progression and proficiency of each student may have better results than exiting every student after a standardized allotment of one year, regardless of how prepared they actually are to make that transition.

Ideal outcomes for students in FLS programs. The overall objective of FLS programming is for the newcomer student to adopt an academic and communicative mastery of the French language at a level that permits them to succeed in a mainstream classroom. They should be able to fully learn subject matter *in* French at this point and continue to learn about the French language through FLM courses like their native speaking peers (Davin-Chnane et al., 2003). In order to reach this point, students need to develop many basic skills within their time in the FLS program, including speaking, reading, writing, and counting in French (Davin-Chnane et al., 2003). Their knowledge of French should include a foundational understanding of syntax, vocabulary, phonics, and spelling (Davin-Chnane et al., 2003). They also need to have become proficient in listening, receiving, comprehending, and producing language (Davin-Chnane et al., 2003). All of these elements together should form a degree of proficiency in the French language overall. In an ideal situation, the year or so spent acquiring this linguistic base in the FLS class should make up for the many years of prior schooling in the French educational system that they missed out on (Davin-Chnane, 2004, 2006).

If a student has had a high-quality experience in the FLS program, they will ideally exit the program with a newfound linguistic capital. Having a knowledge of French is far from just a linguistic knowledge; it also represents a *savoir*, knowledge, a *savoir-faire*, know-how, and a *savoir-être*, or comportment (Davin-Chnane et al., 2003, p. 97). In other words, the foreign student is learning how to “be” French. Their proficiency in academic language will allow them to access a higher level of French culture accessible only by literature and language study in the FLM classroom. Access to these forms of cultural heritage, generally thought to be influential in forming ideal French citizens, will permit students to simultaneously gain a degree of cultural capital. Communicative proficiency will also allow students to begin building a social network with peers and teachers, eventually resulting in increased social capital. With these potential outcomes in mind, it is clear that the impact of a mastery of French extends much further beyond the school, and impacts FLS students’ entire life trajectory.

Language Statuses in the French School System

A brief history of language policy in France. Similar to the United States, the consolidation of France as a unified and independent nation was dependent on a monolingual framework. During the period of monarchial control in France, the *Ordinance of Villers-Cotterêts* in 1539 mandated that French would be the sole governing language of the monarchy (Costa & Lambert, 2009; Liddicoat & Taylor-Leech, 2005). Around two hundred years later, the French people were tired of the distant ruling of the monarchy and wanted a fairer representation for what they viewed as the common French people. The subsequent French Revolution in the late 1700s was thus a notable example of the impending standardization of French within the country (Costa & Lambert, 2009). During this tumultuous fight for political powers, different groups initially used

a variety of local languages in order to communicate with varying sectors of citizens (Costa & Lambert, 2009). However, the Reign of Terror, the period following the creation of the First French Republic in 1793, brought about a mandate for French to be used as the official language (Costa & Lambert, 2009). As the new governments tried to garner widespread and complete control, they viewed a uniform use of French as one of the primary ways to unify the people under the new French Republic (Costa & Lambert, 2009). With the Revolutionary objective of equality for all French citizens, the French language was viewed as a necessary tool for all citizens to use to access public services and participate in the local government (Liddicoat & Taylor-Leech, 2005). By 1794, legislation was passed banning languages other than French in official proceedings and documents (Costa & Lambert, 2009). From here on out, the predominance of the French language grew continuously stronger.

Several decades later, the French Third Republic was established in 1870. This new republic was responsible for several notable reforms to the nation's education system (Albertini, 2014). Prior to this point in time, French schools were present but largely unequal, with many more resources dedicated to private and Catholic schools for the economically and socially elite in cities, and hardly any resources allocated to the children of commoners in the countryside (Albertini, 2014). Additionally, almost all education was reserved for boys, with girls rarely benefitting from any sort of schooling besides domestic training. In the early 1880s, however, these issues were reversed by the infamous educational laws passed by Jules Ferry, the Minister of Public Instruction, declaring the French school system free, mandatory, and secular (Jacquet-Francillon, 2010). From this point on, all children would be attending school, regardless of location, familial background, or gender, and without the influence of religion (Albertini, 2014). The compulsory provision of schooling was put forth as a means to support the egalitarian focus of the Republic; if

all citizens were to be equal, they needed equal access to education, which would theoretically create a standard French and Republican identity (Liddicoat & Taylor-Leech, 2005). These laws also further advanced the French language agenda of creating a unified monolingual nation (Faupin, 2014). Schooling began to be viewed as the perfect means to perpetuate French as the standard language for generations to come (Hélot, 2003; Liddicoat & Taylor-Leech, 2005). While Jules Ferry's laws mandated a completely reformed national curriculum, they did not incorporate any mention of languages other than French (Jacquet-Francillon, 2010). With a heightened focus on spreading French to French natives, supporting the transition of any non-native speakers was not even in the realm of schools' concerns.

The problem with bilingualism and the varying statuses of foreign languages. The Third Republic was founded on the three core pillars of *liberté, égalité, fraternité*, or freedom, equality, and brotherhood. As far as language was concerned, the idea of equality became the major roadblock. In a republic that viewed all citizens as meriting equal advantages, there was no room to pursue equity in schools. In keeping with France's republican ideals, "the mainstay of its education system is that all children should be treated equally and that therefore no differentiation should be made according to social, religious, ethnic, or political background" (Helot & Young, 2002, p. 97). Bilingual students were acknowledged as holding additional intellectual skills, yet this status did not mark them as superior, or deserving of more resources, compared to their solely-French speaking peers.

The respect given to a bilingual as a master of two languages is also inherently determined by the status of the additional languages they speak. Educational authorities from the ministry of education use three primary categorizations for languages other than French presently spoken and

taught in the nation (Young & Helot, 2003). These three labels include *langues étrangères* or foreign languages, *langues regionals* or regional languages, and *langues d'origine*, meaning languages of origin (Young & Helot, 2003, p. 235).

- **Foreign languages:** European languages comprise the majority of languages included in this category, with a notable focus on English, Spanish, and German (Hélot, 2003). These languages are often included in the French public-school curriculum from as early as kindergarten through FLT, or teaching of foreign languages, programming. The heightened focus on the development of these languages in young children is primarily for economic reasons (Hélot, 2003). These languages are viewed as the key for navigating inter-European boundaries in the professional sphere (Hélot, 2003).
- **Regional languages:** Though the time period following the French Revolution saw an attempt to suppress regional French languages that were viewed as threatening to the predominance of French, recent school reforms have reemphasized the need to incorporate instruction of regional languages as a means of cultural preservation (Hélot, 2003). Regional languages are languages that were historically spoken in diverse locations within France, as well as variations of the French language itself, including Basque, Breton, Catalan, Corsican, Creole, and Occitan, among others (Hélot, 2003). They are still taught in certain French schools today, primarily through bilingual methods focused on helping students learn the regional language as a heritage language and form of local patrimony.

