

# ‘Do European integration policies reproduce social inequality?’

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# A post-national world?

- ❑ Glocalization, mobility (factual and virtual)
- ❑ For who? For some?
- ❑ Some would not agree with our so-called post-national world: formal policies of dissuading from and discouraging to be 'mobile'
- ❑ Some experience one gate after the other in a globalized world where the national boundaries become stricter



# Changing migration patterns

- ❑ Past decades: more complex, dynamic and transitory migration processes in Western-Europe
- ❑ Increasing pressure on societies regarding social cohesion, integration, citizenship, identity, and language
- ❑ National language and knowledge of society: remain essential and definable elements of citizenship

# Integration policies

- ❑ Policies in the context of migration have been in place across Europe for almost two decades.
- ❑ The official discourses underlying these policies are committed to strengthening and facilitating participation in civil society, including access to the labour market and/or further education.
- ❑ A salient feature of most of these policies is the conditional nature of language.
- ❑ In many countries people have to prove they have reached/acquired a certain level of proficiency in the 'official language' (or one of the official languages) of the 'host country'. Increasingly language tests are being used for this purpose.

*“An important aspect in realizing proportional participation is Dutch. Someone who speaks Dutch, understands, reads, can find information, will find a job more easily, has increasing access to education and social services, will participate more in public debate and the democratic process. Good knowledge of the Dutch language increases self-reliance, makes them less dependant of others. Stimulating learning the Dutch language, in a formal or more informal way, and providing Dutch language courses covering all learning needs, is one of my top priorities.” (Flemish Minister of Integration).*

# Changing integration policies

- ❏ Integration policies => “active” citizenship
  - social involvement and participation
  - active participation in public debate, political and democratic institutions
  - active citizenship supposes certain cognitive language and social skills
  - Supposes ‘loyalty’ towards the society the newcomer lives in

# Virtualization of citizenship

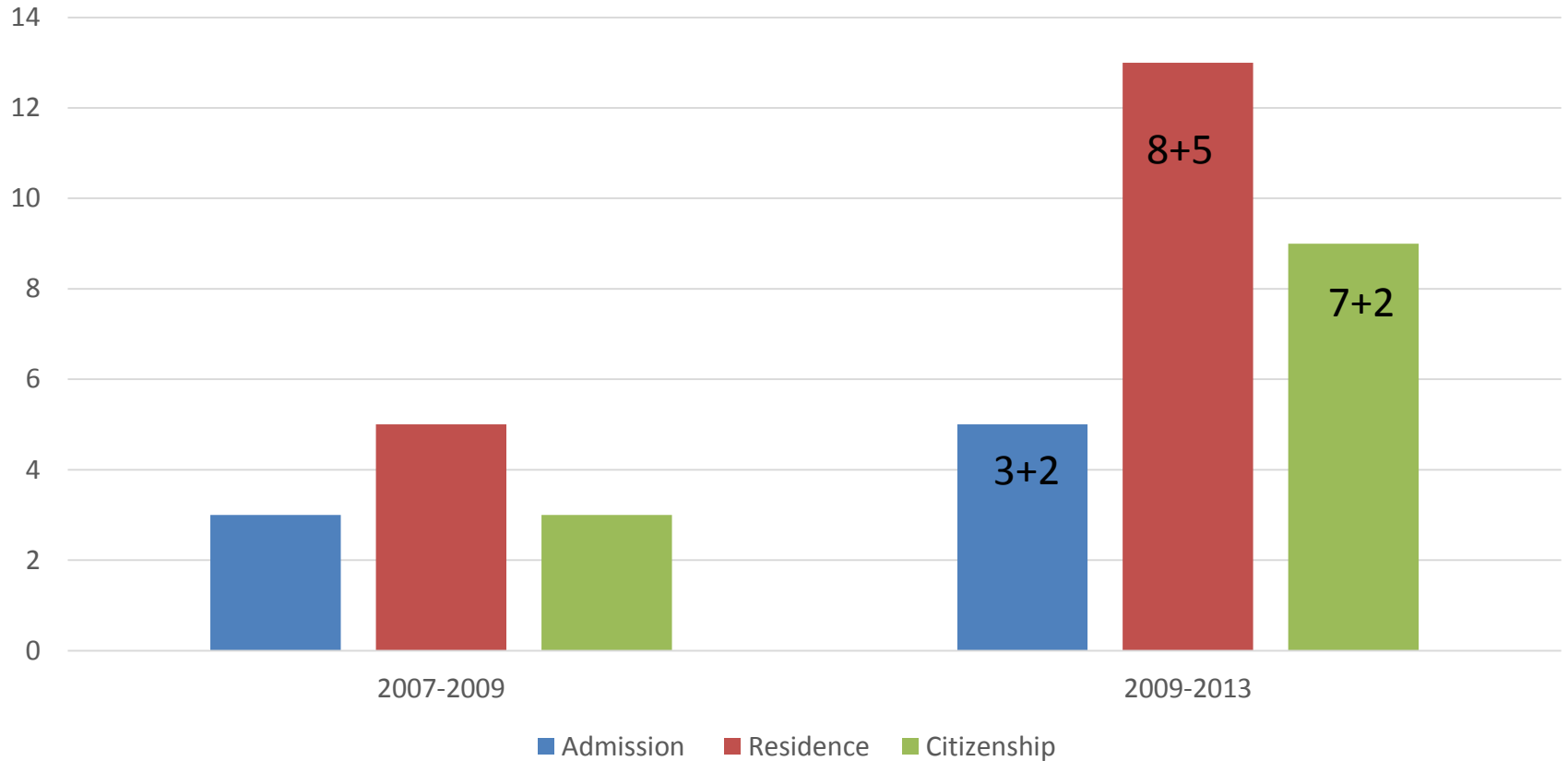
- ❑ 'active' citizenship often unidirectional
- ❑ Interpreted as 'virtual' and 'moral' citizenship
- ❑ Moral citizenship:
  - language, norms and values
  - Integration: becoming a citizen
  - conditional for formal citizenship
- ❑ Even when formal citizenship is obtained (e.g. by birth), constantly questioned by moral citizenship, by the virtue of the migrant
- ❑ Independent passing language and KOS test, never a 'true' citizen:
  - 'for a Moroccan your Dutch is not bad at all'
- ❑ I'm dispensed
- ❑ Their citizenship is 'defected'
  
