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**Policies and Practices in the United States and France:
incorporating the Cubans in Miami and the Maghrebis in
Marseille**

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MA Programme Euroculture

Declaration

I, Clara Garcin hereby declare that this thesis, entitled "(Policies and Practices in the United States and France: incorporating the Cubans in Miami and the Maghrebis in Marseille)", submitted as partial requirement for the MA Programme Euroculture, is my own original work and expressed in my own words. Any use made within this text of works of other authors in any form (e.g. ideas, figures, texts, tables, etc.) are properly acknowledged in the text as well as in the bibliography.

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Abstract

Why has the assimilation of Maghrebis and Cubans been so contentious in France and the United States? How have policy-makers and local institutions treated the assimilation of those two migrant groups? This study compares the policies and practices of two countries in terms of assimilation and more specifically in the educational environment. As such, it contributes to the comparative studies done on immigration and integration policies. Through an analysis of official government documents of the second half of the twentieth century, the present thesis examines and compares how policy-makers and institutions, through language and bilingual programs, dealt with the assimilation of the Maghrebis and the Cubans. The findings of the thesis specify that France and the United States have different approaches to assimilation but that they have set up programs that look at facilitating the host-country-language acquisition in order. I conclude that the study finds out that the national and local level complement each other as a way to reinforce the assimilation of both migrant groups.

Keywords: France, United States, Assimilation, National Policies, Local Practices, Bilingual Education

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Friedrich Heckmann, director of the research institute European forum for migration studies says that “As the societal definition of the immigration situation France never understood herself – like the United States – as a country or nation of immigrants. The large recruitment of foreign workers in the 60s and 70s ‘... was viewed and often felt as work immigration limited in time.’”¹ But the reality of both countries is quite different, as we can understand from its history. Questions of immigration first became politicized between the end of the 19th century and WWI.² In the decade that followed, as various influxes of migrants arrived on US and French territory, important changes became necessary. Policymakers had to review immigration laws in order to control the flows of migrants but also to incorporate those newcomers. How did policymakers attend to the new needs of migrants? Did they try to mix two cultures together and form a homogeneous culture or did they try to maintain both the original culture and the new one together but as separates? All and all what was the right way to “incorporate” these new migrants into their host society?

This thesis compares specific education policies and practices from two countries, the United States and France, as a means to incorporate Maghrebis and Cubans into their society. Education is a factor associated to positive adaptation. According to John Berry, it represents a personal resource for immigrants, it is a correlate of other resources and it helps them attune to certain features of the society they decide to settle in, such as language, history, values and norms.³ Following the important immigration movements of the second half of the 20th century and the masse arrival of migrants in the cities of Marseille and Miami, integration policies, such as language programs and bilingual education, were put in place, as high rates of school dropouts were observed. This study not only looks at and compares the policies set up by French and American governments in terms of integration but also looks at the relation between the national policies and the local practices implemented by schools in Marseille and Miami.

¹ Friedrich Heckmann, "Integration Policies in Europe: National Differences or Convergence?" *European Societies or European Society? Migration and Inter-Ethnic Relations in Europe*, September 23-28, 1999, accessed July 18th, 2018, http://www.efms.uni-bamberg.de/pdf/efms_p33.pdf.

² Martin A. Schain, *The Politics of Immigration in France, Britain and the United States: A Comparative Study* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 1-35.

³ John W. Berry, "Lead Article - Immigration, Acculturation, and Adaptation," *Applied Psychology* 46, no. (1997), accessed July 18th, 2018, <https://doi:10.1080/026999497378467>.

1.1 Research problem, research question and case selection

This research paper aims at improving our understanding of the relationship between national policies and local practices or more specifically to see if they can complement each other. More particularly, it focuses on the assimilation of the Cubans and Maghrebis in the education system as a stepping stone to complete assimilation. Integration policies have evolved with time and with the changing scenarios of immigration. I compare a total of two national education policies that aim to incorporate the studied groups and I also compare two local practices set up in schools in order to look at what the different levels do for the migrants. The objective is to go beyond the traditional model of integration to understand that there are different ways in which migrants can incorporate the education system and society as a whole. In obtaining a more complete picture of migrant's assimilation, I shed light on the issues of language programs and bilingual education in the context of assimilation of two migrant groups in France and the United States.

In acquiring a deeper knowledge of the interplay between national policies and local policies, I ask the following questions: what frameworks have national education policies provided as a way for migrants to incorporate in Miami and Marseille? What role have local practices in schools played in the incorporation process of migrants? Do or can local practices reinforce national policies and if so the incorporation of migrants? What differences exist between the United States' policies and France's policies and what can one learn from the other? The main question that guides my research is: do local practices and national policies complement each other as a way to reinforce the assimilation of Cubans and Maghrebis in Miami and Marseille?

1.2 Case study

1.2.1 Miami

The American Dream has long attracted people from all over the world. If immigration started well before the 20th century, I decide to reflect on the important influxes of the second half of the 20th century as they helped shape Florida and more importantly Miami into the "minority-majority" city that it is today. Many agree to say that Miami is the best success story when it comes to the integration of migrants in the United States. This obviously, is not only due to its

unique history, to the fact that it was a more or less new city when the first wave arrived but also due to the government putting much effort into incorporating the newcomers.

Miami became the first city in the history of the United States to have a majority population that was initially a minority: the Hispanics. In 1970, 44.6% of Miami's population was Hispanic while 41.7% was White.⁴ This was the result of the Cuban Revolution, when an unprecedented number of Cubans fled communism in South Florida at the beginning of the 1960s. But an even bigger influx (124,769 Cubans) arrived later in 1980 with the Mariel Boatlift when Fidel Castro decided to let the "scum" of the island leave.⁵ The Marielitos changed the whole landscape of Miami once they arrived on the freedom boats, highlighting the segregation problems Miami was facing at the time with another population, the African Americans. Historian Raymond A. Mohl researched on the "Whitening Miami" issue of the 20th century and it was clear that at the time, the city was mostly dealing with a "Black vs. White" policy. "Documentary evidence drawn from government records and archives reveals a purposeful official effort to impose racial boundaries and to segregate African Americans residentially."⁶ The Civil Rights movement had an important impact on the immigration history of Miami.

From 139,798 Whites or Anglo Americans in 1970, in ten years the number had already diminished to 67,799.⁷ Interestingly, we observe that the exodus of Anglos happened before the Marielitos arrived in Miami. Of all of America's cities, Miami's ethnic composition was the most transformed in the 1970-1990 period. By 1970, Whites comprised but 19.5% of the total population in Miami. Six out of ten Miamians were Hispanic-born native and foreign-born; most of them, Cubans. "Miami had become the nation's first full-fledged experiment in bicultural living in the contemporary era."⁸

Immigration during the second half of the 20th century led Florida and the United States in general, to follow a new path in terms of immigration policies as an unparalleled shift in demography was underway. If in 1924, the Immigration Act had set a strict limit on

⁴ Martin, John. L, Bouvier, Leon.F and Leonard William "Shaping Florida: The Effects of Immigration, 1970-2020" <https://cis.org/Report/Shaping-Florida-Effects-Immigration-19702020>

⁵ Alejandro Portes and Alex Stepick, *City on the Edge: The Transformation of Miami* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1994), 26.

⁶ Mohl, Raymond A. "Whitening Miami: Race, Housing, and Government Policy in Twentieth-Century Dade County." *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 79, no. 3 (2001): 319-45. Accessed April 22nd, 2018 <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.its.uu.se/stable/30150856>.

⁷ Martin, Bouvier, and William "Shaping Florida: The Effects of Immigration, 1970-2020"

⁸ Alejandro Portes and Alex Stepick, *City on the Edge: The Transformation of Miami* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1994), 26.

the overall number of immigrants and established quotas based on nationality, it loosened its policy in the 1940s and 1950s. Finally, in 1965, under pressure from the Civil Rights movement, Congress passed the Immigration and Nationality Act eliminating the quota system based on nationality and preferring a similar form of family reunification and protection of refugees from areas of violence and conflict. Lastly, in 1966, the Cuban Refugee Adjustment Act, also known as wet-foot/dry-foot, allowed permanent resident status to all Cubans entering United States territory or who were already there.

At the time of the Mariel Boatlift, President Jimmy Carter (1977-1981) was in charge of the country and did much effort to integrate the Cubans into American society. One of his main strategies was to improve relations between Cuba and the United States. Paradoxically, the “old” Cubans were not so keen on seeing more Cubans enter Miami. They were not very acceptant of the Marielitos because as Castro said, it was the crazy or criminals that left the country. At the time, the Miami Herald read “This is not the entrepreneurial class that moved in 15 years ago... A Cuban ghetto might develop.”⁹ This though, has been widely criticized as it is said that only 10 to 20% of the Marielitos were criminals.¹⁰

There is an important difference between the first stream of Cubans who came out of their free-will to escape from communism, (although they initially wanted to return when Castro would have been overthrown) and the second stream that arrived later and was supposed to represent a threat to the Miami community. As W. Lloyd Warner and Leo Srole argue, certain characteristics lead to what is described as the fundamental criteria of elite acceptance such as “skin color, language, and religion”.¹¹ In the end, even if Miami does not resemble in the slightest the models of urban classics, the assimilation, like in any other city becomes easier if you thrive for success and are allowed with the tools to reach it. Cubans were known to have a high respect for education, a great work-ethic and the expectation as well as the culture of middle-class achievement. All those characteristics made it easier for them to assimilate in Miami.

1.2.2 Marseille

⁹ Alejandro Portes and Alex Stepick, *City on the Edge: The Transformation of Miami* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1994), 26.

¹⁰ Joseph Malinicono, "For Marielitos, a New Sign of Hope," *The New York Times*, December 16, 1984, accessed August 5th, 2018.

¹¹ Alejandro Portes and Alex Stepick, *City on the Edge: The Transformation of Miami* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1994), 26.

The Mediterranean has long been a passage for migrants coming from the Maghreb region in search of work and Marseille has been the perfect landing spot. The 20th century, with two world wars and France taking the center stage, meant an indispensable recruitment of soldiers but also labor workers during the famous “Trente Glorieuses”. Algeria, a French colony until 1962, played an elementary role in the development of French immigration. When the Algerian war ended and many came to live in France, the French government decided to take drastic measures to welcome those migrants.

The Maghrebis arrived in the 1960s and were recognized by both political parties and public authorities in France but the state believed that those populations would come without settling permanently; they clearly only viewed them as guest migrant workers. This meant that there was no real restriction in regards to immigration flows and as a matter of fact, when Valérie Giscard d’Estaing became president, he took the decision to put into place a “family reunification” law in 1976. As lots of families had been separated at the end of the colonization period, this meant that many women and children would be coming to France in the coming years and settle with their families. The French government had taken an important step in regards to what direction it would take vis-à-vis immigration.

Only a few years earlier in 1973-74, France like many other countries was going through the economic crisis after the early 1970s oil shortage and was no longer in need of the labor it had needed before. Marseille attracted many Maghrebi who had come to better their family’s economic status but the city was quick to become overcrowded and with an expanding slum. Unemployment in the 1970s became an important issue that the French government had to deal with and at the same time, integration issues were becoming a major part of French society’s concerns. At the time, two important questions were tackled by the French government: illegal immigration and the return policies. Martin Schain says that “the best defined process of integration seems to be the French Republican model”¹². We will analyze the model later and see that with the arrival of North Africans, observed cultural differences often formed into prejudices against them and the model was seriously challenged.

Sociologist, Maxim Silverman, says that “the pattern of policymaking has been conditioned by the ‘racialized’ view of the post-1960s wave of non-European immigrants”¹³.

¹² Martin Schain, "Managing Difference: Immigrant Integration Policy in France, Britain, and the United States," *Social Research: An International Quarterly* 77 (2010): accessed April 10th, 2018, <https://muse-jhu-edu.ezproxy.its.uu.se/article/528020/pdf>.

¹³ Ariane Chebel d’Appollonia, Simon Reich, ed. *Managing ethnic diversity after 9/11* (Rutgers University Press, 2010) 140

And it is precisely the emphasis that was put on race that has brought academics to further look into the limits of the integrative capacities of the French version of the Melting Pot¹⁴. Finally, in the 1980s, Valérie Giscard d'Estaing instituted the National Office for the Promotion of Immigrants Cultures. The Maghrebi population was setting up different associations in the 1980s and they became a network of established intermediaries for migrants to negotiate with trade unions, political parties and so on (they were legalized in 1981 by the French government)¹⁵. Although different measures were put into place during that period, the main goal was still to encourage the return of Maghrebi immigrants to their homeland¹⁶.