- **Languages of origin:** The least valued of the categories is this sector of languages which refers to those languages brought into France through immigration (Hélot, 2003). Their emergence in France was heightened during the twentieth century, and while this collection of languages initially came from mostly Europe and later Africa, they now include languages from all parts of the world, including Arabic, Turkish, Polish, and Portuguese (Hélot, 2003). Languages of origin are also commonly referred to as “migrant languages” (Hélot, 2003). Languages of origin are generally only present in schools within second language immersion programs. Instruction in these languages or of these languages is nearly nonexistent.

Each of these categories of languages is treated in dramatically different ways by the French education system, primarily because of prejudices attached to each in the larger French society (Hélot, 2003). While foreign and regional languages have exceeded to higher statuses in more recent years due to their close ties to economic progression and cultural protection, migrant languages still hold a drastically inferior status due to the minoritized populations that continue to use them (Hélot, 2004). There is a contrasting perspective in the utility in speaking these languages; while the French have come to view the acquisition of modern European languages as a means of “human capital development,” the teaching of immigrant languages seems to only be tied with the purpose maintaining a “national identity,” which has no place within the solidified French identity (Liddicoat & Taylor-Leech, 2005, p. 4). Much of the languages’ reputation is derived from the countries where these languages originated (Hélot, 2004). A large majority of immigrants to France came and continue to come from colonial territories that France once controlled (Hélot, 2004). The languages that these immigrants speak are thus tied to a conception

of a colonized and dominated country, which generally connotes an idea of political and economic struggle, lower educational backgrounds, and “less-refined” life styles (Hélot, 2004). With this underlying history beneath migrant languages, they are far from the status of modern foreign languages that are viewed by the French as promising economic potential.

Unfortunately, this biased view of certain languages extends to the way they are treated in the educational system. By not including immigrant languages in formal instruction, schools continuously devalue the perceived worth of these languages (Liddicoat & Taylor-Leech, 2005). While migrant languages may be acknowledged for some cultural value, they are rarely used as a means of instruction as “they are not thought to be suitably adapted to deal with the content of educational programs, reflecting ideologies are that some languages are less suited to the expression of modernity than others” (Liddicoat & Taylor-Leech, 2005, p. 5). The value given to a language is implicitly based off of the “social status of speakers and purity of language” (Liddicoat & Taylor-Leech, 2005). Not only is the language as a communicative system being judged here, but so too are the speakers who have no influence over the language system that they were born into. For an immigrant student entering a public school, the devaluation of their home language can be a disconcerting experience that leads to personal insecurity, and likely impacts their assimilation to French.

Incorporation of language into curriculum. The stigmas surrounding each sector of languages have direct impact on the way each set of languages is treated by the school system. Modern foreign languages, holding the highest status in the language hierarchy, are given the most attention in public schools. Instruction of foreign language is now mandated within the French primary school curriculum from as early as kindergarten, and always during the last two years of

primary school (Young & Helot, 2003). These classes are generally taught by certified classroom teachers, specialists, or native speakers (Young & Helot, 2003). Regional languages may also be taught as part of the foreign language curriculum, however, since the early 2000s, they have more frequently been taught through partial immersion bilingual programs, which designates half of the instruction to be taught in French, and the other half in the regional language (Young & Helot, 2003). Incorporation of languages of origin, on the contrary, is still relatively scarce at all levels of public education.

FLS as a distinct program. From a pedagogical perspective, FLS is thought to be situated between *français langue étrangère (FLE)*, or French as a foreign language, and *français langue maternelle (FLM)*, French as a mother/primary language (Davin-Chnane 2004, 2006). FLE is primarily taught to foreigners who wish to learn French as a second language (Davin-Chnane 2004, 2006). This type of instruction is different than that geared towards FLS students because people pursuing French solely as a second academic language do not need to develop the same level of communicative capacities as immigrant students that need to completely assimilate to their new French-driven society. On the other end of the spectrum, FLM is comprised of instruction on the French language designed for native French speaking students (Davin-Chnane 2004, 2006). The focus here is on literature and written culture and can be thought of as the equivalent to Language Arts or English courses in the United States (Davin-Chnane 2004, 2006). This context is also not appropriate for non-native students as they have not yet mastered a basic level of French that will allow them access to a higher level of academic language. In relation to these other two models, FLS is for students that have recently arrived in France, and who do not yet speak French fluently. Adoption of the French language is necessary for their survival in the school system. The objective

for these students is to master the French language in all aspects; not only do they need to acquire an understanding of the language used in academic settings, they also need to adopt French styles of communication and all around proficiency of language that will allow them to access higher levels of culture.

FLS as an assimilationist model. The schools' focus on immediate integration of immigrant students is reflective of the French nation's overall approach to immigration, in which each immigrant is greeted only with French upon arriving in the country and has no choice but to quickly assimilate if they want to succeed (Davin-Chnane 2004). Likewise, an incoming student is provided with around three to five hours of FLS instruction during the week but is otherwise thrown into mainstream French classrooms from the start, regardless of their actual level of French proficiency.

Though this manner of integration may seem extreme, support for rapid assimilation is not uncommon among the French. Many educational professionals believe that "a monolingual medium-of-instruction (MOI) policy will equip students best for local labour markets and provide equal access to opportunity. Testing as a form of language policy is also evident as proficiency in the national standard language is increasingly being stipulated as a requirement for citizenship" (Liddicoat & Taylor-Leech, 2005, p. 6). This notion of monolingualism is quite complex for on one end, supporters of this ideology are considering what practices may realistically be most useful for an immigrant's potential for success and ascension in the French society. The problem, however, is that this same ideology implies that in order to do this, the immigrant must also shed their original identity to conform to the French system, and only then does he have an opportunity for success.

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To summarize, France is a nation steeped in a long history of fighting for one equally shared identity. At the core of the French identity is the French language, which has long been viewed as the most effective force in unifying residents of France and creating French citizens. The school system has long been a transmitter of shared language and cultural values, and still today is thought of the place of assimilation for incoming immigrant students. With this ideology as a basis, the French have approached language instruction for immigrant students in a way that protects their monolingual nation. Incoming students are expected to rapidly transition into the mainstream school. Upon arriving at school, these students are placed in normal classes with French speaking peers, regardless of their actual proficiency level in France. The newest second language initiative, the UPE2A team, supplements this immersion with a year's worth of second language instruction for several hours a week. By virtue of this programming, immigrant students are expected to quickly shed their origin languages and adopt French communication styles. In the end, their potential for success in the French school system and French society is dependent on their quick assimilation and adaptation to French culture and acquisition of higher degrees of capital, both linguistic, cultural, and social.

