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The socio-educational experience of Algerian immigrants' children in France and Algeria

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THE SOCIO-EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCE
OF ALGERIAN IMMIGRANTS' CHILDREN
IN FRANCE AND ALGERIA

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TO THE MEMORY OF

MY BELOVED FATHER

TO MY FAMILY

AND TO ALL THOSE

WHO CONTRIBUTED

TO THE COMPLETION

OF THIS WORK

ABSTRACT

Part A looks at a number of countries' experience in the field of immigrants' children's education. An attempt is made to gain an understanding of these countries' experiences and to present the phenomenon in a world-wide perspective. Some factors which are considered by researchers, in these countries, as contributory factors to the school failure of imnmigrants' children are isolated, discussed and analysed. This forms a platform of work for our own research. This part also examines some aspects of the life of Algerian children in France and provides the reader with a clear picture of these pupils' lives, indispensable for the understanding of their socio-educational experience in France as well as in Algeria.

Part B deals with the research design and the methodology used in our work.

Part C is an analysis of the socio-educational experience of Algerian immigrants' children in France and an attempt to isolate and analyse the factors that make these children fail in the French educational system.

Part D investigates the same factors as in Part B. However, it deals with Algerian pupils who have "returned" to Algeria and who are being schooled in the Algerian educational system.

Part E draws some recommendations for the improvement of these children's education and social life. These recommendations are evaluated and re-appraised in the light of experts' and officials' opinions in both Algeria and France.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

GLOSSARY

Second degré	: secondary schooling
H.L.M.	: council flats with modest rents
Pieds Noirs	: European people (mainly French) born in Algeria during the colonisation period
Convergence 84	: meeting in Paris of young people from all ethnic minority groups
Ramadan	: fasting; a period of one month during which Muslims fast from sunrise to sunset
Premier & second degrés	: primary and secondary schooling
Collège	: first part of secondary schooling
Lycée	: second part of secondary schooling after which students enter the university
Z.E.P.	: deprived zones on the education point of view
Kabylie	: region of Algeria where most Berber-Kabyle people live
Aurès	: region of Algeria where most Berber-Chaouia people live
Fiche-d'élève	: pupil's record on which appear the pupil's grades, his behaviour in school and his attitudes to education (as perceived by his teachers)
Académie	: centralised administration for all educational matters in one <u>département</u> (county)
C.R.E.D.I.F.	: research centre for the teaching of French
Amicale des Algériens en Europe (A.A.E)	: official association representing Algerian nationals in Europe
F.A.S.	: association for social action, mainly dealing with immigrants' problems
Second cycle long	: schooling leading to university
Redoublant	: a pupil with one (or more) repeated class
5°	: second form
Classes spéciales	: special classes (remedial teaching)
Classes d'initiation	: classes where immigrants' children were taught French
Classes d'adaptation	: classes where immigrants' children were helped to adapt to their new environment
C.P.	: preparatory class
6°	: first form
4°	: third form
3°	: fourth form
2°	: fifth form
1°	: lower sixth form
Tle (Terminale)	: upper sixth form
Premier cycle	: college level
Second cycle	: <u>lycée</u> level
Cycle d'observation	: observation cycle
Cycle d'orientation	: orientation cycle

C.A.P.	:	Certificate of professional aptitude
B.E.P.	:	Certificate of professional teaching
Redoublement	:	compelling pupils to repeat classes
S.M.I.G.	:	minimum guaranteed salary
B.E.F.	:	Certificate of fundamental teaching
Coefficient	:	each subject has its coefficient; the higher the coefficient the more important the subject is; example: if Maths has a coefficient of 4, the grade obtained in Maths will be multiplied by 4
C.E.P.	:	Certificate of primary teaching
C.E.S.	:	Centre for remedial and special teaching
C.E.G.	:	Centre for general teaching
Classe d'accueil	:	special classes where newly arrived children are gathered together

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Introduction

National statistics in France provide us with a general comparison between French pupils and all immigrants' pupils within the French educational system. Among general trends, the following are identified. The more we progress through the second cycle long the fewer foreign children we find. Most of these will be located in remedial classes and following basic vocational training courses. They will receive therefore a shortened form of schooling leading to working life.

Bastide (1982) found in his national survey of 1687 schools that the progress made by foreign pupils is slower than that of French pupils. Among the immigrant school population, one child in two is not making normal progress through the years of secondary schooling, against one in every four French pupils. Foreign pupils are also less numerous in post-compulsory classes. Their numbers are decreasing as they progress through the educational system. Bastide gave economic and cultural constraints as main reasons for this situation. Furthermore, his research would suggest that fewer than 5% of these children experience difficulties in schools as a result of linguistic factors.

Figures obtained from the Ministry of Education (1985, Migrants, Formation No 60) also indicate that the population of foreign pupils is proportionately greater in special education and vocational teaching groups.

There is hence considerable evidence to suggest that foreign pupils and among them, inevitably, children of Algerian background have difficulties in their education. These same children continue to have difficulties in their education when they 'return' to Algeria and to be, just as in France, a school failing population.

The main aim of this research is to gain an understanding of these pupils' situation in France and in Algeria and to attempt to isolate and analyse some of the contributory factors to the academic failure of Algerian immigrants' children in both countries. Our research is structured around the following major questions:

(a) which Algerian immigrants' pupils (both in France and Algeria) have problems with their education or have low academic performance as measured against the expectations of those involved with the educational system in the two countries?;

(b) what makes apparently such a high proportion of Algerian immigrants' children experience school failure in France and Algeria?;

(c) what can be done to improve their chances of success in education and in society?

The usefulness of this research, financially supported by the Algerian government (Ministry of Higher Education) is to investigate, for the first time, the academic <u>and</u> social situation of Algerian immigrants' children in both countries. It is hoped that the research will directly support, in the long term, the implementation of an adequate provision to increase the "returnees" chances of success and integration in Algerian society. We believe this is particularly important for, given the Algerian government's encouragement to immigrants to return and the economic situation in France, many immigrant families are now availing themselves of this opportunity and have either already returned or are laying serious plans for that eventuality.

It is not our intention to attempt a comparison of educational achievement between Algerian and French pupils in France or between immigrants' pupils and other pupils in Algeria. There are immense theoretical and practical problems in such an approach. Firstly, there is the lack of a finite measure of achievement other than the hurdles imposed within the system such as the redoublements (compelling pupils to repeat years of schooling). Neither is there within the Algerian and the French education systems the kind of screening of pupils by V.R.Q. or other standardised tests which might offer an objective yardstick. Even in countries where crosscultural comparisons have been attempted, some criticisms have been made of the research because the tests used had been standardised on the indigenous population, usually white (Taylor, 1981; Swann, 1985). Secondly, within a cross-cultural study, it is exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to compare like with like. The number of social and cultural variables to be isolated and controlled in order for an objective analysis to be carried out is enormous. At the core of this research are the Algerian families themselves who already present a wide range of experiences relating to education and residence. To have found similar variations within the French population in France, or the Algerian non-immigrant population in Algeria would have been clearly impossible. The comparative approach was therefore rejected in favour of a qualitative socio-linguistic investigation. This entailed gauging the perceptions of the people directly involved in the education of Algerian children: head-teachers, classroom teachers, advisors and the parents and the pupils themselves.

To gather the information required for this research, the author has travelled many times to Algeria and France where he spent one year and six months, respectively.

Following a detailed analysis of the information collected during the field work by means of questionnaires, interviews, family visits and class observations, recommendations are proposed, which, it is hoped, will improve the educational experience of Algerian children living in France and those who may choose eventually to live in Algeria. These recommendations are, in their turn, subjected to the scrutiny of those directly involved in the implementation of policy in the two countries as part of an evaluation of their relevance. Recommendations are reappraised in the light of the opinions of the officials and the experts.

The research design, the process of data collection and overall awareness of what is an extremely complex phenomenon have been enhanced by constant reference to relevant literature, not just based on the experiences of the two countries under examination, but on the world-wide theme of providing appropriate education and social integration for migratory peoples.

It is important for the reader of this thesis always to bear in mind the fact that the difficulties facing the Algerian communities under discussion should not be underestimated. They may have been understated in a work such as this which, quite rightly, has adopted a more detached, academic style of writing and presentation. The author has also considered it wise to treat political aspects of the phenomenon with circumspection although, clearly, political factors do come to bear on these people's existence in both countries. Similarly, the real psychological torment which many of the parents and children currently experience may not be fully appreciated by the reader studying objectively some of the evidence accrued during the field work. This aspect has certainly been neglected by previous researchers, but is something which has given this researcher a great deal of anxiety and pain.

PART A - Background to the Research

A.1 Identifying the issues: a review of some of the literature on the education of immigrants' children

Introduction

Mankind's migratory tendencies have a number of root causes. Among these, there are two motivating factors which are particularly relevant to our study. First there is the emigration motivated by land occupation, such as the case of the transcontinental emigration of Europeans to the States in the second half of the nineteenth century and up to the first decades of the twentieth century. More recently, we have a form of migration based on the need to secure work, whereby people from under-developed and very often previously colonised countries, emigrate to seek work in developed countries. This is for instance the case of North Africans who emigrated and continue to emigrate to Europe. In the period following the independance of North African countries, many Moroccans, Tunisians and Algerians sought new opportunities in the former "mother country" or France. The danger underlined by Le Gallon (1985) is that Africans, especially Maghribans, continue to emigrate even clandestinely.

Immigration is now a world-wide phenomenon which is not unique to France and Algeria. Although these countries will be the main focus of our attention in this thesis, an understanding of the issue in a wider context will help in gaining a broader knowledge of this phenomenon and in being more aware of its implications for the education of immigrants' children. Moreover, looking at what problems some of the receiving countries have actually found and how they have tried to tackle them will obviously provide an appropriate framework for, and inform constructively, the specific analysis that is to follow.

Reasons that gave birth to the more recent immigration phenomenon are mainly economic, although of course some people have emigrated for political reasons. Europe had to rebuild after the Second World War. The local labour force being insufficient, there was a rush of workers - mainly unskilled - from poor countries towards Europe. It was also the case of the U.S.A., Canada, Australia and many other countries which offered immigrants better job opportunities than those they had at home. For instance, many manufacturing firms and service agencies in European countries actively went out of their way to recruit their workforce in Africa or the Indian sub-continent in the years of the economic recovery following the war.

The first generation of immigrants was not very demanding. What the first immigrants mainly needed was a basic knowledge of the language of the host community for survival purposes. Indeed, and as noted by Milet (1985), immigrants were not expected to acquire more language competence than that which is required from them as unskilled workers. But the immigration phenomenon began to take on another form with the re-uniting of families, when mothers and children started to join the fathers in the host countries. Le Gallou (1985) sees this as a crucial problem facing France whose population is threatened by the increasing numbers of immigrants' children, and more precisely the Maghribans, he calls the 'vague maghrébine' and which he considers as a transfer of large numbers of people from the poor South to the rich North, a kind of 'invasion' in Le Gallou's (1985) view.

For the purpose of this study, we are using the term immigrants uniquely to mean those people born outside the country in which they now live and work. In describing the young people in these families, we have chosen to use the term immigrants' children, not immigrants. For the vast majority of them were born in France (Bastide, 1982, p.190).

Among our own studied population of 218 Algerian children schooled in the French Second Degré, only 39 (17.8%) were actually born in Algeria.

With the re-uniting process and the schooling of large numbers of immigrants' children, it became apparent that these children were under-achieving as compared to their peers in the host countries (Hamonet and Proux, 1984). Their education became then the subject of great concern among educationists, researchers, education institutions and governments.

Issues around the schooling of immigrants's children are numerous. The difficulties they have with the language of the host community, the maintenance of the mother tongue, racial prejudice, home circumstances, home-school liaison, to cite only a few. These and other issues have been investigated in the hope of understanding the phenomenon. Data gathered from the research findings has been extensive.

It is suggested at this stage to look at some countries in which immigration is a widespread phenomenon. In doing so, we are aiming at gaining an overview of the phenomenon and at isolating some of the various factors generally associated with the under-achievement in education of immigrants' children. It is also a deliberate attempt on our part to see if the experience and research in other countries can enlighten the particular circumstances of our own field of enquiry.

To avoid any repetitive work, France is not included in this overview. It is at Algerian immigrants' children in France that we are looking. And findings in France will be investigated later in this work when we are analysing our own research results and comparing them with other similar works undertaken in this same field.

A.1.1 The language issue

Researchers in the field of the education of ethnic minority children generally mention the under-achievement of these children as compared to the natives (Burns, 1982; Milet, 1985).

Under-achievement is used in this context as it is used by the researchers whose works we are looking at, that is as measured by nationally standardised tests immigrants' pupils are under-achieving as compared to the school pupils in the white population. Of course, this definition is widely used but also strongly criticised (Taylor 1981; Swann 1985).

The main criticism is that these tests are generally standardised on the white population and, hence, their reliability is questioned. As explained by the Committee of Inquiry in their final report (Swann Report, March, 1985):

> "It is often supposed, naively, that there
> is a true measure of innate potential,
> namely a child's I.Q. [...]. It may be
> the best measure of potential that has yet
> been devised, but it is far from perfect
> and it is influenced by a variety of
> factors. In short, there is no really
> reliable indicator of a child's academic
> potential. Nevertheless, we are clear
> that many ethnic minority children are not
> achieving their full potential, regardless
> of how they compare with the white
> majority. The problem is further
> complicated by the fact that many white

children are not achieving their full
potential either."

(p.59)

One of the main factors affecting the immigrant child's education
may be linguistic if the mother tongue is different from that spoken by
the majority of the population. The language issue appears as a major
concern. As concluded by Lynch (1986):

"..... language policies have been the
major means through which the countries
concerned have attempted to respond to the
arrival of large numbers of migrant
workers and their children."

(p.141)

Language constitutes a real barrier to him, for he is educated in a
language which is not his. Besides, he finds himself studying and
living alongside people whose mother tongue is the medium of
instruction. The immigrant's child is thus having his instruction in a
second language, but which is not taught to him as a second language.
As mentioned by Derrick (1966) reporting on language teaching to
immigrant's children during the sixties:

"When an immigrant [...] learns English,
he learns it as a second language; the
teacher therefore has to teach him
English as a second language, and
teaching English as a second language is

not the same as teaching English as a
first (native) language."
                    (p.3)

Clearly this is bilingual education referred to by Tomlinson (1986)
in the following words:

"The difficulties of second language
speakers in acquiring adequate English
have always been regarded as an
educational handicap, and the needs of ESL
and bilingual speakers are currently being
taken very seriously."
                    (p.17)

This point of view is also mentioned in the Canadian context by
Cummins (1984). He believes that the intensive teaching of the majority
language is not necessarily the best form of educational provision for
immigrants' children who obtain poor school results. Cummins (1984) is
rather encouraging bilingualism:

"There is no question that becoming fluent
and literate in a language or languages
other than one's mother tongue
significantly increases and individual's
potential for personal development."
                    (p.82)

Hill (1976) pointed out the difficulties immigrants' children have in learning the language of the host community. According to him, the old belief that non-English speaking children would 'pick-up' language quickly is now questioned. It was just one part of an assimilationist philosophy which assumed that little or no effort was needed on the part of the host community in order for immigrants to be absorbed into the society and 'mores' of their new home environment. Indeed, there was in the early 1960s a certain belief that assimilation is going to happen naturally and in due time (Watson, 1984). However, a great deal of effort was and is still needed. We believe that the language issue was somehow exaggerated at the time when people believed in the assimilationist ideology as an aim to reach through the teaching of the language of the host community. The distinction in terms of aims is clearly made by Craft (1981). If the aim in educating immigrants' children is assimilation, then language and literacy appear to be among their special needs. On the other hand, if the aim is more pluralistic, schools have to consider the diverse origins of their pupils. As noted by Craft (1981):

"... Schools will be more concerned to
acquaint all their pupils with the diverse
origins of all members of our society, and
to convey an appreciation of the intrinsic
value of different cultures."
(p.1)

In this case, it means change in the curriculum and work towards a common curriculum to suit all ethnic groups and their cultures. This certainly requires much time. As Hill (1976) puts it "there is no

speedy solution" (p.52). Moreover, as these immigrants' children need to learn English as a new language, they hence learn it as a second language. He explained:

> "Many of the children, especially those
> whose language deficiencies have
> attracted most attention so far, need to
> learn English as a completely new
> language, ie as a second language".
>
> (p.52)

This already suggests that teaching English to immigrants' children and natives in one same classroom is not the adequate solution. For methods, objectives, materials, and so on, differ from one context to another. Removing the immigrants' children from their mainstream of schooling, however, brings with it other problems for their curricular choice is narrowed by this exclusion, their social integration is restricted and their academic progress generally is hampered by the fact that they are in need of fundamental remedial help, whatever their level of intelligence or aptitude. (Mariet, 1981; Swann Report, 1985).

Mahler (1981) gives further importance as to how immigrants' children in Germany should learn German. Both spoken and written aspects of language are vital for it is through language that their schooling is done. And it is obvious that academic performance can be reached only when immigrants' children have a sufficient knowledge of those language skills needed to meet the academic requirements of the school. (Tomlinson, 1986). Mahler (1981) warns us about the way a foreign language should be adequately acquired. According to him, it is neither through short introductory courses (which did not succeed in

Germany) nor by putting the immigrants' child too soon into the normal German class. It is a long process that takes time and it cannot be replaced singly by either of these two procedures. In Canada, for instance, immersion programmes have proved to be a worthwhile initiative in that results obtained with students who benefited from ETL (early total immersion) indicate that children from lower socio-economic backgrounds scored on many tests (eg English language and French language tests) as well as middle class immersion students (Genesee, 1984). According to this same author, the useful deduction here - supported by research evidence - is that linguistically and academically handicapped students who obtain poor results at school are not differentially handicapped in an immersion programme. The positive aspect of immersion programmes is summarised by Genesee (1984) as follows:

"Immersion programmes have been shown to
be effective in promoting second language
proficiency among children with learning
disabilities and among children from lower
socio-economical backgrounds."
(p.51)

Clearly, this concerns immigrants' children for most of them are in the same situation.

The immigrant's child is generally expected to learn the language of the host community as well as its natives. As it is not always possible, the immigrant's child with a lack of language competence finds himself in a position whereby he is unable to follow the curriculum offered by schools. As reported by Townsend (1971):

14

"This size of the need for special
arrangements for the teaching of English
to immigrant pupils can be judged from the
fact that in January 1970 head teachers
reported 43,146 immigrant pupils in
schools in England who, by reason of
language difficulties, were unable to
follow a normal school curriculum with
profit to themselves."

(p.36)

The need for more language learning appears obvious. Immigrants'
pupils need to learn more about the language of the host country in
order to follow the evolution of the school curricular at a normal pace.
Also, educational success and social mobility depend on the ability to
use the standard language (Edwards, 1984). Taylor (1974) is among those
who strongly emphasised the importance of language for immigrants'
children. She particularly wrote:

"English language acquisition is the most
important need for the non-English or
inadequate English speaking child, whether
born abroad or in this country [...].
Until he can learn to speak, understand,
read and write the language used in
schools, a child cannot learn specific
skills nor develop his potential ability".

(p.65)

Of course, what this writer has perhaps not considered entirely is the fact that the language used in schools, in terms of register and specialist terminology could be quite different from the language needed for survival in the world outside school.

The language problem is also a reality in Australia where the education of immigrants' children is affected by the lack of language. This language problem concerned children who came from non-English speaking countries and had to learn English. As a result of their little knowledge - or a total lack - of English, their academic success suffered a great deal. Taft and Cahill (1981) wrote in this respect:

"Limited knowledge of English was seen to be hampering their academic progress, and their distance from the Anglo-Australian milieu of the Australian classroom was thought to be giving rise to socio-emotional problems as they struggled to resolve the conflict of living in two different worlds, that of home and that of the school"

(p.26)

The language issue has been visibly discussed by most researchers and writers in the field of immigration. For instance, early 1960s educators are reported to have considered the immigrant's child's problems as resulting from his language or dialect. This was the case of West Indians and in Britain (Banks, 1986) and Maghribans in France (Bastide, 1982). Almost all literature points to language difficulties immigrants' children have in their schooling. In the case of Britain

for instance, The Committee of Inquiry (1981) conducted a thorough investigation into the case of West Indian children and produced evidence for under-achievement. The Committee was convinced that West Indians were under-achieving and expressed its concern as follows:

> "While we accept that there will perhaps always be some children who will under-achieve and for various reasons will fail to reach their full potential, our concern is that West Indian children as a group are under-achieving in our education system".
>
> (p.10)

In their final report, The Committee of Inquiry (1985), who received further information and considered more up-to-date researches on the education of West Indian children, again pointed to their under-achievement as a fact supported by much evidence:

> "Since out interim report .... a range of other studies have confirmed this picture of West Indians under-achievement .... West Indian children are markedly under-represented amongst high achievers, and markedly over-represented amongst low achievers".
>
> (p.60)

Particular difficulties and obstacles are currently faced by West Indian pupils. The Committee tried to record these difficulties and obstacles from West Indians who were studying in Higher Education. These young people went through primary and secondary education and could look back into their schooling life to try to identify the various problems they had. In seeking to isolate the contributory factors to under-achievement of West Indians, the Committee gathered both causes within and outside the education system. The various factors identified and enumerated by the Committee are racism, inadequacy of pre-school provision, particular linguistic difficulties, the inappropriateness of the curriculum, the examinations system, teachers' low expectations, general state of race relations, discrimination in employment, conflict with authority figures, the absence of West Indians in prominent positions of responsibility in society, poor teaching and a lack of responsiveness to the needs of individual pupils. Most of these factors are also discussed by other authors and researchers (Figueroa, 1984; Swann Report, 1985; Tomlinson, 1986).

Language is mentioned as a contributory factor to under-achievement however, it is not considered as a major factor by those who gave evidence to the Committee. The people who provided evidence to the Committee believed that racism - and the inhibitions it creates - is the major problem. As stated by the Committee:

> "We are convinced from the evidence that
> we have obtained that racism, both
> intentional and unintentional, has a
> direct and important bearing on the
> performance of West Indian children in our

schools."

(p.12)

What we find highly commendable in the Committee's approach is the technique that was adopted - namely that of going direct to the source, that is the West Indian pupils themselves who gave their opinions and pointed to factors other than language. This allowed the Committee to emphasise these factors and also to avoid over-estimating the language problem considered as the key factor in most other literature in this field.

Dickenson et al (1975) had earlier reached the same conclusion as to under-achievement in their study of Pakistani pupils in Glasgow. Tomlinson (1983) reviewed a large amount of findings which provided evidence for the under-achievement of immigrants' children. She considered that the proportion of pupils under-achieving was quite significant. She quotes Payne (1974) who wrote in this respect that:

"Three-fifths of the Asian children

obtained a score indicating an inability

to read in English."

(Payne, 1974, quoted by Tomlinson, 1983,

p.49)

The DES (1972), The Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration (1974), Fitchett (1978), Brown (1979), Edwards (1979) and the NUT (1980) are a few examples of those who underlined the language problems and difficulties immigrants' children have in their education in Britain. A major difficulty underlined by most researchers is that these children are not literate and articulate enough in English to take

full advantage of their education and to reach their real potential. The findings of these and other research projects form the basis of our discussion in the following sections.

Researchers in other countries have reported the same sort of picture as regards difficulties in language. Raoufi (1981), Müller (1981) and Mahler (1981) have underlined the importance of language in the context of immigrants' children in West Germany and the need for these children to improve their knowledge of the language of the host country. Specific language difficulties in multi-cultural societies have also been observed in Australia (Taft and Cahill, 1981), in Canada (Berryman, 1983) as well as in the U.S.A (The College Board, 1978).

Immigration and the immigrants' children's language difficulties are also discussed in many works on an international and world-wide point of view. Unesco (1978), Freudenstein (ed.) (1978), Council of Europe (1981) and Bhatnager (ed.) (1981) are examples of collections of papers on various countries. These are also examples of works in which the language issue has been discussed and given high importance in the general context of immigration and the education of immigrants' children.

In the literature reviewed to gain a general and broad knowledge in the field of immigrants' children's education, it appeared that: first, immigrants' children are having language difficulties which make them under-achieve in their education as a whole; second, the language problem, being an important element in educational performance, is related to a wide range of variables and factors which are seen as contributory factors to under-achievement in the language of the host community and in education at large. That is, the language issue is not singled out, but studied in relation to many other factors. (Tomlinson, 1986; Banks, 1986). Our main criticism here is that in the literature

reviewed there is a general trend to explain under-achievement in education by over-estimating the way education is affected by language. There is, to use Banks' (1986) terminology, 'the need for a multi-factor paradigm' (p.21), for ethnic minority children's problems are too complex to pretend to solve them using a single-factor explanation or approach. Language is certainly a handicap to many immigrants' children. But is not language just one of the curriculum subjects, itself influenced by other factors like those mentioned by the Committee of Inquiry (1981), for instance? Evidence provided to the Committee of Inquiry does not stress language as it had been done elsewhere. And this is a position with which we strongly agree for it is somehow detached from the language 'myth' and suggests a shift of emphasis from language to other factors already enumerated and which appeared to be of high significance. Mortimore and Blackstone (1982), for instance, believe that it is the difference in cultures, rather than in language and intellectual abilities, which should be regarded as the immigrant's child's problem. Besides, if most research findings obtained with language tests present evidence for language handicap, they however sometimes fail to suggest a full explanation for this fact and tend to jump from the evidence to the recommendation of remedial help.

A.1.2 Teaching language to immigrants' children

Researchers do agree that some immigrants' children still experience language difficulties. In addition, there is no doubt that educationalists maintain the idea that immigrants' children, especially the newcomers, need to learn the language of the host country. The problem arises when we consider how to teach language to these children. This is what Tomlinson (1986) underlined in the following words:

"... one matter which causes particular concern to some educationalists is the extent to which ESL pupils are placed with other pupils who have learning difficulties and how far it is possible to separate out learning difficulties caused by lack of English (or Bilingualism), from learning difficulties due to other causes."

(p.13)

In other words, there is a need for adequate programmes that will take into account immigrants' children's difficulties. In Australia, for instance, ESL programmes have failed to produce positive results. It was then realised that immigrants' children needed more appropriate programmes. As noted by Taft and Cahill (1981):

"The demand has rapidly changed from transitional ESL programmes for newly arrived children to remedial and enrichment programmes for second generation children."

(p.42)

Language remediation and enrichment were felt to be a necessity to all children irrespective of their origin. The use of increased intensive courses was suggested for all newly arrived children and especially at the secondary level. Similar programmes have appeared in France since 1979 (Boos-Nunning et al, 1986). The <u>Classe d'Initiation</u>

is attended by newly arrived immigrants' children and is exclusively designed for the teaching of French which lasts for a whole year, six months or three months depending on the children's arrival in France. The Rattrapage Intégré (integrated courses) allow the immigrant's child to have seven to eight lessons of French a week while attending the courses with his French classmates.

Besse (1984) criticised the way French is taught to immigrants' children and suggested a linguistic perception based on inter-cultural exchanges. That is, the well-informed teacher has to create a balance between the codes and habits contained in the culture of origin and the stereotypes of the language and culture children start acquiring on their arrival in the receiving country. This means that there should be a gradual acceptance of the immigrant by the native and conversely, the purpose being to avoid the sudden 'culture clash' experienced by many immigrants' children. At the school level, Milet (1985) goes even further to assert that the problem of language and culture also concerns some natives:

"En effet, la culture et la langue
véhiculées par l'école, cet implicite
culturel supposé commun à l'ensemble du
public concerné, sont également étrangers
aux enfants français d'origine issus de
milieux socio-économiques défavorisés."

(p.45)

(see translation 1 Appendix B)

According to Zarate (1983), the understanding of the host country7s culture by the immigrant's child using a foreign language requires the

questioning of both cultures, the native's and that of the immigrant's
child:

> "La compétence culturelle en langue
> étrangère ne peut échapper à la
> constitution d'un savoir fermé, somme de
> connaissances qui constitue un accès
> obligé à la compréhension d'un système
> culturel particulier. Elle ne s'y limite
> pas. Elle est spécifique dans la mesure
> où elle est un questionnement sur le
> fonctionnement tant de la culture cible
> que de la culture maternelle."
>
> (p.38)
>
> (see translation 2 Appendix B)

The consideration of both cultures is what brought Zarate (1983) to
be rather keen on classes including the teaching of French based on the
learner's - native and foreigner - experience regardless of his
nationality. The culture and the language of both the native and the
foreigner should, hence, be represented and valued in the classroom.
This global approach is considered by Roulet (1983) as very useful to
the learner be he native or immigrant.

Rex (1981) put forward similar suggestions when describing the
situation in Britain:

> "Children with special linguistic and
> cultural problems should be dealt with as
> children with special linguistic and

cultural problems."

(p.44)

In other words, what is recommended here is not to dissociate language and culture. Rex (1981) also rejects the sudden inclusion of the immigrant's child into the normal class, expecting him to be able to learn as a native, and almost always producing total confusion and discouragement at the moment of the child's entry in what is to him a totally new and strange system. This same author rather advocates a more gradual familiarisation of the immigrant's child with his education in a foreign language, through the use of his mother tongue:

"The obvious answer is to ensure that at

the outset those children who have no

English should have all of their teaching

in all subjects in their mother tongue.

When they have gained confidence in this

way it is then possible for them to be

gradually transferred for instruction in

English ...."

(p.45)

There is no doubt that this approach has many advantages. Indeed, teaching the mother tongue can bring immigrants and their children to think that their language is valued and respected. This will, in turn, develop home-school relations and be of some benefit to the immigrant's child's education and personal development (Tomlinson, 1984). The dialogue between parents and school, developed through the teaching of the mother tongue, is seen by Nixon (1985) as an essential element if we

are about to succeed in implementing any curriculum policy related to multicultural education.

Unfortunately, this does not seem to be an easy task to realise. Tomlinson (1981) argues that British schools have continued to conceptualise their major multicultural task as that of teaching ESL at both 'first' and 'second' phases (p.61). He particularly stresses that teaching language to immigrants' children should be considered along with the issues of bilingual learning and mother tongue teaching counted as needs to be satisfied. This point of view is also shared by Derrick (1977), Edwards (1979) and many other authors.

White (1981) believes that the whole matter of language teaching should be approached in the 'under context· of identity enhancement' and not only in that of 'enrichment' because immigrants' children are 'linguistically deprived' (p.129). In addition, and according to the same author, language development in the multicultural school does not mean the only teaching of English as a second language. There is, indeed, more to gain from language teaching and development as related to mother tongue provision, to immigrant's child's identity development and to the fact of valuing and respecting the immigrant's child's language and culture in a culturally diverse society. Of course, such an enterprise as this requires specialist teachers. The question here is, as noted by Craft (1981), the context of multicultural education:

> "Should this be mainly concerned with the
> acquisition of particular classroom skills
> for meeting special needs? Or more a
> matter of cultivating attitudes towards
> cultural diversity?"

(p.173)

Different authors emphasise different aspects of teacher training. Gay (1986), for instance, made it clear that 'teachers can't teach what they don't know' (p.155). Whereas Nixon (1985) believes that any change in the curriculum should begin with teachers' assumptions and attitudes. Whatever the case, we believe that there should be not only change but improvement as well.

In recent literature, language appears to be more related to the individual and to his social clan than to the use we can make of it (Rex, 1981; Tulasiewicz, 1985). It is also strongly suggested that language (mother tongue and second language) be a means of expression and development for the child (Derrick, 1977; Edwards, 1979; Kravetz, 1985).

Mortimer and Blackstone (1982) pointed to the complex aspect of the issue in the following terms:

"There are no clear-cut conclusions on the linguistic competence of disadvantaged children. The position is complicated by claims about dialect or cultural differences. However, it seems that certain children may experience difficulty in responding to school demands."

(p.48)

Clearly, creating a certain harmony between the school demands and its disadvantaged children - whether immigrants' children or natives - sounds as an other need yet to be satisfied.

The language issue in the education of ethnic minority groups is by no means as simple as it might first appear. There is a general

agreement, among researchers and educationists, that language is one of
the many factors responsible for failure or success. Also, it is
stressed in the literature that immigrants' children leave school able
to speak, read and write correctly the language of the host community
(Coste et al., 1978; Tomlinson, 1983). More recent concern is on the
teaching of languages - including the mother tongue - the culture or
origin and the development of the immigrant's child's identity (Brown,
1979; Verma and Bagley, 1982; Shafer, 1983; Swann Report, 1985).

While recognising the linguistic handicap of some immigrants'
children, current research in the field also demonstrates that ethnic
minority groups have begun to make clear claims to maintain their
languages and culture. That is why a more appropriate approach to the
language issue would perhaps be that of bilingualism looked at in terms
of multicultural education.

A.1.3 Bilingualism and multicultural education

The increasing numbers of immigrants' children in the host
countries' education systems is at the origin of various problems.
Among these is the question of what to teach and why. It was first
taken for granted, in the 1960s and 1970s and in almost all host
countries, that language is the first thing to think of (Derrick, 1966;
Raoufi, 1981; Taft and Cahill, 1981). In the case of France, for
instance, it was clearly specified that:

> "La scolarisation des enfants étrangers ne
>
> peut s'effectuer dans de bonnes conditions
>
> que s'ils acquièrent rapidement l'usage
>
> du Français, ce qui leur permet de
>
> s'intéger au milieu scolaire et de
>
> poursuivre normalement leurs études."

(Circulaire No IX 70.37/13.1.1970)

(See translation 3, Appendix B)

It is clear that immigrants' children need to learn the language of the host community. However, it is also argued, in the literature in the field, that the maintenance of the mother tongue helps the immigrant's child in his psychological equilibrium and in the development of his personality. In addition, the mother tongue helps in the adaptation to the school system and in second-language learning (Berryman, 1981; Tomlinson, 1983). In Scandinavia, for instance, there has been evidence that children who had the opportunity to develop their mother tongue showed more aptitude in second-language learning (Houlton, 1986). This aspect of language teaching has gained much concern in many countries which began to provide for mother tongue teaching.

Cummins (1984) reviewed a considerable number of studies to suggest that bilingualism can have a positive influence on academic and cognitive functioning. Or, as stated by Nixon (1985):

"The use of mother-tongue by pupils for whom English is a second language is an important aid to learning across the curriculum."

(p.103)

In addition to this, one of the rationales for providing mother-tongue instruction for minority children is that it can facilitate the 'return' of these children to their country of origin.

Another dimension of the issue is that ethnic minorities are now claiming their language and identity maintenance. In Britain, for

example, the feeling for linguistic and identity maintenance among ethnic minority groups and organisations is described by Houlton (1986) in the following words:

> "Most ethnic groups have a distinct language or dialect that they regard as a pre-requisite for group belonging, so much that ethnic identity may be seen as incomplete without it."
>
> (p.4)

Similarly in the USA, various ethnic groups are challenging the common school and calling for alternative school programmes (Suziki, 1984).

The importance of the role played by the mother tongue among ethnic minority families and communities is now recognised by educationalists (Bastide, 1982; Houlton, 1986; Tomlinson, 1986). However, progress in this field needs to be considered along with the culture of origin.

Indeed, the process of language-learning includes activities such as expressing oneself, gaining knowledge and using language as a means of communication and creation. According to Mauviel (1980), communication is not only linguistic but goes on to include the cultural dimension. This is essential if we are about to understand each other for, generally, what is considered as normal behaviour is behaviour which suits the norms of our own culture. The problem is the recognition of the immigrant's child's language and culture as different but not abnormal. In doing so, we are very likely to produce positive educational implications. Edwards (1984) believes that the recognition of children's language and culture may develop their confidence and

constitute a positive starting point for successful learning. Hence, language takes into account the social and cultural identity of the learner. We have to reconcile two dimensions - language and culture - which seem to have been separated. In the case of immigrants' children it is bilingualism and biculturalism or multiculturalism.

Even though the immigrant's child can be very close to his culture of origin, the discovery of the host country's culture is always a difficult experience, for there is a problem of choice. The immigrant's child has to choose between his culture becoming more and more mythical and the culture of the host country where he has to fight for a place difficult to get because of his handicaps: linguistic and especially socio-cultural and psychological.

The immigrant's child, evolving in this situation, is very sensitive to how his country of origin is valued. According to Blot et al. (1978), it is important that the immigrant's child feels that his country of origin is considered as being of some interest to natives. Cummins (1984) underlined the necessity of teaching both the mother tongue and the language of the host country. Bilingual programmes are thought to be necessary to bridge the cultural and linguistic gap between home and school and to bring the learner to become competent in two languages and to be able to participate in two cultures (Cummins, 1984).

In the recent programmes concerning the education of minority groups in countries such as Canada, Sweden and the USA, some efforts are made to recognise the individual and to enlarge the cultural basis of the education system in order to generate respect for cultural diversity. Cummins (1984) has certainly well summarised what recent research is considering as a more appropriate form of education to immigrants' children when he wrote:

"... recent research findings run counter
to many of the intuitive assumptions of
educators concerned with minority language
children. Specifically, these findings
suggest that intensive teaching of the
majority language is not necessarily the
most appropriate form of educational
treatment for minority children who are
performing poorly in school. Educational
policy makers should therefore adopt a
flexible, open-minded approach which takes
account of the psycho-educational needs
and potential strengths of minority
children as well as of the cultural
aspirations of their parents."

(p.88)

Clearly, it is bilingual and multicultural education which form the
most recent concern in this field. Consequently, it is quite normal to
consider that one of the school's essential tasks is to establish
pedagogical practices based on bilingualism and multiculturalism. These
practices would have to take account of the presence of immigrants'
children in the school system, as a linguistic and cultural enrichment
and work towards the respect of differences (Berque, 1985). The
growing concern is not only about the provision in schools but also
about teacher education. Indeed, as put by Craft (1981), 'the two are
naturally related' (p.1).

More important is the fact that most literature inthe field is
pointing to the many teachers involved in multicultural education and

who have little or no knowledge at all of the culture and environment from which the children came (Craft, 1981; Bastide, 1982; Watson, 1984). Also, it is believed that little progress has been made in the field of teacher training (Craft, 1981). This is most discouraging when we consider that the 'changing of teacher attitudes is absolutely critical' (Watson, 1984, p.398). Moreover, for change to come, teachers have to accept being prepared for multicultural education, education institutions have to provide adequate courses in multicultural education and governments have to allow additional funds.

Taking into account minority children's needs means mentioning their rights. That we speak of pluralism in countries such as Britain, France, the USA and so on, highlights at least one simple fact: these countries are ethnically and ideologically diverse (Jeffcoate, 1984). As to the concept of a pluralist society, it also includes ethnic minority rights. As pointed out by Jeffcoate (1984):

"I think it would be probably agreed that pluralism involves adopting a position of support for ethnic and ideological diversity and for ethnic minority rights."

(p.116)

It is on this basic principle of pluralism that almost everybody agrees that the development of multi-ethnic curricula should reflect pluralist aspect and cultural diversity (Craft, 1981; Bastide, 1982; Tomlinson, 1986). However, the problem remains that of to which extent support for ethnic and ideological diversity, and support for ethnic minority rights, can be feasible or desirable in pluralist societies (Jeffcoate, 1984). One way out of this problem is that if the overall

policy and aim are pluralistic, then multicultural education would mean more concern to acquaint all pupils with all ethnic groups comprising a society and with all these groups' cultures (Craft, 1981).

Taking into account the development of multi-ethnic curricula and the respect of multi-ethnic diversity brings us to accept the notion of cultural pluralism as that of 'equal opportunity accompanied by cultural diversity in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance' (Roy Jenkins, cited by Thomas and Page, 1984, p.9). To reach these aims, Mauviel (1980) suggests the reinforcement of the dialogue between cultures and the intercultural communication to 'create' the new human being, a 'product' of the social and psychological interaction between cultures (p.49).

What we believe should be added is that different authors approach multicultural education in different ways and emphasise different factors. Thomas and Page (1984) believe that multicultural education is for all children. They give three major reasons for multicultural education. First, a multicultural curriculum means 'telling children significant truths about the world'. Second the presence of immigrants' children in society and in school is a 'positive enrichment of life and the school curriculum' (p.6). Third, the inter-group relationships in school and society help to improve racial attitudes. Similarly, Edwards (1984) considers linguistic and cultural diversity as a classroom resource rather than as a problem. Lynch (1984) insists on the 'cultural openess, fairness and representativeness' of the curriculum. While Jeffcoate (1984) looks at the 'secularization of the curriculum' as the only solution to cultural pluralism (p.138), Nixon (1985) presents the purpose of multicultural education in terms of three general curricula aims: to increase the pupils' awareness of racism, to develop their knowledge and understanding of ethnic minorities and to bring them to show more concern about the multicultural aspect of

society.

According to Moodley (1986), this has already been of some concern in Canada where a growing number of anti-racism programmes have considered prejudice and racism in Canadian society. Moodley (1986) sees anti-racism education as different from multicultural education in that it is more concerned with how differences are used to 'entrench inequality' with 'systematic discrimination in all its manifestations'. Anti-racism educations considers culture on a dynamic point of view and examines the ways 'in which people transform the lives and respond to injustice' (p.64).

Connors (1984) thinks that multicultural education is an action for social justice, comprising the experience and participation of both teachers and students to realise a collective change. Wright and Labar (1984) relate social justice to the fundamental question which poses multicultural education as including the consideration of the moral domain. That is, the concern about how people's needs, interests and feelings should be looked at and how the different conflicts between people should be resolved.

If multicultural education is the concern of many educationists, the ideology of multiculturalism is also the object of some criticism. In Australia, for instance, conservatives see this ideology as derisive and leading to 'ghettoisation' whereas those employing Marxist analysis consider multicultural education as a 'means of hegemonic control' (Bullivant, 1986, p.116). We believe that this dilemma resulting from cultural diversity is well illustrated by Craft (1984):

> "... educationists have to decide at what
> point the acculturation for full participa-
> tion in society becomes a repressive

assimilation; and at what point the celebration of diversity ceases to enrich and becomes potentially divisive."

(p.23)

Nixon's (1985) opinion as to certain approaches used in the field of multicultural education in Britain is that:

"None of these approaches is in itself sufficient preparation for life in a multicultural society."

(p.94)

This author further argues that schools need to use a 'composite strategy' instead of relying on a single approach (p.94). This has also been made clear by Craft (1986) when commenting on the work undertaken in the field of multicultural education:

"Some of this work is insightful, some purely polemical; little is documented in detail. Consensus and interactionist approaches each contributes useful concepts, but each has limitations. An eclectic position drawing upon several perspectives may therefore prove most helpful."

(p.93)

Lynch (1986) suggests a similar approach. He insists that multicultural education be thought of in a democratic context with the consideration and respect of democratic values. In Gundara's (1982) point of view, this could be done only when we have identified institutionalised racism and the various problems between social classes. The identification of these problems is a pre-requisite to a conceptual framework for multicultural education. Among the many authors sharing this point of view, Mullard (1982) advocates a radical reappraisal of multicultural education theory and practice as a solution to the dilemma of multicultural education. Indeed, much has been said in the field of multicultural education and we feel that a re-thinking of the whole issue could at least be a standing point to start with and to work towards an appropriate solution

A.1.4 Immigrants' children's length of stay in the host community

Dickinson et al (1975) conducted a survey which was aimed at investigating the language and attainment of Pakistani immigrants' pupils in Glasgow primary schools. Data on the ability and the social background of these pupils were recorded. The analysis of the data gathered by these researchers proved that Pakistani pupils were under-achieving in the English language, as compared to the Scots. In their own words:

"The results of the standardised language

tests suggest that in the various language

skills, the Pakistani pupils are about 2

to 3 years behind the norms."

(p.11)

Many reasons are cited. The length of stay of parents is one of these reasons. The fathers have been in Britain for 10 to 20 years, whereas the mothers have, on the average, spent 4 years less than the

fathers. Some two-thirds of the children were born in Pakistan and about one-third had already received some education in Pakistan before coming to Britain.

Many immigrants' children enter the education system with sizeable handicaps, especially in the case of newly arrived children who are, not only confronting for the first time an alien culture, but also facing linguistic difficulties because of their inadequate command of the receiving country's language. In addition, and as observed by the Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration (1974) in Britain, some immigrants' children have no knowledge of the language at all. And as foreign children still continue to arrive - this is the case of France for instance - we understand that writers such as Berque (1985) strongly recommend the necessity to help newcomers acquire, as soon as possible, a basic language competence. The Classes d'Accueil are perhaps a good initiative to reach this aim. These classes, have, indeed, produced positive results in Canada. Crespo and Pelletier (1984) found that children having attended the Classes d'Accueil are slightly above average. What these researchers further suggest is that it is the teacher's task to increase and facilitate the immigrant's child's process of integration into regular classes.

Tomlinson (1983) refers to many research findings, between 1960 and 1982, which provide evidence for the under-achievement of Asian pupils. According to her, the poor performance of Asian children, recorded in the 1970's, is related to their recent arrival in England. These children's performance is also supported, by the same author, to have improved with the length of stay and the length of schooling in Britain. The length of stay in the host country appears to be a factor affecting even those Indians who emigrated to Britain as qualified teachers. They needed to spend some time in Britain to acquaint

themselves with certain aspects of English language and British culture. As reported by the National Association of Schoolmasters in as early as 1969:

> "Although their knowledge of the English
> language was adequate for basic
> communication, it was often not idiomatic
> [...]. Their period of residence in
> England had been in many cases
> insufficient for them to have absorbed
> much of British culture".
>
> (p.16)

Language seems to be one of the first obvious problems newly arrived immigrants encounter. That is why the new approach to education in Australia, for example, includes such measures as inducting migrants into Australian communities and teaching English to those newcomers who spent little time in the country (Shafer, 1983).

Time spent in the host country is thus considered as an important factor. That is, the length of stay is a determining factor as to language performance. Tomlinson (1983) highlights the significance of the length of stay in the following words:

> "Studies published during the 1970's by
> and large indicated a positive
> relationship between the length of stay
> and schooling in Britain, and improved
> educational attainment, although Asian
> children scored lower than English
> children."
>
> (pp.49-50)

This situation seems to be true even in the late 1980s. The C.E.R.I (1987) study of seven national educational systems suggests that low educational attainment does not appear to concern all foreign pupils and has two major causes:

"This situation, which persists over the years without any apparent significant improvement, affects primarily certain of the nationalities that are recent arrivals and/or whose cultural values are further removed from those of the host country".

(p.32)

The N.U.T. (1980) pointed to the difference in language needs between new and old West Indian immigrants' children. As far as new immigrants' children are concerned, their needs in English are even greater. The knowledge of English has to meet the school requirements. This highlights the need for pupils to learn and produce the language accepted by the school and required by future employers.

The Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration (1974) emphasised the importance of the length of stay and its implication on language competence. If many children enter the education system with certain handicaps, it is among the newly arrived that these handicaps are most pronounced.

The fact that language becomes less of a problem with the length of stay in the host country is agreed upon by all researchers. And now that the great majority of immigrants' children are born in the host country, they should normally have no major linguistic handicaps. One example is that the majority of West Indian children born and brought up in Britain are reported to have no linguistic difficulties which can be considered as affecting their educational achievement

(Swann Report, 1985). This is what is currently believed in France, for instance, where researchers have realised that language was not the main handicap in that very few immigrants' children now have linguistic problems, and yet the majority of immigrants' children are failing in their education.

A.1.5 Pre-school conditions and language knowledge

Not all immigrants' children start their schooling with the same knowledge of the language of the host community because of differences in contacts with the outside environment in which much of the language is acquired in an informal way. In other words, the pre-school stage could be used to prepare children, at least linguistically. This is not what is believed to be the case in receiving countries. Indeed, there is a general agreement, among researchers, that the inadequacy of pre-school provision is a contributory factor in the under-achievement of immigrants' children (Rampton Committee, 1981; Tomlinson, 1982; Bastide, 1982). Also it is now widely accepted that parents are a valuable element in the pre-school stage for parental pre-school involvement is both important to the child's development and to his school success (Tomlinson, 1984).

There is no doubt that a child speaking a language, at home, different from that used as a medium of instruction, at school, will be at a disadvantage educationally (Derrick, 1977). This particularly stresses the importance of language teaching to immigrants' pupils and expresses the need to consider the language issue before normal schooling, ie in infant and nursery schools. Some research evidence shows that immigrants' pupils who have attended these schools have less difficulties (Bastide, 1982).

In West-Germany, for instance, it is estimated that one million immigrants are children and adolescents (Raoufi 1981, (p.119);

and guest-workers' children under the age of six are - for most of the time - looked after by the family members. 95% of them do not attend public Kindergarten (Raoufi, 1981, p.121). As a result, immigrants' children do not have any contact with German children until they enter the school. The informal language learning is thus reduced to its minimum level. The linguistic handicap leads to both difficulties in integration and low academic performance. Immigrants' children start school on an unequal footing due to their low level of competence in German, which contributes to their non-participation in class discussion. And, as an adequate mother-tongue teaching programme is non-existent, immigrants' children end up with low performances in both programmes. As a result, it was estimated that in the early 1980's, more than 60% of immigrants' children dropped out before they reached the 9th class (Raoufi, 1981, p.124).

Immigrants' children have more difficulties to face than natives from the same social class. This is clearly reported in the C.E.R.I (1987) study:

> "Immigrants' children have thus to contend
> with two types of handicaps, being
> foreigners in an education system which
> marginalises children who have not
> absorbed the cultural and behavioural
> patterns of the country, and by and large
> belonging to a social environment which in
> itself is already in a position of
> inferiority and lacks equality of
> opportunity from the outset".
>
> (p.70)

Milet (1985) holds similar views in that he considered that immigrants' children have to acquire the same oral and written competence of standard French as their French peers if they are about to succeed at school and in society. This is further complicated by two factors. First, they have to acquire this competence at the same time as French pupils. Second, they start their education with more handicaps than French pupils because they enter school with less linguistic competence than them.

In his comparative study of natives' and Maghriban pupils' competence in French language Milet (1985) concludes that, first French pupils conceive French language more as a system than Maghriban pupils; second, natives slightly outdo Maghribans when dealing with acquired - and not learned - linguistic elements; third, natives obtain better results that Maghribans in text analysis, in standard French. According to Milet (1985), the differences noted here are essentially due to the lack of a good linguistic preparation of Maghriban pupils at home. This preparation particularly concerns the written aspect of the language. As to the spoken language, it seems that Maghriban pupils possess a better competence than natives. This is explained by Milet (1985) in the following terms:

> "... la compétence générale des enfants
> d'origine maghrébine est plus riche,
> puisqu' elle est issue de l'exposition à
> deux systèmes linguistiques utilisés soit
> alternativement soit conjointement en
> milieu familial".
>
> (p.27)
>
> (see Translation 4, Appendix B)

In Britain, The Committee of Inquiry (1981) mentioned pre-school provision as an important factor in the education of immigrants' children. The Committee believed that West-Indian children's pre-school conditions are even worse because social pressures on West-Indian families are greater. In addition, the number of West-Indian men who work overnight is nearly double that of white men. Consequently, parents have little time available to spend with their children during their pre-school life. This situation is thought to have a direct negative impact on children. More important is the fact that it affects some of their linguistic abilities. As stated by the Committee (1981):

> "It is vital for a young child to have
> 'adult time' available; to have stories
> told and read to him, to be helped to
> learn nursery rhymes so that his language
> and his ability to listen can be
> developed."
>
> (p.15)

Considering these facts, it is important to have in mind that contributory factors to under-achievement are accumulated right from pre-school age. Indeed, we believe that in immigrants' homes mother-child interaction is far from being constructive and stimulating. Immigrants' homes, as working-class homes, are places where children receive little stimulation and little encouragement towards attaining a goal. Hess and Shipman (1965) and Bee (1969), cited in Mortimore and Blackstone (1982, pp.44-45) claim that middle-class mothers tended to pay more attention to problem-solving and to goal-attaining than working-class mothers. Hence, middle-class children are likely to be better prepared to have a higher degree of achievement motivation related to their socio-cultural background.

The pre-school stage is also an important period for language skills to be developed. For, starting school means that a child has to adapt to a new environment requiring certain linguistic and cognitive skills without which he will find himself at a disadvantage (Mortimore and Blackstone, 1982). This suggests a sound preparation at home and in the pre-schooling stage. Unfortunately, and as it will be seen later in the text, this is not the case of our studied population. Neither is it that of West-Indian parents, for instance, of whom Taylor (1981) wrote:

"It is widely acknowledged that West Indian parents express a high regard for education and are keen to aid their children's schooling. Yet an earlier section of this report on West Indian family life and in particular, child rearing practices in the U.K [...], strongly suggested many West Indian parents may well have little understanding of the importance of play, toys, conversation and interaction for the development of their child in his early years, as well as for a basis for later, more formal, learning".

(p.142)

The more language skills - and other skills we have mentioned - are developed in the pre-school age, the less difficulties pupils will have to face later. Hence, the support provided by the family at this stage is not to be neglected. Majoribanks (1979) found that significant differences in school achievement exist between children of different

ethnic and social status groups. This author believes that the major factors influencing educational achievement are social circumstances and the support provided by the family and the environment. Obviously, a good linguistic preparation of the child at home, reinforced by some pre-school provision, is a positive start to the child and a way of rendering the school teacher's task easier.

A.1.6 Parents' instruction and language use:

In their survey of Pakistani immigrant's children in Glasgow, Dickinson et al (1975) also gathered information on language at home. Most of the talking taking place between parents and children was in their native language (usually Punjabi). Not all fathers and mothers had received instruction in English language. Indeed, the researchers found that:

"Four out of five fathers, but less than

half of mothers had received instruction

in English."

(p.12)

The fact that not all fathers and mothers had received instruction in English can be added as a factor that contributes to the under-achievement of the Pakistani immigrant's child in the English language in this study. Another example is that Tomlinson (1983) found West Indian parents with a high level of education tended to have children who performed well at school. Later on, Tomlinson (1986) argues that variations between pupils are more attributable to parental teaching of the skills at home and to mothers' educational levels. Parents can help neither with language nor with other subjects related to their children's education.

Tomlinson (1983) is among those who stressed the correlation between children's performance and their parents' knowledge of English.

Similar concern had been expressed earlier by Bowker (1968). All researchers agree on the fact that some parents cannot help their children simply because they themselves do not know the language of the host country. There is no doubt that language stands as a barrier to those people wishing to help their children and to participate to school life. Parents of Asian origin, in England, are one example. They are reported to have less contact with schools than any other ethnic minority parents because of language difficulties (Education For Some, 1986). In the U.S.A, the College Board (1978) pointed to the same situation, in the sense that the more parents know the language of the host country the better they can help their own children. In UNESCO's (1978) Educational Studies and Documents No. 27, the lack of language knowledge by parents was also scrutinised. And it is here again believed that parents who do not know well the language of the host country are unlikely to be good examples to their children or even to be able to help them.

Milet (1985) gave other reasons why immigrant parents in France participate little to their children's education. They know little about the school system, they are in a marginalised position and in an inferior socioeconomic situation. But we believe these factors cannot be dissociated from instruction and the knowledge of the host community. Similar concern is stressed by Roberts (1980) who believes that working-class parents have positive attitudes to education but their lack of knowledge and information does not allow them to manipulate the school system in the way middle-class parents do. This powerlessness is also noticed among parents of black children in the USA where Clark (1983) reported that parents simply confess that they do not know how to help their children in their education. And it is, we would add, very unlikely that parents gain any knowledge or information to help their

children unless they first acquire a certain level of instruction.
Parents' instruction has a direct bearing on their children's education
and on the whole family's conditions of life.

A.1.7 Home circumstances:

Home circumstances are always associated with immigrants'
children's under-achievement in their education. Immigrants' home
circumstances are often described and qualified as unsuitable on both
the point of view of living conditions and educational environment.
There are many reasons for immigrants having unsuitable home conditions.
Immigrants in West Germany, for instance, are affected by unemployment
and socio-economic conditions. Immigrants generally took those jobs
natives refused. As Raoufi (1981) commented on immigrant workers in
West-Germany:

"A high proportion of guest-workers are to

be found in jobs involving hard physical

work, low pay and even low social status."

(p.114)

These immigrants are called guest-workers. They are never
considered a full part of German society. Theirs is a very tenuous,
temporary existence because it has been known for them to be asked to
leave West-Germany in times of economic recession and high unemployment.
This economic pressure, added to their difficulties to adapt to German
society, formed a tremendous anxiety in which they constantly lived.
Poor jobs, poor housing, low economic status, unguaranteed future, poor
knowledge of the native language are the kind of problems they had.
Their social life was unstable. Clark's (1983) description of low-
achieving black children's homes - in his studied population - is
contained in one sentence:

"... there is little happiness and much

misery in these homes".

(p.190)

Home factors are thought to bear much importance on educational success.
Tomlinson's (1983) view is that:

"There is certainly no school study which

serves to deny the importance of parental

and home influence".

(p.7)

And the fact that there was no definite assurance as to immigrants'
future has had serious implications for their children. Raoufi (1981)
explained the situation in the following terms:

"The insecurity involved in living with

packed suitcases ready at hand for the

next move inhibits them from making any

far-sighted plans for their children's

education. It is often the case that

children who are attending German schools

must break up their educational training

in order to return home because their

parents are not employed more or have

changed their plans. This reflects their

social situation, which often leads to

non-fulfilment of both raised hopes and

educational goals."

(p.119)

To some extent, this is increasingly the case for the Algerian
community now resident in France. With the economic recession affecting
most sectors of industry and consequently the public sector and service

industries, many families are living with uncertain futures. Even ignoring those families based in industrial areas, there is a significant proportion of the agricultural, seasonal work carried out - especially in the South - by Algerians. The transitory nature of their employment proves a damaging influence on their children's education.

It is generally believed that pupils from different social backgrounds achieve different educational attainment. Inadequate home circumstances as a contributory factor to under-achievement among immigrants' children in Australia is mentioned by Shafer (1983). Students from different ethnic and social status groups reached different levels of achievement. Social circumstances, family involvement and the community support are thought to be of more significance than other factors.

Home circumstances of immigrants's children in Australia have also been investigated by Taft and Cahill (1981). And it was found that children whose parents have provided them with a supportive environment had less language difficulties. Besides, their parents either knew some English or started learning it at their arrival. Parents were a good example and also helped and encouraged their children to do the same. Unfortunately, not all minority families are supportive of education. Indeed, Tomlinson (1986) found that some families are more supportive than others:

> "In much of the literature, Afro-Caribbean
> families, particularly single-parent
> families, have been presented as
> disorganised, whereas Asian families have
> been regarded as more supportive of
> education".

(p.16)

In Britain, many writers have pointed to the relation between achievement and home circumstances. Bowker (1968), Dickinson et al (1975), Hill (1976), The Committee of Inquiry (1981) and Tomlinson (1983) are some of them who have emphasised the importance of home circumstances. Dickinson et al (1975) pointed particularly to the over-crowded aspect of Pakistani families in Glasgow where, as reported:

"Almost half of the families are 'over-crowded' on the criterion of one-and-a-half persons or more per room."

(p.12)

It is likely that immigrants' children whose families are over-crowded are living in unsuitable home conditions which are bound to prevent them doing any homework properly. Research evidence shows that low educational attainment is associated with over-crowded housing conditions (Mortimore and Blackstone, 1982). Indeed, poor housing may well result in difficulties of studying at home, in the lack of having tranquillity, privacy and adequate sleeping. The Committee of Inquiry (1981) referred to home conditions in terms of economic status. It is stated that more West-Indian mothers are obliged to work because of their economic conditions. This Committee referred to the 1971 census to show that:

"68% of West-Indian married women went out to work compared with the national average of 42%."

(p.15)

Race and class are inextrically inter-twined in this aspect of family and working life. Obviously, married women go out to work to increase their families' income and their social conditions. The way income affects pupils' education is explained by Mortimore and Blackstone

(1982) in the following words:

> "Low income may mean that parents have to
> spend more time at their job or on
> household tasks which leaves less time to
> spend with their children. They will have
> less money to spend on books, crayons,
> puzzles or outings to help their child's
> development and to develop the skills
> which the school rewards".
>
> (p.26)

These imposed and non-controlled conditions of life seem to largely influence the development of immigrants and their children. Bowles and Gintis (1976) wrote in this respect:

> "The central pre-requisite for personal
> development - be it physical, emotional,
> aesthetic, cognitive or spiritual - lies
> in the capacity to control the conditions
> of one's life".
>
> (Bowles and Gintis, 1976 quoted in
>
> Goodlad, 1979, p.39)

According to Bowker (1968), home circumstances and conditions affect the immigrants' child as well as native children from the same social background. Family security and support are important to the child and provide him with more suitable conditions. Hill (1976) too, points to home background as a factor which he includes with those that seriously affect immigrants' children's education. Some useful information is to be found in the C.E.R.I (1987) analysis of immigrants' children's education compared to their parents' socio-economic status and instruction. Apart from the fact that foreign children outnumber

natives in special education, children from the Maghreb countries are unfavourably placed compared to children from the EEC countries. Most important, in the case of our study, is that children of Algerian origin are the most disadvantaged among the Maghriban school population. The link between school achievement and social factors, including instruction, is considered as highly significant by the C.E.R.I (1987).

"... social factors (socio-economic and

socio-cultural environment, socio-economic

status parents, parents' level of

education .... all closely interlinked,

play a decisive part in the school career

of children, whatever their nationality".

(p.70)

Major explanatory factors for some foreign pupils' educational difficulties are, in the case of France, the 'household's socio-economic category' with other variables such as family size, father's education and the mother's occupational status (C.E.R.I, 1987, pp.180-181). The advantage of similar studies in Britain (Rampton/Swann Report) is that they offer a wider range of explanatory factors such as I.Q tests, income, family size, adverse socio-economic conditions (employment, health, housing .....), and other factors of a cultural aspect and more apparent at the level where school and society interact.

The relation between parents' socio-economic status and school performance is also believed to be significant among immigrants' students in the U.S.A. The College Board (1978) reported that:

"Most researchers agree with the findings

of William Sewell that socio-economic

status of parents is a crucial variable in

school performance."   (p.7)

A broader illustration of home conditions is given by Unesco (1978) which reported that Finnish migrants' children in Sweden had language problems. It was also believed that these language problems find their origin in the social conditions in which immigrants' children live.

A.1.8 Link between family, class and education

A great many studies have investigated the relation existing between family, class and education and have emphasised the relevance of these factors as to educational performance (Cardinet, 1979; Bastide, 1982; Tomlinson, 1986).

Family and class cannot be considered as the only factors influencing the school child's performance. However, there is no doubt - and this is supported by research evidence - there there exists an important relation between family, class and education (Craft, 1970).

Generally, researchers in the field of education tend to agree on the well-known fact that working-class children and especially those of unskilled workers - hence including most of the immigrants' children - are under-represented in selective education. In France, for instance, Goapper (1985) has clearly shown how immigrants' children, particularly Maghribans, are to be found in their majority in special and vocational training. In addition, their number diminishes in the Second Degré (Bastide, 1982; Ministère de l'Education Nationale, 1985). This phenomenon is underlined in most countries of immigration. Banks (1986) reports that, in the USA, white students are found disproportionately in classes for the academically gifted. A summary of the situation of immigrants' children's education in Western Europe is presented by Lynch (1986) in the following words:

"Our analysis shows little doubt about the
continuing educational inequality and
marginalisation suffered by migrant
workers' children or the way in which
their culture is 'bracketed out' from the
normal school system, even in most cases -
Sweden is one exception - in home tongue.
They tend to be over-represented in
special education and under-represented in
academic and long forms of secondary
education, in teacher education and in
higher education."

(p.146)

Another characteristic of the family-class-education relation is
that even if they start on an equal footing as to levels of ability,
working-class children are more likely to leave school earlier than
middle-class children and to benefit less of their education (Eggleston,
1967; Clévy, 1978; Reid, 1986).