¹⁴ Schain "Managing Difference: Immigrant Integration Policy in France, Britain, and the United States,"

¹⁵ Ibid

¹⁶ Noémie Govindin, Léa Rodzinski, and Morgane Muchembled, "Les Politiques D'intégration Des Migrants : Une Question Au Cœur De la Politique Française," Observatoire Des Politiques Publiques De L'Université Paris-Est Créteil, December 27, 2017, accessed July 23rd, 2018, http://oppec.fr/les-politiques-dintegration-des-migrants-une-question-au-coeur-de-la-politique-francaise#_ftn3.

Chapter 2: Framing the debates on immigration and integration

2.1 Changing approaches to integration and assimilation

What I show in the following section is the evolution of integration and assimilation theories in relation to the always evolving needs of migrants throughout the second half of the 20th century (when immigration policies became a pivotal point for migrants' incorporation in Miami and Marseille as immigration policies became more open). Questions such as the language that immigrants use, who they identify with and how they coexist with other inhabitants of the city are relevant to understand today's integration issues. So my aim here is to shed light on different concepts, ideas and understandings of certain theories in order to help us comprehend how policymakers in the United States and France understand the needs of migrants trying to settle into a new society.

Ian Davies says the following: "Integration remains difficult and costly as long as immigrants remain on the outside looking in from the position of a poor, segregated under-class, lacking in language skills and training, needed to become productive members of society."¹⁷ France and the United States have a different history when it comes to immigration and therefore have had different approaches as to integrating or assimilating its migrant population. Some theoretical frameworks suggest that incorporation can be blocked due to certain factors while others state that it can only slow it down. In the following literature review, we will critically analyze the different models.

2.1.1 The melting-pot model or cultural assimilation

The United States has long been looked at as the perfect example of the melting-pot model, a "concept that has been part of public consciousness for a century or more".¹⁸ The process which first appeared in a play by Israel Zangwill in 1908 has been equated to the terms Americanization, cultural assimilation and acculturation.¹⁹ First, the sociological paradigm of classic assimilation dates back to the Chicago School of the 1920s. The first ones to define it

¹⁷ Ian Davies, "Latino Immigration and Social Change in the United States: Toward an Ethical Immigration Policy," *Journal of Business Ethics* 88, no. S2 (2009): accessed July 3rd, 2018, doi:10.1007/s10551-009-0291-x.

¹⁸ Susan K. Brown and Frank D. Bean, "Assimilation Models, Old and New: Explaining a Long-Term Process," Migrationpolicy.org, March 02, 2017, accessed April 20, 2018,

<https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/assimilation-models-old-and-new-explaining-long-term-process>.

¹⁹ Ibid

were Robert E. Park and W.I. Thomas. Park provided a classical assimilation definition: “a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons and groups and, by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life”.²⁰ Scholars argued that Park omitted to include what assimilation must include: “the erasure of all signs of ethnic origins” meaning the complete loss of identity that defines assimilation.²¹ Many other scholars followed, trying to develop what would be the best assimilation definition as to migrants coming to the United States.

More recently, it was sociologists Richard Alba and Victor Nee who argued that assimilation needed to be reexamined as immigration patterns were evolving and were no longer approaching the “Anglo-conformist” mold of the early 20th century. The classic assimilation concept was defined as being out of touch with contemporary multicultural realities.

Was the idea to melt down the immigrants and then pour the resulting, formless liquid into the preexisting cultural and social molds modeled on Anglo-Protestants like Henry Ford and Woodrow Wilson, or was the idea instead that everyone, Mayflower descendants and Sicilians, Ashkenazi and Slovaks, would act chemically upon each other so that all would be changed, and a new compound would emerge?²²

Throughout the 20th century, patterns of immigration evolved in the United States as migrant groups arrived from various countries around the globe; immigration policies evolved with the different number of incoming migrants but also with regards to the economic situation of the host country. The first migrants who came, mainly Europeans, who arrived in the early 20th century, assimilated easily and cities like New York City became true versions of the Melting-Pot where a classical assimilation model could be found. The migrants slightly changed the cultural landscape of the country but successfully assimilated into America’s pre-existing culture.

Milton Gordon in *Assimilation in American life* explains his concept of assimilation as one that requires the complete extinction of ethnic identity in favor of an exclusive national

²⁰ Richard Alba and Victor Nee, "Rethinking Assimilation Theory for a New Era of Immigration," *International Migration Review* 31, no. 4 (1997): accessed April 29, 2018, <https://doi:10.2307/2547416>.

²¹ Ibid

²² "Amalgamation and Hypodescent: The Question of Ethnoracial Mixture in the History of the United States," *The American Historical Review*, 2003, accessed April 25, 2018, doi:10.1086/ahr/108.5.1363. <https://www-jstor-org.ezproxy.its.uu.se/stable/pdf/10.1086/529971.pdf>

American identity.²³ Gordon was criticized for being too uniform. He believed that acculturation (cultural assimilation) could occur without being accompanied by any other form of assimilation (structural assimilation for example), meaning that the immigrant could assimilate the culture of his host society without assimilating as a whole. His concept of “identificational assimilation” was criticized by other scholars, such as Alba and Nee who thought his expectations of migrants’ assimilation were too high.

But in Miami, during the second half of the 20th century, the Hispanic population faced new and different challenges. Factors that had not mattered before, such as skin color, language and religion started playing a crucial role in the incorporation of the Hispanics.²⁴ Moreover, the Civil Rights movement started gaining momentum in the 1950s with different important protests taking place and in 1954, in *Brown v. Board of Education*, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled unconstitutional separate schools for blacks and whites.²⁵ The movement was a seismic shift in the incorporation of Cubans in Miami and played a significant role in the development of Miami as a majority Hispanic metropolis.

One of the important transformations in the various immigration influxes of the 20th century was, as sociologists Jennifer Lee and Frank D. Bean noted that the new immigrants in the United States neither defined themselves as black or white. Moreover, the younger ones would rather define themselves as multiracial.²⁶ Migrants just did not follow the paths old models of immigration did and this is why the assimilation models were evolving.

Scholars such as Alejandro Portes and Nathan Glazer argued that because of certain factors present in societies (social status, education, employment, language, color of skin), assimilation could be blocked to certain people.²⁷ Criticizing the classic assimilation of the Chicago School they brought up this new stream of thought called the “racial/ethnic disadvantage model”.²⁸ Whether scholars agreed or not on the issue of assimilation being a process completely blocked or not, what is certain is that there were obstacles to the

²³ Uzi Rebhun, "Assimilation in American Life: An Empirical Assessment of Milton Gordon's Multi-dimensional Theory," *Journal of Contemporary Religion* 30, no. 3 (2015): accessed April 25, 2018, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13537903.2015.1081350>.

²⁴ Alejandro Portes and Alex Stepick, *City on the Edge: The Transformation of Miami* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1994), 6.

²⁵ A. Reyanaldo Contreras, "The Impact of Brown on the Education of Latinos," *Journal of Negro Education* 63, no. 3 (1994): accessed June 14, 2018, <http://www.latinamericanstudies.org/latinos/brown.pdf>.

²⁶ Brown and Bean, "Assimilation Models, Old and New: Explaining a Long-Term Process,"

²⁷ Alejandro Portes, "La maquina política cubana-estadounidense: reflexiones sobre su origen y permanencia Foro Internacional, Vol. 43, No. 3 (173) (Jul. - Sep., 2003), pp. 608-626 accessed June 10, 2018 <https://www-jstor-org.ezproxy.its.uu.se/stable/pdf/27739200.pdf>

²⁸ Brown and Bean, "Assimilation Models, Old and New: Explaining a Long-Term Process,"

assimilation of migrants when arriving in a new country. The barriers that the migrants faced could eventually be overcome, with the help of specific national and local policies.

In his book *City on the Edge: The Transformation of Miami*, sociologist Alejandro Portes managed to showcase the assimilation challenges that certain Cubans were facing when they arrived in Florida in the 1960s but most of all, he depicted the success story of Miami by describing the relations of different ethnic groups in the second half of the 20th century.²⁹ The mix of cultures and ethnicities explained a fusion of concepts and ideas that all emerged from the melting-pot model and the diverse assimilation models mentioned above.

2.1.2 The French integration model

Immigration policy in France has been shaped through the diverging choices of the “performing state” and the republican principles of the “egalitarian law state”.³⁰ What is clear is that the government has changed its position as to incorporating Maghrebis and particularly Algerians following the 1970s economic crisis, the family reunification law, and the evolving needs of French society. It is also to be noted, that the first and second generation have had a different story in France and a different relation to their original identity. This has participated in the evolution of French assimilation/integration models.

The French model has been considered the most adaptive strategy to the incorporation of immigrants as it has meant that the migrant keeps his culture but also absorbs a new one. But before this, the social function, a 1955 theory of Robert King Merton and Herbert Spencer that sees society as a complex system whose parts work together to promote solidarity and stability was aiming at the assimilation of the Algerian workers.³¹ This meant that when Algerians arrived after the independence of Algeria, the French government was doing all it could to assimilate them into French society, meaning Algerians would lose their original identity. This was later replaced by a policy of control when their incorporation into French society deteriorated and the French authorities became aware of their poor living conditions.

²⁹ Portes and Stepick, *City on the Edge: The Transformation of Miami*

³⁰ Dominique Maillard, "The Muslims in France and the French Model of Integration," *Mediterranean Quarterly* 16, no. 1 (2005): accessed April 7, 2018, doi:10.1215/10474552-16-1-62. <https://muse-jhu-edu.ezproxy.its.uu.se/article/180777/pdf>

³¹ Georges Gurvitch, « Une source oubliée des concepts de ‘structure social’, "Fonction Social et Institution" Herbert Spencer," *Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie*, accessed April 5, 2018 <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40689007>.

The French government built more “bachelors residences” which were specifically built for one man and not an entire family and finally family reunification was put into place in 1978.³²

Sociology analyzes integration as a social process while in public debates it is a goal (the politics of integration) and a political issue (notably the crisis of the integration model). The classic definition of integration has been taken from the School of Chicago and by classics such as Emile Durkheim. It defines it as a *process* by which the individual places himself in a society and socializes. The process comes with learning standards and values that rule the social body; this process is facilitated by an access to education but also through the family. Durkheim understood it as the fabrication of future citizens.³³ Therefore, classic integration would be first: economic integration (getting a job), then the mastering of the language, and finally the process of acculturation which looks at norms, customs and values of the society and the process of social ascension that the migrant is supposed to gain.

Therefore if we apply the model to the Algerians who came to France at the end of the War, we clearly see that they do not meet with the prerequisites of classic integration because of how they are incorporating in the French system. Sociologist, Dominique Schnapper, agrees to say that the French government has always tried to constrain Maghrebi families to conform to French family values proving that the dominant ideology remains the cultural assimilation of foreigners or here, at least, a loss of original family values.³⁴ France was built on a model where equality and liberty were some of the elementary pillars of the Republic and where integration was just a logic step to welcoming the immigrant population. The model of integration has since the arrival of the Maghrebi population, been strongly questioned.

When the French High Council of Integration was created in France in 1989, it clearly said that it did not define integration as a middle-of-the-road position between “assimilation” and mere “insertion” but as a specific “process”.³⁵ Integration is a long process. Ian Davis has talked about bicultural integration defining it as successfully maintaining both identities in

³² Jean-Louis Pan Ké Shon and Claire Scodellaro, "Discrimination Au Logement Et Ségrégation Ethno- raciale En France," Documents De Travail , accessed April 5, 2018 https://www.ined.fr/fichier/s_rubrique/19561/document_travail171.fr.pdf.

³³ Vincent Tiberj, "Intégration," *Les 100 Mots De La Sociologie*: accessed June 5, 2018, <https://journals.openedition.org/sociologie/2484>.

³⁴ Dominique Schnapper, "La France De L'intégration," *Sociologie De La Nation*, 1991, 1009-1011, accessed May 29, 2018, https://www.persee.fr/doc/polit_0032-342x_1991_num_56_4_4085_t1_1009_0000_2.

³⁵ Dominique Maillard, "The Muslims in France and the French Model of Integration," *Mediterranean Quarterly* 16, no. 1 (2005): accessed April 7, 2018, <https://doi:10.1215/10474552-16-1-62.71>.

tandem (the one of origin and the heritage one).³⁶ The first generation Algerians who arrived in France made of religion a private affair. What was private though, soon became a public affair as can be seen with the rise of communitarianism and with the affair of the veil in 1989. Certain aspects of Maghrebi culture have been defined as being incompatible with French customs and values and scholars soon discussed the integration “crisis” or “breakdown”.³⁷

The classical or straight-line definition of acculturation, which was presented by Redfield, Linton and Herskovits, explained that: “acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into direct and continuous contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups”.³⁸ Eventually, the minority culture became indistinguishable from the majority culture and that is when we have assimilation. But assimilation is a two-way process. Not only does the minority culture changes but the majority culture as well because of the minority culture coming in.