Moving forward, this chapter will serve as a parallel contextual background to that of the U.S. Chapter 5 examines the outcomes of both U.S. and French programs, drawing on the backgrounds and structures of each country's approach as established in these preliminary chapters. Without an understanding of the day to day formatting of these programs, and the reasons why they were designed as so, the merit of certain practices cannot be evaluated.

Chapter 5: Second Language Instruction in Action

With the preceding background of language ideology and second language instruction programming in both the U.S. and France, we can now look at how these frameworks play out on a day to day basis, and what outcomes they generate. Though each country seems to have a rather uniform view of bilingualism and its place in the school, as well as relatively standardized models of second language instruction, every school within each country will inevitably have some variability, and the objectives of the country as a whole may not always be played out. To gather a better idea of the efficacy of these programs in action, I will present findings from several qualitative studies performed in both the U.S. and France. Each of these studies was conducted through interviews and observations in second language classrooms across a wide variety of schools in each country. Though they all share a focus on second language instruction, their interests within this particular realm were different. While some were interested in second language students' integration within the mainstream classroom, others concentrated more on teachers' perspectives of the inclusion of this group of students. In addition to these studies, I will also be incorporating information gathered through my own observations in two second language programs, one in the U.S. and one in France, which I will detail more thoroughly later in the chapter. By surveying the findings of each of these studies and my own observations, and then thematically analyzing them altogether, I will discuss the outcomes of second language initiatives regarding several different sectors of immigrant students' school experience.

Overview of the Collection of Studies

For the purpose of this chapter, I chose to focus on the findings of four different qualitative studies. Given that second language programs are rising in public interest in both countries due to

the ever-increasing numbers of immigrants, there were ample studies from which to choose. These four studies in particular caught my attention, however, as they each worked first hand with the students, teachers, and administrators involved in second language instruction. Unlike a study that may be drawing conclusions from standardized tests or academic records, these studies demonstrated the real-life outcomes of these programs at a human level. To truly be able to assess the efficacy of second language instructional programs, it is important to not only analyze the statistical outcomes, but also to consider the lived experiences of people involved in these initiatives, and their own perspectives on the daily running of these programs. This was an objective I also tried to achieve through my own fieldwork for this project. Though I visited both schools with an understanding of how their second language programs were structured, and the broader societal context they were mired within, I remained open to the varying perspectives and realities of the program participants who had a much more intimate understanding of the day to day facilitation of these programs than I could ever hope to. Before diving into the results of these studies, I will give a brief overview of each project, with mention of the researchers' methods of data collection, as well as their primary objectives in completing the study.

- **“Récits d’expérience d’élèves allophones en classe ordinaire au collège en France : entre intériorisation douloureuse de la norme scolaire et rejet de son identité,” Delphine Guedat-Bittighoffer, 2014:** Guedat-Bittighoffer’s (2014) study focused on FLS students’ integration into mainstream French classrooms. Her data was collected in four different “classes d’accueil”, within four different collèges located in Créteil, Grenoble, Nantes, and Toulouse (Guedat-Bittighoffer, 2014). She conducted observations and semi-

directed interviews with 27 total FLS students – 21 that were still in the program, and 6 who had already transitioned out (Guedat-Bittighoffer, 2014).

- **“Les élèves nouvellement arrivés au collège en France : prendre la parole en classe lorsque l’on débute en français. Analyse des interactions didactiques pour les élèves en immersion,” Elisabeth Faupin, 2014:** Faupin’s (2014) study includes data from 20 different collèges in France and recordings of over 50 hours of class sessions. Faupin’s (2014) main focus was on the verbal interactions of FLS students in the regular classroom, and especially their tendency to participate in exchanges with their teachers.
- **“Feeling the stress and strain – race, economics, and the educational experiences of Latinx emergent bilinguals in a ‘new’ destination school,” Bailey Smolarek, 2018:** Smolarek (2018) performed her ethnographic study at a high-school in a small Wisconsin city. Her findings were primarily generated through artifact data, participant observations, and semi-structured interviews with a mixture of students, teachers, and administrators (Smolarek, 2018). Smolarek’s (2018) main focus is on the racial aggressions that English language learners are subjected to by both peers and teachers.
- **“‘Like everybody else’: Equalizing educational opportunity for English language learners,” Jenelle Reeves, 2004:** For a year, Reeves (2004) studied four different inclusive classrooms in a high school located in a suburb of a southeastern city in the U.S. She collected her data through a compilation of interviews, observations, field notes, and document collection, primarily working to examine “secondary teachers’ attitudes and

perceptions of the inclusion of ELLs in mainstream, English-medium classes” (Reeves, 2004, p. 48).

- During the fall semester of 2018 I returned to Eichhorn Middle School in Lewisburg, PA to shadow the school’s ESL teacher. I had worked with this woman in the past during a semester long placement the year before as a requirement for an education course I had taken at Bucknell. When I returned for a day this fall, I observed several of her push-in and pull-out ESL services, and also had the chance to informally interview her regarding her perspective on the school’s ESL programming.
- In February of 2019, I traveled to Tours, France on an exploratory travel grant. There I had arranged to visit a local middle school, Collège Anatole France, that delivered FLS services through a UPE2A team. For a week, I observed separate pull-out FLS classes as well as around ten other academic classrooms that FLS students were mainstreamed in. I also had the chance to speak extensively with the FLS teacher about the framework of the school’s initiative and her thoughts on the program.

Considered together, the results of these studies demonstrate the efficacy of second language initiatives in general and highlight critical factors that need to be examined further within the lens of social reproduction.

