THE IMPLEMENTATION OF SECONDARY SOCIALIZATION PRACTICES WITH FIRST GENERATION IMMIGRANT STUDENTS

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Abstract- Canadian statistics concerning first generation immigrant students still portray communities that struggle to realize their full potential in society. This situation led us to question the systems' success conditions which seem to generate a positive dynamic with regard to these students' school success. We carried out a synthesis of knowledge, in order to examine the modalities of organization of the education system and the practices implemented in classrooms which promote the school success of newcomer students. From the perspective of the education system organization, results show that an emancipatory approach is associated with better school success among these students. The pedagogical practices that seem to contribute most to these students' school success subscribe to the same type of emancipatory approach. In addition to providing a critical analysis of these practices, we will identify avenues for action that would contribute to reducing the discrepancies currently observed between first generation immigrant students and those of majority communities in Canada.

Keywords- First generation immigrant students, secondary socialization, school success, emancipatory education, efficient practices.

I. INTRODUCTION

Canadian statistics concerning newcomers still portray communities struggling to reach their full potential in society. From a social perspective, significant differences exist between immigrant communities and Anglophone or Francophone majority communities, measured in terms of employment and income levels (Statistics Canada, 2013). In terms of schooling, first-generation immigrant students generally appear to succeed in school three to four years after their arrival in the country (PISA, 2013), but with highly differentiated trajectories depending on the country of origin and immigration status in Canada, as a landed immigrant or refugee (Ibid.).

Factors that hinder the integration of recent immigrants include knowledge and understanding of the host culture, proficiency in one of the two official languages, social responsiveness and discrimination (Lebeau & Renaud, 2003; Picot, 2004; Piquemal & Bolivar, 2009; Portes, 1999). In line with these factors, which influence immigrants' path to integration, research has analyzed the subjective aspects related to the strategies of acculturation (Berry, 1997; Kanouté, 2002; Mc Andrew, Garnett, Ledent, Ungerleider, Abumati-Trache & Ait-Said, 2008; Steinbach, 2010), emphasizing the importance of the cultural gap in this process. The point of view of different actors was most often mobilized to explain the process of acculturation of immigrants. School practices were also examined (Dusi, Steinbach & Messeti, 2012; Froelich, 2010; Qribi, Courtinat & Prêteur, 2011).

By specifically analyzing the practices implemented in school settings with first generation immigrant students, researchers stressed the importance of the dynamics between the socialization received in family (primary socialization) and the one received in school (secondary socialization) (Berger & Luckmann, 1996; Darmon, 2007; Gayet, 1998). Quebec's decision-makers, on the other hand, acknowledge the decisive role of secondary socialization and the need for the school to take into account elements of primary socialization (Government of Quebec, 1997). It is therefore legitimate to ask how schools manage to promote a process of acculturation in their students. What practices do teachers implement in their class to promote secondary socialization? Are there any secondary socialization practices that contribute to these students' school success? To date, despite theoretical advances, political decisions as well as the choices made by school professionals seem mostly based on intuitions little documented by research findings. Yet, an impressive body of knowledge from empirical and theoretical research exists (Steichen, 2014) and the ownership of such knowledge by educational stakeholders could lead to more judicious choices.

This situation led us to question the education systems' success conditions that seem to generate a positive dynamic with regard to first generation immigrant students' school success. We carried out a synthesis of knowledge, specifically in countries where the presence of immigrant communities is important (Australia, New Zealand, Canada, USA, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland), in order to examine the modalities of organization of the education system and the practices implemented in classrooms which promote the school success of immigrant students.

II. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Our project is based on the concept of socialization, declined according to different theoretical approaches. Defined essentially as a "process by which the child is required to act and think in accordance with a social system, or [...] the process by which the child adapts to that system" (Gayet, 1998, p. 23, free translation), socialization has significant effects on the identity construction process of youths (Abdallah-Pretceille, 1997; Dubar, 2000). This is especially true when it comes to young members of indigenous communities, where there frequently are very important gaps between the primary socialization, received in the community, and the secondary socialization, acquired in school (Hohl et Normand, 1996; Piquemal & Bolivar, 2009; Verhoeven, 2005).