- ❑ Citizenship as eternal achievement

# The testing at the gate rhyme

- Enter the country
- (Re)unite family
- Permanent resident
- Getting a job
- Entering school
- (Language) education programmes
- Get a house on the housing market
- To become a formal citizen of the country
- Society:
  - integration
  - social participation
  - social cohesion
- ...

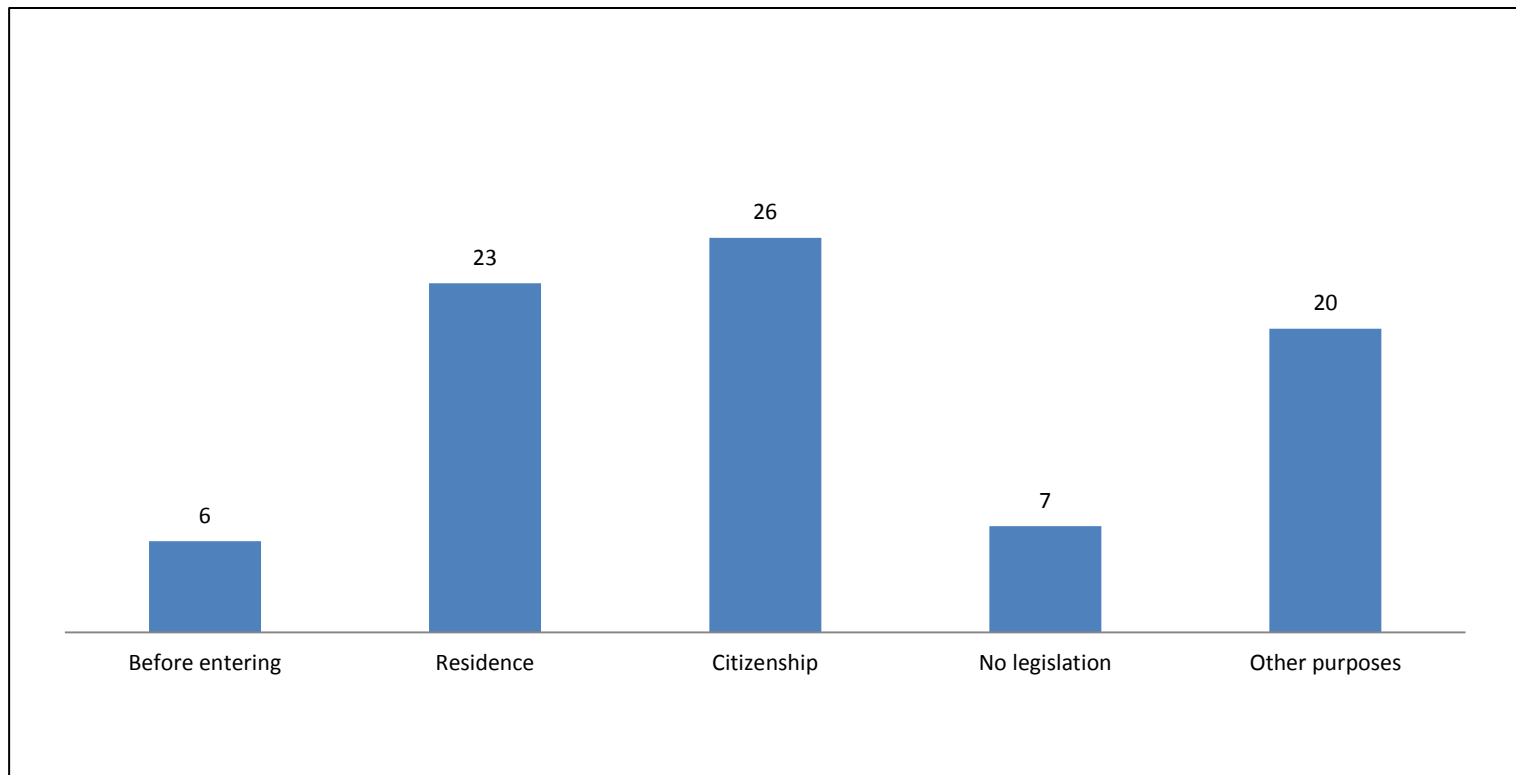


# Pace of legislative changes increases



(COE, 2014)