Results of Second Language Programming

Students in second language support classrooms. Students' experiences in second language classrooms were positively regarded, especially in France. In both Faupin (2014) and Guedat-Bittighoffer's (2014) studies, and through my own observations in France, it became clear that the FLS classroom is regarded as a haven for allophone students and a family-like source of support. Here, the non-francophone students are encouraged to speak and participate often in class (Faupin, 2014). FLS teachers consider it to be their responsibility to teach the students communicative skills so that they can participate in general classroom interactions once fully mainstreamed (Faupin, 2014). During the FLS class, students also feel comfortable taking risks and potentially making errors when speaking (Guedat-Bittighoffer, 2014). They know that the other students in the class are also learning the language, and thus feel protected from judgement (Guedat-Bittighoffer, 2014). FLS teachers' attitudes also lend to this security, as they are more likely to be open to students' sharing about their past educational experiences and knowledge conveyed in their home language (Faupin, 2014, p. 46)

Process of mainstreaming. Though language learner students are often participatory and enthusiastic in their language support classrooms, this is rarely the case in regular classes. When the students transition out of second-language services, they often feel a sense of disruption between the welcoming language support classroom they became used to, and the normal classroom where their home languages are strictly forbidden and every word they speak is a potential source of mockery (Guedat-Bittighoffer, 2014; Faupin, 2014). Inclusion in mainstream classes also demands higher order use of the new language (Faupin, 2014). Unlike an FLS or ELS classroom, the focus in regular classes is not on basic communicative language (Faupin, 2014).

Rather, students are now expected to utilize academic language that they should not only be able to produce orally, but also through writing and reading (Faupin, 2014). The language learner's task then becomes two-fold; not only do they need to grasp the material that the instructor is teaching, but they also need to decipher the language that the teacher is using to explain it.

While transitioning out of second language services is often a complex and troublesome period for the student, the actual process of mainstreaming a student is quite straightforward. After a student has reached an appropriate degree of proficiency, as demonstrated through either a proficiency exam, or once they have expired the allotted duration of services, the students will no longer be pulled out of the classroom during the day for language classes, and will rather be enrolled in a normal class schedule similar to that of their peers. The ESL teacher at Eichhorn middle school described the transition period as a monitoring process. After her students reach a certain level of proficiency, they are exited to the main classroom. She continues to monitor their progress to ensure that they do not relapse, but no longer provides any additional services. All of the French sources state that a student will likewise receive no supplemental help after they have left the program, however at Collège Anatole France, students who had exited the FLS program were still incorporated in weekly review sessions for certain subject areas, and were given modified exams within those periods as well.

Students in the mainstream classroom. Second language students come face to face with many difficulties once they've entered into the domain of regular academic classrooms. To begin, these students are subject to many tests throughout the school year (Smolarek, 2018). Before being exited from the second language program, the students will almost always have to pass some form of annual language proficiency tests, which will mostly likely be the ACCESS English language

proficiency assessment used by the majority of U.S. states, or the *Diplôme d'Etudes en Langue Française*, (DELF), or Diploma in French language studies, exam in France. Once in the regular classroom, the frequent testing does not end. In Smolarek's (2018) study, she found that the ESL students were required to take an exit exam at the end of each course, just like their English-speaking counterparts, that tested their proficiency within the general English curriculum. These exams, on top of state standardized tests that also had to be prepared for, created an atmosphere of tension (Smolarek, 2018). The students' scores on the exit exams were used to "track student progress, supervise teachers, and prepare for federal and state standardized assessment" (Smolarek, 2018, p. 11). The high stakes put on the test results led to inordinate amounts of time preparing these students for the exams, most often by teaching to the test (Smolarek, 2018).

Beyond the pressure derived from the test-driven school environment, second language students have to deal with the stress coming from conflicts in their daily schedules. While the ESL program at Eichhorn Middle School scheduled ESL classes during times that were not otherwise reserved for academic classes, the FLS program at Collège Anatole France was full of scheduling difficulties. There, the FLS classes were always during the time slot of another academic class that the students would inevitably be missing for the day, meaning that each week they were likely to miss at least one class session of each academic area. They were constantly behind, having to be distributed papers and handouts at the start of each class that the rest of the students had already received, and were also often confused during activities and assignments that required them to draw off of information that was discussed during a lesson that they had missed. In the view of the FLS teacher at Collège Anatole France, this faulty scheduling of the FLS program was what she considered to be its most negative attribute.

Regardless of how often they are in class, second language students are expected to quickly adapt to classroom expectations. While this proved to be relevant in the U.S. where I saw ESL students at Eicchorn Middle School translating how to get a drink of water, or labels on basic classroom objects that gave directions, it was even more so in France. A common resource for FLS students were handmaid dictionaries that were filled with French vocabulary that the students would encounter not only in the program's curriculum, but throughout their time in the school. A whole section of the dictionary was dedicated to classroom and school rules and gave several phrases that students may use to obtain permission for daily actions in the school setting. With this direct means of behavioral instruction, it was clear that the schools expected the students to quickly learn to operate like any other student in the classroom.

In France, this may have been even more so the case than in the U.S. According to Faupin (2014), the regular French classroom is a space of silent concentration on the teacher's instruction. This expectation is generally only broken by the teacher, who will incorporate students into instruction as a type of pedagogical technique (Faupin, 2014). When the teacher poses a question to a student of their choosing and waits for a response, they are symbolizing the hierarchical structure of the classroom (Faupin, 2014). To maintain this order, the student is expected to respond quickly. For the FLS student, however, this process is not quite so simple, and the teacher's question will often be met with a period of silence or an incorrect answer (Faupin, 2014). For the FLS student, this occurrence is disheartening, and the shame they feel towards not being able to answer deeply effects their motivation to willingly participate in the future (Faupin, 2014). For the other students in the class, the error of the FLS student is the perfect opportunity to jump in and provide the correct answer (Faupin, 2014). Faupin (2014) explains that this sense of time pressure, in which the FLS student must answer the question quickly and accurately before any

other student, renders the process even more detrimental. With this structure, the FLS students are rarely provided the temporal space to interpret and reflect on the question and go through the prolonged process of accessing the knowledge coded in their home language and translating it to the second (Faupin, 2014). Being a very common classroom practice, we can see that often times the regular classroom procedures are not inclusive of the particular learning strategies of second language students who are included in the class.

Regular teachers' perspective. In all of the schools included in this overview, none of them had teachers outside of the second language programs with any sort of certification or background in working with language learner students. Regardless of their preparation, however, main classroom teachers did work with second language students in every school as part of inclusion-oriented initiatives. Their perspectives towards working with these students, and the degree to which they accommodated them within the classroom, varied greatly by school.

At both Collège Anatole France and Eichhorn Middle School, the main language support teachers emphasized their colleagues' willingness to work with the second language students mainstreamed into their classrooms. At Collège Anatole France, the FLS teacher was often approached by classroom teachers who wanted to discuss their FLS students' performances or were looking to talk about potential modifications with the FLS teacher. At Eichhorn Middle School, the ESL teacher described similar interactions in which other teachers would often approach her asking for advice on their adaptations and the degree to which they were appropriate for the students. Though she knew that many of the teachers often struggled with knowing how to adapt their instruction, she appreciated the small changes they made to their practices and their willingness to work with her to better reach their students.