It is argued, in most of the literature on the sociology of
education, that the formal culture of the school is similar to that of
the middle-class which values are predominant in the educational system
(Reid, 1986). This is even true of a country such as Algeria where
social classes are not a parameter much used in investigating and
understanding educational phenomena (Boutef-nouchet, 1982).

On explanation for the educational failure of working-class and
ethnic minority children is that their parents are unable to manipulate
the school system in such a way as to take advantage of it for their
children's sake (Bourdieu, 1970). Studies of social class and education
have generally succeded in relating the pupil's social class to his

educational achievement. However, according to Craft (1970), early studies in this field have failed to explain the way social class works as an incentive in the education of pupils. This has brought researchers to investigate other variations of social class. Craft (1970) wrote in this respect:

> "The trend in research has thus been away from the 'arithmetical' assessment of social class differentials in educational opportunity towards the study of 'educability', responsiveness to the school system in terms of attitudes and values, although studies of educability usually begin with a demographic definition of the problem."
>
> (p.6)

Recent research in the field does indeed include a growing concern about attitudes, values, teacher training, the school institution, and so on (Bastide, 1982; Swann Report, 1985; Tomlinson, 1986; C.E.R.I, (1987).

Middle-class children are reported to benefit more from their education and to evolve in houses which foster educational achievement and where parents do their best to ensure middle-class status for their children. It is, in a way, the transmission of a patrimony from parents to children and from one generation to another (Bourdieu, 1970; Reid, 1986).

Clearly, social-class differences can create educational differences and, consequently, differences in life chances. This is one of the reasons that made us investigate, in our study concerning Algerian immigrants' children, the variations and processes - within the family - which provide the necessary motivation and incentives to

succeed academically. Components such as the pupil's home background, family size, parents' education, and so on, are found to be indicators of the family-class-education dimension and relation.

These variables constitute the pupil's social and family environment and might indicate the family's educational ideology and value system within a social class. Some researchers go further to consider the school influence (Bastide, 1982) and that of the neighbourhood (Malewska-Peyre, 1982) to explain educational differences in terms of educational provision (better schools, better equipment, better teachers) and community amenities (libraries, sports facilities, ...). This is an important feature of the phenomenon in that working-class children and immigrants' children are more likely to be found in suburbs and deprived areas, as a result of economic pressures. There are, however, some exceptions - as it will be seen in the case of Algerian families in France - which prove that there is a process of social selection within the same social class. Mortimore's and Blackstone's (1982) view is that children of manual workers are under-represented in academic classes, However, and this confirms our own research results, these authors assert that generalising this situation to the entire working-class would be an over-simplification of the phenomenon. They rather argue for the existence of an educationally disadvantaged group within the working-class. In other words, not all working-class children fail in their education.

This brings us to consider the working-class itself in terms of subclasses and, hence, subcultures (Eggleston, 1967; Craft, 1970; Hargreaves, 1970). Reid (1986) uses the way teachers categorise children along social class lines to confirm this classification. The school influence is simply reinforcing that of society. Hence, it should come as no surprise to see different schools - with different

statuses - recruiting pupils who correspond to their statuses. This is also what we have observed during our field research in Algeria. Schools with an established celebrity of academic success are not the schools of working-class children. There is, we believe, little chance for children from deprived homes to attend schools recruiting their pupils from the middle-class and to cultivate some educational and career aspirations considered as more a characteristic of the middle-class family than as that of the working-class one.

However, and as already suggested, there are variations within the working-class itself. Craft (1970) highlighted the heterogeneity existing within the working-class. His review of many studies which analysed social class subcultures suggests that some working-class families possess much ambition for their children and are much child-centred. As noted by Banks (1970):

> "... it has been shown several times that
> the children of skilled workers perform
> better at school and are more likely to go
> to higher education than are the children
> of the unskilled [...]. There is also
> evidence [...] that skilled and semi-
> skilled workers have higher aspirations
> for their children than unskilled workers
> ...."

(pp.259-260)

We have reached similar conclusions as far as our studied population in France is concerned. Algerian families who are economically successful or where parents possess some education showed more ambition for their children and more interest in educational and school activities. It is also among these families that academically

successful children are to be found.

Clearly, some working-class families (including immigrant families) possess middle-class attitudes to education in that they value extended schooling and are aware of the value of education. Parents' occupation seems to be an important explanatory factor. However, occupation alone is unlikely to provide us with a full explanation and understanding of the phenomenon. Many variables are at work. Studies which have emphasised other factors such as the family size, parents' education, parent-child relationship, etc...., all bear upon the link existing between family, class and education.

A.1.9 The importance of social environment

Immigrants' children do not learn the language of the host community solely in the classroom environment. Much of the language is acquired in an informal way within the social environment at large. The success of this learning taking place outside the classroom depends particularly on how often immigrants' children mix with natives. In Scotland, for instance, Dickinson et al (1975) found that Pakistani children do not tend to spend much time with Scottish children. This diminishes their practice of English. And the only opportunity which remains outside the school is between brothers and sisters who are thought to be more willing to use English among themselves.

If it is true that the school can help in the process of English acquisition, it is equally true that parents have their role to play as well. They should encourage their children to mix more with their Scots school mates. Regardless of any other reason, this could be done simply for the sake of advancing language acquisition. The interaction the children have is mainly limited to the school environment. Informal processes - such as interaction with parents, friends, etc... - which could contribute to, and increase, acquisition are limited.

If the teacher is always asked to pay more attention to immigrants' children to provide them with as much help as possible, the same has to apply to parents and their children. It is a shared action with shared responsibilities. This must surely be seen as a two-way process. And there may be cultural barriers to overcome too.

In West-Germany, Raoufi (1981) reported that parents deliberately avoid pre-school education and are reluctant to see their children mix with Germans because they fear religious indoctrination.

The formal environment of the classroom is not enough, for the child has little chance to speak the language. He is likely to hear the teacher talk about the language more than to have an opportunity for sufficient practice. The importance of using the language is well underlined by Derrick (1966) who reminds us of this fundamental, if rather obvious fact:

"Language will only be used correctly by

being used not by being talked about."

(p.211)

Immigrants' children must have as much contact as possible with native pupils. This, of course, assumes a tolerant host community. Although a great deal could be learned from mixing with natives, immigrants' children are not always willing to do so. Dickinson et al (1975) found that it was the case of Pakistani pupils in Glasgow. For instance, a higher percentage of Pakistani pupils prefer to travel alone from and to school. In addition, very few Pakistani pupils attended formal clubs which are the kinds of leisure activity during which the highest percentage of English use appears. Paradoxically enough, it is the mosque in which the least English is spoken that enjoys one of the highest frequencies among Pakistani children's selected leisure activities. One is tempted to ask how exactly children view the mosque.

The suspicion is that there might be some form of coercion involved on the part of parents. Nevertheless, it could be genuinely the case that it is at the mosque, religious teaching apart, that the most agreeable and desirable forms of social interaction occur.

The more Pakistani children interacted with Scots children, the more they benefited from a higher language input. The language acquisition that takes place when playing with friends occurs in an informal atmosphere in which there is no teacher and no learner. Having friends to play with seems to be the ideal situation for an immigrant's child learning a second language. Indeed, games and many other activities with friends, provide intensive language interation and increase language acquisition. The informal environment is considered very important by Krashen (1981), an American writer whose theories on language acquisition and formal language learning have had a significant influence on the language teaching profession in all sectors:

> "The child relies primarily on language
> acquisition. Thus, 'intake' informal
> environments are sufficient."
>
> (p.49)

This aspect of language acquisition is particularly significant in the case of children who are not yet at school. As already stated, immigrant parents in West-Germany do not send their children to Kindergarten. And when these children first enter the school, they face enormous language difficulties, for the linguistic preparation was insufficient.

In Canada however, an extensive programme of pre-school bilingual playgrounds has firmly put French as the second official language 'on the map' even in non-French speaking areas of the country. One cannot expect this kind of development to take place in monolingual communities

such as France, but in order to assist in the integration of non-French speaking communities in some regions such as a pre-school provision involving as much as possible the parents and play leaders or teachers working together would be more than welcome.

There is no doubt as to the importance of social environment in language acquisition. However, there are further considerations related to this issue. One cannot benefit from the social environment unless he is integrated and accepted as early as possible, which is not the case of immigrants' children. As noted by Dague (1986):

"Early segregation is no preparation for

future integration."

(p.95)

The phenomenon of social rejection does not give much chance to immigrants' children to mix with natives and to practice their language to a full extent. Neither does it give them any choice as to their ethnic identity. Gollnick and Chinn (1983) observed that in the USA:

"Minority students often have no choice in

ethnic identity because they have not been

accepted as members of the majority group

and are usually identified immediately as

members of their minority group."

(p.66)

Obviously this reduces the child's possibility to benefit from the informal language acquisition process. Immigrants' children do have difficulties in society. This is widely recognised in Britain (Cherrington and Giles, 1981) and in France where, according to the general opinion, it is the high concentration of immigrant families in some areas which creates delinquency (Griotteray, 1984). The immigrant's child is to be avoided not only as a foreigner but also as a

delinquent. How then can the immigrant's child possibly benefit from what Krashen (1981) calls 'intake' informal environment?

Furthermore, immigrants are sometimes considered as an 'underclass' (Jeffcoate, 1984, p.17) and treated as such. What makes Jeffcoate refer to immigrants as an 'underclass' is that they are poorly paid and have low status and insecure jobs which involve unsocial working hours and hard physical conditions. This form of racism has its implications on immigrants' children. For instance, resistance to institutions, schools, teachers, and so on, is a feature of the British educational system where black pupils are reported to resist and challenge teacher authority as a response to institutionalised racism (Jones and Kimberley, 1982). One has also to mention unintentional racism existing in society and reflected in some teachers' attitudes and subconsciously influenced by stereotypes and negative views of children (Swann Report, 1985).

Undoubtedly, there is the need to forge closer relationships with the community and to combat all forms of racism and social rejection to foster not only informal language acquisition but the development of multicultural education. This certainly requires the development of social relationships between immigrants and society, teachers and pupils, school and community, etc... To join Nixon's (1985) point of view, 'multicultural education does not develop in a special vacuum (p.73). Neither does language!

A.1.10 Some cultural aspects and under-achievement

The effect of the passage from one culture to another, usually referred to as culture shock, is classified as one of the major factors in educational under-achievement among immigrants' children. Berryman (1983) – who asserts that culture shock:

"results in feelings of inferiority.

insecurity, and loneliness."

(p.26)

believes that we cannot separate the learning of the language of the host communtity from that of its culture.

In Australia, Taft and Cahill (1981) also mentioned the effect of culture shock to which they refer by using a stronger term - conflict. They see immigrants' children as living in two different worlds, each of them with its own culture and language.

In the case of immigrants' children in West-Germany, Müller (1981) has also underlined this cultural aspect. According to him, the process of integration came as a new perception of the "second generation". However, many reasons made this integration impossible. Families were very keen on keeping their children at home in the pre-school age. Parents often sent their children back to their home countries. They have been neither completely socialised into their mother tongue nor into that of the host community. Very often, the first contacts with the school came as a shock because of the many differences in language and culture between the home environment and that of the school and the society.

Reference has already been made to Pakistani parents' religious beliefs. Their attachment to Islamic culture might well lead them to give more importance to religious instruction their children could get from the mosque than to the school activities which are unlikely to include any religious instruction based on Islam.

Religious beliefs are not to be under-estimated. Indeed, it has been our experience that most Muslim parents would rather not like to see their daughters mix with boys in any assembly or activity. They also would not like to see their daughters wear uniforms which do not correspond to the Islamic norms. Muslim parents' concern about

education is well illustrated by Tomlinson (1984):

> "Muslim parents are increasingly in conflict with a secularised co-educational Western educational system, and have become more vocal, particularly since the worldwide resurgence of Islam after the Iranian revolution in asserting their own community needs and misunderstand over the issue, as Islamic education is based on quite different principles and values to those of English education. In particular, Muslim parents question the materialistic and competitive basis of English education, the individualistic nature of learning, the way girls are educated, the predominance of Christian influence, and the separation of education from other aspects of life."
>
> (p.78)

It is particularly interesting to note that, just like in France, Muslim parents in Britain show a major anxiety when feeling that their children are moving away from their culture and influence. These parents' attitudes influence their children's education and are considered as cultural factors affecting minority pupils but not white working-class and female pupils (Tomlinson, 1986).

A.1.11 Psychological factors

Psychologically disturbed children are thought to be at a disadvantage because of the effect some psychological factors have on them and which result in low educational achievement. (Clement

and Kruidenuier, 1983; Milet, 1985; Tomlinson, 1986). Müller (1981) has described the situation in which some immigrants' children live in West-Germany. He has underlined some aspects of these in the following words:

> "Foreign children receive insufficient affection. They receive above all too little of what they need. Fear overwhelms children who wake up in the morning and find themselves alone because their parents have long since gone to work, who are locked in at home, who are rebuffed in schoolyards and playgrounds, who are isolated in their classes."
>
> (p.37)

This is certainly not the case of all immigrants' children. But there are, indeed, children whose psychological security is threatened because both parents are forced to work "unsocial hours" in order to afford to live in what is an expensive environment (Mortimore and Blackstone, 1982). There is no doubt that children who experience such harmful conditions as these, will see their education affected. A child needs first to feel secure and loved if he is about to achieve his real potential (Maslow, 1970). These difficulties, added to those immigrants' children face with the language itself, may constitute too great a burden to overcome for any reasonable achievement at school. Indeed, immigrants' children have too many difficulties to face. As reported by Tomlinson (1984):

> "It is undoubtedly true that the children, who although born in Britain, have to acquire two or more languages and

accommodate to two or more sets of
cultural values, face major problems not
encountered by indigenous children."

(p.115)

This aspect of immigrants' children's life is also commented by Berryman
(1983) in the case of children in Canada. To him, there could be no
high educational achievement as long as the personal esteem remains low
for there is a direct relationship between these two factors. Besides,
all the literature on motivational factors, notably Maslow (1970)
stresses the vital importance of a secure learning environment.
Physical needs are uppermost at school and, of course, at home.

It is thus important that immigrants' children get as much support
as possible not only from their families, but from teachers and
educational institutions as well. Moreover, the families, as a
socialising environment, should be a strong and effective emotional
support especially for those children who are newcomers into the host
community. The more parents are supportive, the more they are likely to
help their children go through their transitional period when they
discover that people around them speak another language and believe and
think in ways different from theirs (Tomlinson, 1984; Derrick, 1977).
It should not be overlooked that parents too may need support of a
pastoral, caring nature in order for them to adjust to their new or
strange environment.

This period of adaptation to the new environment is particularly
important. The child might - if not sufficiently supported - develop
negative attitudes towards the newness or strangeness of things that
surround him. Consequently, he will be somehow reluctant to learn the
language of the host community, an attitude which, in turn, will affect
his educational achievement.

In Britain, emotional factors are mentioned by writers like Bowker (1968) and Fitchett (1978). The latter highlighted the language difficulties immigrants' children face and their needs in this field. Particular reference was made to West Indians who have difficulties in all language skills. In addition, the author gives special attention to emotional factors:

> "There are also emotional factors to be
> considered. Most children in immigrant
> groups are under stress in some way or
> another; they will usually have to
> straddle two cultures and two languages,
> while in school they are very often faced
> with an additional 'school culture' and
> 'school language' to which adjustments
> have to be made."
>
> (p.157)

It is very often the case that emotional factors are made worse by the lack of language competence (Verma and Bayley, 1982; Clément and Kruidenier, 1983). There is no doubt that immigrants' children who cannot express themselves freely feel frustrated and stay outside any classroom discussion or participation because of the linguistic barrier. Language difficulties might result in some kind of stress on immigrants' children. This renders vital the very fact that immigrants' children be able to communicate within the classroom as well as outside it (Milet, 1985). Failing to do so is likely to inhibit these children and to make them feel useless, particularly within the classroom.

A.1.12 Parents' involvement, help and aspirations

Parents are a significant element in the education of immigrants' children. Many researchers underlined and stressed parents' role in

their children's education (Mortimore and Blackstone, 1982; Kendall, 1983; Clark, 1983; Tomlinson, 1983). Help and support they can provide is of a tremendous usefulness. They can indeed act as catalysts. Effective parents' help and support is very likely to minimise the nature of the various difficulties children are living with. The parents' role can be observed at home, at school, as well as within the society at large. According to Carelli (1979), parents' influence on the child's future life is more important than that of the school. Unfortunately, parents are not always positively and efficiently involved in their children's education for many reasons.

The Committee of Inquiry (1981) considered that parental involvement in the teaching of reading usually leads to a significant improvement on behalf of children. Parental help is also mentioned, in the case of Pakistani children by Dickinson et al (1975) who found that not all parents helped their children with language problems at home. Two reasons are cited by parents themselves. First, they do not have much time to spare in this respect; and second, they do not have sufficient education to help. This is highlighted by Tomlinson (1983) who believes that parents rely more on teachers because they are unable to help their children. Given the fact that the extra tuition children have at the mosque is in their native language, their opportunities to learn English are, in the main, restricted to the school environment. Bowker (1968) mentioned similar reasons. He pointed to the fact that immigrant parents often work unusual hours and it is not always possible for them to attend evening school meetings in order to understand their children's problems and to try to help them.

Tomlinson (1983) too believes that parental involvement can improve the immigrant's child's education. She suggests that a better parental involvement should be worked out with an improvement of the home-school

liaison based on a mutual understanding. Parents' cooperation with the school and the teacher could help in identifying the areas of differences that exist between natives and immigrants' children. And it is only when these differences are identified that they can be dealt with. The education service itself may be partly to blame in not guaranteeing that children from homes are adequately supported by parental involvement, ie information about these very meetings designed to bring parents and schools closer together may not be transmitted in the right manner - emphasising their high educational importance - or it will be blandly assumed that the language of the host community is understood by all parents. Bringing parents to get more involved in their children's education is of paramount importance. Indeed, research evidence tends to show that independently of the social class, children whose parents showed interest in their education achieved better than those whose parents lacked this interest (Mortimore and Blackstone, 1982).

Berryman (1983) had particular things to say about parental involvement in their children's education in the Canadian immigration process. Parents can motivate their children to learn the majority language and to identify with the majority culture. This depends on what attitudes parents themselves have towards the language and the culture of the majority. Often, children's attitudes reflect those of their parents. Parents can encourage their children to develop positive attitudes to language only when they do not feel hostile towards the majority group and also when they feel secure about the value of their own culture.

According to Berryman (1983), parents play an important role in the whole education of their children. In the case of language development, the supportive activities parents could provide are, for instance, the quality of conversation and the interest they share with their children

in books, reading, writing, etc.....

Taft and Cahill (1981) found that immigrants' children's educational aspirations and those of their parents are strongly linked. Academic success is proportionate to these aspirations which acted as a strong incentive. Parents played a vital role, for it is their aspirations which are reflected in their children who have always been pushed to work hard and to conform to the strict requirements of the school.

A.1.13 Home-school relations

A sound cooperation between the home and the school is necessary for the improvement of immigrants' children's education. All researchers in the field do agree as to the need for positive home-school relations. (Mortimore and Blackstone, 1982; Tomlinson, 1983, 1984; Swann Report, 1985). The need for close links and relations between schools and immigrant parents in Britain is seen by the Committee of Inquiry (1981) as an urgent task to undertake, especially in the case of parents who are unfamiliar with the education system. Mutual trust should be created between parents and teachers. Parents can, indeed, be an important source of information on their culture and their children's difficulties. Knowing better about this, teachers can decide as to what appropriate attitudes to adopt with a particular ethnic minority group. This is more important when we know that teachers are generally presented as lacking information about their minority pupils. This is what we have observed in France during our field work. Another example is that of teachers in Britain about whom Tomlinson (1984) wrote:

> "Teachers in Britain still generally lack
>
> knowledge about minority groups and hold
>
> negative and inappropriate views,

particularly about Caribbean parents."

(p.151)

Parents and teachers must work out a real partnership for the sake of the child's educational success. One way towards this partnership is perhaps to establish a good home-school liaison. This liaison is significant in any child's education and is emphasised by most researchers in this field in Britain, for much depends, indeed, on a good relationship between homes and schools or between parents and teachers.

Relations between immigrant parents and teachers are also considered by Berryman (1983) as an important factor. Generally, parents know little or nothing at all about the language of the host community. The fact that communication is not easy to establish between teachers and parents restricts the sharing of information that could be important to the teachers and his pupils. The contribution of parents combined with that of the school could only increase the chances of making the child reach better educational results. In a multi-cultural society, the partnership of the school and the home has to be established and it has to be a positive contributory factor to the child's academic success, not merely a means of disciplining or sanctioning the child.

However, one of the obstacles to realise this partnership is that, in some cultures, the tendency is for parents to leave the teaching to the teacher, that is not intervene on the child's behalf - and this, in the immigration context is not to the best advantage of the child, obviously (Tomlinson, 1983). This is, as will be widely discussed later, the case of Algerian parents in France and even in Algeria.

A.1.14 The role of the teacher

The role of the teachers in multi-cultural societies is widely discussed in almost all the literature relevant to the education of immigrants' children. Different authors have approached the teacher's task in different ways. His task is believed, naturally, to be of central interest (Craft, 1981; Eggleston, 1981, 1985). Each of Bowker (1968), Hill (1976), Edwards (1979), Verma et al (1983) and Tomlinson (1983, 1984) have discussed the role of the teacher within multi-cultural schools.

It is within the school - and by the teacher - that the immigrant child is taught the language of the host community. Teachers have to be aware of the child's language needs and help him gain the maximum from the school. In Hill's (1976) point of view:

" ... it is only at school that they have

the chance to use English and it is

therefore essential that their repertoire

of vocabulary and language structures

should constantly be developed and

extended."

(p.53)

Although we believe that a great deal of language can be acquired and used outside the school, it remains however true that the role of the school as a teaching and an educational institution is important with regard to language learning (Tomlinson, 1983; Figueroa, 1984).

The understanding of immigrants' pupils' needs along with that of their differences as individuals belonging to another culture has to be borne in mind by the teacher if he is about to be effective. The need for the recognition of differences is clearly expressed by these young people. According to Giles (1977), it is the avoidance of the

recognition of differences which results in misunderstanding and conflict. One way to face the problem would perhaps be for teachers, in multicultural classrooms, to acknowledge these differences and to bring their children to recognise that differences do exist between human beings and are not necessarily harmful. Furthermore, the teacher has to possess the ability to cope with the many changes that occur in a multi-cultural society. The Committee of Inquiry (1981) believed that the teacher's role, as far as low achievement in language is concerned, is vital. If, for instance, a teacher currently labels the immigrant's child's language as non-standard English or bad English, the child might well misunderstand the teacher's remarks and think that he is being rejected. The child might also extend this feeling of rejection to his family and even to his ethnic group. The child that feels unwanted because of his non-conformist language is likely to develop negative attitudes to the language he is learning. Consequently, he will make little or no progress. Giles (1977), Gollnick and Chinn (1983), Eggleston (1985), Tomlinson (1986), and many other researchers, provide us with evidence which shows that negative teachers' attitudes do affect pupils' performance and achievement.

The teacher's function, with regard to this situation, appears to be twofold. First, he has to be aware of the fact that an immigrant's child needs to feel that he is recognised as an individual and that other children from his ethnic minority group are accepted and their cultural values and identities recognised and respected (Giles, 1977; James, 1981). Second, if a teacher is treating and considering an immigrant's child just as a native, denying some apparent and important facts of his life as an immigrant's child, the child might in turn feel rejected, frustrated and unwanted. And it is likely that such attitudes in the child will bring him to underestimate his teacher and no longer

take interest in the subject he is learning with the teacher. Dislike for - or mistrust of - one's teacher and the subject are factors that lead to low motivation and low achievement. Clearly, properly trained teachers are most needed. Eggleston (1981) strongly argues that multicultural education needs:

"... sensitive, well-informed and properly qualified teachers committed to the development of a sound multicultural society, a society in which diversity is welcomed for its positive benefits rather than being rejected, trivialised or romanticised."

(p.103)

If much is expected from teachers, it has to be added that they themselves face specific problems in multi-cultural classrooms. And often, the immigrant's child is perceived as a problem to the teacher and the class as well. For instance, the dilemma as to what pace of teaching to adopt, is one of these problems. Should the teacher use his normal speed and put the new immigrant's child at a disadvantage, or should he teach below his normal speed and render the class boring for the rest of the pupils? This could be the reality of many multi-cultural classes in which immigrants' children are having serious language difficulties. This further emphasises the need for adequate teacher training in multicultural societies (Nixon, 1985).

Teachers in multi-cultural societies' certainly need special training. UNESCO (1978) mentions that an additional training is necessary to these teachers. Indeed, an adequate and long enough training which content must be based on the various aspects of the multi-cultural classroom is necessary to these teachers. This training

should aim at giving them a better knowledge of those immigrants' children they are teaching and of their particular difficulties and needs. The elimination of prejudice or racist attitudes or practices among the teaching profession should be at the core of initial or in-service education. This could, at least, bring teachers to become aware of those textbooks and teaching materials which contain some negative representation of ethnic minority people and their cultures (Swann Report, 1985).

Taft and Cahill (1981) reported that teachers in Australia failed in treating immigrants' children as natives. Teachers expected their immigrants' children to learn English as quickly as they could and at their best. One result that was soon noticed was that immigrants' children from non-speaking homes had adaptation problems. Language was one of the many reasons. This situation was made worse by the fact that immigrants' children had different previous forms of schooling, different educational experiences and different cultural backgrounds. Lynch (1984) has also pointed to the need for teachers in Australia to be made aware of the multi-cultural aspect of Australian society. He particularly pointed to the very fact that teachers should be enabled to cope with the language problems specific to multi-cultural classrooms. And this could be done efficiently only when teachers in multi-cultural schools receive adequate training.

Conclusion

Many different factors that contribute to the under-achievement of immigrants' children have also been highlighted in the literature. The Committee of Inquiry (1981) stressed particularly factors like curriculum, racism, adequate teaching methods and materials. Race relations (Bowker, 1968), hostility to minority groups in the society at large (Taylor, 1974), the use of language in the classroom (Edwards,

1979), the importance of mother tongue (Berryman 1983, Mahler 1981, The N.U.T 1980, Brown 1979, UNESCO 1978) and language interference (Hill 1976, Tomlinson 1983) are also brought into discussion and considered to bear upon under-achievement of immigrants' children.

Factors generally related to the education of immigrants' children are too numerous to be adequately covered in the text. Awareness of these has, however, informed this particular research to a substantial degree.

This overview of some literature has allowed us to identify some of these factors and we hope it will also give the reader an example of some aspects of the difficulties immigrants' children are facing.

At this stage, it is already important to mention that the under-achievement of immigrants' children in their education in general is a fact. Although some writers would challenge this view (Driver, 1980), there is however much evidence as to the fact that immigrants' children are under-achieving because of their many difficulties.

As already stated, the aim of this chapter was not to review the whole literature relevant to the subject matter. Rather, it helped in setting the issue in a broader context and in presenting some educational problems of immigrants' children in some countries in which significant numbers of these children are part of the education system.

What could be retained, in the main, is that the children's academic attainment suffers and is of a low standard because they do not generally reach a high level of performance in the language of the country they are living in. Their linguistic difficulties, combined with other factors, make their situation even worse.

A.2 Some aspects of the life of the Algerian immigrants' children in France

Introduction

This section has largely been informed by direct contacts and discussions with the immigrants' children, their families, their teachers and their head-teachers. It is based on the revelations made by the people concerned to the author during his investigations. So much of the literature on the education of minority groups has been written from an objective dispassionate viewpoint. The empirical data collected has given rise to generalisations, in some cases stereotypes, which have, ultimately, not been to the advantage of the people most affected, the minority groups themselves. The debate between advocates of the cultural deprivation theory and those of the cultural difference theory is, indeed, still open (Abou Sada and Jacob, 1976; Mortimore and Blackstone, 1982). While the first maintain that poor scores obtained by socially and educationally disadvantaged children are due to their linguistic and intellectual deficits, the latter argue that working-class and ethnic minority children do not have language or cognitive defects and that they enter school with cultures different from that of the school - and hence different from that of the dominant class - rather than deficient. It is understandable that Algerians may be reluctant to disclose to an investigator the reality of their condition, the full extent of their anxieties and fears, the details of their aspirations. According to Zerdoumi (1982), Algerians constitute a rather closed community which does not speak of its problems easily. Only, it is argued, the sympathetic, trusted interviewer who gains access to the home, who is able to talk more freely to all members of the family, who can move unrestrictedly in the community can gain a reliable assessment of their condition. The author

has been fortunate in gaining the trust, and we hope, respect of the people among whom he has conducted his enquiries. It was not always an easy task. However, the strength of this form of enquiry must surely be the privileged view gained from such contacts. Zerdoumi (1982) has adopted the same approach when studying the Algerian family and has emphasised the usefulness of direct contacts necessary in gaining a thorough understanding of the Algerian family.

This chapter deals uniquely with the Algerian immigrant population in France. We hope it will give the reader a wider view of some aspects of this population, necessary for the understanding of the broader issues which affect them as an ethnic minority group.

First of all, it is important to highlight the very fact that most Algerians of school age, now living in France, have either been born in this country or came very young as a result of the family reuniting process (Bastide, 1982). They have thus, in the majority of cases, spent a long time in France. The questions to be asked are 'what is the language with which they identify?' and 'what are their cultural references, if any?'. These issues are going to be the main concern in this part of our work.

Algerian immigrants' children, along with other Maghriban children, (children from North Africa) seem to have more difficulties to contend with compared to other children from Italy or Portugal, for instance. Obviously, in the case of Italians and Portuguese, the cultural gap between them and the French nationals is made less significant by the fact that they are all Europeans, with the same religion if they have one, that is, and more or less the same physical aspect. Guiotteray (1984) has explained that the first criteria French people use to distinguish someone as a foreigner or an immigrant is the physical aspect. His example is that a Maghriban will be always considered as an

immigrant even if he is a French passport holder.

Most of the Algerian children we spoke to explain their differences in terms of school and social rejection. They often feel that Italians and Portuguese are more accepted than them. And the answer that comes very often to our question 'why this difference?' is "Of course they are Europeans and we are Africans; it is not the same." This shows that they are aware of this broad distinction. And, in this innocent answer, some might interpret the causal effects of discriminatory policies and practice in the host community. Thomas (1984), for instance, argues thatthe child sees as normal the beliefs and values of his own group in which he was socialised and tends to reject the behaviour and beliefs of other groups. This way of perceiving others, generally pointed to as ethnocentrism, is according to this author very likely to lead to race prejudice. This is why we believe that the early socialising process is a fundamental ingredient in the development of positive inter-group attitudes, a process which should be further developed by the school. Others would simply claim it is a natural outcome of children developing a clear sense of self-awareness. Whatever the case, they start their transition from childhood to adulthood with this very distinction in their minds: they are not like the others.

A.2.1   The presence of young children : a result of the immigration process

According to Griotteray (1984), the presence of significant numbers of foreign children in France is due to an easy immigration in the 1960s and mid-1970s. These numbers have obviously increased with the appearance of the family-reuniting process.

From the outset we have to decide what to call these young children who came to join their parents or who are born from parents living in France. This is, by no means, a simple task. The widely used

expressions 'second generation' and 'new generation' do not refer to the correct situation of these youths and do not, we think, define them as what they exactly are, feel and think. Our introduction in their everyday life, problems, aspirations and hopes made us think otherwise. Many authors also disagree with the way these young people are categorised. Le Gallou (1985), for example, considers them as immigrants whereas Le Masne (1982) sees no relation between them and immigration except that it explains their presence in France.

To call them 'second generation' supposes that there has been a continuity in the immigration process and that they are like their parents who are referred to as the 'first generation'. To call them the 'new generation' means to forget that they are not totally new since many of them have spent 10 or 15 years, or even more, in France where most of them were born. Also, it is wrong to refer to them as a 'generation zero', as has been done by some writers, for there was something before them, and furthermore, they have an origin in France (Zaleska, 1982; Griotteray, 1984).

As far as they are themselves concerned, they very often recognise themselves as young Algerians, young Maghribans, or young Arabs. This seems to make them show a certain feeling of belonging to a specific geographical area and a specific ethnic group. In her study of 466 immigrants' children in France, Taboada-Leonetti (1982) found that 80% of these children identified themselves with the age factor (young people) and 70% with the nationality factor. As far as Maghribans are concerned, the ethnic preference was, in the majority of cases, either "Arab" or "Kabyle". One might thus suggest that they feel they have an origin and, thus, admit even indirectly their position of immigrants. This also might suggest that the idea of 'returning' to their country of origin is not completely given up and is left as a last solution to turn

to if ever the situation becomes too desperate for them in France. Indeed, Le Masne (1982) and Griotteray (1984) have both examined the situation of these people and hold a similar point of view.

In the light of political and social events in the recent history of France and the prospect of racial prejudice remaining on the agenda it could be argued that it is essential for them to retain their identity as Algerian, Maghriban or Arab. They identify themselves with at least one ethnic group. This is perhaps a response to French society which did not accept them as being completely French (Ath-Messaoud and Gilette, 1976). But, despite all these influential factors, there is still the impression that they try to lead the same way of life as the French. Le Masne (1982) has noted that they do, indeed, have the same way of life as the French. They can certainly not do otherwise unless they accept a very low status, a "ghetto" mentality.

A.2.2 Who are these children?

To the question 'To which ethnic group do you feel you belong?', Algerian children give different answers. They first clarify their position as Algerians, but they do generally set themselves in a wider ethnic group by stating, for instance, "we are Maghribans", "we are North Africans" or "we are Arabs". This coincides with how they are referred to and labelled within French society itself. Taken in another context, in Algeria for instance, they are more likely to mention only the fact that they are Algerians. But in France, there is, we think, the need to belong to a larger - thus stronger - ethnic community. This is not specific to our studied population in France. This own-group preference is also reported, in the case of British studies, to be true at all ages and to increase with age (Thomas, 1984). In addition, it is easy to understand that they feel they are Maghribans, North Africans or Arabs when they are treated or referred to as such. Naïr

(1984) argues that some young Maghribans are deeply influenced by the way they are labelled in French society. Being, for instance, always referred to as Arabs they would rarely think otherwise. It is also when they are with their families that they are more likely to equate themselves as being members of their original ethnic group. At the same time, most of their everyday life, especially when they are at school may be categorised as akin to that of their French peers.

Their life consists of these two main aspects. They lead a dramatic life in which they need to have a certain feeling of belonging. Here, too, it is Naîr (1984) who has explained that even those who feel French, the passage from the feeling of belonging to one's family and one's community of origin to the feeling of belonging to French society is very harmful and is never fully realised. However, trying to admit to society in general that they are not French brings them to a position where they become the object of an unfavourable judgement. Thus, even though they feel they belong to the North African, the Arab or the Maghriban ethnic group, it is first of all an answer to the very fact that they feel they are not fully accepted by French society. This has been largely demonstrated by Griotteray (1984), Le Gallou (1985) and many other researchers. They want to constitute an ethnic community which would not stay silent as their fathers did. This has been explained by one educator, we have interviewed, in the following way:

> "These young people refuse to remain
> silent and passive as their parents did.
> They understand that their strength is in
> their union and are determined not to stay
> a silent minority that we tend to forget
> because they do not dare express
> themselves."

Their manifested reference to an ethnic identity is, in reality, essentially based on the family environment to which the Algerian child remains, by tradition, strongly attached (Zerdouni, 1982). It is, of course, in the family that a link with the past is still maintained. It is also within the family that we understand better the fact that the relationship between its members is reinforced by their status of immigrants. It has, however, to be noted that even the concept of "family" has taken on a different meaning in France. We are no longer referring to the extended family unit such as is found in Algeria, the large network of family relationships which characterise Algerian society. Here in France, we are more likely to find the small self-contained unit, the so-called nuclear family consisting of mother, father, sisters and brothers living in an **H.L.M** flat. In this, the Algerian family differs little from its French counterpart living in similar social circumstances. So, the Algerian children, cut off their milieu of origin, have very often a limited knowledge of their traditional way of life (Malewska-Peyre, 1984). This knowledge comes from stories told by parents, short holidays spent in Algeria and the rare classes about the culture of origin held at school or the mosque.

A.2.3 A product of the immigration phenomenon

To try to understand what form these young people's social life takes in the host community, it is important to understand how the French themselves consider the issue. According to the general opinion, these children are, like their parents, immigrants. That is, foreigners who left their country to live provisionally in France and who will leave France one day or another. This idea is much supported by Le Gallou (1985) who seems to explain the current problems in France (unemployment, economic difficulties, crisis in the education system, etc ...) in terms of the presence of immigrants, their families and

their children. However, it is worth emphasising again the fact that many of them were born and have been brought up and schooled in France. Indeed, according to Gault (1985), the 1982 census showed that 70% of young foreigners aged less than fourteen are born in France (p.16). They hence could apply for French nationality. Many reasons make us believe that the general French perception of these children is not acceptable and fair. First, they are the result of an immigration phenomenon which obliged people from poor countries to emigrate as a cheap workforce indispensable for industrialised countries. This transfer of populations could not happen now in the reverse way just because the immigrants are no longer needed by receiving countries. We do not transfer human beings just as easily as we transfer goods. Second, with French society, being a demographically ageing society because of its low birth rate (Bastide, 1982; Griotteray, 1984), the presence of young immigrants' children in France is considered by some writers, economists and politicians as a welcome opportunity for France (Le Masne, 1982; Berque, 1985). Third, if we consider the idea that all people of immigrant origin should leave France one day or another, it is worth quoting, and without comment, Gault (1985) who wrote:

> "Aujourd' hui, 1 français sur 3 a un
> ascendant proche d'origine étrangère, à la
> première, seconde ou troisième
> génération".

> (p.16)

> (see translation 5 Appendix B)

Fourth, if the presence of foreign pupils in French schools is believed to be at the origin of some problems (Bernard, 1988), it should also normally be considered as a chance for:

(a) their culture could enrich the school;

(b) their problems in French could help in discovering new ways of teaching French as a second language;

and (c) the fact that foreign pupils are different could help teachers to become more aware that each pupil (foreign or French) has a social, familial, economical, psychological, etc ..., composition and that it is important to take this into account if we are about to reach an acceptable equality of opportunity.

Many authors, in receiving countries, agree with this statement. Goodlad (1979) argues that the debate on schools in the United States is approached on the question of "What kind of schools will be available to what individuals and groups" (p.26). That is, different groups of pupils will attend different schools and receive different educations followed, certainly, by different chances of success. This seems to be similar to the situation in France and Britain where the terminology in use is that of "low status" and "high status" schools. According to Mortimore and Blackstone (1982), what increases the inequality of opportunity in Britain is the fact that the situation in low-status schools - where most of the immigrants' children are - is further exacerbated by the high staff turnover and the high proportion of inexperienced teachers who generally start working in low-status schools and wait until they acquire the necessary experience to move to better schools with better conditions of work.

As far as Algerian pupils born in France are concerned, they have never left a country of origin, whatsoever. When they leave school, they generally find themselves in the same situation as many French school leavers, that is with very limited opportunities of employment. For this reason, we think it is wrong to consider them as real

immigrants because they do not respond to the same criterion as the immigrants who came to France solely with the purpose of finding work. In addition, they do not really respond to the vocation of the immigrant worker who is either bound to return home one day or is willing to be fully assimilated - when this is possible - into the host community.

Born in France, or having spent most of their life in France, the young children are, in their majority, determined to live there except when their parents choose to return to Algeria (Le Masne, 1982; Costa-Lascoux, 1984). This means that unless they have reached the age of majority - eighteen - they have no other alternative than to follow their parents.

Although the possibility of a future "return" to Algeria is almost always mentioned by the young children, we think this is either done to show their solidarity with the family or, as already mentioned, to persuade themselves that they have a ready-made solution in case their existence in France becomes really intolerable or impossible. Confessions like "Our country is always ready to welcome us" or "Algeria always considers us as its sons and daughters" reveal - and this is important - their need to belong somewhere and their feeling that they could secure their future in Algeria. Nonetheless, their discourse shows their awareness of the fact that a "reinsertion" into Algerian society is likely to be a kind of immigration even though it is "their" country. Lefort and Néry (1984) have well analysed the problems faced by the "reinsertion" of the Algerian young people into the Algerian society. These writers (Néry: specialist educationist and researcher in the field of immigration; and Lefort: doctor and priest who worked in Algeria for 12 years) provide graphic evidence of the difficult situation facing these young Algerians as they attempt to "rejoin" their country's community.

The general impression we have is that most of them are willing to stay in France where their roots are. But as the situation in France is deteriorating more and more, they look to Algeria as an "emergency exit". This reminds us of the situation of the <u>Pieds Noirs</u> in Algeria (Europeans - mainly French - born and living in Algeria during the colonisation period (1830-1962). In the late 1950's, when the independence process was engaged, these <u>Pieds Noirs</u> started to look at France as their country of origin for their nationality was French. But Algeria was - and still is - considered by many of them as their home country where their roots are. What is more, there is evidence to suggest that they were not always welcomed with open arms into mainland French society. As mentioned by Pautard (1987) reporting on these <u>Pieds Noirs</u>:

> "Rapatriés il y a très exactement un quart
> de siècle, quand l'Algérie devint
> indépendante, 1.230.000 pieds noirs auront
> réussi [...] à s'implanter dans une
> métropole qui ne se montra pas toujours
> bien accueillante."

(p.32)

(see translation 6 Appendix B)

The vast majority of the Algerian children in France are working class children (Ath-Messaoud and Gilette, 1976; Bastide, 1982; Khandriche, 1982). They belong to a socially deprived class and are packed in huge <u>H.L.M</u> cities which are working class cities (Griotteray, 1984). However, these young people do not deliberately identify themselves with the working class as their fathers do. They refer to the working class as a means of distinguishing themselves from "bourgeois" society, they do not think of employment in terms of stable

career and promotion like their fathers. They are keener on jobs in relation to their social and cultural preoccupations. Like French young people of their age, they appreciate small jobs which allow them to have some spare time to spend on personal and collective activities.

This is a significant difference between them and their parents who tend even to work on weekends for extra money, whatever the job. Indeed, parents have always accepted all jobs (Gaspard, 1984). The young people prefer non-manual jobs even temporary or part-time. This is a major demarcation between them and their parents. And it shows their will to avoid being restricted to a full-time job in a factory, for instance, where the conditions of work are regarded as very hard. They refuse to be like their fathers. In refusing to undertake their fathers' jobs, they demolish the fact of being regarded as the continuation of the first generation of immigrants. If they are their children, they do not conceive being like them.

As these young people have no fixed idea about their future, they turn to part-time jobs just to secure their living. They are conscious that their future prospects are very limited in a society which does not offer them a wide range of opportunities. Surely, it would be naive of these young people to expect to be able to survive in French society, to support a family, to pay rent, etc... This situation alone is a disincentive to the younger children who are still at school. Hamonet and Proux (1984) noted that immigrants' children suffer not only from social rejection but also from how they are labelled by their teachers, that is, as unable intellectually. Convinced that they will fail academically, these children also believe that they have no future prospects.

Most of the young Algerian school-leavers would like to work as educators, trainers, social assistants, etc... Behind this particular

choice they mention, with an apparent enthusiasm, their strong will to fight from inside official institutions and structures to try to change the social, cultural and political policies which directly concern their conditions of life. This struggle for change is now mentioned in almost all the literature in the field (Le Masne, 1982; Griotteray, 1984; Yung, 1984). However, the problem is that many of these jobs are impossible to obtain. Some of these activities require French nationality or a professional training to which these young people could rarely have access. As the jobs they wish to take bear direct relevance to the life of immigrants, they try to make the employers accept the fact that, being very close to all immigration problems, they have more experience than their French competitors and are in a better position to defend their compatriots' rights, to help them and to understand their different needs. This shows how they are trying to change their own difficulties into advantages. And, here again, they show firstly a difference between themselves and their parents, and secondly how they are attempting to establish themselves in France. There is, at this level, a neat divorce and a clear schism between them and their parents.

The fathers have generally accepted all the conditions imposed upon them when they entered French society. They were obliged to do so and first regarded their presence in France as temporary. The only thing they tried to do was to have access to good working conditions and to the same rights as the French workers. As far as their children are concerned, we have already noted that the relation to French society is different. They try to negotiate and to impose themselves by expressing their own terms. The examples of the 1984 demonstrations, <u>Convergence 84</u>, which we had the opportunity to attend in Paris, clearly show that, now, their claims are about their citizenship itself.

They consider themselves to be an essential part of French society where most of them have their roots, and fight to be recognised as a community which is part of French multi-cultural society. Gaspard (1984) believes that the majority of Maghribans will stay and become French. However, while giving the issue a political aspect and asking to be listened to by politicians they do not automatically mean that they want French nationality. They are neither completely foreigners nor completely assimilated into French society. Griotteray (1984) thinks that even assimilation is impossible because the cultural difference between Maghribans and French people constitutes a too wide a gap to bridge. They are against the idea of citizenship based on the nationality and consider themselves as full citizens of the area or the city where they spent most of their life. And those who chose to take French nationality have either come to the conclusion that this is the only alternative or have done so for practical reasons like having more chance to get a job in France, to avoid spending two years in the Military Service in Algeria, etc... And the reactions to our affirmation "now you are French" did surprise us in the sense that they want to be recognised as what they think they are, that is neither completely French nor completely Algerians. They want to be accepted with their differences and consider French nationality as an administrative official document that gives them access to certain advantages. This debate about the recognition of differences is the object of much concern in many other receiving countries. Shafer (1983), Suziki (1984) and Tomlinson (1985) are examples of authors who emphasised the need of the recognition of differences in, respectively, Australia, the United States and Britain. Psychologically, they remain like the rest of their friends. And the following revelation, frequent among these young people, made us grasp the situation and came across a feeling that does

not appear clearly in books and studies about immigrants:

"Since you are like me, I must admit that,

to the French, we always remain second-

class citizens, and this despite

everything. Hence in our fight, we use

all the means at hand [...], even French

nationality."

In their ultimate attempts, these young people might bring themselves in a position which could be misinterpreted by French society as they want the benefits of living in France, yet they want to remain separate, a position which the French would certainly condemn (Griotteray, 1984). But they will use French nationality as a means of hanging on to these advantages.

We get information and revelations like the one previously mentioned only when we are accepted, and only when these young people feel we are like them and on their side. This is one of the reasons that made us choose - at this level - a very informal approach that allowed us to be accepted, trusted, adopted and to be able to see the problem from the inside. The fact that the author is himself Algerian has helped very much and made these young Algerians realise that - at last - someone from their ethnic group is interested in their problems.

In trying to see the problem from the inside, we want our work to be based on those thoughts and feelings the concerned people hold in their inside rather than on what is generally reported on them which is so often based on assumptions, misinterpretations or half-truths. This is an approach much recommended - and also much used - by Zerdouni (1982) in her study of the Algerian rural family. She particularly emphasises that to get information from people such as Algerians, we need to show that we are interested in their problems. As an example,

she noticed that Algerian women were pleased to see a female researcher interested in their problems and were more willing to help than men.

A.2.4 A generation of urban settlements

Young Algerian children often respond - when asked where they are from - "we are from France", "we are from here". This, however, is almost always followed by a precision about the very place where they have lived all the time. They situate their origin in their small H.L.M city. But this does not seem to be in contradiction with them being Maghribans since these cities are almost completely occupied by Maghribans and labelled as Maghriban cities by the society outside.

Having an H.L.M flat was first considered as a transitional stage before moving into a house. But the economic crisis did not give immigrant families the opportunity to move into houses which are far more expensive. Consequently, these families have found themselves trapped into flats generally too small for the size of the families. French families from the same social class have found themselves in the same situation (Bastide, 1982; Hamonet and Proux, 1984). The two communities' main claims consist of better housing, more jobs, a better environment and the integration of their city into the rest of the town by means of an improved transportation system and a decentralisation of administrative services.

The Algerian children living in cities identify themselves with their cities more than with anything else. They are attached to their cities and show a highly developed solidarity with the other young people who share the same conditions of life as themselves (Costa-Lascoux, 1984).

A.2.5 The emergence of a new culture

The immigrant workers' situation started to change when they found themselves in more significant numbers and in a less temporary situation

than they first thought. This made them try to emerge from the former situation they were put in - as a productive force - in order to constitute a distinct community with its own culture. This community includes Algerians as well as other Maghribans, that is Tunisians and Moroccans. It has structured itself and developed small businesses and even some cultural activities (theatre, dances, films) in which the language of origin has become to a certain extent the means of communication. These first cultural activities seem to be necessary to the immigrants' psychological equilibrium, to the social relations they develop and to an autonomous existence in a foreign land. Mariet (1981), Clément and Kruidemier (1983), Tesconi (1984) and Houlton (1986) are but a few authors who underlined the necessity for immigrants and their children to develop their culture and language of origin.

These activities are, we think, also essential for their identity maintenance. However, this culture of origin could not be preserved indefinitely. Indeed, relations with other immigrants from other communities were developed at work, in their H.L.M cities and also through the same experiences and problems. This has created a kind of a common past with the prediction of a common future, which concern all immigrants regardless of their nationalities. In the British context, for instance, Troyna (1978) believes that this situation is due to a 'realisation of a common identity and shared destiny' (Troyna, 1978, cited in Thomas, 1984, p.72). Little by little, the culture of origin of each ethnic group seems to give way to a culture of immigrants. It is, in some way, a mixture of a new common experience in a foreign land and a link with the culture of origin.

The constitution of this culture of immigrants has generated a certain feeling of solidarity between all ethnic minority communities that share the same conditions of life. It is also marked by the same

collective will which, in most cases, could be defined as a will to bring about radical changes in their work and living conditions.

A cultural front has gathered together all immigrants. The best example was Convergence 84 where all immigrants - especially the young people - did indeed give the impression that they were from the same collectivity and had identical claims. Thousands of young people came on mopeds to Paris from all parts of France. The very use of mopeds was symbolic. These young people demonstrated that, just as a moped needs a petrol-oil mixture to work, so France needs its mixture of ethnic communities to survive. This is their way of showing to all concerned people and to the general opinion that France has become a multi-cultural/multi-racial society (Griotteray, 1984) and that it is about time that policy-makers consider the situation more seriously.

The formation of this new community led to many strikes and conflicts with French society. It brought the immigrants to the conclusion that their new common experience can only be enriched by their common action. Immigrant militants started to produce films, festivals and discovered that this created awareness among immigrants and mobilised them around the same issues, their issues. This allowed them to become suspicious about the host community and the union organisations. The ideals of integration and assimilation are hence broken and the gap between immigrants and the French nationals has been widened. The response from French society was, in part, a backlash involving the return to a violent form of racism, nourished by the extreme right wing party, and which had led to the present intolerable situation referred to by many authors (Malewska-Peyre, 1982; Griotteray, 1984; Muller, 1984).

Echoes of this situation reached even the school children. As one of them said: "Adults fight and we suffer the consequences." Indeed,

even adolescents are sometimes the object of racist attacks (Liouville, 1986). Adults' attitudes are inevitably transmitted to their children who, in turn, 'learn' to hate each other, which reduces the chances of bringing future generations of immigrants and nationals to close the gap that exists between adults. Racist attitudes are even noticed at the school children's level. Malewska-Peyre (1982) gives many examples of Maghriban children who decide - at their individual level - to change their first names to become 'like' the others. Mohamed will become Jean and Ammar will be called André. In doing so, these children think they would not be looked at as Africans and inferior. Similarly in Britain, Verma and Bagley (1982) argue that Third World school children are perceived, by white children, as inferior and under-developed.

Despite the new emerging common culture, the preoccupations concerning the culture of origin are not completely forgotten. The will among Algerian families to share the culture of origin is quite visible. Zerdoumi (1982) has demonstrated that Algerians are, in their majority, so keen on their traditions that they do not forget them easily. Issues like economic development and political evolution in Algeria are widely discussed with the children. There is still a great concern about the homeland, particularly about problems that might concern their possible return. In other words, the concept of a return and the implications for the whole family of such a transfer are retained in the minds of parents and children alike.

A.2.6 Algerian children and their culture

The children who came very young from Algeria or who were born in France very often know very little about Algerian culture. Their experience in this field is limited to holidays in Algeria or an attempt at 'reinsertion' which has quickly failed. And parents do not seem to be able to explain and to transmit to their children the whole cultural

patrimony. Obviously, they try to transmit the basic knowledge they possess. This is mainly limited to what is forbidden by Islam and to some ancestral traditions. According to Zerdoumi (1982), Algerian parents find it very difficult to get rid of fourteen centuries of Islamic traditions. Because children are not given the possibility of discovering the richness of their culture, they tend to see it as a set of social activities based on a restrictive and fanatical ideology appropriate to under-developed countries. This judgement comes as a result of their ignorance of their culture, and it is also the way this culture is generally valued within French society.

The younger Algerian children sometimes regret the fact that they have not properly acquired their mother tongue which they very occasionally use at home or between themselves. However, learning Classical Arabic in France appears to them irrelevant, not to say useless. They tend to be keener on other languages, mainly English, which have a higher social and international status. In addition, it has to be mentioned that Classical Arabic is not their mother tongue. This does not apply to Algerians alone. Ibrahimi (1983) believes that the teaching of Classical Arabic in the Arab World is a second language to the learner and should be dealt with as such. As to the way Classical Arabic is very often presented as a mother tongue, this author's opinion is but very clear:

> "It is no use to go on pretending that
>
> standard Arabic is our native language
>
> when it is not."

<div align="center">(p.514)</div>

Talking about religion is not their favourite subject of discussion. Even though they are not very keen on religion, some religious activities - mainly those which distinguish them as members of

a different ethnic community from the French - are observed. This is done almost as a means of retaining some cultural self-identity, rather than through genuine religious belief. Ramadan (fasting) is the best example. Even though they do not do it properly, it is a way of identifying themselves to the Islamic community. However, this does not exclude the fact that they also try to do it by respect to their parents and to avoid family problems. Indeed, very few parents showed a tolerant attitude towards fasting which they tend to consider as the key element in Islam (Zerdoumi, 1982).

Although there is among some children a certain will and a tendency to identify themselves with their parents' culture, this latter is slowly dying away. Indeed, how can this culture be spread when it is fossilised into ancestral traditions and reduced to its only folklore activities? Zerdoumi (1982) develops this idea to assert that what Algerian families consider as Islamic traditions has no relevance with Islam. The best example she gives is that Islam has freed women whereas Muslim people still refuse - in the name of Islam - any freedom to women. The parents' culture is regarded by the host community, the Algerian children and even their parents as the culture of the poor and the under-developed. The parents as well as their children seem to be more and more cut off from this culture to turn to their everyday problems and to guarantee their future in France. In doing so, the children join the other young people who face similar problems like school failure, streaming into less important options, unemployment, bad housing and the isolation into a boring environment in the suburban areas. Faced with these problems, there is no doubt that their parents' culture is not given priority in their everyday life. And it is not surprising to hear affirmations such as "Our culture will come later; for the time being, we have more urgent preoccupations."

Their claims and the few actions they try to develop do not correspond to the traditional fight their parents are used to as immigrant workers. The children have different claims and look to a different destiny. They do not only claim the right to work and to be housed like their parents. They also require their freedom of expression, their place in the host community and have the firm intention of imposing and admitting their own modes of socialisation. The explanation to these claims could neither be found in their parents' culture nor in that of the French working class. Just as French young people, they refuse domination and exploitation. They all belong to a new forming culture which stands in opposition to the dominant culture. We are not at the stage of formulating recommendations, nevertheless we feel necessary to insert here, that in our view, the present social and economic crisis in France is not only due to an unfavourable economic transition as it is generally perceived. It is deeper, it is structural and we see the need to rethink the structures on which this multi-cultural society is based. This is not the case of France alone. Indeed, much of the debate about the multi-cultural aspect of some Western societies is structured around this fundamental issue: to re-think and to change existing structures and peoples' attitudes (Giles, 197; Craft, 1981, 1984).

A.2.7 Teachers and their relation with the children's culture

Teachers are confronted with a population of children who have a poor reference to their culture of origin, or more exactly, to their parents' culture. Teachers are not only concerned about the children's cultural heritage but also about what really constitutes their daily life which is different from that of their parents. This teachers' task has become the concern of many researchers in multi-cultural societies (Crespo and Pelletier, 1984; Eggleston, 1985; Tomlinson, 1986).

Very often, teachers have a superficial knowledge of the children's life. Their approach tends to be rather intellectual and this does not give them a real picture of their Algerian pupils' problems. Few teachers have the experience of the huge H.L.M suburbs where these pupils evolve. Their interventions generally consist of a limited range of considerations within the school. Whereas, we think, reflections on future perspectives have to start from the environment in which these pupils are evolving. This will certainly allow a better understanding of the pupils' life and needs, and help in having more adequate projections on the school. We strongly think teachers ought to consider the situation from the inside, that is to see what an Algerian child's life is like, what the family 'dynamic' is and what the relations between its different members are. Using Mariet's (1981) words, we would simply say that the problems immigrants' children face cannot be 'dissociated from the living conditions of migrant families' (p.16). More important is to bring the pupils to trust their teachers in order for them to feel confident enough to discuss their inner thoughts and secrets. This kind of relationship will certainly help the teachers handle delicate situations like understanding the complex situation of Algerian girls and be able to help with their aspirations to more freedom without breaking the family solidarity. We admit, however, that this task is not easy for a French teacher for several reasons. Firstly, he does not always possess sufficient information on the internal and complex life of the Algerian family living in France. And, secondly, as an individual belonging to the Western world, he is likely to under-estimate some small details insignificant to his eyes, yet very important to the Algerian child.

Teachers with a better knowledge of the Algerian children's culture could undoubtedly help more. However, this may increase the children's

feeling of frustration in the sense that it is a foreign teacher who is teaching them their own parents' culture or even their mother tongue or national language. Indeed, isn't that a way of showing to the children that they are culturally poor and that it is through a French teacher they learn things they should have learned from their parents? This could confirm in the children's minds the image they have of their parents: that of poor, ignorant people only able to do hard physical work. Truly, parents are not the best model to their children because they do not represent their intimate hopes and aspirations and this is the real trauma all concerned people seem to neglect. Here we feel thatthe need for multi-cultural education is of paramount importance. However, if researchers in France, as well as in other countries, seem to agree on the need for multi-cultural education, the problem remains that of how to do it. In Britain, for instance, Jeffcoate (1984) suggests a secular curriculum, whereas Tomlinson's (1983) point of view is that although policies concerned with the education of ethnic minority children have moved from an assimilationist ideology to consider cultural pluralism, they lack explanations as to how an education system, traditionally designed for the majority, can possibly accommodate ethnic minority children. In Australia, Bullivant (1986) observes that the development of multi-culturalism is still the object of some criticism on behalf of conservatives and advocates of Marxist analysis, the two holding opposed views.

Algerian dialect and Berber dialects (Kabyle and Chaouia) remain the dialects spoken by most Algerian workers living in France. And as long as the status of these dialects remains what it is, to teach them to the young Algerians issued from the immigration phenomenon is a way of reminding them of their parents' social position and the socio-economic role assigned to them by the host community. The problem

is then to know which language and which culture to teach to these children. This reveals the ambiguity of the situation. We speak much about the children's origin and we tend to forget that their origin is in the suburban areas where they are growing up and living (Griotteray, 1984). In the same order of ideas, we speak of the mother tongue but it is difficult to decide on what language should be taught because linguistically, the Algerian community in France is very heterogeneous. Classical Arabic is the national language but not the mother tongue of any Algerian whether in France or in Algeria. Should we teach the Algerian and the Berber dialects which are the real mother tongues but none of which is considered as an official language by the Algerian Government? Political decisions - like teaching Classical Arabic - do not correspond to the real situation of the Algerian children in France. The linguistic/cultural problem does exist even in Algeria for both languages in official use (Classical Arabic and French) are not Algerians' mother tongues and are not fully apprehended in their subtle nuances. Redjala's (1973) analysis of this issue is most interesting in that it warns us, as early as 1973, that educating our children in a language different from that of the home could be harmful to the pupils. The author gives acceptable reasons such as the sudden passage of the child from the home language to that of the school and the fact that the Algerian pupils is torn between the Algerian Arabic spoken at home and in the street and Classical Arabic and French used in schools. The situation is further complicated in the case of Berber speakers. The author's conclusion is that it is no surprise to see pupils deeply disadvantaged by this traumatic situation. And we would add that it is high time our policy-makers learn to adapt their decisions to the reality of the life of the people concerned rather than taking for granted that people will adapt to any decision. Indeed, the history of

Algeria in the recent years - in practice since the Independence - shows that many of the major Government decisions, such as arabisation, the Agrarian Revolution, etc..., have been taken on the basis of political idealism rather than out of a realistic assessment of the needs of the Algerian people.

Nonetheless, as far as language is concerned, an opposing view is that it is important that Algerian children in France learn Arabic, for if it is not their real mother tongue, it is the medium of instruction in Algeria and it is essential that those who are going to continue their education in Algeria start learning effectively classical Arabic in France. Under-pinning this policy, is the clearly false assumption that Algerian children in France envisage an inevitable 'return' to Algeria in the future. This is obviously not the case.

Whatever the language used, it is important that children learn something about their parents' culture and country. They need to be proud of their ethnic group, of their parents and of themselves to be able to form a positive identity (Mariet, 1981; Cummins, 1984; Houlton, 1986).

The question of who these immigrants and their children are arose when the immigration process was halted in the early 1970's. Families reunited in France and started to claim all kinds of rights. And it is with the appearance of the "policy of return" that we started to point to immigrants in general as others, as people with a different language, a different culture and a different country to which they will return. The "policy of return" came as a result of the recent economic crisis in France. The French Government has decided to help immigrants - especially those unemployed - to return to their country of origin. Launched in the early 1980's, this policy has encouraged some 40,000 to 45,000 immigrants to return to their countries of origin in 1985

(Lebaube, 1985, p.30). This policy was particularly attractive for it allowed immigrants to have between 100,000 FF to 150,000 FF. However, this has created other problems in France, such as deserted H.L.M cities, small shops who had immigrants as their main customers were closed down,some schools in areas with high concentrations of immigrants were also closed down and teachers made redundant. Among the implications felt in Algeria, for instance, are the increase in housing and job demands and the problem of the returned children's education. Here again, both countries - France and Algeria - are encouraging a decision of which the further implications are not yet taken into account. Indeed, and as noted by Griotteray (1984) the two governments do not know the implications of the "policy of returns".

In our viewpoint, to the immigrants that were first accepted on an economic basis and as a workforce the problem of identity did not arise. Neither did the question of culture, for their stay in France was considered as temporary. They also formed a closed community which was always in touch with the country of origin. And, now that France is encouraging returns to the countries of origin, the policy based on the teaching of the mother tongue and the culture of origin is a way of making children, who feel as members of French society, believe that they are from another country to which they ought to return. If this was not the purpose, the result is evident. The two political discourses used in France have, in common, the fact that immigrant communities are expected to disappear. The early political discourse was based on the pure assimilation process which concerned only European immigrant communities. From 1984-85 onwards, the "policy of return" emerged along with the respect of ethnic minorities' languages, cultures and origins. Still, the idea behind the two discourses was the partial - if not complete - disappearance of immigrant communities either by the

assimilation into French society or by the return to the country of origin. To our knowledge, Griotteray (1984) is the only author who asserted that there is no other alternative for these people apart from accepting assimilation or returning to their country of origin. As to Maghribans, this author thinks that the return is a better solution, for these immigrants are unlikely to accept a full assimilation into French society.

