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Working Paper

Language integration of labour migrants in Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, the Netherlands and Sweden from a historical perspective

WZB Discussion Paper, No. SP VI 2013-101

Provided in Cooperation with:

WZB Berlin Social Science Center

Suggested Citation: Höhne, Jutta (2013) : Language integration of labour migrants in Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, the Netherlands and Sweden from a historical perspective, WZB Discussion Paper, No. SP VI 2013-101, Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung (WZB), Berlin

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Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin
für Sozialforschung



Jutta Höhne

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SP VI 2013–101

May 2013

I would like to thank Ines Michalowski for her invaluable cooperation, excellent suggestions and expert advice.

Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung

Forschungsschwerpunkt

Migration und Diversität

Forschungsabteilung

Migration, Integration, Transnationalisierung

Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung gGmbH
Reichpietschufer 50
10785 Berlin
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Jutta Höhne

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Discussion Paper SP VI 2013–101

Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung (2013)

Abstract

The paper investigates the language integration of adult labour migrants in six major West-European immigration countries (Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, the Netherlands and Sweden) for the period between 1965 and the mid-1990s. Results reveal quite different national approaches to the problem. Whereas in Sweden, France and Germany, migrants' linguistic integration was addressed by state authorities well ahead of establishing integration policy as a governmental task, the other countries under study ignored immigrants' possible language problems until the early or even late 1980s. Compared to the intense and sophisticated contemporary integration courses, the didactic quality of language courses taught between the 1960s-1990s was overall rather poor, and course durations were quite short. Best-practice standards had been set since the early years of labor migration by Sweden where the government financed language courses already from 1965 on. The countries (the Netherlands, Belgium and Austria) that were already reluctant in the early years to set up language courses for immigrants still provide comparably less state-funded language tuition to immigrants today.

Zusammenfassung

Das vorliegende Paper untersucht die sprachliche Integration von Arbeitsmigranten in sechs westeuropäischen Einwanderungsländern (Österreich, Belgien, Frankreich, Deutschland, Niederlande und Schweden) zwischen 1965 und Mitte der 1990er Jahre. Die Ergebnisse belegen, dass die Länder sehr unterschiedlich an dieses Problem herangingen: Die Behörden in Schweden, Frankreich und Deutschland befassten sich mit der sprachlichen Integration von Migration bereits lange bevor von einer staatlichen Integrationspolitik die Rede sein konnte. Die Niederlande, Belgien und Österreich hingegen ignorierten mögliche Verständigungsprobleme von Migranten bis in die frühen oder sogar späten 1980er Jahre hinein. Gemessen an den heutigen intensiven und didaktisch ausgefeilten Integrationskursen ließ die Unterrichtsqualität in den sechziger bis neunziger Jahren deutlich zu wünschen übrig. Auch die Dauer der Sprachkurse war bescheiden. Schweden finanzierte Sprachunterricht für Einwanderer schon seit 1965 und setzt seit Beginn der Arbeitsmigration nach Westeuropa bis heute die höchsten Standards in Bezug auf Kursangebote und Unterrichtsqualität, während die Länder, die schon bei der Einführung von Sprachkursen sehr zögerlich waren (Niederlande, Belgien und Österreich), sich auch jetzt nur vergleichsweise wenig engagieren, wenn es darum geht, Sprachunterricht für Migranten zu finanzieren.

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Introduction

In the post-war period, many West-European industrialized countries recruited temporary workers from Mediterranean or Southern European countries to fill their labour shortages. Initially, neither the receiving countries nor the immigrants themselves perceived their stay as permanent, and consequently did not invest much in social integration. Host country language tuition – that now has become a core element of today's integration policies – had been of no official concern to most states (with the notable exception of Sweden) until at least the 1970s, sometimes even late 1990s. Nevertheless, there were non-governmental actors – private activists, welfare organizations, immigrant associations or trade unions – who organized language classes already before state authorities paid any attention to the problem, but migrants' chances of participating in a course were rather low.

The following paper investigates the efforts towards a linguistic integration of adult migrants in six major West-European immigration countries for the period between 1965 and the mid-1990s: Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, the Netherlands, and Sweden.¹ It presents the results of a literature search for cross-nationally comparable information on the availability and quality of language courses for migrants with a focus on the early years of labour immigration.