# Language requirements 2013



29 countries or 81% (N=36) reported a language requirement for entry, residence and/or citizenship (COE, 2014)

# Unethical

- ❑ Political instruments
  - To exclude (Shohamy, 2001, 2006)
  - To reduce/control migration flows into WE (Van Avermaet, 2009)
- ❑ Fairness and justice (McNamara & Ryan, 2011)
- ❑ From covert to overt



**Inger Støjberg** ✓

ongeveer 3 maanden geleden



Danish integration minister Inger Støjberg baked up a storm on social media by posting a photo in which she posed with a cake to celebrate her 50th law change restricting immigration.

The minister posted a picture of herself holding a birthday cake on Facebook, writing that she had decided to mark her 50th immigration curb since taking over as Minister for Integration in 2015.

"Today the 50th restriction was passed on immigration. This must be celebrated!" wrote Støjberg and linked to a ministry list.



I dag fik jeg vedtaget stramning nummer 50 på udlændingeområdet. Det skal fejres!

Se listen over stramninger her:

<http://uim.dk/gennemforte-stramninger-pa-udlaendingeområdet>

# Impact of these policies

- Most impact studies demonstrate failure of policies:
  - INTEC report
  - Dutch National Audit Office
  - Flemish impact studies
- It is however more complex and subtle

# Social reproduction

- ❑ Some studies stress that, while language tests do result in entry tickets to the labour market and thus function as levers for social participation, the policies benefit some migrants more than others.
- ❑ For many migrants the policies, which focus on language as a condition for social participation, hardly enhance opportunity. (We shouldn't label these as vulnerable groups)
- ❑ This seems to indicate that those migrants who can be labeled as 'insiders' or 'les initiés', as Draelants calls them (2014), are in a privileged position to take advantage of the ways these integration policies have been shaped. Others are not.
- ❑ Hence, one can argue that being an 'insider' of the structural features of current integration policies contributes to the reproduction of social inequality on arrival.
- ❑ Taking up Draelants' metaphor of 'les initiés' – I will critically reflect on current European language and integration policies and advocate for alternative structures which allow for more social equity and lend migrants more agency.

# 'Les initiés'

- ❑ Bourdieu & Passeron (1964) postulated that children of high SES backgrounds inherit (les héritier) diverse cultural resources that can be transformed as advantages in their educational career.
- ❑ 'l'héritier' is born in a specific social milieu. It is not a choice.
- ❑ Draelants (2014) introduces, on the basis of the observation that in the current complex and dynamic world of information transfer and sharing, education massification and education more and more becoming an instrument for the 'market' (Nussbaum, 2010) the concept of the initiated (les initiés).
- ❑ The initiated is the person who can profit from his/her prior knowledge, information, competencies, and familiarity with education.
- ❑ The notion is a kind of economic metaphor.
- ❑ On a 'market', 'l'initié' is capable of taking competitive advantage of his/her knowledge, to complete, compare, substitute official information based on prior knowledge, experiences and social networks.



# 'Les initiés'

- ❑ 'L'initié' can also capitalise on his/her cultural and educational capital, thanks to his/her knowledge of the inner circles of education.
- ❑ He or she possesses both the map and the compass to orientate and navigate his/herself through the educational labyrinth.
- ❑ 'l'initié' can read between the lines and deconstruct the institutional discourses which tend to euphemise differences.
- ❑ 'l'initié' has the skills and networks to be guided, accompanied, informed by someone who already experienced the market mechanisms of education.
- ❑ For the 'non-initié', on the contrary, the knowledge is often reduced to the official, public and non-personalised knowledge. He/she cannot always rely on assumed prior knowledge. He/she often has not the same cultural and educational capital.
- ❑ His/her knowledge often has no currency in education driven by 'market' mechanisms.

# Examples of how current policies match with the educational capital of 'les initiés'

- ❑ Formal learning
- ❑ Instructivist learning paradigm
- ❑ Multilingual repertoires
- ❑ Language assessment
  - Format
  - Summative
- ❑ **Tracking (grouping)**
- ❑ **A (quasi) market model**
- ❑ **Social networks**

# Tracking

- Practice of tracking in Flemish integration programmes
  - CBE
  - CVO
  - UCT
- What is the profile of the immigrants in each of the groups?
- Introducing language test (A2)
- Some data from piloting