A.2.8 School experience

As we all know, the school is a privileged instrument in the process of the assimilation and socialisation of young children and, through them, of their families (Hamonet and Proux, 1984). Starting from this concept, educational authorities have taken in charge the schooling of all children with immigrant origin and refused any idea of separating them from French pupils to be treated as a separate school'clientèle'. There was thus a clear will to encourage and favour the assimilation of children from immigrant families by putting them with French pupils of the same age range and by inculcating them with the values of the dominant society. In theory, at least, children from an immigrant origin were regarded as children to be fully assimilated and were, consequently, thought to be given the same equality of opportunity as natives. This was the early 1960s ideology in many Western countries (Craft, 1981; Suziki, 1984; Banks, 1986). This shows how, right from the start, this philosophy was misguided, over-simplistic in its assumptions that children who were so different and who had such different needs could be treated in the same way as the remaining school population. They may on the surface have been offered equal institutional provision, curriculum, exams, teaching, etc..., but in reality they were starting off in life with many more disadvantages than other pupils. What makes the immigrant's child's situation even

worse is his position as a foreigner. As noted in the C.E.R.I (1987) study:

> "What is known about the socio-economic and socio-cultural level of the vast majority of migrants should be seen in terms of a <u>combination</u> of handicaps, ie the fact of belonging, in most cases, to a particular social category (a characteristic shared by a fraction of native-born school children) <u>plus</u> being of a foreign nationality."

<p style="text-align:center">(p.16)</p>

Indeed, the reality proved to be different from what was anticipated from the assimilation policy. The concept of school as an agent for reproducing society rather than as a vehicle for social change tended to be ignored (Craft, 1984). And it is well-known in the French educational system that a high proportion of the children from the working class and immigrant families are oriented to vocational and short cycle teaching (Goapper, 1985). Beside being in non-academic classes, some children from immigrant families develop other handicaps like a disturbed identity, the use at home of a mother tongue which has lost its value, linguistic difficulties and the consequences of social rejection and racism (Basdevant and Eyzat, 1982).

To this mechanism inherent to the school institution, was added the high concentration of immigrants' children in those schools located in suburban areas and which already had a low status.

The ideology of assimilating immigrants' children using the school did not produce the results expected. Moreover, it made impossible what could have been a progressive integration based on the respect of the

differences showed by immigrants' children and on the adaptation of the school itself to the various difficulties and needs of these children.

The political will to assimilate immigrants' children did not fully succeed. In reality, it concerned more the communities originating from within Europe than those from North Africa. This is particularly true when we consider the more recent "policy of return" and restrictions like the certificate of residence, valid only ten years, and the absence of political rights. Thus, whether the present French will is still assimilation or integration, both are in contradiction with the clear "policy of return".

The school failed to assimilate immigrants' pupils and, at the same time, failed to give them the same equality of opportunity. As a result, most immigrants' children find themselves on the margin, pushed away and at best, of those who remain in schools beyond the statutory learning age of sixteen, the vast majority are oriented to some form of vocational training. The consequences for these children and their families are enormous. Future plans dreamed of by the children and their families collapse and there rises among the children a twofold feeling of guilt. First towards their families who expected them to succeed; and second towards themselves because the educational system functions on the equality of opportunity principle and, hence, prepares the children to be the only ones to assume the consequences of any failure.

The other side of the problem is that those very few assimilated children who have been successful might ask themselves about the usefulness of their success which leads to a partial self-denial of their identity.

Let us explain further. One of the objectives behind the academic success of immigrants' children is the social promotion of their

families. However, those children who succeeded did not always put in concrete form the hope invested in their academic success. And it is very much the case that those who go into upper secondary or tertiary education, or even a university, may find themselves ending up doing jobs which have no bearing on their studies. The reasons for this anomalous situation are in part due to the economic recession which has affected the "employability" of many graduates and further education students, irrespective of race or colour. Yet many would argue - and I would be one of them - that there are probably prejudicial factors at work. One cannot forget that racism in the workplace is in evidence in many European countries, including France (Griotteray, 1984; Jeffcoate, 1984; Tomlinson, 1986).

Even though the successful child satisfies the ideal of his parents, that is academic success, this does not automatically bring the family into a better social status which was expected as a result of the child's academic success. A better social status usually comes through a successful family business. And if this brings better materialistic conditions, it affects the whole family attitude towards education.

The majority of parents still maintain the hope that their dream will come true and extend their 'temporary' stay as long as they nourish this hope. Whereas their children no longer share this hope. They are more realistic. They, unlike their parents, admit their failure accepting that they have lost a great deal of their cultural patrimony to acquire new values and to become alienated to an individualistic conception of life different from that of their parents. We can, rightly, point to the rupture between the received education based on the school institution and the family environment in which all intellectual and materialistic possessions of an individual are the inheritance of the whole family. Zerdourni's (1982) view is that even

the child himself is sometimes considered as a possession - an object - of the family.

As a result of these two conflicting concepts, the young Algerian child very often finds himself caught in between two tensions very difficult to reconcile. He has to be individualistic to survive at school and then within society and, at the same time, he is asked to conform to the collective spirit of his family. This leads directly to the breaking up of relationships between children and parents and to the generation gap known to everybody and which is going to be discussed in more detailed reference to the populations included in this study.

A.2.9 Young Algerians' hopes and aspirations

Over the past few years and since the "policy of return" was launched, immigrants' children have become more active and more aware of their problems and their situation in France. The main aims of these young people are the recognition of the differences, the transformation of the host community and an attempt to return to their sources. This, we believe, comes as a reaction to the "policy based on returns". They feel more unwanted and want not only to be accepted as different but also to change the social structures that make the society in which they live. According to Griotteray (1984) their existence in France is threatened and their fight aims at gaining some certainty as to their stay in France.

Within a multi-cultural French society, they strive to obtain the respect of the differences and the same equality of rights when bound to the same duties. With all their specific characteristics they still want to be admitted and integrated into French society. They are, after all, they would claim, a substantial group - a minority maybe but nonetheless they should not be neglected.

First of all, they claim immediate better social conditions and the abolition of the social and police controls to which they are regularly subjected. At this level emerges the fact that this young population refuses to be on the margin and stands as a more united and mobilised community decided to fight for more rights. This new orientation takes into account the failure of the assimilation policy and wants to gain a minimum integration into the host community (Le Masne, 1982).

The children who manage to avoid school failure and who have a higher intellectual and social capital see in the recognition of the differences only one step in their long-term fight. To them, this perspective which consists of the respect of the differences has the only advantage of bringing people to accept and respect the differences within a society which became, a long time ago, at least demographically, if not psychologically, multi-cultural and multi-racial. Their objective is rather to fight and work for a more valuable ideal which is the transformation of the host community.

At ease on both sides, enriched by the fact that they belong to a double culture, and well-accustomed to the dialogue between two different cultures, these young people want to go further than basic materialistic claims to become the pioneers of a changing society. They are conscious that it would be very difficult – if not impossible – to reduce the gap established at the beginning of the immigration phenomenon between the socially deprived ethnic minorities regarded as culturally inferior and the dominant society. This pre-supposes that these young people should not only have the will but also the capacity for such an enterprise. It is in this context of development, based on political, social and cultural struggle, that the young Algerians, and Maghribans in general, are determined to take part as a community in a fight for change.

Young Algerians, like young Maghribans, feel they are an important element obliged to take an active participation aiming at a real integration capable of abolishing and erasing the rapport of domination which prevails in the inter-ethnic relations. Nevertheless, one should add that in a multi-cultural society the risk remains that inter-ethnic relations be institutionalised and maintained on the principle of domination (Griotteray, 1984; Bullivant, 1986). There must be an inter-cultural dynamic based on the recognition of differences. This inter-cultural dynamic must, in turn, be able to set a liaison between a culture no longer based on archaic principles and an advanced and modern culture, that of the future. Proponents of this kind of movement would agree that this change and development must not go through an intermediary stage of assimilation of the ethnic minority groups into the dominant society. Otherwise, the essential objective would be missed.

There is a third orientation and dimension to the situation in which young Algerians and Maghribans find themselves. This orientation favours the return of the Maghriban minorities to their origin and is encouraged by the fundamentalist movement. This can be noticed in France in the rapid increase in the building of mosques and Koran schools. The problem here is to ask how possible is the development of a Muslim community within a Western society. However, one should not forget that since the Iranian Revolution Islam has known a rapid renaissance encouraged by fundamentalist groups not only in Islamic countries but in Europe as well. And France is not alone in having to come to terms with this kind of dilemma.

It is equally interesting to wonder how the young people see the future - in France - of a community obeying the principles of Islam which is considered by its followers as a whole entity, a complete way

of life, and a social, economical, political and, of course, religious

system very unlikely to be adapted within - and accepted by - a Western

society. We personally see this as a deviation from the real problems

and a way of encouraging religious racism. This is not what we

would advise when we know the consequences of religious racism in

other countries (Rampton Report, 1981; Jeffcoate, 1984). There is the

risk that those who take this course of action will end up on the fringe

of the very society of which, paradoxically, they want to be a part.

Young people with an immigrant background are very few in

fundamentalist groups and they try, with little success, to rally to

their cause other young immigrants' children. At the present time, it

is unlikely that these groups will develop significantly. However, the

difficulties of integration faced by Maghriban minority groups and the

lack of tolerance from the host community might encourage more young

people to join fundamentalist movements whose promises could be attract-

ive to many young people who see their future threatened in French

society.

The presence of a Muslim community which wants the creation of an

Islamic society might only result in the isolation of minorities already

under-privileged. Unless the movement is based on reforms and aims at

using Islam as a regenerated strength and a means of modernisation.

However, for the time being, this does not seem to be the case, for what

is encouraged by the fundamentalist groups is a return to the traditions

inspired by the example of the Iranian Revolution. After all, it should

not be forgotten that the Ayatollah Khomeini was exiled in France and it

was from his base just outside Paris that the revolution could be said

to have been inspired. If fundamentalist groups' approach is to promise

all those things young deprived people dream of, it, however, takes them

far away from their real fight which has a more concrete basis and a

more challenging ideal. It even takes them away from Islam, for when we

speak of tradition in Islamic countries it does not necessarily mean

Islamic traditions (Zerdourni, 1982).

Conclusion

Caught in between two cultures, the young Algerian people issued from the immigration phenomenon in France find themselves in a very problematic situation. Most of the time in contradiction with themselves, they present a deeply disturbed and "torn" identity (Malewska-Peyre, 1982). They experience, in their daily life, racism, social rejection, the feeling of being unwanted and are pointed to as the "others", those by whom problems occur. Being themselves unclear and undecided about their future projects, education does not seem to be one of their uppermost occupations. This certainly applies to all learners having first to satisfy what Maslow would call basic needs. For the time being, they are more concerned with their immediate and urgent issues, such as are they going to stay in France and continue to suffer from all the problems they have, or are they going to go to Algeria, that is to the unknown?

One of the consequences of their many difficulties is their high percentage of failure at school. And we remain very suspicious as to more academic success among these children unless their problems are seriously considered and - hopefully - solved.

PART B - Research Design and Methodology

B.1 Identifying the study

In this section of our work, the intention is to clarify the detail of the methodology used in the study of the socio-educational experience of Algerian immigrants' children in France and Algeria.

The growing awareness of the phenomenon came as a result of our field investigations in 1983/84 leading to the Masters Degree in Education. The focus of that thesis had been foreign language learning and teaching in England, France and Algeria.

At that time, it had been possible to gainsome insights of a comparative dimension about what was to become the precise purpose of the study (see Research Design, page 114). Early interest in the subject through the reading of available relevant literature and personal contacts with people involved in the education of immigrants' children in France and Algeria helped to identify the population to be studied and the central aim of the study. It also served to highlight, well in advance, some of the organisational and administrative constraints likely to constitute serious obstacles.

Obviously financial support was needed for such a project. This was not too difficult to obtain from the Ministry of Higher Education because our interest in the education of immigrants' children came at a time when the Algerian Government set itself the task of investigating this very phenomenon.

Research Design

A. Background to the Research

B. The Educational Experience of Algerian
    Immigrants' children in France

C. The Educational Experience of Algerian
    Immigrants' children in Algeria

Collèges

Lycées

French Schooled returning Algerians

Algerian_born pupils

Pupils born of Algerian
parents in France

Algerian_born pupils

Pupils born of Algerian
parents in France

Colleges

Lycées

D. Recommendations

What can be done in France to prepare for pupils
reinsertion in Algeria?

What policy should be established in Algeria to
help the returning pupils in their reintegration
process?

Evaluation

- Officials' and experts' opinions on the recommendations.
- Compare and contrast author's recommendations and officials' and
  experts' opinions.

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B.2 Choice of method

Different problems to be investigated need different research methods to be used. One of the most difficult tasks for a researcher is to select the most appropriate method for his study.

The need to understand the educational experience of a particular population at a certain time and to relate it to other phenomena to make it meaningful led us to adopt a descriptive approach to the research. While there are some empirical data to be analysed, our study involves to a large extent a process of analysis and interpretation of the phenomena under scrutiny based on deeper understandings gained through direct contact with the people involved.

We are aware that there is the risk of bias in that the author is likely to fall into some kind of subjective judgements or superficial understanding of the situation. Nevertheless, with acknowledgement of the risk of bias, we would claim that the use of a descriptive method in the educational field can prove to be a sound method when carefully structured plans are used.

Our work falls into the survey type of descriptive study for the following two reasons:

a - We are dealing with human beings, their opinions, attitudes, suggestions, etc ..., and as most people involved in educational research would agree, the survey method remains one of the most extensively used and often the only alternative when dealing with these variables.

b - We needed to get the people concerned to provide as much information as possible about themselves, their feelings and their perceptions of the situation they are evolving in.

The small-scale nature of the survey arises from the fact that:

a - A large-scale survey needed more time than was available and a research team to carry it out rather than the lone researcher having to face all difficulties alone;

b - A sound budget to cope with the demands of a large-scale survey is a pre-requisite:

c - The fact that during the research which took place in two countries (Algeria and France), the author had to report regularly to his supervisor in England. These extensive face-to-face discussions and work sessions were indispensible throughout the 3-year study period.

To bring the research to its conclusion, the author had hence no choice but to face substantial additional expenses incurred in frequent travelling between the three countries and within Algeria and France.

B.3 Data-gathering

The nature of the survey, the subjects involved and the phenomenon to be investigated dictate the use of one or more data-gathering techniques. In our case, we selected various techniques to match the diversity of the phenomenon.

Having clearly stated our objectives, we came to the conclusion that the data-gathering process should reveal aspects of the lives of the people - in whom we are interested - in the following framework of subconstructs:

a - Factual personal detail;

b - Education and linguistic competence;

c - Perceptions of the people involved.

Restricting the data-gathering process to the use of a question-naire alone would have certainly simplified our task. However, during our piloting and testing period in the two countries early in 1985, we realised that some of the people among those involved (pupils, teachers, head-teachers and parents) had shown great interest in the phenomenon and clearly expressed the will to discuss some issues in depth. We therefore elected not to limit the data-gathering process simply to the use of a questionnaire but to include also the use of informal interviews, class observation and family visits. This, we have to acknowledge, has added a useful dimension to our understanding of the situation. Thus, the concern was not only about people answering questions and reporting on a situation, but also about discussing various issues in depth. This, of course, was time consuming but provided some insights which, we believe, a questionnaire alone would have not reached. Interviews have in many ways, enriched our understanding of the situation and brought the people concerned to yield more deeply-held opinions, feelings and beliefs.

B.3.1 The questionnaire

In accordance with the nature of the information sought from pupils, parents, teachers and head-teachers, both open and closed questions were asked. It is true that open questions provide information difficult to handle for categorisation and interpretation before the analysis process. However, the need for more reflective statements and deeper information from respondents was imperative. Hence, the subjects of the research were given the opportunity to construct their own extended answers.

The number of questionnaires used (four in each country) plus one destined for experts and officials in both countries, was in

itself a problem in that much time was spent on planning the survey, stating the specific objects sought through this research and designing the questionnaires accordingly.

The four questionnaires were piloted and tested in both France and Algeria. The numbers of the subjects included in the pre-testing period were as follows:

Algeria		France
Pupils	11	17
Teachers	9	12
Parents	6	9 (+ 4 who refused to collaborate)
Head-teachers	4	6

These subjects represent the population to be studied in that they respond to the variables relevant to our study. All pupils are immigrants' pupils; both parents are Algerians; teachers have some experience in multi-cultural education, and so on.

All the pre-testing has been done face-to-face to encourage the subjects to make comments, ask questions so as to allow us to point out ambiguities and to discover the weaknesses of the questionnaires.

This process was essential, of course, as part of recognised educational research practice but also much appreciated for it allowed:

a - To discover that some questions did not bring about the information sought. Forinstance, instead of asking for precise information on parents' income, which would have produced a negative reaction, we were rather asking them to give information as to their economic situation hoping that the income would appear in their answers. Among other poorly-worded questions was one designed to ascertain a language preference.

The question: "which language do you like most?" was based on the false assumption that the pupils were thinking of the same set of languages as those in the mind of the researcher. In this case, we had to close the question and present the pupils with with the range of languages we were referring to;

b - To come to the realisation that we had tended to forget that we were dealing with 11-19 years old students and that some of them (especially the youngest) were unable to understand all the questions. Indeed, manyof them pointed to difficult wording in some questions. To solve this problem, we asked the collaboration of some teachers in both countries to help in simplifying the language used and to make it accessible to all respondents and to avoid misunderstandings in some questions. This helped to gain time in that we had, during the actual administering of the research tools, very few clarifications to provide to the respondents.

B.3.2 The interview

Interviews were unstructured and informal. They usually took place with respondents who showed much interest and who were willing to provide more information on particular areas of the study. Some of these volunteered and others simply accepted, when asked, to have a discussion on the subject matter. Discussions with interviewees took place either in the school institution, in a _café_, in the respondent's home, and so on, depending on the possibilities at hand.

The problem with interviews is that they are time consuming and this made it impossible to reach a sizeable sample within each group of the people involved in our study. In addition, we are aware of the risk that information obtained from interviews is likely to be

subjective rather than indicative of a particular situation or state of things. There is also the risk of having only extrovert people to volunteer for an interview, and these are not necessarily the ones to possess interesting information to provide the researcher with.

Gaining access to girls, especially in Algeria, was quite a difficult task to realise. This has reduced our possibilities to increase the number of girls interviewed. It is particularly regrettable for, as will be seen later in the text, those we interviewed revealed issues the importance of which was under-estimated initially.

B.3.3 Class observation

There was no particular style of observation, neither did observation take place over an extended period of time so as to allow the researcher to develop more intimate relationships with the subjects observed. However, this technique has allowed us to gain a broader view of the classroom as a learning and social context involving immigrants' children. It has also helped to have a clear idea of the students' degree of participation in class discussions and to observe the immigrant's child behaviour in the classroom.

Useful differences were noticed, as will be discussed later in the text, between able and less able students on the one hand and between pupils in the Algerian educational system and those in the French system, on the other.

B.3.4 Family visits

This is not a widely and commonly used technique. However, we felt the need to see the people involved, in their family environment. Although a few families (11 in France and 1 in

Algeria, during the pre-test and the administering of the questionnaires) rejected, straightforward or in a more polite form, the idea of being visited or interviewed, the fact that the researcher was recognised as a member of the Algerian community and, most important, the strong tradition of hospitality among Algerian families helped in our gaining access to quite a substantial number of families in both countries. Indeed, we managed to visit 70 families in France and 52 families in Algeria.

At this stage, we would like to underline the fact that being able to speak and communicate in all languages and dialects used by Algerian families, whether in France or in Algeria, has been a most appreciable advantage. A non-Algerian researcher would have experienced many more difficulties, not to say, would have found such a form of research totally impossible.

B.4   Access to schools and respondents

The choice of place in France was the region of Paris and that of Marseille. This is where we have the highest concentration of Algerian immigrants. It was logical to select these areas in order to reach the maximum of families (70) and their children (218) within the minimum of time. The same was done in Algeria where in the event we encountered more difficulties in locating the returned families and their children for they are scattered throughout the whole country. We had then to concentrate on six regions (counties) which constitute traditional emigration areas in Algeria and where we managed to have access to 52 returned families and 166 'returned' pupils.

Because of the dispersal of the families in Algeria, the element of choice for the researcher was very limited. The sample here must be, therefore, considered very much as a convenience

sample.   Indeed, no lists providing information on returned families, children, age-range, school achievement, etc ... were available in either country. We had, hence, no real control over the populations to be investigated and had no other alternative but to work on an opportunity sample.

We are aware of the limitations of the opportunity sample but it was the only way to have access to the populations investigated. In fact, the network of inter-family and inter-community groups which characterises the Algerian family, once it was entered, made it easier to penetrate and gain the confidence of families.

Personal recommendations were essential, but of course, there are shortcomings in the convenience sample. The researcher using this technique can be criticised for selecting only subjects that he thinks will provide interesting responses and neglecting those who may not add interesting dimensions to the overall picture being painted. There is also the risk that if the researcher is known to the subjects, even at a distance or known about, then the responses maybe given in a biased way, that is, in a way which would indicate that the subjects are replying in order to satisfy what they think will gain the approval of the researcher (approval motive). It is also possible that if the same questions had been asked by a French researcher, the answers would have been understated because people would have been afraid to criticise too much.

During our research, we had to visit as many schools as possible (32 in France and 40 in Algeria) to see in which schools we were likely to find the target population needed for our study. This helped us to select the schools in which there were Algerian immigrants' children of the age-range we were looking at, that is 11-19. Having identified the pupils within the schools, it was then

possible to get in touch with their teachers and to gather them together. Of course, the first person to be contacted in the school was always the head-teacher. The whole process was done in various ways:

a - Through personal contacts;

b - Recommendations from one head-teacher to another;

c - Suggestions from teachers and head-teachers to visit schools and also families presenting specific features, for instance, a school with a high failing percentage or a family whose children are having serious difficulties with their education or their parents.

Similar observations must be acknowledged, therefore, in the process of selecting schools but the reality of the situation made it sensible to follow up recommendations and pursue suggested lines of inquiry. While no claim for representativeness of the sample can be made, it became clear that those people approached shared similar difficulties and experienced similar pressures.

B.5 Administering questionnaires

Grouping pupils in one classroom with the permission and help of the head-teacher was very useful for it helped to administer the questionnaires and to collect them at the same time. As to teachers and head-teachers, we set ourselves the task of distributing and collecting them personally. We collected 67 questionnaires from teachers and 32 from head-teachers in France, whereas in Algeria we had 61 questionnaires from teachers and 40 from head-teachers. Questionnaires related to families werew dealt with during our family visits.

We were not relying on mailed questionnaires except for those targetted at experts and officials from whom we had quite a low

response rate (37 out of 120). It is, indeed, rather difficult to gain access to experts and officials personally and the questionnaires were sent out during the last three months before the completion date for the thesis.

B.6 Motivating the respondents

It was not difficult to obtain the respondents' cooperation and to motivate them. Respondents were encouraged by the fact that someone was prepared to listen to them. They presumably had the impression that the results of their collective statements would have some impact on official policy and, in particular, on their lives.

Some teachers and head-teachers in Algeria felt somehow reluctant to cooperate fully. We had to guarantee the complete confidentiality of the information they were providing and to insist on the official aspect of the research while stressing that the questionnaires were anonymous and did not name the individual or the school. Their reticence is comprehensible for, it has to be said, a researcher seeking information in Algeria is likely to be looked at as an 'intruder' rather than as someone attempting to find or suggest solutions for existing and increasing problems. Educational research of this kind in Algeria is in its infancy and the researcher has often to face discouraging bureaucratic harrassments. This was certainly the case during some aspects of our fieldwork where the scepticism or silence of officials was something of a barrier to progress.

PART C

The educational experience of Algerian immigrants' children in France

Introduction

The education of immigrants' children in France has become in the last few years a subject of great concern and a field in which many investigations have taken place, (Mariet, (1981) Bastide (1982), Le Masne (1982), Mecheri (1984) Griotteray (1984) and Berque (1985) are some of those who have shown great interest in this field. The phenomenon has also become a familiar concern for institutions such as the Ministry of Education, the National Office of Immigration and even the Ministry of Justice. What is most interesting to us is that all educational institutions have become very aware of the issue. The recent interest in the education of immigrants' children has come about partly as a result of the increasing number of these children in schools. According to Le Monde (February, 10 and 11, 1985) out of a total number of more than four million immigrants, about one million are children of school age. These children represent 8.7% of the total number in the first and second cycles (see fig.1).

Figure 1. The progression of immigrants' pupils in French schools

(Premier & Second Degrés) from 1975-76 to 1983-84
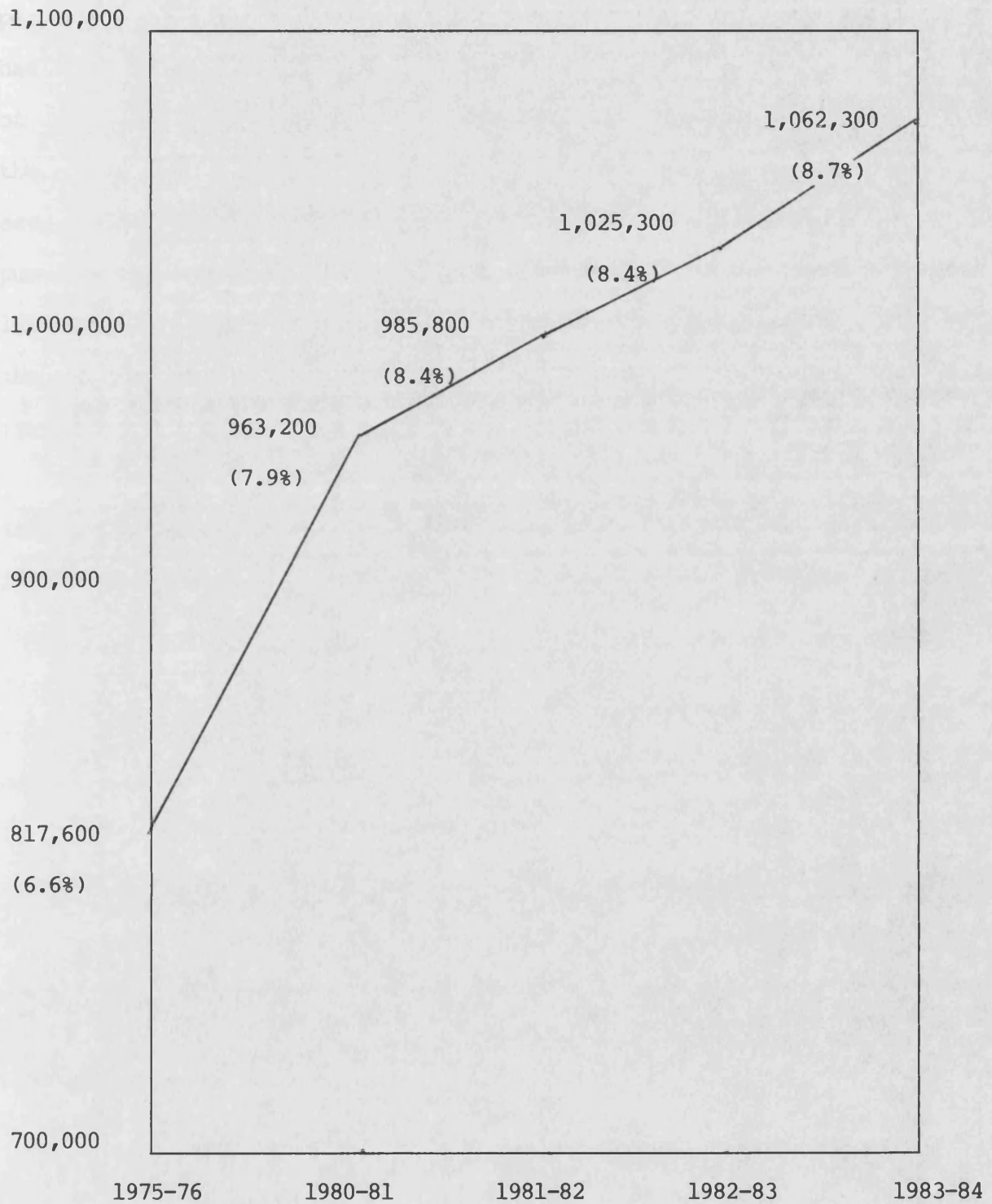
Source: adapted from 'Les Immigrés dans l'école'

Le Monde (10 & 11 February 1985)

Their progression is in a continuous increase for the immigrants' birth rate is higher than that of the French. According to Bastide (1982), the number of foreign pupils has regularly increased in the period 1976-1980 from 807,000 to 925,000 whereas that of French pupils has diminished from 11,453,000 to 11,279,000. According to the Ministry of Education figures, the most significant ethnic minority groups are the Portuguese with a population of 860,000 and the Algerians in the second place with 780,000. Moroccans are in third place. As to the pupils, Solé on the other hand, (1985) reports in Le Monde (Nov.13, 1985) that it is not the Portuguese but the Algerians who represent the most significant school population. Portuguese and Moroccans respectively come in second and third places.

There is a significant imbalance between pupils in the Premier and the Second Degrés. Foreign pupils represent 10.4% of the total population in the Premier Degré and only 6.7% in the Second Degré for the 1983-84 year. This justifies the general claim, found in all investigations, that the higher the level in the French educational system, the fewer immigrants' children we find (Bastide, 1982; Ministère de l'Education Nationale, 1985). Another fact to notice is that there are very few immigrants' pupils in private schools (about 5%). The reasons for this situation suggested by the literature and confirmed by our contacts with numerous families are as follows:

(a)   financial, for immigrants cannot always afford private schools;

(b)   religious, for most private schools are Catholic;

and (c)   geographical, for private schools are unlikely to be located in urban areas where most immigrants live.

C.1 The population investigated in France

C.1.1 The pupils

The pupils investigated in this research have some specific characteristics in common. They are all Algerians. This means that their parents have maintained their Algerian nationality and none of the children has yet opted for French nationality. Although it is in no case the passport that defines the immigrant worker and his children, we opted for this choice because the long-term aim of this study is the socio-linguistic 'reinsertion' in the Algerian society of Algerian immigrants' children schooled in the French educational system. And those who have adopted French nationality are unlikely to be considered as potential 'returnees'. All pupils are either in Collèges or in Lycées. The vast majority are in ZEP (Zone d'Education Prioritaire). Among the 218 pupils comprised in this research, 147 (67.43%) are in ZEP. 167 pupils are in Collèges and 51 are in Lycées, (see fig.2 on page 73 for general information on the pupils).

Figure 2 General information on the pupils.

Total number	218
No. of pupils in 'Collèges'	167
No. of pupils in 'Lycées'	51
No. of pupils born in Algeria	39
No. of pupils born in France	179

Age 12-16 in 'Collèges' 16-19 in 'Lycées'	
Sex 123 boys 95 girls	
Classes 6°, 5°, 4°, 3° ('Collège') 2nd, 1ere, Terminale ('Lycées')	
Date of arrival if born in Algeria: between 1968 and 1982	
No. of years spent in France: between 4 to 19 years	
Nursery school attendance before schooling	187
Did not attend nursery school before schooling	31
First language spoken: Classical Arabic 00 Berber Dialect 136	
Algerian 82 French 00	

Some comments on Figure 2

(a) A distinction is made between pupils in Collèges and those in Lycées in order to study the specific characteristics (if any) of each group. Indeed, in the French educational system, pupils in Lycées are considered as more successful pupils for they managed to pass the barrier between the Collège and the Lycée. In addition, they have not been oriented to vocational or professional sections which are considered as options for the less able and less successful pupils.

(b) There are fewer Algerian immigrants' pupils in Lycées. This confirms the results given by other researchers that the number of immigrants' pupils decreases enormously as we pass from the Collège to the Lycée (Goapper, 1985; Ministère de l'Education Nationale, 1985).

(c) Algerian born pupils are less numerous than those born of Algerian parents in France because immigration for Algerians has practically stopped since 1974. In recent years, the family reuniting process has become very difficult and very few Algerians chose to reunite in France for economic reasons. Besides, since they nourishthe hope to return to Algeria, they prefer to avoid experiencing the situation of their compatriots who are with their families in France.

(d) There are more boys than girls, for some parents still consider education not only as of lesser value but, in some cases – even useless. Moreover, some parents prefer to withdraw their daughters from school and keep them at home until they get married preferably in Algeria. In some traditional minds, women are still the most potential source of dishonour for the family. Therefore, they are more likely to be kept strictly under the family control

and surveillance even if this means loss of educational opportunity.

(e) The fact that no child has started to speak French first should not surprise the reader, for parents themselves do not have a good command of this language. Besides, if French is an instrument parents use daily, it is not the language they first speak to their children. As to Classical Arabic, the reader should bear in mind that it may be the <u>national</u> language and the medium of instruction in Algeria, but it is, in reality, the mother tongue of no Algerian whether living in Algeria on in France (Redjala, 1973). And, even if it is increasingly used for administrative purposes, this use is generally limited to its written form. To give an example, you would be asked in Algerian, in Berber or even in French to fill in a form in Classical Arabic. We think the example illustrates the situation. And, if Algerian pupils in Algeria speak Classical Arabic within the class, they go back to their mother tongue as soon as they leave their classroom (Nedjai, 1984).

(f) The majority of Algerian pupils have a Berber dialect as their mother tongue for Algerian families who emigrated to France are mainly from the <u>Kabylie</u> and the <u>Aurès</u> which count among the most deprived and the poorest regions of Algeria until the industrialisation programme was launched in the early 1970's. These two regions - with a majority of Berber populations - have, hence, always been emigration regions.

<u>C.1.2 The parents</u>

All parents have Algerian nationality. Mixed couples are not included in this research for they present other specifications and problems. We have decided to focus on families rather than the simple individual because their importance in children's education

should not be under-estimated (Marjoribanks, 1979; Mariet, 1981; Bank, 1986; Tomlinson, 1986). In the area of parent-child relationships, immigrant workers - as parents - have many common features with French parents, yet they present differences in certain aspects.

(a) As in all societies, parents generally have a considerable psychological, moral, economic and physical domination over their children. They make decisions, impose their values and create a certain family atmosphere. In other words, they establish a set of relations with their children. These relations are usually quickly assimilated and internalised by children. At this very general level, there arefew differences between the aspirations of the two communities.

(b) In the case of Algerian immigrant workers, however, another phenomenon must be taken into account, and this is their residence in a <u>foreign</u> country (Griotteray, 1984). They do not always know the language of the host country and therefore enjoy practically no power within society for they generally are ignorant of the rights they could possibly exercise. They may dominate within their families but they are socially dominated. This leads to a twofold - and hence ambiguous - relationship between parents and children.

(c) In some fields, particularly in that of French language, children's progression is quicker than that of their parents. There are two reasons for this. First children are younger and seem to learn better; and second and most important, children are more in contact with the French population, especially French children of their age. As a result, parent-child relationships are modified. Children are often in a dominating situation vis-à-vis their parents.

This power is shown by an essential and daily reality which is language, the power of communication. This phenomenon is rarely encountered in parent-child relationships among French nationals. Algerian parents, therefore, are in a paradoxical situation. While wishing to influence their children, they have to accept the influence of their children over their lives.

(d) French adults' attitudes towards immigrant workers are not - in general - very favourable and very positive for well-known reasons in France as well as in other countries of immigration (Jones and Kimberley, 1982; Cummins, 1984; Griotteray, 1984; Swann Report, 1985). These attitudes influence French children and are inevitably manifested in their relationships with their foreign school-mates. Through this process, Algerian immigrants' children learn that their parents are 'second class people'. They cannot avoid being influenced in their attitudes to adults of their own nationality for they are inevitably marked by the image the social environment gives them of the status of their parents. According to Dr Abboud (1985), this is how Maghriban children in France learn to reject their parents' culture and civilisation.

(e) In most cases, Algerian parents themselves have experienced little or even no education whatsoever. Among the 70 families visited 52 mothers and 47 fathers are illiterate (see fig.3 below for the level of instruction among the Algerian families we have visited).

Figure 3. Level of instruction in the 70 visited families

Level of instruction	Fathers	Mothers
Illiterate	47	52
Primary instruction	15	21
Collège instruction	05	01
Lycée instruction	03	02

N = 70

Children's schooling represents an ambiguous enterprise for Algerian immigrant workers. It is often experienced as an enterprise of great value and wealth. Nevertheless, it possibly contributes to a feeling of inferiority and insecurity because children acquire knowledge parents do not possess and did not have the chance to acquire. The more children are educated, the more parents feel ignorant. This leads to a double consequence. On the one hand, as for the case of language, it is the children who dominate the parents and, consequently, the parents-children relationships are affected. On the other hand, by acquiring a new knowledge unknown to their parents, Algerian children are prone to reject their parents because there is little common ground between them. In assimilating and incorporating a new knowledge, children start their integration process and, through this same process, they become

relative strangers to their own cultural milieu of origin. This dialectic is of paramount importance in our field of research for it represents the starting point in the breakdown within the microcosm of the family and, hence, in the adult-child relationship. Inevitably, children turn away from the family milieu to find their roots in the host community. Here starts, according to Porcher (1984), the cultural conflict leading to the identity crisis. Immigrants' children are torn between two cultures and do not know where to stand.

(f) Through this double process - French language learning and schooling in France - Algerian children became a social power in their family environment. They assume most of communications, mediations and relations between their parents and the host community. They possess a certain power to which their parents find themselves in a position of dependance. These children constitute to their parents in France an essential means of relations with the host society. As a result, parents try to compensate for their inferiority in the hope of re-establishing traditional relations. Hence, they show a tendency to increase their traditional domination in order to prove that their children's domination over them is only superficial, technical and circumstantial, but not fundamental. This is typical of the Algerian family whether in France or in Algeria (Zerdoumi, 1982). "They (the children) know more than us, but we always command and remain the decision-makers" are frequent assertions among Algerian parents. However, the parents' domination is not generalised. It is, in most cases, more effective on girls than on boys and during our visits was seen to be manifested in decisions concerning girls' marriages and religious rules like drinking alcohol, smoking, fasting, and so on.

(g) For all the reasons previously enumerated, adult-child relationships are in a permanent psychological and sociological inbalance. Consequently, their influence is negative to both sides for they create a disastrous atmosphere for parents and children as well. Indeed, some families are living in a constant state of tension and conflict.

The image of the school is also ambiguous for these families: valuable yet destructive, useful yet frightening, needed yet rejected. The school is the incarnation of the place where the parents' power collapses and a place in which the usual relations considered as fundamental by Algerian parents break down. For these reasons, Algerian immigrants' children could but only find themselves in a situation of duplicity and instability. On the parents' side, the experience is very harmful. As one mother explained:

> "The school educates our children. This
>
> is good, but it also sets them against us."

This is the dilemma among parents. If their children's education is considered as the best investment, they fear the influence of the school which is changing their own children. Taylor (1974), too, has noted this tendency, among Asian parents in Britain, to fear the school. These parents want educated but not anglicised children. Parents are included in this research because we accept (as all educationists seem to agree) that parents' role is vital. Our investigations have highl-ighted the fact that parents' help and the contribution brought to their pupils' education in the case of Algerian parents in France - and even in Algeria - is not, as it will be seen later, always positive.

C.1.3 The teachers

Teachers have always been a valuable source of information on their pupils. They spend much time with them and their observation of the pupils is continuous. Many French teachers keep complete records on their pupils, known as fiche d'élève and in which appear the pupil's grades and the teacher's appreciations – even of the pupil's behaviour. Teachers also know at least some of the personal problems of their pupils. Their knowledge of the situation, the immigrants's pupils and their evolution within the French educational system are a few reasons which dictate the inclusion of teachers in this research. As will be seen later, this piece of work would be lacking a valuable parameter without teachers' perceptions. In our view, pupils cannot be singled out and studied alone. Teachers are part of the constellation of elements which define the Algerian immigrants' children situation.

In addition, teachers are in a good position to provide us with their opinions on factors like the teaching programmes and methods, the Algerian pupils' knowledge of French, and so on. Teacher-training is also a field in which they are likely to give a reasonable evaluation for they are directly concerned. The research includes 67 secondary teachers among which 52 are teachers of French and fifteen are teachers of other subjects. Only thirteen teachers have had some form of in-service training for multi-cultural teaching and 54 rely upon their own experience of multi-cultural classes.

C.1.4 Head-teachers and administrators

Thanks to head-teachers, we have had access to very useful information such as pupils' grades, number of Algerian pupils in schools and special school provision to immigrants' pupils. They are the ones who yielded valuable information on factors like

home-school liaison and school orientation of Algerian pupils. If teachers know about their classes, head-teachers have a wider knowledge of the situation. They are a source of pedagogical and administrative information.

Among the 32 head-teachers who replied to our questionnaires, ten have been interviewed for more information. Administrators approached include people in the Académies, in the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Justice (Department of Education), people in CREDIF (French Language Research Institution), the Amicale Des Algériens en Europe,FAS (Institutions for social action). These people are in direct contact with immigrants and know their situation and difficulties.

C.2   The school failure of Algerian immigrants' pupils

Algerian pupils, as well as pupils from other ethnic minority groups, experience a high percentage of failure within the French education system. This is a fact of life that is widely accepted by researchers, educationists and even politicians now. All evidence and research results converge to the same conclusion. Blot and Clévy (1978) mention the following results obtained in as early as 1970 from statistics concerning six French towns (see fig.4 p.82) about fourteen years old children who have been schooled in France.

Fig.4 An example of school results obtained by immigrants'
children in six French towns in 1970

Unable to read French	20%
C.E.2 level	40%
End of Primary school level without having passed the C.E.P	20%
C.E.G, C.E.S or in vocational school	20%

Source: adapted from Blot and Clévy (1978, p.67)

This lamentable situation is the case of six French towns in as early as 1970. Unfortunately, and as remarked by Blot and Clévy (1978) themselves, little notice has been taken of these findings and this kind of research has rarely been reported.

Compared to the nationals from the same background, school failure is more significant among immigrants' pupils. As concluded by Blot and Clévy (1978):

> "Ainsi les enfants de travailleurs
> migrants semblent-ils, plus encore que
> ceux des classes sociales françaises
> défavorisées, être marginaliés dans notre
> système scolaire."
>
> (p.67)
>
> (see translation 7 Appendix B)

More foreign pupils than nationals are in remedial classes. This is also the case of immigrants' children in Britain where Tomlinson (1986) reports that one anxiety among minority parents, especially West Indian parents, is to see their children placed in lower-levelk classes and to be over-represented in special education. In addition, the numbers of foreign pupils oriented to vocational training are higher than those of the nationals. Goapper (1985) from the Ministry of Education reported that:

> "Au début de la sixième année de suivi (année de l'entrée en sixième pour les élèves ayant eu une scolarité primaire normale), 3, 4% des élèves étrangers sont en classe de perfectionnement ou d'adaptation contre 2% des élèves français ... En outre, sont orientés en S.E.S. ou C.P.P.N: 3.1% des élèves étrangers et 1.4% des élèves français."

(p.45)

(see translation 8, Appendix B

According to these figures, 3, 4% of foreign pupils against 2% of nationals are, during the first year of Collège, in remedial classes. Among the pupils oriented to vocational training, 3.1% are foreigners and only 1.4% are French. In addition, this difference starts at the primary level where the percentage of foreigners whose age does not correspond to their class is higher than among French pupils.

At this stage, it is important to note that people involved in the field of immigrants' pupils' education do agree on the fact that the school failure of immigrants' pupils - including Algerians

- are a reality of the French educational system. It is also a reality in Britain (Swann Report, 1985), in Australia (Marjoribanks, 1979) in Canada (Cummins, 1984) and in many other countries (C.E.R.I., 1987). As far as Algerian pupilsare concerned, they constitute the group that gains least from their experience in schools. In this respect, Goapper (1985) mentioned that:

> "Dans les sections d'éducation spécialisées et les groupes de classes-ateliers, la population d'origine maghrébine continue à être plus nombreuse que la population scolaire d'origine latine, mais les élèves algériens et portugais représentent toujours 63% des élèves étrangers scolarisés dans cette structure d'enseignement."
>
> (p.44)

Porcher (1978), Blot et al (1978), Cirba (1980), Bastide (1982)and Malewska-Peyre (1982) are among those who provided the evidence for this school failure of immigrants' children and speculate as to the causes of these poor academic results.

C.2.1 Two approaches which mask reality

Two main approaches dominate the discourse concerning the immigrants' children schooling. For the first approach, it is the school institution which is - with all its structures, contents, methods, etc... - responsible for the school failure of these children. This point of view is generally supported by left-wing people. The second approach considers that it is the immigrants' pupils themselves - especially when they are in school in large

numbers - who are the principle factor of school failure, violence and even delinquency. This second point of view has tended to be promoted by advocates of right-wing political persuasion.

Although they start from two opposing visions, neither of these approaches is, in our view, based on a precise analysis of the immigrants' children school situation. Following the logic of the two approaches, both will lead - in practice - to a marginalisation and even the exclusion of the issue and the people concerned. Indeed, the first approach points to the school as the principal factor of failure and claims specific treatment of immigrants' children. However, the danger is that the consequences of treating these children as a population apart are not taken into account and the early "ghetto" classes consequences seem to have already been forgotten. The second approach justifies the crisis and the difficulties of the French school institution by the simple presence of significant numbers of immigrants' pupils within the school institution to which they are to all intents and purposes considered as foreigners. Hence, the only solution at hand seems, à-priori, to be the exclusion of these pupils.

The schematic and over-simplified presentation of these approaches by political and educational "experts" conceals the reality of the situation and allows people to adopt a point of view that does not permit any adequate action to be undertaken.

The most important objective is not, as generally believed, the equality of opportunity between the immigrant and the French population, but rather the equality of opportunity between the different social classes (Clévy, 1978; Bastide, 1982; C.E.R.I., 1987). In our view, this seems to be a more appropriate platform for any thinking or action to take place. One of the most

convincing reasons is that researchers like Bastide (1982) and Goapper (1985) reached the conclusion that regardless to the nationality, pupils from the same socio-economic conditions obtain very similar school results.

It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the far-reaching social consequences of creating a more egalitarian society in France have been ignored over the years and especially more recently now that a right-wing government is back in power.

C.2.2 The real aspect of the problem

It seems more appropriate to adopt a more realistic, down to earth approach to the problems facing the Algerian community in France. In any investigation of the school failure of immigrants' children the following questions should be set as starting points:

    (a) what is meant in the French educational system by school failure?;

    (b) how is this concept measured?;

    (c) who is failing?;

    (d) who are these immigrants' children?;

    (e) where are they situated in the school scale of success and failure?;

and (f) what are the causes generally attributed to their school failure?

(a) What is meant by school failure?

Despite the French government's ambition to equip all young people with a qualification allowing them to be inserted productively into the socio-economic life, it remains, however true more than ever that the image of social success - in the French context - is synonymous with the gaining of certificates and degrees, particularly university degrees. Consequently, a pupil's

school failure is determined from the time when he is oriented into an option other than the <u>Second Cycle Long</u> which leads to the Baccalauréate examination giving automatic right to university entrance. Pupils not oriented to the <u>Second Cycle Long</u>, experience a feeling of relegation (Clévy, 1978).

Taking into account the value attributed to university degrees in the French tradition, and the absence of a programme of training adapted to contemporary technological development, the image of school success could but only be viewed from this albeit narrow perspective. Thereis a well-known paradox in France in that equality is promoted as the educational goal in official texts, but where the educational systemis one of the most selective in the world.

(b) How is school failure measured?

Many factors contribute to a pupil's failure or to his being regarded as a potential failing pupil. A pupil enters in the category of failing pupils when:

1. his age does not correspond to the class he is in, that is, he is older than the average age of his class group;

2. when he repeats one class or more and is categorised as a <u>redoublant</u>;

3. he does not follow a normal progression towards the Baccalauréate class (see fig.5) for the French educational system);

4. he is oriented to vocational classes, and not to <u>long cycle</u> teaching;

5. he does not get average grades or grades which are considered as the norm grades to pass from one class to another.

Some of these features concerning immigrants' children are summarised by Girard, A., in his preface to Bastide (1982, p.3) in the following words:

> "Ils progressent dans l'ensemble un peu
> moins vite et accusent en moyenne un
> retard d'au moins six mois d'âge par
> rapport à leurs camarades et, deuxièmement
> ils sont moins nombreux dans l'enseign-
> ement du second degré à suivre la filière
> longue, au bénéfice de la filière courte
> et en particulier de l'enseignement
> technique."

(see translation 10, Appendix B)

N.B the underlinings are ours and Ils refer to immigrants' pupils.

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Fig.5 The French education system (First and Second Cycles

From Primary schooling

| 6° | --- Pupils' age = 11

observation level

| 5° | ---

First CAP ←-- | 4° | ---

orientation level

| 2nd CAP | | 3° | ---

transition level (collège to lycée) 15

| Third CAP | | 2° | First BEP

| 1ère | | 2nd BEP

| Terminale | Baccalauréate examination 18
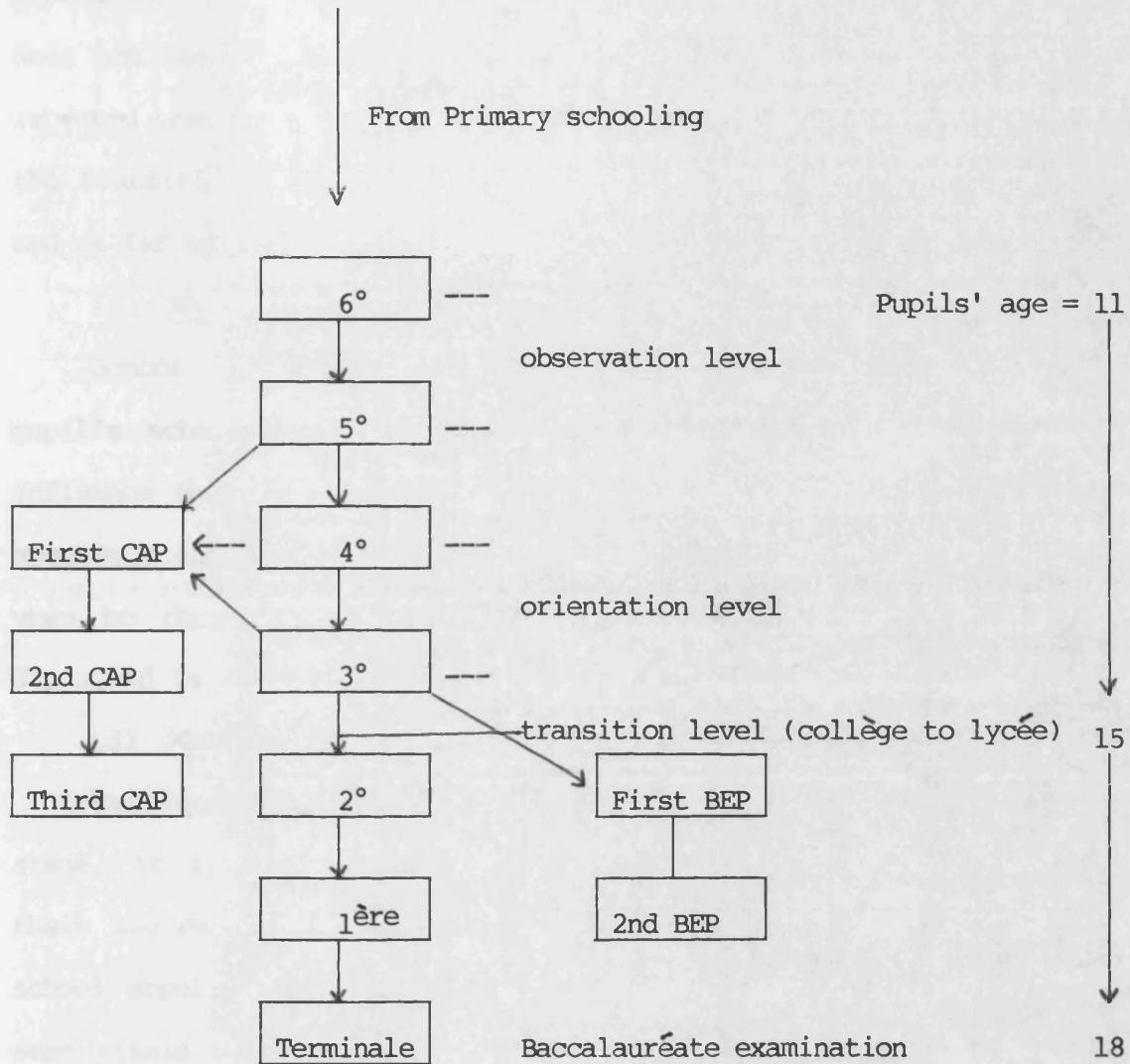
Source

Simplified version adapted from:

Basdevant, C., & Eyzat, A., (1982)

'les carrièrès scolaires'

in Ministère de la Justice et Centre de Vaucresson

'Crise d'identité et déviance chez les jeunes immigrés' pp.73-114

Documentation Française

Among these elements which decide on the pupil's schooling, grades are the most decisive factor. For although a pupil's age does not correspond to his class, and despite the fact that he has repeated one class, he can - if he obtains good grades - succeed in the transition from one class to another or from Collège to Lycée and as far as the Baccalauréate class.

(c) Who is failing?

School success or failure starts at the beginning of the pupil's schooling, for many of them accumulate the factors which influence their education in the primary school where children first acquire "labels" according to their abilities. A pupil is failing when he does not satisfy the scale of the school requirements discussed in (b).

(d) Who are these immigrants' children?

This question has been largely discussed in Part A. At this stage, it is worthwhile reminding the reader that they are - in their big majority - of a working class origin and that they are a school population disadvantaged in many ways. They do not feel at ease within the school; and their specificity presents a high risk of marginali sation and rejection within the school itself. Many of these characteristics are found to be common to immigrants' children in other countries (Shafer, 1983; Genesee, 1984; Tomlinson, 1986).

(e) Where are they situated in the school scale of success and failure?

Before presenting and discussing our own results concerning the 218 Algerian pupils who constitute the studied school population in France, it is, we believe, important to give a general picture of similar and wider studies already undertaken. To our knowledge, no similar study has dealt with Algerian pupils alone as an ethnic

minority school population. Algerian pupils have either been included with the immigrants' pupils in general or with Maghriban pupils Bastide, 1982; Taboada-Leonetti, 1982).

Bastide (1982) has conducted a national survey on foreign pupils within French schools. His broad conclusion is that:

"Les étrangers sont (...) moins nombreux à poursuivre des études longues que les français. Le plus souvent, après leur scolarité dans l'enseignement général, ils reçoivent une formation professionnelle courte, dans le cadre de l'obligation scolaire."

(p.32)

(see translation 11, Appendix B)

School failure is more accentuated among immigrants' pupils. And, in the total school immigrants' pupils, Algerians represent the large proportion (see fig.6).

Fig.6 Foreign pupils' nationalities in the French education system

(1976-1980)

Nationalities	School year			
	1976-77	1977-78	1978-79	1979-80
Numbers in thousands	807	864	882	925
Algerians	244	107	108	114
Moroccans	59	122	141	165
Tunisians	28	111	126	143
Other Africans	15	122	141	165
Portuguese	213	108	109	113
Spaniards	100	95	88	77
Italians	74	95	87	81
Yugoslavs	13	112	114	114
Others	61	117	130	152
	Distribution for every 100 foreign pupils			
Algerians	30.2	30.1	30.0	30.0
Moroccans	7.3	8.3	3.4	10.5
Tunisians	3.5	3.7	4.0	4.3
Other Africans	1.9	2.2	2.4	2.7
Portuguese	26.3	26.6	26.2	26.0
Spaniards	12.4	10.9	9.9	8.3
Italians	9.2	8.2	7.3	6.5
Yugoslavs	1.6	1.7	1.7	1.6
Others	7.6	8.3	9.1	10.1

Source: Adapted from: Bastide, H., (1982, p.24)

'les enfants d'immigrés et l'enseignement français : enquête

dans les établissements du premier et du second degré'

Institut National d'Etudes Démographiques P.U.F.

study of French and immigrant' pupils in the Premier and Second Degré discovered a greater failure among immigrants' pupils. According to their findings, the French undertake more further education than immigrants' pupils. In their own words:

"Les français continuent leurs études plus

loin que les étrangers."

(p.81)

(see translation 12, Appendix B)

This means that more foreign pupils than nationals drop out during the course of their studies or are in vocational classes as the early as 5° class. Their position at school is that of failing pupils or that of pupils who experience more difficulties than nationals.

Goapper (1985) pointed to the phenomenon of the increasing number of foreign pupils in special or remedial classes, and more particularly to Algerian pupils when he wrote:

"Ce phénomène est encore plus net pour

certaines nationalités: ainsi les

algériens, qui représentent 29, 0% des

élèves étrangers, constituent 31, 5% et

35, 4% des effectifs de nationalité

étrangère en adaptation et perfectionn-

ement."

(p.43)

(see translation 13, Appendix B)

Zinotti and Novi (1979), Deulofeu (1980), Hamonet and Proux (1984) and many others have all described immigrants' pupils as those who suffer more from complex difficulties at school and outside. This reduces their chances of success and places them

outside. This reduces their chances of success and places them among the most failing school pupils.

    (f) <u>What are the causes generally attributed to their school failure?</u>

The first general trend to emerge was that of linguistic disadvantage which was considered as the most important handicap to any school failure. This was particularly true in the early 1960's when there was massive immigration and when children, first schooled in their country of origin, came to France where they came face to face with language problems. The priority policy of those days was to teach these children the French language, considered as the key to their education and social success. It was believed, in many countries, that assimilation is going to happen naturally (Suziki, 1984); Watson, 1984).

Until 1970, newly arrived immigrants' children were put into normal classes where they had to struggle with the French language (Blot and Clévy, 1978). This was done in the aim of assimilation and treatingall pupils equally. However, it was realised in the late 1960's that we could not apply successfully the same measures to different situations. Teachers and head-teachers tried to solve the problem and in 1965 the first initiative to group immigrants' children in <u>Classes Spéciales</u> was created. The increasing numbers of immigrants' children pushed the French government to create the <u>Classes d'Initiation</u> (Circulaire No. IX-7037, 13.1.1970, B.O.E.N. No.5, 29.1.70) and the <u>Classes d'Adaptation</u> in 1973 (Circulaire No. 73.383, 25.9.1973, B.O.E.N. No.36). Both classes had the task of receiving newly arrived children and preparing them linguistically for their normal schooling.

the determining factors of school success. This belief was reinforced by the fact that children who came before the age of six and attended nursery schools presented fewer problems. Blot and Clévy (1978) sum up the situation as follows:

> "Il est acquis que cette préscolorisation
> permet de réduire les taux de redoublement
> au <u>C.P</u> et qu'elle constitue un des
> facteurs d'atténuation de certains
> handicaps."

<div align="center">(p.69)</div>

<div align="center">(see translation 14, Appendix B)</div>

<div align="center">(The underlining is ours)</div>

However, in recent years, the phenomenon has presented new aspects. Researchers and all concerned people have started to question the problem because they realised that, even though the great majority of immigrants' children are born in France and do not present more linguistic problems than French pupils from the same socio-economic background, they will fail at school more than French pupils (Bastide, 1982).

'Who is responsible for this failure?' remains an urgent question still needing an answer. Linguistic handicaps can no longer be considered the sole excuse for the dilemma facing the ethnic minority communities. That is why, as already explained, opinions and approaches differ. They range from the school institution to the pupils themselves and to factors like identity and culture, the outside environment, etc...

It is now clear that the immigrants' children school failure cannot be explained by one factor alone (Banks, 1986; Craft, 1986; C.E.R.I., 1987). For this reason, we tried to isolate, discuss and

C.E.R.I., 1987). For this reason, we tried to isolate, discuss and analyse as many factors as possible to see what the influence of each of them is.

C.3 The school situation of Algerian immigrants' children

Now that we have some conception of what is meant by school failure within the French educational system, we are going to see - in the Algerian school population - the percentage of failing pupils and of those likely to fail or to succeed. At this stage, we have to remind the reader that our approach is not based on a particular school test. Rather it follows the reality of the French system itself. It is recognised that some may consider this too narrow a definition of sucess and failure. But it is, in our view, the most appropriate tool at our disposal - one that the Algerian population understands all too well.

C.3.1 Pupils' grades

As far as the grades are concerned, we have given major importance to grades in French to know the Algerian pupils' knowledge of French language, and to annual average grades, all subjects included, because the decision as to which pupils are likely to pass to the higher class is made on the pupils' annual grades. At this level, pupils are divided into groups according to their classes. The groups are $6°$ and $5°$ (first group), $4°$ and $3°$ (second group) and $2°$, $1°$ and Terminale (third group). This decision replicates that of the French system itself (see fig. 7).

Fig.7 The Second Degré in the French System

Cycles	Role	Classes	Normal age of pupils
Premier Cycle	1. Observation level	6°+ 5°	11-12
	2. Orientation level	4°+ 3°	13-14
Second Cycle	3. Schooling leading to BAC classes	2°+ 1°+ Tle	15-16-17

Comments on figure 7

(a) The normal progression which leads to the Baccalauréate class of general teaching is: 6°+ 5°+ 4°+ 3°+ 2°+ 1°+ Terminale.

(b) At the end of the Cycle d'Observation (6°+ 5°) less successful pupils are oriented to a first C.A.P (vocational training).

(c) At the end of the Cycle d'Orientation (4°+ 3°), pupils who have managed to reach these classes but who have proved to be less successful than before, are oriented to a second C.A.P or to industrial teaching where they prepare certificates for industrial activities.

(d) Only those pupils judged highly successful by the school are sent to the 2°class of the general teaching.

(e) Within this hierarchy of grades, there is inevitably a hierarchy of success. A first C.A.P prepared after the 5° class is less of a success than a second C.A.P or a third C.A.P. A first B.E.P prepared after the 3° class is more successful than a second C.A.P but less of a success than a second B.E.P. For this complex

system of degrees, certificates and their status, see fig.5, p.89 on the French System in secondary schooling.

(f) As the aim of this research is not the study of the French educational system itself, we will only consider the general rule which is: the more a pupil obtains grades that allow him to progress normally in his education, the more successful he is. A passage from collège to lycée is however considered as a potential success for the chances offered are greater and because this transition is highly competitive.

Grades are calculated on the basis of a total grade of 20/20. The average grade 10/20 is considered as a successful grade and allows the pupil access to the class above. The Algerian pupils' grades obtained during the academic year 1985-86 confirm all other studies' results concerning the grades factor (see fig.8, below). There is a significant loss of pupils as we pass from one class to another. This seems to apply to all immigrants' pupils (Basdevant and Eyzat, 1982).

Fig.8 Algerian pupils' grades (Academic year 1985/86)

	Class	No. of pupils	General annual grades	
			No. of pupils with failing grades	No. of pupils with successful grades
observation level	6o+ 5o	90	62(68.8%)	28(31.1%)
orientation level	4o+ 3o	77	41(53.2%)	36(46.7%)
long cycle	2o+ 1o+ Tle	51	12(23.5%)	39(76.4%)

n = 218

If, considering these results, it appears that a significant number of pupils (115) are failing and represent 52.7% of the total population, some other remarks have to be observed.

(a) More pupils obtain under-average grades in the transition from the observation level to the orientation level. This means that at this beginning stage of the secondary schooling, there is a significant loss of Algerian pupils who are going to be oriented to vocational or professional classes.

(b) At the orientation level, there is still a significant number of pupils who are unlikely to succeed in the transition from collègeto lycée. But, comparing the percentage within the two groups (observation and orientation levels) it is in the first level that we find the most significant number of pupils with failing

grades. This is certainly due to the fact that pupils passing from the first degree (primary schooling) to the second degree (secondary schooling) find themselves in a new situation, new schools, with new teachers, new subjects, etc... Not all pupils succeed in getting quickly adapted to the newness of the collège situation and its environment. Moreover, at this age (11 to 13) pupils are not very aware of the importance of their education.