In examining socialization as a process of social construction of reality, Berger and Luckmann (1996) find that "the individual belonging to society [...] simultaneously exteriorizes his own being in the social world and internalizes it as objective reality. [...] the individual, however, was not born a member of a society" (p. 223, free translation). Consequently, the individual initially passes a first socialization, "primary socialization", where he interiorizes representations of a specific environment. In this sense, the family is conceived as an agent of primary socialization. Thus, the child is able to consider that "the "outside" reality corresponds to the reality "within"" (Ibid., p. 229-230, free translation). Secondary socialization, on the other hand, characterizes the later internalization taking place in the biography of the individual, conceived as a member of a prior environment and having internalized its norms, values and roles. In this sense, secondary socialization is, according to Berger and Luckmann (1996), "the institutionalization of "sub-worlds", which are institutional or based on institutions. Its extent and characteristics are therefore determined by the complexity of the labor division and social distribution" (p. 236, free translation). In this sense, we consider the school as a secondary socialization agent. For the purposes of this research, we have focused specifically on secondary socialization through teachers' practices, while taking into account the orientations of the school system and the social context in which the practices are used. Our conceptual framework is also based on the five categories of socialization practices identified by Steichen (2014), but supplemented by an emerging research posture, which gives space to the categories retrieved from the analysis.

III. METHODOLOGY

This knowledge synthesis was conducted according to the methodological suggestions of Grimshaw (2008), Noyes et al. (2008), Petticrew and Roberts (2005) and Pope et al. (2007). It included three types of documents: policies and regulations from several decision-making levels (government, school boards and equivalent structures), professional texts and scientific texts of countries with significant newcomers presence (Australia, New Zealand, Canada, United States, France, Belgique), professional texts (25 were retained) and scientific texts (147 in total, including 40 dissertations and theses). This corpus was first subjected to a content analysis, which initially gave rise to individual narrative syntheses. Then, thematic groupings were carried out as well as cross-analyzes between the different categories of texts. These methods allowed us to identify the socialization practices considered to be the most successful and to relate them to their political context of implementation.

From the perspective of the education system organization, results show that an emancipatory approach is associated with better school success among immigrant students. This emancipatory approach requires arrangements for the reception and integration of these students in order to avoid their isolation: partial integration in the regular classroom, bilingual education programs and interventions for and with parents. The pedagogical practices that seem to contribute most to immigrant students' school success subscribe to the same type of emancipatory approach. In addition to providing a critical analysis of these practices, this presentation will identify avenues for action that would contribute to the secondary socialization of first generation immigrant students.

IV. RESULTS

4.1. Official discourse
All countries that host immigrants on a regular basis have defined frameworks for living together, in which the necessary convergence towards shared values is affirmed, and have implemented reception measures for immigrant students. Obviously, the issues are different depending on the context of each country. For example, Canada and Australia rely on immigration as a factor of population growth and economic development, while countries such as France, Belgium, Italy and Spain are facing waves of illegal immigrants and, more recently, refugees whose presence contributes to changing the profile of immigration. The history of the presence of the different ethnocultural communities on a territory significantly influences the dynamics between them and the majority community. Countries such as Canada and Australia rely on a multicultural approach and have set up reception protocols in schools for recent immigrant students. Some of the prevailing programs focus on secondary socialization (language learning and familiarization with the host

culture, especially regarding school behavior): reception classes (Quebec), programs that value native language and culture (Ontario, Alberta and British Columbia).

Western European countries have set up specific frameworks for the reception and schooling of Roma students (Belgium and France) or refugees (France and Switzerland). Other programs explicitly support secondary socialization: bridging classes similar to the reception classes in Quebec (France and Belgium), schools mobilizing positive discrimination (Belgium) or differentiated classes of first level (Belgium). Some programs are also aimed at parents as vectors of secondary socialization, as is the case of the Open School for Parents (Ouvrir l'école aux parents) program in France, where parents are taught French while being familiarized with the functioning of school. In Norway, the responsibility of managing ethnocultural diversity in education was entrusted to the National Center for Multicultural Education. This Center is in charge of minority language education, ensures the presence of bilingual teaching assistants in classrooms and develops collaboration models with immigrant parents, including a reading instruction program in which they are involved.