	<i>centrum</i>	<i>traject</i>	<i>behaald niveau</i>	<i>uitslag</i>			totaal
				<i>Lager dan A1</i>	<i>A1</i>	<i>A2</i>	
Lezen A1-A2	CBE	Alfa	A1	12			12
		NT2	onder A1	19			19
			A1	47	10	1	58
	CVO	120u	A1	8	10	4	22
			A2	15	11	17	43
			B1		2		2
		180u	A1	13	6	3	22
	UTC	60u en 80u	onder A1	1	6	7	14
			A1	5	9	14	28
			A2		2	27	29

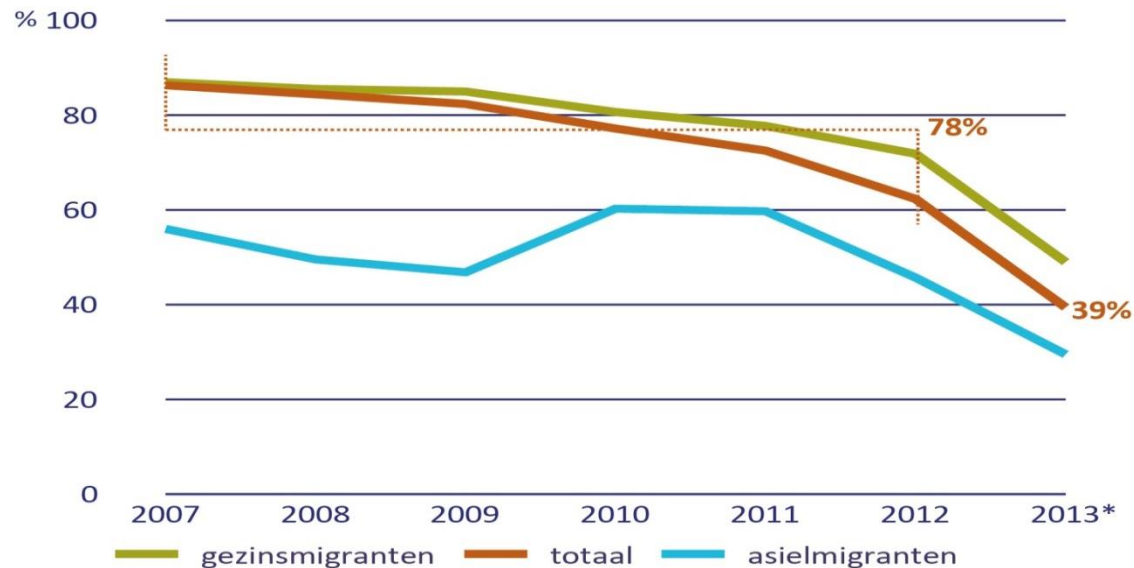
*totaal* 249

# Tracking

test	centrum	aantal kandidaten	Gemiddelde Toetstijd	Gemiddelde tijd deel 1	Gemiddelde tijd deel 2	Gemiddeld aantal lege items
Lezen A1-A2	CBE	89	49,8	31,3	18,4	5
	CVO	89	42,6	19,6	23,0	1
	UTC	71	28,5	11,4	17,1	2

# A (quasi) market model

Succes rate of 'inburgeraars' in The Netherlands from 2007 - 2013



\* Eerste helft van 2013

Source: Dutch National Audit Office ([www.rekenkamer.nl](http://www.rekenkamer.nl))

# A (quasi) market model

<https://www.inburgeren.nl>

## Zelf verantwoordelijk



U bent zelf verantwoordelijk voor uw inburgering. Maar u kunt wel iemand vragen om u te helpen.

### **Wie kan u helpen?**

Wilt u hulp bij het regelen van uw inburgering? Misschien kan uw familie helpen. Of een vriend. Of iemand van uw school.

### **Machtigen**

Wilt u dat iemand anders dingen voor u regelt bij DUO? Dan kunt u iemand machtigen. Stuur het formulier op om iemand te machtigen. Het formulier staat hieronder.