(c) In the long cycle we have more pupils with successful grades. There is one major reason confirmed by the pupils themselves. At this stage (16+) pupils are more aware of the value of education. They see in their parents' conditions the best example. Education is to these pupils the best key to success within the host society and even in Algeria for those who wish to live in Algeria. In addition, less successful pupils have left the normal course of studies and only successful pupils have managed to reach the long cycle. And it is among these successful pupils that motivation to gain academic success seems very high.

The observation level constitutes, in our view, the most critical stage. It is at this level that pupils should understand the value of education which becomes very competitive. Much care and attention from parents, teachers, etc.... must be brought in at this stage to help pupils. The early stage of schooling is indeed extremely important (Mariet, 1981). After the orientation level, pupils interviewed showed more maturity and proved to be more conscious of the need to achieve academically.

C.3.2 Age/class relation

As already mentioned, when a pupil's age is higher than the average age of the class he is in, this pupil is considered to be

late in his education and schooling. In the case of Algerian pupils, the age factor does not always correspond to the class (see fig.9). If a pupil has, for instance, lost one or even two years during his schooling, this does not mean that he is automatically condemned to fail. However, his chances of succeeding are considerably reduced.

Even though age is not an absolute, decisive factor, it does reveal a precise situation. If we take the different stages (observation level, orientation level and lycée level) we will notice that apart from the 6° and 5° classes where pupils are aged one year more than normal age of their class, in all other categories, the number of pupils whose age does not correspond to their class is decreasing.

Fig.9 Algerian pupils' age and class

Level	Class	No. of pupils per class	Normal corresponding age	No. of pupils aged one year more than normal age of their class	No. of pupils aged more than one year	No. of pupils whose age corresponds to normal age of their class
observation	6°	49	11	13 ⎫	9 ⎫	27 ⎫
	5°	41	12	17 ⎭ 30	2 ⎭ 11	22 ⎭ 49
orientation	4°	44	13	21 ⎫	7 ⎫	18 ⎫
	3°	33	14	14 ⎭ 35	5 ⎭ 12	12 ⎭ 30
lycée	2°	23	15	10 ⎫	3 ⎫	14 ⎫
	1°	19	16	03 ⎬ 15	2 ⎬ 6	10 ⎬ 30
	Tle	09	17	02 ⎭	1 ⎭	6 ⎭
				T = 80	T = 29	T = 109

n = 218

This brings us to the reason behind this class/age relation. Those pupils who are older than their normal class age have repeated one or two classes during their education. Less able and less successful pupils are allowed to repeat one or two classes. Pupils with repeatedclasses might succeed or fail definitely after two repeated classes.

C.3.3 Pupils who have repeated classes (the redoublants)

In the general classification, a redoublant is considered as less able than a pupil who has never repeated a class during his schooling. A pupil with one repeated class is given a chance to prove his ability and can succeed as well as a pupil who has never repeated a class. But, if the competition in streaming is for instance between these two pupils, it is the one with no repeated classes who is given advantage.

When a pupil has repeated more than one class, he is then very likely to be considered as a failing pupil and to be oriented to vocational training.

Among the 218 Algerian pupils, 130 have no repeated classes (see fig.10). Compared to results on fig.9, the number of pupils who have repeated one or two classes are slightly less significant than those who are one year or two late in their education. This means that a pupil whose age does not correspond to his class is not automatically a redoublant. Indeed, some pupils did not start their primary education at the normal age. They have, hence, accumulated their delay in their education since their first schooling.

Fig.10 Pupils with repeated classes (the Redoublants)

class	no. of pupils per class	pupils with one repeated class	pupils with more than one repeated class	pupils with no repeated classes
6°	49	11	05	33
5°	41	14	01	26
4°	44	17	03	24
3°	33	08	05	20
2°	23	08	02	13
1°	19	03	01	15
Tle	09	01	00	08
		T = 62	T = 17	T = 139

n = 218

Note. Although no precise national average figures are
        available to make an accurate comparison between the
        numbers of Algerian and French pupils who are obliged
        to repeat classes, it is quite clear from our own
        observations and from teachers' comments that a
        disproportionate number of Algerian children end up as
        redoublants.

The fact that 139 pupils have never repeated any class proves
that those who have repeated their classes many times are no longer
in the normal course of education. The number of times a pupil has
repeated his classes reflects the difficulties he had in his
education. If a pupil can repeat a class and succeed later, it
remains however true that a redoublant compared to a non-redoublant

is a potential failing pupil for he is more at risk and his chances to succeed are reduced.

The number of repeated classes highlights the difficulties a pupil has had during his education and could, as already mentioned, constitute a reason allowing the school to decide upon a pupil's inability to continue his education or upon his orientation to vocational teaching.

Factors like orientation, normal progression, transition from one level to another are not studied alone for they are dictated by the pupils' grades and abilities.

C.3.4 Are Algerian pupils failing?

Some studies which have compared the population of immigrants' pupils with that of French nationals and which used the same factors of success and failure (orientation, grades, age/class rapport) reached the conclusion that:

(a) immigrants' pupils are failing more than the nationals

and (b) a comparison between immigrants' pupils and French pupils from the same socio-economic conditions show similar results among these two school populations (Bastide 82; Boulot and Boyzon-Fradet, 1985)

However, if these studies conclude on the fact that school failure is more of a problem amongst immigrants' pupils than nationals in general, they tend to base their analysis on one dominant factor: the socio-economic conditions of failing pupils. This is comprehensible because it is the only factor found common to the immigrant and the French school failing populations. This approach gives globally acceptable results but, in our view, it does not consider all the elements likely to highlight the difference between the two populations. For, if the results among the French

and the immigrant populations with the same socio-economic conditions are more or less the same, these same conditions, when deeply analysed, are more in favour of the French school population for reasons that will be discussed later in this section. According to the C.E.R.I. (1987) study of seven receiving countries, immigrants' children do have more problems than natives.

'Are Algerian pupils failing?' is a question that should be approached in two contexts. First, if we speak of the success of pupils compared to their parents, we would say that any schooling in itself is a success. This is how things are looked at by Algerian illiterate parents in France as well as in Algeria (Zerdoumi, 1982). The distinction between parents and children begins at the time when children are able to read and write - which most parents cannot do. This would perhaps seem unimportant in Western societies where the level of instruction is very high. But to Algerian parents, as soon as they no longer request help from outside to fill in a form or a cheque, to write a letter or read a TV notice because one of their children is able to do it, they feel very proud and regard this change as a success. And it is not surprising to see some Algerian parents end their daughters' education at the collège level for they consider that they have reached a satisfactory level. Parents' aspirations as to boys are higher whereas a girl is often still regarded as a housekeeper, a task which - in these parents' view - does not require a high level of education. Zerdoumi's (1982) study of the Algerian family is undoubtedly a thorough illustration of the differences in parents' attitudes towards their children.

The second element which determines success is French society itself. And we have seen that success in this context, at least at the highest level, is synonymous to degrees. The influence of

this element acts on French as well as Algerian parents and children. For this reason, we believe we have to speak of a scale of success because the meaning of success is different from one social class to another. Unfortunately no comparisons could be made at this level because other studies are based on general definitions and distinctions between immigrant and national populations.

More education means more satisfaction among Algerian parents and their children. Algerian parents expect a great deal from education. There is also the case of ethnic minority parents in Britain (Tomlinson, 1984). The transition, for instance, from collège to lycée means more success than the transition from primary to secondary schooling. For after the collège level pupils have more opportunities for further education or for professional certificates which will enable them to ensure good jobs in industry or other sectors. In our view, real success consists in the ability shown by pupils to rise as high as possible in the educational system. This progression is particularly conditioned by the grades obtained, that is the better the grades the more chances of succeeding (see fig.11) for Algerian pupils' chances of success).

Pupils' chances to succeed are determined by the factors they accumulate in favour of a normal progression. Pupils with normal age and successful grades are those who have the highest chances ofsuccess for they have good grades and are young enough to repeat one or two classes.

According to our results, 51 pupils have very good chancesof success for they have good grades and are in the normal age vis-a-vis their class. 28 pupils have good grades but are one year late because they either have repeated one class or have been schooled one year late. These pupils have to rely more on their

grades than on their age for they will be allowed to repeat only one year. 24 pupils have to rely only on their grades for they are two years late in their schooling and would not be allowed to repeat another class.

In the category of pupils with failing grades, the chances of success are more reduced because grades are a more important factor than age; and the 115 pupils with failing grades are very likely to be oriented to vocational training as soon as from the observation level.

Fig.11 Algerian pupils' chances of success

Levels	No. pupils	Pupils with successful grades grades	Pupils with failing grades grades
Observation 6°+ 5°	90	28 < normal age : 13 1 year late : 06 more than 1 year late : 09	62 < normal age : 36 1 year late : 07 more than 1 year late : 19
Orientation 4°+ 3°	77	36 < normal age : 11 1 year late : 15 more than 1 year late : 10	41 < normal age : 19 1 year late : 20 more than 1 year late : 02
Long Cycle 2°+ 1°+ Tle	51	39 < normal age : 27 1 year late : 07 more than 1 year late : 05	12 < normal age : 03 1 year late : 08 more than 1 year late : 01

n = 218

Now, if we consider the situation in terms of progression through the school programme, we would say that only 51 pupils (those with successful grades and normal age) have the highest chances of success. They represent 23.3% of the total population studied and are the ones very likely to reach the end of the long cycle and sit the Baccalauréate examination.

Boulot and Boyzon-Fradet (1985) refer to the Ministry of Education results to give a percentage of 22.82% of immigrants' pupils who reach the long second cycle level. French pupils from the same socio-economic conditions who obtained the same results represent 27.51%. These figures concern a population of 37,177 pupils who entered the 6° class in 1972-73 and 1974.

The percentage of failure among immigrants' children – including Algerians who represent 30% and the majority of the total number of foreign pupils (Bastide 82, p.112) – is considerable and constitutes a reality upon which all researchers agree (Clévy, 1978; Zirotti, 1979; Porcher, 1984). It is also the case of immigrants' children in many other countries (Marjoribanks, 1979, Swann Report, 1985; C.E.R.I., 1987).

School failure and orientation to vocational teaching will undoubtedly make of immigrants' children a specialised but low-paid work-force. Very few of them will be among the intellectual élite so dear to the French educational system. The next question to be asked is 'what are the reasons that make the majority of Algerian immigrants' pupils fail within the French educational system?'

C.4 Contributory factors to the Algerian immigrants' children school failure

This research is not aiming at covering all factors that influence Algerian immigrants' children education. It is an attempt

to look at those factors that seemed to us most likely to play an important role in these pupils education.

As already mentioned, other researchers have first believed - in France as well as in other countries - that the language of the host community was the most influential factor. There were good grounds for believing this to be the root cause, and researchers during the early 1960's and until the end of the decade all supported this hypothesis. This was in France the time when families started to reunite, and Algerian pupils were - like other immigrants' children - put in class without any previous linguistic preparation.

It should not come as a surprise to us that it was first thought that teaching French to these pupils before their insertion into the educational system would solve the problem. It was on this basis that the <u>classe d'initiation</u> and the <u>classe d'adaptation</u> first appeared. Very quickly, it was realised that when the language problem was solved, it did not in turn solve the initial problem. Furthermore, at the present time, the great majority of these pupils were born in Franceand are not faced with language problems. According to Bastide (1982) only 5% have language problems.

Intensive French language teaching did not bring the expected results. This was a starting point for researchers to turn to other factors that have been neglected before. The emphasis on these factors changes from one researcher to another. Bastide (1982) for instance, emphasises socio-economic conditions and the cultural aspect, Malewska-Peyre (1982) centred her research on the identity crisis and racism. Boulot and Boyzon-Fradet (1985) refer to the difference between the social classes, that is the deprived social class - which includes immigrants - who are not well equipped to use

the educational system to their advantage. Our criticism of these researchers is tempered by the fact that the phenomenon is far too broad to be covered in one study. However, we remain convinced that researchers have generally centred their work on theoretical perspectives or measurable manifestations of the phenomenon but have neglected the human element. They have studied the phenomenon and have not been sufficiently in touch with the people experiencing it, particularly the pupils and their parents.

Reverchon (1987) is among the rare writers who clearly mentioned the lack of the human element when he wrote:

> "Le système français est en grande partie
>
> un système d'évaluation de notre belle
>
> jeunesse: notes, appréciations, examens,
>
> sélections, orientations, jalonnent le
>
> parcours scolaire. En revanche on évalue
>
> rarement [...] ce système d'évaluation. On
>
> ne se préoccupe guère de savoir comment le
>
> "consommateur" d'école - élève et étudiant
>
> - juge ses enseignants, son établissement,
>
> sa formation."
>
> (p.54)

(see translation 15, Appendix B)

For these reasons, the Ministry of Education launched an investigation in 1983 to scrutinise the opinions of students on their education in general. Some results are already at hand and concern 966 pupilsand students in lycées and universities. Questionnaires were distributed in May 1985 and May 1986. The final results which concern 100,000 students are expected by the end of 1987 or the beginning of 1988. However, the results already

published are revealing of the pupils' and students' opinions and prove that it was worthwhile going - for the first time- to the source, the pupils and the students (see fig.12). It is in the light of revelations such as these that we believe action should be taken. These students' opinions are a strong criticism directed to the teachers and the system in general. If they are unlikely to please all parties, they are at least illuminating and allowed the students to express freely their anxieties, which have been ignored for too long.

In Britain, for instance, studies in this field are more pupil-centred than in France. We believe this is due to the general approach within the system itself. In France, research works and studies are still much subject-based whereas in Britain, educationists and researchers are more aware of the pupils themselves. That is why studies undertaken in this field reflect reality more in Britain than in France because they are closer to the central element: the pupils. And if in France, researches in this field are theoretically well analysed, they lack the realism that is more frequently a characteristic of educational research in Britain.

Fig 12 French Lycée and University students' opinions on their

teachers, schools and their education in general

Students' level	Students' opinions (out of a total of 966 students
Preparatory classes (Lycée)	- 21% are disappointed by their teachers. - 65% judge their teachers as "distant". - 30% have never sought explanations from their teachers. - 42% think their studies are too theoretical.
First year students (University)	- More than one third dislike their programmes and models of work. - One fourth thinks the general atmosphere in which they work is negative and studies are not specialised enough. - 13% to 14% think there isn't enough evaluation and contact between students and teachers and among teachers themselves.
Students in the superior technicians option	- Students in this section think their atmosphere of work is better but they find it difficult to make friends because their programmes are too "heavy". - 38% think their teachers are disappointing and their studies too similar to those in lycées.

n = 966

Source: adapted from:

Reverchon, A., (1987) 'les étudiants ont la dent dure'

in Le Monde de l'Education No.137 April 1987, pp 54-55

C.4.1 The language issue

If we have said that the linguistic factor is no longer the single determinant factor, it does not however mean that it is to be totally neglected, for some Algerian pupils still have language problems. Shafer (1983) and Crespo and Pelletier (1984) noted a similar situation as to some immigrants' children in Australia and Canada, respectively.

At this stage, we feel it is important to present some insights into the language knowledge among Algerian pupils. Variables such as language use, pre-school language provision and attitudes to language are also investigated. Our aim is to see whether language is still a handicap among Algerian immigrants' children in France.

C.4.1.1 Language knowledge

Language knowledge within the French educational system is reflected by the pupils' grades in the subject and by the teachers' appreciations on each pupils' linguistic abilities. Access to pupils' records has allowed us to collect this information. Moreover, questions relevant to Algerian pupils' knowledge of French have been respectively asked of the pupils, the teachers and the head-teachers. The work has been completed by the use of informal interviews with pupils to try to understand whether they feel French language is a handicap to their education. We have multiplied the sources of information by including pupils', teachers' and head-teachers' views not to reduce the number of parameters to the pupils' grades alone. Besides, we would like to see whether the human element neglected in other studies would appear as a key factor which contributes to a better understanding of the situation.

C.4.1.1.1 Pupils' grades and teachers' appreciations

Precise information has been collected concerning the 218 Algerian pupils' grades in French and their teachers' appreciations in this subject according to a five-item scale: excellent, good, average, below average and poor (see fig.13, p.114). This is how appreciations are made. There is no breaking up in order to distinguish between the different language aspects.

Remarks on Fig.13:

1. Grades are calculated on the basis of a total mark of 20/20. There might be slight differences as to which grade corresponds to which appreciation.

2. To each appreciation and grade, we have the no. of pupils and what they represent in % within levels, collège and lycée.

3. The bottom of the figure gives the total no. of pupils and % per category of grades and appreciations.

Fig.13 Algerian pupils' grades in French and their teachers' appreciations

		Class	Total no. of pupils	Numbers of pupils and their grades and teachers' appreciations in French				
				15+ (excellent)	12-14 (Good)	10-12 (Average)	8-10 (Below Average)	Under 8 (Poor)
College	Observe.	6°	49	3 ⎱ 8.8%	10 ⎱ 22.2%	25 ⎱ 47.4%	5 ⎱ 10%	6 ⎱ 11.1%
College	Observe.	5°	41	5 ⎱ 18.75%	10 ⎱ 25.7%	18 ⎱ 37.12%	4 ⎱ 9.5%	4 ⎱ 9.5%
College	Orient.	4°	44	9 ⎱ 28.5%	12 ⎱ 29.8%	14 ⎱ 24.6%	5 ⎱ 9%	4 ⎱ 7.7%
College	Orient.	3°	33	13	11	5	2	2
Lycee		2°	23	9 ⎱ 43.13%	5 ⎱ 25.2%	6 ⎱ 17.6%	2 ⎱ 7.8%	1 ⎱ 5.8%
Lycee		1°	19	7	6	2	2	2
Lycee		Tle	09	6	2	1	00	00
n = 218				52 (23.85%	56 (25.68%)	71 (32.56%)	10 (9.17%)	19 (8.7%)

Observe = Observation level; Orient = Orientation level

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On the subject of French language, 23.85% of pupils obtain a grade of 15+/20 and are estimated to be excellent in this subject. The good pupils - those who obtain between 12/20 and 14/20 - represent 25.68%of the total population. Pupils with average grades represent the highest proportion (32.56%). To these first three groups of pupils, French language is not considered as a handicap. The pupils obtaining below average grades (9.17%) are not considered by all teachers as linguistically handicapped, for to some teachers average pupils are those who obtain grades from 8/20 to 12/20. Pupils to whom language is undoubtedly a handicap represent a proportion of 8.7% of the total studied population. Bastide (1982) found in his survey of 1687 first and second degree school institutions that only 5% of the total population are estimated to have language difficulties.

Obviously there is only a minority of pupils who experience difficulties in the language they are educated in. The other indication is that the number of pupils who have language difficulties is more significant in the observation level (6°+ 5° classes). The number of excellent and good pupils is increasing when we pass from one level to another. Whereas that of average, below average and poor pupils is decreasing. This is explained by the length of stay at school - and also within the host community - where more and more pupils learn good French and reach satisfactory levels of linguistic competence. All other researchers confirm the fact that the number of immigrants' pupils who have no linguistic difficulties is rapidly increasing. The main reasons are:

(a) more pupils attending pre-school classes.

and   (b) the majority of these pupils are born in France and, hence, the length of stay in the host country is in their advantage

from their early schooling.

C.4.1.1.2 Algerian pupils' appreciations of their knowledge in French

To gain an appreciation of Algerian pupils' knowledge in French, they were questioned about their abilities in the four aspects of language: comprehension, speaking, reading and writing (see fig.14 below).

Fig.14 Algerian pupils' perceptions of their knowledge in the four language aspects

| Language aspects | Pupils' perceptions | | | | |
	Very good	Good	Average	Poor	Very poor
Comprehension	129	41	38	5	5
Speaking	127	44	42	3	2
Reading	110	53	47	6	2
Writing	90	53	50	12	13

n = 218

48 pupils (22%) said they have language difficulties. And it is in writing that the majority (25) of the 48 pupils have difficulties. Supplementary information gained from teachers show that this is due to the fact that the communicative aspect of the language is more emphasised in language teaching and leads to these results which concern all pupils regardless of their ethnic group. But the written element will certainly be much more important later on.

As far as the pupils who claim they have no language difficulties are concerned, we also notice that they have more

anxieties in the area of writing. This suggests that it is in reality in the written aspect of language that pupils have difficulties. This is confirmed by a large scal study undertaken by the C.E.R.I. (1987).

To another question which consisted in asking pupils whether they still have language difficulties ('Do you still have difficulties in French language', see Appendix A, questionnaire to pupils in France, section C, No. 5.d), 32 pupils mentioned language as still a handicap and 186 confirmed that language is in no way a handicap. Among the 32 pupils who still face language problems, 24 were in the observation level where pupils generally face many difficulties due to the new programmes and the college requirements, higher than those of the primary school.

Language is, indeed still a problem, but not to all pupils. It is widely recognised that newcomers, particularly those who did not have the chance to attend the nursery school in France, experience language difficulties, especially during the first years of their schooling. Researchers in other countries do also point to this same difficulty particularly among newcomers (Genesse, 1984; Crespo and Pelletier, 1984; Tomlinson, 1986). According to Bastide (1982), after a period of six to seven years spent in France, the newcomers manage to acquire a good command of French. The situation has changed, and in the present time we can rightly assert that language is no longer the core of the phenomenon.

C.4.1.1.3 Teachers' opinions of Algerian pupils' language knowledge

In addition to the information collected from the pupils' records (grades and teachers' appreciations), the 67 teachers included in our research have been invited to give their opinions as to:

(a)   the pupils' level in oral and written French;

(b)   whether their knowledge in French enables them to follow
      the teaching programmes;

(c)   the number of Algerian pupils who obtain the same results
      as French pupils from the same socio-economic conditions;

(d)   how important is the difference in French knowledge
      between Algerian and French pupils;

(e)   whether Algerian pupils end their schooling with a
      knowledge of French which allows them to evolve normally
      within French society;

(f)   the number of Algerian pupils who are in need of extra
      tuition and help in French language.

Through the answers to these questions, we gain a picture that
here too - at least as far as teachers are concerned - it is only a
minority of pupils who face language difficulties (see fig. 15).

These results show again the difference between oral and
written aspects of language which is not generally referred to by
other researchers in France. Researchers mentioned in this work did
not point to the fact that it is in writing that linguistically
handicapped children experience particular difficulties. The
C.E.R.I. (1987) recent research has however considered this point to
emphasise that it is in the written aspect of the French language
that immigrants' children appear to have more difficulties than
natives.

Fig.15 Teachers' opinions on Algerian pupils' knowledge of French language

Questions	Numbers of teachers and their opinions				
	Excellent	Good	Average	Below Average	Poor
Oral language knowledge in general	17	40	07	03	00
Written language knowledge in general	12	33	12	10	00

	Yes		No		
The knowledge pupils have of French allows them to follow the teaching programmes	64		03 (especially for newcomers)		

	in equal numbers	more numerous		less numerous	
Algerian pupils obtaining similar results as French pupils from the same socio-economic background are in general.	58	02 (especially girls)		07 (especially boys)	

	Important	Important	Neglig-eable	Inexist-ant
The difference in French knowledge between Algerians and French pupils in general	00	02	12	53

	Yes		No	
Algerian pupils finish their education with a knowledge of French which allows them to evolve normally in the French society	67		00	

	Significant	Few	Very few	None
Numbers of Algerian pupils who need extra help in French language	00	00	07	60

n = 67

Teachers believe that Algerian pupils have less difficulties in oral than in written French. If thirteen teachers mentioned language difficulties, only three of them have referred to the oral aspect of the language. A comparison between linguistically able and less able pupils shows that:

(a) in the first category, it is in the oral aspect of language that Algerian pupils show more abilities;

(b) in the second category, it is in the written aspect of language that pupils encounter difficulties.

The three teachers who asserted that Algerian pupils have difficulties in following the teaching programmes highlighted the fact that it is particularly true for newcomers and especially for those who are in literary classes where a higher language competence is required.

As to the Algerian pupils who obtain worse results than French pupils from the same socio-economic background, teachers again referred to the newcomers who are in this situation. Obviously, newcomers are referred to as linguistically handicapped in most of the literature in the field (Lynch, 1986; C.E.R.I., 1987) whereas those born and brought up in the receiving country are thought to have less linguistic problems affecting their educational achievement (Swann Report, 1985). Among Algerian pupils who obtain better results, it is the girls among whom this pattern is more likely. The reasons given by teachers are the same as those observed among the girls. More girls than boys prefer to stay in France. The percentage of integration in French society is higher among girls than boys. Our interviews showed that the desire to be French-like is higher among girls than boys. French language appears as an instrument to satisfy this choice and has gained more

consideration on behalf of girls.

Teachers particularly believe that the difference in language between Algerian and French pupils is of minor significance. They are unanimous in stating that Algerian pupils finish their education with a knowledge of French which allows them to evolve normally within French society. According to them, if Algerian pupils still experience difficulties in their integration into the host community, French language is in no way the reason. And the people who mention the linguistic handicap at this level are either ignorant of the problemor dismiss the reality of the context in which these children live. The factors most mentioned by teachers are racism and social rejection. These factors are also underlined by researchers in other countries (Jones and Kimberley, 1982; Cummins, 1984; Swann Report, 1985; Tomlinson, 1986).

This confirms the hypothesis that language, considered for a long time as the main handicap, can no longer be looked at as the central point of the issue.

The early situation has changed and brought researchers face to face with factors other than language. Seven teachers think that very few Algerian pupils need extra help in French language and added that some French pupils as well need this help. The majority of teachers (60) did not point to this need.

Our conclusion is that, in the present situation, French language cannot be considered - as it was in the 1960's and early 1970's - asthe Algerian pupils' only exclusive problem and the field in which and because of which they fail at school.

Head-teachers share teachers' views on the language factor. Among the 32 head-teachers involved in our research, 28 replied that French is not a serious handicap to Algerian pupils. None of the

head-teachers has mentioned language as a handicap to the majority of these pupils. And, only four head-teachers referred to language as a problem, but only to some pupils.

The present situation brought researchers and educationists to look at language as the problem of a minority of immigrants' children, but not the main determining factor of success or failure. However, for some ethnic groups who are emigrating to France, such as the case of Asian pupils for instance, the situation is similar to that of Algerian pupils in the 1960's. They are newcomers and French language is the major problem they face now. Their situation is even more crucial than that of Algerian pupils in the 1960's, for at that time, French was still the medium of instruction in Algeria. Pupils schooled in Algeria had hence acquired some basic French before going to France. Whereas Asian pupils came to France with no knowledge at all of French.

C.4.1.2 Pre-school provision and length of stay

The length of stay in the host community and the pre-school language provision command to a large extent the degree of language knowledge among Algerian immigrants' pupils. Language difficulties diminish with the increase of time spent at school (see fig.13). This figure shows clearly that the highest percentage of pupils with language difficulties is in the observation level with 10% of below average pupils and 11% of weak pupils within the two classes 6°+ 5°. According to Bastide (1982) the percentage of immigrants' pupils with language difficulties is even higher in the primary than the secondary schooling. Figure 13 also shows that the number of Algerian pupils with language difficulties decreases as we pass from one level to another.

Among the pupils with language difficulties, we have the following characteristics (see fig. 16). Among the 39 pupils who have language difficulties, 32 were born in Algeria and seven in France; 31 pupils have not attended nursery schooling and only five pupils have spent more than six years in France. Moreover, none of the pupils has French as the language he first started to speak. 82 pupils spoke Algerian first and 136 started to speak a Berber dialect. Whereas now, the total population studied asserted that French is the language most spoken and used. This shift in language use is quite expected but few policy-makers seem to have taken account of it.

The results obtained among the population under scrutiny show clearly that the pre-school provision and length of stay in France have a determining effect on the knowledge of French among pupils. The majority of "excellent", "good" and "average" pupils have spent more than six years in the host country and have attended nursery schools. On the other hand, the majority of below average and poor pupils in French have spent less than six years in France and have not attended nursery schools. Among the pupils with language difficulties, we also find seven pupils who have been schooled in Algeria and among whom only two have studied French for one and three years, respectively.

Fig.16 French language knowledge and the length of stay in France

French knowledge	No. of pupils	Length of stay in France		
		4-6 years	6-10 years	10+ years
Excellent	52	2	21	29
Good	56	7	19	30
Average	71	17	24	30
Below Average & Poor	39	25	9	5

Remarks: Among the 39 below average and poor pupils:

1. 31 have not attended nursery schooling.

2. 32 are born in Algeria.

3. Only seven are born in France.

4. Only eight have attended nursery schooling in France.

Our results as to the link between language knowledge and nursery school attendance and length of stay in the host country concord with other researchers' conclusions in France as well as in those countries presented in Part A. These do not represent startling new revelations but serve to remind the providers of education and policy-makers that the situation now of school failure cannot be due to language deficit nor can it be resolved merely by providing extra language tuition. That would, in most instances, be an irrelevant form of provision. That is why factors such as teacher-training, parents' involvement, cultural differences, and so on, are becoming more and more the concern of researchers (Craft, 1981; Mariet, 1981; Gay, 1986; Houlton, 1986; Tomlinson, 1986).

C.4.1.3 Language use

The language use variable has been investigated to know to which extent French language is used by Algerian pupils and their familiesin France. Furthermore, this would allow us to have a precise idea of the place gained by French language among this ethnic minority group.

As already stated, the linguistic situation has deeply changed and there is no doubt that French is by now the most spoken and used language among Algerian immigrants' pupils. If all Algerian families visited are still close to their mother tongue which they use as the language to speak first to their children, once these children learn more French than their mother tongue, the contact with their parents' language generally diminishes significantly and French becomes the language most used and spoken by these children.

The 218 pupils were questioned on the language spoken first. It was discovered that none of them spoke Classical Arabic for the reasons already explained; 82 spoke Algerian and 136 a Berber dialect as their mother tongue. Algerian children do not speak French as the first language because parents themselves do not have a good command of French. In addition, Algerian families, particularly Berber ones, are very keen on speaking their dialect to their children.

The first linguistic contact between Algerian parents and their children remains in their mother tongue. However, there is evidence that this situation is only temporary and likely to be maintained for a few years - at least until the child enters the nursery school. The answer given by the 218 pupils as to the language most spoken was unanimous, French.

As to the use of language in various situations, it also appears that in all situations listed, French is by far the language most used by Algerian immigrants' pupils in France (see fig.17).

The will to use the mother tongue is particularly apparent among parents and grand-parents. More mothers than fathers use the mother tongue to communicate with their children. The situations where some children use their mother tongue are with parents from Algeria and with their own parents, more particularly with their mothers. These results can be explained by two factors. First, parents, grand-parents and relatives from Algeria are unlikely to be able to communicate easily in French. Pupils are hence obliged to do their best to communicate in their mother tongue with these people. Second, the attempt made by pupils to communicate with these people in their mother tongue is to show that there is still a link between them. To maintain their mother tongue is to reinforce the solidarity between the family members and to prove to the eldest that they are still members of their ethnic group even though their knowledge of their mother tongue is very poor.

Fig.17 Language use in various situations

Situations in which language is used	Numbers of pupils and the language used			
	Classical Arabic	Algerian	Berber	French
1. To their fathers, pupils generally speak	00	4	7	207
2. To their mothers, pupils generally speak	00	11	13	194
3. To their brothers and sisters, pupils generally speak	00	00	00	218
4. To their grand-parents, pupils generally speak	00	06	17	195
5. To their children, mothers generally speak	00	09	13	196
6. To their children, fathers generally speak	00	05	10	213
7. To their little children, grand-parents generally speak	00	21	36	161
8. To their younger brothers & sisters, older children generally speak	00	00	00	218
9. With parents living in France, children generally speak	00	00	00	218
10.With parents from Algeria, children generally speak	00	03	07	208
11.With neighbours children, generally speak	00	00	00	218
12.With Algerian & Maghriban friends, children generally speak	00	00	00	218
13.In Algerian & Maghriban shops, children generally speak	00	00	00	218

n = 218

Explanations given by Algerian pupils - particularly those aged16+ - tend to prove that the young people try to avoid a clean break between them and their families. Zerdoumi (1982) has much emphasised the strong link between Algerian parents and their children. Griotteray (1984) has confirmed this as to Algerian families in France. The following comment made by an Algerian pupil is a typical view held by Algerian children:

> "We are conscious of the disintegration of links between ourselves and our parents. The best means to treat them delicately is to show them that we are still on their side. To try to speak our mother tongue brings them closer to us"

Mothers remain the family members with whom children have most contacts and who possess the worst degree of French knowledge. Hence, it is not surprising that it is between mothers and their children that the mother tongue is most used. Mothers are also the main agents of mother tongue maintenance and transmission. Although there is an attempt from parents and children to use the mother tongue, French remains the language most used by children within Algerian families as well as outside.

During our visits into Algerian families, conversations we had were generally either in Algerian or in Berber. But, as soon as children join the discussion we use French for it is the language they know best. Their knowledge of their mother tongue remains very limited and it is in French that they feel at ease and can express themselves freely and properly.

The mother tongues of Algerian immigrants' pupils in France are disappearing. The 218 pupils affirmed that the language most

spoken at home - the only place where the mother tongues are likely to be maintained - is French. This situation is enevitable for, although parents try to speak their mother tongue to their children, French does take over as soon as children attend school. The other reason is that the knowledge of French among parents is better than that of the mother tongue among their children. French is, then, the language of communication that suits both parties. The 218 pupils asserted that they do not have communicative problems within their families. Parents had to conform to the reality of the situation and to admit that speaking French is the only way left to communicate with their own children.

If all children included in this research pointed to French as the language in which they feel most at ease to communicate with their family members, it is also the language they use most at home, at school and outside. In reality, if some of them possess a limited knowledge of their mother tongue, French has become their language.

French is the medium of education and most Algerian pupils use it actively at school. Indeed, only eight pupils said they participate very little in class discussions. Besides, French does not appear as a handicap in the participation to class discussions. Only twelve pupils think their limited knowledge of French prevents them from an active participation. The active use of French by Algerian pupils in class is also confirmed by teachers among whom only three referred to a rare participation. Moreover, French is also used by Algerian pupils as the only means of communication with French friends. And contacts between Algerian and French children are very frequent. Indeed, only nine Algerian pupils mentioned rare contacts with French children of their age. This perhaps is one

positive and hopeful sign emerging from our enquiries. French youth and Algerian seem to enjoy relatively good relationships. The institutional aspects of racism may still have to be combatted. But there are signs that young people are more conscious than the older generation of the need to establish and maintain healthy social interactions between people of different races and cultures. This is what researchers like Mauviel (1980) and Page and Thomas (1984) believe to be necessary in multi-cultural education.

The use of French in reading is very frequent. Among the 218 pupils, only thirteen said they read very few books or magazines in French. All pupils listen to French radio; and the 22 pupils who showed interest in Algerian news listen only to Algerian programmes broadcast in the French language.

As far as Algerian pupils in France are concerned, there is no doubt that French is their language in the sense that it is the only language they know well enough to use in their everyday life and in all situations. Their presence within French schools and French society, and their daily contacts with the host community brings them to think of French as their language and to use it as such.

C.4.1.4 Is language a handicap?

In trying to answer the question 'Is language still a handicap?', the immediate answer must be affirmative. However, the following details should be added.

(a) It is a handicap to only a minority of pupils, particularly to newcomers and those in the first degree.

(b) The language influence on pupils' education in the classes studied (second degré) is more apparent in the observation level, that is at the time when pupils move to the secondary level where pupils with linguistic difficulties are likely to see other subjects

affected, especially in literary options. The relation between language knowledge and other subjects is very important at this stage for a standard written French is required in almost all subjects. The 67 teachers included in this research were unanimous in confirming that pupils with language difficulties feel inhibited and are unlikely to show their real potential in other curriculum subjects.

(c) Language is one of the contributory factors and generally concerns pupils who entered school with an already existing linguistic handicap due to reasons already discussed. After a maximum of six years, pupils are generally considered as linguistically able. The link between language knowledge and school failure is shown by the fact that 36 pupils among the 39 with language difficulties are failing pupils.

As a conclusion, we would say that the linguistic handicap does still exist and seriously affects the education of a minority of Algerian immigrants' children in France. The excessive school failure of these children who are not all affected by linguistic handicap brings us to look at other factors which contribute to this failure.

C.4.2 The socio-economic conditions

Now that language has proved to be only one of the factors responsible for the school failure of immigrants' children in France, other factors have emerged and gained researchers' attention.

Boulot and Boyzon-Fradet (1985) are among those who firmly believe that the school failure of immigrants' children is mainly due to their socio-economic conditions. They wrote in this respect:

"Si les enfants étrangers sont en échec
dans notre système scolaire, cela tient
avant tout, non pas à leur qualité
d'étrangers, mais à leur qualité de fils
d'ouvriers."

(p.220)

(see translation 16, Appendix B)

In addition, studies referred to by these researchers show that the school results obtained by immigrants' pupils and French pupils in the same socio-economic group are practically identical. As to the 218 pupils concerned by this research, 58 of the 67 teachers mentioned this same resemblance in school results. However, if according to the general opinion, the presence of significant numbers of immigrants' pupils in schools reduces the level and quality of education, French pupils from the same social class and with the same school results as immigrants' pupils are not mentioned. This is understandable for clear reference to these French pupils would discover the reaction of one French social class to another. This reaction is rather masked by a racist tendency which only points to immigrants' pupils. In reality, it includes all pupils - regardless of their nationality - who are likely to present a poor academic reputation of the school or causes difficulties in terms of curriculum or organisation and class management. Researchers like Eggleston (1979) and Jeffcoate (1980) do indeed believe that it is the failure of a social class.

It is certainly true that the school failure of immigrants' children is due to multiple causes. The fact that language has proved still to be a problem - although only to a minority of

Algerian pupils included in our research - highlights the danger of basing the research on only one aspect of the phenomenon as is done by some researchers in France (Bastide 92; Boulot & Boyzon-Fradet, 1985, etc ....). Rather, the more we enlarge the spectrum of factors the more we are likely to have a clear and detailed picture of the situation investigated. Emphasising the socio-economic conditions alone would perhaps lead to restrict the approach and understanding of the phenomenon as has been done for a long time with the linguistic factor. Many researchers advocate the use of a multi-factor approach (Coad, 1979; Craft, 1986; Banks, 1986; C.E.R.I., 1987). There is, in fact, no single factor to explain the phenomenon just as there is no single solution to its complexity.

C.4.2.1 Parents' professions

The Algerian society is a male - oriented society. This characteristic is still strongly maintained by Algerian fathers in France. The 218 Algerian children have reported that only thirteen mothers are working. And among the 70 families we visited, only nine mothers are working. The distribution of tasks is very much the same as that in Algeria. Fathers work outside and mothers are generally responsible for domestic chores. According to Zerdoumi (1982), this is a much generalised pattern within the Algerian traditional family.

The socio-economic conditions of Algerian parents in France are among the lowest. In most cases, mothers do not work and this reduces the chances for Algerian families to improve their social conditions. Besides not working, the mothers do not possess any qualifications and have too many children and too much to do at home to even think of a job.

23 of the 218 pupils' fathers are jobless and the remaining are generally in low status jobs (see fig.18). The majority of fathers are in the lowest socio-economic professional categories. With the 23 jobless fathers, they are 137 with the lowest status and represent 62.8% of the total number of fathers. Their salary rarely exceeds 6000FF - including social security - and their level of instruction has not and still does not allow them to train for better jobs with higher salaries. To have an idea of their salaries, the SMIG in France was 4493.71FF in June 1986. Similar bad socio-economic conditions are experienced by immigrant workers in other countries (Jeffcoate, 1984; Cummins, 1984; Swann Report, 1985; Banks, 1986).

Fig.18 Algerian parents' professions in France

Socio-professional category	No. of fathers per category
1. Agricultural worker	09
2. Unskilled worker	105
3. Skilled worker	54
4. Private business owners	27
5. Jobless	23

n = 218

Fathers in the skilled workers category are generally in factories and have a primary level of instruction which has enabled them to pass from the position of unskilled worker to that of a skilled worker after some form of further training. Their salaries generally exceed 6000FF and their material conditions are slightly better than that of fathers in the first category. In addition, they do not do hard and devalued work attributed to unskilled

workers. Hence, to them, this is a certain demarcation which makes them feel in a better social position because they are not at the bottom of the social scale.

Parents who possess their own business - small businesses such as <u>cafés</u>, small shops, restaurants, etc ... - are the best-off among all Algerian parents. They earn more money and provide their families with reasonable living conditions and, of course, employment. Moreover, they feel more successful than the other Algerian parents because they have worked hard to realise something and to avoid living on a limited salary and being at the mercy of the economic crisis. In other words, they feel more secure and more confident in their future.

C.4.2.2 Housing conditions and family size

Generally, all Algerians live in council flats with modest rents. This is considered as a social promotion for they used to live in "transition cities" with very bad conditions of life. However, the numbers of pupils per family do not allow us to consider that they are in good housing conditions. The average number of children per family in the 70 families we visited exceeds five. The 218 pupils have between two and nine brothers and sisters living with them. Only 31 of these Algerian pupils mentioned good conditions of work at home whereas 185 said they have bad conditions of work at home because of the small size of the flat and the number of brothers and sisters living with them, not to mention all relatives and friends regularly visiting Algerian families in France. Most Algerian parents in France have had little choice in their housing. The accommodation is generally obtained through the council and on the basis of what they can afford as a rent. Hence they find themselves dumped in remote areas with other families of

the same socio-economic conditions. Sometimes, they are so numerous in one place that this place is referred to in terms of "City of immigrants", "City of Maghribans" or "City of foreigners".

The 22 Algerian families who live in houses are all owners of private businesses. They are generally among the first immigrants (late 1950's and early 1960's) and have managed to buy the house and the business in the same premises. Most of these Algerians are in central areas and their commercial activities make them have more contacts with the host community and feel more at ease than the rest of Algerian immigrant families. As one of them remarked:

> "We have daily contacts with the French.
> They are our customers. We and our
> children have many French friends with
> whom we get on very well"

This minority of Algerian families is privileged compared to the others. They are considered by the poor Algerian families as successful people who have managed to gain a respectable place within French society. They are the Algerian immigrants who enjoy the best social situation among their ethnic group.

C.4.2.3 Socio-economic conditions and school failure

All researchers and educationists agree on the fact that socio-economic conditions are a determining factor in the immigrants' children education. Le Masne (1982), Bastide (1982), Khandriche (1982) and Benamrane (1983) are some of them who emphasised the influence of this factor. Researchers in other countries also share this viewpoint (Jeffcoate, 1984; Banks, 1986). Deulofeu (1980) and Bastide (1982) have even reached the conclusion that there is no difference in the linguistic performance between immigrants' pupils and French pupils in the same socio-economic

group.

In our research, all teachers gave a unanimous answer as to the effect of this factor on the Algerian pupils' education. One head-teacher summarised the situation in the following terms:

"It is not the school failure of

immigrants' children that must be

underlined. It is the failure of one

class which is socially deprived. This

class includes immigrants' children as

well as French pupils from the same socio-

economic conditions."

The results obtained with the Algerian population included in our research highlight clearly the influence of socio-economic factors on the pupils' education (see fig.19).

According to the results obtained with the studied sample of Algerian pupils in France, school success correlates with socio-economic conditions. It is in the families where fathers are skilled workersor private business owners that we find the majority of school successful pupils. Illiteracy is a factor much emphasised by Tomlinson (1986) in the case of immigrant parents in Britain. Almost all fathers with private businesses have successful children at school. On the other hand, it is among the families where the father is either an agricultural or an unskilled worker that we find the least significant number of successful pupils. In almost all cases, unskilled and agricultural workers are illiterate and can be of no educational help to their children. Illiterate parents are unable to help because of their lack of education (Milet, 1985). They also are the parents who provide the minimum of financial help because of their low salaries and their family size.

The 24 school successful pupils who live in houses have fathers with private businesses. This means that only three children out of the 27 whose fathers are business owners are not in a successful position at school.

When we look at the family size or the number of brothers and sisters, we realise that the highest proportion of school successful pupils is within the families where we have the smallest number of brothers and sisters. According to our results, the more the family is over-crowded, the less children are successful. Family size has always been a determining factor in academic achievement and this survey provides yet more evidence to support this notion. And, if we are dealing with immigrants' children, at this level, our recommendationas to family size and academic success does not only concern immigrant parents but all Algerian parents as well for Algerian society 'enjoys' one of the highest birth rates in the world.

Our results agree with other researchers' conclusions reported on immigrants' children in France and confirm at least the hypothesis that it is in the larger families and the families with the lowest socio-economic conditions that the most significant numbers of school failing pupils are to be found. Families with the lowest socio-economic conditions offer very unfavourable conditions to their children and are not a stimulating factor in their children's education.

Fig.19 Algerian pupils' socio-economic conditions and their position in school

Total numbers of pupils per level	No.of successful pupils	Socio-economic conditions										
		Parents' professions					Housing Conditions		No. of brothers & sisters			
		C1	C2	C3	C4	C5	Flat	House	0-2	2-4	4-6	More than 6
Observation 90	28 (31.1%)	00	8	10	8	2	20	8	15	9	1	3
Orientation 77	36 (46.7%)	00	12	13	8	3	26	10	18	8	7	3
Long Cycle 51	39 (76.4%)	01	7	20	8	3	33	6	17	12	6	4

n = 218

Key: C1 = Agricultural worker
       C2 = Unskilled worker
       C3 = Skilled worker
       C4 = Private business owner
       C5 = Jobless

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C.4.3 Parents' involvement in their children's education

All Algerian parents understand the usefulness of education and are convinced that it is the best chance for their children to succeed and improve their conditions of life. However, the involvement of these parents in their children's education is not very effective and differs from one category to another.

C.4.3.1 Parents' support at home

As far as the direct help in studies is concerned, the Algerian parents' contribution is almost inexistent (see fig.20). Only 24 pupils among the 218 have mentioned some parents' help.

The two pupils who receive help in their homework (fig.20), have parents with a secondary level of education; and it is the fathers who provide this help, for the mothers have received their education in Arabic. And it is among the pupils whose parents have a collège or secondary level of instruction that we find pupils who receive from their parents encouragement to learn French.

This does not mean that the majority of parents are not interested in their children's education. Rather, they can be of no help because the children know French better than their parents and have a higher level of education. We would rather speak of children's help to their parents if these latter are engaged in a learning situation. Unfortunately, this is not the case for among the 70 families visited, only two fathers are learning French language and none is learning Arabic. As to the mothers, seven are learning French and four are learning Arabic. Parents, taken as an example for their children, give a very negative image to their children as far as languages are concerned and most particularly Arabic.

Fig.20 Parents' help and encouragement in their children's education

Questions asked to pupils	Pupils' answers			
	Yes			No
	Always	Often	Occasionally	
1. Do your parents help you in your homework?	02	00	00	216
2. Do your parents encourage you to learn French at home?	07	03	12	196
3. Do your parents help you to read and write French?	00	00	00	218
4. Do your parents help you to speak French?	00	00	00	218

n = 218

It is not surprising to note that the Algerian parents' help is practically inexistent for their contribution is essentially conditioned by their level of instruction. Indeed, the 218 pupils' parents' level of instruction is very low (see fig.21, below) and does not allow them to be of any efficient help.

Fig.21 Algerian pupils' parents' level of instruction

Level of instruction	Fathers	Mothers
Illiterate	120	184
Primary	67	23
Collège	19	09
Lycée	12	02

n = 218

Moreover, to the majority of Algerian parents, education is considered to be the task of the school and the teacher. This is also what is observed in Algeria where even educated parents do not generally feel responsible for their children's education. However, and at least in the case of illiterate parents, one has to add that, as suggested by Mortimore and Blackstone (1982) in Britain, most parents do not lack interest. They are rather inhibited by their lack of self-confidence and their insufficient knowledge. This limits their understanding of education and their action.

In the 70 families we visited in France, all parents said that they were interested in their children's education. However, to them, this meant buying books, paying the school insurance and the bus-card. This is how being interested is generally understood by parents. Their major concern is the education of their children and they do what they can. As one of them observed:

> "Our children are our only future. We school
> them and we buy them all books. We even
> sacrifice ourself for them. When they grow up
> they manage better than us; and our duty is
> limited to financial support."

This would be a typical reaction of most Algerian parents and shows to what extent these parents are limited in their involvement in their children's education.

C.4.3.2 Home-school liaison

Home-school liaison is also a field in which Algerian parents do not show any enthusiasm. The parents' organisation is a totally deserted institution by Algerian parents in France. Among the 70 Algerian families, only three fathers and two mothers are members of parent organisations.

It is the same lack of interest as far as school activities are concerned. Seven fathers and nine mothers mentioned attendance to school activities. Besides, to the mothers, it is generally an occasion to go out and do something different from the usual and daily domestic work rather than by real interest in their children's education in which they generally do not understand much.

Parents are practically absent in all school events and activities. There is no liaison between the home and the school and pupils are left on their own. This is very unfortunate when we bear in mind the deep concern of researchers about this aspect of children's education (Mortimore and Blackstone, 1982; Tomlinson, 1983, 1984; Swann 1985). Parents are convinced they can be of no help to their children and rely on these same children to solve their school problems. Parents generally visit the school only when it is the daughters who need their presence at school. Among the 67 teachers questioned on the parents' concern, 62 mentioned that parents visit the school or the teacher when it is a girl who has problems. The parents' involvement is still based on a very traditional view of things which has no relation with educational matters: a female always needs help and must be protected whereas a male can - and even should - solve his problems by himself. This view is also applied by parents as far as their children's education is concerned. And it is no surprise to hear parents - especially fathers - mention the marriage of their daughter as a major problem to solve. In traditional - and almost all Algerian families - a married daughter is no longer a source of problems and brings deep relief to her parents. Zerdoumi (1982) and Toualbi (1984) have well explained the process of socialisation as to the girl in the Algerian family and what 'ideal' behaviour parents expect from their daughters. In brief, it is obedience and submission.

Contacts established between parents and teachers are not regular at all (see fig.22, below).

Fig.22 Parents-teachers contacts

Frequency of contact	No. of teachers contacted
Regularly	00
Often	04
Fairly often	07
Rarely	24
Never	32

n = 67

Most teachers have either rarely or never been contacted by Algerian parents. And it is not surprising that one of the teachers said:

> "Algerian parents, more exactly the fathers, come
>
> to the school only when they receive a letter
>
> from the school informing them that their
>
> daughters do not attend their classes regularly
>
> or have problems at school.

We should understand that parents come to the school only to know where the girl has been during her absence or what kind of problems she has. The concern is not with the girl's education but with the girl as a female. Muslim parents in Britain seem to have similar attitudes (Tomlinson, 1986).

Invited to add free comments on the education of Algerian children in France, almost all teachers mentioned the total lack of involvement of parents and suggested a better and a more engaged parents' contribu-

tion. Pupils are left alone; they feel insecure and do not find their parents beside them when they most need them. Parents' presence at school and in school matters is indispensable especially when we know that not a single school of the 32 we have visited has an advisor for immigrants' pupils. There is very little 'official' help for forging home-school links between the French system as a whole, unlike in Britain where the support services take a much more positive approach to supporting the child and involving the parents.

The head-teachers deplored the lack of home-school liaison and confirmed that Algerian parents are among the least interested parents in establishing regular relations and contacts with the school. Only seven head-teachers said they were often visited by Algerian parents, but, here again, to inquire more about girls than boys. The 32 head-teachers have also been questioned on the quality of relations between parents and the school administration and between parents and the teachers. The essential message of their answers was that relations between home and school exist only in an irregular and haphazard way. In this it would be true to say that their situation differs little from that of French parents.

As to the relations between teachers and Algerian immigrants' pupils, most head-teachers did not hesitate to mention their positive aspect and to add that teachers are practically the only persons Algerian pupils rely on in case of problems. Because of the parents' lack of interest, teachers are the people most trusted. Within the school, they are the Algerian immigrants' pupils' unique source of help and support. Algerian immigrant parents in France are practically out of the educational scene and are far from providing their children with the support and help they deeply need.

C.4.3.3 Handicapped parents

What should be explained now is why the Algerian immigrant parents' involvement in their children's education is so limited and so inefficient. The reasons - or more exactly the difficulties - that do not allow these parents to be a source of help to their children are multiple.

C.4.3.3.1 Social, familial, professional and cultural difficulties

These difficulties are well-known and are a direct result of the socio-economic conditions of life determined by the economic crisis. These conditions affect all workers and more particularly immigrant workers for they are more vulnerable. The recent government decisions to stop provisionally the family reuniting process, the encouragement to return to the country of origin, the difficulties to renew the work-permit, and the increasing racism particularly linked to the increasing numbers of jobless people have contributed to the devaluation of the immigrant worker's status in France (Griotteray, 1984).

The lack of time and more particularly the lack of a required level of instruction do not allow Algerian parents to reach a valuable training in normal conditions. Moreover, time allocated to work, to transport, and to the numerous tasks done at home to avoid paying expensive services leave little time for parents to spend with their children and to show any interest in their education.

Most Algerian immigrant parents are in very low status jobs which devaluate them socially and make them feel inferior and rejected. Inferior jobs for inferior people! This situation, combined with their level of instruction, is sufficient to understand why Algerian parents do not attend school meetings, school activities, etc... One Algerian father confessed his feelings in the following terms:

"We speak bad French, we are unwanted every-

where and we can change nothing. So, why

waste our time in meetings where no-one

listens to us or appreciates us."

This conviction as to their rejection by the host society and the
school institution contributes to make them adopt a negative attitude to
the school and refuse to be members of any school association and even
to attend any school meeting in which they believe they run the risk of
being humiliated. Sitting with the French does only serve to remind
Algerian parents of their feeling of social rejection and of their
inferior position compared to that of the nationals. This also explains
why Algerian parents are not integrated in the host community and also
why most of their relations are limited to their very ethnic group or,
to a certain extent, to the Maghriban ethnic group.

Algerian immigrant workers' salaries are among the lowest, and the
first necessity expenses generally absorb all the family's budget. Any
investment in training, education, culture and entertainment appears to
be a low priority. As an example, the majority of Algerian families we
visited are not satisfied with their children's schools because of their
low status and the preponderance of inexperienced teachers. These
families regularly mentioned their desire to put their children in
private schools if their financial conditions allowed them to do so.
Only two families have chosen their children's schools according to the
schools' quality; and all other families have their children in schools
where they managed to find a place or in the nearest school to the home.
Another point which shows that parents' aspirations are inhibited by
their financial situation is the fact that only two families can afford
to pay private tuition for their children.

As already mentioned, home conditions and family life are crucial

when it is a question of motivating and allowing pupils to do homework properly. Instead of being a favourable milieu, the home environment contributes to increase the already existing pupils' difficulties.

The lack of a basic general knowledge among Algerian immigrant workers is crucial. Cultural activities are practically non-existent and so are the collective means of development. The solution is beyond the individual's effort and requires social, economic and political will to realise any positive change. Also, it is, as suggested by Griotteray (1984) a matter of progressive amelioration which requires years of effort.

C.4.3.3.2 Individual difficulties

These difficulties are inherent in the personality of the Algerian immigrant worker. Obviously, most difficulties are the result of the situation imposed by the conditions of life, the conditions that they had in the home country and those they have now in the host country. These conditions could be improved by appropriate forms of training and apprenticeship to which very few of them accede because of their low level of education. Moreover, discouraged and handicapped by their level of instruction, they do not participate in any learning enterprise – such as evening courses – and prefer to spend most of their time at work and in tasks which bring immediate results. There is, hence, no long-term planning or investment of their time and effort.

Psychological and intellectual difficulties appear as the most important. These difficulties are underlined by many researchers in France as well as in other countries (Clément and Kruidenier, 1983; Tomlinson, 1984; Hadjaj, 1985; C.E.R.I., 1987). The Algerian immigrant worker has generally much self-confidence in his professional tasks and in his life based on a very limited routine. However, it is in his intellectual development and in the acquisition of new knowledge of any

kind whatsoever that he shows an attitude of despair and a strong resistance to change or innovation. The image he has of his personality is so devalued that he is apprehensive of any situation where he would appear in, or experience, an uncomfortable position. This attitude is reinforced by the low level of instruction and the belief of being unable to undertake any learning.

Algerian immigrant workers think that education is a good thing but it is really in their best interest to pursue it whole-heartedly. The best activity is the one that brings money. Training, formation and learning do not satisfy this immediate need. They feel excluded and that is why they prefer to acquire rudimentary information instead of assimilating knowledge. Learning is valuable and makes sense to them only when it is directly linked to their daily life or when it allows them to acquire better salaries. That is why they are keen on in-service training which does not disturb their way of life and which quickly leads to social promotion, although not very significant in most cases.

To the Algerian immigrant worker, any learning must, if it is to be taken seriously, immediately introduce a material improvement into their lives. And isn't that the reason why they emigrated? That is why they are not interested in evening courses and in learning French or Arabic. They do not understand the long-term aim of these enterprises. And it is not surprising to hear them say:

> "What does learning French or Arabic bring
> us? Evening courses are a waste of time to
> us. What we need are in-service training and
> promotion to earn more money."

Intellectual difficulties Algerian immigrants workers have do not allow them to act efficiently. The first relation Algerian parents have

with the exterior world is made on the basis of action and not on that of knowledge and expression. They work and they think this is the only reason why they are in France. And it has to be added that this action in the professional field is among the least stimulating for the jobs they get are the most tedious and are done under very hard conditions. They are a work-force that uses its only physical energy. They are used - and obliged - to respond to different situations by the action and rarely by the reflection.

Instead of trying to analyse the problems they face, in order to find appropriate solutions, Algerian parents - limited in their intellectual capacities and in the knowledge of the host community - seek, most of the time, radical solutions to their problems. That is why, being unable to understand their daughters' problems at school or outside, Algerian fathers would simply prefer to keep them at home and to wait for their marriage as the best solution. Unable to understand the French educational system, Algerian parents prefer to leave their children responsible for their education.

Intellectually weak and frightened by the school institution, they prefer to desert totally the school and sometimes even when they are needed. "I do not know what to do"; "How to act?"; "Who can tell me what to do?" are very frequent interrogations on behalf of the Algerian parents when faced with problems they are unable to solve. It is the contradiction between the complexity and the diversity of the knowledge Algerian parents must acquire and their feeling of helplessness and frustration which denies them opportunities to progress which, as a consequence, makes them resign from their educational responsibilities as fathers and mothers.

They belong to the poorest and the least educated social class and are ill-equipped to understand the educational system with which they

consequently refuse to be integrated. This alone makes them become unable to be of any efficient help to their children. Bourdieu (1970) has well explained how well-educated parents take advantage of, and gain most from, the French educational system because they know its very structures, its organisations and its requirements. They know what suits their children and how to help them take the best out of their education within a most selective educational system.

C.4.3.3.3 The image Algerian parents have of the French school

We should not forget that the greatest majority of Algerian parents in France are from a poor rural society in which the family is still based on the supremacy of the father (Griotteray 1984), and within which the father's authority is confronted by that of the teacher. Generally, Algerian parents do not appreciate the French school very much. They consider it as alienating to their children because it does not teach them values that exist in the traditional Algerian family. As an example, Algerian parents consider that their children play too much at school and are not taught the respect for parents and old people. In addition, they do not begin to understand the philosophy of a liberal school in which sanctions are abolished.

Algerian parents base their relations with their children on authoritarian discipline, sanctions and a strict respect of parents. According to Zerdoumi (1982), these variables are of central importance in parent-child relationships. Griotteray (1984) noted that some Maghriban parents' decisions - especially those concerning the girl's marriage - are rejected by their daughters who sometimes choose to leave the family home. Obviously, the French school does not respond to the Algerian parents' principles and, hence, is considered as alienating.

All extra curricula school activities such as excursions, etc.... are frowned upon by parents. To them, a school is an educational

institution where children are taught discipline and obedience. Consequently, a school which is not based on an authoritarian conception like that in the Algerian traditional family is not a good school.

Values transmitted to Algerian immigrants' children in the French school are different - and even in opposition - to those observed within the Algerian immigrant families. In the parents' view, the school is responsible for the existing divorce between them and their children. This is also one of the reasons why they resist the school. And, if they consider education as the only way for their children to succeed, this does not prevent them from remaining suspicious vis-à-vis the school. Quite simply, these parents are caught between two sets of expectations which differ radically one from the other.

C.4.4 The school institution

To the majority of researchers, the school institution occupies a decisive role in the education of immigrants' children for it is within the school that these children have the chance to acquire the necessary knowledge which will allow them to emerge as successful individuals. This view of the school is not, however, shared by researchers like Zinotti & Novi (1979) and Cintrat (1983) who think that in a country like France, the school belongs to the dominant class and works towards the transmission of this dominant class values. The school appears to to them as an alienating institution and a place where individuals' diferences are not taken into account and where immigrants' children particularly experience discrimination and racism.

The fundamental question here is to examine the articulation of the social logic of Algerian immigrants as opposed to that of the dominant social class within the host community. The usefulness of this question is clear. On one hand it emphasises the very role of the school in the production and transmission of the dominant relations, and on the other

hand, it obliges us to enlarge our analysis to two different social groups. This causes us to explain the school logic established by the host country and based on the socio-economic conditions of the immigrants' pupils. That is, how actions are combined in an organised and institutionalised framework to produce controlled and evaluated effects according to pre-set interests. The effects of the school on immigrants' children and their parents comes here as an objective of our research. Our intention is to attempt to go beyond the partial analysis usually based on the ideology of the dominant class and which consists in explaining the school failure by referring to the immigrant's child as inferior in his aptitudes. Linguistic and socio-cultural handicaps are too much exploited and this hides the responsibility of the school which systematically puts immigrants' pupils in an inferior position and pre-condemns then them to school failure. As reported by one head-teacher:

> "The French school pre-condemns immigrants'
> children. The general opinion is difficult to
> break; and even teachers sometimes fall into the
> game which consists in believing and in making
> others believe that immigrants' children are
> better at sport and manual activities, from
> which derives an almost systematic orientation
> to professional training."

Two conditions are necessary to an understanding of schools' effects on Algerian immigrants' children. Firstly, it is only by considering the school in its social function in the socio-economic context that it is possible to understand the objectives pursued by the dominant class through the process of schooling immigrants' children. Secondly, it is necessary to consider the reactions and objectives of

the immigrants' children and their families as opposed to those of the dominant class.

C.4.4.1   Algerian pupils: a future unskilled work-force and a socially rejected ethnic group

The school failure of Algerian children as well as that of other immigrants' children is a phenomenon perpetually on the increase. This phenomenon reveals the inability of the school institution to adapt to its foreign public. According to the C.E.R.I. (1987), the high percentage of foreign children in special education is a failure of the school to facilitate the admission of these young children into the school system by providing sufficient remedial help. Although researchers agree that French pupils from the working class are affected by the school failure phenomenon (Bastide, 1982), the characteristics and specificities of immigrants' children show the originality of their position within the French educational system. Their position is original because they are schooled in a milieu which explicitly classifies them as low status and inferior children, and because of this basis is set a process of discrimination and orientation. The results they obtain at school seem to prove clearly that the school integrates them into the reproduction of an unskilled work-force. This work-force is, however, with a fraction of French pupils, sufficiently socialised to occupy pre-determined places on the job market. Although Algerian children have high educational aspirations (all 218 pupils mentioned their desire to enter the university) they remain very sceptical of this possibility. The 30 interviews realised with Algerian pupils show their anxiety as to their future. One of them has well-summarised the general atmosphere and their feeelings:

"We work very hard but we know that very few of

us will succeed. French schools are for the

French in the first instance. As for us, we are
the future masons, painters, electricians. The
only diference between us and our parents is
that we know French better than them, which
allows us to be more easily integrated. All our
dreams of becoming doctors, engineers, etc....
are illusions. Our sisters and brothers who
went to school before us prove it well."