John Berry is one of the main establishers of the “strategies of acculturation”. The model was founded on two variables: the desire to have contacts and to participate in the host society and the desire to maintain the immigrant’s or minority group’s culture.³⁹ Berry posed two questions. First: should we maintain our culture and identity of origin? And second: should we have contact with the host society and participate in social life? He then categorized on one side the contact and participation with the sociocultural environment and on the other the preservation of the original culture. Then he made subcategories which answered the two questions stated before. Finally, four conclusions as to the migrant’s incorporation became possible: assimilation, integration, marginalization or separation from society. It should also be mentioned that Berry insisted on maintaining links to the original culture as a necessary condition to a good integration.⁴⁰ Integration supposes a good knowledge of one’s self and of its origins. And it is that knowledge that allows for a thoughtful integration and therefore successful one. But the children of the Algerians who

³⁶ Davies, Ian. "Latino Immigration and Social Change in the United States: Toward an Ethical Immigration Policy." *Journal of Business Ethics* 88 (2009): 377-91. Accessed April 10, 2018 <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.its.uu.se/stable/27749711>.

³⁷ Maillard, "The Muslims in France and the French Model of Integration"

³⁸ Raymond H. C. Teske and Bardin H. Nelson, "Acculturation and Assimilation: A Clarification," *American Ethnologist* 1, no. 2 (1974): accessed June 10, 2018 <https://doi:10.1525/ae.1974.1.2.02a00090>.

Robert Redfield, Ralph Linton, and Melville J. Herskovits, "162. A Memorandum for the Study of Acculturation," *Man* 35 (1935): , accessed June 10, 2018, <https://doi:10.2307/2791001>.

³⁹ John W. Berry, "Acculturation: Living Successfully in Two Cultures," *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 29, no. 6 (2005): accessed June 11, 2018, <https://doi:10.1016/j.ijintrel.2005.07.013>.

⁴⁰ Ibid

came to France have always been linked to the representation and the imaginary, the origin of the parents. Therefore, constructing an identity has been a challenge in a society where one is always thought of as the origin of the parents.⁴¹

Clanet (1990) came up with the notion of a “pluralist integration” as a way to clear out all confusions that exist on integration and assimilation. Integration and assimilation are completely opposed whenever there is a situation involving a cultural contact.⁴² In his opinion, in order to fully integrate, there has to be an exchange between migrant and host culture, but only in a position of equality. In order to reach this, there are three conditions that need to be met: a common language, the recognition of the right to have a different culture and the reciprocity of relations and exchanges between different cultural backgrounds.⁴³

2.1.3 Why Bilingual Education Matters

Michele S. Moses, Professor of Educational Foundations, Policy and Practice in “Why Bilingual Education is needed: a philosophical response to the critics” says that when students feel close to their cultural identity and when they are in a favorable social context, then they have the best chances to become self-determined.⁴⁴ Moses centers the bilingual policy, although it has been widely criticized by scholars and politicians, on the relationship bilingual education has with the sense of identity the students have and the freedom it provides to pursue the life they wish to pursue.

Scholars in linguistics continue to put forward competing theories on bilingual education. However, most of them agree to say that the ability young children have to learn languages and their emerging reading and writing skills “are affected by their social environments, including the language(s) to which they are exposed”.⁴⁵

⁴¹ Azzam Amin, "L'intégration Des Jeunes Français Issus De L'immigration," *Différences Culturelles, Intégration Et Laïcité*, 2005, accessed June 12, 2018, <https://doi.org/10.3917/cnx.083.0131>.

⁴² Ibid

⁴³ Amin, Azzam. « L'intégration des jeunes Français issus de l'immigration. Le cas des jeunes issus de l'immigration arabo-musulmane et turque : Maghreb, Moyen-Orient et Turquie », *Connexions*, vol. n° 83, no. 1, 2005, pp. 131-147. Accessed April 15, 2018 <https://doi.org/10.3917/cnx.083.0131>

⁴⁴ Michele S. Moses, "Why Bilingual Education Policy Is Needed: A Philosophical Response to the Critics," *Bilingual Research Journal* 24, no. 4 (2000): , accessed November 5, 2018, <https://doi.org/10.1080/15235882.2000.10162771>.

⁴⁵ Jessica Ball, *Enhancing Learning of Children from Diverse Language Backgrounds*, report, University of Victoria (Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 2011). 1-86

There are two main approaches that dominate understandings about language acquisition, the behaviorist theory and the nativist theory. Frederic Skinner's behaviorist theory claims that language is a set of habits that can be acquired by means of conditioning. Noam Chomsky talks about the nativist approach of language which says that children learn their maternal language with such ease due to the fact that it is innate and children are born with a set of rules about language. The learning of any other language is therefore internally guided.⁴⁶ In the behaviorist theory, it is thought that when the structure of both the first and second language is similar, then it is easier for children to learn the second language. On the other hand, the nativist theory believes that knowing one first language doesn't necessarily help the learning of a second language.

Another theory called the "separate development hypothesis" proclaims that in the first two years of learning the maternal language and a second language, these two will mix up and only after these two years will the learning process become independent in both L1 and L2.⁴⁷ But in this thesis the main hypothesis that will interest us is "the threshold level hypothesis" which agrees to say that until a threshold of competence hasn't been reached in the maternal language, then the second language cannot successfully be learned. The theory was developed by Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukoma in 1976. Their research was guided by a group of Finns who migrated to Sweden and as they hadn't developed sufficient language skill in Finnish before arriving, fell behind Swedish children in both Finnish and Swedish. The outcome of this lack of fluency in the first language and the challenge of closing the gap with host country children when arriving in a new country has been called "semilingualism" as the child is neither fluent in L1 nor L2.

Rudolph C. Troike criticizes the fact that too little research had been carried out before they implemented bilingual education programs in the United States. In "Research Evidence for the Effectiveness of Bilingual Education", he demonstrates through surveys conducted by the Center for Applied Linguistics that used unpublished evaluations of Title VII program (unless indicated otherwise), the existence of 66 findings in total, of which 1% was negative, 58% positive and 41% neutral proving that bilingual education was mostly successful.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Ball, Enhancing Learning of Children from Diverse Language Backgrounds

⁴⁷ Ibid

⁴⁸ Rudolph C. Troike, "Research Evidence for the Effectiveness of Bilingual Education," NABE Journal 3, no. 1 (1978): , accessed November 7, 2018, <https://doi.org/10.1080/08855072.1978.10668341>.

Finally, it was also proved that children from Spanish-speaking homes were more likely to have reduced literacy outcomes due to their limited English abilities.⁴⁹

2.2 Theoretical framework

The theoretical review of the different approaches to integration and assimilation allows us to draw some conclusions in regards to the specific differences in terms of integration and assimilation that exist between France and the United States. The countries studied in this thesis have different histories and approaches to immigration and incorporation, providing fertile ground to examine cross-country approaches. On the one hand, we have the United States represented as a classic settler society and on the other hand, we have France who received a large influx of immigrants after World War Two.

First, American sociology was founded on the works of the Chicago School in the 1920s so the many sociologists who studied immigration and the incorporation of immigrants in the United States or in France followed in the classic Chicago School footsteps. But immigration trends have constantly changed since the 1920s. The Civil Rights movement in the United States, the Algerian War in France brought new challenges to incorporating immigrants. Alejandro Portes was one of the first to point out that the classic theory was not fitting into the new landscapes and we saw that both in the case of Marseille and Miami, there have been cases where incorporation was blocked due to various factors.⁵⁰ So although, certain social factors came to play an important role in the integration or assimilation, what Durkheim emphasized is that incorporation is always going to be a moving process.

Second, assimilation and integration, as John Berry explained in his strategies of acculturation, are the automatic answers to migrants' immigration and incorporation in a new society. Both integration and assimilation are highly strategic and political in a sense that they help to advance political objectives, which may or may not be in the best interest of immigrants. In the end, politicians and their politics of immigration have a direct impact on how immigrants will assimilate or integrate. This is explained in *The Politics of Immigration*,

⁴⁹ Dana Bitetti and Carol Scheffner Hammer, "The Home Literacy Environment and the English Narrative Development of Spanish–English Bilingual Children," *Journal of Speech Language and Hearing Research* 59, no. 5 (2016): accessed November 5, 2018, https://doi:10.1044/2016_jslhr-1-15-0064.

⁵⁰ Azzam. « L'intégration des jeunes Français issus de l'immigration. Le cas des jeunes issus de l'immigration arabo-musulmane et turque : Maghreb, Moyen-Orient et Turquie »

where Martin Schain drives a comparison that shows how immigration policies have changed over time in France and the United States.⁵¹

Third, the central theme of this thesis is Alejandro Portes' segmented assimilation theory that explains why and how "new migrants" and their descendants adopt different integration itineraries than the "ancient" influxes of migration. It emphasizes that there is more than one way to become "American" and that "Americanization" is not necessarily beneficial.⁵² This theory can also be analyzed in the French context of North Africa immigration in the second half of the 20th century as it analyzes the integration process from a dual point of view of acculturation. On the one side, one finds the process of assimilating the culture of the host country and on the other side, one finds a focus on economic adaptation (considering the migrant encounters himself in a society composed of unequal and segregated segments).⁵³

Portes classified his segmented assimilation theory under three different dimensions. The first one is upward social mobility. This is the best way a migrant can incorporate meaning that there is both acculturation and economic integration into the host society. The second way is downward social mobility: there is a presence of acculturation but there is no economic integration into the host society (Portes presented the case of African Americans in the United States). The third and last way is when there is economic integration into middle-class society but a late form of acculturation and a deliberated preservation of the migrant's community values preserving cultural characteristics (this is what Gordon calls cultural pluralism and it is usually accompanied by positive social mobility).

Alejandro Portes, in his theory, argues that there are numerous factors that determine the incorporation of migrants. There are two types of factors; first, the *individual* factors that are directed to education, language, birthplace, aspiration, arrival age and length of the stay. Second, there are the *contextual* factors that regroup social and ethnic status of the family, place of residence, socio-economic characteristic of the community and attitude of the receiving country towards the migrant population.

⁵¹ Martin A. Schain, *The Politics of Immigration in France, Britain and the United States: A Comparative Study* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

⁵² Yu Xie and Emily Greenman, "The Social Context of Assimilation: Testing Implications of Segmented Assimilation Theory," *Social Science Research* 40, no. 3 (2011): accessed June 14, 2018, <https://doi:10.1016/j.ssresearch.2011.01.004>.

⁵³ Azzam. « L'intégration des jeunes Français issus de l'immigration. Le cas des jeunes issus de l'immigration arabo-musulmane et turque : Maghreb, Moyen-Orient et Turquie »

Integration theory in France stayed close to the classic integration model found in the United States at the beginning of the 20th century. But sociologist Min Zhou believes that from the 1960s onwards, France changed its model of integration as migrants started to arrive from out of Europe.⁵⁴ Indeed, she says that the classic assimilation faced unprecedented challenges. Recent studies have put in evidence the existence of anomalies. The classic model of integration differentiates itself from the segmented approach because, in its sense, the migrant automatically orients itself towards integration (because all of the characteristics are positive, language learned, strong aspiration, success in school) while the segmented approach looks at all the possible outcomes (failure in school etc...)

Finally, this review shows that France and the United States have a differing approach as to incorporating immigrants in Marseille and Miami. In its most primordial sense, assimilation and integration have both worked in their time, but the constant changes in immigration landscape have meant that politics have had to adapt to different influxes. For this, the incorporation of immigrants has an important role to play in the framing of immigration policies and vice-versa. Clearly, Alejandro Portes' theory of segmented assimilation describes the situations of Marseille and Miami where the outcomes of migrants can alter greatly depending on integration policies set up by governments and civil societies.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Mirna Safi, « Le processus d'intégration des immigrés en France : inégalités et segmentation. » Revue française de sociologie, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 2006, 47 (1), pp.3 - 48. <https://hal-sciencespo.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-01020950/document>

⁵⁵ Azzam. « L'intégration des jeunes Français issus de l'immigration. Le cas des jeunes issus de l'immigration arabo-musulmane et turque : Maghreb, Moyen-Orient et Turquie »

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Research Design

In this chapter, I explain the main methods that guided the research of this paper. The first thing I do is I explain the methods I used and why they provided the best framework to study the relation between the two national education policies and the two local civil societies and the integration of migrants within the studied groups, the Cubans and the Maghrebis. I also clarify the way I collected data in each case.