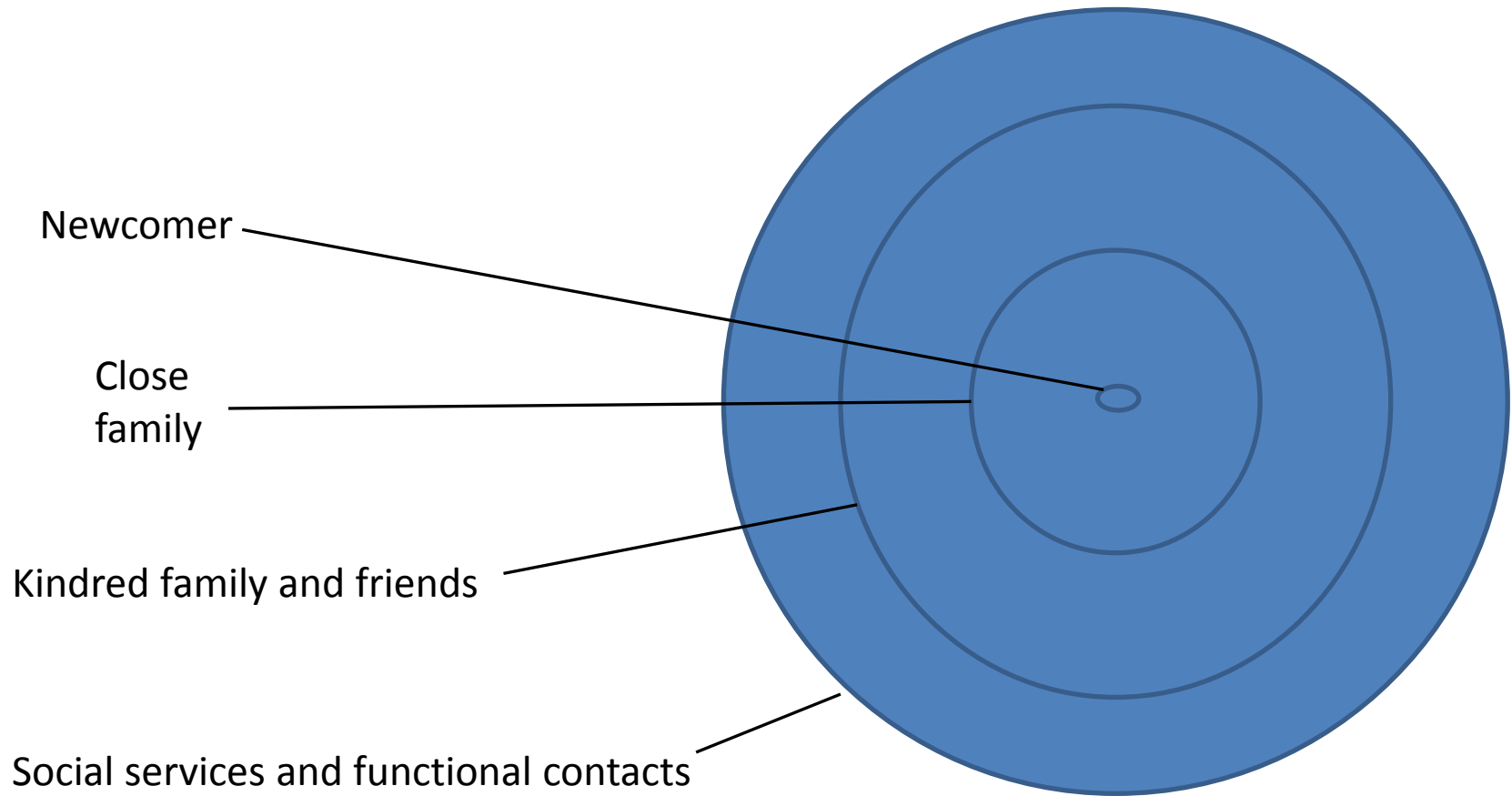
Source: <https://www.inburgeren.nl/inburgeren-hoe-moet-dat.jsp>

# Social networks

- Qualitative study:
  - 9 in-depth interviews with low SES newcomers (female, Eastern-European migrants, 3 to 5 years in Flanders, did an integration programme, children at school, one city in Flanders)
  - Semi-structured interviews & social mapping
  
- Research questions:
  - How do the social networks of newcomers look like?
  - What kind of social contacts do newcomers have (organisations, school, leisure time)?
  - What was the impact of participating in the integration program and Dutch language courses on building social networks?
  - How and when are social networks being used?



# Exploratory research



# Findings

## □ How do the social networks of newcomers look like?

- Very limited number of social contacts
- Mostly in the first circle; social bonding relations
- Absence of social bridging relations

*“I am living now for two years in (city). I have one friend, she is also Polish. Sometimes I go shopping, or walking or drinking coffee, but I always speak Polish. I don’t have any contact with Belgian people.”*

# Findings

## ❏ What kind of social contacts do newcomers have (organizations, school, leisure time)?

- Hardly any leisure time activities
- Very limited social linking contacts, mostly language teachers (L2); teachers at the school of the children and career counselors (employment)

*“The school of the children, the teachers. I can always ask them for help. They always help me. At first, I didn’t understand all the notes the children brought home. I tried to translate via Google translate, but it wasn’t always correct. I asked the teachers and they helped me. They are always very friendly.”*

# Findings

- **What was the impact of participating in the integration program and Dutch language courses on building social networks?**

- Social contacts made during the integration program and Dutch language courses do not seem to be sustainable

*“After (the course), I have to work every day. I have two children. My husband works. I only go to school (course) two times a week. I don’t have time for friends.”*

- Need for social bridging relations!

*“Here at school is fine. I want to come every day to school. Here you can talk to people as friends. I want more contact, know more people. But I have to speak Dutch better in order to do that.”*

# Findings

- **How and when are social networks being used?**
  - Newcomers rely mostly on contacts in the first circle: nuclear family, close family (in the home country) and a few good friends.
  - Bridging and functional contacts are hardly mentioned by the respondents. One can assume that these contacts are only used in a limited way in situations of difficulty or uncertainty.