The assimilation of Algerian children has now proved to be a
failure. In Taboada-Leoneti's (1985) view, this is particularly due
to France which is not much in favour of assimilation and to the
young Algerians who themselves refuse assimilation. The various
failures these children experience and the social rejection they deeply
feel, have made of them a group on the margin, abandoned to themselves
and most of the time prone to delinquency. Malewska-Peyre (1982) has
strongly emphasised the racism factor and found in a research conducted
on 315 Maghriban children that the majority (198) have experienced
racism. Moreover, this reaction starts very early. As reported by
Malewska-Peyre (1982):

"L'école primaire a été pour la plupart de nos
jeunes immigrés, et surtout pour les Maghrébins,
le lieu où ils ont rencontré pour la première
fois des réactions racistes ou
ethnocentriques."

(p.57)

(see translation 17, Appendix B)

Racism is not only perceived at school. Cirba (1980) gives an example
of how Police report on the situation in the town of Roubaix:

"A Roubaix, il y a environ 12,000 Algériens et 8,000 Portugais. Sur le plan délinquance, on entend parler que des Algériens, pratiquement pas des Portugais (...). L'Algérien s'adapte moins bien que l'Italien on le Portugais. Il y a la barrière de la religion et, pourquoi ne pas le dire, les séquelles de la guerre d'Algérie. Il y a un racisme ambiant très marqué, et des deux côtés. Les Algériens se sentent rejetés, ils ont un comportement agressif et se replient sur eux. Il y a un mouvement constant agressivité-reject."

(reported by Cirba 1980, p.64)

(see translation 18, Appendix B)

Racism is an apparent factor on which all people agree. It is however interesting to add how the population involved in our research responded to the racism question.

As far as teachers-pupils relations are concerned, 91 Algerian pupils out of 218 have mentioned that their teachers' attitudes to them are different from those to French pupils. According to these Algerian pupils, this difference is felt in the fact that they receive less attention and care from their teachers who make a clear distinction between French and foreign pupils. "They call us the Arab, the Maghriban, the immigrant"; "All the time they remind us that we are not like the French". These are frequent statements among Algerian pupils to explain their feelings about racism.

Asked how these teachers' attitudes affect them, pupils generally answered "It's discouraging", "I don't like the teacher", "I don't like his subject" or even "I don't like the school". In Britain, for

instance, black pupils are even reported to challenge teacher authority (Jones and Kimberley, 1982).

Algerian families also have deep-seated feelings of social rejection. They give as examples their grouping in suburban areas with a very high concentration of immigrants and the low-status schools in which their children are accepted. There are even schools where immigrants' children are not accepted, such as in Montfermeille (Paris region) where the mayor has refused nursery school access to immigrants' children. The reason stated was that there were too many of these children in the nursery schools in this area. The 67 teachers agree, on their side, that generally the problems encountered by Algerian children are due to social rejection and racism more than to incompetence or lack of ability.

The immigrants' image is even given a low consideration in school books. Cintrat (1983) has studied a series of school textbooks and reached the conclusion that immigrants almost invariably have a low social representation in these school textbooks:

"Si l'on s'en tient à la description sociale, le

migrant a toujours un statut inférieur à celui

des autres acteurs du récit."

(p.72)

(see translation 19, Appendix B)

Through this representation of their fathers, children learn at school that they are in an inferior position, and, like their parents, they are second-class citizens. As again remarked by Cintrat (1983):

"La profession des migrants est donc le plus

souvent présentée comme subalterne, associée au

dénuement ou à la pauvreté. Ils sont en outre

confrontés à des acteurs qui non seulement sont

mieux pourvus qu'eux, même quand ils sont
modestes, mais qui disposent souvent d'un
pouvoir."

(p.75)

(see translation 20, Appendix B)

Racism in textbooks is also a feature of British education where a certain number of books in use still present a negative picture of ethnic minorities and their cultures (Verma and Bagley, 1981; Swann Report, 1985).

The effect on French children is equally dangerous, since these low status, somewhat negative stereotypes, can fuel prejudice. Without entering into the polemic of who is racist and who isn't, we would like to ask the question "How could education specialists choose texts in which immigrants are given the lowest image and consideration when at the same time we speak of assimilation, integration and equality of opportunity"? Does that mean that these children are accepted but as inferior individuals pre-destined to low-status jobs, just like their fathers? If this is not what the school would clearly recognise, it is nonetheless the way it is in practice. Why don't we praise, in school textbooks, the contribution of immigrant workers to the building of France and its economy by taking the hardest and least paid jobs the French always refused to do? There must be alternatives to the published materials currently in use.

The social rejection Algerian pupils deeply feel brings them to a marginalised position in which they claim a tolerable form of insertion. As to their future, they no longer believe in the political rhetoric.

C.4.4.2 A negative school context

The pedagogic use of the multi-cultural aspect of classes - which should have as a priority objective a positive school insertion of

foreign pupils by preparing all pupils to the acceptance of cultural differences (Mauviel, 1980; Milet, 1985) - was at no time noticed during our school observations. Teachers are generally unaware of this aspect of multicultural education for the simple reason that they themselves have not been prepared for teaching in multi-cultural classes. Indeed, among the 67 teachers - who all have Algerian children in their classes - only thirteen have had any in-service training relating specifically to multi-cultural classes.

The rare attempts of reference to the culture and country of origin made by Algerian pupils as well as other immigrants' pupils could - in a school context where the dominant culture is that of the host country - only make the situation become worse. Indeed, French pupils are not prepared to understand and accept these cultural differences. And this serves only to create a gap between the two school populations and to accentuate the social rejection within the school itself. Preparing teachers, pupils and society to inter-group relationships is, according to Page and Thomas (1984), a means to help improve racial attitudes. Similarly, in the USA, Tesconi (1984) notes that the multi-cultural aspect of American society brought concerned people to recognise that the school must prepare the individual to function in harmony with this diverse society. The characteristics of foreign pupils are looked at within the school system in terms of handicaps that no pedagogic objective is trying to reduce or eradicate.

Since these children's differences are presented in terms of handicaps, it becomes legal and justified to use a discriminating process in school orientation. The presence within the French education-al system of pedagogic practices which reveal the lack of will to adapt the school to the characteristics of immigrants' children contribute very largely to their generalised school failure. As an example, we

have 64 teachers, out of 67, who firmly asserted that the teaching methods and programmes do not correspond to the immigrants' children's characteristics and needs. And yet we ask, are these same teachers attempting to effect any changes in their own or their schools' practices? Programmes and curricula are what some researchers present as the main factors in multi-cultural education (Genesee, 1984; Connors, 1984).

Being considered as handicapped children because they accumulate many difficulties from the moment they enter school, Algerian immigrants' pupils find themselves - in great numbers - in remedial classes which are considered as classes where pupils are systematically destined for special teaching. The orientation process does not take into account the causes of the school failure and the remedial class is generally considered as the class of failing pupils. Hence, their presence in this class is often taken as a sufficient proof of intellectual inferiority and the self-fulfilling prophecy begins to be set in motion. Moreover, it is often the case that the remedial class is referred to as the 'Maghribans class' because their number in remedial classes is always high.

This helps us to understand why Algerian pupils are not interested in learning Arabic. 22 Algerian pupils have Classical Arabic as a second language in their schools and none of them has taken it as a second language. The reasons given by pupils are the low-status of this language and the preference of other languages, particularly English. Questioned on how their French pupils friends consider Arabic, only three Algerian pupils reported that Arabic is considered as an interesting language. The general opinion is that Arabic is a language of inferior status and this is sufficient to make Algerian immigrants' pupils reject the learning of Arabic. According to Sayad (1978), the

way the school regards Arabic as a disqualified language because it is the language of socially deprived people contributes to disqualify Algerian immigrants' pupils and their parents. This attitude does not encourage Algerian pupils to learn Arabic.

C.4.4.3 Discrimination procedures of evaluation, selection and orientation

The non-differentiation of pedagogic objectives and the lack of consideration of the specific immigrants' pupils' needs brings the school institution to operate a massive orientation of Algerian pupils to the least important option of the French educational system. The fact of considering all pupils as equal is in itself a form of discrimination, because the school does not respond to each pupil's needs and allows only the socially advantaged to succeed. It is, indeed, the success of one social class. This shows that differences in terms of power, politics, education, etc ...., do exist and are as put by Reid (1986) 'characteristics of society at large' (p.133). Moreover, the importance of the judgement made on the behaviour of foreign pupils towards the school shows the arbitrary mode of orientation. The general trend is that it is the immigrant's pupil who is not adapted to the school, whereas we believe that it is the school which does not consider adequate changes and transformations to adapt itself to changing social patterns. So the ethnic minority child suffers. Is it possible to dream of a radical change - this is what is needed - within the French school institution to make it more profitable to immigrants' children? Knowing very well the French tradition to resist any change in their educational system, even to suit French pupils, this alternative appears as utopian. With the same school performance, it is the assessment made by teachers of the pupils' general behaviour which decides on their orientation and future. And as Algerian pupils are generally reported

to be violent pupils, less interested, less motivated and difficult to contain, their chances to be oriented to a good option are reduced.

According to the analysis of teachers' judgements, neither the characteristics of immigrants' pupils nor that of the school are taken into account. The pupils' performances are presented without reference to the conditions in which they were produced. Only results are considered. The school classification of pupils, made by teachers, - who are at least to a certain extent influenced by the school institution logic and philosophy - added to the social classification, places Algerian pupils in an inferior position similar to that of their parents.

C.4.4.4 Disappointed parents

Invesigations conducted within the 70 Algerian immigrant families have allowed us to present a clear appreciation of the relations parents have with their children's education.

Contacts with the school are practically non-existent. When we asked parents, and particularly mothers, on the absence of contacts, we always got answers like "I do not speak French"; "I do not know how it works" or "I can do nothing". For these same reasons their participation in the various school activities are non-existent.

Parents are totally absent from the school scene. They hence do not let the school know about their opinions as to their children's orientation on which they are informed only once the school has decided. The only remaining reaction is a passive submission.

Pupils' homework is rarely controlled and when this happens, it is limited to the father showing his authority without any direct effective result on the child's school work. An Algerian pupil explained:

"Our parents cannot check our work. What they

do is to oblige us to stay in our rooms thinking

that we are working"

Algerian parents are, in the majority, unsatisfied with their children's schools. In the 70 families visited, 55 parents have manifested their disappointment explained in terms of the low results their children obtain.

The level of information Algerian parents have on the school structure and how it works is very limited. The perception of the school remains very vague. To the Algerian parents, the nursery school is where no learning is taking place; the primary school is where pupils learn to read, write and count. The information on the second degree schooling is even less precise. They know very little on options, orientation, etc..... They just regard the secondary schooling as a promotion and, to them, a pupil in the 6° is already successful. He is in the collège!

Parents' disappointment begins from the moment one of their children leaves the secondary school without any qualification required to get a job. For this reason, the technical options are to some Algerian parents a useful line of study. There, the children can be professionally trained and prepared. However, at the end, the disappointment is the same for parents do not conceive how, for instance, a pupil could end up as a builder or as an electrician after having spent more than ten years at school.

Algerian parents' aspirations for their children's education are very high, and so is their disappointment when they see that all the school has managed to do is to produce the same work-force as themselves.

To the Algerian parents, the school has the mythical power of instruction and transmission of knowledge. To them, the acquisition of knowledge consists first in French language for social integration.

And, very often, the fact that children speak French fluently, is considered beforehand by parents as a sufficient proof of their instruction.

Algerian parents see in the school the key to social success and bestow upon their children all their own unsatisfied aspirations. What is expected from the school is very often a good social promotion obtained thanks to high status jobs, themselves obtained after a high level of education. One Algerian mother has explained what is meany by good jobs:

> "I don't want my children to become painters
>
> like their father. He, at least, has never been
>
> to school."

To Algerian parents, a schooled child does not normally end up as a painter or a builder. These jobs are for uneducated people. This over-estimation of the school's role and the ignorance of the fact that even these jobs require schooling and training and that there is a finite limit to the number of specialised, highly skilled jobs available in any one nation at any time, increases the degree of Algerian parents' disappointment when they realise that the school has made of their children what they never wanted them to be.

This feeling has a disastrous effect on Algerian parents, particularly when we know that their children's education is one of the main reasons that made them stay in France with the hope of returning to their country with well-educated children. These parents even feel guilty for they think that their children would have perhaps succeeded better if they had been in Algeria. According to Zerdoumi (1982), this feeling is particularly important when we consider that a child failure is synonymous to dishonour to parents and the whole family.

C.4.5 Psychological difficulties of the Algerian immigrant's child in France

The logic of the Algerian children's situation in France as immigrants' children belonging, at the same time, to two different environments - the home and the host society - allows us to classify them in a category of children characterised by particular psychological difficulties. Cirba (1980) and Malewska-Peyre (1984), respectively interested in delinquency among immigrants' children and in the effects of psychological factors on these children, are examples of researchers who strongly emphasised the impact and influence of psychological difficulties.

C.4.5.1 First contact with the host society

Children newly arrived in France experience a real shock. They have left their country where the family is strongly structured to find themselves in a totally different society with different norms and traditions. Children born in France experience the same situation when they start their schooling and leave the home environment to enter that of the school. In both cases, Algerian children find themselves in conflict with the host society's values.

Used to a society based on the family group's interests, the newcomer finds in the individualistic and lay values of Western society a source of numerous difficulties.

The classical reaction observed among Algerian children, as well as their parents, is to attempt to look for the constitution of groups within the host community in order to create their mode of life on a foreign land. This is one of the reasons why although present in France for many years, Algerians - particularly the parents - are not integrated in French society. As to Algerian children they find themselves belonging to two cultural codes most of the time in conflict.

C.4.5.2 Relation of the Algerian immigrant's child to the host society

As soon as the child is schooled, he finds himself engaged in a new world. And here start the negotiations with the host society and the confrontation of two cultural codes.

The child's identity has been most of the time shaped and structured at home where he has received ideas, attitudes and feelings different from those he would find in the outside society (Toualbi, 1984). Then starts the negotiation with other groups with different cultural values. But, in the same time there takes place a negotiation between the Algerian immigrant's child and his own identity. According to Camilleri (1982), the alteration of our identity is a process we cannot not avoid, and what is essential for the individual is to be able to give this alteration a meaning of continuity. As far as Algerian immigrants' children are concerned, the negotiation in question is particularly difficult because it takes place between elements belonging to two different and antagonistic cultural worlds based on different philosophies of existence. Thus, the negotiations these children operate are subject to the new problems they face within the host society and the home environment. This does not lead to a synthesis of the child's identity but rather to irrational and circumstantial changes to face new situations. These changes originate in oscillations and contradictions in the child's behaviour according to the different situations he experiences. And this, as recognised by all psychologists, leads to dysfunctions in the child's personality and life. In addition, the more Algerian immigrants' children grow up, the more they discover how the host society regards the immigrant family, its traditions and value(Griotteray, 1984).

The Algerian child often finds himself in a dilemma: should he keep the values he received at home and considered as inferior by the

host society, or should he deny them to opt for the culture of the host country considered as modern and of higher status? Answers to the questions on to which ethnic community Algerian children feel they belong are very illustrative of this dilemma (see fig 23, below).

Fig.23 The cultural self-identity of Algerian immigrants' children

Different statements proposed to pupils	Nos. of pupils
1. I feel more Algerian than French	127
2. I belong somewhere in between	47
3. I feel totally Algerian	32
4. I feel more French than Algerian	12
5. I feel totally French	00
6. I don't know	00

n = 218

Only 32 pupils feel totally Algerian. Among the twelve pupils who feel more French than Algerian we count nine girls. Girls seem to be more attracted to the Western way of life and are more easily integrated than boys. Among the 52 pupils who said they would like to stay in France, the majority (32) are girls. We believe this is because they reject their traditional parents' way of life and it is also a way of standing against their fathers' "régime". "To sink" into the French way of life is a way to escape their parents' hold over them and the rigid and traditional way of life their parents try to impose on them. Toualbi (1984), argues that the girl's reaction could sometimes be violent. This is proportionate to the parents' excessive authority imposed over her.

What is interesting is that 186 Algerian pupils (85.3%) have not manifested their total belonging and identification to one group or another. In addition, even their choice is not stable. As one of them explained:

> "We are French when we have no problems in France. But when the situation becomes worse and we find ourselves on the point of leaving, we remember that we are Algerians."

Undoubtedly, and at least in the case of children with such feelings as these, Algeria is looked at as an escape route (Griotteray, 1984). The Algerian child has a circumstantial identity which is in a perpetual alteration due to the different situations in which he negotiates with the host community. In addition to the negotiation with the host community's values, the Algerian child has, at the same time, to negotiate with his family to try to see to what extent his parents could be tolerant. The parent-child relationships count as one of the social and psychological difficulties Algerian children have to face.

C.4.5.3 The family-children relationships

Algerian immigrants' children in France are a group of individuals whose personalities are almost entirely formed in the country of immigration. They present particular experiences, problems and reactions which are most of the time in contradiction with those of their parents. To these children, born most of them in France, parents wish to impose traditional views and constraints. But these represent a form of logic which they do not comprehend. Questions like "Why are our parents hard with us?", "Why do they impose on us what we don't like?" are frequent questions among Algerian children (particularly girls) we have interviewed.

Parents generally justify their position in the following terms: "We are Muslims"; "We are not like the French", and resist the idea of

any radical change. To them, they are not French and should behave and live differently.

Algerian immigrants' children, particularly girls, feel frustrated because they do not enjoy the same freedom as their French schoolmates; and so are the parents because their realise that they are increasingly losing their authority. Nearly all parents and children interviewed showed an apparent feeling of dissatisfaction as far as their inter-relationships were concerned.

Parents feel desperate about the way their culture is threatened and declining, losing its status. Their reactions mainly consist in trying to justify some religious and family values - the two main components of the Arabic, Berber and Islamic culture (Zerdoumi, 1982; Catani, 1985). "We are not Muslims if we don't fast"; "Girls must preserve their honour and get married". These are the kind of arguments children do not understand, particularly when they see that their parents have abandoned most religious practices like prayer, reading the Koran, going to the mosque, etc.... Indeed, when we know that among 70 Algerian families, only six fathers and not a single mother are going to the mosque with their children, we understand that parents are not giving their children the best examples, and we can understand the children's confusion.

Children see in their parents a contradiction between their discourse and the reality. The father, as perceived in Algeria, is a reference of experience, wisdom, protection, and an example to follow. This same father in France has lost his credibility because he no longer represents these virtues.

Algerian parents and their children in France live in two worlds that are completely divorced from each other. The family is unable to exercise its control over the children whose personalities are character-

ised by individualistic actions whereas in the traditional Algerian family, it is the family group which decides for the individual. This is particularly frequent in marriages (Griotteray, 1984; Toualbi, 1984).

In the Arabic and Islamic system, it is the male who is the culture agent whereas the woman represents a highly symbolic aspect of the culture. And it is in the woman's symbolic representation that the male finds his power. That is why, as soon as a female is 'in danger', she is immediately surrounded by an excessive and often obsessional protection. We have already seen this aspect when we mentioned how parents are more concerned with girls than boys at school. What is daramatic here is that Algerian girls as well as boys see a form of discrimination in this parents' attitude. This increases the feeling of discrimination and injustice among girls. In this respect, one head-teacher said:

> "Algerian parents render their children more unhappy.
> Girls have less freedom than boys. They feel they belong
> to a system of values they neither understand nor admit.
> That is why we see many Algerian girls leave home to go
> anywhere, which disturbs their education."

Notwithstanding this pressure, girls would prefer to stay in France under these constraints, since they are realistic enough to understand that their conditions would be even more restricted were they to live in Algeria. Some girls react violently to their parents' attitudes. One of them said:

> "It is our parents who are racist towards their own
> children. They shouldn't have kept us in France. Now
> we are here, we are obliged to do like the French."

Revelations like these show the dramatic aspect of the home environment which contributes to the crisis of identity of these children. Girls reject their belonging to the family group and refuse to be like their mothers. As remarked by Zaleska (1982):

> "On constate (...) que la fille maghrébine
>
> n'accepte plus, contrairement à sa mère, la
>
> place faite à la femme dans la culture des pays
>
> de l'Islam. (...). Presque toutes revendiquent
>
> le même accès que l'homme au travail et aux
>
> loisirs."

(p.190)

(see translation 21, Appendix B)

If access to work is, to a certain extent, tolerated by Algerian parents, distractions for girls are a subject on which they do not show any flexibility at all. These discriminations based on sex difference are widespread and very disturbing. Their implications on the education of girls are often disastrous. For it is, as remarked by many head-teachers, very often the case that girls manifest their disagreement by abandoning their education.

As far as girls are concerned, Algerian parents want to take advantage of the education offered by the host community and at the same time preserve traditional values. It is, for instance, very often the case that a girl is kept at home after she has finished her collège education. Hence, parents suddenly suppress to the girl the habits and freedom she was used to. This makes other Algerian girls see their education as temporary and without any real continuity, for one day the family would ask them to stay at home and to wait for marriage. And if they are maintained at school, they are required to respect a certain

behaviour to please their parents. They are, for instance, obliged to respect the time-table fixed by parents and are not allowed to have relations with boys or dress as they like. Girls find themselves in between two opposed culture codes. This is a situation referred to by psychologists who have studied the immigrants' childrens' behaviour as a deep crisis in identity.

This identity crisis exists and has serious implications on the children's education. As far as the 218 Algerian pupils are concerned, it is among those who did not show a clear position as to their identification to one ethnic group that we find the school failing pupils. Explained according to Maslow's hierarchy of needs, we would simply say that these children have to satisfy their needs for belonging and love before they can possibly feel the need to learn. Among the 115 pupils with failing grades, 102 have answered to be either more French than Algerian, more Algerian than French or in between.

Their personality is not stable. They do not have a clear plan for their future and spend most of their time in trying to solve the difficulties generated by the deteriorated relationships they have with their parents. In this situation, education has very little chance to be regarded as a priority. In their fight for the position of the decision-maker, Algerian parents as well as their children have neglected the high aspirations they both have in education.

C.4.5.4 Conflicting relationships

This ethnic group is becoming closer and closer to the host community. Examples that show the rapidity of the phenomenon are various. Firstly, we already know that the 218 Algerian children have first started to speak Algerian or Berber and now they all asserted that French is the language they speak and use most. Besides, the 218 pupils consider that their knowledge of French has substantially increased

since they started the school. Secondly, only nine pupils mentioned rare contacts with French children.

However, if these relationships with the host community are more and more intensive, subjective relations do not follow the same pattern of development. If some change happens in these subjective relationships, it is most of the time characterised by their complication, their ambiguity and their conflicting aspect. For the relations between individuals are perturbated by the respective ethnic groups to which Algerian and French pupils belong. The opposed images and values of each group are at the origin of the existing conflicts between individuals, (Taboada-Léonetti, 1985). The well-known immigrants' childrens' difficulties - massive schooling delays and repeated classes - are an external manifestation of their basic handicap. Indeed, instead of their significant familiarity with the host community, they still do not understand the meaning of all its codes. Behind this phenomenon, we have the two major causes combined together: deficiency and rejection.

The deficiency in the person of the Algerian immigrant's child is originated in the domestic milieu unable to provide him with the necessary help and comprehension. Instead of being a source of help, parents complicate the child's situation. The rejection is characteristic of the Algerian child who generally refuses the Western culture values with which the school is trying to inculcate him. This rejection is somehow unconscious because of what his family first made of him: an individual with values different from those of the host community which are, to the parents, alienating.

This rejection is conflicting because it is accompanied, at a more conscious level, by an ardent desire and will to assimilate the school code and because this code is perceived by the family as the key to

success and social promotion.

This ambiguous conflict disturbs the identity of the Algerian child. Indeed, even though the Algerian youths have positive relation- ships with French children, they are, nevertheless, still fully aware of the deteriorating relationships between the two ethnic groups. There is, indeed, a contradiction between the child's personal progression in the host community and the identity he is assigned by this same host community. Hence, all his accusations do not only go to his peers, but to exterior groups like teachers, the police and society at large. At this stage, adolescent pupils start to think about "returning to the country of origin". However, those who went to Algeria to live and be schooled have generally not had positive reactions in doing so. They have discovered that Algeria is not a country they could live in. Among the 52 who mentioned their wish to stay in France, 50 are aged sixteen or over and 32 are girls.

In their discussions on Algeria, Algerian pupils in France mention the good human relationships or more mundane aspects such as the weather. But, on the whole, they are frightened by the lack of social justice and equality, the condition of women, the difference in privileges and the highly centralised bureaucratic system. This short experience also highlighted their linguistic handicap in Algerian or Berber and the traditional values still present in Algeria and which remind them of the difficulties they have with their parents in France. When they are back in France, they are convinced that they would be on the same marginalised position in Algeria, just as they are now in France. In this, as we shall discover in Part D, their evaluation of the situation is quite accurate. This disturbs their identity even more for they realise that they could neither fully identify themselves with their family group in France nor with the host community nor with

Algerian society. This is largely demonstrated by Griotteray (1984) and Lefort and Nery (1984).

During the summer of 1985, we made the point of visiting in Algeria a number of the summer camps funded and supported by the Algerian government for the young people of Algerian parenthood. This was an invaluable experience in that it enabled us to establish direct links with young people and to gain a greater understanding of their lifestyle and psychology. In total, we interviewed 25 young boys and girls about their feelings and their perceptions of living in France and the ideas that they had formed about living in Algeria. Their opinions differed significantly from the children interviewed in France and those who had "returned" to live in Algeria. The reason is obvious. Algeria represented a dream-like paradise full of sun and enjoyable experiences which bore little resemblance to the social reality of the country.

More deeply perturbated than others, some Algerian adolescents in France, adopt an extremist position. They operate a radical divorce from their family and the host community to join the fundamentalist movement where they cultivate some ideals which compensate for their feeling of failure.

The group to which Algerian pupils in France really belong is difficult to define, firstly because it is not easy for them to claim their identification to their group whose values they reject, secondly because it is not easy to exclude themselves from the host community whose values and models they adopt (Toboada-Léonetti, 1985; Desbois and Lecleroq, 1985). This double ambiguity disturbs the personality of the immigrant's child and it is something upon which all researchers agree and mention as a crisis of identity among immigrants' children in France (Malewska-Peyre, 1982; Zalweska, 1982).

C.4.6 Algerian pupils' attitudes and aspirations

Attitudes and aspirations are analysed according to a sentence-completion test of eight items inspired from John Coleman (1976) and used by Stone (1981) in the analysis of the Black Child's self-image in Britain.

1. The items 'What I like most' and 'What I dislike most about school' are used to get information on Algerian pupils' attitudes to school.

2. The items 'What I like most about home' and 'To a child parents are' invite the children to give their views about the home and parents.

3. The item 'Someday I would like to' is intended for the analysis of children's aspirations, hopes and future expectations.

4. The items 'Now and again I realise' and 'Sometimes when I think about myself ...' have provided us with information on the pupils' self-judgement and evaluation and also on their aspirations.

5. The item 'What I like most about myself...' has allowed us to obtain further information on the pupils' self-esteem and self-identity.

In addition, a sentence completion test of 23 items (see Questionnaire for pupils in France, Section D) is used to gain information on Algerian pupils' attitudes to elements like the mother tongue, Arabic and French languages, culture and personality, language and education, and so on. The combination of the two sentence completions and the information gathered from interviews have allowed us to collect a useful amount of information for the analysis of Algerian pupils' aspirations and attitudes.

C.4.6.1 Attitudes to the school

Completion of items 'What I like most about school' and 'What I
dislike most about school' invited pupils to give their opinions on the
school as well as on their teachers and the education they receive at
school. The statements obtained from pupils in the two items concern
the same elements, that is teachers, subjects, meeting friends, games,
etc...

Our objective is to see which pupils have positive or negative
attitudes to the school. The same distinction between pupils – that is
successful and failing pupils – is kept here to see the correlation
between the pupils' position at school and their opinions of the school.
An overview of pupils' perceptions of school is presented in fig.24,
below.

Fig.24 Relation between school results and attitudes to the school

	No. of pupils	Pupils expressing generally positive views on school	Pupils expressing generally negative views on school
Pupils with successful school results	103	92	11
Pupils with failing school results	115	18	85

n = 218

The first results show that the majority of successful pupils view the school in a positive light whereas the majority of failing pupils have expressed negative views on the school. This result was to be expected. What is more interesting is:

(a) The eighteen unsuccessful pupils displaying positive reactions to the school tend to consider elements other than academic aspects of school. What they liked most about the school were things like music, games, excursions, meeting friends and an occasion to leave home, particularly for girls. Among what the 85 failing pupils disliked most at school we have teachers, curriculum subjects, discipline, school work, etc.....

(b) The 92 successful pupils with positive views on school mentioned among things they liked most, precisely those things the 85 failing pupils disliked most. The eleven pupils with successful school results and negative views on school referred to hard work and discipline as things they disliked most. This is not surprising for they are all from families with high educational aspirations and in which fathers operate a continuous control over their children. They work hard at home and find the existing discipline at home and at school overwhelming.

Successful pupils are those who generally like the school as an educational institution in which they like things directly related to their education. On the opposite side, we find failing pupils to whom the school is a place where they play, listen to music or meet friends. To the first, the school is looked on as a place where they prepare their future, and to the latter, it is a place where they relax! Failing and successful pupils expect opposite results from the school.

C.4.6.2 Attitudes to the home and parents

In the item 'What I like most at home', the 218 pupils have mentioned things like: resting, homework, parents, brothers and sisters, listening to music with friends, receiving friends, to be alone in one's room, not to be at school, etc.... This enables us to form a picture of what home means to Algerian pupils and again to see what is specific about answers given by both successful and failing pupils.

If, generally, the home means a place where children are with their family and where they rest, the analysis of statements relating to the two categories of pupils (failing and successful pupils) shows that the home does not mean the same thing to everybody. Indeed, the successful pupils have more referred to the home as a place where they do their homework, rest and be with their parents and brothers and sisters, whereas the failing pupils have more referred to the home as a place where they rest, listen to music, see their friends and be alone and far from the school. To the first category, the home generally appears as a structured milieu favourable for homework and family life and where the pupils are very close to their family members. To the second category, the home generally means not being at school and not even with parents and brothers and sisters but either alone or with friends. This allows us to assume that there is no apparent positive relationship between these pupils and their families or at least that they prefer friends to family members. Our results do confirm those of researchers who point to environment as a contributory factor to success or failure (Milet, 1985; Banks, 1986; Tomlinson, 1986; C.E.R.I, 1987).

To the item 'To a child, parents are ...', pupils have generally referred to parents in two ways: either as supportive, encouraging and beloved people, or as people who represent an excessive authority and who should show more comprehension and more support. If the first

recognise parents as a source of support, the latter call for change of parents' attitudes who are sometimes described in very violent terms. The answer "To me, parents are hell" has been given by three pupils (all girls!). And answers like "They are people who understand nothing", "They are people who stand against our evolution", "They are people who don't look after us" are quite frequent among Algerian pupils.

The number of pupils who have a negative image of their parents is very large. Indeed, 119 pupils (54.5%) have referred to parents as people who should change. And among the 119 pupils, we count 92 of the 115 pupils with failing school results. The majority of failing pupils (92 = 80%) have hence a negative image of their parents.

The unfavourable home environment of the school failing pupils and the low image they have of their parents is - as recognised by research-ers in this field - a factor which contributes to the school failure of Algerian immigrants' pupils.

C.4.6.3 Aspirations and attitudes to the self

Answers given by the 218 Algerian pupils to the item 'One day I would like to ...' show their aspirations and have been divided into the two following categories:

(a) positive aspirations - high educational aspirations

- high ambition to succeed in life

- reference to jobs with very high social status

- desire for marriage, family life, happiness etc.

- desire to stay at home and have family projects

(b) negative aspirations - desire to leave school

- desire to leave home and parents

- strong desire to show their dissatisfaction

at school, at home and within society

In the 218 pupils' answers we first noticed that they all have high educational aspirations and a high ambition to succeed in life. This comes - as already stated - as a response to their parents' expectations and desire for their children to succeed. However, we have pupils who, at the same time, have mentioned high aspirations towards education and their future life but added the desire to leave school or their parents. It is the same pupils who showed their dissatisfaction towards the school and the home with answers such as:

"I would like to go to further education but I

don't like school";

"I would like to be in a boarding school not to

go home every evening";

"I would like all people to understand that we

are unhappy at home, at school and everywhere

else".

We do not believe it is a conscious rejection of education. Rather, it is a clear claim for things to change. If all pupils pointed to high educational aspirations, it is among the 115 school failing pupils that we have the majority (96 pupils) of those who mentioned the desire to leave the school or the home, or who referred to their dissatisfaction as far as the home and the school environments are concerned.

On the other hand, it is among the 103 successful pupils that we find the majority of pupils (94) with the same high educational aspirations and the desire for family life and family projects. These same pupils have not mentioned the home and the school as negative environments.

The pupils' educational aspirations seem to concord with those of their parents. Indeed, all parents expect their children to have a good education and a better life. And this is how Algerian pupils look to their future. However, we believe that in many cases, we can point to parents as an obstacle to their children's success. The results show that it is the unsuccessful pupils who have a low image of the home and the school. A seventeen years old girl has revealed her deep feelings which she described as a confession:

> "Our parents are mad. They want to make of us animals which eat and sleep. We need more than study at school and returning to home at the end of the day. We need to enjoy ourselves and to have entertainments like everybody else. Our parents do not understand what we are doing; and besides, they do nothing to help us. They do not even trust us. Consequently, we are disgusted with everything: the school, our life; and we fear what our future is going to be like. Our parents want us to live as they did. This is impossible. Instead of understanding and helping us, they are spoiling our lives."

This shows again the parents-children conflict and highlights the extent to which some Algerian children are disturbed in their life which - in this case - could not know a normal evolution.

Items 'Now and again I realise ...', 'Sometimes when I think about myself ...' and 'What I like most about myself ...' brought the 218 Algerian pupils to provide us with their self-feeling, self-evaluation and the judgement they have on themselves. The pupils' statements are divided into the two following categories:

(a) Positive statements   - I am a nice person

                                     - I have done a good job

                                     - I work hard at school

                                     - I have good parents

                                     - I can succeed, etc ...

(b) Negative statements - I think I have missed the essential of my life

                                       I have bad relations with my parents

                                       I must do something

                                       I wish I could leave school

                                       I have not much will

                                       I am nothing

I am not motivated like my friends,

etc.

To the item 'What I like most about myself', we even have answers like: "nothing", "not much", etc ... Here again, the pupils who mentioned negative statements about themselves are in their majority pupils with failing school results. Indeed, 101 failing pupils out of 115 presented a low self-evaluation. And only twelve out of 103 successful pupils fall in the category of pupils who presented a negative self-judgement. The way Algerian pupils evaluate themselves correlates with thir school results in that pupils with a positive self-evaluation are in a successful position at school and conversely. This is a factor which is accepted by most educational researchers.

The sentence completing of 23 items is more related to attitudes to language and education and culture, personality, etc ... The results obtained are presented in fig.25. p.250

Item 1 shows that to the great majority of Algerian pupils (173 = 79.3%) it is not important to maintain their mother tongue in France. This reflects the parents' attitudes. Indeed, parents are convinced that the mother tongue is of no use to their children's education in France. (For parents' attitudes to languages see fig.26). p.251

Moreover, compared to French, the mother tongue has a low status among Algerian families. Algerian parents' language difficulties are well-known and, as already stated, to Algerian parents, their children's education starts with the learning of French. A child who reads, writes and speaks French is already considered by his family as more successful

than them because he knows the language of the host community.

Item 2 indicates that the majority of pupils do not see any relation between their mother tongue and their culture and personality. The home environment is not strong enough to make these children learn their mother tongue and their parents' culture. Firstly, it is a culture with which they are in conflict. Secondly, it is in the general opinion the culture of inferior people. In addition, the mother tongue and culture of origin are not transmitted by the school to these pupils. This constitutes a growing concern among researchers who see, in the teaching of the mother tongue and the culture of origin, a necessary action in multi-cultural education (Swann Report, 1985; Milet, 1985; Houlton, 1986; Lynch, 1986).

Item 3. It is not surprising to see that all Algerian pupils see Classical Arabic as useless to them in France. French is the medium of education. It is the language on which they focus most. And when they have the possibility of learning Arabic, they all turn to languages like English, German and so on. They explain their choice in terms of language status and usefulness. The do not see any advantage in learning Arabic they qualify as difficult and of less value than other languages.

Item 4. 139 pupils (74.3%) do not see any relation between speaking Classical Arabic and feeling Algerian. Classical Arabic is regarded as a foreign language by these pupils. The effort made by the Algerian government to teach this language in France has not been well understood by the Algerian community. 211 pupils have never had any tuition in Classical Arabic. Seven pupils have followed a 2-hours

programme and only five pupils are still attending the courses. The pupils who do not attend Classical Arabic courses gave as reasons the fact that they do not need this language. Besides, courses are generally taking place in the evening and in a remote place. The five children who want to speak Arabic to feel Algerian are those who still attend courses in Arabic. The 21 pupils who do not know whether there is a relationship between Arabic and feeling Algerian are generally among the youngest.

Item 5 & 6. Answers to these items are similar to those in Item 4. The majority of pupils do not think that studying Arabic will allow them to maintain their identity and their culture. Those who do not know are the youngest. And the five pupils who think that speaking Arabic will allow them to maintain their identity and culture are the ones who still study Arabic. Here there is perhaps the influence of teachers. They are Algerians and their mission is to teach Arabic - as the language of Algerians - and the culture of origin. In a teacher's words:

"We try to teach them Arabic and also to convince them that they have a culture in which Arabic is an essential element."

However, the problem is that the majority of Algerian immigrants are Berber and do not see any relation between them and Arabic language especially when Arabic is presented as one of the essential components of these immigrants' culture.

Item 7. We have 46 pupils who think that Arabic will allow them to outline their education in Algeria. This instrumental view of Arabic language is due to the fact that they know that Arabic is the medium of instruction in Algeria. Besides, these 46 pupils are among those who mentioned their wish to live in Algeria. The 73 who do not know whether Arabic will allow them to continue their education in Algeria are among the youngest. They probably do not know much about the situation in Algeria. Among the 99 pupils who gave a negative answer, we count the 52 - among which 32 girls - who said they would like to live in France.

Items 8 & 9. The great majority of pupils do not think that studying Arabic will allow them to find a job and succeed in Algeria. This is comprehensible for it is not a question of languages but rather that of degrees and qualifications. Immigrants' children with good qualifications have well succeeded in Algeria, either in the national economic sector or in setting up their own businesses.

Item 10. Studying Classical Arabic is not at all seen as a means of staying in contact with their country. For the 191 pupils who already went to Algeria have certainly realised that Algerians do not communicate in Classical Arabic whose use in only academic and administrative. Moreover, French is a language still in use in Algeria.

Item 11. Religion is not a subject they discuss much. What children know of religion is what their parents try to impose upon them, that is things like fasting, not drinking alcohol and a strict way of life for girls. If children do not see in learning Arabic a means of reading the Koran, it is because reading the Koran is not among their urgent priorities and also because they can read it in French if they

wish.

Item 12. Answers to this item are very revealing of the Classical Arabic status within the French society. And this explains perhaps why Algerian parents (see fig.26) and their children are not very keen on learning a language which is regarded as inferior by the host community. In learning this language, it is perhaps to Algerian pupils a way of putting themselves in an inferior position vis-a-vis their French friends who prefer to learn languages with an international status.

Items 13, 18, 26 & 27. Algerian pupils who want to know French, to think and behave like French people or to become a member of the French society are among the ones who not unnaturally want to remain in France. They see in French a means of being integrated and accepted in the French society. The 161 pupils who do not think French will allow them to think and behave like the French have all mentioned their wish to 'return' to Algeria.

Item 14. It is interesting to see that all pupils think that knowing French will allow them to feel at ease in France. Indeed, they all consider French language as a means which allows them to normally evolve in the host community. French is to them an instrument which renders their life easier. As to the French attitudes to them, Algerian pupils are considered that it is not simply by knowing French that the host community attitudes will change towards them. Griotteray (1984) and Taboada-Léonetti (1985) are authors who have explained how these young people are emerging as small communities claiming their cultural identity and political rights, but refusing assimilation and using French as an instrument.

<u>Items 15, 16, 17 & 23</u>. As in Item 4, French language is regarded by the totality of pupils as an instrumental factor which allows them to gain education, to succeed in their life in France and to increase their knowledge. This importance given to French language shows that Algerian pupils understand its value to them in the host community. And it is not surprising to see them refer to Arabic as a less important language for it does not bring them these same advantages in France.

<u>Item 19</u>. Among the 60 pupils who need to know French to live in France, we have the 52 pupils who would like to stay in France and who see in French a means of being integrated. Among the 52 pupils the majority (32) are yet again female. The 155 pupils, who are among those who would like to live in Algeria, have instrumental attitudes to French language, that is a means of education, getting degrees and jobs.

<u>Item 20</u>. Here again, pupils do not see any relation between their culture and the learning of Classical Arabic. This denotes that Classical Arabic is a totally unknown field to them. Besides, as none of them has Classical Arabic as a mother tongue, thy feel closer to Algerian or Berber than to Arabic. That is why in Item 2, we have more pupils who are sensitive to th inter-relation between culture and mother tongue.

<u>Items 21 & 22</u>. Pupils' answers to these items show that the majority are discouraged to see that studies do not always guarantee a future job. Pupils' expectations from their education are often in terms of future jobs.

Fig. 25 Algerian pupils' attitudes to languages, culture, personality,
         etc...

Different items	Pupils' answers		
	Yes	No	I don't know
1. It is important for me to maintain my mother tongue in France.	18	173	27
2. I need to maintain my mother tongue for my culture and personality.	37	139	42
3. Classical Arabic is important to me in France.	00	218	00
4. I want to speak Clasiscal Arabic to feel Algerian.	05	192	21
5. To study Classical Arabic will allow me to maintain my identity.	05	190	23
6. To study Arabic will allow me to maintain my culture.	05	190	23
7. To study Arabic will allow me to continue education in Algeria.	46	99	73
8. To study Arabic will allow me to find a job in Algeria.	27	131	60
9. To study Arabic will allow me to succeed in my life in Algeria.	20	167	31
10. To study Arabic will allow me to keep contact with my country.	03	215	00
11. To study Arabic will allow me to read the Koran.	8	84	26
12. French people I know think Arabic is an interesting language.	00	213	05
13. I want to know French to behave and think like a French person.	25	161	32
14. To know French will allow me to feel at ease in France.	218	00	00
15. French language is important to my education.	218	00	00
16. I need to know French to succeed in my life in France.	218	00	00
17. I need to know French for my own knowledge.	218	00	00
18. French will allow me to become a member of the French society.	27	161	30
19. I need to know French to live in France.	60	155	03
20. To learn more French than Arabic makes me lose my cultural values.	7	165	46
21. It is interesting to study even though we are not sure to find a job after our studies are finished.	87	124	07
22. It is discouraging to see friends who have finished their studies but who are jobless.	156	62	00
23. I need to know French to find a job in France.	218	00	00

n = 218

Fig.26 Algerian immigrant parents' attitudes to languages and education

Different items	Parents' answers		
	Yes	No	I don't know
1. My children are growing up in France, they don't need to learn Arabic.	51	13	06
2. My children are growing up in Algeria, they need to learn Arabic.	16	50	04
3. I want my children to learn especially French.	61	07	02
4. I want my children to learn especially Arabic.	06	60	04
5. I want my children to learn French and Arabic.	62	08	00
6. I want my children to have extra tuition in French.	60	00	10
7. I want my child to enter the University.	70	00	00
8. I want my children to have extra tuition in Arabic.	16	22	32
9. I want my children to choose Arabic as a second language at school.	12	46	12
10. French is more important than Arabic.	53	13	04
11. I am happy to speak French.	70	00	00
12. I would like my children to have their education in Arabic.	03	63	04
13. People educated in French have a better future.	56	00	12
14. I would like my children to be trained to work very young.	00	70	00

n = 70

To sum up, the most important points appear to be:

1. Culture, personality and identity are more related to the mother tongue than to Classical Arabic.

2. Classical Arabic is a language with a very low status among French as well as Algerian pupils. It is considered by only a minority of Algerian pupils as a means of social 'reinsertion' in Algeria.

3. A minority of Algerian pupils regard French as an international factor, whereas the majority consider the host community language as an instrument which allows them to have access to education and to a better social position.

4. Those older Algerian pupils who have finished their studies without finding jobs are a negative example of those who are still at school.

We need now to examine the position of the failing and the successful pupils as far as these attitudes are concerned.
Successful pupils have the following characteristics:

(a) The mother tongue is important to them in France.

(b) They see a relation between the mother tongue and their culture and personality.

(c) They want to know French to think and behave like French people.

(d) They think French will allow them to become members of French society.

(e) They want to live in France.

(f) They find education interesting even though it does not always guarantee a job.

(g) They are not discouraged to see their friends finish their studies without finding a job.

It is best here to consider pupils in three categories. Firstly, school successful pupils have a positive attitude to their mother tongue and are keen on maintaining their parents' culture. These do not fall in the category of pupils who want to become full members of the French society.

Secondly, the pupils who want to be assimilated are also successful pupils and see in the French educational system the best means to be assimilated. To them, to know French and to succeed at school is a guarantee for assimilation. They have an assimilation attitude to French life and the French educational system. Their objective is seen in terms of success in French language and French education. Their strong wish to be French-like acts as an incentive as far as their education is concerned. These pupils do not, on the contrary, see any relation between mother tongue, culture and personality. This is where

Griotteray (1984) argues that immigrants' children need to accept a full assimilation because the French would always reject these children's mother tongue and culture.

Thirdly, successful pupils are also those who find it interesting to study even though education does not always bring a job, and those who are not discouraged to see jobless friends. These pupils can be found either among those who have positive attitudes to their mother tongue or among those whose choice is to be assimilated in the host community.

Successful pupils see in education a means to reach their objective and are, hence, motivated pupils.

Conclusion

Results in Part C have allowed us to confirm that Algerian immigrants' children in France are not gaining a great deal from their presence in the French educational system (Lazarus, 1985). The majority are failing and this is not only due, in our opinion, to language difficulties.

We do not believe, moreover, that these pupils can be taken as responsible for their school failure. They are deeply disturbed and are engaged in a continuous struggle which does not allow them to concentrate on their education. All factors that should normally be sources of help to these children have proved rather to be factors which contribute to their failing position in school. Indeed, if we generally expect parents, teachers and the school institution to provide children with the help they need, this is certainly not the case for Algerian children.

The problem is even more critical when we realise that these children are ill-prepared to succeed whether living in France or 'returning' to Algeria.

Accepting that language is no longer the main problem to these children in France, for those who have 'returned' to Algerian schools there certainly is a language problem. Arabic is their main difficulty and is the factor on which any success is based. Very few Algerian pupils 'learn' this language in French. Consequently, when they 'go back' to Algeria, their situation is exactly the same as that of Algerian children who have emigrated to France without any knowledge of French.

Some Algerian-born, French-educated children will in their lifetime be subjected to a double immigration and to all psychological strain and disturbance that this entails. They have to re-adjust, linguistically and socially, twice-over.

'Returning' children are engaged in an immigration phenomenon, just as their older brothers and sisters were in the 1960's and 1970's when they went to France. In Part D, it will be these 'returnees' that are the main focus of our enquiries.

PART D The educational experience of 'returned' Algerian children

Introduction

The return of Algerian immigrant workers to Algeria is a relatively new phenomenon. It has emerged as a very complex problem dating from the late 1970's. This return is due to several causes.

Firstly, there is the economic crisis in France and the reduction of job opportunities which has affected immigrant workers in general. According to Lebaube (1983), the numbers of immigrant workers who are in search of jobs are constantly on the increase, apparently a rise of 1% annually (see fig.27 below).

Fig.27 Immigrant workers asking for jobs

year	% of immigrant workers in the total no. of people asking for jobs
1979	9.3%
1980	10%
1981	11%
1982	11.9%

Source: Adapted from Lebaube (1983,p.19)

Also according to Lebaube (1983), the total number of workers in search of jobs in 1981 was 221,451. Among these workers, 71,024 were Algerians and represented the greatest percentage.

Secondly, the French government has actively encouraged and promoted a "policy of returns". Indeed, immigrants have been able to get from 100.000FF to 150.00FF (approximately £10,000 to £15,000) to assist their passage.

Thirdly, there has been a rapid economic development in Algeria where skilled people, at least, have every chance of getting jobs fairly rapidly (Khandriche, 1982). It must be said however that the economic situation has itself undergone dramatic change in Algeria since the "policy of returns". Now we speak more of an economic recession because of the slump in oil price. Jobs have become rare and it is very likely that Algerian immigrant workers will not continue to return in great numbers. According to Lebaube (1985), between 40,000 to 45,000 immigrant workers and their children have left France since the "policy of returns" came into being. Among these, 36% are Algerians.

As we have already said, the phenomenon is very new in Algeria and there is a virtual lack of statistics in this field because no research is taking place. The only information we could get concerns general directives as to the reinsertion of Algerian returnees. Writers like Khandriche (1982) and Benamrane (1983), have themselves lamented the lack of information in this field and made it clear that we need to know numbers to know what policies to adopt.

As to the young people themselves, the Ministry of Secondary Education itself has been unable to produce precise figures as to the numbers of children of school age involved. The only source we could cite is Actualité de l'Emigration (No. 78, Feb. 1987, p.14) which has mentioned an approximate number of 5000 'returned' pupils in the fundamental (primary and collège levels) and the secondary school.

The lack of statistics is understandable for the already mentioned reasons. Besides, immigrants and their children are very difficult to quantify in a reliable way. The reasons are obvious. Firstly, it is sometimes the case that parents - generally the fathers - came first to assess the possibility and advantages of a future reinsertion and decide to go back to France. Secondly, parents sometimes send their first

children to relatives in Algeria and then get them back to France when they change their plans.

During our field research, we came across many examples of this pattern of behaviour. Statistically speaking, the situation is very difficult to handle. And the research team in the Ministry of Education is only concerned, for the time being, with general educational directives.

There is practically no research completed or in process in this field. And if we have the problem of lack of documentation and references, we certainly have the privilege of being the pioneer in investigating a very important aspect of the Algerian educational system and a very spcific and new school population. This also means that as far as the situation of Algerian 'returning' pupils is concerned, its study is purely based on our own field research results and their analysis.

We do not feel it necessary to write a whole section dealing with aspects of the life of Algerian 'returned' pupils. Much has already been said on this aspect of the research in the previous part. In addition, it is with their problems in France that they 'return' to Algeria. And, those problems specific to their lives in Algeria are brought under discussion in this part of our work

D.1 The populations investigated in Algeria

D.1.1 The pupils

As in Part C, all pupils under discussion are Algerians. They were schooled in France before 'returning' to Algeria. The total number of 'returnees' we have gathered for our study is 166, which, if we accept the Actualité de l'Emigration (No. 78, Feb. 1987) figures, constitutes approximately 3.32% of the total number of 'returnees' including those in the primary school level whom we are not investigating.

The 116 pupils are all in the secondary school system and we believe this number is quite significant for it represents the pupils in six Wilayate (Counties) from which many people have emigrated because of the lack of jobs.

Not all these pupils are with their parents. Indeed, twelve are staying with relatives in Algeria whereas their parents and brothers and sisters are still in France. Algerian families living in France generally believe that sending their children to Algeria while they are young is a means of making sure that these children are not going to stay in France for ever. This is indeed true for Algerian children who have grown up in France until the age of eighteen or more, are likely to 'return' to Algeria where they find it very difficult to live and to adapt.

Among the 166 'returnees' surveyed, 120 are in collèges and 46 are in lycées (see fig. 28 for general information on these pupils). All these pupils came to Algeria before the 1986-87 school year. The only minimal linguistic preparation some of them have received in Algeria has been some small extra tuition in Arabic language. The decision to group new 'returnees' had been taken only this year. Hence, grouping these pupils for one or two years of Arabic teaching (fourteen hours a week) in addition to their other curriculum subjects has only started this school year (1986-87) and concerns pupils who came during the summer 1986. These pupils are not included in our research for we do not yet have any results as to their education. This new policy is at its experimental stage. It also concerns university students. At Batna University, for instance, the Intensive Language Teaching Centre has, among its activities, the teaching of Arabic to 'returnees' who are in lycées and universities.

Fig.28 General information on 'returning' Algerian pupils

Total number	166
No. of pupils in the Collège level	120
No. of pupils in lycées	046
No. of pupils born in Algeria	6
No. of pupils born in France	160
No. of pupils 'returned' with their families	154
No. of pupils 'returned' alone	12

Age	
12 to 15 in Collège level	16 to 19 in lycées

Sex	
102 boys	64 girls

Class	
7th, 8th & 9th year of schooling (Collège level)	2nd, 1ere, Tle (lycée)

Date of 'return to Algeria	between 1974-75 and 1986
No. of years spent in Algeria	between 6 months & 11 years
Arabic learning in France	3 pupils for a short time approximately six months
Did not learn Arabic in France	163

First language spoken			
Classical Arabic	Algerian	Berber dialect	French
00	43	123	00

Some comments on figure 28

(a) The Algerian educational system is very similar to that of France. After Independance, Algeria has maintained for many years the French system. Some minor changes have been brought in, but in its general structure it still resembles the French system. That is why as in Part C, pupils in lycées are considered more successful than those in collèges, staying at lycée being at least part proof of proven academic ability.

(b) More than a third of 'returning' pupils are in lycées. For linguistically disadvantaged pupils, this would seem quite a reasonable proportion of pupils who have managed to pass the barrier between the collège and the lycée. But this is not the case for 'returnees' are directly accepted in Algeria in the class they were in, in France, this being the only form of education available to them. Among these 46 pupils in Algerian lycées, 32 were already in lycées in France and only fourteen have succeeded in the transition for collège to lycée. Thus, if we omit in our calculations the 32 pupils who were directly schooled in lycées, the fourteen will represent only 10.4% of the remaining 134 pupils.

Very few 'returning' pupils, therefore, who enter the Algerian education system before the age of sixteen manage to enter the lycée. And this already allows us to assume that the transition from collège to lycée is even more difficult for them in Algeria than in France for reasons that will be analysed later.

(c) More 'returnees' were born in France than in Algeria. The large majority of immigrants' children were born in France (Bastide, 1982). In addition, very few families reunite now in France.

(d) The reasons for some children 'returning' alone could be that fathers are not yet prepared to return for housing or job reasons. Some

parents have only a few years left before their retirement and would like to wait until that time before returning. Some others simply choose to send their children because they think they will have greater success in Algeria than in France. What is more interesting is that among the twelve pupils who 'returned' alone, nine are girls. This may be mere chance but it is more likely to be proof that Algerian parents prefer - when they have the possibilities - to send their daughters to relatives in Algeria rather than to keep them in France. This is again related to how Algerian families 'preserve' their honour through 'protecting' their daughters (Zerdoumi, 1982; Toualbi, 1984; Griotteray, 1984). According to Abdellatif (1984), it is a conflict between mother and daughters, in which boys choose to be on the mother's side to maintain a certain cultural continuity and a certain social order in which the male occupies the dominant position. They think that the Algerian social environment is more suitable to their daughters. In our sample, boys (102) outnumber girls (64). This, we believe, is due primarily to the fact that we always had easier access to boys than to girls, particularly in Algeria where it is not always possible for a male researcher to talk freely to young girls and to interview them. Secondly, parents are keener on the boys' education than on the daughters', which has already been mentioned and explained.

(e) Only three pupils have learned Classical Arabic in France (for a very short period which did not exceed six months). At their first arrival in Algeria, 'returned' pupils' knowledge of Arabic was practically non-existent. This proves that there was no efficient preparation in France, which renders the 'returned' pupils' schooling in Algeria disastrous.

(f) Like the pupils in France, the 'returnees' first acquired language through speaking Algerian or Berber. But by the time they 'are

back' in Algeria, the only language they really know is French. Their contact with Algerian society does not allow them to learn Arabic which is only used at school, and more precisely within the class as a means of instruction. It is certainly not the language of the playground or the refectory! They may seek out other French speakers rather than mix freely, and this may hinder their integration into Algerian society. They will all continue to speak French and start to acquire an Algerian dialect. Depending on the milieu they are evolving in, some of them will speak Berber. Since their original mother tongue was Berber, their ability to acquire this language quickly is not in question. It should be remembered that Berber is quite distinct from Arabic and Algerian.

D.1.2 The parents

During our field research we visited fifty-two returned families. Following a similar procedure as adopted in Part C, mixed couples (ie couples where one parent is not Algerian) are not included in our research. The reasons that made us include the parents are the same as in Part C.

The difficulties returned parents have in Algeria are numerous. To them as well as to their families, it is another immigration process which has started. Although they generally go back to their 'native' villages or towns, they find that everything has changed. Besides, in their own words: "nothing is the same as in France." And it is not surprising to hear some of them regret their return and speak of France as if it were their country of origin (Lefort and Nery, 1984). Is that not comprehensible when we know that these parents came back to Algeria after having spent twenty years and more in France?

They have to adapt themselves to a new way of life and to educate their children to do the same. And here is the biggest difficulty. Children, especially girls, find it very difficult to adapt to Algerian

cultural traditions. Cultural roots and traditions have a higher status in parents' eyes in Algeria than when they were in France. For now, they are within their community of origin and, in some way, they have to conform to its rules or be silently rejected.

D.1.3 The teachers

From now on, as a matter of policy, Algerian 'returned' pupils will be gathered on a 'departmental' basis in one boarding school where they will be kept for at least one year. This new policy started in the 1986-87 school year. During this first year (or two years) of their stay in Algeria, they are to receive a normal school curriculum and, in addition, they are taught fourteen hours of Arabic per week. At this stage, we already would like to express our two main anxieties.

Firstly, this decision of grouping 'returned' pupils might result in some form of 'ghetto' schools and an interior exile. Secondly, there is too much emphasis on intensive language learning. The experience of these two procedures in France in the early 1960's has not given the results expected. This should normally bring our decision-makers to think of how to take profit of other countries' experiences.

After the first period spend in boarding schools, the 'returned' pupils join their families and are schooled in the place where they live. As to their orientation, the Ministry of Education encourages science and technical options where the language requirement is not as high as in literary classes and where some subjects are taught in French.

At least during the early part of their stay in Algeria, 'returned' pupils have intensive contacts with their teachers and especially with teachers of Arabic language. Teachers are certainly the people who know best about the school difficulties of Algerian 'returning' pupils. Algerian teachers are no different from their French counterparts,

keeping regular records on their pupils and hence possessing a useful amount of information on them. Our research includes 61 teachers among whom twelve are specialist teachers of Arabic.

As we have already stated, the phenomenon is of very recent origin in the Algerian educational system and until now there are no teachers who have received specialist training for working with immigrants' 'returning' children. The only activity in this field consists of seminars and conferences held occasionally with these pupils' teachers to try to record the difficulties they have and to draw general teaching guidelines to be considered in the short-term. The phenomenon has suddenly appeared as a reality of our educational system and it is certainly going to take a long time before adequate measures are taken. The uncertainty of demographic trends which rely so heavily on economic factors makes planning for the long-term extremely difficult.

The situation of these pupils in Algeria is similar to that which their older brothers and sisters experienced in France in the late 1960's during the period of mass emigration from Algeria to the European continent. Then teachers had to face the problem with their own personal initiatives, with very little overall support from the central authorities.

D.1.4 Head-teachers

Head-teachers in Algeria played the same role in our research as their colleagues in France. We visited forty schools among which six are designated as places where 'returning' pupils are grouped for a programmeof intensive Arabic language learning. As to the handful of pupils who had already had one year of extra language teaching, the head-teachers, with the collaboration of language teachers, could decide to add two or three hours a week of Arabic language teaching to the 'returning' pupils in their school.

Among the forty head-teachers, twelve were willing to give more information and to discuss more deeply the difficulties encountered by these pupils. Head-teachers were practically the only administrators to know the full extent of the problem and hence to be able to provide us with useful opinions and suggestion.

D.2 The school failure of Algerian 'returning' pupils

The same approach in the past concerning the school failure of Algerian immigrants' pupils in France is used here for the two educational systems use the same way of evaluating success and failure.

First of all, our research results show that Algerian 'returning' pupils are - in their majority - failing at school. One hundred and twenty three pupils have below average annual grades. This represnts 74% of the total number investigated.

In a country like Algeria, where there is a single political party, in a centralised education system operating in a one-party state, one is unlikely to find this phenomenon being discussed as a problem of the Algerian system or to find a variety of remedies being applied. There appears to be only one interpretation and one attempt at a solution.

'Returned' pupils are deemed to be victims of their previous situation as immigrants' children detached from their country of origin and hence from their culture, their language and their society. The school institution is hence not considered responsible and neither are the 'returning' pupils. We are not surprised by this explanation because:

(a) if the school institution is considered responsible, this would mean accepting the principle that the government has not taken adequate measures to adapt the Algerian school to meet the needs of the 'returning' pupils;

(b) if pupils are responsible, this would mean that all measures have been taken and that if these pupils are still failing, it is their fault alone; this approach would certainly echo the opinion of the political right-wing in France concerning immigrants' children within the French educational system, namely that they are the problem and France would be a better country without them.

The general trend now in Algeria - particularly among teachers and head-teachers - is that 'returning' pupils fail at school because of the language handicap. We do not deny this, but we however believe that this is over-simplistic. Moreover, it is the best way to get rid oneself of the problem without considering all of its aspects and its possible repercussions in the future. It is also a way of distancing the problem from its reality. We suspect it will take some time before people realise that even pupils with a good knowledge of Arabic are still failing. That is why in our approach, we not only consider the linguistic aspect, we also take account of the factors investigated in France. Indeed, Algerian pupils schooled in France as well as those who 'returned' to Algeria have more or less similar difficulties which contribute to their school failure.

Language is no doubt one of these difficulties. Their socio-economic conditions, their parents' involvement, the school institution, the social and psychological difficulties they have, and their attitudes and aspirations are, as will be seen later, factors that should not be rejected.

D.3 The school situation of Algerian 'returning' pupils

To all intents and purposes, the school situation of these pupils is defined according to the Algerian educational system which is similar to the French one. Readers are referred back to Part C for more detailed explanations. Differences will be pointed to whenever

necessary (see fig.29 for the Algerian educational system).

We have to remind the reader of the following points:

(a) 'Returning' pupils previously educated in France are placed in equivalent classes or levels to those they were in, in France.

(b) No linguistic preparation has taken place before their schooling in Algeria.

(c) The assumption has been hitherto that they would experience some language difficulties but then be able to rejoin their mainstream, ie having their education in Arabic.

(d) This total ignorance of the problem has at least been recognised and the decision to group 'returning' pupils according to their levels has been put into practice at the beginning of the school year 1986-87. The aim is to 'arabise' these pupils and make them able to have their education in Arabic as well as in French, when it is possible, that is to make of these pupils future bilingual pupils. That, it could be argued, makes sound economic sense, but it compounds the demands made upon them as individuals grappling with entirely new cultural and social, and in some cases, family circumstances.