Reeves (2004) focused primarily on teachers' views on the inclusion of ESL students in the regular academic classroom throughout her study and came up with slightly different results. Of the various school personnel that she interviewed, most shared the belief that rapid immersion was necessary for ELLs' academic success (Reeves, 2004). They also largely believed that the best way to support the possibility for these students' success was to hold them to the same standards as all other students (Reeves, 2004). They were generally opposed to most forms of accommodations, and subscribed to the notion of "universalism," in which all students receive only the same benefits as the rest of their peers and nothing more (Reeves, 2004). One of the teachers stated that he viewed his responsibility as these students' teacher as being to prepare them for the real world. In his view, these students would receive no special accommodations because of their language once they left school, so dealing with this tough reality was something that he thought they should learn to do now. While the other teachers shared the belief that equal treatment was of utmost importance and the main driver behind quick English acquisition, they more often felt empathetic towards the ELLs in their classes. For most of these teachers, and most likely for many of the teachers included in this collection of studies at large, "equalizing educational opportunities for limited-English-speaking students frustrated the teachers who had limited experience with ELLs, no training to do work with ELLs, and little guidance from the school administration in dealing with language difference" (Reeves, 2004, p. 58).

Regular curriculum differentiation. As presented by Reeves (2004), accommodations can be categorized into three categories:

- **Procedural:** At this lowest level of modification, the teacher will “modify the procedures of the classroom and include extending due dates or allowing ELLs the use of L1-English dictionaries” (p. 59).
- **Instructional:** These modifications are a bit more involved, as the teacher will “modify the delivery of the content and include altering speech or texts for comprehensibility by, for example, slowing the rate of speech or adapting of supplementing texts” (p. 59).
- **Curricular:** At this highest level of modifications, the teacher will make “modifications to the curriculum and include lessening the amount of coursework or simplifying the complexity of coursework” (p. 59).

As mentioned earlier, the teachers with whom Reeves (2004) worked were mostly supportive of universalism when approaching students with additional needs like ELLs. Each of the teachers did incorporate some degree of modification for ELLs within their classroom, though this was often done begrudgingly and at solely the procedural level (Reeves, 2004). The most common modifications made were allowing ELLs extra time on an assignment or assessment, as well as the use of an English dictionary to help in completing assignments (Reeves, 2004). These modifications are both procedural and are still reflective of the teachers’ ideals of equal treatment, because although the process for completing the work is a bit different, in the end, the students are still expected to complete the *same* work as their classmates (Reeves, 2004). A few of these teachers did incorporate other types of accommodations that fell into the higher degrees of instructional and curricular change (Reeves, 2004). Some of these included modifying the

language used on assignments and exams and weighting graded work by ELLs on a lower scale than that of other students (Reeves, 2004).

The FLS program at Collège Anatole France was working to incorporate more points of service within their model. Currently, all FLS students in their last year at the *collège* were enrolled in an additional review session for both math and history/geography that met once a week to break down and review the content that had been covered in the main classroom during that week's lessons. These sessions also served as a separate testing space, where students more extensively prepared before exams, and also received modified versions of assessments. The main purpose of these classes was to bolster the FLS students' content knowledge in these areas before they would take the exit exam at the end of the year. The FLS teacher shared that she was hoping that the school would also begin to run these review sessions for other academic content areas, as well as provide them for all grade levels. Throughout my week at the school, I also observed several instances of differentiation in which teachers would rephrase to clarify vocabulary for the FLS students, and one notable French class where the teacher made modifications to a quiz by reading it aloud, and also abbreviating the amount of questions that the FLS students were expected to answer.

At Eichhorn Middle School, the ESL teacher shared that most of her colleagues were eager to find ways to support ELLs in their classrooms. She quoted translating content, usage of visuals, and the incorporation of videos to be strong examples of differentiation for ELLs in the classroom. This school's ESL program also allowed for additional aid for these students. During a daily midday pull-out session for both ELLs and students with special needs, the students had extra time with the ESL teacher and other paraprofessionals to go over homework and receive extra help. The

ESL teacher also co-taught an English class for the sixth grade, so ELLs in that class also benefited from separate testing in which their tests were read aloud and at a slower rate.

Academic performance. Every source reflected on the second language students' academic difficulties in the mainstream classrooms. In talking about allophone students, Guedat-Bittighoffer (2014) cited the "academic failure of many of these pupils within the French school system" (p. 1). Though the FLS students' academic records were never disclosed to me at Collège Anatole France, I did observe several occasions where the students were harried over grades. In one French class, two of the FLS students had received poor marks, one being given an F and the other left with a comment stating that his work was ungradable. Another group of younger students also approached the FLS teacher stating that none of them had understood their recent homework assignment and did not know how to complete it. Faupin (2014) similarly notes having interacted with FLS students that often judged the school work that was expected of them to be much too difficult, and the reason behind their poor grades.

The real mediator of these students' performance is rather their proficiency in the language of instruction. Without an understanding of the language used to deliver the instruction, the academic content remains inaccessible to these students. At this point in the acquisition process, "traditional assessment procedures failed to accurately represent ELLs' content knowledge," an equal phenomenon to that of France (Reeves, 2004, p. 59).

Students' social integration. Second language students' social integration in both countries was heavily tied to the way their presence was perceived in regular classes. In France, most students described participation in regular classroom discussions as major points of stress

(Faupin 2014; Guedat-Bittighoffer, 2014). Beyond the frustration of not being able to respond to the professor, the students also noted the shame they derived from the judgement of their peers (Faupin 2014; Guedat-Bittighoffer, 2014). Often times an error made by an FLS student would result in laughter throughout the class, or students complaining that the FLS student obviously did not understand the prompt. With this common reaction to their attempts at participation, the FLS students come to expect this form of mockery each time they speak, and thus avoid it (Faupin 2014; Guedat-Bittighoffer, 2014). Students also stated that they desperately wanted to learn French quicker, as they thought this would make integration in with their French peers much easier (Guedat-Bittighoffer, 2014).

Students in Smolarek's (2018) study disclosed similar negative experiences with their native speaking peers. They reported instances of bullying that often centered around "speaking Spanish, being immigrants, or attending ELL classes" (Smolarek, 2018, p. 12). Smolarek (2018) labeled these acts of bullying as "racial microaggressions," which she defined as taking "many different forms ranging from assumptions about a person's intelligence, social class, nationality, or language to denying the role of race in a person's life experiences" (p. 13). Often times, these aggressions were implicitly tied to the deficit view that many students and even some teachers held of the ELLs, which equated their second language or immigrant status with automatically lower levels of intelligence (Smolarek, 2018).