# So

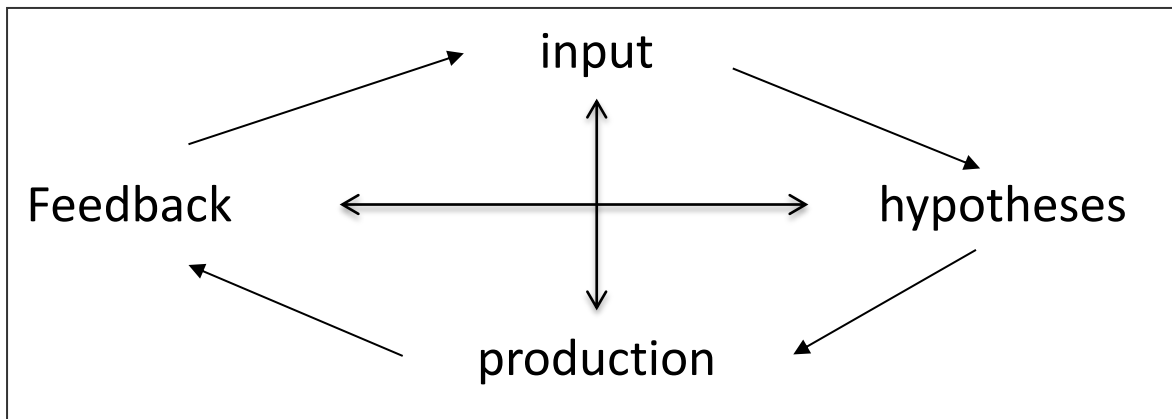
- ❑ Impact is extremely low
- ❑ Minimal language learning took place
- ❑ Hardly no opportunities to maintain, practice, ...
  
- ❑ Building new social networks is not an individual, but a shared process – including both newcomers and the members of the ‘host’ society.
  - The newcomers express the need for bridging relations, but are not able to make these contacts without support and guidance.
  
- ❑ To overcome virtualization of citizenship, facilitating social relations (bonding, bridging and linking relations) is an essential part of an ‘active’ policy aiming at social participation and active citizenship of ALL members of society.

# Paradigm shift

- ❑ Unjustice of language test for integration, citizenship
- ❑ Policies seem to have no positive impact
- ❑ At least for some, the 'non-initié'
  
- ❑ But the policies are there
  
- ❑ To avoid mechanisms of social reproduction, radical shifts are needed

# What we do know but find hard to accept!

## ☐ Language learning



- Interaction
- Powerful learning environments
- Contextualised
- Individually different
- Non linear process
- Longitudinal
- whimsical

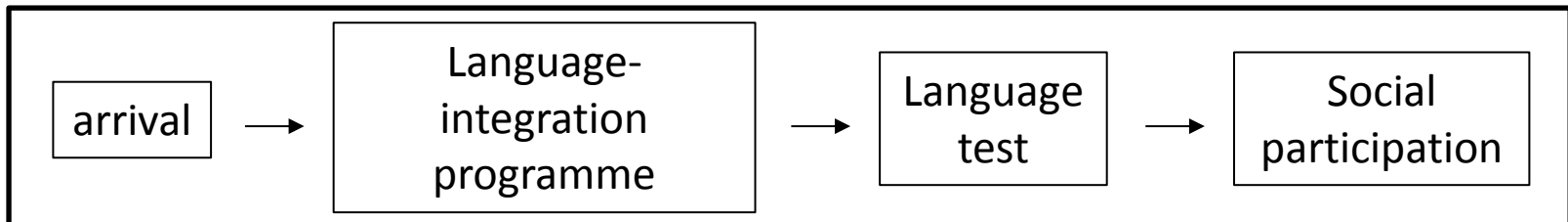
- ☐ Multilingualism is a reality (the norm) in social spaces
- ☐ Multilingualism is a reality (the norm) in every person: multiple repertoires
- ☐ Every person does 'translanguaging'
- ☐ Translanguaging has positive impact on cognitive flexibility (Leseman, 2017)



# And yet we continue to claim

In the context of immigrants:

- ❑ Monolingualism is the norm
- ❑ Multilingualism is a deficit
- ❑ Translanguaging indication of low proficiency (and no willingness to 'integrate')
- ❑ Exclusive L2 submersion policy
- ❑ Language is a condition for social participation
- ❑ Everybody acquires a language the way I learned French
- ❑ We celebrate the 'motto' of judging a fish by its ability to climb a tree
- ❑ Language learning is a linear process
- ❑ Integration is a linear process



# As a result...

- ❑ 'Les non-initiés' are more likely to fail
- ❑ Unrealistic expectations and comparing 'initiés' and 'non-initiés' by so-called 'host' society in terms of proficiency in the dominant language
- ❑ Negative attitudes towards translanguaging practices both in formal (desk/counter in post, municipality) as informal contexts (tram, school gate)
- ❑ No positive effect on job market, education, ... Discrimination persistent problem (linguicism)
- ❑ Newcomers avoid/afraid of social contacts, visit official desks, parent meetings
- ❑ Less opportunities to practice L2 and build social networks
- ❑ Isolation, perceived as segregation

# Challenges

**Contesting and reconstructing concepts and policies of which mainly 'les initiés' (potentially) benefit**

# Change in policy

- ❑ Development of policies that work at local level (bottom up, high identity, functional, contextualised) instead of national level (low identity: feel discriminated, racism, linguicism)
- ❑ From causality between language test and integration to functional interaction between equal opportunities on the housing market, to find a job, and formal and informal language learning
- ❑ From a conditional to a facilitating policy (VDAB, schools, ...)