Fig.29   The Algerian educational system

The 9-year Fundamental school

Stage 1	Stage 2	Stage 3
1st, 2nd & 3rd year	4th, 5th & 6th year	(Orientation stage)
Pupils' age: 6-9	Pupils' age: 9-12	1st, 2nd & 3rd year
		Pupils' age: 12-15

B.E.F examination ←

Secondary school (lycée)	options: - literature
2°, 1° and Tle	- science
Pupils' age: 15-18	- maths
	- technical subjects
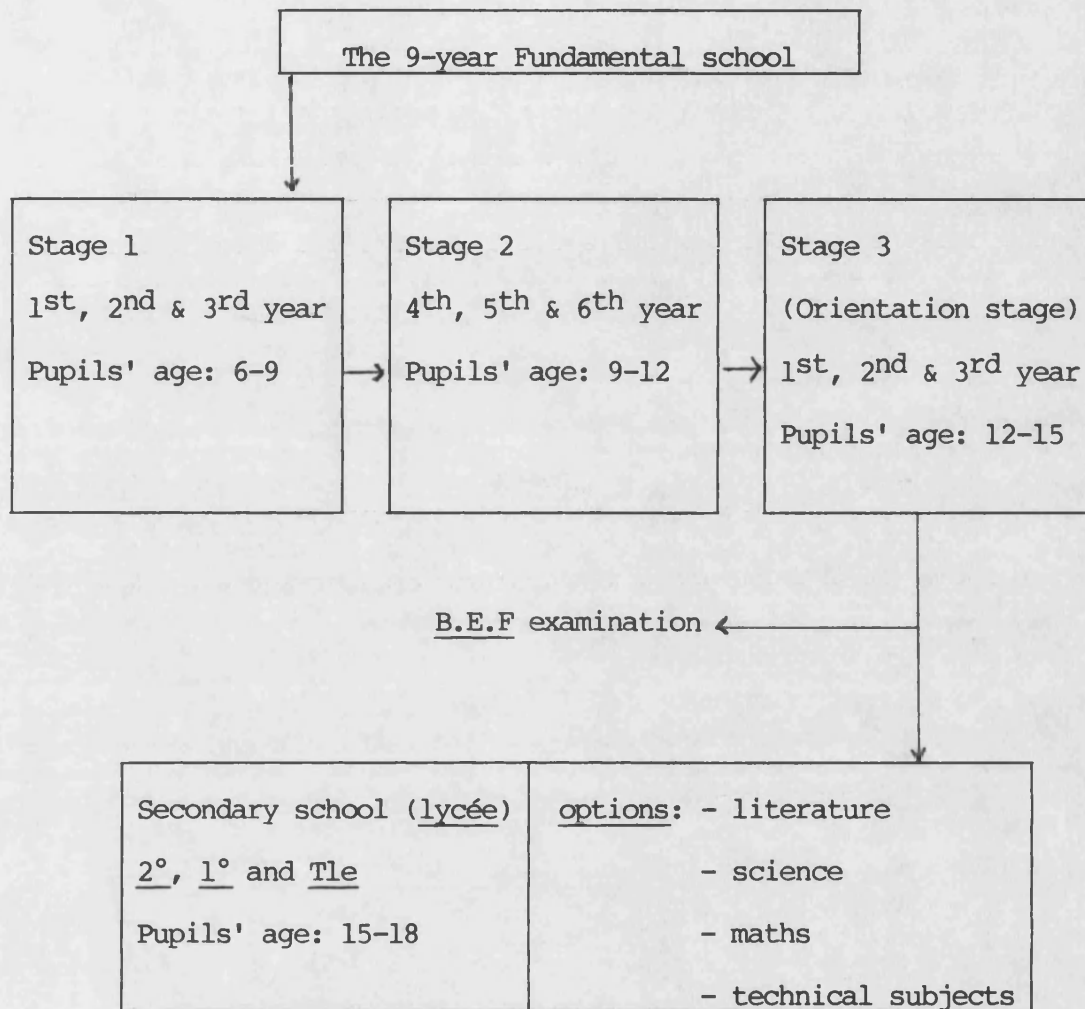
Some remarks:

(a)   In the first stage all teaching is in Arabic.

(b)   French language is introduced in the second stage (1½h a day).

(c)   Stage three is the orientation stage. It is the most important stage as successful pupils will go the the lycée and failing pupils will have to drop out and try to find some other form of profession-al or vocational training. The transition from stage three to the lycée is very competitive.

(d)   The three stages of the fundamental schooling are compulsory.

(e) Stages one and two correspond to the French <u>Premier Degré</u> schooling (Primary schooling). Stage three and the secondary schooling correspond to the French <u>Second Degré</u>.

(f) The only difference between the two systems is that schooling in France has one year more than in Algeria. In stage three in Algeria (<u>collège</u> in France) we have three classes whereas in France we have four classes.

(g) Our 116 pupils are all either in stage three (<u>collège</u> level) or in the secondary schooling (<u>lycée</u> level).

D.3.1 Pupils' grades

Following a similar system to that found in France, grades are calculated on the basis of a maximum mark of 20. A grade of less than 10/20 is considered as a failing grade. Only pupils who get an annual grade of 10/20 and above are normally allowed to acceed to the next year's courses. The transition from the orientation level (stage three) to the <u>lycée</u> and into the different options depends on the pupils' grades.

The 166 Algerian 'returned' pupils obtain very low grades and are in the main considered, according to these criteria, by the schools as very poor pupils (see fig.30).

According to the grades - and it is the grade which determines success or failure in the minds of society, the schools and, indeed the pupils themselves - Algerian immigrants' pupils are failing in France as well as in Algeria.

Fig.30   'Returned' pupils grades (Academic year 1985/86)

Levels	Class	No. of pupils	General Annual Grades	
			No. of pupils with failing grades	No. of pupils with successful grades
Orientation level (Collège level)	7th, 8th & 9th year	120	94 (78.3%)	26 (21.6%)
Lycée	2°+ 1°+ Tle	46	29 (63%)	17 (36.9%)

n = 166

N.B Among the 46 pupils in lycées, only fourteen have succeeded in the transition from the orientation level to th lycée. The remaining 32 were directly accepted into lycées in the class they were in, in France, irrespective of grades obtained in France.

Only 43 of the 'returned' pupils have successful grades. They represent 25.9% of the total population studies. The situation of the failing pupils is dramatic. They have very few opportunities to accede to vocational or professional training for it is a sector which is not well developed in Algeria and places are very limited. It is only a few years ago that we realised the importance of this sector for the country's growth and that the government has decided to reinforce th possibilities of vocational and professional training offered to school-leavers.

Only fourteen pupils among those who are in the lycée level have managed to succeed in the transition from the orientation level to the

lycée. And only 26 among the 120 pupils in the orientation level are likely to be sent to the lycée. This shows that, as in France, there is a big loss of pupils from the orientation level to th lycée. Places in lycées are limited and obtained on a very competitive basis. In addition, each lycée accepts pupils on the basis of the number of places available at the beginning of each school year. The number of these places may also change according to the demands of the Ministry of Education and the places offered, later, within Algerian universities. All this makes it impossible to have regular and precise national figures. However, it is generally agreed among teachers and head-teachers that about 50% of non-immigrants' pupils in the orientation level go to lycées. We have fewer pupils in lycées than in the orienta-tion level beacuse:

(a) the 9-year fundamental schooling is compulsory and very few pupils drop out during this period, and even pupils with failing grades are very often kept at school until the age of sixteen to allow them to go directly to vocational training;

(b) the selection and orientation process starts at the end of the 9-year fundamental schooling and only successful pupils go to lycées.

The orientation level, and particularly the 9th year is the crucial stage in these pupils' education and in that of all other children. Pupils who have managed to reach lycée level are generally more interest-ed in their education and more aware of its value. If we compare the percentage of successful pupils in the orientation level and in the lycée, we find that it is higher among pupils in lycées.

D.3.2 Age/class relation

Nearly all French schooled pupils have at least a one-year delay in their schooling (see fig.31). This delay was either accumulated in France or due to the fact that they have repeated classes in Algeria.

And as there was no previous linguistic preparation of these pupils in France as well as in Algeria, it is not surprising to discover that among the 166 pupils, the majority (129) are pupils with repeated classes (see fig.32).

According to their teachers, this situation is inevitable because of obvious linguistic handicaps. Even able, motivated pupils find themselves unable to reach their real potential. In addition, in many instances these pupils are not schooled from the beginning of the academic year; they enter the Algerian school at whatever point in the year they arrive from France. They find themselves completely bewildered and confused. And it is very often the case that they spend their first year in the Algerian educational system simply trying to adjust. In a teacher's words:

> "During their first year, they only try to
> situate themselves and to realise that they
> are in a new world to which they have to
> adapt."

Hence, it is highly probable that very little learning is taking place in the first year following their arrival.

Only 25 pupils out the 166 (that is 15%) are in classes which correspond to their age. 44 are one year behind and 97 are more than one year late, and hence, have no chance of repeating another class. These 97 pupils have only their grades to rely on.

In each category of age, the number of pupils is generally diminishing from one class to another. This means that pupils with two repeated classes or who are aged two years more than their normal class age and who obtain failing grades are excluded from the school for they are not allowed to repeat another class.

Fig.31   'Returned' pupils' age and class

Level	Class	No. of pupils per class	Normal corresponding age	No.of pupils aged 1 year more than normal age of their class		No.of pupils aged more than 1 year		No.of pupils whose age corresponds to normal age of their class	
Orientation	7th year	43	12	06		29		08	
	8th year	40	13	10	26	25	76	05	18
	9th year	37	14	10		22		05	
Lycée	2°	36	15	15		19		02	
	1°	06	16	02	18	02	21	02	07
	Tle	04	17	01		00		03	
				T = 44		T = 97		T = 25	

n = 166

redoublants + pupils schooled late (after age 6)

pupils schooled at normal age (6) + non-redoublants

275

In almost all classes, it is the pupils aged one year more than their class age who are the most numerous. As we have already stated, they came from France with an already existing delay in schooling. And one in Algeria, the majority of these do not succeed in their first year of schooling. Indeed, among the 129 pupils with repeated classes, 110 have repeated their first class of schooling in Algeria. Thus, only nineteen of the 166 'returned' pupils have succeeded in the first year at school in Algeria. This represents 11.4% of the total population and is, indeed, a very small proportion.

The practically non-existent special provision or programme for these children (at least until the academic year 1986-87) has made of their first year in the Algerian educational system a discouraging experience, in short, a year of failure. We have 36 pupils in the 2° class. This would appear as a good result. However, let us not forget that among the 46 pupils in lycée, 32 have been directly accepted within the lycée classes. And among these 32 pupils, 30 came directly to the 2° class— At this stage, one would like to ask why do these pupils choose the 2° level to come to Algeria? As in France, the orientation takes place at the end of the 3° class. Hence, a pupil who has no chance of succeeding in passing from the 3° class to the 2° class in France comes - when he can - to Algeria at the end of his 3° class to be schooled, after the summer period, in the 2° class. It is better to have difficulties in the 2° class after which there is no orientation than to have difficulties in the 3° class. To these pupils, it is better to repeat the 2° class than th 3° class after which the orientation is very competitive and where there is the risk of not being sent to the long cycle schooling. In addition, if these pupils happen to leave school, it is more advantageous, for vocational training, to have a 2° class school leaving certificate than that of the 3°.

Therefore, it is fairly often the case that Algerian parents who decided to return to their country visit until one of their children reaches the 3° class in order to take advantage of the way 'returned' pupils are schooled in Algeria. Of course, this is not a generalised policy. However, during our visits into families in France, those parents who were informed about this advantage have expressed their delibrate wish to return when their children finish the collège schooling.

As to the failure itself, it is mainly observed in France in scientific subjects (Maths, Chemistry, Physics, ...) where the grade coefficient is higher than in other subject. In Algeria, however, 'returned' pupils seem to fail more in literary subjects and in Arabic language.

D.3.3 Pupils with rpeated classes : the redoublants

The more classes a pupils repeats, the less able he is considered. And, as in France, it is very rare that a pupils schooled at his normal age will repeat more than two classes during his schooling. Hence, for a pupil who has repeated two classes, the only chance left is to obtain successful grades. There are no allowances made by schools for 'returning' pupils in that a bright pupil, for instance, suffering because of language problems is allowed to proceed to next year despite low grades.

Among our studied population of 'returned' Algerian pupils, 110 have repeated the first class of their schooling in Algeria (see fig.32, p.213 for pupils with repeated classes).

Fig.32 Algerian 'returned' pupils with repeated classes

(the Redoublants)

Class	No.of pupils per class	No. pupils with one repeated class	No. pupils with two repeated classes	No. pupils with no repeated classes
7th	43	05	26	12
8th	40	09	23	08
9th	37	09	22	06
2°	36	14	17	05
1°	06	01	02	03
Tle	04	01	00	03
		T = 39	T = 90	T = 37

n = 166

Only the redoublants.

110 repeated the

first year in Algeria.

Pupils with no

repeated classes

and pupils

schooled late.

A comparison between figures 31 and 32 shows that the number of pupils agred more their normal class age (fig.31) is more significant than that of pupils with repeated classes (fig.32). This is because in the first category we have the pupils with repeated classes and those schooled late. On the other hand, the pupils with no repeated classes are more numerous than those with normal age for in the first category we also have the pupils schooled late.

Algerian 'returned' pupils are in a worse educational situation than when they were in France. Indeed, the difficulties they have experienced in France are only added to by their entrance into the Algerian educational system. To the difficulties they have been subjected to in France (late schooling, repeated classes ...) we have to add the inevitable fact that they nearly all repeat their first year of schooling in Algeria. And this considerably reduces their chances of success within the Algerian educational system. And, as teachers have remarked, these 'returned' pupils have literally nothing favouring their educational success. Progress in their schooling is help up, they repeat classes and they come to Algeria with a total ignorance of the Arabic language. According to most teachers, these pupils are considered to be failing pupils as soon as they arrive within the Algerian school. Some teachers consider their efforts as hopeless for there are no acceptable results produced at the end. This judgement pre-condemns these pupils and highlights some of the teachers' attitudes and stereotypes considered as harmful to the child's progress in his education (Rampton Report, 1981; Jeffcoate, 1984; Watson, 1984; Eggleston et al., 1985).

D.3.4   Are Algerian 'returned' pupils failing in the Algerian educational system?

As we have already mentioned, there is no research done in this field to allow us to draw comparisons between our results and other researchers'. Until the beginning of the 1986-87 academic year there was no follow-up of these pupils' education. According to teachers and head-teachers, it is only this year that people like inspectors of national education began to enquire into the phenomenon. The results concerning out 166 'returned' pupils probably constitute a unique basis of work and perhaps a reference for further researchers in this field (see fig.33).

"Success at school" means the same thing to Algerian parents in France as well as those who returned to Algeria. Illiterate in their majority, they are very keen on education and any schooling is a demarcation between parents and children. To a parent who never went to school, the schooling of his children already means a step towards success (Kennouche et al., 1982). But soon parents realise that this is not what success means to the school and within society. There is a scale which is similar in both countries; the more certificates and degrees we get, the more successful we are supposed to be. As far as success in secondary education is concerned, it is shown by the ability pupils have to pass from one class to another. This may be a very simple measure but it is the only one that is really understood by parents and society. This progression from class to class is mainly based on their grades. The higher the class they are in, the more successful they are. A pupil who drops out from the orientation level is, for instance, less successful than a pupil who leaves school from the Terminale class for th chances offered for vocational training are greater with a Terminale level.

Pupils who have most chances of success are those who have good grades and whose age corresponds to their class. Their number is seventeen (twelve in the orientation level and five in the lycée). Thanks to their age, they are allowed to repeat two classes.

The other seventeen pupils with successful grades and one year late in their age have the same chances but can repeat only one class. The nine remaining pupils with successful grades have only their grades to rely on for they will not be allowed to repeat any class. All these 43 pupils are considered as successful within the Algerian educational system for they obtain successful grades.

In the category of pupils with failing grades, eight have normal age and can repeat two classes and 27 are one year late and can repeat one class.

The majority of pupils with failing grades are more than one year late and are hence the ones with the least chances of succeeding. In the schools we visited, collège level classes contain between five to ten non immigrants' children who are redoublants. Considering the average number of pupils per class (35) this gives a proportion of 11.4%. This proportion is slightly less significant in lycées. Our aim is to show that the proportion of redoublants among 'returned' pupils is far greater in that most of them (129 out of 166) are redoublants.

Fig.33   'Returned' pupils' chances to succeed

Levels	No. of pupils	Pupils with successful grades	Pupils with failing grades
Orientation 7th, 8th & 9th year	120	26 — normal age: 12 / 1 year late: 10 / more than 1 year late: 04	94 — normal age: 06 / 1 year late: 16 / more than 1 year late: 72
Lycée 2°, 1°, Tle	46	17 — normal age: 05 / 1 year late: 07 / more than 1 year late: 05	29 — normal age: 02 / 1 year late: 11 / more than 1 year late: 16
	n = 166	T = 43 = 25.9%	T = 123 = 74%

Following identical procedures as adopted in Part C, we will consider as successful pupils only those considered as cuh by the Algerian educational system. Thus, the 43 pupils with successful grades (10/20 and above) are the ones considered as successful.

However, these 43 pupils are not really highly successful (see fig.34 below).

Fig.34 Successful pupils' grades

	$\frac{10}{20}$ to $\frac{11}{20}$	$\frac{11}{20}$ to $\frac{12}{20}$	$\frac{12}{20}$ to $\frac{13}{20}$	$\frac{13}{20}$ to $\frac{14}{20}$	$\frac{14}{20}$ and above
Nos. of pupils	26	7	4	4	2

n = 166

According to the teachers' appreciations corresponding to these grades, we have only two excellent pupils with a grade of 14/20 and above. The majority of the 43 pupils with "successful" grades are average pupils with grades that range between 10/20 and 12/20. Only eight pupils with grades between 12/20 and 14/20 can be considered as good pupils.

Thus, if these 43 pupils do not obtain failing grades, it must be added that, in their majority, they are not getting successful grades and could be considered on the margin between success and failure.

It would have been interesting at this point to consider these results in the light of comparison with natural statistics. Attempts were made on our behalf to obtain statistics, for example, showing the proportion, nationally, of pupils obtaining grade 14 above. We drew a blank in our enquiries at the respective ministerial sources. Apparently, no such data exists or, if it does exist, it is not made readily available to researchers. Yet, in the context of 'returnees' such

figures would be a useful and revealing source of comparative judgement.

In answer to our question as to whether Algerian 'returned' pupils are failing in the Algerian educational system, the evidence we have allows us to assert that only a few of them have any chances to succeed. Indeed, 74% have failing grades and the 43 pupils with successful grades show that their success is hardly outstanding. One would rightly point out that 'returned' successful pupils are the least successful among the successful school public in the Algerian educational system.

This is the point of view of all teachers who have 'returned' pupils in their classes. Indeed, to the question whether these pupils are generally able to follow normally the teaching programmes, the 61 teachers' answers were negative. According to the majority of teachers, this is due to the linguistic handicap. However, some teachers have pointed to other difficulties to be discussed later in this part of our work.

Among the 166 'returned' pupils, we have interviewed twenty and the information we gained from interviews and which concerns their success show that they are themselves convinced of their failure. They have totally lost confidence in their abilities to succeed. In one pupil's words:

> "I was hoping to succeed in Algeria, but I
> realise that I need many years to learn
> Arabic. And if I ever learn this language
> properly, then it would be too late and I
> would not be allowed to stay at school because
> of my age. I regret much not having learned
> Arabic in France."

This is the case of all 'returned' pupils contacted. They realise that success in their education in Algeria depends on their competence

in the Arabic language which they completely neglected in France even when they had the chance to learn it.

On their side too, parents are completely discouraged by the results their children obtain in the Algerian school. Teachers, head-teachers and the pupils themselves seem to be very fatalistic and consider that 'returned' pupils are pre-destined to fail. Indeed, failure was perhaps inevitable given the lack of special provision, until recently, to take account of 'returned' pupils' needs. In addition, the factors that contribute to their failure are very often ignored and their failure is explained away by their most evident handicap - linguistic disadvantage.

In our research we wanted to avoid considering linguistic handicap alone as it tended to be considered in France in the 1960's. Once the language problem was more or less solved in France, researchers realised that it did not - in turn - solve the school failure of immigrants' children. This has been largely discussed in Part C.

As far as 'returned' pupils are concerned, our approach in investigating the contributory factors to their failure is similar to the one we used in France. In doing so, we would like to avoid concentrating only on the linguistic factor in order not to repeat the mistake made in France when the authorities first hoped to solve the problem by an intensive French language teaching.

D.4 Contributory factors to the 'returned' pupils' school failure

The decision of grouping 'returned' pupils was taken because it was realised that these pupils normally schooled without any previous linguistic preparation were all under-achieving and having to repeat their first year of schooling in Algeria.

There are several reflections we should like to make about this decision.

(a) There is no doubt that 'returned' pupils need to learn Arabic for it is the medium of instruction in Algeria.

(b) There is - in this decision - the immediate danger of considering the phenomenon only from one perspective.

(c) This decision is not based on any previous research on the education of 'returned' pupils.

(d) Policy-makers seem to ignore totally that these 'returned' pupils are, in their own words, immigrants in their parents' country.

(e) Teaching French to Algerian pupils who first went to France did not solve the problem of their school failure.

(f) We do not believe that intensive Arabic language teaching to 'returned' pupils will <u>alone</u> solve the problem in Algeria. There is the risk that educational policy-makers will consider the problem solved by this measure and, thus, no further provision will be forthcoming.

(g) Simply by asking these 'returned' Algerian pupils, we realise that factors which affect them and their education cannot be reduced to linguistic handicap alone.

<u>D.4.1 The language issue</u>

It is, at the present time, the central issue and the element which people use to explain everything. Teachers and head-teachers immediately refer to language to assert that 'returned' pupils fail because of language. Extra classes for Arabic language teaching are organised in eighteen of the 40 schools we visited. Asked what makes these children fail, all the 61 teachers particularly mentioned the fact that they did not learn Arabic while young. Another revealing fact is that not a single school of the 40 we visited had an adviser or special courses and programmes for 'returned' pupils.

Teachers are reduced to advising the pupils to have private tuition in Arabic. Following this advice, 39 of the 52 returned families

included in our research are paying for private Arabic tuition for their children. Even pupils begin to think that they are failing because they are unable to learn Arabic.

There is hence a dangerous deviation of the phenomenon from its real context for language is everywhere considered as the key to bring about the miraculous 'reinsertion' of these young people into what is for them an alien society.

D.4.1.1 Language knowledge

We have used basically the same approach as in the section dealing with France in order to investigate the degree of Arabic language knowledge among Algerian 'returned' pupils. In France as well as in Algeria, pupils' linguistic abilities are evaluated according to available data: a combination of their school grades and their teachers' evaluations.

D.4.1.1.1 Pupils' grades and their teachers' appreciations

Access to 'returned' pupils' records have enabled us to collect the required information on their grades and the way their performances in Arabic are evaluated by their teachers (see fig.35, p.223). The five-item scale we use in this figure for teachers' appreciations is the one used by most teachers in Algeria in order to categorise the pupils according to their abilities in the different curriculum subjects.

According to our results, it is the pupils who obtain below-average and poor grades in Arabic language who are the most numerous (108) and represent the highest proportion (65%).

We have two excellent pupils, fifteen good pupils and 41 average pupils. These 58 pupils are the pupils who are assumed not to have major difficulties in Arabic language.

Considering the way success is thought to be bound to language competence, one would have expected other results than these. Indeed,

we have 43 'returned' pupils with successful annual general grades and 58 pupils with successful grades in the Arabic language. The fifteen pupils who have successful grades in language do not have successful general annual grades. This is a very important finding.

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Fig.35　'Returned' pupils grades in Arabic and their teachers' appreciations

			No. of pupils, their grades and their teachers' appreciations				
Level	Class	No. of pupils	15+ (Excellent)	12-14 (Good)	10-12 (Average)	8-10 (Under Average)	Under 8 (Poor)
Orientation	7th	43	00	5	8	21	9
	8th	40	1　0.8%	3　10%	10　16.6%	15　40%	11　24.1%
	9th	37	00	4	12	12	9
Lycée	2°	36	00	2	6	20	8
	1°	6	00　2.1%	1　6.5%	2　23.9%	1　45.6%	2　21.7%
	Tle	4	1	00	3	00	00
			T = 2 (1.2%)	T = 15 (9%)	T = 41 (24.6%)	T = 69 (41.5%)	T = 39 (23.4%)

n = 166

Comments on Fig.35

1. To each grade corresponds an appreciation. There might be slight differences as to which grade corresponds to which appreciation.

2. To each appreciation, and grade, we have the number of pupils and what they represent in % within each level.

3. The bottom of the figures gives the total number of pupils and % per category of grades and appreciations.

It is not one subject which makes a pupil succeed or fail. In the case of these fifteen pupils, their grades in the other subjects of the curriculum are very poor and this allows us to question the general belief according to which the school success of Algerian 'returned' pupils is synonymous with linguistic competence. The school situation of these fifteen pupils indicates that the focus on language should be handled with care and that, if language is vital, it should not be taken for granted that intensive teaching of Arabic will alone change the situation and make all Algerian 'returned' pupils succeed in their education and in their life. This reinforces educationists' opinion in that what affects a child's education is an amalgam of factors (Goad, 1979; Tomlinson, 1983; Craft, 1984, 1986; Banks, 1986; C.E.R.I, 1987).

D.4.1.1.2 Pupils' perception of their knowledge in the four skills of the Arabic language

In investigating 'returned' pupils' knowledge in Arabic, we wanted to consider language in its four aspects to see in which aspect these pupils have most difficulties (see fig.36).

Fig.36 Pupils' perceptions in the four language skills

Language skills	Positive perceptions (Very good, good, average)	Negative perceptions (Poor, very poor)
Comprehension (includes written text)	68	98
Speaking	59	107
Reading	95	71
Writing	102	64

n = 166

We notice that:

(a) it is in comprehension and speaking that the greatest number of pupils have mentioned negative perceptions;

(b) It is in reading and writing that the greatest number of pupils have mentioned positive perception.

The opposite situation is noticed among pupils in France. Pupils in France have more difficulties in writing because the teaching metho emphasises the communicative aspect of language. Whereas in Algeria it is in comprehension and speaking that 'returned' pupils have most difficulties for the method used to teach Arabic is still traditional and analytical. Most time is spent on explaining the language structure, the grammar, on written exercise and on text reading.

According to teachers, 'returned' pupils have particular problems in pronunciation and in comprehension. Exams are written and it is very often the case that 'returned' pupils encounter difficulties in understanding the exam texts. That is why if they think they are better at reading and writing, it is because thy do excessive repetitive works of writing and reading. And when they are in front of new texts during

their exams, they face difficulties in understanding these new texts.

These pupils have difficulties in understanding written as well as oral language. They generally do not understand teachers' questions, and their participation to class discussions is very reduced. Indeed, 133 pupils have mentioned language as a handicap in this class activity.

All 'returned' pupils have pointed to the fact that their knowledge of Arabic is better than when they were first schooled in Algeria. However, asked whether they still have language difficulties, only 45 did not refer to language as a difficulty. The 121 remaining pupils have problems in one aspect or more of the language. Indeed, they could be, for instance, good at writing and have comprehension problems which they refer to as a handicap. If we have always stressed the danger of believing that intensive language teaching will not alone solve the problem of these pupils, it is however clear that they need some intensive language experience which will emphasise all language aspects.

D.4.1.1.3 Teachers' opinions on 'returned' pupils' language knowledge

As far as language is concerned, we completed our information by asking teachers to provide us with their opinions on:

(a) The pupils' knowledge in oral and written Arabic;

(b) Whether the pupils' knowledge of Arabic enables them to follow the teaching programs;

(c) The number of Algerian 'returned' pupils who obtain the same results as the other Algerian pupils from the same socio-economic conditions;

(d) How important is the difference in Arabic language between 'returned' pupils and other pupils;

(e) Whether 'returned' pupils finish their education with a knowledge of Arabic which allows them to evolve normally within Algerian society;

(f) The number of 'returned' pupils who need extra tuition in the Arabic language.

This information provided by teachers also confirms the fact that a majority of 'returned' pupils are having language difficulties (see fig. 37). The majority of teachers have pointed to difficulties in oral and written language. None of the 61 teachers has referred to an excellent or good knowledge of language among 'returned' pupils. Indeed, remember we only have two pupils with excellent grades in Arabic and fifteen with good grades (see fig.35). As to average pupils, it is in the written aspect that teachers think they are most numerous for the reasons already explained.

Only six teachers believe 'returned' pupils have a knowledge of Arabic which allows them to follow normally the teaching programmes. These six teachers are in <u>lycées</u> and added that these particular pupils have spent many years in the Algerian educational system and managed to learn Arabic at school as well as with private teachers. On the other hand, the 55 teachers who think the 'returned' pupils' knowledge of Arabic is a handicap in following the teaching programmes have generally mentioned that it is in the first three or four years of the pupils' 'return' that this difficulty is most apparent.

Fig.37 Teachers' opinions on 'returned' pupils' language knowledge

		Excellent	Good	Average	Below Average	Poor
a	Oral language is in general	00	00	12	36	13
	Written language knowledge is in general	00	00	22	29	10
b	Pupils' knowledge of Arabic allows them to follow the teaching programmes	Yes			No	
		6			55	
c	'Returned pupils who obtain similar results as other pupils from the same socio-economic condition are	In equal number	More numerous		Less numerous	
		12	00		49	
d	The difference in language knowledge between 'returned' pupils and other pupils is in general	Important	Important enough	Negligible		Non-existent
		59	2	00		00
e	'Returned' pupils finish their education with a knowledge of Arabic which allows them to evolve normally in Algerian society	Yes			No	
		61			00	
f	Numbers of 'returned' pupils who need help in Arabic language	Significant numbers		Few	Very few	None
		61		00	00	00

n = 166

The majority of teachers are convinced that 'returned' pupils obtain worse results than other Algerian pupils from the same socio-economic conditions. The teachers we have interviewed believe that it is particularly the degree of language knowledge which makes the difference and not essentially socio-economic conditions. At this stage, we have to remind the reader that in Algeria socio-economic conditions are not a factor that educationists use to explain the pupils' school performance. Algeria is said to be a 'socialist' country and the idea of social classes and the differences between them is deliberately avoided for this goes against the government's ideology. Kennouche et al (1982) are certainly among the rare Algerian authors who pointed to educational success in terms of social class. As far as we are concerned, we firmly believe that the social classes do exist in Algeria as everywhere else. In addition, we also believe that the socio-economic conditions of pupils are a determining factor in their education. That is why our analysis is going to be different from that of the teachers who believe that language is the only essential factor.

The difference in language knowledge between 'returned' pupils and the other pupils is considered as important by nearly all teachers. Indeed, it requires a long time of residence in Algeria before this difference becomes negligible and the schooling of 'returned' pupils is a relatively recent phenomenon of the Algerian educational system.

The 61 teachers believe that 'returned' pupils finish their education with a knowledge of Arabic which allows them to evolve normally in Algerian society. The reason is that they really do not need this language in their daily life. Indeed, they continue to speak French and will quickly learn Algerian for it is the language spoken by all Algerians. As to other activities like reading newspapers, watching films, T.V. etc..., they can be done in French as well as in Arabic.

All teachers have mentioned the need for 'returned' pupils to have supplementary language tuition. However only 47 'returned' pupils are having private courses. Those who are not having private courses have mentioned financial reasons or their parents who do not let them have evening courses. This second reason concerns girls particularly. However, as eighteen of the 40 schools visited organise free courses of Arabic during the who Academic year, we believe that some pupils are not interested in extra language tuition. If only a few 'returned' pupils clearly mentioned their disinterest in Arabic language learning, our belief is more confirmed by the fact that 88 'returned' pupils have in mind to go back to France and hence do not give much value to Arabic. Among these 88 pupils, 51 are girls. In addition, 59 pupils think that French is the most important language to them now; and 53 asserted that French will be the most important language in their future life. Just how realistic these ambitions are is arguable.

This already shows that there is an obstacle between 'returned' pupils and the learning of Arabic. They are not all keen on staying in Algeria and this alone is a disincentive in Arabic language learning.

This already existing problem of integration in Algerian society is more apparent among girls than boys. As we have seen that in France, girls learn French better than boys and more girls than boys would like to remain in France, it is not surprising to know that among the 88 pupils keen to go back to France, we have 51 girls, 25 boys and the twelve pupils who have been sent by their parents to relatives in Algeria. In addition, the general trend which consists in believing that girls are better at language than boys is not confirmed in out part of th research concerned with 'returned' pupils. Only two teachers have mentioned that 'returned' girls learn Arabic better than 'returned' boys. This is hardly surprising given their lack of motivation.

Moreover, in our interviews, it is among girls that we noticed the most apparent resistance to Arabic language learning and also the most apparent desire to speak French. Another reason that could be added to the fact that 'returned' pupils continue to speak French is that in Algeria the French language is still appreciated as a modern language, and speaking French is often regarded as a sign of good education, civilisation and modernity. We personally believe that, now that French is less spoken in Algeria than in the 1960's, it is quite impressive to hear someone speak good French. The Arabic language does not yet enjoy this social status and that is why it is less appreciated than French.

D.4.1.2 Arabic language provision and length of stay in Algeria

There is no doubt that the degree of knowledge in the Arabic language increases with the pupils' length of stay in Algeria. However, we must be more specific and refer to the 'returned' pupils' length of schooling. For if in France they learn the language at school as well as outside, in Algeria it is only within the school - and more exactly within the classroom itself - that 'returned' pupils learn Classical Arabic as opposed to the Algerian Arabic/dialect variety. We have already mentioned in our work that the Arabic language is only used in academic and administrative matters. Hence, the only favourable environment for Arabic language learning in Algeria is the classroom itself. The chances for 'returned' pupils are thus reduced, and this supposes that they will need more time to learn Arabic in Algeria than they needed to learn French in France.

In our research on pupils in France we found that excellent, good and average pupils in French language have - in their majority - been in the nursery school and have spent at least six years in the host country.

As far as 'returned' pupils are concerned, we have first to point
to the total absence of Arabic language provision before their schooling
in Algeria. Indeed, only three 'returned'pupils have had some tuition
in Arabic in France; and no linguistic preparation has taken place in
Algeria. They were plunged immediately into normal schooling in their
respective classes.

According to our survey, 'returned' pupils will spend more than six
years in Algeria before their competence in the Arabic language can be
considered to have reached a satisfactory level in all aspects of
language use (see fig.38, below).

Fig.38 Arabic language knowledge and the length of stay in Algeria

Arabic knowledge	No. of pupils	4 – 6 years	6 – 10 years	More than 10 years
Excellent	2	0	1 (a)	1 (a)
Good	15	1	4 (b)	10
Average	41	5	32 (c)	4
Below average	69	59	7	3
Poor	39	34	5	0

n = 166

NB.   (a) this pupil's length of stay is eight years.

       (b) three pupils spent more than eight years.

       (c) Twenty-six pupils spent more than seven years.

       (d) This pupil spent eleven years in Algeria.

The two excellent pupils in the Arabic language have spent respectively eight and eleven years in the Algerian school. The majority of the good pupils have spent more than ten years; and among the average pupils, 26 have spent more than seven years and four have spent more than ten years. The majority of below average and poor pupils' length of stay is less than six years. According to our results, 'returned' pupils generally became linguistically able only after their eighth year of schooling in Algeria.

There is however another reason to explain the linguistic success of these pupils. They came to Algeria between 1974 and 1978 - 52 of the 58 pupils with successful grades in language came at this period - and hence were first schooled in the old Algerian system in which education was still bilingual in most subjects. The advantages they had were that:

(a) the bilingual aspect of the system allowed them to adapt more easily within the Algerian school;

(b) the requirements as to the Arabic language knowledge were not as high as in the present educational system and success in language was not as hard as now that all subjects are taught in Arabic;

(c) a poor grade in Arabic was unlikely to affect the pupils' general annual year for it was compensated by grades in other subjects;

(d) they had the advantage of knowing French better than the other Algerian pupils.

Pupils schooled in the bilingual system had to face only the Arabic language problem whereas in the present "arabised" system they have to struggle with all subjects which require a good language knowledge.

D.4.1.3 Language use

The use of Classical Arabic language by 'returned' families and their children is very limited. Pupils use this language only in the class environment whereas their parents do not use it at all. And French remains the language most used by 'returned' pupils (see fig.39).

More pupils use Algerian and Berber, in Algeria, than in France. Practically all 'returned' pupils are in permanent contact with the Algerian language which is the communicative means most used within society. Indeed, if Berbers speak their mother tongue as well as Algerian, non-Berber families do not speak Berber dialects. That is why Algerian remains the language most used by Algerians, whereas Berber is not as widely spoken as Algerian and remains a regional langage most particularly used in Kabylie and Aurès, the two regions with the highest concentration of Berbers. As to French, it is the language used by the majority of 'returned' pupils. They speak French with all people who know this language. As explained by one teacher:

> "'Returned' pupils continue to speak French
> even in the Arabic language class. They try
> to speak Algerian or Berber only when they are
> with people who do not know French."

Even within the 'returned' families themselves, it is French that continues to be the language most used and spoken. Among the 52 families we visited, it is indeed the French language which dominates especially in the presence of children. As in France, French is the language children know best; and parents find in speaking French the only best way to communicate with their children.

Fig.39 Language use in various situations

Situations in which language is used	No. of pupils & the language most used			
	Arabic	Algerian	Berber	French
1. To my father I generally speak	00	19	6	141
2. To my mother I generally speak	00	27	10	129
3. To my brothers and sisters I generally speak	00	6	2	158
4. To my grand-parents I generally speak	00	36	10	120
5. My mother generally speaks to me	00	30	16	120
6. My father generally speaks to me	00	20	4	142
7. My grand-parents generally speak to me	00	69	14	83
8. My brothers and sisters generally speak to me	00	00	00	166
9. With relatives from France I generally speak	00	00	00	166
10. With relatives from Algeria I generally speak	00	22	9	135
11. With my neighbours I generally speak	00	21	7	138
12. With my school friends I generally speak	00	29	3	134
13. Outside home and school I generally speak	00	20	2	144

n = 166

The vast majority having been born in France, the 166 'returned' pupils have started to speak Algerian or Berber for the reasons already explained in Part C. Questioned on which language they speak most now, all the 166 pupils referred to French. One would expect that at least those who spent ten years and more will use Algerian more than French. The reason is that 'returned' pupils are not constrained to use Algerian for as soon as people notice that they are immigrants' children, they start to speak French to them. When 'returned' pupils realise that they can communicate in French, they find it unnecessary if not useless to make any effort to speak other languages then French. That is why in all situations that appear on fig.39, p.235, the language most used is French. One has of course not to forget the point of language status mentioned earlier. The mother tongue is most used between grand-parents and 'returned' pupils for the grand-parents are the people who posses the least knowledge of French. 'Returned' pupils use Algerian or Berber only in situations where they have no other alternative. In a pupil's words:

> "It is in French that we express ourselves
>
> best. Hence, we speak Algerian only when we
>
> are with someone who does not know French."

French remains the language in which they express themselves freely and they use it as much as they can. Indeed, 163 pupils pointed to French as the language they feel most at ease with. All the 166 pupils mentioned French as the language most spoken at home and only eighteen saif they have communicative problems at home because the different family members speak different languages. Among these eighteen pupils, we have the twelve pupils who are staying with relatives. Hence, their parents and brothers and sisters to whom they can speak French are not living with them. They are with families in which French is not spoken

and find it difficult to communicate easily in Algerian or Berber.

Although contacts with 'returned' pupils and other pupils are very frequent (only six girls have mentioned rare contacts), 134 'returned' pupils continue to use French with their schoolmates. As to the use of Classical Arabic outside the school, the 166 'returned' pupils confirmed that they have never had the occasion to speak Classical Arabic.

Another aspect of language use is that eight 'returned' pupils rarely read newspapers, books or magazines in Arabic. All the others continue to read in French. Asked whether they prefer to watch T.V. programmes in Arabic or French, the choice of all pupils went to programmes in French. Seventeen 'returned' pupils (all boys!) go to the cinema, but only to watch films in French. In addition,all pupils prefer to listen to French radios or the Algerian programmes broadcast in French.

French is the language of Algerian immigrants' children in France and we believe it is also the language of those who 'returned' to Algeria. It is at least the language they know best and use most.

If the Algerian government is serious in its intention to "arabise" society, there will continue to be major obstacles to this, while the current opportunities, through the media, to retain contact with French and things French remain. Education through the medium of Arabic alone appears not to be having a major impact yet.

D.4.1.4 Is language a handicap?

In contrast with the situation in France, language is is a handicap to the majority of Algerian 'returned' pupils. 108 pupils obtain below average grades in the basic language and teachers and head-teachers point to language as the main handicap the 'returned' children encounter in the Algerian educational system.

This handicap is apparent in many aspects of the 'returned' pupils' education. The majority of the pupils do not actively participate in class discussions because of their poor knowledge in Arabic. Indeed, 133 of the pupils also recognised their langage handicap as regards class participation. In addition, pupils referred to the fact that they sometimes understand teachers' questions, know the answers but are unable to formulate them in Arabic. They are deeply inhibited and feel frustrated because of the language handicap. As one of them explained:

"Teachers do not ask me questions because they

are aware of my linguistic handicap. I feel

on the margin and as a foreigner in the class-

room. I enter the classroom and wait until

the class is over to go out."

'Returned' pupils feel useless and deeply discouraged to see the difference in language knowledge between them and the other pupils of their class.

According to the 61 teachers, the 'returned' pupils' knowledge of Arabic does not allow them to follow normally the teaching programmes. The lack of motivation to which all teachers have pointedis explained by these same teachers in terms of linguistic handicap. Indeed, asked on what influences the 'returned' pupils' motivation, the factor that has been mentioned by nearly all teachers (58 of them) was language. As far as the class participation is concerned, 48 teachers mentioned either a rare or a very rare class participation of 'returned' pupils and only thirteen teachers spoke of frequent or fairly frequent participation.

The head-teachers have the same view of the situation as teachers. The 40 head-teachers believe language is a serious handicap to the majority of 'returned' Algerian pupils. In the same way as teachers, the majority of head-teachers (33) think that pupils with language

difficulties are the least motivated.

Language is widely believed to be the factor which makes the majority of 'returned' pupils fail in the Algerian educational system. It is hence worthwhile trying to explain in more detail why language is a handicap.

D.4.1.5 Why is language a handicap?

We have already seen that 'returned' pupils take a great deal of time learning Arabic in Algeria. We think that, to all intents and purposes, they are French. We suggest the environments in which these pupils are required to learn Arabic are not favourable for three main reasons:

(a) the Arabic language is not spoken by Algerians;

(b) the only milieu in which Arabic is in use is that of the classroom;

(c) most returned Algerian parents and pupils continue to communicate in French among themselves and with their new neighbours in the case of pupils.

In addition, 'returned' pupils have practically had no Arabic language provision in France and found themselves, once schooled in Algeria, with pupils who started to learn Arabic in their first year of schooling and who have had all their education in this language. As a result of this radical change in their education, we have different reactions among 'returned' pupils. Their majority (88) would like to go back to France and still consider that French is the language most important to them. Besides, in our interviews with the 'returned' children, many of them pointed to their 'return' to Algeria as a mistake for they had more chance to succeed in France. As one of them said:

"I prefer to be in France where I have more

chances to learn a craft."

According to Lefort and Nery (1984) many young Algerians see their return as a mistake.

The other factor is that Algerian pupils in France are not at all motivated to learn Arabic which they consider as a low status and difficult language. They came to Algeria with this pre-existing judgement which increases when they realise how difficult it is to learn a totally new language which they did not learn in France even when they had the possibility of doing so.

Moreover, they do not learn this language in suitable conditions. The reasons are:

(a) no teachers received any training for teaching to 'returned' pupils;

(b) the pupils' specific needs in language are not taken into consideration;

(c) in the 40 schools we visited, there are no special programmes or courses for 'returned' pupils;

(d) only eighteen schools organise extra language courses.

If we add to this situation the fact that 'returned' pupils' parents are mostly illiterate and hence unable to help their children in language learning, we easily understand what makes these children fail in learning Arabic.

Teachers are unanimous on four factors which they think makes the difference between 'returned' pupils and the other pupils. These factors are:

(a) the length of stay in Algeria;

(b) the differnce in language spoken at home;

(c) these pupils having been first schooled in France;

(d) these pupils not having learnt Arabic at an early stage.

Head teachers agree on these points and mentioned, on their side, that 'returned' pupils who learned some Arabic in France or who managed to have private Arabic language tuition in Algeria have fewer difficulties in language as well as in their education in general.

To summarise their language issue, we would say that it is indeed a handicap to the great majority of 'returned' pupils. They fail in language for no appropriate help in this field has been provided to them. In addition, all environments, including that of the classroom, are unfavourable for Arabic language learning.

D.4.2 Socio-economic conditions

In our studied population, fifteen pupils are failing in their education despite their successful grades in the basic language. This allows us to assume that if it is highly improbable to succeed without a sufficient knowledge of Arabic, it is nonetheless possible to fail even with successful grades in language. This means that:

(a) succeeding in language alone does not mean that pupils will automatically succeed in their education;

(b) if language knowledge is determinant, it is subject to other factors which 'returned' pupils succeed or fail in language as well as in their education in general.

It is difficult to refer to the failure of 'returned' pupils in Algeria in terms of socio-economic conditions. Indeed, only twelve teachers see a relation between these pupils' school failure and their socio-economic conditions. The only acceptable explanation to most people is language.

Like in France, in Algeria too the phenomenon is generally restricted to one of its aspects. And, if we concentrate only on language, then it becomes easy to point to 'returned' pupils and the French educational system as the main factors for school failure. The

tendency is to lay the blame for these pupils' under-achievement with the French educational system (or to France in general) and to the pupils as the only responsible for their school failure in Algeria. We are aware of this simplistic approach found among many educationsists. That is why we preferred to work directly and closely with 'returned' pupils and their families to investigate those factors people generally do not mention for subjective, ideological, religious and even political reasons. We, on the other hand, do not want to neglect these dimensions.

D.4.2.1 Parents' professions

Algerian immigrant parents are slightly more tolerant and liberal when they are in France. That is why some mothers were found to be working in France, but in Algeria we found that no mothers were employed.

Once back in Algeria, immigrant families became more attached to their traditional values and even mothers who used to work in France do not take a job in Algeria. Toualbi (1984) argues that attachment to traditions and values increases when people are within the large family or family group, for it is important for the group that the individual remains faithful to these traditions and values. Rejecting them means weakening the group's position within society. Fathers are the only economic agents and it is on them that the financial situation of the family depends. Taken in the French social context, we would say that the majority of 'returned' fathers have low status jobs (see fig.40). However, this is not the case in Algeria for the following reasons:

(a) education is highly appreciated, but well-educated people are not the best off;

(b) shop-owners, skilled workers, builders, taxi-drivers, etc... earn more money than teachers, engineers, etc... and have a better

economic situation;

(c) success is generally looked at in terms of materialistic possessions and a good job is that which allows one to earn a lot of money;

Hence, these 'returned' families' economic situation is generally better than the one they used to have in France. In addition these families come back when they have guaranteed their situation in Algeria. They save up as much money in France as possible, they sell this money to Algerians at excessive rates (1FF for 2.5 to 3 DA) whereas the normal rate is 1FF for 0.60 to 0.70 DA. Hence they quickly collect enough money in Algeria to build their own houses and to set up small businesses.

Fig.40 Algerian 'returned' parents' professions

socio-professional category	No. of fathers per category
1. Agriculture	3
2. Unskilled worker	26 (a) −6
3. Skilled worker	37 (b) −4
4. Provate business owner	100 (c) −2

n = 166

N.B: The twelve pupils staying with relatives are distributed as follows:

(a) six are staying with families where the fathers are unskilled workers;

(b) four are with families where the fathers are skilled workers;

(c) two are with families where the fathers are private business owners.

The three parents who are in agriculture possess their own farms which they deserted to emigrate. Now that the agricultural sector is

encouraged and financially supported by the government, they preferred to come back and to work their land thanks to substantial financial help from the government.

The skilled workers have generally been semi-integrated through an official process and have their jobs and accommodation guaranteed by the firms they work with (Khandriche, 1982).

Private businesses are a source of good revenues in Algeria and the private business owners are certainly the best off. Considering the Algerian context, we would say that only the 26 unskilled parents have low status jobs, for the jobs they generally undertake are neither well paid nor stable.

Hence, the majority of 'returned' parents have a good economic situation which is often envied by well-educated people.

D.4.2.2 Housing conditions and family size

Contrarily to the situation they were in in France, the majority of 'returned' families live in their own house. Indeed, among the 52 families we visited, only seven are in H.L.M. flats and among the 166 'returned' pupils, only eighteen do not live in houses.

Hence, a minority of 'returned' families live in H.L.M. flats. The reasons are:

(a) it is very difficult anyway to be allocated a flat;

(b) 'returned' families generally have their own houses built before they came back to Algeria.

Considering the fact that the majority of 'returned' pupils live in their own houses, one would expect them to have good working conditions. Unfortunately this is not the case, for among the 166 pupils included in our research, 125 have mentioned bad working conditions at home. The only apparent reason is the excessive number of brothers and sisters living with these 'returned' pupils. Indeed, the 166 'returned' pupils

have between two and eleven brothers and sisters. In addition, we have to include the grand-parents and all the other family members to whom the house is - by tradition - always open.

The excessive number of family members living in the same house does not allow the pupils to concentrate on their work and makes the house an unfavourable environment in which to study.

D.4.2.3 Socio-economic conditions and school failure

In the population of pupils studied in France, we found that successful pupils are generally in small sized families and in families with relatively good socio-economic conditions. The correlation between school failure and the socio-economic conditions is also noticed among 'returned' pupils in Algeria (see fig.41).

Among our studied population (fig.41), we have the following results:

(a) It is among the 'returned' pupils whose fathers are unskilled workers that we find the least significant number of successful pupils;

(b) The majority of successful pupils live in houses;

(c) The majority of successful pupils have four or less than four brothers and sisters living with them;

On the other hand, we also notice that:

(d) The majority of pupils with failing grades have their fathers as as skilled workers and private business owners;

(e) The majority of failing pupils live in houses;

(f) The majority of failing pupils have more than four brothers and sisters living with them.

Fig.41   'Returned' pupils' socio-economic conditions and their position in school

Successful pupils		Parents' profession				Housing conditions		Number of brothers and sisters			
Schooling level	No.of pupils	C1	C2	C3	C4	Flat	House	0-2	2-4	4-6	More than 6
Orientation	26	1	3	14	8	5	21	12	7	5	2
'Lycée'	17	00	1	4	12	2	15	8	6	2	1
Failing pupils											
Orientation	94	2	19	10	63	9	85	6	15	23	50
'Lycée'	29	00	3	9	17	2	27	2	3	10	14

The column group above "Parents' profession", "Housing conditions", and "Number of brothers and sisters" is headed "Socio-economic conditions".

n = 166   Key: C1 = Agricultural worker
                      C2 = Unskilled worker
                      C3 = Skilled worker
                      C4 = Private business owner

It is hence the family size factor which is, among the socio-economic conditions, the most determinant factor.

Our assumption that pupils whose fathers have a good financial situation and who live in houses would be those who generally are in a successful school position has thus been proved wrong. This is confirmed by the 25 pupils we have interviewed. Indeed, all the pupils living in large families have mentioned the impossibility of working at home. And here is how one of them has described the situation:

> "In Algeria we can be poor and succeed. We
> don't pay for our education, and books are
> free. We can also be rich and fail. Indeed,
> how can one work in a house with ten people
> and where parents have no instruction and can
> provide no help?".

Thus, even a big house becomes a small one because of the big size of the families.

In addition, and as mentioned by the pupils themslves, the parents' level of instruction - as will be seen later - is extremely important in the education of 'returned' pupils.

D.4.3 'Returned' parents' involvement in their children's education

In Algeria as well as in France, Algerian parents do not play any role in their children's education. Handicapped by their lack of instruction and by the belief that education is the task of the school institution, 'returned' parents have a very limited involvement in the education of their children.

D.4.3.1 Parents' support at home

The great majority of 'returned' pupils do not receive any help from their parents at home (see fig.42, below).

Fig.42 Parents' help and encouragement in their children's education

	Pupils' answers			
	Yes			No
Questions asked to pupils	Always	Often	Occasionally	
1. Do your parents help you in your homework?	1	1	4	160
2. Do your parents encourage you to learn Arabic?	12	24	36	94
3. Do your parents help you to read and write Arabic?	2	1	4	159
4. Do your parents help you to speak Arabic?	1	1	3	161

n = 166

It is in the encouragement to learn Arabic that parents manifest some interest. And even here, it is the minority of parents (72 pupils' parents out of 166) that encourage their pupils to learn Arabic. As to the direct help in education, like help in homework, help in reading, writing and speaking Arabic, the participation of parents is, as shown by figure 41, negligible. Indeed, only eighteen pupils mentioned some direct help from their parents.

All pupils questioned on why their parents do not help them in their education at home referred to the parents' level of instruction and, hence, to their inability to provide any help.

The situation is similar to that in France, that is parents' help is very limited because of their level of instruction (see fig.43) below).

Fig.43 'Returned' parents' level of instruction

Level of instruction	Fathers	Mothers
Illiterate	152	160
Primary	11	4
Collège	1	2
Lycée	2	00

n = 166

Only two parents have a secondary level of education, three have been to college and fifteen have had some schooling in the primary level. It is theseparents who provide some help to their children at home.

In addition, their help is mainly in Arabic language for it is the only subject in which they are likely to provide help to their pupils whose level of instruction is higher than their parents'.

Parents who emigrated were the least educated people and hence those who could not find a job in Algeria (Khandriche, 1982). Immigrant parents are almost all illiterate and unable to help their children. However, although encouraging their children to learn Arabic does not require any instruction, it is only 72 parents who provide this encouragement. This is due to the fact that, as already explained in Part C, parents generally believe that education is the school's task.

Paradoxically enough, in all the 52 families we visited parents showed interest in their children's education which they qualified as their major concern. And as in the case of parents in France, to those who returned, interest in education means providing th necessary financial support to their children. We do not believe this is in itself sufficient to make a pupils succeed. Indeed, our results show

that even in families where parents have a good situation but are illiterate, the children are failing in their education. One might argue that the comparative wealth of their parents, in the eyes of the children, outweighs the disadvantages of illiteracy, hence a lack of motivation on the part of these children.

In addition, the families where one parent or both parents have some education and help their children, have successful pupils. We have managed to visit five of these families and we found that:

(a) parents are very keen on education;

(b) they have chosen their children's schools according to the quality of the school;

(c) they help their children regularly and keep permanent contact with teachers;

(d) four of these families pay for private tuition of Arabic language for their children at home;

(e) in these five families pupils generally obtain successful grades in their education and in the Arabic language.

D.4.3.2 Home-school liaison

Only a few parents are members of parents' organisations. Amongthe 52 families visited, only seven fathers are members of these organisations. As to the school activities, only twelve fathers said they attended on a regular basis school activities.

We notice that mothers are totally absent from these activities for, as already mentioned, culture dictates that outside matters are practically reserved to fathers.

As in France, the presence of parents in school life is non-existent and there is little or no home-school liaison, apart from the regular school reports sent home. In addition, we believe that this home-school liaison is even worse in Algeria for the school is a closed

institution in which the presence of extra-school people is not apprecia-
ted much. Parents generally visit the school only in exceptional circum-
stances. The 61 teachers mentioned, as in France, the fathers' visits
to school to inquire about their daughters more than on their sons. It
is only when a pupil is excluded from the school that parents generally
come to see the teacher or the head-teacher.

The majority of teachers referred to rare or totally absent
contacts between them and their pupils' parents (see fig.44, below).

Fig.44 Parents-teachers contacts

Frequency of contact	No. of teachers contacted
Regularly	00
Often	2
Fairly often	4
Rarely	37
Never	18

n = 61

All teachers deplore the lack of contact between them and the
pupils' parents. According to teachers, this is not only the case of
'returned' pupils' parents but the situation concerns all parents.
Indeed, in Algeria, the school is totally cut off from the home and we
certainly need a lot of time to set a new tradition to bring the parents
to understand that the school requires their help and their contribu-
tion. Being myself a teacher, my little experience allows me to add
that some parents do not come to the school even when they are convened
to discuss a matter that concerns their children's education. In this
respect, a head-teacher remarked:

"They do not come even when requested. They
come at hours when pupils finish their classes
to accompany their daughters or when one of
their children is excluded from the school."

The head-teachers interviews asserted that all parents are invited
to attend school activities like theatre representations, inter-class
competitions, and so on. However, according to these same head-teachers
the percentage of parents attending is very low. Parents show no
interest in these activities nor in their children's education. Head-
teachers were unable to give their opinions on the relations between the
school administration, the teachers and the pupils' parents for they do
not exist. As to the relations between 'returned' pupils and teachers,
head-teachers pointed to their positive aspect and added that teachers
are the only people who understand the 'returned' pupils' problems and
try to help them. Indeed, it is often the case that teachers visit the
'returned' parents to try to convince them not to curtail their
daughters' education. At this stage, it is worth presenting one
striking example. A 17 years old girl with excellent school results has
been kept at home by her parents. The only reason given by her parents
to the teachers who went to see them was that she was needed at home to
help her mother look after her little brothers and sisters. This is a
characteristic of Islamic society, not just Algeria's in particular.

The family group's interest is still predominant in some Algerian
traditional families who do not hesitate to sacrifice an individual's
interest for that of the family group. This has been the starting point
to the conflict between Algerian parents and their children in France.
This conflict persists once these families come back to Algeria, for the
children want to live as they did in France and their parents - in
contact with their society of origin - became even more authoritarian

and more traditional than they were in France.

To sum up, 'returned' immigrant parents, following a pattern already established in France, do not generally provide their children with any educational help or support. They are not integrated in school life and leave their children very much to their own devices.

D.4.3.3 Handicapped parents

Algerian 'returned' parents have many handicaps and difficulties which make them become unable to concentrate on their children's education, to provide them with the support they need and to make of the home a suitable environment for education.

D.4.3.3.1 Social, familial, professional and cultural difficulties

'Returned' parents do not point to social rejection like those parents in France. However, they feel that there is a certain difference between them and the other Algerians. As one of the parents remarked:

> "People always call us immigrants and they do
>
> not consider us as 100% Algerians."

The difference is created by two factors. Firstly, 'returned' parents are expected by Algerian society to conform to all its traditions and parents have generally some difficulties in quickly adapting to the Algerian way of life. Secondly, Algerian society tends to judge the 'returned' parents through their children's behaviour considered too liberal and unlike that of other Algerian children. Indeed, 'returned' children continue to have the way of life they used to have in France. The difference between these children and the other Algerian children is more apparent in villages and small towns where people are very attached to their traditions. Local people are, for instance, shocked to see 'returned' girls go into shops or <u>cafés</u> or dressed in what they may consider a very extravagant way especially now

that the Islamic female dress (tchador or hijab) is 'in fashion'.

'Returned' parents are hence often considered as parents who are unable to discipline their children, and as people who have betrayed their traditions. The 'returned' children as well as their parents are often looked at as bad social examples to the society.

For these reasons, we believe that although the social rejection is not clearly manifested, it does exist and it is carefully hidden. These factors can tend to outweigh financial and linguistic advantages. We have asked some parents who did not migrate on whether they prefer their children to have friends among 'returned' children. All answers were negative for these parents consider that 'returned' children have too many bad habits like smoking, drinking, etc.... and would not like their children to be like them.

Thus, there is already some pre-conceived judgement on 'returned' Algerians. And the marginalisation process is already set in motion. Although Algerian 'returned' parents generally succeed in their life in Algeria, they do not totally succeed in being fully accepted within Algerian society.

Only unskilled 'returned' parents have professional difficulties. They are illiterate and generally too old to train for a better job. Economically speaking, they are the most handicapped 'returned' parents and have the lowest social status. Family and cultural difficulties are inter-related. 'Returned' families experience many family problems because of the cultural difficulties. These family difficulties are twofold. On one side there is the relation between the 'returned' parents and their children. Children remain attached to the Western cultural values they acquired in France, and parents want them to conform totally to those of Algerian society. There is hence a permanent conflict between parents and children. On the other hand, the

large family group - or the tribe - would not fully accept 'returned' families unless they became like them and strictly conform to their way of life. The social acceptance of the returned family depends on the degree of conformity of their children to the Algerian traditional values. The tension inherent in this situation cannot be under-estimated, for parents feel rejected because of their children and the latter refuse to be sacrificed to please a family group they do not conform with. One girl has explained the situation in the following terms:

> "In France, we are told not to go out and not to mix with the French. Here, we are asked to marry the cousin to please the family. We are sacrificed for the family. No-one is interested in us, in our education, in our future. We have neither the right to take decisions nor to have feelings."

This is what Toualbi (1984) considers as a deep feeling of frustration. The girl has to satisfy her aspirations and those of her parents who expect submission and obedience. As the girl is unable to satisfy both sides, this dilemma often results in a conflict.

The 'returned' parents' first priority is to gain a position among their familial groups. Being banished by the family group is the worst thing one could do to a person in Algeria. Obsessed by this thought, their children's education is the last thing they would think of. And like parents in France, those who returned to Algeria have very little involvement and interest in their children's education.

Instead of trying to understand their children's difficulties in order to help them and to be a constant source of support to them, the 'returned'parents have only one major objective: to regain their

authority within the family and an "honourable" position within the family group and society as a whole. This leads to very frequent conflicts between parents and children and makes of the 'returned' pupil's home a place where working conditions are far from being suitable. This is borne out by the frequency of references to poor home-working conditions mentioned by 125 'returned' pupils (75.3%).

Hence parents are unable to understand their children, unable to help them and unable or unwilling to place a high priority on making of their homes suitable environments for the education of their children.

D.4.3.3.2 Individual difficulties

It is only a minority of 'returned' parents who have economic difficulties because of their low status jobs. In addition, unlike in France, 'returned' parents do not have any linguistic handicap or communication problems. The only problem they could have at the beginning is to be acquainted with the Algerian bureaucratic system and its complex structure; but this is a problem for all Algerians.

Most parents have good jobs and, as already mentioned, earn more money than many well-educated people; they also possess their own houses and their own cars which they bring with them from France. They consider their conditions of life as successful and do not even consider the need for further education. Indeed, among the 52 families we visited, none of the parents is learning French or Arabic and none of them is interested in evening courses or training whatsoever.

'Returned' parents do not have in Algeria the intellectual difficulties they used to have in France. However, these parents still have a low image of their personality. We believe this is mainly due to their inability to conform to their society of origin and to be like the other Algerian parents. Here is just one father's confession, typical of many others:

"We were more flexible in France because
French society tolerates everything. But,
here, we are obliged to be strict with our
children, especially the girls. It is a
dishonour to have a daughter who smokes or who
goes out with boys. And in Algeria, a man
without honour is a dead man."

We have already pointed in Part C to the very traditional aspect of
the m ajority of Algerian families and to the position of women in these
families. Women are surrounded by an excessive and obsessive surveill-
ance. And the more a father is strict and authoritarian with his
daughter - and his wife - the more it seems he is respected by society
and referred to as a good example. That is why, some Algerian fathers
still take their daughters out of school to marry them very young.
Here, it is important to repeat that a married daughter can, in the view
of some traditional minds, no longer be a source of problems or
dishonour to her father. According to Nawal-El-Saadaoui (1980) this is
typical of all Arab and Islamic societies.

'Returned' parents believe they are considered as weak parents,
unable to gain the indispensable respect from their children to be like
the other Algerian parents and to be also respected by their society of
origin.

Like Algerian parents in France, those who returned to Algeria are
unable to understand their children and their difficulties. That is why
their only attempts to solve their problems consist of radical decisions
like marrying their daughters as soon as possible or stopping their
education when they do not conform to their parents' desires and orders.