4.2. Professional literature
The analysis of these texts enabled us to identify the following categories:
1-   Education in both languages: In addition to an approach which values culture, training programs are offered in two languages (official language and language of origin) at the elementary level so that, at the end of the school year, the students are perfectly bilingual (Superville, 2016 - Oregon, for Spanish and Indigenous students, Cornell & Gonzalez, 2016 - Spanish-speaking students).
2-   Parents' implication: In order to promote school engagement in immigrant children's parents, their active participation in school is requested. Parents are involved in the monitoring of learning and homework and ongoing communication is established between parents and teachers (Adams, 2015).
3-   Building bridges with the community by designing programs and choosing approaches based on identified priorities with regards to the partnership with parents and by making room for community values (Virginia Education Association, 2015).
4-   Pedagogical approaches: Pedagogy through play, the integration of artistic activities (Plumelle, 2005) and mutual knowledge activities (Virtue, 2007) have demonstrated a strong potential.
5-   Extracurricular activities: Peaceful Village can be cited among the promising alternative after-school academic program, from which about 300 refugee families, living in the vicinity of the city of Winnipeg, benefit from every year. Different learning activities are organized using a variety of means, such as conversation, food, arts, games, music, poetry and theater. While the main objective of this program is the reinvestment of knowledge and skills in school, the involvement of the whole family is also requested (Sloane, 2014). Educational after-school accompaniments, assorted with differentiated schedules has also proven successful (Lorcerie, 2004).
6-   Sponsorship or mentorship: Using peer mentoring to support language acquisition has been found to be highly effective (Feghali, 2014).

4.3. Scientific literature
Different secondary socialization practices have been identified following the analysis of the scientific papers retained in our corpus:
1-   The relationship to the language of instruction: To support the identification and sense of belonging to the community of origin as well as a sense of membership to the host community, valuing the native language and culture seems a promising path (Borland, 2005: students of Maltese origin in Australia). On the other hand, the division of groups to promote learning English as a second language seems to have negative effects on self-esteem and performance (Dabach, 2014: United States). As an alternative, these studies recommend implementing differentiated interventions without dividing groups.
2-   Behavior, compliance with standards: Implementation of an explicit program for social skills development has led to fewer incidents, greater student engagement and sense of belonging (Kilian, 2007). Several experiments aimed at improving the school climate: creating an environment of social cohesion (Morris, 2011), developing collaborative leadership (Fletcher, 2013), and local commitment (Hahn, 2015; Barnett & Artenucci, 2009). Also important to mention are the GBT (Good Behavior Game) program, which analyzes the effects of prosocial behavior on school success (Nolan, 2014), the re-socialization initiatives through peer mentoring (Corona, 2013) and the programs and initiatives promoting good classroom management and student emancipation through mediation (Baraldi & Rossi, 2011).
3-   Working strategies and learning modes: In order to contribute to student empowement, the emotional aspects influencing learning must be exploited (i.e. self-representation as a learner, confidence in one's chances of success, etc.) (Hirst & Vadeboncoeur, 2006; Marat, 2005). Inclusive, differentiated or culturally-based practices encourage students to build bridges between the two cultures and have positive impacts on school learning (Barnard, 2009; Lotherington & Earner, 2008; Mabry & Bhavnagri, 2012; Malsbary, 2014; Von Aspern, 2009).
4-   Parental involvement in the secondary socialization process: Parents as Literacy Supporters (Anderson, 2011) is an example of a bilingual literacy program in which parents participate with their

children in activities that mobilize both official and native languages for oral communication.