Though the second language students were in many ways distanced from their native speaking peers, other forms of social integration appeared in each country, though maybe not in the way that was most desired by the assimilationist model. In Eichhorn Middle School, the ESL teacher talked about how immigrant students coming to this school often transitioned quite easily, mostly due to the fact that the majority of immigrants to the area come from Puerto Rico, and often

live in nearby neighborhoods. For that reason, newly arriving ESL students already have a built-in social system when they arrive at the school.

At Collège Anatole France, the students in the FLS program formed a similar support system for one another. Though grouped together by necessity in the FLS classroom, these students seemed to stick together in the regular classrooms as well, as they would often sit near each other, partner up for activities, and confer with the others about grades or questions.

These groups provide an immediate sense of ease for the new students, but do not necessarily advance their second language acquisition. When the students are able to fall back on using Spanish, or a different origin language, it provides a brief moment of security and clarification. However, the tendency to rely on this means of communication can hinder the student's further language acquisition, as they will not be conversing as often in the second language, notably because they will find it harder to branch out to native speaking peers.

Students' self-concept. As second language students become aware of the ways in which they are noticeably different from their peers, they adapt a "normative consciousness," meaning that they come to base their own perception of self on how well they fit the norm of a native-speaking student at their school (Guedat-Bittighoffer, 2014, p. 1). This conception of an "archetype" is based off markers of language, race, and ethnicity (Smolarek, 2018). Second language students most often see themselves falling short of this ideal where language is concerned. With their home languages being prohibited in regular classrooms, and verbal errors a common source of teasing by their peers, these students often develop a negative perception of their own second language proficiency, but also a negative view of their own linguistic identity (Guedat-Bittighoffer, 2014). With the difficulties provoked above by the first languages of the

students, in addition to the fact that the first language often also feels like an obstacle that holds them back when trying to learn a new language, students will often try to shed their first language (Guedat-Bittighoffer, 2014). Guedat-Bittighoffer's (2014) interviews were revelatory of this concept, as several students expressed to her their desire to completely forget their past language, a process that they would try to speed along by only speaking to themselves internally in French, rather than their home language. The students viewed their departure from the home language as the pivotal point that would allow them to better acquire the new language, and also to be finally accepted by their native peers. Students in Smolarek's (2018) study expressed similar intentions, leading her to conclude that "some of the Spanish-speaking students internalized this deficit positioning by rejecting the Spanish language. Unfortunately, immigrant students' 'dismissal' of their native language is not unusual. Many times the desire to assimilate outweighs the desire to preserve the family language" (p. 14). At Collège Anatole France, I also witnessed an interesting example of identity reconsolidation when one of the FLS boys from Portugal introduced himself to me as "Henri" instead of using his real name "Henrique". The FLS teacher was quick to ask why he had called himself by a different name, and later told me that she believed his adoption of the shortened "Henri" was an attempt to sound more French. All of these examples demonstrate a notable drawback of assimilationist second language programs, which is that "pour s'intégrer au sein de la classe ordinaire, [l'élève allophone] doit abandonner sa langue, sa culture d'origine et par conséquent son identité," meaning that "to integrate into the regular class, [the allophone student] must abandon his language, his culture of origin, and therefore his identity" (Guedat-Bittighoffer, 2014, p. 8).

Later academic paths. Nearly all of the studies mentioned expectations for the academic futures of these students. Most school personnel were realistic in their expectations for their students' academic trajectories and noted certain obstacles that would complicate them further. Guedat-Bittighoffer (2014) states that "the majority of allophone students do not obtain the French General Certificate of Secondary Education and they are almost systematically oriented towards vocational fields" (p. 1). With this common occurrence, it is unsurprising that there is an overabundance of immigrant students in professional and technical high school tracks, with very few pursuing general studies. This was a phenomenon also discussed during my fieldwork in France. There, the FLS teacher shared that though there were no statistics kept regarding the academic path taken by each FLS student, she knew that the majority of her past students went on to professional high schools or on to pursue the *Certificat d'aptitude professionnelle*, or Certificate of Professional Competences, which are the two lowest secondary tracks. This *collège* in particular had an elaborate system for deciding a student's path after finishing their four years and passing the exit exam. Each student would meet with school administrators, teachers, and parents to discuss their options for the next year. All involved people were able to have an input on where the student would be placed. Every student would also have a record with the *collège* that had a point total representing their academic performance over the past four years. For FLS students, this point system often reflected the poor grades and unmarked assignments they received during their first year or so in the program, making it much harder for them to gain a coveted spot in a technological or general studies high school. These more highly regarded high schools streamlined their students through equally valued Baccalaureates, equivalents to high school diplomas, yet more specialized, and into higher education at universities. This academic trajectory was almost completely cut off

to FLS students who had little chance of making it through the first step of being admitted into a better high school.

Reeves (2004) noted a similar phenomenon in her study in which the ESL students were greatly impeded from accessing higher education because of the high school's tracking system. This high school utilized a system of grade modification for students with additional needs, like those in the ESL program, in which they would receive a higher grade than they might otherwise have given that their special circumstances were taken into consideration (Reeves, 2004). While this initiative was positive in the fact that it accepted the fact that ESL students should not realistically be expected to perform at the same level as their English-speaking peers, it proved to have long-lasting ramifications. The modified grade meant that "a student who received A- (M) could be assumed to have completed less work or less rigorous work than a student who received an A-" (Reeves, 2004, p. 50). A stigma thus became equated with modified grades, which "placed ELLs solidly in the nonacademic track because students with M grades were considered to be unprepared for the challenging curriculum of college preparatory classes" (Reeves, 2004, p. 50). Without the college prep. classes, ELL's potential for later college acceptance was diminished (Reeves, 2004).

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In comparing the two nations, several differences arise. While language learners in both countries were often ostracized and mocked by classmates, this form of teasing in France was more concerned with the language identity and errors of immigrant students, while in the United States, immigrant students were more often faced with overt racism. With this difference, newcomers in France feel more pressure and motivation to lose their origin language and identity. This may have

roots in the fact that the French nation is less accepting of diverse identities and maintains a strict definition of what it means to “be French,” while relegating minority students to disadvantaged areas. In the U.S., immigrant students reported less desire to assimilate to the typical American identity, due to the fact that the country exhibited more acceptance of diversity in the larger society, and the definition of the American identity is more open and shaped in various cultural spaces.