Unable also to understand that their contribution to the school is
highly important, they prefer to completely desert this institution and

to consider that education is only the teacher's task.

D.4.3.3.3 The image Algerian parents have of the school

'Returned' Algerian parents do not think that the school is responsible for the conflict between them and thir children. They are pleased to know that their children are having subjects like Islamic education and do not regard the school as an alienating institution. However, among the 52 'returned' families we have visited, 31 parents have clearly shown their dissatisfaction towards their children's schools. The main reasons given by these parents are their children's failure and the inability of the school to make their children learn Arabic and succeed in their education.

To these 'returned'parents as well as to the majority of Algerian parents, the image they have of the school is that it is an institution reserved only for teachers and pupils (Kennouche et al., 1982). They do not feel obliged to visit the school and would rarely accept that teachers are not the only people concerned about the pupils' education.

The answer we had from the 'returned' parents to whom we tried to explain their role as parents, and the necessary co-operation between the home and the school, was that they do not understand educational matters and would be of no help to their children as well as to teachers.

During informal conversations, other attempts were made to try to convince the 'returned' parents that they could have better relations with their children and help them more in their education in being less authoritarian and more understanding of their needs. Parents' answers were generally identical and can be summarised as follows: education is one thing and obedience and respect to parents are another.

Algerian 'returned' parents, like the other Algerian parents, generally consider the school as a place where their children should be

fully occupied in learning. That is why activities like sport, school excursions, etc.... are not appreciated much by parents who do not see any relation between these activities and their childen's education. It must be admitted that theirs is a rather limited view of education.

The 'returned' parents' intellectual handicap makes them have a very restricted image of the school. And it is generally true that parents would like the school environment to be like that of the home. Here is a 'returned' parent's view of the school:

"We send out children to school to learn, not

to play football. In addition, I will never

let my daughter go on an excursion with other

girls and boys."

In this parent's view - and he is not an exception - school excursions have nothing to do with education. We fear it will take a long time - indeed it may never happen - before parents realise that girls as well as boys need to play, rest and have leisure time. Our fear is justified by the parents' attitudes and by the rapidly expanding Islamic extremist movement according to which, "in the God's name", claims an extremely austere and severe way of life in which all leisure activities should be abolished.

D.4.4 The school institution

The Algerian school institution is completely unaware of the 'returned' pupils' presence. Until the academic year 1986-87, nothing special had been done for these children. They were directly schooled without any consideration of their specific needs and particularly language. They were not in significant numbers and did not attract anyone's attention. The fact that they were virtually doomed to fail at school was considered quite normal and was even an expected result. The only explanation we got most of the time was that they fail because they

do not know Arabic. It is hence easy to extend this explanation to the fact that they did not learn Arabic because they were in France ..... because they are immigrants' pupils.

If in Algeria, the difference between 'returned' pupils and the other pupils is not explained in terms of social class, it is however true that the school refers to them as linguistically handicapped pupils and expects them to fail. This is the logic of the Algerian school as far as these 'returned' pupils are concerned. This also reflects the French view, for 'returned' pupils are systematically labelled as inferior pupils because of their language difficulties and are hence pre-destined to fail. At this stage, we believe it is worthwhile reminding the reader that the 61 teachers included in this part of our research have pointed to language as a reason why there is a difference between 'returned' pupils and the others.

Unlike the British school, the Algerian school does not, for instance, deal with pupils' personal problems. Teachers came to the school only for their teaching time. There is little or no attention paid to pastoral aspects of schooling. Teachers do not spend extra time with their pupils and we believe this is why they aren ot very well informed about pupils' domestic or emotional problems, such as their relations with their parents.

Only in 1987 has one measure been taken, and this only to improve their Arabic. This consists in grouping these pupils for intensive Arabic language teaching for one or two years with the intention of directing them all towards the science option. They are going to be all oriented to one option in order to gather them together and to reduce the number of teachers. Hence the only measure taken is only suitable for the school and does not take into account the individual's needs for it is very unlikely that all 'returned' pupils will be interested in

doing science subjects.

D.4.4.1 The Algerian 'returned' pupils: a future unskilled workforce and a socially rejected group

We have many reasons to believe that 'returned' pupils feel socially rejected or at least that they do not feel at home in Algeria and that many of them look to France as their country of origin. One way to make them think otherwise is perhaps to bring Algerian society to accept them with their differences. As suggested by Giles (1977), to make people understand that differences are not automatically harmful. They are rather an enrichment (Page and Thomas, 1984).

Firstly, they have difficulties in being totally integrated and accepted. We have already seen that they do not generally conform to the Algerian traditions which they find, in their words, 'odd', 'old-fashioned' and even 'primitive'.

Secondly, 88 of the 166 'returned' pupils have mentioned their desire to return to France. It is mainly the girls who formulated this desire, for they find it very hard to live in Algeria where they depend entirely on their parents and where they do not have any freedom. In addition, completely dominated by the male's power, Algerian society does not consider women's wishes, desires, freedom, etc. Their only place is generally thought to be at home for house tasks and looking after the children. An Algerian 'returned' girl has qualified her position as that of a slave:

> "We are man's slaves. I cannot stay here, and
>
> I will take the first opportunity to go back
>
> to France."

Women generally exist to serve men and to conform to their desires. This is a position 'returned' girls categorically reject and this is why th majority of them (51 girls out of 64) have mentioned their desire to

return to France.

Thirdly, only 80 'returned' pupils feel more Algerian than French and 42 feel more French than Algerian. Among these 42, 25 are girls. Furthermore, we believe that there is very little hope, at least for our sample of 'returned' pupils, becoming totally integrated in Algerian society. Only thirteen of them said they feel totally Algerian. All 'returned' pupils continue to use French more than any other language and, like those Algerian pupils in France, they refuse an unconditional integration and continue to behave as they used to do. The 25 pupils we have interviewed pointed to the fact that they experience the same difficulties as when they were in France. That is, they are different from the French and refused to be French-like. In the same way, they are - in many aspects - different from the other Algerians and would like to be accepted with their differences. In this respect a girl pupil said:

"Why should we change? We have the right to

be different. It is with our differences that

people must accept or reject us."

Information collected from out interviews clearly shows that these 'returned' pupils have realised that they are different from the other Algerians and that their difference is an obstacle to them being completely accpeted by Algerian society.

Fourthly, questioned on their teachers' attitudes to them, 135 of the 166 'returned' pupils mentioned that their teachers' attitudes to them are different from those they have towards the other Algerian pupils. Pupils referred to the way they are called by teachers (some teachers call them 'the immigrants'), to the fact that they are rarely questioned by their teachers and to the fact that they are most of the time totally ignored in the classroom. During our class visits we

observed that, in most cases, 'returned' pupils sit at the back of the classroom and are completely cut off from class activities.

Although it is very unlikely that official people would recognise the social rejection of 'returned' pupils within the school institution and society at large, we have all the evidence to believe that these pupils are in a situation very similar to that in which Algerian immigrants' children are in France.

As to the future social positions these 'returned' pupils are going to occupy, we also believe that they are very unlikely to be among the Algerian intellectual elite or well-educated people. The great majority of them are failing at school and no-one is expecting them to succeed. Indeed, we have, in our interviews, noticed a total resignation and a very low motivation among these 'returned' pupils.

Even their chances of training at vocational centres are greatly reduced for these centres do not exist in a sufficient number to absorb all school leavers (Kennouch et al., 1982). Moreover, these centres generally train school leavers to become builders, painters, electricians, mechanics and the like. And now that Algeria is facing an economic crisis, jobs became very rare and the vocationally trained school leavers have very little chance of finding a job. The only 'returned' pupils likely to find jobs are girls when, that is, their parents are willing to let them work. They are required in secretarial jobs in French and have the advantage of the French language. 'Returned' pupils in Algeria have social integration problems and very limited job prospects.

D.4.4.2 A negative school context

Algerian 'returned' pupils are culturally different from other Algerian pupils. They live in two different cultural codes: the French one which they acquired during their peiod spent in France and the

Algerian one they are trying to accommodate. They represent a particu-
lar group within the state school in Algeria. And if we cannot refer to
the Algerian school in multi-cultural and multi-racial terms, we however
believe that, as suggested by Craft (1984), all societies are culturally
plural and that the specific difficulties 'returned' pupils have call
for an adequate and appropriate school context adapted to their specific
needs.

However, this is not the case, for teachers have not received any
special training to teach to 'returned' pupils. In addition, the
methods used to tecah Arabic to these pupils do not respond to their
abilities and are meant for the whole class. Hence, instead of trying
to adapt the methods to 'returned' pupils, these latter are implicitly
asked to adapt themselves to the class level and requirements or .... to
fail.

Teachers are aware of this situation. Indeed most of those
questioned (88.52%) remarked that the teaching methods and programmes do
not suit 'returned' pupils. But they can do nothing for all decisions
for any change are centralised and must come from the Ministry of
Education.

The other aspect of the school context is that 'returned' pupils do
not see any logical relation between them as Algerians and some curricu-
lum subjects. It is the pupils we interviewed that revealed to us the
fact that, just as Algerian children in French schools do not seem to
appreciate the learning of French history and would prefer to know
something about their country, the 'returned' pupils think that they are
forced to learn too much about the Islamic and Arabic world and would
like to learn more about their country's history, culture and
traditions. As one of the these pupils explained:

"In France, we are taught what is taught to
the French. Nothing about Algeria. Here, we
are taught the Arab world's history and we
study Arab poets. The worst is that we are
taken for Arabs and are taught classical
Arabic as if it were our mother tongue."

This situation applies to the 'returned' pupils as well as to the other
Algerian pupils. Indeed, many Algerians started a few years ago to
claim - through Berber movements - their idntity and culture as
Algerians.

The Algerian school considers the 'returned' pupils' characteri-
stics - particularly the language difficulty - in terms of handicaps for
which, just as in France, no pedagogical action is forthcoming. This
was the reality of the Algerian school context until the beginning of
this academic year.

Since the school considers the 'returned' pupils' needs as
handicaps which make them fail, it is not surprising that instead of
speaking of the school's inability to adapt to these pupils, we rather
explain their failure by referring solely to their linguistic handicap.
This hides the real aspect of the problem and allows the school to
justify the 'returned' failure in terms of handicaps. Indeed, the 40
head-teachers asserted that language is the main handicap because of
which the great majority of 'returned' pupils are oriented to vocational
training.

Hence, the school does not take into account the reasons for the
'returned' pupils' failure and prefers to operate a systematic orienta-
tion of these pupils to vocational training. We believe this process is
discriminatory and does not allow the 'returned' pupils to reach their
real potential. Placed with other pupils who know Arabic better than

them, the 'returned' pupils start their education in Algeria in a position of weakness and inequality of opportunity. Just as the French school is not adequately prepared to receive Algerian immigrants' children, we think that the Algerian school, in its present organisation, is inadequately providing for 'returned' pupils.

D.4.4.3 Discrimination in evaluation, selection and orientation procedures

'Returned' pupils are implicitly expected to be as good in language as the other Algerian pupils. They are not linguistically prepared before their schooling in Algeria. This form of schooling in itself is discriminatory for it puts the 'returned' pupils in a handicapped and an inferior starting position.

In addition, the behaviour of 'returned' pupils within the Algerian school is not highly appreciated by teachers to whom discipline within the class, and regular class attendance are seen as highly important, affecting as they do the pupils' grades and orientation. Indeed, among the 40 head-teachers included in our research, 26 have mentioned negative attitudes of the 'returned' pupils to the school and 35 pointed to the fact that absenteeism is more frequent among the 'returned' pupils than the others. The Algerian school is very keen on the pupils' discipline and behaviour. To give an example, even a good pupil can be excluded from the school because of his bad behaviour. Here again the school does not try to understand why the 'returned' pupils are different in their behaviour at school. The only logic of the school is that they fail because they are unable to respond to its requirements.

This increases our evidence to believe that the school has a discriminatory process to evaluate the 'returned' pupils' activities. These pupils are used to a more liberal school environment in France and have some difficulties in adapting themselves to the Algerian school

environment which is more authoritarian and more rigid. These difficulties are not considered in terms of differences between individuals and hence of differences in needs, but rather in terms of abilities. This approach allows the school to consider the 'returned' pupils' failure as a logical end to their education.

D.4.4.4 Disappointed parents

'Returned' parents have a very passive attitude to the school which they very rarely contact. They do not think their presence at school is necessary and expect the school to educate their children and to make them succeed.

This hope is particularly high among 'returned' parents for they believe their children will succeed better in Algeria than in France. And we have seen that this belief has led some parents to send their children to Algeria to stay with relatives and to continue their schooling in Algeria.

Totally ignorant of the school system and its requirements for success, 'returned' parents think that their children will succeed simply because they are in 'their' country and because they are no longer foreign pupils in foreign schools. We have seen that this is far from being the case of 'returned' pupils who can, in some way, be considered as 'immigrant' pupils in Algeria.

Hence, 'returned' parents feel deeply disappointed when they realise that the Algerian school has not brought into realisation their hopes for their children's education. Indeed, the majority of the families we visited (31 out of 52) are not satisfied with their children's schools because of their failing position at school. The 'returned' parents' disappointment makes some of them feel guilty and regret their return to Algeria. One parent said:

"I have been told, before my return, that my
children will be schooled and will have no
problems. But now, I am told that my children
cannot follow the teaching programmes because
they do not have a good knowledge of Arabic.
What are they going to do when they leave the
school? Nothing! Not even much chance to
enter a professional training centre. In
France, they have, at least more vocational
training opportunities."

Parents point to the school as being responsible for their pupils'
educational failure. We do partly agree for the school is in practice
doing very little to help the 'returned' pupils.

When faced with the results their children get at school, the
'returned' parents, who first trusted and over-estimated the Algerian
schoolby believing in its power to instruct, educate and bring success
to their children, are deeply disappointed. And this is also one of the
reasons why they desert the school institution.

D.4.5 The psychological problems of the 'returned' Algerian child in
Algeria

The Algerian policy towards the return of immigrant workers and
their children does not consider these people's psychological difficul-
ties. An insertion in the Algerian society generally means accommoda-
tion for the 'returned' families, jobs for fathers and, starting from
the 1986-87 academic year, intensive Arabic language teaching to the
schooled children. Other difficulties are not considered, for the
general opinion is that these people are Algerians and will not have
only difficulties in their country. We have already mentioned the
'returned' parents' problems and their struggle to be accepted within

their family group. As to the 'returned' pupils, our research results tend to show that they have other difficulties of which educationists seem to be totally ignorant.

D.4.5.1 The first contact with Algerian society

In the section dealing with Algerian children in France, we pointed to the shock newcomers to France experience because of the difference between their rural background and the way of life in the French cities.

Once 'returned' pupils are in Algeria, this shock is, in many ways, similar to the one their older compatriots have experienced when they first went to France. Indeed, the behaviour of these 'returned' pupils is very French-like and their culture and habits are, in many ways, different from the ones they discover in Algerian society which has remained quite traditional and fairly resistant to Western norms and traditions (Muller, 1984). The 'returned' pupils who were in conflict with French society and their own families in France, now find themselves in conflict with Algerian society as well as with their families in Algeria.

Our research strongly suggests that these pupils want to remain what they are - that is neither completely French nor completely Algerian - and Algerian society and their families want them to change and to become like the other Algerian children. These children who were already rejecting, in France, their parents' traditional values based on religion and the family common interest doscover that, once in Algeria, their parents became more obsessed by the idea of bringing their children to conform to these traditional values. The situation is even worse when we know that it is not only the family group but the whole of society that is expecting these 'returned' pupils to observe strictly the cultural values and traditions in Algeria.

The 'returned' pupils' first contact with Algerian society is, most of the time, a harmful experience which is a source of psychological problems to these children. It is very often the case that they feel unwanted and even hated. The 25 pupils with whom we conducted intensive interviews revealed to us their problems in very desperate words. One of them remarked:

> "I thought I would be happy to live in Algeria, but I realise this was a dream. I do not feel at home because I am too different from the others. My father is too authoritarian with me. And wherever I go, I hear people say 'here is the immigrants' son'."

In addition, assertions like "people do not like us", "we are told to go back home" and "in France, we were not in our country and in Algeria we feel we are not much welcome" are very frequent among the pupils we interviewed.

D.4.5.2 The relations of the Algerian 'returned' pupils with Algerian society

We already explained how the Algerian immigrants' child identity is disturbed in France and how he negotiates his identity in French society. We also mentioned that these pupils' identity is first shaped at home and altered once they are schooled and in permanent contact with the French values different from those of the home environment.

In their double negotiations - with the home and French society - Algerian immigrants' children had to have their own culture, in their own words "a culture of immigrants". When they are in Algeria, they are once again constrained to change and to be like the majority or ...... to be rejected. In this respect, a pupil said:

> "Everywhere we are asked to be like the
> others. Which country will allow us to be
> ourselves?"

'Returned' pupils would like to exist in Algeria with their differences. These differences are rejected within Algerian society. And it is very often the case that 'returned' pupils, like those Algerian pupils in France, adopt circumstantial changes in their way of life to face their difficulties. This, as already remarked, leads the pupils to have an unstable and a continuously altered identity. This is particularly noticed in their answers as to which ethnic community they think they belong (see fig.45, below).

Fig.45 The cultural and ethnic identity of 'returned' pupils

Different statements proposed to pupils	No. of pupils
1. I feel more Algerian than French	80
2. I feel more French than Algerian	42
3. I belong somewhere in between	29
4. I feel totally Algerian	13
5. I do not know	02
6. I feel totally French	00

n = 166

The most striking example is that in France only 12 pupils said that they feel more French than Algerian whereas in Algeria, it is 42 pupils (among which 25 girls) who asserted they feel more French than Algerian. We were not expecting this result for we were assuming that a permanent contact with Algerian society will make pupils feel Algerian or at least more Algerian than French. Our explanation of this

situation is that:

(a) in France, they refuse to identity themselves with French society in which they feel unwanted and rejected and,

(b) once in Algeria, they realise that they have more difficulties with French society than with Algerian society.

This is confirmed by the pupils themselves, who think they were more at ease in France. This feeling is particularly increased by their disappointment at recognising that Algerian society is not made for them and does not allow them to enjoy the same freedom as they had enjoyed in France. Moreover, they realise that Algerian school does not consider their difficulties and condemns them to an inevitable failure.

Our results show that the totality of failing pupils did not show a clear belonging to one or other ethnic group.

If Algerian pupils in France become rapidly close to French society habits by learning the French language and being very French-like, 'returned' pupils in Algeria show a great resistance to become Algerian-like. They continue to speak French and to maintain the habits they used to have in France. They generally succeed in having good relations with pupils of their age. Indeed, among the 166 pupils, 150 have mentioned frequent and very frequent relations with pupils of their age, and only sixteen (all girls) have mentioned rare relations.

The individual relations established between the pupils are often disturbed by the parents. First, all parents do not want their girls to mix up with boys. And second, the non-immigrant Algerian parents, as already mentioned, would rather prefer their children not to have friends among 'returned' pupils for they think they have a Western-way of life which is a bad example for their children.

'Returned' pupils do realise they are marginalised and unwanted, because they present some differences which are understood and accepted

neither at school nor at home nor within Algerian society

D.4.5.3 'Returned' children's relationships within the family

The situation observed in France is similar to the one we have in Algeria. That is the relationships between 'returned' parents and their children are in perpetual conflict.

In addition, we believe this conflict is even more crucial in Algeria for the following reasons:

(a) this conflict started in France where parents try to impose their traditional views over their children;

(b) the children generally adopt French values which they consider as modern and refuse to conform to their parents' way of life considered as inferior;

(c) parents in France tend to be more tolerant and give their children a certain freedom, especially to boys; this tolerance is due to the absence of the large family groups in France;

(d) once parents are back in Algeria, they aspire to be like the other parents and to be accepted and respected by their family group;

(e) this is only possible if they bring their children to conform to the traditional requirements of the family group;

(f) as the children are already used to a certain freedom they want to keep, they refuse to conform.

One outcome of this situation is that 'returned' parents adopt a hard attitude towards their children who, in turn, refuse to change. This leads to disastrous parents-children relationships and largely contributes to make of the 'returned' pupil's home a very unhappy environment.

There is hence a complete divorce between the 'returned' pupils and their parents inability to exercise full control over their children. The only difference between the situation in France is that 'returned'

parents have themselves to respond to the large family group require-
ments.

Both parents and children are victims of the differences that exist
between them and Algerian society apparently unable to understand and
accept these differences. And we believe that children suffer more of
these differences, for first they are more imbued than their parents
with the French culture, and secondly they are at ease neither within
their family nor within Algerian society. As in France, girls seem to
be more revolted than boys and see in the way they are treated by their
parents a form of discrimination. That is why more girls than boys feel
they are more French than Algerian and would like to go back to France.

All the girls we spoke to revealed their dramatic situation at home
and pointed to the impossibility of thinking of education when they are
in disagreement with their parents. Parents' discrimination based on
the difference between girls and boys makes the girls feel they are in
an inferior position.

> "We can manage on our own. However, the
>
> problem is that our parents do not trust us
>
> and want to decide everything for us."

This lack of trust on behalf of the parents disturbs the 'returned'
girls and the result can be one of two extreme reactions: either a
total submission to, or a total rejection of, the parents' authority.

The teachers' and head-teachers' position is very much like that of
the parents, for those we spoke to have mentioned that these girls are
no longer in France and have to be like the other Algerian girls. The
other drama is that when speaking to teachers, we do not gain the
impression that we are dealing with educationists capable of under-
standing the pupils' problems and difficulties. Indeed, the Algerian
school is even more subject-centred than the French one. It reflects

the image of Algerian society where a father commands, a child obeys ...

and a teacher teaches. And, instead of saying for instance that a pupil

does not concentrate on his education because he has too many problems

and difficulties, we would simply say that he doesn't want to work or

why don't we want to be like the others?

D.4.6 Algerian 'returned' pupils' attitudes and aspirations

The Algerian 'returned' pupils' attitudes and aspirations have been

investigated according to the same approach adopted in Part C.

D.4.6.1 Attitudes to the school

The completion of items 'what I like most about the school' and

'what I dislike most about the school' has allowed us to recognise

pupils with negative and positive attitudes to the school institution in

general, that is teachers, education, the school, etc... A comparison

between the pupils' attitudes to the school and their school positions

shows that the majority of successful pupils have a positive attitude to

the school whereas the majority of failing pupils have a negative

attitude (see fig.46). This is to be expected, of course.

The other indications given by the 'returned' pupils are similar to

those of the Algerian pupils in France. Indeed, the failing pupils with

positive attitudes to the school have generally mentioned what they like

most, things like sport, excursions, meeting friends, etc... Whereas

the failing pupils with negative attitudes have generally mentioned

their teachers, discipline and the school-work as what they dislike most

at school.

Fig.46 Relation between 'returned' pupils' school results and their attitudes to the school

	No. of pupils	Pupils expressing generally positive views on school	Pupils expressing generally negative views on school
Pupils with successful school results	43	36	7
Pupils with failing school results	123	12	111

n = 166

Our results also show that what is disliked at school by the failing pupils (that is, work, teachers, the school itself ...), is generally liked by the category of successful pupils with positive attitudes to the school. As to the seven successful pupils with negative attitudes to the school, they all mentioned, as what they dislike most about the school, the strict discipline within the school and the excessive authority of teachers over the pupils.

We can say that successful pupils in Algeria as in France generally like the school as an educational institution whereas failing pupils are keener on the leisure aspect of the school and tend to rather like activities like sport, school excursions, etc ... Moreover, the school discipline is more mentioned in Algeria than in France. This is certainly due to the fact that discipline is a more important factor, in the Algerian school where corporal punishment is sometimes used although strictly forbidden (Nedjai, 1984), and to which 'returned' pupils have difficulties to adapt.

D.4.6.2 'Returned' pupils' attitudes to their home and their parents

In the item 'what I like most at home', the 'returned' pupils have mentioned the same things as the Algerian pupils in France. However, we have two differences. Firstly, parents are less mentioned in Algeria than in France, whereas the brothers and sisters are more frequent in the 'returned' pupils' answers. Secondly, receiving friends is also rarely mentioned by the 'returned' pupils. We do believe that these differences are due to the fact that:

(a) returned parents became more authoritarian vis-a-vis their children in Algeria and that the parent-child conflict has taken on a new level of incidence in Algeria; this widens the gap between the parents and their children and causes the parent-child relationships to deteriorate even more than in France;

(b) 'returned' pupils feel closer to their brothers and sisters than to the other family members and that there is a formation of two distinct and opposed groups within returned families: the children on one hand and the other family members on the other;

(c) returned families, more tolerant in France, became very traditional in Algeria and hence closed to the outside world; that is why 'returned' pupils rarely mention receiving friends. They are not allowed to receive friends in the same way they used to do in France.

Thus, the successful pupils generally described the home as a place where they do their homework, rest and be with their brothers and sisters who, we believe, are the only people whom they really feel at ease with. The failing pupils, on their side did not refer much to the home as a place where they rest or listen to music and receive friends. Indeed, the most frequent elements mentioned by this category of pupils are being with their brothers and sisters and far from the school.

Certain home activities mentioned by the pupils in France - like listening to music and receiving friends - are less frequent in Algeria where returned families, in their desperate effort to conform to their society of origin, suppress everything that, in their eyes, does not conform to the Algerian traditions. Listening to the pop music will become listening to Koran and receiving friends will become receiving family members.

Hence, all environments - even that of the home - in which 'returned' pupils evolve are different from the ones they used to live in, in France.

In the item concerning the 'returned' pupils' attitudes to their parents, we notice that parents are described in more negative terms than in France. Indeed, even the pupils who have referred to their parents as supportive and encouraging mention their excessive authority and their lack of comprehension. This is also due to the fact that returned parents become more authoritarian and more possessive once they are back in their society of origin. As one girl explained:

> "My father has changed much since we have been
>
> in Algeria. He started praying and wants us
>
> all to do the same. He also became very hard
>
> with us."

Indeed, the returned parents operate a change in their habits in order to be like the other fathers. A good father must pray and bring his children to obey and 'respect' him.

The 'returned' pupils are not prepared to understand and accept this sudden change in their parents. Only 46 'returned' pupils (31 sucessful and 15 failing pupils) have positive attitudes to their parents. There is indeed a very low and negative image of parents among the 'returned' pupils. The image is described by pupils in terms like:

- "people who bully me"

- "very hard people"

- "enemies"

- "people who imprison me"

- "people who make me become unhappy"

- etc .....

Hence, the majority of 'returned' pupils do not see in their parents a source of help and comprehension necessary to every child. The home, perhaps the only place where 'returned' pupils can have some comfort and help is, because of the parents' attitudes, rather an unfavourable environment to the 'returned' pupils' education and life in general. This is another reason why the majority of these pupils mentioned bad working conditions at home.

D.4.6.3 Future aspirations and attitudes to the self

All 'returned' pupils have mentioned high educational aspirations and a high ambition to succeed in life most of the time associated with success in education. However, in the 'returned' pupils' answers to the item 'One day I would like to ...', there is a clear manifestation of their unhappiness at school as well as at home. It is very often the case to have answers like "I like studies but I do not like the school" or "I will go back to France if I can". The same call for more comprehension on behalf of the parents is found among the 'returned' pupils and particularly among girls.

It is also among the pupils with negative attitudes to their parents and the home that we find the majority (112) of pupils who mentioned the desire to leave the home, the school or to return to France, and also the majority of failing pupils (97 out of 123). These same pupils also mentioned a high dissatisfaction with Algerian society and did not mention any desire for family plans or future plans in

Algeria. They certainly - as confirmed during our interviews - look forward to leave Algeria as soon as they can.

The other interesting result obtained in the item 'One day I would like to ...', and which was rare among the Algerian children in France, is that 'returned' pupils, whether successful or failing, have nearly all mentioned the desire to have more freedom and to be more trusted by their parents. In some answers, the word 'freedom' is even underlined by the pupils. Although these 'returned' pupils did not really enjoy great freedom in France, once in Algeria, they lose every liberty they have been used to and see their life as very limited. As one of them explained:

> "In France, we used to go to the cinema, the
>
> swimming pool, the stadium. We used to meet
>
> friends, to invite people around and visit
>
> them, etc..... Here, apart from the <u>lycée</u>
>
> and the home, there is not much to do."

We have all the evidence from these 'returned' pupils to believe that they adapt very little to Algerian society which they reject and which they feel rejects them. In addition, their relations with their parents become worse in Algeria and the school institution is totally ignorant of their difficulties and needs. That is why, we believe the desire to leave the home, the school and the country is very frequently mentioned by the Algerian 'returned' pupils.

As to the items 'Now and again I realise ....', 'Sometimes when I think about myself ....', and 'What I like most about myself', these cues have allowed us to have an idea of the 'returned' pupils' self-feeling, evaluation and judgement. The majority of failing pupils (97 out of 123) have presented a low image of themselves whereas the majority of successful pupils (38 out of 43) have rather praised

themselves and presented their school success as something they are proud of.

It is also among the 97 pupils with a low self-image that we find those who realised that their 'return' to Algeria is a mistake and who would like to go back to France.

'Returned' pupils with failing results do not generally associate their future with a definitive stay in Algeria, but rather with the idea of returning to France.

As far as attitudes to other elements, like language, culture, and so on, are concerned, we have used a sentence completion of fourteen items. The results obtained with the 'returned' pupils are shown in fig.47.

Fig.47 'Returned' pupils'attitudes to languages, culture, personality, etc...

Different items	Pupils: answers		
	Yes	No	I don:t know
1. It is important for me to maintain my mother tongue in Algeria	66	57	43
2. I need to maintain my mother tongue for my culture and my personality	72	50	44
3. Classical Arabic is important to me in Algeria	140	12	14
4. I want to speak Classical Arabic to feel Algerian	52	40	74
5. To learn Classical Arabic will allow me to maintain my identity	47	42	77
6. To learn Classical Arabic will allow me to maintain my culture	46	40	80
7. To learn Classical Arabic will allow me to find a job	145	10	11
8. To learn Classical Arabic will allow me to continue my education in Algeria	150	06	10
9. To learn Classical Arabic will allow me to succeed in my life in Algeria	80	62	24
10. To learn Classical Arabic will allow me to read the Koran	14	129	23
11. Classical Arabic is an interesting language	40	68	50
12. To know Classical Arabic will allow me to feel at ease in Algeria	17	109	40
13. It is interesting to study even though we are not sure to find a job after our studies are finished	92	51	23
14. I prefer to continue my education in Classical Arabic	40	120	06

n = 166

Item 1.   Returned families, in their process of conforming to the large
family group, have also to show that they still speak their mother
tongue. Hence, the mother tongue becomes more familiar to the
'returned' pupils among which 66 find it important to maintain their
mother tongue in Algeria whereas, in France, only eighteen pupils have
mentioned the importance of maintaining their mother tongue. Although
all the 166 'returned' pupils continue to have French as the most spoken
and used language, their mother tongue is becoming more and more
important to them especially when they realise that some of the family
members can communicate only in their mother tongue.

Item 2.   In Algeria, and particularly in some Berber tribes, the mother
tongue is strongly linked to the individual's culture and personality.
'Returned' pupils who speak their mother tongue are undoubtedly more
easily integrated and accepted within the large family group. Speaking
one's mother tongue is often recognised as a sufficient proof showing
that an individual has remained loyal to his culture, to his personality
and to his family group. That is why the proportion of 'returned'
pupils who think they need to maintain their mother tongue is higher
than that of the pupils who do not.

Item 3.   140 pupils, that is the greatest majority, think Arabic is
important to them in Algeria. This Arabic language importance is mainly
associated with education for 'returned' pupils realise that it is the
medium of education and the first and main problem they face once
schooled in Algeria.

Item 4.   Speaking Classical Arabic is not associated much with feeling
Algerian. Indeed, we can speak Arabic without being Algerian as well as
we can be Algerian without speaking Arabic. In addition, the 'returned'
pupils realise that French is more spoken than Classical Arabic which
remains only a medium of instruction at school.

<u>Items 5 and 6</u>. Only 47 'returned' pupils think that learning Arabic will allow them to maintain their identity and 46 associate their culture with the Classical Arabic language. Like in Item 4, 'returned' pupils consider the Arabic language as a school subject and are not really convinced of the relation between them and this language. Moreover, the Arabic language is not really seen as a cultural agent among Algerian families. Rather, its status is more related to instruction and education than to culture, identity and personality.

<u>Items 7 and 8</u>. The Classical Arabic language is considered more as a means to gain access to education and to find a job. Indeed, the majority of 'returned' pupils think Arabic will allow them to continue their education and to find a job in Algeria.

<u>Item 9</u>. As far as succeeding in life is concerned, only 80 pupils think Arabic will allow them to succeed. Less pupils associate Arabic with success in life than with education or jobs in Algeria. We have two main reasons. Firstly, 88 pupils have mentioned their desire to return to France and hence succeeding in life does not mean to all pupils succeeding in Algeria. Secondly, people educated in French succeed as well as those educated in Arabic. This is particularly true at the university level where subjects like medical studies, electronics, maths, physics, etc... are still taught in French and lead to qualifications highly appreciated on the job-market.

<u>Item 10</u>. 'Returned' pupils are not very keen on religious matters. Reading Koran is not among their priorities. In addition, Koran can be read in French.

<u>Item 11</u>. Only 40 pupils find Arabic as an interesting language. At this stage, we do not believe that this is due to the already existing attitude to Arabic among these pupils before their 'return', to the fact that they all feel obliged to learn a language they were considering as

inferior compared to other languages and to the fact that the 'returned' pupils are not prepared to understand the usefulness of this language and to learn it in adequate circumstances with adequate teaching methods.

Item 12. We have already pointed to the position of the Arabic language in Algeria. Its use ends once the class is over. The classroom is the only place where these 'returned' children as well as other children, use Arabic. That is why they do not see any relation between learning Arabic and feeling at ease in Algeria. They communicate in French and, apart from the classroom, we do not see any other place where they are likely to have communication problems because of the Classical Arabic language.

Item 13. The majority accept the idea of studying although education does not always guarantee a job. This is the general opinion within returned Algerian families. The parents' level of instruction is very low and they would like their children to be better educated than them. It is, in their view, better to have some instruction and to be jobless rather than to be illiterate and jobless.

Item 14. Only 40 'returned' pupils prefer to continue their education in Arabic. These are the pupils who do not have language difficulties and who are successful in the Arabic language as well as in their education in general.

To conclude, we would say that:

(a) like those Algerian pupils in France, the 'returned' ones associate their identity, culture and personality more with their mother tongue than with the Arabic language;

(b) Arabic is mainly considered as a means which will help them to gain education and to find a job;

(c) 'returned' pupils still continue to use French whenever possible and their attitudes towards Arabic remain generally negative.

They recognise it is the main factor that makes them fail in their education and yet they cannot bring themselves to be motivated to acquire it.

The 'returned' pupils with a successful position at school generally think it is important to maintain their mother tongue (31) and see a relation between their mother tongue and their culture and personality (27). All successful pupils replied that Arabic is important to them in Algeria but only eleven of them want to speak Arabic to feel Algerian and fourteen see a relation between learning Arabic and maintaining their identity. Successful pupils are also those who would like to learn Arabic to find a job in Algeria, to continue their education and to succeed in life.

However, only eleven successful pupils think that learning Arabic will allow them to read the Koran and six of them think that knowing Arabic will help them to feel at ease in Algeria. All the 40 pupils who find Arabic interesting and who prefer to continue their education in this language are successful pupils. Among the 92 pupils who think it is interesting to study even if they are not sure to find a job after their education, we have 39 successful pupils.

Successful pupils are generally those who have positive attitudes towards their mother tongue, their culture, their own identity, the Arabic language and education which they find interesting, although it does not always guarantee a future job.

Conclusion

The return of Algerian immigrants is, according to the Algerian policy towards immigration, conceived as a means to recover the national sovereignty and to eliminate the emigration phenomenon considered as one

of the undesirable outcomes of a colonial past. It is also seen as a means of blackmail used by France in all its various negotiations with Algeria. Hence the reinsertion process is widely ambitious and, according to Bourénane (1985), the Algerian government forsees the reinsertion of 400,000 immigrants between 1981 and 1990.

However, these immigrants are in an exterior position vis-a-vis their society of origin and are somehow disconnected from the different values of Algerian society (Gaspard, 1984; Nair, 1984). We have highlighted how difficult it is to Algerian returned parents to regain a social position within their family group and Algerian society at large.

The return of Algerian immigrants and their reinsertion could not be, as generally believed, automatically realised. The many difficulties returned Algerians have in Algeria indeed clearly show that their return and reinsertion require the definition and the implementation of a specific and appropriate programme of action, the aim of which is to prepare for their return. Ensuring housing and jobs for parents and adequate schooling for their children are, in our view, basic provisions to start with.

The 'returned' pupils are a more marginalised population than their parents. Their integration in Algerian society is more difficult than that of their parents. All the difficulties they have at home, at school and within society deeply influence their education and largely contribute to their excessive failure at school.

Reinsertion should not only mean the participation of the returned parents to the economic life of the country. It must particularly concern the children who are a more sensitive population and whose situation proves that they are tacitly supposed to adapt easily in Algeria. We have seen that this was not the case and, unless we

seriously take into account their many difficulties and specific needs, the 'returned' pupils will continue to be an educationally and socially failing group in Algeria.

Assimilationist policies towards immigrants have failed in many other countries. Algeria should learn from the mistakes in the past made, among others, by the French government; mistakes which have had a detrimental effect on Algeria's own people. It is now time, therefore to make some specific proposals: recommendations aimed at Algerian society in general and those responsible for education policy and implementation in particular. This will be the main purpose of the final part of the thesis.

PART E Recommendations and their evaluation by experts and officials

Introduction

The education of Algerian immigrants' children in Algeria and France is not the only task of the school institution. It is a phenomenon which includes, not only the teachers, but also the parents, the pupils, educationists, policy-makers, and others. Our recommendations are drawn in the light of our research results and it is our concern to relate these recommendations to those factors which bear upon the education of Algerian immigrants' children and which, it is hoped, will bring a better understanding and an improvement of these children's education and life in general. We are only dealing, at this stage, with the main recommendations we reached as a result of our investigations. These recommendations, as stated, are statements of situations to be aimed for. They are what we consider as vital points which should be seriously taken into account in any future policy implementation dealing with the education of Algerian immigrants' children. Other more specific recommendations have already been referred to and discussed in the text.

To evaluate our recommendations, to gauge the possibility of their applicability and to see how experts and officials in both countries respond to them, we have used a questionnaire (see Appendix A, questionnaire to officials and experts) which allowed us to gain some useful opinions, suggestions and comments. Among the 37 (out of 120) experts and officials who replied to our questionnaire, we have:

In Algeria (18 respondents out of 60)

(a) 3 academic heads

(b) 2 police chief-constables

(c) 6 university researchers

(d) 5 top officials (Ministry of Education and other Ministries)

(e) 2 deputies from the National Assembly

In France (19 respondents out of 60)

(a) 2 academic heads

(b) 7 university researchers (among whom 2 occupy top positions in the
     political scene)

(c) 2 officials from the Ministry of Education

(d) 1 official from the Ministry of Justice

(e) 5 officials from Algerian institutions in France

These people, among whom some are already cited in our work, have
not only evaluated our recommendations but they also provided us with
useful comments which we consider as a complement to our work and an
enrichment of our own recommendations.

We use in this part of the thesis the following abbreviations to
refer to experts and officials in Algeria and France:

A.O. = Algerian official   A.R. = Algerian researcher

F.O. = French official   F.R. = French researcher

Recommendation 1

To ameliorate the socio-economic conditions of immigrant workers
(teaching them to read and write, training, social promotion).

Evaluation:

Oui!	Oui	Oui?	Non?	Non	NON!
26	11	00	00	00	00

Suggestions/comments:

(a) F.R. Particularly housing and employment.

(b) A.R. (working in France). Teaching immigrant workers to read and
     write does not bring immediate results in their daily life; they
     most particularly need to have access to better housing and better
     jobs.

(c) A.O.   This is of paramount importance but there is no real

failure of immigrants' children.

(h) A.R. Parents are already interested. It is the school institution which has difficulties in being in contact with them because it is not prepared to such an action as this.

We believe that if there is the risk of ideological alienation (b), there is also the evidence from our studied population that the more parents are interested in their children's education the more these children are aware of its value and the more successful they are. As to the risk of alienation itself, we do not see the way that immigrant parents could avoid it. They acquire some of the French values which they find difficult to forget and get rid of once they return to Algeria. Clearly, there is the impossibility to live for 20 years or more in a foreign country without adopting some of its values and without espousing, at least partly, its dominant ideology. This can be particularly noticed in the difference in the degree of tolerance Algerian immigrants have vis-a-vis their children in France and Algeria.

As far as comments (d) and (c) are concerned, we believe that, here again, the fact appears that people are not in direct contact with Algerian immigrant families. Indeed, if immigrant parents seem to understand the value of education, they do not, as already discussed in our work, show any real involvement and efficient help. Their understanding is very limited and does not correspond to what is expected from them as parents.

Recommendation 3

To bring Algerian parents to take part in the life of the school institution in France and Algeria.

Evaluation:

Oui!	Oui	Oui?	Non?	Non	NON!
21	6	2	4	2	2

political will in France to bring immigrants into better socio-economic conditions.

All experts and officials seem to agree with this recommendation which appears to them as an urgent need, particularly in France.

Recommendations 2

To help immigrant parents to become more interested in the education of their children.

Evaluation:

Oui!	Oui	Oui?	Non?	Non	NON!
24	7	1	2	2	1

Suggestions/comments:

(a) F.R. Immigrants' children suffer in their education partly because of the lack of interest on behalf of parents.

(b) F.R. One French researcher, a sociologist, made a strong criticism of this recommendation. According to him, our work is for an ideological assimilation in that if we help the parents to participate to their children's education, we also bring them to be assimilated through their children who acquire the ideology of the dominant social class at school.

(c) F.R. Major Point. Immigrant parents have many anxieties as to their children's future. They would like to help more, but they need to be told and taught how to be more helpful and more efficient in their action.

(d) F.O. This is absolutely not an urgent need because parents already know what education for their children means. Parents need perhaps to consider with more interest their daughters' education.

(e) F.R. Most Maghriban parents value education and degrees.

(f) F.R. They are interested but do not have the possibilities to help.

(g) F.R. This point is capital and largely conditions the school

Suggestions/comments:

(a) F.R.   They fear to be left aside and humiliated. They also often consider that the school is only the concern of teachers.

(b) F.O.   The institutional aspect of the French school is complex. Teachers are generally opposed to the participation of parents (nationals and foreigners) in the school life. This is one of the reasons why we have first to prepare the school to accept the parents' participation.

(c) F.R.   To make immigrant parents participate efficiently to the school life is a difficult task to realise for these parents are illiterate in their majority and have no knowledge of the school institution.

(d) F.R.   They must first be intellectually equipped before they can participate in the school life.

(e) F.R.   They themselves need to be educated before participating to school matters.

(f) F.O.   It is better if this is limited to the contacts between parents and teachers.   The parents' lack of instruction cannot allow a positive participation into the school life.

(g) A.O.   The school is a specialised institution run by specialist people.   The parents' participation might disturb the way the school works.   Given the present context in Algeria, it is too early to speak of the participation of parents.   Neither the parents nor the school are prepared to share all school matters.

The comments made by researchers (a, c, d, e) on this recommendation generally point to the need to educate immigrant parents before bringing them to share the school life in both countries. This is a point we agree with and which we have highlighted in our work in terms of "handicapped parents" who themselves need, beforehand, some

instruction to understand the educational system in both countries.

As to officials (b, f, g), they have mentioned the school as an institution which resists the idea of sharing its matters with the outside world (France) or as an institution which should be governed and led only by specialist people, ie teachers and administrators (Algeria).

Recommendation 4

To bring parents to co-operate in a permanent and positive way with teachers and the school administration

Evaluation:

Oui!	Oui	Oui?	Non?	Non	NON!
15	14	6	2	00	00

Suggestions/comments:

(a) F.R. One important thing is to bring teachers in France to admit a continuous collaboration and to spend extra time in the follow-up of this collaboration.

(b) A.O. This is a positive recommendation, yet we have to avoid teachers and administrators being substituted by parents. Each group's task must be clearly defined to preserve the school institution.

(c) A.O. In Algeria, neither the parents nor the school (teachers and administrators) are prepared to such a change in the tradition of the school.

(d) F.R. In France, it is especially the teachers who have to make the first move towards this co-operation. The parents will certainly not refuse to collaborate for the sake of their children's education.

(e) F.O. The French school, as an institution, is opposed to this collaboration and remains fairly closed to the outside world.

Although there is no clear rejection of this recommendation, officials and experts have particularly underlined the fact that teachers are somehow reluctant to see this collaboration taking place. In Algeria, however, it appears that there is a strong will to preserve the school by not opening it too much to the outside world (b). The Algerian educational system is highly centralised and even if this teachers-parents collaboration is established, parents will be able to change little. Nevertheless, we believe this collaboration will at least be useful as to the information parents could provide on their children. Moreover, the children will no longer be left on their own to deal with their education.

Recommendation 5

To help Algerian immigrant parents to understand their role in the education of their children and the role of the school institution.

Evaluation:

Oui!	Oui	Oui?	Non?	Non	NON!
31	4	3	00	00	00

Suggestions/comments:

(a) F.R. Difficult to realise because most parents are illiterate and ill-equipped.

(b) F.R. Most important is to explain to these parents the cultural differences and to bring them to admit these differences.

(c) A.R. Many attempts have been made on behalf of some teachers, without any real positive result. In Algeria, we have to set up a whole tradition to make parents (immigrants and others become interested in their children's education. It is a difficult enterprise which requires much time and effort. It also means that parents and teachers have to break with the old beliefs as to the relations between the school and the parents.

There seems to be some difficulties to overcome before this recommendation could be put into practice. In France it is the cultural differences existing between parents and children on one hand and between parents and society at large on the other hand which constitute a prior difficulty to overcome. Indeed, parents have to admit and accept the fact that their children are receiving an education as part of a culture which is different from theirs. This has been deeply discussed in our work and we do agree that, as mentioned by the two researchers in France (a, b), there will be no positive change in the parents' attitudes without their being willing to accept these cultural differences.

As to Algeria, we are not surprised to be reminded of how parents view education and the school institution. Education has always been seen as the task of teachers who themselves - it must be said - are very unlikely to see other people interfering in their matters or in their school.

Recommendation 6

To help immigrant parents - especially in France - to have a more positive image of the school institution.

Evaluation:

Oui!	Oui	Oui?	Non?	Non	NON!
18	12	1	00	4	2

Suggestions/comments:

(a) F.O. Immigrant parents do have this positive image. The problem is that they do not collaborate fully with the school.

(b) F.R. To succeed in putting this recommendation into practice there must be good incentives to encourage parents. The Ministry of National Education should have a real will to combat the school failure among immigrants' children who are oriented too soon to

short forms of schooling.

(c) A.R. They already have this positive image, yet it is idyllic.

(d) F.O. They have this positive image and, in some cases, it is even more positive than among French parents.

(e) F.R. They somehow have this positive image. The problem is that it is the school which does not respond to the parents and does not know how (or does not want) to exploit the image immigrant parents have of the school.

(f) F.O. They often have a positive image even if their children fail at school.

(g) A.O. What is the image they have of the school, now? Has it not always been a positive image?

Officials' comments clearly show that they are not very familiar with this issue. To assert that these parents have a positive image in France (a) or that it has always existed among parents in Algeria (g) shows to which extent the phenomenon is ignored and that it was very useful to visit Algerian families to try to have the information directly from them rather than from the people who write about them.

Researchers generally agree that this positive image is lacking among immigrant parents and emphasise the need for the school to help these parents develop their image of the school in the case where it is somehow positive.

Recommendation 7

To make the home a favourable milieu for work by helping immigrant parents and their children to understand each other better instead of living in a permanent conflict negative to both sides.

Evaluation:

Oui!	Oui	Oui?	Non?	Non	NON!
17	15	1	00	1	3

Suggestions/comments:

(a) F.R. How is this possible?

(b) F.R. This in itself is not sufficient, given the bad housing conditions and the size of most Algerian families.

(c) F.R. How could we do this? By explaining to each individual/ family the situation? This could be a life-time work. Algerian parents are too keen on their traditions to bring them to accept and adopt a radical change in order to understand their children who are so different from them. The gap is too wide and very unlikely to be closed in the short-term. The conflict will disappear by itself after the disappearance of the first generation of immigrants.

(d) A.O. There is no such conflict when they return to Algeria. They are in their society of origin.

(e) A.O. Are you sure there is a conflict between immigrant parents and their children?

The three French researchers (a, b, c) pointed to the difficulty - if not the impossibility - of bringing this recommendation into practice. We are aware of the ambitious aspect of this enterprise, nevertheless we also remain convinced that the gap between parents and children can be reduced by implementing a policy the aim of which is to explain to parents what their children expect from them. There is at least the possibility to create a positive dialogue - not in existence at the present - between parents and children. This is perhaps the task of advisors for immigrant families and their children and particularly in the field of education. Unfortunately such specialist advisors do not exist in both countries.

The two Algerian officials' comments (d, e) show, in our view, that the phenomenon studied in our thesis is not at all known in all aspects

in Algeria. People generally take it for granted that the difficulties Algerian immigrants used to experience in France will miraculously disappear when they return to Algeria. We could not send the whole thesis to each of the experts and officials included in our research. We simply hope that our work and results are going to be considered and that other researchers in Algeria will undertake investigations in this same field to discover the insights of the phenomenon.

Recommendation 8

To adapt French and Algerian school institutions to the specific difficulties and needs of immigrants' children.

Evaluation:

Oui!	Oui	Oui?	Non?	Non	NON!
27	4	3	2	1	1

Suggestions/comments:

(a) A.R. This concerns particularly the Algerian school in which there is no consideration of the 'returned' pupils as a new school population, in our education system, with specific difficulties and needs. Our policy-makers have at least to admit the fact that these children are, in many ways, different from non-immigrants' children and undoubtedly need special attention, particularly as far as the Arabic language teaching is concerned.

(b) F.R. This also supposes preparing and equipping these children in France and Algeria (adequate professional training) to find jobs as soon as they leave the school. This is the most urgent need the school must guarantee.

(c) A.R. The school institution does not, apparently, seem to be ready to look seriously at these children's needs and difficulties. The explicit approach in both countries is that it is the immigrant's child who is expected to adapt to the school.

(d) F.O.   It is particularly the situation of the failing pupils that
the schools should consider.   For these children generally fail in
their education and consequently in their integration in French
society.

(e) F.R.   This depends on how it is going to be realised.   This recomme-
ndation means treating immigrants' children separately, which in
turn might lead to some form of marginalisation.

(f) F.O.   It is the most deprived immigrants' children who are in need
of specific attention.

(g) F.O.   This is most particularly the case of pupils in ZEP, including
French pupils as well.

(h) F.R.   Difficult to realise, especially in France where the school
is resisting any change.

(i) A.O.   It would not be acceptable, in our general policy, to separate
between two school populations who have the same origin.   The only
problem is language.   With the new Ministry of Education measures,
we remain confident that 'returned' pupils will have no major
problems in their education after an intensive linguistic prepara-
tion.   As to their social 'reinsertion', we believe they are in
their country, among their people and will find no major difficult-
ies in starting a new life in Algeria.

This recommendation sounds important to all those who made some
comments.   The details added by the researchers and officials have been
mentioned and largely discussed in our work.

We notice, however, that according to the Algerian official (i) the
problem is only linguistic.   We emphasise, here again, that language
will certainly help 'returned' pupils, but it would not solve all the
difficulties which influence their education.   In our work we have
referred to other problems than language these children experience and

even to the fact that some pupils still fail in their education despite their successful grades in the Arabic language.

We understand this official's comment is influenced by the government's general policy and we would be surprised to see officials clearly acknowledge the difference between immigrants' pupils and the other Algerian children. At this stage, we would like to emphasise even more the very fact that 'returned' pupils' difficulties are not only linguistic. Assuming that they do not experience other difficulties means ignoring them as individuals, and not taking account of what characterises them, in any policy implementation for the improvement of their education.

Recommendation 9

To bring Algerian immigrants and their children to value their culture and language of origin.

Evaluation:

Oui!	Oui	Oui?	Non?	Non	NON!
14	10	7	2	3	1

Suggstions/comments:

(a) F.R. One condition is indispensable. It must really be the culture of origin of these people and not only some form of folklore. This means that we should, beforehand, know what is the culture of origin of this community. Should, for instance, Kabyle children learn Arabic language as part of "their" culture?

(b) F.R. What culture of origin? What language?

(c) A.O. This is what Algeria is trying to do for many years.

(d) F.O. This is very important. However, the difficulty comes from the immigrants themselves: rejection of their culture and language.

(e) F.R. This should not only concern Algerian immigrants and their children. The Arabic language must be brought to a higher status and not only to the status of the language of Algerian immigrants, which does not reflect the reality of the majority as being Berbers.

(f) F.O. This is not the French government's task.

(g) F.R. These children already have their culture, their language and their roots in France. To speak of their "culture and language of origin" in a way that brings them to think that they belong somewhere else than where they have always lived contributes to disturb their life even more.

First we have the problem of defining these immigrants' culture and language of origin (Part A). The Algerian community in France is, in itself, heterogeneous (Berber and Arab families). We come here to a point not officially and clearly discussed in Algeria - yet a fact of the Algerians' life - and which is the "culture problem". Are Algerians Berbers or Arabs? Is Arabic considered as their language or is it only an official/national language? This problem does not exist only in France but also in Algeria where there is a clear political will to make Arabic culture and language dominate. The reaction from the Berber community has sometimes been violent and led to very tough government measures. To avoid any division in the Algerian people, it would perhaps be more interesting and more realistic to speak of an Algerian culture, that is a mixture of Arabic and Berber cultures. This is a point of view shared by many people in Algeria and which, we believe reflects our reality.

The other problems come from the fact that Algerian immigrants' children already have their own culture (Part A) and reject the culture and language of their parents considered as inferior and devaluated

(Part B).

As to the comment made by the Algerian official (c), we have to remind the reader of two points: first the policy of Arabic language teaching in France, which did not succeed in bringing Algerian children to learn Arabic properly, and second the new policy in Algeria (intensive Arabic teaching) the results of which are not yet known.

We would like to remind the reader of the difference between politicians's views, influenced by the country's ideology, and ours, gained from the field and directly from the people concerned. The issues we have investigated need much realism on behalf of our policy-makers to first admit them and second face them.

Recommendation 10

To train teachers for multi-cultural classes in France and to make teachers in Algeria become aware of the fact that 'returned' pupils are a specific school population with specific difficulties and needs.

Evaluation:

Oui!	Oui	Oui?	Non?	Non	NON!
24	6	2	1	1	3

Suggestions/comments:

(a) F.R.   Most important is to avoid the fact that teachers are transmitting to their pupils the culture and ideology of the dominant social class, whether in France or Algeria.

(b) F.R.   This is what is being currently done in France, but very few teachers have the opportunity to have access to this training.

(c) F.R.   The experience is undergoing in France but without satisfactory results.

(d) F.R.   This also applies to other pupils from the same socio-economic conditions.

(e) A.R. On the purely educational point of view and as far as the teacher-child relationship is concerned, this is certainly one of the most urgent policies to consider.

(f) A.O. You seem to consider these children as foreigners in Algeria. If language is a temporary problem, their presence in Algeria is not a problem and does not require a special policy.

Points a, b, c, and d have already been discussed in the text. What is more interesting is the difference between the comments made by the Algerian researcher (e) and the Algerian official (f). If the first considers our recommendation as an urgent need, the second completely rejects it. This is not very encouraging in that it is revealing of two facts: first, the phenomenon is not at all deeply analysed and considered; second, our policy-makers might see in teaching intensive Arabic to 'returned' children their only need and hence ignore all other factors that make them different and hence with different needs.

Recommendation 11

To adapt, in both countries, the teaching methods and programmes to the needs of immigrants' children.

Evaluation:

Oui!	Oui	Oui?	Non?	Non	NON!
16	10	5	2	1	3

Suggestions/comments:

(a) A.O. This is difficult to realise. We cannot create a parallel school to the already existing one.

(b) F.R. There is the risk to marginalise immigrants' children.

(c) F.R. Yes, but it is of paramount importance to avoid using a "ghetto approach".

(d) A.R. There is the risk of creating two separate school populations. It is better to keep all pupils together for an easier

"reinsertion". Grouping 'returned' pupils in boarding schools for one or two years is the best way to show that they are different and might bring them to misinterpret this policy and believe they are rejected. This also keeps them away from Algerian society and does not facilitate "reinsertion".

(e) A.R. Adapting the programmes to these pupils' needs is indispensable. They feel completely lost in the sudden change between the programmes in France and Algeria.

Researchers in Algeria and France have both underlined the risk of marginalising immigrants' children by treating them as a separate school population. In the Algerian official's remark (a) we see again the lack of will to look at all 'returned' pupils' difficulties and needs. There seems to be a complete divorce between researchers, who are certainly well informed on the immigration phenomenon in general, and our officials who are either ignorant of the insights of the phenomenon or who only consider changes and policy implementation in the light of the government's general policy and ideology. The problem is that it is certainly not in the country's ideology that we are likely to find the best solution to the problems 'returned' pupils experience in the Algerian education system. Encouraging returns does not automatically lead to "reinsertion".

Recommendation 12

To implement, in Algeria and France, more appropriate and more difficult policies to prepare the 'return' and the socio-educational "reinsertion" of Algerian immigrants' children.

Evaluation:

Oui!	Oui	Oui?	Non?	Non	NON!
14	5	7	4	3	4

Suggestions/comments:

(a) F.R. Are you sure these pupils would like to 'return' to Algeria?

(b) F.R. We have just to make sure that these children will 'return' to Algeria.

(c) F.R. I see this 'return' as a myth.

(d) F.R. This is, in no way, the task of the French government. These children might understand it as a preparation for their rejection from French society. Whereas France needs these children although it is not a point of view shared by all parties.

(e) F.R. Their return is a myth.

(f) F.R. Yes! but in Algeria.

(g) F.R. This is very important, assuming that these children will in fact 'return'.

(h) F.R. Can we imagine their return otherwise than as a myth?

(i) F.O. Most of these children are not willing to 'return' unless they are obliged to do so (administrative problems, unemployment, return of the whole family with young children).

(j) A.O. The government gives 'returned' families many advantages (housing, jobs, land for house building, immediate schooling for children).

(k) A.R. The linguistic preparation has started this year in special classes throughout the whole country and this is what 'returned' children need most.

Most researchers in France emphasised the fact that these children's 'return' to Algeria should not be taken for granted. Indeed, many of them - especially those who reached the age of majority - will prefer to stay in France. However, the 'return' of younger children is already a reality of our educational system where 5000 pupils are already schooled. At least in the case of young children whose fathers decided to return

to Algeria there is no other alternative than to follow their parents. The only problem here is that, just as for other recommendations, it appears that in Algeria, it is believed that what is currently being done is enough to face the reinsertion of 'returned' families and children (j, k).

Recommendation 13

To bring both the receiving society and the society of "origin", the school institution, the family group (especially parents) to accept the differences which characterise immigrants' children.

Evaulation:

Oui!	Oui	Oui?	Non?	Non	NON!
16	11	8	00	00	2

Suggestions/comments:

(a) A.R. This does not only concern immigrant families. The problem also exists among other Algerian families. If there is any action in this field, I would like to see it generalised to all parents in Algeria, for the gap existing between parents and children (particularly girls) is a reality in most families and affects directly the education and the social life of these children (marriages, choice of education, etc....).

(b) F.R. This work has to be done especially at the level of parents. We see more Algerian girls than any other immigrants' girls abandon their home because of the relationships between them and their parents.

(c) F.R. There are also many similarities.

(d) F.R. Many associations in France are working along this recommendation principle, but we still do not have satisfactory results. We perhaps needs specialist people to reach better results.

(e) F.R.   We should not insist too much on the differences because of the risk of marginalisation. There are many similarities as well.

(f) A.O.   Once these children are in Algeria, they quickly adapt to Algerian society where they experience less problems than in France (racism, social rejection, discrimination in housing, jobs, etc..).

The Algerian researcher's suggestion (a) reflects the reality of our society as to parent-child relationships. These relationships have been widely discussed in the text. Once again, we see the difference in discourse between experts (a) and officials (f) in Algeria. The anxiety we have at this stage is that the results obtained by researchers in Algeria are not always taken into account by policy-makers. There is no efficient collaboration between experts and officials. Hence, we feel the need to highly recommend that decisions must be dictated by their realism and not by the country's ideology. This is the case of the education of 'returned' children.

We accept the point that there are many similarities between immigrants' children and French society. This has been acknowledged when discussing the way these children gradually adopt the French culture and reject that of their parents (Part B).

As to the French associations (mainly FAS) whose aims concord with our recommendation, we indeed noticed during our visits, that they lack the contribution of experts who know very well the phenomenon.

Recommendation 14

To help the immigrant's child to have a more positive image of the school institution and the home environment.

Evaluation:

Oui!	Oui	Oui?	Non?	Non	NON!
17	13	3	1	2	1

Suggestions/comments:

(a) F.R. This could be realised only by solving the phenomenon of the school-failure and by helping immigrant parents to have a better social status of which their children could be proud. The children (immigrants' children as well as the French) cannot have a positive image of a school which fails them or of a home which does not provide them with the help they need.

(b) F.R. This problem is more complex. It is a problem of society.

(c) F.R. The school institution could be viewed positively only if it prepares the pupils to a more secure future by equipping them more adequately for their life.

The problem is indeed linked to what the school institution and the parents can offer to children. In the case of how immigrants' children view their home, it is also - as already explained - a problem of family social status and how society in general looks at immigrant families.

Recommendation 15

To help the Algerian immigrant's child to have a less devalued image of his parents, his language and culture of "origin" and his own person.

Evaluation:

Oui!	Oui	Oui?	Non?	Non	NON!
24	9	1	1	2	00

Suggestions/comments:

(a) F.R. According to the research we are undertaking in the C.N.R.S (National Centre for Research), this point, added to the recommendation no. 16, is among the factors that have a most negative impact on the education and social life of immigrants' children.

(b) F.R. This is absolutely necessary. The immigrant's child generally refuses to identify himself to a devalued culture, a low status language and even, in some cases, to his parents considered by the host society as inferior people with inferior status.

(c) A.R. The negative image the child has of his parents, his culture and his language of origin is what is refelcted in the host society. Once back in Algeria, the problem should normally disappear since Algerian society does not regard immigrants as inferior people.

We have to add that although we believe that Algerian society is unlikely to regard immigrants and their children as inferior people, it is however, true that they are regarded as somehow different people and not always as the best examples. On the other hand, let us not forget that returned Algerians themselves feel different from other Algerians. This is particularly the case of children to whom a 'return' to Algeria is a kind of immigration into a country and a culture unknown to them.

Recommendation 16

To help the immigrant's child overcome his identity crisis and the numerous socio-psychological difficulties he faces in both countries.

Evaluation:

Oui!	Oui	Oui?	Non?	Non	NON!
22	12	3	00	00	00

Suggestions/comments:

(a) F.R. This is particularly important for the immigrant's child is, in this very case, generally left alone and ill-prepared to solve his problems. One of the unfortunate consequences is that many of them end up in delinquency.

(b) A.O. The Algerian government sees in the return of our immigrants the best way to solve their problems. Many of their problems are

due to their presence in a foreign country and in a society which proved to be unable to integrate them.

It is certainly true that many difficulties will find their solution in the return to Algeria. But we still emphasise the fact that the children's needs are different from those of their parents. It is these needs that should be taken into account if we are about to succeed in any policy-implementation concerning the socio-educational "reinsertion" of Algerian immigrants' children.