I started this thesis with a theoretical review on integration and assimilation in the United States and France. So if at first, it looked like a conceptual discussion, what I was really aiming at was to understand the different levels of incorporation that exist in the two countries as assimilation and integration are the direct result of integration policies. This allowed for a framework to later analyze in depth the policies that have been implemented and clarify how they have shaped the incorporation process of migrants in two major metropolitan cities, Marseille and Miami and more specifically in terms of education.

For the most part, researchers who have written on comparative immigration policies, such as Martin Schain, have relied upon qualitative evidence from studies that draw on a few countries. Most comparative studies on policies seek at being evaluative and are dedicated to brief theoretical analysis of the policies. According to Marc Helbling, a Swiss political sociologist, today there are more scholars who focus on developing quantitative measures of immigration policies which allows us to address new research questions but at the same time “poses methodological challenges on how to measure policies.”⁵⁶ Common tools to evaluate the integration of migrants are the OECD and MIPEX. Their purpose is to measure how well a country is doing in terms of education, health and political participation among different categories.

Moreover what we can conclude is that immigrants’ integration policy has been conceptualized by scholars in terms of national integration models for a long time, looking at how nation-states pursue different and consistent approaches, such as the republican model in

⁵⁶ Helbling, Marc. "The Quantitative Approach to the Analysis of Migration and Migrants' Integration in the Host Society." Speech, Joint Spring School, Turin, 2015

France⁵⁷. As a matter of fact, there are many important scholarly controversies on issues concerning immigration policies. Many scholars focus on the role of ethnic tolerance and cosmopolitanism while others focus on cultural and ethnic differences and the possibility of threat.

There is not, however, an empirical study that compares at the same time two population groups within two metropolitan cities in two different countries and that considers theory and evidence as well as the important differences that exist in the socio-political system of both France and the United States. In this regard, I hope to contribute to the comparative studies done on integration policies. In another aspect, there are few studies that compare at the same time national public policies and also look at the relation between these and the local practices implemented by schools and civil societies.

Direct comparison between countries' integration policies in the area of education is difficult because of differences in the countries socio-political system but also because of the different data-reporting methodology. For this reason, I study official policy documents and I use the method of agreement established by John Stuart Mill. The classic method was introduced in *A system of logic* in 1891 and helps clarify not only what works but also, what does not work, making it a classic tool to compare policies⁵⁸. What I intend to do is compare different education policies to shed light not only on their similarities but also on their differences. This will help us to understand why policies are set up in such ways in both Marseille and Miami and will help us to analyze not the impact this has on the migrant groups but really how France and the United States have a different approach to incorporating their migrants inside their society.

My position as a French-American student, who has lived right outside of Marseille and has studied in the United States, undeniably affected my interest and perspective on the topic. The fact that the research looks into the discursive formulation of the policies necessitated me to be critical and to approach the topic through various methods. The various sources allowed rich and diverse data that helped me gain a better understanding of the subject.

⁵⁷ Helbling "The Quantitative Approach to the Analysis of Migration and Migrants' Integration in the Host Society."

⁵⁸ Moses, Jonathon & Knutsen, Torjborn *Ways of Knowing : Competing Methodologies in Social and Political Research* Palgrave Macmillan, 2007

3.2 Data

Through an analysis of 2 national education policy documents in France and the United States in the year 1975 and the year 1968, as well as 2 local ‘integration’ practices, the present research explores and compares the position of policy makers in regards to incorporating migrants in both countries. I examine this view in terms of the stance and approach both countries had towards immigration and more particularly integration and assimilation. By looking at both the national and local level, I seek to show how both complement each other.

The study draws on different official policy documents. These policies were chosen, considering the differences in the education system of France and the United States and the arrival time of both chosen migrant populations. They were implemented in 1963, 1968, 1975 and 1981. These policies are some of the most important ones in term of ‘integration’ policies and impacted the Cuban and Maghrebi populations in considerable ways. They have over the past years, been revised, in order to cater to the constantly evolving needs of migrant and minority populations. As we approach the French and American national policy documents, we notice clear differences in the methods used by both governments. These policies represent the narratives in terms of assimilation and integration in France and the United States in the second half of the 20th century. The first national education policy, the ELCO program, was created as a way to fight against the high rates of school dropouts and academic failure that affected among many, the Maghrebi population. The American national education policy studied, the Bilingual Education Act, was created in order to establish innovative educational programs for students with limited English speaking ability. The local practices will reveal a focus on the populations studied and therefore a more direct approach to the identified needs in terms of integration and assimilation through education.

Discourse analysis of these policies will bring to light the differences in the approach policy-makers have towards integration and assimilation of Maghrebi and Cuban populations at the national. I analyze specific national education policies that focus on the language aspect such as the American Bilingual Education Act and the ELCO (Teaching of Native Language and Culture)⁵⁹ in France. Secondly, I zoom in at the local level with a focus on two schools that implemented the BISO program in Miami and the ZEP and Arabic language classes in Marseille. This will reveal to what extent government officials and local schools cooperated

⁵⁹ Éduscol, "Enseignements De Langue Et De Culture D'origine (ELCO)," éduscol, Le Site Des Professionnels De L'éducation, accessed November 5, 2018, <http://eduscol.education.fr/cid52131/enseignements-de-langue-et-de-culture-d-origine-elco.html>.

in order to incorporate the Cuban and Maghrebi population. This solid analysis will provide for a good understanding of the assimilation and integration processes of migrants in Miami and Marseille in the second half of the 20th century.

3.3 Data analysis

In order to analyze and compare public policies in France and the United States, I approached the topic through discourse analysis even though the thesis is not only based on this method as I use a classic comparative method to draw a contrast between my policies. Discourse analysis is based on how “concepts, ideas, language, behavior and institutional arrangements are loaded with assumptions about the nature of the socio-political world and our understanding of it”.⁶⁰ The Bilingual Education Act and the ELCO policy are thoroughly analyzed using this method. Moreover, to compare the two national education policies, I decide to work with the method of agreement by John Stuart Mill. The comparative approach is fundamental to tackle the question of integration. It has for objective to make explicit the relation between the national policies and the local practices. To reach this objective, I identify what elements the policies have in common and what elements break them apart. So I first analyze the education policies according to the steps of classic discourse analysis. Then I use the method of agreement to compare the policies as a whole. I compare what the policies have in common by identifying some similarities. Then, I study the points that set the policies apart from each other and finally I draw some conclusions.

3.4 Limitations

The comparison encompasses two countries, but most importantly, two cities: Miami and Marseille. As comparisons cast differences into sharp relief, we note that they bring out the “distinctive ways that societies meet similar challenges of integration and shed light on unexpected outcomes”.⁶¹ As Richard Alba and Nancy Foner say, “as a consequence, they give us new perspectives on each country and can offer new insights into each country’s own

⁶⁰ Peter Burnham, *Research Methods in Politics* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

⁶¹ Richard D. Alba and Nancy Foner, "The Challenges of Integration," in *Strangers No More: Immigration and the Challenges of Integration in North America and Western Europe* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2017), 3.

internal dynamics.”⁶² Geographically speaking, both Miami and Marseille are significant crossroad cities that have received an important number of immigrants for different reasons. In the case of the Cubans, their incorporation is known to be a successful one in the United States. In the case of Marseille, the Maghrebi population has been known to have difficulty incorporating into French society. Migrant integration is an area where there is a lot to learn and share between countries (some countries have changed outlook on immigration a lot in the recent years) making it an easy topic for the United States and France to collaborate on.

I decided to compare two national policies using John Stuart Mill’s method of agreement. The method is very straightforward as it looks at a particular phenomenon; in this study, the assimilation of the two migrant groups concerned. The method of agreement has been criticized by Emile Durkheim as being too plain compared to the complexity of social sciences. Therefore, we can see that as Durkheim points out, it is important to analyze thoroughly the official documents chosen for the study. The documents must be well selected and well criticized. Even Mill criticized his own method by saying that the main problem was the inability to establish any necessary link between the cause and effect. Finally, we can conclude that the Method of Agreement is a method of elimination.

So although I did not use the method of Agreement completely like Mill, I used it as a base to guide my comparison. By looking at different variables that lead to assimilation, I compare how policymakers shape education policies in the United States and in France and as I draw my conclusion, I relate it to the theory of Alejandro Portes that establishes that there are different ways for migrants to incorporate into society in the second half of the twentieth century, that no longer uniquely leads to Americanization, integration or upward-mobility. Finally, there are no clear-cut winners or losers as both the American and French society have failed and succeeded in different ways on different specific points.

In France, the education policies are dealt with at the national level. It is the Ministry of National Education that regulates all educational programs. Therefore there exists no local policies as the regions and departments only deal with matters that do not touch upon the national program. For this reason, this paper researches and focuses on the local practices instead of the local policies. The local practices for both Miami and Marseille entailed me to look into specific schools and analyze the different programs set up in the second half of the

⁶² Alba and Foner, "The Challenges of Integration," in *Strangers No More: Immigration and the Challenges of Integration in North America and Western Europe*

twentieth century. In the United States, most states set up their own program, although there is a list of recommended manuals that some refer to. In Miami, Coral Way Elementary has seen local initiatives, under the eye of the Miami-Dade County School Board, put in place language programs and others that would help the assimilation of the Cubans.

Cubans and Maghrebis faced difficulties when first arriving in Miami and Marseille and were received differently from the host society. Integration policies have differed greatly in France and the United States and this comparison of policies is a way of examining the existing relationship between the macro and micro levels. By analyzing cross-national commonalities and variations, I prove in this paper that the countries, because of their different experiences and historical and durable social, political, and economic structures and institutions, aim for a similar incorporation of the two studied groups but take different steps to achieve that.

Chapter 4: Implementation and comparison of national policies

Now that we have understood how France and the United States deal with integrating or assimilating the immigrant population, we can move on to analyze what important public policies have been put into place by the governments in order to assimilate the Cubans and the Maghrebis. It is important to understand that over the last decades, immigration has become a prominent political and policy issue at the federal, state and local level in France and the United States. In large part it depends of the ever-changing nature of the immigration flows: Cubans, Moroccans, Mexicans and Algerians among a few, have all contributed to the changing needs of policies.

In this chapter, I examine and analyze two national education policies that were implemented in 1968 and 1975 in the United States and in France and that had an important objective in mind: the incorporation of immigrants in the educational structures of Marseille and Miami. Using discourse analysis and the most relevant high-level official policy documents, circulars and statements, I attempt to answer two questions: how is the incorporation through the teaching of the language of origin emphasized in the official discourse? What are the differences and similarities of the ELCO program and the BEA policy in France and the United States?

Education in the United States is mostly managed at the state level (90%) while the rest is dealt with at the federal level.⁶³ It is a decentralized system where state governments set overall educational standards. This means that education in the US can be defined as “unequal” state wise. Education’s funding comes from the local, state and federal government. In Florida, private and public schools, and particularly in Miami, are very segregated. Decades ago, Whites made up a quarter of the student body but now, as of 2014, make up less than 8% of the public school system. The number of Hispanic students has almost reached 70% in Miami-Dade County. In 1970, the number of Hispanics made up for 23.6% in comparison to the whole population.⁶⁴ On the other hand, education in France is centralized, meaning that it is managed at the national level and under the Ministry of

⁶³ David Smiley, "Re-segregation' Trend: 60 Years after Ruling, Dozens of Miami-Dade Schools Remain 'isolated,'" Miami Herald, May 19, 2014, accessed April 12, 2018.

<https://www.miamiherald.com/news/local/community/miami-dade/article1964672.html>

⁶⁴ Miami-Dade County Facts-2009, report, April 2009, accessed November 6, 2018.

National Education since its creation in the 19th century. But certain competences since the 1982 law of “decentralization” have been delegated to the regions.

4.1 Overview of two education policies

4.1.1 Miami: Bilingual Education Act

Miami is defined by a strong Black-White-Hispanic segregation. Education was transformed in South Florida with the Cuban immigration. Schools developed new programs to teach English to new arrivals, the school districts expended as more students entered the system. There was an outpouring of government funds and Cubans were starting to find jobs as teachers. Finally, in 1963, Miami schools officially became bilingual, leading the nation in a seismic cultural shift.⁶⁵ Miami has greatly developed charter schools as well as magnet programs (programs that usually focus on a special area of study) which have become the “primary method for promoting integration”.