# Change in teaching

- ☐ Needs analysis (why? and what?)
  - Societal domains
  - Reference frame
  - Descriptors/outcomes/curriculum
  
- ☐ New pedagogies (how?)
  - task based teaching
  - co operative learning
  - Explicit-implicit learning
  - Tailor made courses
  
- ☐ Formal-informal learning
- ☐ Multilingual learning/teaching

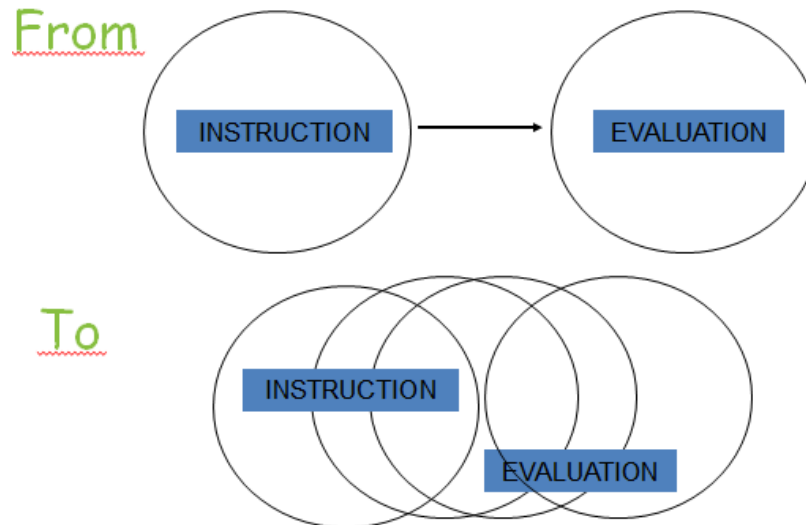
# Change assessment

- ❑ Focus on what people can instead on what they cannot.
- ❑ No indication of one level but a profile of people's multilingual performances (including multi literacy)
- ❑ Assess multilingual proficiency

# Classroom based assessment

## □ Assessment for/as learning

- In large-scale tests there is a clear separation of instruction/learning and evaluation.
- In classroom based assessment instruction/learning and evaluation can be integrated



# Classroom based assessment

- ❑ This opens up opportunities for 'alternative' assessments: feedback, feed forward, group assessment, co-assessment, ...
- ❑ Relates to dynamic assessment (feedback in increasingly complex and challenging tasks (Swanson & Luthier, 2001))
- ❑ And social constructivist approaches of learning: feedback and feed forward are examples of social interaction in relation to assessment and go hand in hand with cooperative learning strategies (with the teacher as an continuously assessing mediator in processes of learning)



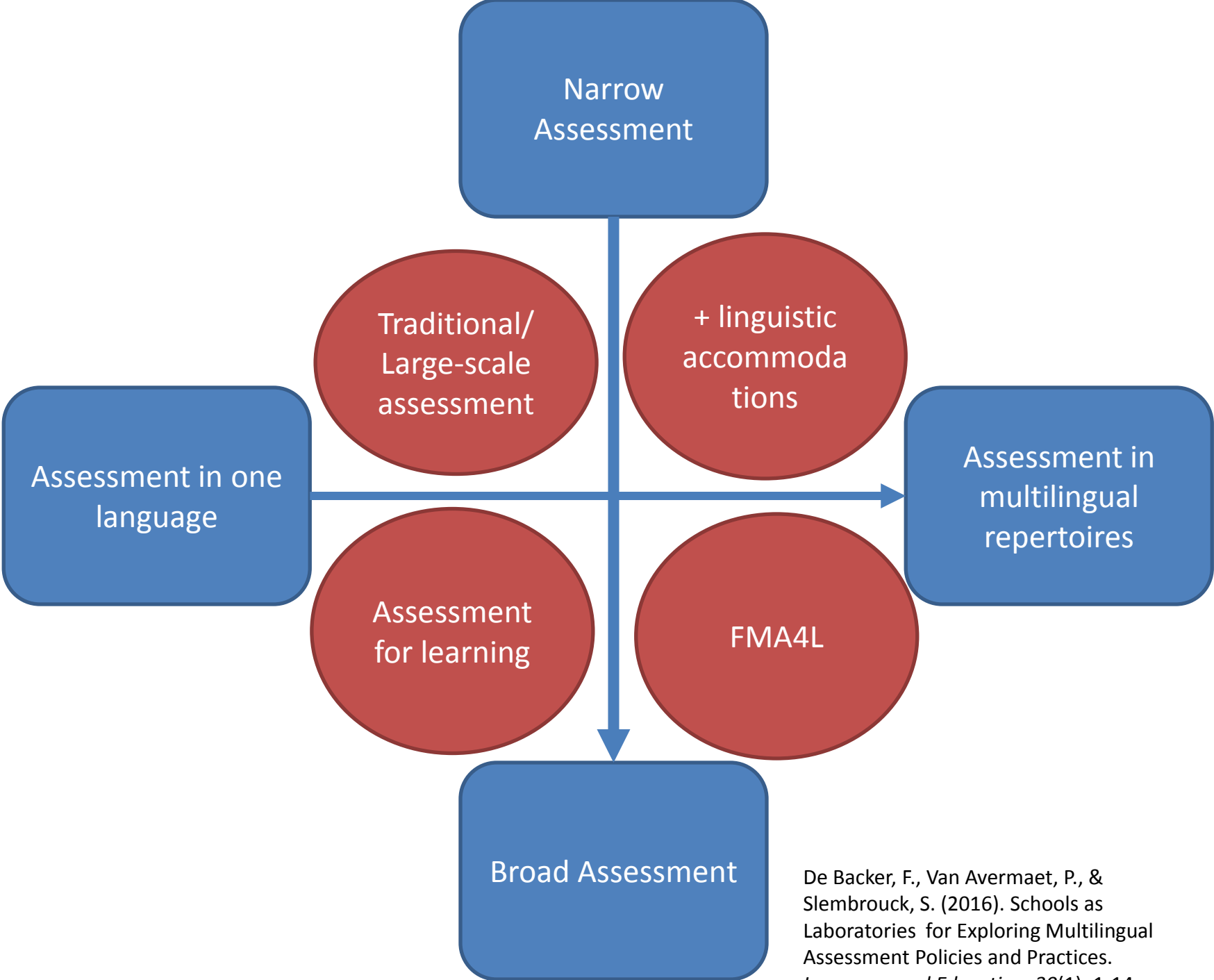
# ML resources and classroom based assessment