Recommendation 17

Instead of deciding, suddenly and intensively, to "arabise" 'returned' children, a bilingual education would perhaps be more appropriate.

Evaluation:

Oui!	Oui	Oui?	Non?	Non	NON!
9	4	6	4	7	7

Suggestions/comments:

(a) A.R. To continue with French and gradually introduce Arabic is more logical in that it will allow 'returned' pupils to continue their education in Algeria by eliminating the linguistic problem.

(b) A.O. We cannot create special programmes in French and Arabic for these children. Moreover, they are Algerians and have to be treated equally as other Algerians.

(c) F.R. The French policy to teach intensive language to immigrants' children has failed to bring the results expected. Algeria ought to consider our experience and act consequently.

(d) A.O. What is currently being done is positive in the sense that 'returned' children are taught Arabic and are prepared to join scientific options where Arabic is not really a problem to pupils.

We notice again that researchers (a) and officials (b) in Algeria look at the issue in different ways. Moreover, we discover, with much

pain, that our policy-makers (at least those who responded to our quest-
ionnaire) are not ready to consider any major change in the education of
immigrants' children or to implement any other policy except that of
intensive Arabic language teaching. This also shows the clear and
urgent need for experts and officials to closely work together.

Moreover, the Algerian official's comment (d) indicates that
'returned' pupils' school positions are completely ignored and that
decisions are taken without any consideration of the pupils' needs as
individuals. It is simply taken for granted that they are going to
acquire a sufficient knowledge of Arabic to be able to succeed in
scientific options!

Recommendation 18

To avoid believing that the problem of the 'returned' pupils'
education in Algeria will be solved by the simple teaching of Arabic.
These children are completely disconnected from Algerian society and
present other particularities which need to be considered.

Evaluation:

Oui!	Oui	Oui?	Non?	Non	NON!
14	7	4	6	4	2

Suggestions/comments:

(a) A.R. It is better to implement a bilingual teaching and to
    consider the other difficulties at the same time.

(b) A.O. More will and more contribution on behalf of these young
    people will help the education system to obtain better results.

(c) A.R. In the present situation, we need the co-operation of experts
    and officials. This co-operation does not really exist in that
    results obtained by researchers are not always taken into account
    by our officials.

(d) A.R. Arabic language is indispensable, but the solution should not be limited to language alone.

In comment (b) the problem is associated with the children themselves who are thought to be less co-operative than they should be. We do not see how these children, with all their linguistic, social and psychological difficulties, could help the education system. They have no power to do or change anything. Let us not forget that it is the children who need help from the education system. Believing the opposite is a pure misunderstanding of the reality of the phenomenon.

Conclusion

Several interesting points have to be retained from this contribution of experts and officials to our work.

Firstly, the fact that most experts and officials share our views expressed in the recommendations shows that the phenomenon exists and has become the concern of officials and specialist people in both countries.

Secondly, the contribution of these experts and officials in terms of suggestions and comments is most appreciated for it has allowed us to confirm most of our own views. Also, some comments, such as the risk of marginalising immigrants' children by treating them as a different school population, are even more appreciated for we consider them as a real enrichment of our own work.

Thirdly, we discover in more depth that some of our recommendations are not easily applicable because of the many obstacles on behalf of the school, the teachers, the parents, society and the government's policies in both countries.

Fourthly, and most important, we have the confirmation from many Algerian officials that the phenomenon of immigrants' children's education is not approached in a way which shows that our policy-makers

are aware of the insights of this phenomenon. Even Algerian researchers, although well acquainted with immigration problems in general, show that they lack a deep knowledge of the socio-educational difficulties 'returned' pupils experience. This, we believe, comes as a serious obstacle for the implementation of an adequate policy for the socio-linguistic "reinsertion" of 'returned' pupils.

Main Conclusion:

Our approach to the phenomenon differs from that of other researchers, in France, in that we attempted to focus on as many factors related to the education of Algerian immigrants' children as possible. Also, the deliberate choice of emphasising the human dimension lacking in other researchers' works mentioned in the text, has allowed us to discover some of the insights of the studied phenomenon and which do not clearly appear in the literature in the field. The fact of studying the socio-educational situation of Algerian immigrants' children as an ethnic group has led us to conclude that they are a specific ethnic group, a specific school population with specific educational and socio-psychological difficulties and, obviously, with specific needs.

The evidence we have obtained from our research results brings us to assert that the education of Algerian immigrants' children is a problem in France as well as in Algeria. The majority of these children experience school failure in both countries. Failing in their education also makes them fail in their social life in general.

It is not only one factor, for instance language or socio-economic conditions, which makes them fail academically and socially. The phenomenon is far more complex and includes numerous factors which are mostly inter-related and having direct implications for these children's education. Their parents are unable to help or at least to understand them; the parent-child relationships have disintegrated and directly affect the child's education and life; their socio-economic conditions and their home environment are unfavourable and unsuitable for their work; the school institution, in both countries, is unable to adapt to these children's needs: they are in a situation where they have to adapt to the school's requirements or fail.

They also - and this we believe is extremely important - experience a deep identity crisis which disturbs their whole life. These children have spent their early childhood in France where their personality has been partly shaped. Can we solve the identity crisis problem by - as believed by Algerian officials - the integration of these children into Algerian values, essentially traditional and of a rural origin? Moreover, beforehand, we even wonder if their integration is possible. In the Western world, the child generally passes through a phase of opposition to his parents during his adolescence and in which he learns to build up his own personality. Most of the time, Algerian parents in France (just as in Algeria) respond to this crisis by an excessive authority, not to say authoritarism. The dialogue between Algerian parents and their children is a very rare aspect of the family life. Consequently, the parent-child relationships are, in almost all cases, based on the principle of respect whereby parents consider themselves as the only possessors and protectors of what values should be transmitted to the children. This respect disappears to be replaced by a parent-child conflict when the child starts rejecting his parents' traditional values to adopt those of the host community.

Caught between two different worlds and two different cultures, they rarely show a strong and clear ethnic identification to one group or another. In France, they have lived in a certain autonomous and independent way in which they have learned to look after themselves outside their family group and to be more individualistic than their parents. Once 'back' in Algeria, they find it difficult to accommodate the principles which regulate the inter-relations between the family group members. Hence, the 'return' is almost always experienced, by these children, as a second cultural shock, the first one being the conflict between the models proposed by their families and the host

community in France.

All Algerian immigrants' children deeply hold the need to belong somewhere and to be socially accepted and integrated. How is this possible? If once 'back' in Algeria the immigrant's child starts looking for other immigrants' children to form a group in which all members have a common past and communicate easily, there inevitably appears the feeling that he rejects Algerian society with its specificities, its 'mores', its ideology and its beliefs. Hence, once again, and as in France, the immigrant's child finds himself in a "ghetto" situation by refusing to be integrated in a society which affects him in many ways. The hope to no longer experience, as in France, the feeling of segregaration collapses when the immigrant's child finds himself belonging to a minority group, in Algeria. The same phenomenon existing in France is observed in Algeria where they are almost always outside society and rarely in it. Refusing to change and claiming, quite rightly, to be accepted with their differences, this relation of discrimination/rejection has become an essential element of their life and their behaviour vis-à-vis society in general.

It is with his Western codes and values acquired in France that the Algerian immigrant's child looks at Algerian society. These codes and values - the only immigrant's child's references - are neither recognised nor accepted in Algerian society. His only means of defence is mainly a process of strong resistance to change, which completely isolates him and reduces his chances of integration in the school life, in the education system and in society at large. If the 'returned' child is able to survive from the material point of view, his personality of a "Westernised" young Algerian is permanently disturbed. On one hand, he is somewhat attracted by Algeria which he does not completely deny and on the other hand his identity of origin - mainly composed of

Western values - is rejected by Algerian society. If, for instance, the immigrant's child claims more social justice or an evolution of the woman's social status, he will quickly be regarded as the "foreigner" by whom problems occur. This dramatic situation does not exclude the very fact that experiencing two cultural shocks in his life, the immigrant's child might well, as a consequence, experience a destruction of his self and "sink" into delinquency or even into a worse state.

The 'return' is almost always a negative and harmful experience to these children. Knowing of Algeria only what they heard from their parents or what they saw on a short holiday, 'returned' pupils are submerged by a deep feeling of disappointment when they start discovering the realities of Algerian society and the differences which exist between them and their parents' country. They realise that there is a significant difference in the standard of life between France and Algeria where industrialisation, education and national health have been up to now the major governmental priorities. The conditions of life are certainly getting better and better but this evolution is seriously threatened by the demographic "explosion" which is very likely to impede the government's will to provide the country with the necessary economic and social equipments.

More important is the lack of cultural activities such as cinemas, theatres, sport and others, which 'returned' pupils were used to in France. The cultural change these children experience also influences their modes of relation and behaviour to Algerian society. The absence of mixed relations between young people is, in our view, a difficult problem to solve for the whole of Algerian society is against mixing between young people, especially now that there is a "renaissance" of an Islamic and austere way of life strongly supported and encouraged by fundamentalist groups. It is almost impossible to think of leisure

activities between young people outside the family group.

The difference between 'returned' children and the other children is so apparent that they are immediately categorised and labelled as different, in all environments. Indeed, they are different in the way they speak, walk, dress and behave. And this, obviously, does not facilitate their insertion into Algerian society.

Suspected, but also envied, 'returned' children are generally rejected by the other Algerians because they no longer are like them, full members of Algerian society. They are immigrants in their parents' country, and are more rejected than are foreigners to whom society recognises the right to be different because they are not Algerians.

These attitudes are a result of a deep deception felt on both sides. On one hand Algerian society is disappointed to see 'returned' children unable to adapt; and on the other hand, 'returned' children experience the same feeling when discovering that Algerian society is unable to accept and integrate them with their differences. This largely contributes to render adaptation, to a society where the norms are different, extremely difficult.

Rejected by society and in permanent conflict with their parents, Algerian immigrants' children suffer, both in France and in Algeria, from the feeling of being unwanted. They are pointed to as foreigners in France and looked at as different, that is French-like, in Algeria. They are in their own words "immigrants everywhere". The vital need to belong somewhere makes them reluctant to make any future plans in both countries for it is very often the case that those who are in France sometimes think of a 'return' to Algeria, and the 'returned' children look at France as a country to go back to. How can a child think of education in such a situation as this?

In their disturbed life characterised by a multitude of difficult-
ies due to their presence in a "foreign land" in France or to their
'return' to Algeria in which they feel here too in a position of
"foreigners", education occupies little place or none.

They have indeed, as confirmed by themselves, more urgent problems
to solve. Among these are the need to lead a normal life in a normal
family environment, to feel that they have, like everybody else, a
country where their roots are - and which accepts them -, a language, a
culture and, most important, an identity. They also need to feel secure,
which is not the case for France is expecting them to 'return' to their
country of "origin" and Algeria, if willing to welcome the return of its
immigrants, does not consider that to the children particularly it is an
immigration process which starts with their 'return'.

There is no doubt that the problem of Algerian immigrants' children
exists. Most important is that it has to be faced by both countries.
Unfortunately, we do not believe policy-makers and society, both French
and Algerian, are approaching the issue with a real will for action,
change and amelioration of these children's education and social life.
In France as well as in Algeria, we need to change people's attitudes to
bring them to acknowledge the existence of the problem first and to
accept the implementation of adequate provision. Indeed, we have seen
that in both countries teachers, schools, society and even the parents
are resisting any change in their attitudes.

Even on the political and ideological side there is a deliberate
will to avoid facing the problem as a fact of these children's life in
both countries. In France and Algeria there is no special efficient
provision for the education of Algerian immigrants' children. France is
simply expecting them to be fully assimilated as a new work-force or to
'return' to Algeria. On the other hand, Algeria is expecting them to be

just like those Algerians who have always lived in Algeria. In other words, these children are bound to conform to the country's ideology in which they are living.

In developing the awareness - especially in Algeria - that the problem exists, we also have to get the concerned people to look into the future and to consider action on the basis of a realistic assessment of the situation of these children and not on the basis of political and ideological idealism.

It is not, indeed, all our recommendations which are likely to be immediately put into practice for some of them require the implementation of a long-term policy. However, what could be done in the short term and in both countries are actions which concern factors such as the amelioration of the socio-economic conditions of these children, the training of teachers for multi-cultural teaching and the introduction of teaching programmes and methods which correspond to the reality of the education of immigrants' children. This, of course, means more research, more money and most of all the political will to face the problem and to attempt to find adequate solutions.

Algerian immigrants' children are not responsible for their situation. They are the product of a phenomenon created by governments for their own interests. France has accepted Algerian immigrants because she needed them. Algeria has allowed its nationals to emigrate because it was a means of reducing unemployment and also a substantial source of foreign currency obtained through immigrants sending money regularly to their families and relatives in Algeria. Neither France nor Algeria have previously thought of immigrants' children as a problem which must be faced in the future. Now that the problem has fully emerged in a way that no-one can ignore, it has to be faced and solved. From a purely moral point of view, and as a principle many people would

agree with, we would say that if both countries have contributed to the making and the existence of the phenomenon, they now should have to contribute in bringing about an adequate solution.

The encouragement of 'returns', whether by France or by Algeria, is not in itself a satisfactory answer to the problem of the socio-educational "reinsertion" of Algerian immigrants' children in Algeria. The fundamental aspect of the problem is human. The Algerian immigrant's child is <u>not</u> an indigenous Algerian. Are Algerian society and Algerian government ready to welcome, accept and integrate someone who claims to be Algerian but who behaves - and certainly thinks - as a French?

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Appendix A

Questionnaires used in France and Algeria

- Questionnaires to pupils

- Questionnaires to parents

- Questionnaires to head-teachers

- Questionnaires to teachers

- Questionnaires to officials and experts

Questionnaire aux élèves en France

Cher élève,

Ceci est un questionnaire purement destiné à une étude sur l'éducation des enfants d'immigrés Algériens. Les questionnaires permettront de réunir les statistiques et informations nécessaires à l'enquête. A aucun moment le nom de l'élève ne sera demandé ni divulgué. La confidentialité du questionnaire sera totalement assurée. Le questionnaire et les informations qu'il contient ne seront utilisés que par l'auteur lui-même.

SECTION A

1.   Ce que j'aime le plus à l'école c'est:

      ....

      ....

2.   Ce que je n'aime surtout pas à l'école c'est:

      ....

      ....

      ....

3.   Ce que j'aime le plus chez moi c'est:

      ....

      ....

      ....

4.   Pour moi, les parents c'est:

      ....

      ....

      ....

5.   Un jour, je voudrais bien:

      ....

      ....

6.   De temps en temps, je me rends compte que:

        ....

        ....

        ....

7.   Et des fois, quand je pense à moi-même, j'ai l'impression que:

        ....

        ....

        ....

8.   Ce que j'aime le plus sur moi-même c'est:

        ....

        ....

        ....

SECTION B (Prière mettre une croix dans chaque espace correspondant)

1.   Age ... Sexe. M ... F ... Classe fréquentée ...

2.   Né(e) en Algérie ... en France ...

3.   Première date d'arrivée en France si vous êtes né(e) en Algérie ...

4.   Nombre d'années passées en France ...

5.   Combien de fois avez-vous visité l'algérie? Jamais ... Une

        fois ... Plus d'une fois ...

6.   Avez-vous fait l'école maternelle en France? Oui ... Non ...

7.   Quelle est la 1ère langue que vous avez commencé à Parler?

        Arabe Classique .. Algérien .. Un Dialecte Berbère .. Français ..

8.   Quelle est la langue que vous parlez le plus maintenant? ...

9.   Pensez-vous retourner vivre en Algérie ... ou rester vivre en

        France? ...

10.   Avez-vous été scolarisé en Algérie? Oui ... Non ...

        Si Oui, indiquez la dernière classe fréquentée ...

11. Avez-vous étudié le français en Algérie? Oui ... Non ...

 Si Oui, indiquez le nombre d'années ...

12. Avez-vous étudié l'Arabe en Algérie? Oui ... Non ...

 Si Oui, indiquez le nombre d'années ...

13. a - Quelle est la langue la plus importante pour vous maintenant?

 l'Arabe Classique ... le Français ...

 b - Quelle sera la langue la plus importante pour vous dans l'avenir?

 l'Arabe Classique ... le Français ...

14. Vous sentez-vous?

 Plus Algérien que Français ... Plus Français que Algérien ...

 Totalement Français ... Totalement Algérien ...

 Entre les deux ... Je ne sais pas ...

15. a - Est-ce-que votre père travaille? Oui ... Non ...

 Est-ce-que votre mère travaille? Oui ... Non ...

 b - Profession du père .... de la mère ....

 c - Salaire net (toutes allocations comprises): Père .... Mère ....

 d - Niveau d'instruction: Père .... Mère ....

 e - Combien de frères et soeurs vivent avec vous? ....

 f - Vous pensez que vos conditions de travail à la maison sont:

 Excellentes ... Bonnes ... Moyennes ... Médiocres ... Mauvaises ...

16. Quel métier aimeriez-vous exercer après vos études? ......

 Aimeriez-vous poursuivre vos études jusqu'au BAC? Oui ... Non ...

 aller à l'université? Oui ... Non ...

 apprendre un métier pour travailler aussi tôt que possible?

 Oui ... Non ...

SECTION C

1. Comment sont vos connaissances dans les aspects suivants de

 l'arable classique et du français?

	Très bien		bien		assez-bien		mal		très mal	
	A	F	A	F	A	F	A	F	A	F
Vous comprenez										
Vous parlez										
Vous lisez										
Vous écrivez										

A = Arabe   F = Français

2. Avez-vous appris le français avant d'entrer à l'école? Oui .. Non ..

Si oui, où l'avez-vous appris? ......

Avez-vous appris l'arabe classique avant d'entrer à l'école?

Oui .. Non ..

Si oui, où l'avez-vous appris? ......

3. a - Avez-vous suivi des cours complémentaires de français?

Oui .. nombre d'années .. nombre d'heures par semaine .. Lieu ..

Non .. expliquez pourquoi ...

b - Recevez-vous toujours des cours complémentaires de français?

Oui .. nombre d'heures par semaine .. Lieu ..

Non .. expliquez pourquoi ...

4. a - Avez-vous suivi des cours complémentaires d'arabe?

Oui .. nombre d'années .. nombre d'heures par semaine .. Lieu ..

Non .. expliquez pourquoi ...

b - Recevez-vous toujours des cours complémentaires d'arabe?

Oui .. nombre d'heures par semaine .. Lieu ..

Non .. expliquez pourquoi ...

5. a - Comment étaient vos connaissances de la langue française avant

d'entrer à l'école? Excellentes ... Bonnes ... Moyennes ..

Médiocres ... Mauvaises ...

b - Sont-elles meilleures maintenant? Oui ... Non ...

c - La langue française était-elle un problème quand vous avez

    commencé l'école? Oui ... Non ...

d - Avez-vous toujours des difficultés en langue française?

<div align="right">Oui ... Non ...</div>

6.   a - Comment étaient vos connaissances de l'arabe avant d'entrer à

        l'école?

        Excellentes ... Bonnes ... Moyennes .. Médiocres ...

        Mauvaises ...

    b - Sont-elles meilleures maintenant? Oui ... Non ...

7.   Est-ce que la langue arabe est enseignée là où vous étudiez?

<div align="right">Oui ... Non ...</div>

Si oui, l'avez-vous choisie comme 2 ème langue? Oui ... Non ...

Vous ne l'avez pas choisie parce que:

L'arabe est une langue difficile ...

Vous avez préféré étudier une autre langue ... laquelle? ...

Autres raisons ....

8.   Quelle(s) langue(s) est(sont) utilisée(s) dans les situations

suivantes?

(A.C. = arabe classique; A = algérien; B = bérbère; F = français)

	A.C	A	B	F
A mon père, je parle généralement				
A ma mère, " " "				
A mes frères et soeurs, " " "				
A mes grands parents, " " "				
Ma mère me parle généralement				
Mon père " " "				
Mes grands parents me parlent "				

	A.C	A	B	F
Mes frères et soeurs me parlent généralement				
Avec des parents qui habitent la France, je parle				
Avec des parents qui nous rendent visite d'Algérie, je parle				
Avec mes voisins je parle				
Avec mes camarades algériens ou maghrébins je parle				
Dans des magasins algériens ou maghrébins je parle				

9. Quelle est d'après vous la langue la plus parlée à la maison? ....

10. Avez-vous des problèmes de communication parce que vous ne parlez pas tous la (ou les) même(s) langue(s)? Oui ... Non ...

11. Dans quelle langue vous sentez-vous le plus à l'aise pour parler à votre famille? Langue maternelle ... arabe classique ... français ...

12. Quelle est la langue que vous utilisez le plus? à la maison ... à l'école ... en dehors de l'école et de la maison ...

13. a - Participez - vous aux discussions de classe?

beaucoup ... peu ... très peu ...

b - Est-ce que la langue française constitue pour vous un handicap qui vous empêche de participer activement aux discussions de classe? Oui ... Non ...

14. Est-ce que les attitudes des enseignants envers toi sont:

a - les mêmes que celles envers les élèves français? ......

b – différentes? ......

Si différentes,

- dans quels aspects? ....

- pourquoi? ....

- comment ces différences t'affectent-elles dans tes études?

....

15. Avez-vous l'occasion de parler l'arabe classique?

Oui, souvent ... assez souvent ... occasionnellement ... non ...

16. Vos contacts avec des jeunes français de votre âge sont:

très fréquents ... fréquents ... assez fréquents ... rares ...

très rares ...

17. a – lisez-vous des livres, journaux et magazines en arabe?

oui, beaucoup ... peu ... très peu ... non ...

b – lisez-vous des livres, journaux et magazines en français?

oui, beaucoup ... peu ... très peu ... non ...

c – avez-vous l'occasion de voir, de temps en temps, des

programmes en arabe à la T.V.? Oui ... non ...

d – écoutez-vous la radio algérienne en arabe? Oui ... non ...

écoutez-vous la radio algérienne en français? Oui... non ...

écoutez-vous les radios françaises? Oui ... non ...

18.

			oui	non
	toujours	souvent	occasionnellement	
Vos parents vous aident dans vos études à la maison				
Vos parents vous encouragent à apprendre le français				
Vos parents vous aident à lire et à écrire en français				
Vos parents vous aident à parler français				

SECTION D

	oui	non	je ne sais pas
1. Il est important pour moi de maintenir ma langue maternelle en France.			
2. J'ai besoin de maintenir ma langue maternelle pour ma culture et ma personalité.			
3. L'arabe classique est important pour moi en France.			
4. Je veux parler l'arabe classique pour me sentir algérien.			
5. Etudier l'arabe me permettra de maintenir mon identité.			
6. Etudier l'arabe me permettra de maintenir ma culture.			
7. Etudier l'arabe me permettra de continuer mes études en Algéria.			

	oui	non	je ne sais pas
8. Etudier l'arabe me permettra de trouver du travail en Algérie.			
9. Etudier l'arabe me permettra de réussir dans ma vie en Algérie.			
10. Etudier l'arabe me permettra de garder contact avec mon pays.			
11. Etudier l'arabe me permettra de lire le Coran.			
12. Les français que je connais pensent que l'arabe est une langue intéressante.			
13. Je veux connaître le français pour penser et me comporter comme un français.			
14. Connaître le français me permettra de me sentir à l'aise en France.			
15. Le français est important pour mes études.			
16. J'ai besoin de connaître le français pour reussir dans ma vie en France.			
17. J'ai besoin de connaître le français pour mes propres connaissances.			
18. Le français me permettra de devenir un membre de la société française.			
19. J'ai besoin de connaître le français pour rester vivre en France.			
20. Apprendre plus de français que d'arabe me fait perdre mes valeurs culturelles.			

	oui	non	je ne sais pas
21. Il est intéressant de faire des études même quand on n'est pas sûr de trouver du travail par la suite.			
22. C'est décourageant de voir des amis qui ont terminé leurs études et qui sont au chômage.			
23. J'ai besoin de connaître le français pour trouver du travail en France.			

Merci d'avoir répondu à toutes ces questions.

<u>Questionnaire aux parents en France</u>

<u>SECTION A</u>

1.   Lieu de naissance: Père .... Mère ....

2.   Si les parents(ou l'un d'eux) sont nés en Algérie, indiquez la date

      d'arrivée en France: Père 19.. Mère 19..

3.   Comment a été fait le choix de votre lieu et domicile de résidence?

      vous avez eu le choix: Oui ... non ...

      si oui, parce que ....

      ....

      si non, parce que ....

      ....

4.   Niveau d'instruction: Père ...... Mère ......

5.   Profession: Père ...... Mère ......

6.   Salaire net (Toutes allocations comprises) ....

7.   Langue d'instruction: Père = Arabe/Français

                            Mère = Arabe/Français

8.   a - Vous pensez que vos connaissances du français sont:

	Excellentes	Bonnes	Moyennes	Médiocres	Mauvaises
Père					
Mère					

      b - Vous pensez que vos connaissances de l'arabe sont:

	Excellentes	Bonnes	Moyennes	Médiocres	Mauvaises
Père					
Mère					

9. Suivez-vous maintenant des cours:

	Père		Mère	
	oui	non	oui	non
de français?				
d'arabe?				

10. Est-ce-que vous envoyez ou bien vous prenez vos enfants avec vous

a la mosquée?

	oui	non
Père		
Mère		

11. Comment a été fait le choix de l'école de vos enfants?

a - C'était le seul choix ....

b - Rapprochement du lieu de résidence ....

c - Qualité de l'école ....

d - Parce que c'est une école avec peu d'enfants algériens ....

e - Parce que c'est une école avec beaucoup d'enfants algériens

....

f - Si c'était possible, vous auriez envoyé vos enfants dans une

autre école ....

g - Vous êtes satisfaits de l'école de vos enfants. Oui... non...

Pourquoi? ....

....

12. Faites-vous parti de l'organisation des parents d'élèves?

	oui	non
Père		
Mère		

13. Assistez-vous aux activités scolaires (remises de prix, excursions, etc ....)?

	oui	non
Père		
Mère		

14. Que faites-vous pour aider vos enfants?

	Père		Mère	
	oui	non	oui	non
vous leur achetez des livres				
vous leur payez des cours privés				
vous vous intéressez à leurs études				
vous les aidez dans leurs devoirs				

15. Quelle est la langue que vous utilisez le plus dans les situations suivantes?

(AC = arabe classique; A = algérien
DB = dialecte bérbère; F = français)

	Père				Mère			
	AC	A	DB	F	AC	A	DB	F
- pour parler à vos enfants								
- dans votre travail								
- en dehors du travail et de la maison								

SECTION B

	Oui	Non	Indécis
1. Mes enfants grandiront en France, ils n'ont pas besoin d'apprendre l'arabe.			
2. Mes enfants retourneront en Algérie, ils ont besoin d'apprendre l'arabe.			
3. J'aimerais que mes enfants apprennent surtout le français.			

	Oui	Non	Indécis

4. J'aimerais que mes enfants apprennent surtout l'arabe.

5. J'aimerais que mes enfants apprennent surtout l'arabe et le français.

6. J'aimerais que mes enfants suivent des cours complémentaires de français.

7. J'aimerais que mes enfants suivent des cours complémentaires d'arabe.

8. J'aimerais que mes enfants fassent des études universitaires.

9. J'aimerais que mes enfants choisissent l'arabe comme 2 ème langue.

10. La langue française est plus importante que la langue arabe.

11. Je suis content de pouvoir parler français.

12. J'aimerais que mes enfants aient leur instruction en arabe.

13. Les gens instruits en français ont plus d'avenir.

14. J'aimerais que mes enfants apprennent un métier pour travailler très jeunes.

Quels sont vos soucis majeurs pour vos enfants actuellement? .....

....

....

....

....

Merci d'avoir répondu à toutes ces question.

Questionnaire aux chefs d'établissements en France

Cher collègue,

Ceci est un questionnaire purement destiné à une étude sur l'éducation des enfants d'immigrés Algériens. Les questionnaires permettront de réunir les statistiques et informations nécessaires à l'enquête. A aucun moment votre nom ne sera demandé ni divulgué. La confidentialité du questionnaire sera totalement assurée. Le questionnaire et les informations qu'il contient ne seront utilisés que par l'auteur lui-même.

SECTION A

1. Nombre d'élèves dans votre établissement ....

2. Nombre d'élèves algériens dans votre établissement (second degré) ....

3. Nombre d'élèves étrangers dans votre établissement ....

4. y-a-t-il dans votre établissement

	oui	non
des classes de soutien pour non-francophones?		
un enseignement d'arabe comme seconde langue?		
un enseignement d'arabe comme langue maternelle?		
un conseiller pour enfants d'immigrés?		

5. Est-ce-que les parents d'enfants algériens vous contactent pour discuter des problèmes de leurs enfants?

   oui, régulièrement .... souvent .... rarement ....

6. Vers quel enseignement s'orientent, en général, les élèves algériens?

   enseignement général .... enseignement professionel ... pourcentage égal dans les 2 enseignements ....

7. La langue française est-elle un handicap sérieux pour les enfants
    Algériens? Oui, pour la majorité .... pour une minorité ....
    pour quelques uns ....   non ....

8. Pouvez-vous citer quelques problèmes propres à la classe multicultu-
    relle et qui concernent les élèves algériens?

    ....
    ....
    ....

9. Pouvez-vous faire quelques suggestions pour un meilleur
    apprentissage du français par les enfants algériens et pour
    l'amélioration de leur éducation?

    ....
    ....
    ....

SECTION B

	oui	non	indécis
1. La différence des programmes entre l'Algérie et la France pose un problème de niveau.			
2. Le fait que certains élèves aient été scolarisés en Algérie, en arabe, pose un problème de langue.			
3. La durée du séjour en France commande le degré d'apprentissage de la langue.			
4. Ceux qui ont fait l'école maternelle en France se retrouvent plus avantagés en langue française.			

	oui	non	indécis

5. Ceux qui ont bénéficié des classes d'accueil ont moins de problèmes en langue française.

6. L'origine socio-economique intervient dans le degré de connaissance du français et dans l'éducation en général.

7. Les élèves ayant des difficultés de langue sont les moins motivés.

8. Les élèves algériens s'absentent plus que les autres.

9. Les relations entre élèves algériens et français sont bonnes.

10. Les relations entre l'administration de l'école et les parents d'élèves algériens sont bonnes.

11. Les relations entre enseignants et élèves algériens sont bonnes.

12. Les relations entre enseignants et parents algériens sont bonnes.

13. Les attitudes des élèves algériens envers la langue française sont positives.

14. Les attitudes des élèves algériens envers la langue arabe sont positives.

15. Les attitudes des élèves algériens envers l'école sont positives.

Merci d'avoir répondu à toutes ces questions.

Questionnaire aux enseignants en France

Cher collègue,

Je suis maître-assistant à l'université de Batna, Algérie, poursuivant des études de thèse d'état en Angleterre. Je sollicite votre aide qui me permetta de réaliser mon enquête. Ce questionnaire est purement destiné à une étude sur l'éducation des enfants d'immigrés algériens. La confidentialité du questionnaire sera totalement respectée et, les informations qu'il contient ne seront utilisées que par l'auteur lui-même. Je vous remercie pour votre aide et contribution.

(Prière mettre une croix dans chaque case correspondante).

SECTION A

1. Nombre ou % d'élèves algériens dans vos classes ....

2. Avez-vous reçu une formation spéciale pour enseigner dans les classes multiculturelles? Oui .... Non ....

3. Matière enseignée: ....

4. Pensez-vous que les méthodes et programmes scolaires sont appropriés aux besoins des enfants d'immigrés? Oui .... Non ....

5. Quels sont, d'après vous, les éléments déterminants qui influencent la motivation des élèves? ....
....

6. Les parents des élèves algériens vous contactent: régulièrement .. souvent .. assez souvent .. rarement .. jamais ..

7. Les parents se soucient plus des filles que des garçons. Oui ..... Non ....

. <u>SECTION B</u>

1. Comment est enseigné le français aux élèves d'immigrés dans votre établissment?

   a - avec les enfants français comme si c'était leur langue maternelle ....

   b - comme une seconde langue dans des classes réservées aux enfants d'immigrés ....

   c - les 2 catégories ensemble en essayant d'aider les élèves qui ont des difficultés ....

2. Vous pensez que le français parlé par les élèves algériens est en général d'un niveau:

   excellent ... bon ... moyen ... médiocre ... très bas ...

3. Selon vous, les élèves algériens sont en général: très motivés à apprendre ... assez motivés ... peu motivés ... pas motivés du tout ...

4. Le français écrit des élèves algériens est en général d'un niveau:

   excellent ... bon ... moyen ... médiocre ... très bas ...

5. En général, leurs connaissances de la langue française leur permettent de suivre normalement le contenu des programmes: Oui ... Non ...

6. Les élèves algériens qui obtiennent les mêmes résultats que les élèves français du même milieu socio-économique sont en général:

   aussi nombreux .... plus nombreux .... moins nombreux ....

7. Une mauvaise connaissance du français affecte les autres matières:

   Oui .... Non ....

8. La différence de niveau, en langue française, entre élèves algériens et français - est en général: importante .... assez importante .... négligeable .... inexistante ....

9. Les filles algériennes connaissent le français mieux que les garçons algériens: Oui .... Non ....

10. S'il y-a une différence entre élèves algériens et français, vous pensez qu'elle est due:

    Oui Non

    à leur origine socio-économique

    à leur période de résidence en France

    à la différence de langue pratiquée à la maison

    certains ont été d'abord scolarisés en Algérie

    certains n'ont pas appris le français très jeunes

    autres raisons: ....

    ....

11. Quels sont les problèmes que cause, pour la classe, une éventuelle différence de niveau? ....

    ....

12. Les élèves algériens terminent leur scolarité avec des connaissances, de la langue française, qui leur permettent d'évoluer normalement au sein de la société française: Oui ... Non ...

13. Les problèmes qu'ils rencontrent sont surtout des problèmes de: rejet, relations .... compétences ....

14. Comment est, en général, la participation des élèves algériens aux discussions de classe? très fréquente .... fréquente .... assez fréquente .... rare .... très rare ....

15. Une mauvaise connaissance du français parlé est un handicap pour une participation active en classe. Oui .... Non ....

16. Que faites-vous, en qualité d'enseignant, pour aider les élèves qui ont des problèmes de langue? ....

    ....

17. Les élèves algériens qui ont besoin de cours complémentaires en langue sont: nombreux .... peu nombreux .... très peu nombreux .... aucun ....

18. Autres commentaires sur l'éducation des enfants algériens:

....

....

....

....

Merci d'avoir répondu à ces questions.

Questionnaire aux élevès en Algérie

Cher élève,

Ceci est un questionnaire purement destiné à une étude sur l'éducation des enfants d'immigrés Algériens. Les questionnaires permettront de réunir les statistiques et informations nécessaires à l'enquête. A aucun moment le nom de l'élève ne sera demandé ni divulgué. La confidentialité du questionnaire sera totalement assurée. Le questionnaire et les informations qu'il contient ne seront utilisés que par l'auteur lui-même.

SECTION A

1. Ce que j'aime le plus à l'école c'est:

   ....

   ....

2. Ce que je n'aime surtout pas à l'école c'est:

   ....

   ....

   ....

3. Ce que j'aime le plus chez moi c'est:

   ....

   ....

   ....

4. Pour moi, les parents c'est:

   ....

   ....

   ....

5. Un jour, je voudrais bien:

   ....

   ....

6.   De temps en temps, je me rends compte que:

....

....

....

7.   Et des fois, quand je pense à moi-même, j'ai l'impression que:

....

....

....

8.   Ce que j'aime le plus sur moi-même c'est:

....

....

....

SECTION B (Prière mettre une cloix dans chaque espace correspondant)

1.   Age .... Sexe .... M .... F .... Classe fréquentée ....

2.   Ne(e) en Algérie .... en France ....

3.   Date de retour en Algérie ......

4.   Nombre d'années passées en Algérie ....

5.   Combien de fois avez-vous visité l'Algérie avant de vous y

     installer? jamais .... une fois .... plus d'une fois ....

6.   Avez-vous fait l'école maternelle en France? Oui .... Non ....

7.   Quelle est la première langue que vous avez commencé à parler?

     arabe .... algérien .... un dialecte berbère .... français ....

8.   Quelle est la langue que vous parlez le plus maintenant? ......

9.   Pensez-vous retourner vivre en France .... ou rester en Algérie

     ...?

10. Avez-vous été scolarisé en France? Oui .... Non ....

     si oui, indiquez la dernière classe fréquentée ....

11. Avez-vous étudié l'arabe en France? Oui .... Non ....

    si oui, indiquez pendant combien de temps ....

12. a - Quelle est la langue la plus importante pour vous maintenant?

       l'arabe classique .... le français ....

    b - Quelle sera la langue la plus importante pour vous dans
        l'avenir?

       l'arabe classique .... le français ....

13. Vous sentez-vous?

    Plus algérien que français .... Plus français qu'algérien ....

    Totalement français .... Totalement algérien ....

    Entre les deux .... Je ne sais pas ....

14. a - Est-ce-que votre père travaille? Oui .... Non ....

       Est-ce-que votre mère travaille? Oui .... Non ....

    b - Profession du père .... de la mère ....

    c - Salaire net (toutes allocations comprises): Père .... Mère ....

    d - Niveau d'instruction: Père ....Mère ....

    e - Combien de frères et soeurs vivent avec vous? ....

    f - Vous pensez que vos conditions de travail à la maison sont:

       excellentes .... bonnes .... moyennes .... médiocres ....

       mauvaises ....

15. Quel métier aimeriez-vous exercer après vos études? ....

    Aimeriez-vous poursuivre vos études jusqu' au BAC? Oui ... Non ...

                 aller à l'université? Oui ... Non ...

                 apprendre un métier pour travailler aussitôt que

                 possible? Oui ... Non ...

SECTION C

1. Comment sont vos connaissances dans les aspects suivants de l'arabe
   et du français?

	Très bien		bien		assez-bien		mal		très mal	
	A	F	A	F	A	F	A	F	A	F
Vous comprenez										
Vous parlez										
Vous lisez										
Vous écrivez										

A = Arabe   F = Français

2. Avez-vous appris le français avant d'entrer à l'école? Oui .. Non ..

   Si oui, où l'avez-vous appris? ......

   Avez-vous appris l'arabe classique avant d'entrer à l'école? Oui

   .. Non ..

   Si oui, où l'avez-vous appris? ......

3. a - Avez-vous suivi des cours complémentaires de français?

   Oui .. nombre d'années .. nombre d'heures par semaine ...

   Lieu

   Non .. expliquez pourquoi ....

   b - Est-ce-que vous recevez toujours des cours complémentaires de

   français?

   Oui .. nombre d'heures par semaine .. Lieu ..

   Non .. expliquez pourquoi ...

4. a - Avez-vous suivi des cours complémentaires d'arabe? Oui ..

   nombre d'années .. nombre d'heures par semaine .. Lieu ...

   Non ... expliquez pourquoi ...

b - Suivez-vous toujours des cours complémentaires d'arabe?

Oui .. nombre d'heures par semaine .. Lieu ..

Non .. expliquez pourquoi ...

5. a - Comment étaient vos connaissances de la langue française avant

d'entrer à l'école? Excellentes ... Bonnes ... Moyennes ..

Médiocres ... Mauvaises ...

b - Sont-elles meilleures maintenant? Oui ... Non ...

c - La langue française était-elle un problème quand vous avez

commencé l'école en France? Oui ... Non ...

d - Avez-vous toujours des difficultés en français? Oui ...

Non ...

6. a - Comment étaient vos connaissances de l'arabe avant d'entrer à

l'école en Algérie?

Excellentes ... Bonnes ... Moyennes .. Médiocres ...

Mauvaises ...

b - Sont-elles meilleures maintenant? Oui ... Non ...

c - la langue arabe était-elle un problème quand vous avez

commencé l'école en Algérie? Oui ... Non ...

d - Avez-vous toujours des difficultés en arabe? Oui ... Non

7. Est-ce que la langue arabe était enseignée comme 2 ème langue là

où vous avez étudié en France? Oui ... Non ...

Si oui, l'avez-vous choisie comme 2 ème langue? Oui ... Non ...

Elle était enseignée et vous ne l'avez pas choisie parce que:

L'arabe est une langue difficile ...

Vous avez préféré étudier une autre langue ... laquelle? ...

Autre raisons ....

8. Quelle(s) langue(s) est(sont) utilisée(s) dans les situations suivantes?

    (A.C. = arabe classique; A = algérien; B = berbère; F = français)

	A.C	A	B	F
A mon père, je parle				
A ma mère, je parle				
A mes frères et soeurs je parle				
A mes grands parents je parle				
Ma mère me parle				
Mon père me parle				
Mes frères et soeurs me parlent				
Mes grands-parents me parlent				
Avec des parents de France je parle				
Avec des parents d'Algérie je parle				
Avec mes voisins je parle				
Avec mes camarades d'école je parle				
En dehors de l'école et de la maison je parle				

9. Quelle est d'après vous la langue la plus parlée à la maison? ....

10. Est-ce que vous avez des problèmes de communication avec votre famille parce que vous ne parlez pas tous la (ou les) même(s) langue(s)? Oui ... Non ...

11. Dans quelle langue vous sentez-vous le plus à l'aise pour parler à votre famille?   Langue maternelle ...   arabe classique ... français ...

12. Quelle est la langue que vous utilisez le plus? à la maison ... à l'école ... en dehors de l'école et de la maison ...

13. a - *Vous* participez aux discussions de classe.

   beaucoup ... peu ... très peu ...

   b - la langue arabe est un handicap qui vous empêche de participer

   activement aux discussions de classe. Oui .... Non ....

14. Est-ce que les attitudes des enseignants envers toi sont:

   a - les mêmes que celles envers les autres élèves? Oui .... Non

   ....

   b - différentes? ......

   Si différentes,

   - dans quels aspects? ....

   - pourquoi? ....

   - comment t'affectent-elles ces différences?

   ....

15. Avez-vous l'occasion de parler l'arabe classique en dehors de

   l'école?

   Oui, souvent ... assez souvent ... occasionnellement ... jamais

   ....

16. Vos contacts avec des jeunes français de votre âge sont:

   très fréquents ... fréquents ... assez fréquents ... rares ...

   très rares ...

17. a - lisez-vous des livres, journaux et magazines en arabe?

   oui, beaucoup ... peu ... très peu ... non ...

   b - lisez-vous des livres, journaux et magazines en français?

   oui, beaucoup ... peu ... très peu ... non ...

   c - Préférez-vous regarder les programmes de la T.V.

   en français? .... en arabe? ....

   d - Vous allez au cinéma pour voir des films

   en français .... en arabe ....

e – vous écoutez la radio algérienne en arabe? Oui ... non ...

vous écoutez la radio algérienne en français? Oui... non ...

vous écoutez les radios françaises? Oui ... non ...

18.

	oui			non
	toujours	souvent	occasionnellement	
Vos parents vous aident dans vos études à la maison				
Vos parents vous encouragent à parler l'arabe				
Vos parents vous aident à lire et à écrire l'arabe				
Vos parents vous aident à parler l'arabe				

SECTION D

	oui	non	je ne sais pas
1. Il est important pour moi de maintenir ma langue maternelle en Algérie?			
2. J'ai besoin de maintenir ma langue maternelle pour ma culture et ma personnalité.			
3. L'arabe classique est important pour moi en Algérie			
4. Je veux parler l'arabe classique pour me sentir Algérien			
5. Etudier l'arabe me permettra de maintenir mon identité.			
6. Etudier l'arabe me permettra de maintenir ma culture.			

	oui	non	je ne sais pas

7. Etudier l'arabe me permettra de trouver du travail en Algérie

8. Etudier l'arabe me permettra de continuer mes études en Algérie.

9. Etudier l'arabe me permettra de réussir dans ma vie

10. Etudier l'arabe me permettra de lire le Coran.

11. L'arabe est une langue intéressante.

12. Connaître l'arabe me permettra de me sentir à l'aise en Algérie

13. Il est intéressant de faire des études même quand on n'est pas sûr de trouver du travail après

14. Je préfère continuer mes études en arabe.

Merci d'avoir répondu à toutes ces questions.

<u>Questionnaire aux parents en Algérie</u>

<u>SECTION A</u>

1. Lieu de naissance: Père .... Mère ....

2. Date de retour en Algérie: Père 19 .. Mère 19 ..

3. Comment a été fait le choix de votre lieu et domicile de résidence?

    vous avez eu le choix: Oui ... non ...

    si oui, parce que ....

    ....

    si non, parce que ....

    ....

4. Niveau d'instruction: Père ...... Mère ......

5. Profession: Père ...... Mère ......

6. Salaire net (Toutes allocations comprises) ....

7. Langue d'instruction: Père = Arabe/Français

                            Mère = Arabe/Français

8. a - Vous pensez que vos connaissances du français sont:

	Excellentes	Bonnes	Moyennes	Médiocres	Mauvaises
Père					
Mère					

    b - Vous pensez que vos connaissances de l'arabe sont:

	Excellentes	Bonnes	Moyennes	Médiocres	Mauvaises
Père					
Mère					

9. Suivez-vous maintenant des cours:

	Père		Mère	
	oui	non	oui	non
de français?				
d'arabe?				

10. Est-ce-que vous envoyez ou bien vous prenez vos enfants avec vous à la mosquée?

	oui	non
Père		
Mère		

11. Comment a été fait le choix de l'école de vos enfants?

a - C'était le seul choix ....

b - Rapprochement du lieu de résidence ....

c - Qualité de l'école ....

d - Parce que c'est une école avec peu d'enfants d'immigrés ....

e - Parce que c'est une école avec beaucoup d'enfants d'immigrés ....

f - si c'était possible, vous auriez envoyé vos enfants dans une autre école ....

g - Vous êtes satisfaits de l'école de vos enfants. Oui... non...

Pourquoi? ....

....

12. Faites-vous parti de l'organisation des parents d'élèves?

	oui	non
Père		
Mère		

13. Assistez-vous aux activités scolaires (remises de prix, excursions, etc ....)?

	oui	non
Père		
Mère		

14. Que faites-vous pour aider vos enfants?

	Père		Mère	
	oui	non	oui	non
vous leur achetez des livres				
vous leur payez des cours privés				
vous vous intéressez à leurs études				
vous les aidez dans leurs devoirs				

15. Quelle est la langue que vous utilisez le plus dans les situations suivantes?

(AC = arabe classique; A = algérien DB = dialecte berbère; F = français)

	Père				Mère			
	AC	A	DB	F	AC	A	DB	F
- pour parler à vos enfants								
- dans votre travail								
- en dehors du travail et de la maison								

SECTION B

	Oui	Non	Indécis
1. Mes enfants grandiront en France, ils n'ont pas besoin d'apprendre le français			
2. Mes enfants retourneront en France, ils ont besoin d'apprendre le français			
3. J'aimerais que mes enfants apprennent surtout le français.			

	Oui	Non	Indécis
4. J'aimerais que mes enfants apprennent surtout l'arabe.			
5. J'aimerais que mes enfants apprennent surtout l'arabe et le français.			
6. J'aimerais que mes enfants suivent des cours complémentaires de français.			
7. J'aimerais que mes enfants suivent des cours complémentaires d'arabe.			
8. J'aimerais que mes enfants fassent des études universitaires.			
9. J'aimerais que mes enfants travaillent très jeunes			
10. La langue française est plus importante que la langue arabe.			
11. J'aimerais que mes enfants aient leur instruction en français			
12. Je suis content de pouvoir parler français.			
13. Les gens instruits en français ont plus d'avenir.			

Quels sont vos soucis majeurs pour vos enfants actuellement? .....

....

....

....

....

Merci d'avoir répondu à toutes ces question.

Questionnaire aux enseignants en Algérie

Cher collègue,

Je suis maître-assistant à l'université de Batna, Algérie, poursuivant des études de thèse d'état en Angleterre. Je sollicite votre aide qui me permetta de réaliser mon enquête. Ce questionnaire est purement destiné à une étude sur l'éducation des enfants d'immigrés algériens. La confidentialité du questionnaire sera totalement respectée et, les informations qu'il contient ne seront utilisées que par l'auteur lui-même. Je vous remercie pour votre aide et contribution.

(Prière mettre une croix dans chaque case correspondante).

SECTION A

1. Nombre ou % d'élèves algériens dans vos classes ....

2. Avez-vous reçu une formation spéciale pour enseigner aux enfants d'émigrés? Oui .... Non ....

3. Matière enseignée: ....

4. Pensez-vous que les méthodes et programmes scolaires sont appropriés aux enfants d'immigrés? Oui .... Non ....

5. Quels sont, d'après vous, les éléments déterminants qui influencent la motivation des élèves? ....
....

6. Les parents de ces élèves algériens vous contactent: régulièrement .. souvent .. assez souvent .. rarement .. jamais ..

7. Les parents se soucient plus des filles que des garçons. Oui .....
Non ....

SECTION B

1. Comment est enseigné l'arabe aux élèves d'émigrés dans votre établissement?

   a - avec les autres élèves ....

   b - comme une 2 ème langue dans des classes spéciales ....

   c - les 2 catégories d'élèves ensemble en aidant les élèves avec difficultés ....

2. Vous pensez que l'arabe parlé par les enfants d'émigrés est d'un niveau:

   excellent ... bon ... moyen ... médiocre ... très bas ...

3. Selon vous, ces enfants sont: très motivés ... assez motivés ... peu motivés ... pas motivés du tout ...

4. L'arabe écrit de ces enfants est d'un niveau: excellent ...

   bon ... moyen ... médiocre ... très bas ...

5. En général, leurs connaissances de l'arabe leur permettent de suivre normalement le contenu des programmes: Oui ... Non ...

6. Les élèves d'émigrés qui obtiennent les mêmes résultats que les autres élèves du même milieu socio-économique sont en général:

   aussi nombreux .... plus nombreux .... moins nombreux ....

7. Une mauvaise connaissance de l'arabe affecte les autres matières:

   Oui .... Non ....

8. La différence de niveau, en arabe, entre élèves d'émigrés et les autres, est en général: importante .... assez importante ....

   négligeable .... inexistante ....

9. Les filles d'émigrés apprennent l'arabe mieux que les garçons

   Oui .... Non ....

10. S'il y-a une différence entre élèves d'émigrés et les autres vous pensez qu'elle est due:

Oui Non

à leur origine socio-économique

à leur période de résidence en France

à la différence de langue pratiquée à la maison

certains ont d'abord été scolarisés en France

ils n'ont pas appris le français très jeunes

autres raisons:

....

....

11. Quels sont les problèmes que cause, pour la classe, une éventuelle différence de niveau? ....

....

12. Les élèves d'émigrés terminent leur scolarité avec des connaissances de la langue arabe qui leur permettent d'évoluer normalement au sein de la société algérienne. Oui ... Non ...

13. Les problèmes qu'ils rencontrent sont surtout des problèmes de: rejet, relations .... compétences ....

14. Comment est, en général, la participation des élèves d'émigrés aux discussions de classe? très fréquente .... fréquente .... assez fréquente .... rare .... très rare ....

15. Une mauvaise connaissance de l'arabe classique parlé est un handicap pour une participation active en classe. Oui .... Non ....

16. Que faites-vous, en qualité d'enseignant, pour aider les élèves qui ont des problèmes de langue? ....

....

17. Les élèves d'émigrés qui ont besoin de cours complémentaires en langue arabe sont: nombreux .... peu nombreux .... très peu nombreux .... aucun ....

18. Autres commentaires sur l'éducation des enfants d'émigrés

....

....

....

....

Merci d'avoir répondu à ces questions.

<u>Questionnaire aux chefs d'établissements en Algérie</u>

Cher collègue,

Ceci est un questionnaire purement destiné à une étude sur l'éducation des enfants d'immigrés Algériens. Les questionnaires permettront de réunir les statistiques et informations nécessaires à l'enquête. A aucun moment votre nom ne sera demandé ni divulgué. La confidentialité du questionnaire sera totalement assurée. Le questionnaire et les informations qu'il contient ne seront utilisés que par l'auteur lui-même.

<u>SECTION A</u>

1. Nombre d'élèves dans votre établissement ....

2. Nombre d'élèves d'émigrés dans votre établissement (moyen et secondaire) ....

3. Y-a-t-il dans votre établissement ....

	oui	non
des classes de soutien pour non-arabophones?		
des cours spéciaux pour les enfants d'émigrés?		
un conseiller pour enfants d'émigrés?		

4. Est-ce-que les parents de ces enfants vous contactent pour discuter des problèmes de leurs enfants?

   oui, régulièrement .... souvent .... rarement ....

5. Vers quel enseignement s'orientent, en général, les enfants d'émigrés? enseignement général .... enseignement professionnel ... pourcentage égal dans les 2 enseignements ....

6. La langue arabe est-elle un handicap sérieux pour les enfants d'émigrés? Oui, pour la majorité .... pour une minorité ....
   pour quelques uns .... non ....

7. Pouvez-vous citer quelques problèmes propres à la classe "multiculturelle" et qui concernent les enfants d'émigrés?

....

....

....

8. Pouvez-vous faire quelques suggestions pour un meilleur apprentissage de l'arabe par les enfants d'émigrés et pour l'amélioration de leur éducation?

....

....

....

SECTION B

	oui	non	indécis
1. La différence des programmes entre l'Algérie et la France pose un problème de niveau.			
2. Le fait que certains élèves aient été scolarisés en France, pose des problèmes de langue.			
3. La durée du séjour en France intervient dans le niveau des élèves en arabe.			
4. Ceux qui ont étudié l'arabe en France se retrouvent plus avantagés.			
5. Ceux qui ont bénéficié de cours de rattrapage en arabe ont moins de difficultés de langue.			
6. L'origine socio-économique intervient dans le degré de connaissance de l'arabe et dans l'éducation en général.			

	oui	non	indécis
7. Les élèves ayant des difficultés de langue sont les moins motivés.			
8. Les élèves d'émigrés s'absentent plus que les autres.			
9. Les relations entre les enfants d'émigrés et les autres enfants sont bonnes.			
10. Les relations entre l'administration de l'école et les parents de ces enfants sont bonnes.			
11. Les relations entre les enfants d'émigrés et les enseignants sont bonnes.			
12. Les relations entre leurs parents et les enseignants sont bonnes.			
13. Les attitudes des enfants d'émigrés envers la langue française sont positives.			
14. Les attitudes des enfants d'émigrés envers la langue arabe sont positives.			
15. Les attitudes des enfants d'émigrés envers l'école sont positives.			

Merci d'avoir répondu à toutes ces questions.

Questionnaire aux officiels et aux experts

juin 1987

Madame, Mlle, Monsieur

Une recherche pour une thèse d'état (PhD préparé et supervisé à l'université de Bath, Angleterre) portant sur la scolarisation des enfants d'immigrés Algériens dans les établissements secondaires en France et en Algérie m'a permis de constater un fort taux d'échec scolaire parmi ces enfants aussi bien en France qu'en Algérie. L'Analyse de quelques facteurs liés à cet échec m'a aidé à aboutir à certaines recommandations jugées nécessaires sinon indispensables à l'amélioration de la situation scolaire de ces enfants dans les deux pays.

Pour pouvoir évaluer mes recommandations, je sollicite votre collaboration en qualité d'expert ou de responsable et vous prie de bien vouloir remplir ce questionnaire et de me le faire parvenir à l'adresse suivante:

Mr M. S. Nedjaï

School of Education

Bath University

Claverton Down

Bath   BA2 7AY

England

Je vous remercie d'advance pour votre aide et votre collaboration et vous prie d'accepter mes respects les meilleurs.

M. S. Nedjaï

Maître assistant, Université de Batna

Etudiant en PhD, Université de Bath, Angleterre

RECOMMANDATIONS

Indiquer votre profession: ....

Prière encercler la résponse avec laquelle vous compatissez le plus.

OUI! = entièrement d'accord

Oui   = d'accord

Oui? = oui, mais c'est discutable

Non? = non, mais c'est discutable

Non   = pas d'accord

NON! = absolument pas d'accord

Dans le cas où une clarification est nécessaire, prière utiliser l'espace vide à la fin de chaque recommandation.

1)   Améliorer les conditions socio-
économiques des immigrés (alphabétisation,
formation, promotion sociale etc ....).   OUI! Oui Oui? Non? Non NON!

....

....

2)   Sensibilier les parents immigrés et
les amener à s'intéresser davantage a
l'éducation de leurs enfants   OUI! Oui Oui? Non? Non NON!

....

....

3)   Faire participer les parents à la vie
de l'institution scolaire.   OUI! Oui Oui? Non? Non NON!

....

....

4) Amener les parents à collaborer d'une
façon continue avec les enseignants et
l'administration de l'école.   OUI! Oui Oui? Non? Non NON!

....

....

5)   Aider les parents à comprendre leur
rôle dans l'éducation de leurs enfants et
le rôle de l'institution scolaire.   OUI! Oui Oui? Non? Non NON!

....

....

6)   Aider les parents-surtout en France -
à avoir une image plus positive de
l'institution scolaire.   OUI! Oui Oui? Non? Non NON!

....

....

7)   Faire du milieu familial un environn-
ment favorable au travail scolaire en aident
les parents et leurs enfants à mieux se
comprendre et à collaborer au lieu de vivre
dans un perpétuel conflit néfaste pour
chacun d'eux.   OUI! Oui Oui? Non? Non NON!

8)   Adapter les institutions scolaires,
française et algérienne, aux difficultes
et aux besoins specifiques des enfants
d'immigrés.   OUI! Oui Oui? Non? Non NON!

....

....

9)   Généraliser et valoriser la langue et

la culture du pays d'origine en France.   OUI! Oui Oui? Non? Non NON!

....

....

10)   Former des enseignants destinés à un

enseignement multiculturel en France et

sensibiliser les enseignants, en Algérie,

aux difficultés spécifiques aux enfants

"de retour".   OUI! Oui Oui? Non? Non NON!

....

....

11)   Adapter, dans les deux pays, les

techniques d'enseignement et les programmes

aux besoins des enfants d'immigrés ....   OUI! Oui Oui? Non? Non NON!

....

....

12)   Mettre en place, en France et en

Algérie, des structures plus appropriées et

plus efficaces pour la préparation du

"retour" et de l'insertion des enfants

d'immigrés, notamment une meilleure prépa-

ration linguinstique indispensable pour

leur scolarisation en Algérie.   OUI! Oui Oui? Non? Non NON!

....

....

13) Meilleure sensibilisation et prépa-
ration des sociétiés d'accueil et
"d'origine", de l'institution scolaire et
du groupe-famille (surtout les parents) à
accepter les différences qui caractérisent
les enfants des immigrés.   OUI! Oui Oui? Non? Non NON!

....
....

14) Aider l'enfant de l'immigré à avoir
des attitudes plus positives envers
l'institution scolaire et son environment
familial.   OUI! Oui Oui? Non? Non NON!

....
....

15) Aider l'enfant de l'immigré à avoir
une image moins dévalorisante de ses
parents, de sa langue et de sa culture
d'origine et de sa propre personne.   OUI! Oui Oui? Non? Non NON!

....
....

16) Aider l'enfant de l'immigré à
surmonter sa crise d'identité et les
nombreuses difficultés psycho-sociologiques
qu'il rencontre dans les deux pays.   OUI! Oui Oui? Non? Non NON!

....
....

17)   Au lieu de vouloir arabiser brusque-

ment et intensivement les enfants "de retour",

un enseignement bilingue serait peut-être

plus approprié et plus profitable.   OUI! Oui Oui? Non? Non NON!

....

....

18)   Eviter, en Algérie, de penser pouvoir

résoudre le problème de la scolarisation des

enfants de "retour" par un simple enseignement

intensif de la langue Arabe. Car, complèment

déconnectés de leur société "d'origine", ces

.enfants présentent d'autres particularités et

besoins qui nécessitent considération.   OUI! Oui Oui? Non? Non NON!

....

....

Avez-vous d'autres recommendations à formuler?

....

....

....

....

Merci.

Appendix B

Translations

1. In fact, the culture and the language transmitted by the school –
    as an inmplicit heritage supposed to be common to all pupils –
    are also unknown to French pupils from deprived socio-economic
    backgrounds.

2. The cultural competence in the foreign language cannot be
    excluded from the constitution of a closed knowledge which is
    part of the whole knowledge which constitutes a compulsory access
    to the understanding of a particular cultural system. However,
    its limits are not within this system. It is specific in case it
    questions both the target culture and the culture of origin.

3. The schooling of immigrants' children cannot be done in good
    conditions unless they rapidly acquire the use of French to
    integrate the school milieu and to pursue their studies normally.

4. The general competence of children of Maghriban origin is richer
    since it is the result of an exposition to two linguistic systems
    used either alternatively or conjointly within the family milieu.

5. Repatriated a quarter of a century ago, when Algeria became
    independent, 1,230,000 Pieds Noirs will have succeeded (...) in
    settling in a home country which did not always welcome them.

6. Nowadays, one French in every three has a close member of the
    family of foreign descent from the first, second or third
    generation.

7. Hence, immigrants' children seem to be even more marginalised, in
    the French education system, than pupils from French poor social
    classes.

8. At the beginning of the sixth year of the follow-up (entry in the
    6° class of the pupils who have had a normal primary schooling),
    3.4% of foreign pupils against 2% of French pupils are in
    remedial or adaptation classes ...... In addition, 3.1% of

foreign pupils against 1.4% of French pupils are oriented to special education sections or to professional classes.

9. In special education sections and groups in work-shop classes, the population of Maghriban origin continues to be more significant than the school population of latin origin, but Algerian and Portugese pupils always represent 63% of the pupils schooled in this form of teaching.

10. Their progress is, in general, slower and they are aged at least six months more than their school-mates. In addition, they are fewer in the long cycle form of teaching and most of them are in the short form of schooling, particularly in technical teaching.

11. The number of foreign pupils who undertake long studies is less significant than that of French pupils. Very often, they receive – after the general teaching cycle – a short professional training which is part of the compulsory schooling.

12. French pupils take up their studies further than foreign pupils.

13. This phenomenon is even more apparent among certain eithnic groups: Algerians, who represent 29% of foreign pupils, constitute 31.5% and 35.4% of foreign pupils in adaptation and remedial teaching, respectively.

14. It is recognised that this pre-schooling allows to diminish the number of redoublements in the preparatory class and constitutes one of the factors which reduce certain handicaps.

15. The French education system is mainly a system of evaluation of our young people: grades, appreciations, selections, orientations characterise the whole schooling. People are not interested to know how pupils and students judge their teachers, their institutions and their education.

16. If foreign pupils fail in our school system, this is particularly due, not to their quality of foreigners, but to their quality of foreign children.

17. The primary school has been to the majority of our young immigrants, and especially to the Maghribans, the place where they have encountered, for the first time, racist and ethnocentric reactions.

18. In Roubaix, there are about 12,000 Algerians and 8000 Portugese. As far as delinquency is concerned, we only hear about Algerians and practically nothing about Portugese (...). Algerians adapt less well than Italians or Portugese. There is the religious barrier and, why not mention it, the sequel of the Algerian War. There is a real racism and on behalf of both communities. Algerians feel rejected and behave in an aggressive way or withdraw within themselves. There is a constant movement between aggressiveness and rejection.

19. If we only consider the social description, the migrant always has a status which is inferior to that of the other actors in the text.

20. Migrants' profession is most of the time presented as inferior and associated with deprivation and poverty. In addition, they are confronted with other actors who are not only better equipped than them, but who often possess a certain power even when they are modest.

21. We notice (...) that, unlike her mother, the Maghriban girl no longer accepts the place attributed to the woman in the culture of Islamic countries (...). Almost all girls claim the same access as men to work and leisure.