Busing of students, a policy meant to incorporate students, arrived in the early 1970s as a way to incorporate black students primarily. Latinos, therefore, arrived in a place where an important segregation was underway but where efforts were being made to bridge the gap between Whites and Blacks. As Maria Kramer, head of Miami-Dade schools’ diversity committee said: “the reality is, as long as Miami-Dade is completely segregated in some communities, making diversity happen in those schools – if you don’t do busing – can only be accomplished through parental choice”.⁶⁶ Anti-segregation measures were growing in number. The Civil Rights movement and the Bilingual Education Act (BEA), to some extent, helped Hispanics enter and incorporate Miami’s society.⁶⁷

The BEA was passed in a first time in 1968 but underwent four reauthorizations with amendments. It first came in being when Senator Ralph Yarborough of Texas introduced a bill that would offer support to school districts in establishing programs dedicated to limited

⁶⁵ Tracy Wilkinson, "How Fidel Castro's Revolution Remade South Florida," Los Angeles Times, November 27, 2016, accessed September 10, 2018, <http://www.latimes.com/nation/la-na-castro-florida-20161127-story.html>.

⁶⁶ David Smiley, "Re-segregation' Trend: 60 Years after Ruling, Dozens of Miami-Dade Schools Remain 'isolated,'"

⁶⁷ "No Child Left Behind and Bilingual Education," Findlaw, accessed September 6, 2018, <https://education.findlaw.com/curriculum-standards-school-funding/no-child-left-behind-and-bilingual-education.html>.

English speaking ability students.⁶⁸ Therefore, it became an official policy of the United States government to provide financial assistance to local educational agencies to create and carry out programs that would meet the special educational needs of children who came from an environment where English was not the primary language⁶⁹. In the fiscal year 1968, under this new Act, the federal government agreed to give out \$15 million for the program to be carried out successfully, \$30 million for the year 1969 and \$40 million for the year 1970. In the Act, it was detailed that the commissioner should give highest priority to states and areas in need of this program. The funds were to be used for the development of the program, to provide training to the teachers, teacher-aides and personnel and to establish, maintain and operate the program.

Applications to this program were well scrutinized before being approved. The government's role in determining whether an educational agency was qualified to fit the program was major which meant that schools had a say in whether they wanted to implement the program in their school or not and that bilingual education would not be accessible to all students needing it. The funding of educational agencies worked as follow: the federal government would valid an application and send the money for a year after which it would receive the evaluation of the program implemented during a year and see whether that one had been successful or not, in which case it would no longer fund the program.

The program still works today but under the new NCLB act of 2001 and under the name English Language Acquisition, Language Enhancement, and Academic Achievement Act. The goal of the program has changed as it clearly states that the primary aim is English acquisition, although it is important to state that the primary aim of the BEA program was not bilingual education but “to enhance innovative programs to teach the students English”⁷⁰.

4.1.2 Marseille: ELCO

50% of Maghrebi migrants were between the age of 14 and 28 years old upon their arrival in France.⁷¹ As we saw in the first chapter of this paper, the first ones who came to France came with one goal in mind: to find work. This was not difficult at first as France was going through a period of economic prosperity combined with high productivity. This period

⁶⁸ Gloria Stewner Manzanares, "The Bilingual Education Act: Twenty Years Later," National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education, 1988, accessed September 14, 2018, https://ncela.ed.gov/files/rcd/BE021037/Fall88_6.pdf.

⁶⁹ Ibid

⁷⁰ Manzanares, "The Bilingual Education Act: Twenty Years Later,"

⁷¹ file:///C:/Users/Clara%20Garcin/Downloads/IMMFRA12_g_Flot1_pop.pdf

though, only lasted until the mid-1970s. But in 1976, under Valérie Giscard d'Estaing, the family reunification law was put into place, meaning many North African who had been left behind (mothers and children) came to France to reunite their family.⁷² Most of them spoke Arabic inside their household and had to speak French in school or learn French in any case. Scholars have sometimes used the “sink or swim” concept to define the challenge migrants faced when first assimilating in the education system.

The question many asked at the time was how to conciliate maintaining the native language and the culture of origin, knowing that there might be a possible return, and still thinking about a better incorporation of children in the education system of the host country.⁷³ So in 1977, the French Ministry of Education under a European directive, created a program called ELCO.⁷⁴ This program was designed to teach immigrant workers' children of 8 different countries (Yugoslavia, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, Spain, Italy, Portugal and Turkey) their language of origin and their culture starting in elementary school. Nobody was obliged to participate in the program; it was voluntary. The program was developed with the final aim being to send back the children to their country of origin.⁷⁵ For this reason, the countries of origin were the ones who financed the project by sending their teachers to different schools in France where there was a demand.

The teachers, who were paid by the country of origin, taught the literal dialect of Arabic in elementary schools, middle schools and professional high-schools, by using the methods in use in North Africa.⁷⁶ The board of education of the Bouches-du-Rhône department, where Marseille is located, saw in the higher demand of attendance for the ELCO program by the Algerian and Turkish population a desire to develop a strong community identity.⁷⁷

Moreover, the High Council to the Integration in 1991 expressed a desire to remove the ELCO program as they believed that it was contrary to the objective of integration,

⁷² Abdeljalil Akkari, "Les Jeunes D'origine Maghrébine En France: Les Limites De L'intégration Par L'école," *Esprit Critique* 03, no. 08 (August 2001): , accessed July 14, 2018, <http://www.espritcritique.org/0308/article1.html>.

⁷³ Éduscol, "Enseignements De Langue Et De Culture D'origine (ELCO)," Éduscol, Le Site Des Professionnels De L'éducation, accessed November 5, 2018, <http://eduscol.education.fr/cid52131/enseignements-de-langue-et-de-culture-d-origine-elco.html>.

⁷⁴ ELCO: Enseignements de Langue et de Culture d'Origine

⁷⁵ Marie-France Guinot-Delery and Michaela Leuprecht, "L'Enseignement Des Langues Et Cultures D'origine," *Hommes Et Migrations*, 1997, accessed October 10, 2018, https://www.persee.fr/doc/homig_1142-852x_1997_num_1209_1_3024.

⁷⁶ Alain Messaoudi, "L'arabe à L'école, Une Langue Mal-aimée," *Plein Droit* 3, no. 98 (2013): , accessed July 9, 2018, <https://www.cairn.info/revue-plein-droit-2013-3-page-12.htm>.

⁷⁷ *Les Défis De L'intégration à L'école*, report, Haut Conseil à L'Intégration. 26

showing that the country really aimed for the assimilation of the Maghrebi population. It wanted to set up Arabic language classes in the normal curriculum, which is to say as part of the teaching of a second or third language starting in middle school. But many believed that the good integration of a migrant came through the mastering of the French language. The High Council to the Integration believed that ELCO programs participated in migrants enclosing themselves in a community that were centered on a particular language, here Arabic.

A research from the early 2000's was carried out by the Language Center on bilingualism and concluded that some children issued from immigration (those who first arrived or the children of migrants) learned French very fast when entering school, while others stayed in what is called semilingualism: not being able to go from one language to the other and presenting important linguistic difficulties (theory of Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukoma). According to Marie-Rose Moro's 2004 studies on the subject in France, only between 5 and 15% of children would really be bilingual and therefore benefit from cognitive advantages associated to this double linguistic competence.⁷⁸

4.2 Discourse analysis of the policies

4.2.1 Miami: Bilingual Education Act

All policies are designed to solve a problem and they all contain explicit or implicit solutions. Bilingual education programs were set up in the United States as a way to improve the educational opportunities of those who would profit from the policy. The Public Law 90-247 was created on January 2nd, 1968 under the name title VII – bilingual education programs. Title VII of the act appears at the end of a 38-page document under the name: “bilingual education programs”. The policy is divided into different subsections that cover the findings, the declaration, the authorization and distribution of funds, the uses of federal funds, advisory committee, labor standards...⁷⁹

Congress expressed in the findings that the biggest educational problem in the United States was that which involved “millions of children of limited-English-speaking ability”

⁷⁸ *La Scolarisation Des élèves Nouvellement Arrivés En France*, report no. 2009-082, Inspection Générale De L'Education Nationale (2009). 148

⁷⁹ H.R. 90-247, Government Publishing Office 816-820 (1968) (enacted).

(LESA). Moreover, as David Nieto points out “the lack of access to a meaningful education hinders the possibility of full participation in society for these non-English-speaking students and blocks their upward mobility”.⁸⁰ Cubans faced challenges in incorporating themselves in the American education system because of their “serious learning difficulties” due to the fact that English was not their primary language. These two points underlined the *urgency* for the federal, state and local levels to take “comprehensive and cooperative actions”.⁸¹

A recurring narrative of the Bilingual Education Act was that of “special educational needs”. Limited English-speaking ability children were therefore a problematic as they were considered to be facing one of the most “acute educational problems” in the United States in 1968. Indeed, as we have seen earlier, Cubans arrived in Florida speaking only Spanish inside their family household. As more migrants arrived from China, Mexico, Central America and the Caribbean during the second half of the 20th century in the United States, education started facing unprecedented challenges. The government qualified in its bill the situation as “unique”, “perplexing” and “urgent”. Therefore, we can conclude that the American administration in the late 1960s was aware of the difficulties the migrants faced when arriving and settling in the United States and integrating a new education system. It was aware and it was taking the necessary steps to remedy to the problem these LESA students were faced with.

The government wanted to take action through the development of “forward-looking approaches” that would “meet the serious learning difficulties faced by this substantial segment of the school-aged population.” An essential goal of the government back then was therefore to provide LESA students with programs that would help them succeed in school. An important quantity of activities was to be expected from this Public Law: bilingual education programs, programs of history and culture associated to the language, early childhood educational programs, programs designed for dropouts or potential dropouts... But the government “refrained from providing specific guidelines” as to which programs exactly should be implemented.⁸²

⁸⁰ David Nieto, "A Brief History of Bilingual Education in the United States," *Perspectives on Urban Education*, 2009, accessed November 7, 2018, <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/7d75/c5f1b445aeb7c40ddef7ca948195e86e7967.pdf>.

⁸¹ H.R. 90-247, Government Publishing Office 816-820 (1968) (enacted).

⁸² "Bilingual Education Act of 1968," Immigration to the United States, accessed November 5, 2018, <http://immigrationtounitedstates.org/379-bilingual-education-act-of-1968.html>.

But Rudolph Troike, a researcher at the University of Arizona, mentioned that no provision for funding of research had been included in the original legislation. It was only added in 1974 by Congress.⁸³ The uses of federal funds was strictly used for planning and leading to the development of the program materially speaking, to provide services such as training and to establish, maintain and operate the program. But no research or very little research had previously been made in regards to the benefits of bilingual education. The policy was set up, almost, like a test, as the official law states that the program should “provide for making an annual report... to determine the extent to which funds provided under this title have been effective in improving the educational opportunities of persons in the area served...”

Moreover, it is mentioned that “additional efforts should be made” “to find adequate and constructive solutions”. Indeed, it had never been an affair of the federal government to fund programs that would help immigrants to assimilate in the United States. There had already been bilingual programs put into place in certain schools in certain states but always financed by the private sector. In addition, the Nationality Act of 1940 had meant that English needed to be spoken and known in order to access citizenship. This measure revealed the change in terms of language restrictions and revealed which direction the American administration wanted to take in terms of assimilating the migrant population.

The BEA never mentions the words “immigration”, “migrant”, nor does it mention any particular segment of the population. It is inclusive of all students age 5 to 18 who are of Limited English-Speaking Ability. The financing of the Bilingual Education Act takes into account the ones who are in most need of bilingual education, therefore granting funds to the areas where an important number of LESA children are enrolled. But, then again, the socio-economic situation of the families plays a role in whether federal funding will be or not be allocated as it is mentioned that “incomes below \$3,000 per year, or receiving payments under a program of aid to families with dependent children under a State plan approved under title IV of the Social Security Act.”

This Discourse Analysis leads us to conclude that the American government made an effort to assimilate LESA students. It financed local educational agencies to set up innovative programs throughout the United States with the one goal of substantially increasing the educational opportunities of Limited English-Speaking Ability students. It notably did so

⁸³ Troike, "Research Evidence for the Effectiveness of Bilingual Education"

through the conception of bilingual programs, where students were taught their mother tongue but also about the history and culture of their homeland. So although, assimilation has various outcomes and the outcome is not the point of the study here, clearly the Bilingual Education Act was aiming to fully assimilate the Cubans. Through education and keeping a sense of identity with a bilingual program, the BEA should inevitably lead to either upward social mobility or downward social mobility.