- ❏ Immigrants' ML resources can be integrated much easier in learning oriented or classroom based assessment
  
- ❏ Functional multilingual learning (Sierens & Van Avermaet, 2014)
  - Exploiting multilingual repertoires as didactical capital for learning: functional use of home languages in multilingual, L2-dominant learning environments; to raise multilingual awareness, create positive attitudes towards ML, ...
  
  - Also, the linguistic repertoires used as scaffold to support learners not only to master the dominant language, but also the content of the instruction
  
  - A 'multilingual social interaction model for learning' as alternative for a 'language learning model'

# ML resources and classroom based assessment

## ☐ Functional multilingual assessment for learning

- When we see learning and evaluating as inseparable, the concept of assessment for learning can be connected seamless to the concept of ‘functional multilingual learning’
- Both call for a learning environment that allows frequent interaction between the learners.
- (Allow to) exploit all the linguistic repertoires of learners in assessment for learning tasks rather than only taking their proficiency in the dominant language into account



De Backer, F., Van Avermaet, P., & Slembrouck, S. (2016). Schools as Laboratories for Exploring Multilingual Assessment Policies and Practices. *Language and Education, 30*(1), 1-14.

# A kind, but firm invitation to change things

- International research indicates that an exclusive L2 submersion model is less effective than assumed.
- International research provided overwhelming evidence for multilingual education and exploiting peoples multilingual repertoires
- Sociolinguistic research unraveled the complex dynamics of people's multilingual practices to communicate; construct and share knowledge
- An exclusive L2 submersion model is in contradiction with what is known about SLA and language learning processes of the last 20 years
- The negative impact of monolingual perceptions and beliefs is well documented

# We haven't got a minute to lose

- ❑ Acknowledge and accept the intersectional dynamics of translanguaging and the complexities of processes of participation, cohesion and building networks in social spaces.
- ❑ Acknowledge ML realities and translanguaging practices as a means for communication
- ❑ Translanguaging as an asset/scaffold/strategy for L2 learning
- ❑ L2 proficiency is outcome/result of social participation
- ❑ Achieving social participation and cohesion is a shared responsibility
- ❑ Balance provision of formal learning and opportunities for informal learning
- ❑ More valid (I claim that all current tests are not valid), needs related based, functional, learning oriented assessment
- ❑ Integrate translanguaging, learning and assessment

# Conclusion: new ingredients, new recipes

- ❑ 'Language of citizenship' is important to function in society (and in education). However, we have to reflect on the most meaningful pathway to it;
- ❑ Integration policies should not only provide opportunities for language learning.
- ❑ They should be created – not only for 'les initiés' – to avoid (and compensate for) mechanisms of social reproduction, instead of exacerbating it.
- ❑ Social inclusion and educational success cannot be realized only through integration programmes or a language course for newcomers. It is a continuous, complex, dynamic process;
- ❑ We must reflect on how inclusion can be achieved; whereby ALL languages are acknowledged; allowed to be used in the social space and where permanent linguistic enclaves can be avoided;
- ❑ It is in processes of social participation and building social networks that languages are being acquired (through language use);
- ❑ A policy in which the linguistic repertoires of EACH person (not only 'les initiés') are being used as a strength for learning and social participation.

**And now let's start cooking!**

**Thank you**

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