V. DISCUSSION

effects of secondary socialization practices on student learning

The analysis of our scientific and professional corpus has enabled us to identify the main effects of the secondary socialization practices previously described. We have grouped them into the following four categories:

5.1. Effects on academic learning

In general, effects on students' academic learning have been found in researches carried out on teaching methods in reading, writing, mathematics or science, which were also supported by socialization. The most important results were observed in different scenarios: when the didactics of the subjects mobilized elements of the cultural heritage of origin or explored possibilities of dialogue between the two cultures (majority and origin) or when characteristics of the students (e.g. aboriginal students) were taken into account through the use of decompartmentalization or the mobilization of traditional knowledge in science or by exploring the potential of orality and traditional songs in the learning of the language of instruction. Researches which used technology and multimodal literacy also reported positive results, especially when the proposed activities were building bridges with the cultures of origin. This affirmation regarding the positive effects of teachings methods based on secondary socialization practices on student learning is valid for both Aboriginal and immigrant students.

However, the studies that have addressed this aspect are without exception of a qualitative nature, conducted on a small number of participants and for a short period of time. Therefore, even if these findings converge, further researches are needed to validate these results more robustly. Furthermore, it seems relevant to mention that civic learning has been documented, but their sustainability has not been demonstrated.

5.2   Effects on Students' Behavior

Three main effects on students' behavior were found:
1-   Appropriation of behavior for recent immigrant students: The appropriation of effective reading strategies has been accompanied by the students' emancipation in the micro-community of the class which consequently promoted a positive secondary socialization (Walters, 2007).
2-   Development of reflexivity and social skills related to dialogue.
3-   Development of positive attitudes towards others: Activities that showcase collaborative

practices, intercultural project approaches and periods of immersion in the culture of others seem to lead to the development of positive attitudes towards others in both immigrant non-immigrant students.

5.3 Effects Related to Parents and Communities

Studies have shown that immigrant parents' confidence has improved as a result of their closer proximity to school, which has also influenced positively their school representation. For example, Kim (2011) describes the effect of a special program promoting the involvement of Korean parents in a school in Montreal. The development of positive dynamics regarding the otherwise tense relationships between school and some immigrant communities, and an awareness of the contribution that school can make to the development of cultural communities are among the main positive impacts of this research. These secondary socialization practices, which involve parental involvement, are, however, met with resistance from both the school and minority communities (Hynds, 2010, Stewart, 2012).

5.4 Emancipation and Identity

Researches which have implemented secondary socialization practices, which mobilized cultural elements and which relied on intercultural dialogue, have found a significant impact on students' identity construction. Thus, the valorization of the cultural heritage of origin is evoked in contexts of immigration (Dabach, 2014). This encourages self-expression and assertiveness among students who were previously withdrawn (Arizpe et al., 2014, Baraldi & Rossi, 2011). Self-esteem, positive self-representation as a learner, and valorization of one's origins are also among the dimensions that have been influenced by the use of these practices. In parallel, a sense of belonging to the school seems to develop (Godinho & Woolley, 2014).

However, these results should be qualified because the experiments generally lasted a limited period of time and the stability of these results has not been verified over time. On the other hand, the only longitudinal study that we identified, that of Purdie et al. (2011), which spread over six years and followed the study carried out by Frigo et al. (2004), confirms the stability of the results if the intervention is maintained year after year.

CONCLUSION

In general, the socialization practices identified seem to have significant effects on school learning, on student behavior, and on school-family-community links. Moreover, these can have a positive influence on the identity developement and the emancipation of minority communities. From the point of view of the organization of the education system, the results show that an emancipatory approach is associated with better academic success for immigrant students. This

emancipatory approach requires reception and integration mechanisms that avoid the isolation of these students: partial integration in the regular classroom, bilingual education programs and interventions with and with parents. We thus recommend teachers to focus on approaches that are emancipatory, active, collaborative, differentiated and/or project-based, by exploiting the affective dimensions of learning, "decompartmentalising" the classroom through activities that are open to the community, and experimenting with projects in which communities are actively involved. The pedagogical practices that seem to contribute most to the academic success of immigrant students are part of the same type of emancipatory approach.

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