4.2.2 Marseille: ELCO

A language program was created in France as part of a 1939 circular that promoted the teaching of the native language and culture to the children of migrant workers in France. What is known as the ELCO program in France today falls under the circular n°75-148 of April 17, 1975 “enseignements de langues nationales à l’intention d’élèves immigrés, dans le cadre du tiers temps des écoles élémentaires”.⁸⁴ In 1977, a European Directive was passed followed by a series of laws (the bilateral agreements with North African countries were signed in 1981 with Algeria, 1983 with Morocco and 1986 with Tunisia) that focused on the schooling of migrant children as part of a national education policy to meet the needs of children coming from Yugoslavia, Spain, Italy, Portugal, Turkey and 3 North African countries. The idea was that migrant’s children would benefit from the teaching of their native language and culture.⁸⁵ The official circular was written by Jean Deygout, Director of Schools, and addressed to the rectors and inspector of the French academies.

Originally, the conception of the program allowed that to succeed with a new language, you had to master your native language. The policy had various aims such as structuring the language spoken within the family, encouraging the personal growth of young people arriving from different cultures and valuing diversity of languages in schools.⁸⁶ But originally and what is emphasized in this official circular is that Arabic class was not taught inside a normal school day. This was exactly what the government was aiming to change. These native language and culture classes were originally taught to the children of migrants in the schools and regions where there was an important demand on Saturdays or Wednesdays

⁸⁴ France, Ministère De L'Education Nationale, *Circulaire N° 75-148 Du 9 Avril 1975*, by J. Deygout (1975).

⁸⁵ *L'enseignement De La Langue Et De La Culture D'origine*, report no. 2005-090, Inspection Générale De L'éducation Nationale (2006), 1-35.

⁸⁶ Éduscol, "Enseignements De Langue Et De Culture D'origine (ELCO),"

outside of school hours.⁸⁷ This new government circular allowed for Arabic language and culture classes to be taught inside of the normal class schedule for a period of 3 non-consecutive hours per week. This was done following a request from the countries of origin.

But as Abdeljalil Akkari points out in “Les jeunes d'origine maghrébine en France: Les limites de l'intégration par l'école”, the organization of those 3 non-consecutive weekly hours in the classroom, even in a room with majority Maghrebi students or simply foreigners, emphasized the categorization of the students as “migrants” or “Arabs”. This eventually leads to segregation and racism, an important issue that has been of major concern in France. In addition, subjects were taught only to the Maghrebi population and for a short time every month. This led Akkari to say that the culture of origin was becoming “folklore” for everyone.⁸⁸ The subject, not being taught to the entire classroom was obviously going to generate a separation between the students and a gap in the knowledge each one would have of each other's culture.

Assimilation according to Alejandro Portes' segmented theory explains that there are different paths that migrants and their children can take. Clearly, the fact that they are learning their native language and culture in school does not imply that the host population will accept their culture and their language in return or even acknowledge it. The process is not a dual one in this sense. At last, the ELCO program is not designed for the migrant children to be fully integrated with their culture and their language. It is designed for them as a bridge that helps them go from not knowing French language to having an easier time learning French language, being able to communicate with their French schoolmates, teachers, being social and having better chances at succeeding in France.

In the 1970s, the official discourse of the French administration under Vélérie Giscard d'Estaing was going towards family reunification and therefore was looking closer at policies that would look at the incorporation of the growing number of migrants into French society. The ministry of education paid close attention to the measures that could facilitate the incorporation of those children in the French education system, mostly at the elementary level. The students still had to learn French and share their classroom with other non-migrant students. The Arabic language and culture class would take place inside the normal class schedule only if there was an important demand coming from the migrant families. The

⁸⁷ *Les Défis De L'intégration à L'école*, report, Haut Conseil à L'Intégration.

⁸⁸ Akkari, "Les Jeunes D'origine Maghrébine En France: Les Limites De L'intégration Par L'école,"

Ministry of education in cooperation with the authorities of the countries of origin would take the decision as whether to set up these classes or not. As researchers on bilingual education have continuously argued, the learning of the native language comes as a reinforcement to learn the second language.

There were notable benefits as to incorporating Arabic classes inside the normal schedule such as the fact that there would be a more communicative relationship between the Maghrebi teachers and the French teachers. It also meant that the school-weeks would be shorter. The French ministry of education tried to figure out the best way for the migrants' children to be assimilated into the education system. Even though, the official ELCO program considered, and to this day, considers French to be a second language, an aspect that has been widely criticized by French teachers as being a measure that doesn't naturally lead to a positive incorporation of students into the French education system, the learning of the native language has been proved successful in the fact that it has helped students to learn a new language more easily.

4.3 Comparing the American and French bilingual policies

In this following section, I proceed to compare the BEA and ELCO programs using John Stuart Mill's method of Agreement. This will lead us to understand how France and the United States approach the assimilation process of their migrant population. We will see that there are important similarities and differences. Most importantly, there are various ways to reach a policy that looks at the assimilation of migrants. Indeed, the three outcomes of assimilation according to Alejandro Portes are upward mobility, downward mobility and selective acculturation. Here, we stipulate that the French model of the 1970s and the American model of the late 1960s made efforts to help migrants have a better chance of succeeding in school.

4.3.1 *Comparison*

First, the aim for both US and French government, in implementing native language programs, such as the Bilingual Education Act in the United States and the ELCO program in France, is for assuring better educational opportunities for migrant students whose primary language is other than French or English.

The policies generate different outcomes. What I analyzed earlier was the discourse and the emphasis the policy-makers put into the assimilation process. Right now, through the method of agreement I look at how we can relate the different variables to the segmented assimilation theory of Alejandro Portes. Clearly, both policies have the same goal and in the end, as in any government proving it is trying to help migrants assimilate into their society, it aims for the best, therefore the upward mobility of the students. Depending on what the policy focuses on, the outcome of the policy can have three effects according to Portes. He says that the result does not only depend on the educational environment. Other social factors come into play. The *individual* factors are essential and education is a part of it. But the *contextual* factors are also essential to the outcome of their incorporation, meaning their socio-economic integration ...

First, the financing aspect of both programs is important and different. In the United States, the federal government allocates a grant each year to local educational agencies or to an institution of higher education applying jointly with a local educational agency. The government or the commissioner gives the highest priority to states and areas within states where there is the greatest need for such program to be implemented. In France on the other hand, the policy says that the financing of such language program is done by the authorities located in the countries of origin. Therefore, in France, the national government invests no money in that particular language program that benefits migrant children. However, it does allow for the programs to take place inside of school property. An Algerian teacher complained about the cost of pedagogic material in France, as he was being remunerated by the country of origin. The financing of the programs can indeed help the quality of education that the children will receive.⁸⁹ In the United States, the money for the federal government goes directly into teaching materials and equipment.⁹⁰

Second, in the United States, the teachers who are to take complete part in the BEA program are American citizens, who speak English and another language and who are usually bilingual. The funds allocated to the program participate in the training of teachers, teacher aides, or other ancillary education personnel. They also participate in the training and development programs designed to enable such persons to continue to improve their qualifications while participating in such programs. On the other hand, in France, the teachers

⁸⁹ *L'enseignement De La Langue Et De La Culture D'origine*, report no. 2005-090, Inspection Générale De L'éducation Nationale (2006), 1-35.

⁹⁰ H.R. 90-247, Government Publishing Office 816-820 (1968) (enacted).

come from the countries of origin (Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia) and are not trained to the French pedagogic way. They must pass a test to become ELCO teachers but in their country. However, they are expected as quoted “to respect general provisions and the defined usage of the French schools.”⁹¹ In addition, there must be a “harmonization of the pedagogic methods by the foreign and French teachers”. In lots of cases, the teachers have used French education manuals as they have noted a “lack of connection to the realities of the country”. Moreover, Valérie Lanier writes that the ELCO teachers feel that there is a lack of communication with the existing school staff.⁹²

Third, the programs are implemented in similar ways in the United States and in France. The BEA program establishes that the native language classes take place during school hours. While the official policy document does not explicitly give details on the programs, it gives freedom to the local agencies to decide of which sort of programs they wish to set up, many schools in Florida and particularly in Miami have inaugurated successful bilingual education programs.⁹³ In France, the circular n°75-148 stipulates that the native language classes should be an integral part of the school schedule but only for a period of 3 non-consecutive hours per week. It should not be a class that is taken on the side, on a Wednesday or Saturday outside of school hours. This was the case before the circular was passed in 1975 and was thought to represent more of an inconvenient than an advantage for both personnel and students involved. In the end, it has been noted in France and in the United States that establishing the class as part of the normal school day, tends to “normalize” the subject and not treat it as an option.

Fourth, there is an important element that constitutes a key element of how students assimilate in France and in the United States. The school day is different in secondary school in the United States and in France. In France, students are divided by classes of about 25 students that all stay together for the duration of the school year. In the United States and in Florida, the system is different as students create their own schedule. Throughout the day, they change classrooms and therefore get with other students. The students interact with more students than in France and the schedules change either every trimester or every semester making for a more individualistic approach. Staying with the same group of students

⁹¹ France, Ministère De L'Education Nationale, *Circulaire N° 75-148 Du 9 Avril 1975*, by J. Deygout (1975).

⁹² Valérie Lanier, "Etat Des Lieux Des Enseignements De Langue Et Culture D'Origine En Côte D'Or," *Centre De Recherche Et D'Etude En Droit Et Science Politique*, 2010, 1-37, accessed November 8, 2018, https://credespo.u-bourgogne.fr/images/stories/etat_des_lieux_des_elco_de_cte_dor_final.pdf.

⁹³ Dadeschools.net, accessed November 3, 2018, <http://bilingual.dadeschools.net/BEWL/programs.asp>.

throughout the year might facilitate the social bonding of the students and therefore the assimilation process in this way.

4.3.2 Conclusion

Finally, in regards to the policies' aim at assimilating the migrant or LESA students, both French and American governments have put considerable effort in setting up policies that will help students learn their native language and culture in order to have more chances to succeed in their new education system and in life in general. Both the French and the American government had the same goal, which was to make the assimilation process of the non-native-speaking migrant population easier. They approached the policies through different lens considering the background of the country and they took different steps in carrying out the policies.

The federal government of the United States has helped finance the entire BEA project by allocating yearly grants to the concerned authorities. On the other hand, France has not financed the ELCO program as it has been the authorities of the countries of origin who have been in charge of doing so. Moreover, the Ministry of National Education in France has let the countries of origin deal with paying the teachers and recruiting them, meaning the teachers are not originally French. In the United States, the teachers are American citizens trained and paid by the federal government. The distinctions between the countries set them apart and obviously mean the impact the policies have on the studied population is going to be unique to each country. Incorporating the class inside the normal class day was considered the most inclusive way for the students to learn their native language and culture, even though the classes are organized differently in France and the United States.

To end this chapter, we see that the model of segmented assimilation is represented in both the American and French educational environments. Certain factors impede students to attain upward mobility, factors that remain “outside characteristics” that cannot be dealt with inside the school environment. We can talk about for example the contextual factors that are the social and ethnic status of the family, the place of residence. Certain other contextual characteristics such as the socio-economic characteristic of the community and the attitude of the receiving country towards the migrant population can be influenced by such education policies. Finally, both countries tend to try and assimilate the students in the American and

French mainstream and we can say that the learning of their native language and culture represents a bridge in order to achieve full assimilation accompanied by acculturation.

Chapter 5: Local practices

In this chapter, I study a new perspective as I approach practices and policies at the local level in Marseille and Miami. By looking at 2 schools, I analyze the practices and programs that were implemented to help migrants assimilate, through the existing segmented assimilation theory, and try and understand the differences and similarities. I also try to comprehend why things work out the way they do or why they don't. If I studied national policies of the end of the 20th century (1968/1975), I now, also choose programs that were set up during the second half of the 20th century in order to then compare them using Stuart's method of comparison. Due to the difference in the French and American political system, national and local policies cannot be understood in the same way. In this study, the local practices include the BISO program, which was implemented at Coral Way Elementary in Miami in 1963 and the ZEP (Priority Education Areas) policy, which was implemented at the Ecole Primaire Convalescents in Marseille in 1982.⁹⁴ Consequently, I answer the following questions: how are local practices set up at Coral Way Elementary and the Convalescents school? How do the schools look at the assimilation of its students?