A major takeaway from this chapter is that while certain second language instruction models, like that of the assimilationist model heavily portrayed in these studies, may include benefits like rapid language acquisition and integration into the regular classroom setting, they may come at the cost of a language learner’s lowered self-concept or a steep learning curve with poor grades when first mainstreamed. Thus, when considering the influence that second language programs have on language learner students’ later social mobility, it is necessary to view the wide array of confounding variables beyond language that are influencing the student. Even if a student quickly learns a second language, this may not guarantee later social ascension, as other factors like lowered self-concept and limited social connections may be simultaneously holding them back. Can the educational system of either country really then be the driving force that helps disadvantaged students overcome obstacles and obtain an equal opportunity for success? Or is the school system in itself an institutional perpetuator of social reproduction? To both answer these questions and conclude my thesis, I will spend the final chapter analyzing the many aspects of second language programs that have an influence on students’ educational experience through a social reproduction lens.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

After considering the day to day implementation of second language programming, its influence on immigrant students' educational experiences has become increasingly apparent. Though most second language support frameworks are based on assimilating students to the dominant language, culture, and overall society with the intent to increase a student's potential for academic success, this is not always the outcome.

Weighing the pros and cons of any second language program, it becomes increasingly evident that there is no one framework that is uniformly regarded as the best. As seen in the historical ideologies that were behind the creation of second language programs, and today in the variation of teachers' perspectives on the integration of second language learners into their classrooms, it is clear that the purpose of second language instruction is perceived differently for most people involved. For the purpose of demonstrating what features of second language programs have more or less positive effects, however, the remainder of this chapter will attempt to determine what components of a second language framework would be most effective in guiding initiatives in the future.

Second Language Instruction's Influence on Social Mobility and the Cycle of Social Reproduction

Though I originally came to this project looking to see how the acquisition of linguistic capital may enhance the social mobility of immigrant students in new societies and thus facilitate their escape from the cycle of social reproduction, I found no such clear cut findings, and rather many more contributing factors to the puzzle of social reproduction and an immigrant child's social mobility.

As expected, language is one of the most complex factors relating to social mobility and capital. Gaining proficiency in a second language is a time-intensive process that often is not as straight-forward as expected. While research in both the U.S. and France has proven that the acquisition of either of these languages often takes between at least two and as many as eight years, this knowledge is not reflected in the most common frameworks of second language instruction in either of these two countries. Rather, second language services are often limited to a year or two, and continued aid past that point is stretched thin. If the school's goal is truly to create a larger potential for academic success and the possibility of later social mobility for these students, is this framework really supporting that objective? With social reproduction theory in mind, the answer would most likely be no, considering that the depth of a one-year intensive study of language will almost never match the quality of a prolonged bilingual approach to language learning. Though the second language immigrant students may have a better understanding of the dominant language than their parents or members of other generations before them, their level of proficiency is likely to still not be at the necessary standard for succession to higher academic tracks and more selective higher educational opportunities. If the school really wanted to make these possibilities attainable for the second language students, they would ideally consider the research supporting bilingual instruction and incorporate those initiatives into their programs.

In a similar manner, we have uncovered the fact that language proficiency is not equally attained in all areas. For second language students, conversational and social language are generally picked up quickly, which may cloud the fact that their underlying comprehension is still weak. When these students leave the second language program for the mainstream classroom, their perceived proficiency often falls short of the degree of academic language usage that is expected of them. The coded language of each individual subject areas proves to be a continuous challenge,

as students are often still working to simply deconstruct the directions given by the teacher, let alone the vocabulary discussed in the lesson. The weakness in these higher levels of language can prove problematic for grades, standardized tests, and class placements. Students often end up performing much lower than they would have in their home country, because even though they may have the knowledge base, the language that they must use to express it is not yet there.

As demonstrated through several of the studies that focused on the tracking of second language students, this unequal access to course content and inaccurate assessment and grading commonly has continuing effects on the students' academic trajectory (Reeves, 2004). In France particularly this was an issue given that a student's future education was heavily influenced by their performance during middle school. With such early moments of decision in one's school career, it is easy to start down a path that will later be limiting. Though not impossible to eventually reach a more prestigious level of education, starting in the lowest tracks, as is the case for many FLS students, renders the whole process of education much more circuitous and effortful, adding to the already trying nature of navigating a foreign education system.

Many other factors were also unearthed that were primarily situated outside of the school setting, yet that nevertheless had an impact on students' educational experience. Students who come to either country as unaccompanied minors seeking further education, or those coming with their families as refugees are faced with a whole other level of adversity. With insecure living and even legal arrangements, the preoccupation over one's basic safety can make concentrating on language acquisition difficult for students in this situation.

At home, second language learners also likely live with and around other people who continue to speak origin languages. Though this social milieu may help to maintain a student's language of origin, it does little to advance the acquisition of the new language. Though the second

language is modeled constantly at school, exposure to this language may be completely cut off once the child returns home and is surrounded by family, friends, and neighbors communicating in other languages. This inconsistency between the home and school environments can further complicate language acquisition, while also limiting the student's role models that are dominant language speakers solely to the those found in the school environment.

As discussed earlier, second language programs are often found in areas of concentrated poverty where immigrant families tend to live (Cook et al., 2011). With the inadequate resources populating these areas, notably in terms of the financial funding of the local schools, another hindrance pops up. When students come from a disadvantaged background, a well-founded and organized school can ideally aid in enriching the lives of these students. Yet with the reality of funding distribution and the allocation of teachers, second language students are often subject to less than equal school environments.

Connecting to this idea of who the second language student is surrounded by in varying contexts is the broad question of the second language students' degree of social capital. As shown in the findings of the qualitative studies in Chapter 5, second language students named interactions with both teachers and peers in class as major sources of stress. Though not necessarily intentional, both school administrators and other students were perpetrators of bias and deficit views of immigrant students. Given that second language students rarely felt a sense of validation, support, or even respect from these people, immigrant students' social networks were largely composed of other immigrants and non-native language speakers who are likely to have similar degrees of access and capital.

A final idea that was commonly discussed, but that I did not necessarily expect, was the concept of what "being French" or "being American" truly meant. How do we define either a true

French person or a true American? Can one become French or American, or is this an identity that one is born with? If one does assume this identity, are they still viewed as equal to other citizens? And if a newcomer never truly conforms to this identity, can they still access services in each society and potentially succeed?

By the end of this study, I came to realize that the idea of “being” a certain identity might be a key factor in social reproduction. While language did of course prove to be influential, there were so many other identities that these students held that impacted their access to different forms of capital and opportunity. These other identities were implicitly shown in the students’ physical appearances, the clothes they wore, their accents, and even their own names. Though a student may learn to speak their second language, the fact that they still represent this foreign identity may constantly pit them against prejudice, rendering the process of social mobility much less feasible.