5.1 Overview and Analysis of Local Practices

5.1.1 Marseille

Martin Schain says that "the French model of integration has always been complicated at the local level."⁹⁵ An official report written to the French Prime Minister by the High Council to the Integration, notes that small local organizations are very useful to integration policies.⁹⁶ But in France, it has been noted by many scholars who studied integration at a local level, that available data and access to information on local initiatives, organizations, remains a complicated task.⁹⁷ Local practices and policies implemented by the network of organizations constitute an important bridge to national policies. But diverging opinions exist on the effectiveness of those organizations as some question if they are merely there for migrants to claim their rights.⁹⁸ As François Bottard reminds us, on the occasion of the 100th anniversary

⁹⁴ Kurt R. Jankowsky, "Chapter 2: Bilingualism," in *Scientific and Humanistic Dimensions of Language: Festschrift for Robert Lado on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday on May 31, 1985* (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1986), 123-137.

⁹⁵ E. Prugl, "Chapter 3: The Success and Failure of Integration Policy in France and Britain: Convergence of Policy and Divergence of Results," in *Diversity in the European Union* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016). 44.

⁹⁶ *Les Défis De L'intégration à L'école*, report, Haut Conseil à L'Intégration.

⁹⁷ William Berthomière, Mathilde Maurel, and Yann Richard, "Intégration Des Immigrés Et Associations En France. Un Essai D'approche Croisée Par L'économie Et La Géographie," *Documents De Travail Du Centre D'Economie De La Sorbonne*, January 2015, 1-22, accessed October 14, 2018, <https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-01157873/document>.

⁹⁸ *Investir Dans Les Associations Pour Réussir L'intégration*, report (Haut Conseil à L'Intégration, 2012).

of the Waldeck-Rousseau law of 1901 that instituted the freedom of ‘association’, “France and the organizations have always maintained contradictory relations, hesitating between freedom and control particularly when foreigners are involved”⁹⁹. The law of April 12th, 1939, created new constraints for associations created by foreigners and composed of foreigners. It was only at the end of 1981, when a new law was passed, that these discriminations were brought to an end.

A great range of national organization such as the SSAE (support, solidarity and action for migrants) and the ASSFAM (migrant families’ social service) was created in France after the two World Wars to help refugees and foreigners settle in France.¹⁰⁰ This meant that migrants could be helped in terms of social insertion but also to learn French language and cultural values. In 1982, with the French policy of decentralization, certain organizations that were national became regional, boosting the creation of local projects and partnerships.¹⁰¹ In the 1970s, the French association for Arabic speakers in Paris was created.¹⁰² At the end of the 1980s in France, it was concluded that not many organizations offering Arabic classes had been created; it was cultural spaces such as mosques and Maghrebi workers’ organizations that offered Arabic classes, following the teaching methods that they knew from Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia.¹⁰³ There were 5 categories under which Arabic language was transmitted in France: the National Education System, religious cultural organizations, other cultural organizations (community organizations), the ELCO program and other structures (city halls, training centers and intercommunity schools).¹⁰⁴

But independent schools multiplied in the 1990s due to a stronger demand. As Yahya Cheikh says “it coincided with the moment of one’s search for identity in times of political and social crisis”.¹⁰⁵ The High Council at its inception said that there needed to be more investments in organizations in order to succeed with the incorporation of migrants in France. At the educational level, the assimilation of Maghrebi children was done at the national level by the Ministry of National Education. The French government focused on the success of

⁹⁹ Berthomière, Maurel, and Richard, "Intégration Des Immigrés Et Associations En France. Un Essai D’approche Croisée Par L’économie Et La Géographie,"

¹⁰⁰ *Investir Dans Les Associations Pour Réussir L’intégration*, report (Haut Conseil à L’Intégration, 2012).

¹⁰¹ "Qui Sommes-nous ?" ASSFAM : Association Service Social FAMILIAL Migrants, accessed November 14, 2018, <http://www.assfam.org/spip.php?article8>.

¹⁰² Alain Messaoudi, "L’arabe à L’école, Une Langue Mal-aimée,"

¹⁰³ Yahya Cheikh, "L’enseignement De L’arabe En France: Les Voies De Transmission," *Langues Et Migrations*, 2010, accessed September 5, 2018,

<https://journals.openedition.org/hommesmigrations/870?lang=en>.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid

¹⁰⁵ Cheikh, "L’enseignement De L’arabe En France: Les Voies De Transmission,"

migrants in the French Republican schools and in 1981, it put into place the ZEP, an education policy that would give more money and more autonomy to thousands of elementary and middle schools facing educational and social challenges all over France. It was a policy that looked specifically at incorporating all people who were facing difficulties within the French education system, not only the migrants. This broke with the traditional model where education was the same for everyone, becoming a model that attended more to the needs of certain students. When the project was first implemented, 1,571 schools became priority education areas in France.

The ZEP policy which was a central policy for the Convalescents school or the circular n°81-238 was written on the 1st of July 1981 and complemented in December 1981 by the circular n°81-536 of the 28th of December. It is a document consisting of a brief 3 pages. It was redacted as a letter by the then minister of national education, Alain Savary to different departments and services of the French National Education. The main goal of this national policy was to combat academic failure. In 1975, there was a total of 554,000 Algerians in France.¹⁰⁶ Many of them stopped attending school at the end of primary education as they were failing in school.¹⁰⁷ In Marseille, l'Ecole des Convalescents, located in Belsunce, a neighborhood that in the mid-1970s became known as the Maghrebi immigrant quarter¹⁰⁸, saw itself attributed with a ZEP program in 1982 and therefore some Arabic language classes until 1988.¹⁰⁹

Sociologists who researched on the Belsunce neighborhood, known as a disadvantaged neighborhood, mentioned that local policies sought to rehabilitate the neighborhood. At the local level, the DSQ policy (social neighborhood development) was established in 1984.¹¹⁰ The ZEP policy granted more power to the local level. These two policies aimed to better the social situation of the entire neighborhood. As Sylvie Mazzella says, school appears to be the place where one can develop its own personality, where one can further its social and

¹⁰⁶ *Population Immigrée*, report (INSEE, 2012).

¹⁰⁷ Zaihia Zeroulou, "La Réussite Scolaire Des Enfants D'immigrés. L'apport D'une Approche En Termes De Mobilisation," *Revue Française De Sociologie* 29, no. 3 (1988): accessed September 29, 2018, https://www.persee.fr/doc/rfsoc_0035-2969_1988_num_29_3_2526.

¹⁰⁸ Sylvie Mazzella, "Le Quartier Belsunce à Marseille : Les Immigrés Dans Les Traces De La Ville Bourgeoise," *Les Annales De La Recherche Urbaine*, 1996, 119-125, accessed November 3, 2018, https://www.persee.fr/doc/aru_0180-930x_1996_num_72_1_1987.

¹⁰⁹ Sylvie Mazzella, *L'enracinement Urbain : Intégration Sociale Et Dynamiques Urbaines. Les Familles Maghrébines Du Centre Ville De Marseille*, Doctoral thesis, Ecole Des Hautes Etudes En Sciences Sociales, 1996, 324.

¹¹⁰ Jérôme David, "Politique De La Ville : Chronologie," *Revue Française Des Affaires Sociales*, 2001, , accessed June 5, 2018, <https://www.cairn.info/revue-francaise-des-affaires-sociales-2001-3-page-15.htm>.

professional integration and put into practice his citizenship...¹¹¹ Moreover, school is where migrants can be guaranteed to learn and master the French language. In other words, it was a place where migrants could fully assimilate into French school and society.

The circular became a privileged instrument to fight against inequalities in school but more generally speaking to fight against social inequalities.¹¹² The 1959 law that made school compulsory until 16 years old and the 1979 law that created the “collège unique” opened up education to the masses and aimed at elevating the level of education of migrant’s children. Scholars researched on the high rates of school-dropout and revealed the importance of the “social background” insisting furthermore on the role played by the social and home environment and particularly on the level of instruction of parents, meaning their educational achievement.¹¹³ These researches also showed how social inequality and geographical disparity were linked and led to a concentration of children having important difficulties in school in particular areas.¹¹⁴ The Convalescents school is a great example.

The recurring discourse of the ZEP policy at the time was that there needed to be a political commitment to fight against social inequality. The Minister of Education asked the academies to conduct research in order to create those priority education areas. The key elements to the creation of those zones was the geographical location of the school, the socio-economic situation of the families, the presence of foreign students or non-speaking French students, educational underachievement, the ratio of CPPN/CPA children (classes welcoming school dropouts) compared to the total number of school children, and the middle-school dropout rate. In the Convalescents school, were put in place on a total of 17 classes, three classes for French beginners, a class of adaptation (for those who were blocked), two classes to better the French level, and one compensatory class to catch up with the other students. Moreover, students had the possibility to follow an Arabic class. The entire program was closely supervised by the 25 teachers and a special ZEP teacher. The new school day arrangement meant that there were only between 20 and 25 students per classroom and only 4 days a week of school.

¹¹¹ Mazzella, *L'enracinement Urbain : Intégration Sociale Et Dynamiques Urbaines. Les Familles Maghrébines Du Centre Ville De Marseille* 324.

¹¹² France, Ministère Nationale De L'Education, *Circulaire N° 81-536 Du 28 Décembre 1981*, by Alain Savary (1981).

¹¹³ Zeroulou, "La Réussite Scolaire Des Enfants D'immigrés. L'apport D'une Approche En Termes De Mobilisation,"

¹¹⁴ "Éducation Prioritaire," Education Prioritaire, accessed November 10, 2018, <https://www.reseau-canope.fr/education-prioritaire/comprendre/reperes-historiques.html>.

The ZEP circular emphasized that the goal was to fight against the inequality present in the schools. But as Barbara Fouquet says, these priority education policies were faced with significant challenges. It was thought an extremely complex task to try to make all students equal while even the nature and source of those inequalities were so contrasted.¹¹⁵ That was a typical feature of the traditional French model of integration. But the aim of the policy and of the Convalescents school was to assimilate the students in the French republican schools. The aim was for all students to get a better chance at succeeding in school by removing the social inequalities that existed. The Maghrebi students could borrow different paths to become French citizens depending on how well they succeeded in school. Interestingly, Sylvie Mazzella says that as of 1995, the school figured in position 19 in the list of the 80 schools judged to be “difficult” in France.¹¹⁶ It is not the absence of policies and programs and measures that contributed to this position in the ranking. Indeed, the school took full advantage of the ZEP policy.

5.1.2 Miami

Community-based organizations multiplied in cities like Miami in the second half of the 20th century and immigrants saw their rights protected by non-profits who tried to integrate the Cubans into their society. As Alejandro Portes describes in his book the success story of Miami as an enclave, and as we have previously understood from its history, Cubans tackled the obstacles they were faced with when settling in the city. They were quick to create their own press and their own organizations that would help them maintain and promote their heritage culture. An important element of the Cuban immigration to Florida is that the first influx of Cubans who arrived in the country was well educated. Many of them therefore became teachers and had important roles to play in the assimilation of Cuban children in the American education system. A great example of successful local policies is the BISO program that was implemented in the early 1960s at Coral Way Elementary and that allowed students to receive a bilingual education.

¹¹⁵ France, Conseil National D'évaluation Du Système Scolaire, *Comment L'école Amplifie Les Inégalités Sociales Et Migratoires ?* by Georges Felouzi, Barbara Fouquet-Chauprade, Samuel Charmillot, and Luana Imperiale-Arefaine (2016).

¹¹⁶ Mazzella, *L'enracinement Urbain : Intégration Sociale Et Dynamiques Urbaines. Les Familles Maghrébines Du Centre Ville De Marseille* 324.

Alejandro Portes confirms that many organizations were created by the Cuban community upon their arrival, whether for political lobbying with the creation of the Cuban American National Foundation (CANF) or to defend their rights and to defend themselves against Anglo discrimination and therefore creating the Spanish-American League Against Discrimination (SALAD)¹¹⁷. The SALAD organization then started to complain about the discrimination of its citizens, demanded for Cubans to be included in local decision-making, and started supporting affirmative action programs. Portes says that Cubans were simply looking after themselves, trying to make of Miami their “Other Cuba”, all while gaining political power.¹¹⁸

While Miami was becoming an important city in terms of Latino immigration, it was observed that the children enrolled in school, had a higher rate of school-dropout than the rest of the American population. The solution for the high dropout-rates was different across the nation, but similarly to California, New-Mexico, Arizona and Texas, Florida was taking the necessary steps to identify the problem and to resolve it. An important organization that was created nation-wide was LULAC, the League of Latin American Citizens, which, among other organizations, pushed the school district of Miami-Dade to keep expanding foreign language programs. The issue in Florida and many other states was the lack of bilingual teachers.¹¹⁹ If little research had yet been done, it was found that excellent competence in the heritage or native language helped students reach what Stephen Krashen called a “healthy sense of biculturalism”.¹²⁰

Coral Way Elementary School, located in the heart of Miami, opened in 1936 and became a pioneer in the field of bilingual education in the United States. The program was financed with the help of funds from the Ford Foundation and the goal was for the students to develop English language proficiency and to maintain and develop the Spanish language at the same time. It was a unique program because the program was not only tailored for Cuban or Spanish-speaking children, it also had for aim, the development of Anglo children’s

¹¹⁷ Portes and Stepick, *City on the Edge: The Transformation of Miami* 147-148

¹¹⁸ Ibid 138

¹¹⁹ "Florida Schools Struggle To Find Enough Bilingual Teachers," NPR, accessed April 15, 2018, <https://stateimpact.npr.org/florida/2015/10/26/florida-schools-struggle-to-find-enough-bilingual-teachers/>.