Implications for the Future of Second Language Programming

In considering the significance of this project, I want it to serve as a generation of ideas about what is and is not going well in our society’s approach to second language education, and our support of immigrant students and families wherever they end up. One of the most important types of change needed to address this issue is promoting a shift in mentality regarding second language learners and immigrant students. Though this population of students is steadily increasing in both the U.S. and France, it seems as if their needs are often pushed to the side. In part, I think this may be because monolingual residents of each of these countries have a hard time understanding the complexity of these students. In the urge to protect and standardize the dominance of a sole language in both nations, insight into the actual benefits of bilingualism has been lost. As discussed earlier, languages are commonly viewed as distinctive systems and are all

too often tied to particular identities. If we can shift our view to a more inclusive and global perspective of all languages as just one large system of communication, we may be able to find more space and consideration for plurilingual students in schools.

Similarly, respect needs to be given to the students' native languages and the cultural identities they represent. Schools can do this through "full support for the language development (in English and in the home language)" of language learners (Olsen, 1997, p. 252). A student who feels valued rather than ostracized for her predisposed use of another language is much more likely to successfully integrate into the new school system. With this idea is the fact that a student's native language serves as a strong foundation for the acquisition of a second language, as the connections made between the two languages can push the student's knowledge of the second language to a much deeper level. In addition to language, teachers can help students "in affirming their broad identities, in claiming the multiple human dimensions of their heritages, languages, and cultures" (Olsen, 1997, p. 252).

Additionally, work needs to be done surrounding the deficit view of second language learners. As demonstrated in both the contexts of the U.S. and France, immigrant languages are often tied to ethnic stereotypes and biases that encourage a demeaning view of the speakers of those languages. Students coming to each of these countries are not ignorant, and in fact, they generally are just as linguistically proficient and academically capable as their new peers – the only difference is that their language skills and academic knowledge are stored through a different language system. Second language students do not have special needs, in terms of intellectual functioning. What they do have, however, are needs for specialized instruction and adaptations that will help them to access the material presented to them and better demonstrate what they already know.

Though the previous suggestions are direly important, they are less concrete by nature. At a more practical level, we need to see reform at all societal levels. Individual teachers and schools cannot be left solely responsible for remedying this situation, and rather, “the courts or federal government need to specify responsibility for providing access and set up monitoring and compliance apparatus” (Olsen, 1997, p. 246). This, along with continuous reform and legislation guaranteeing, as well as further structuring, programing and services focused on language learners, will progressively guarantee protection of these students’ right to an appropriate education at a macro level.

At a more structural level, one of the largest areas of concern in the realm of second language instruction is the duration of services provided. If schools would only take into consideration the proven amount of time it takes to truly develop proficiency in a language, they would be much less likely to have to track and continuously aid second language students whose academic performance is still weak after exiting support programs. Connected to this is the problem of tracking itself. The way schools are set up now, we often see “the institutional sorting and tracking of students into different futures” (Olsen, 1997, p. 252). All school personnel must understand that glaring achievement gaps between sectors of students is not inevitable (Olsen, 1997). Helping teachers to adapt new techniques to reach varying types of students who are used to different forms of instruction, authority, and communication will help to avoid some sectors of students consistently falling through the cracks (Delpit, 1995).

Another glaring issue is the weakness of teacher preparation and certification for working with this population of students in both the United States and France. By revamping teacher preparation programs to include mandatory coursework on differentiating for second language learners, and by also requiring public schools to implement professional development in this area

for already licensed teachers can lend to the school as an administrative body being much more open and welcoming to this type of diversity in the classroom.

Second language programs can also be improved through easily implemented measures, like the employment of more bilingual teacher assistants, paraprofessionals, and tutors, who can not only serve on the language support team, but also act as role models for language learner students (DiCerbo, 2000). Initiatives like special summer and after-school programs may also help these students maintain language acquisition, but also work to afford them a degree of cultural experiences that they may be missing out on at home (Hakuta et al., 2000).

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All things considered, it is clear that public schools as they are structured today cannot rightfully be considered the “great equalizers” of opportunity and chance. Though second language programs provide access to language and a certain degree of linguistic capital, other frameworks and mentalities present in the school simultaneously impede students from gaining other forms of social and cultural capital. The goal of social mobility cannot be achieved through solely one of these avenues; if a student were to depart from the social class of their parents, they would need not only linguistic capital in the form of a mastery of the dominant language, but also social capital in fruitful connections with peers, teachers, and administrators, and cultural capital that enables them to engage in a standard of living enjoyed by those around them. For the school to support all of these domains is not impossible but is very unlikely. Individual biases, stereotypes, and language barriers, among other issues, will also often bar these forms of capital from developing.

A school also cannot change the way a child is born, including the culture they were born into, the language that they were taught to think in, the name given to them by their parents, or the

color of their skin. Each of these factors defines a person's identity so thoroughly that attempts to change or modify them are often fruitless. These forms of identities are also so pronounced that they make any attempt at integration considerably harder. Even if a student masters the dominant language and acquires high degrees of the other types of capital, at their core they will still be regarded as different from the native identity. It seems then, that often times the key to mobility is a relinquishing of prior ethnic identities for full and complete immersion to the dominant culture. So, in the end, social advancement *can* be achieved, and social reproduction *can* be avoided, but this attainment will most likely be at the large cost of one's own intrinsic identity.

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Appendix: Acronym Glossary

- BICS:** Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills
- CLAD:** *Classes d'adaptation* (Adaptation classes)
- CLIN:** *Classes d'initiation* (Initiation classes)
- CALP:** Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency
- CRI:** *Cours de rattrapage intégrés* (Integrated catch-up course)
- DELF:** *Diplôme d'Etudes en Langue Française* (Diploma in French language studies)
- ENSA:** *Élèves non scolarisés antérieurement* (Students who have not attended school before)
- ENAF:** *Enfants étrangers nouvellement arrivés en France* (Foreign children newly arrived in France)
- ESL:** English as a Second Language
- ELL:** English Language Learner
- FLE:** *Français comme langue étrangère* (French as a foreign language)
- FLM:** *Français comme langue maternelle* (French as a mother tongue)
- FLS:** *Français comme langue seconde* (French as a second language)
- FLS-
ENSA:** *Français langue seconde pour les élèves non scolarisés antérieurement*
(French as a second language for students who have not attended school before)
- UPE2A:** *Unité Pédagogique pour Élèves Allophones Arrivants* (Pedagogical Unit for Allophone Students)
- ZEP:** *Zone d'Education Prioritaire* (Priority Education Zone)