¹²⁰ Michele S. Moses, "Why Bilingual Education Policy Is Needed: A Philosophical Response to the Critics," *Bilingual Research Journal* 24, no. 4 (2001): accessed October 29, 2018, doi:10.1080/15235882.2000.10162771.

English language as well as their proficiency in Spanish.¹²¹ Interestingly, the end goal of this local policy was that English became the first language and Spanish became the second language for both Cubans and Anglos in Coral Way Elementary.

Miami offered this unique bilingual program where two culture groups would study one another's native language and cultural background. The students were said to demonstrate mutual respect for the other culture and language. The elementary bilingual school organization was set up as there was a real need for students to have better chances to learn English. Moreover, this wish for education imparted in both English and Spanish had been expressed by not only parents and the community but by school members and staff as well. A typical day at Coral Way was spent with a bilingual teacher with 60% of the instruction being presented in English and 40% being presented in Spanish.¹²² Moreover, the majority of students enrolled at Coral Way were of Hispanic origin.

The *New York Times* on November 10th, 1985, published an article discussing the concept of bilingual education. Politicians and education teams decided to develop programs of "compensatory" education that would help the poor or any students judged to have special needs.¹²³ At Coral Way, the morning was spent with the classes being taught in Spanish, while in the afternoon, the classes were imparted in English. The teachers were themselves fully bilingual. This allowed for students who had little knowledge of English to reinforce their native language and learn English in a second time, leading, eventually, to the assimilation of the Cuban society in Miami. The BISO program was one of the many programs that were developed to ease the assimilation process of the Hispanics in Florida.

The BISO program truly offered a stepping stone for the later BEA act of 1968. If at first, language programs and bilingual education were set up in high-migration areas, Michele Moses pointed out that bilingual policy was a necessity at the federal level as it meant that all children in the United States of America would receive equal educational opportunities.¹²⁴ What was considered one of the biggest achievements in the United States was the abundance

¹²¹ Ofelia Garcia, Zeenia Zakharia, and Bahar Otcu, "Conceptualizing Bilingual Community Education," in *Bilingual Community Education and Multilingualism Beyond Heritage Languages in a Global City* (Multilingual Matters, 2012), 4-42.

¹²² Cristina Pellerano and Sandra H. Fradd, *Coral Way Elementary School: A Success Story in Bilingualism and Biliteracy*, report, University of Miami (1998).

¹²³ Edward B. Fiske, "The Controversy Over Bilingual Education in America's Schools: One Language or Two?" *The New York Times*, November 10, 1985, accessed June 5, 2018,

<https://www.nytimes.com/1985/11/10/education/controversy-over-bilingual-education-america-s-schools-one-language-two.html>.

¹²⁴ Moses, "Why Bilingual Education Policy Is Needed: A Philosophical Response to the Critics"

of opportunities for anyone who was willing to work hard and participate in the life of its community, willing that she/he spoke English.¹²⁵

5.2 Comparison

What we see is that at the local level, the United States and France have different aims as to assimilating the students. It is important to note that they do not set up local policies in the area of education at the same level and it is important to see that their local practices differ greatly. But in the end, by looking at two different schools, we can clearly see that they both try to better assimilate the Maghrebi and the Cubans. At the local level, we understand that there is a stronger connection to the people and that local initiatives make up for the creation of communities. We also come to understand that whatever measures are put into place, sometimes policies are not as successful as one would have thought it could be.

The local practices in Miami and Marseille generate different outcomes. What I analyzed earlier was the programs and the emphasis the policy-makers put into the assimilation process. Right now, through the method of agreement, I look at how we can relate the different variables to the segmented assimilation theory of Alejandro Portes. Clearly, both policies have the same goal and in the end, as in any government proving it is trying to help migrants assimilate into their society, it aims for the best, therefore the full acculturation and economic integration of the students. Depending on what the policy focuses on, the outcome of the policy can have three effects according to Portes. He says that the result does not only depend on the educational environment. Other social factors come into play. The *individual* factors are essential and education is a part of it. But the *contextual* factors are also essential to the outcome of their incorporation, meaning their socio-economic integration ...

First, schools in France depend on the Ministry of National Education, meaning that it is the national government that takes care of setting up policies. The ZEP policy that was implemented in the Convalescents school had a direct and local impact on the Belsunce neighborhood in Marseille. It acted as a bridge between the national system and the Maghrebi community that lives in Belsunce. In the United States, Coral Way Elementary school established in Miami took advantage of local policies and private funds to implement a

¹²⁵ Pablo A. Mitnik, Jessica Halpern-Finnerty, and Matt Vidal, *Cities and Immigration Local Policies for Immigrant-Friendly Cities*(Center on Wisconsin Strategy, 2008).

bilingual program in its school. Contrarily to the French system, more freedom is given to the Boards of Education who better comprehend the local situation.

Second, the practices of both schools differ greatly. On the one hand, in France, the national ZEP policy aims to fight against social inequality while in the United States the local policy applied looked at making children proficient in English as a First Language but also making children proficient in Spanish. This leads us to look at another characteristic of France, where the only heritage language program set up is an Arabic class which is taken by students as an option and only during seven years. The BISO program in Miami is a pioneer in bilingual education and therefore children who are enrolled at Coral Way Elementary are taught in English and Spanish throughout the school year.

Third, we can see that although the programs implemented in the schools are different, the aim is still for children to have better chances of a successful future. The ZEP policy in Belsunce is said to have a direct and local impact on the community. This is clearly an aim of the policy as the Convalescents school becomes a sort of community center where workshops open to the families of the neighborhood takes place as well as reading classes and so on.¹²⁶ At Coral Way Elementary, the school curriculum and the aim for the school was not to make the school the center of the Cuban community. Although, many of the Cuban families enrolled their children, the school curriculum was the same as other schools apart from the fact that it was a bilingual school.

The assimilation of the Maghrebi and the Cubans is understood differently at the local level even if the aim stays the same, to fully acculturate the students in the American and French education environment. The language factor is one of the factors that can sometimes lead to a blocking of the assimilation. And in both countries, a lack of structural barriers can lead to negative attitudes and behaviors that lead certain migrants to reject assimilation.

5.3 Conclusion

Finally, at the local level, it is easier to tell if a school is doing well by looking at the results the students have on national tests. If education represents an important factor of the assimilation of the Maghrebi and the Cubans, it is not the only element that leads to a full assimilation. Policies and practices set up by the governments and by the authorities

¹²⁶ Mazzella, *L'enracinement Urbain : Intégration Sociale Et Dynamiques Urbaines. Les Familles Maghrébines Du Centre Ville De Marseille* 323.

participate in the making of French and American citizens. The issues students face are different in Marseille and Miami but much effort has been done to improve the chances of a successful future for students.

Sylvie Mazzella says that the French fighting against social inequality, and this being the main goal of the ZEP policy, lies on an ideology of “cultural differentialism”, meaning positive discrimination. Barbara Fouquet-Chauprade concludes that the schools that were ranked ZEP became a source of social and academic segregation and that, families who had the means started to avoid them.¹²⁷ With time, educators observed that the program started to look, as the new inspector of the circumscription put it, as entertainment more than teaching.¹²⁸ The Convalescents school is a great example of local policies looking to assimilate not only the students but the entire community. The school became a space where people could get together as a community. Its role, because of the ZEP policy, changed it from being purely a space for students to being a space for the community.

The BISO program set up at Coral Way Elementary has been qualified as a successful bilingual policy. The aim of the Miami-Dade School Board was to assimilate the Cuban students into the American society by making them proficient in the English language. This was done, through the help of a bilingual program that has been proved successful on many occasions. Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa’s theory that looks at the “threshold level hypothesis” confirms that bilingual programs enable the students to learn the new language better and therefore assimilate faster in their new environment.

The findings of this chapter show that because of a lack of organizations in France, and in Marseille, schools started taking the role of organizations in the 1980s. They therefore became spaces where communities could get together after school hours. In the United States, the Cubans that arrived in the 1960s set up their own organizations without too much difficulty and became a full part of the Miamian society. As Richard Alba and Victor Nee say: “The Cubans of Miami have distinguished themselves by the development of ethnic sub-

¹²⁷ France, Conseil National D’évaluation Du Système Scolaire, *Comment L’école Amplifie Les Inégalités Sociales Et Migratoires ?* by Georges Felouzi, Barbara Fouquet-Chauprade, Samuel Charmillot, and Luana Imperiale-Arefaine (2016).

¹²⁸ Mazzella, *L’enracinement Urbain : Intégration Sociale Et Dynamiques Urbaines. Les Familles Maghrébines Du Centre Ville De Marseille* 328.

economies that are likely to afford the second generation better-than-average chances to succeed in the educational system and enter professional occupation".¹²⁹

¹²⁹ Richard Alba and Victor Nee, "Rethinking Assimilation Theory for a New Era of Immigration," *International Migration Review* 31, no. 4 (1997): accessed April 14, 2018, <https://doi:10.2307/2547416>. 847

Chapter 6: Conclusion

Comparing policies and practices from countries with a different political, cultural and socio-economic background is a challenge. Moreover, looking at how countries assimilate their migrant population necessitates a real understanding of the history of immigration and immigration policies. However, I believe that by providing the needed material and carefully analyzing the very diverse theories that exist on integration and assimilation, I was able to depict some of the new challenges Cubans and Maghrebis faced while settling in a new educational environment. The presented study of national policies and local practices and more specifically language and bilingual programs, contributes to explaining the existing differences and similarities in how France and the United States approach assimilation.

This research confirms that both countries aimed for the assimilation of its migrant population and that assimilation is determined by various factors, sometimes out of reach of policy-makers. By going beyond the traditional model of integration, we understand that there are different paths that migrants can follow when entering in a new society. If the study puts forward the fact that the Cubans and the Maghrebis assimilated differently in the second half of the twentieth century, it is made clear in the study that the role of education was seen as an increasing factor in their chance for a successful education and future, and therefore, successful assimilation. A successful education entailed migrant children who spoke another language at home, to sometimes fail and drop out of school. Indeed, my empirical case study demonstrates that France and the United States tried out language programs as well as bilingual programs in order to speed up the learning of French and English. This was done through the implementation of native language classes as it had been demonstrated that until a threshold of competence hadn't been reached in the maternal language, the second language could not successfully be learned.

Through my case study, we notably understood the differences that existed between the national and local level. Both countries have a different political and social system which entailed that at the national level, the policies were set up in contrasting ways. By applying the segmented-assimilation theory, which implied that there were different paths to becoming French or American, I looked at how specific policies such as the BEA and ELCO programs at the national level, were implemented. More specifically, I looked at the discourse of policy-makers in regards to the desired outcome which was the assimilation of the students. Indeed, the segmented-assimilation approach required that there was not only one outcome to

assimilation. It focused on the fact that various possible outcomes could result from those particular policies, for example school failure.

On the other hand, at the local level, I looked at the practices put in place in schools. The goal of the schools changed at the local level and in France, the Convalescents school clearly aimed to fight social inequalities. In addition, it became a space for the Maghrebi community. This shed light on the lack of organizations that existed to promote Arabic culture and language at the time. Looking at Coral Way Elementary allowed me to compare situations in France and the United States after thoroughly analyzing the BISO program. Indeed, Miami became a pioneer in bilingual education, letting Coral Way Elementary become a place where Cubans and others could learn to be fully proficient in English while keeping their heritage language.

In this sense, the study provided an opportunity to understand how national policies and local practices work and complement each other when the goal is the better assimilation of the Maghrebis and the Cubans. In France, the research indicates that whether it is at the national or local level, Arabic language classes are not a priority. The National Ministry of Education puts more emphasis on fighting social inequality and schools put more emphasis on creating a space for the Maghrebi community. In the United States, the paper specifies that bilingual education is a key for the making of future English-proficient American citizens and invests both at the national and local level into bilingual education programs. Finally, the findings of this thesis can contribute to today's ongoing debates about Arabic classes in France and it is crucial that countries learn from one another in order to better incorporate today's immigration influxes.

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