State approach towards linguistic integration of migrants

State attention to language integration (or the lack of it) had partly been shaped by traditional notions of citizenship and inclusiveness, and by historical experience. "Sweden started its immigration history by providing humanitarian assistance to immigrants and refugees from the Nordic, Baltic and other European countries during the Second World War. During the mid-1960s, the focus of policy attention shifted to immigrants arriving for work-related reasons. The importance of acquiring the language of the host country was already acknowledged by then." (OECD 2010: 32-33) In France, official attention to immigrant integration has a long tradition of inclusiveness: At the end of the 19th century, a reform of naturalization laws was undertaken to promote the

1 UK has not been included into the paper as the vast majority of immigrants in the period under review originated from former British colonies: " ... unlike other European countries, the UK did not develop large-scale 'guestworker' programmes to recruit from overseas. Rather, most immigration during the 1950s and 1960s unfolded spontaneously as migrants from the Caribbean, South Asia, and parts of Africa made their way to the imperial 'motherland'" (Hampshire 2009). Thus, these migrants arrived with at least a basic command of the host country language – an advantage that up to a certain extent also applied to Belgium and France, but far less than to Britain.

integration of immigrants into the national community via citizenship (OECD 2008: 117). After WWII, the French state not only encouraged labour migration, but also recognised the need to accompany the process quite early, establishing appropriate organizations like SONACOTRA and FAS by the end of the 1950s (OECD 2008: 118).

Like Sweden and France, Belgium, too, has a long history of labour immigration, as especially the mining sector in Wallonia had attracted a large number of immigrant workers already prior to WWII. The country actively supported family reunification, and displayed awareness for the non-temporary character of labour migration from the 1960s on, i.e. earlier than other countries in our data set – but neither Wallonia nor Flanders translated its immigration experiences into any comprehensive integration measures before the 1990s (OECD 2008: 48). Neither did Austria, in spite of its long history of immigration, follow the inclusive French approach towards integration: Instead, language served as a criterion of exclusion, as Austrian citizenship was offered from 1919 on to minority residents conditional on being "German by race and language". After WWII, members of linguistic minorities were expected to assimilate, but without state support and without concern about actual integration difficulties (OECD 2011: 26), and this approach was extended to guestworkers until the late 1990s (OECD 2011: 35).

Germany reacted to the most apparent integration needs with selective measures, with a focus on language courses, but officially acknowledged the task of integration only in 1978, and denied the need to establish any official integration policy until 1997 (Liebig 2007: 30). The Netherlands, too, for a long time considered migrants only as temporary company. Explicit integration policies started in the 1980s, but under the special Dutch framing of pillarization: immigrants were defined as just another minority added to all those already existing (Bruquetas-Callejo et al. 2007: 12, 15, 27).

Language teaching to labour migrants between the 1960s and 1990s, by country

- *Sweden*

In Sweden, the official migrant integration policy of "equal rights, responsibilities and obligation for all" was set up in 1975 (Lindberg/Sandwall 2007: 80), but language teaching programmes had been started at least 10 years before: "The Swedish labour recruitment agreement with Turkey included a clause that vocational training and language courses for workers going to Sweden may by agreement ... be arranged in Turkey with the assistance of Swedish experts. The expenses ... shall be borne by the

Swedish authorities." (Agreement 1967, article 11). Information on the number and duration of courses organized in Turkey is not available, but activities in the country of destination are documented: Instruction after arrival in Sweden was organized and coordinated by the *Studieförbund* in so-called study circles, i.e. in small groups once or twice a week, as a flexible and non-certified form of education (Hill 1990: 293-294; Lindberg/Sandwall 2007: 81). The Swedish state supported these activities financially, first on a preliminary basis, already from 1965 on (Lindberg/Sandwall 2007: 80-81). In the late 1960s, when labour market integration of immigrants became problematic, an increasing number of courses were held in employment training centres of the Employment Service Agencies (Hill 1990: 293-294; Lindberg/Sandwall 2007: 82). "Language training at employment training centres was originally to be directed towards those adult immigrants who had expressed a desire for a particular vocational training programme but who lacked language skills to participate in a chosen training programme. In time, though, adult immigrants came to be referred to language training programmes at employment training centres whether or not they had expressed a desire for any job training programme and regardless of their previous educational or work experience background." (Hill 1990: 296)

Sweden very early recognized that evening classes were not the most suitable form of teaching for hard-working manual labour force, and that language tuition should be integrated into the working process: "A regulation introduced in the early 1970s meant that Sfi classes could also be organised during working hours in larger workplaces. Such provision was a joint responsibility of the state, trade unions and employers, and gave each immigrant worker the right to 200 hours of free language tuition." (Lindberg/Sandwall 2007: 81) In 1972, newly arrived immigrants were entitled to even 240 hours of salaried language training. (OECD 2010: 32-33). By 1986, the state-funded Swedish for Immigrants (Sfi) programme was further extended up to 700 hours divided into an elementary and a supplementary course, and the responsibility for these offers was shifted to the municipalities in 1991. But as of the mid-1980s, at least 60% of all adult language training was carried out in employment training centres, funded by the Employment Services Agency (Hill 1990: 295-296).

- *France*

From the perspective of linguistic integration of foreign labour force, France was in a comparatively privileged position: "Le public est relativement homogène: en majorité masculin, il est soit originaire de pays francophones (Maghreb, Afrique de l'Ouest, Asie du Sud Est), soit d'origine linguistique étrangère proche du français (espagnole ou portugaise en grande majorité)." (ORIV 2009: 28-29) Therefore, in the 1960s, the efforts concentrated on the alphabetization of French-speaking migrants: "Les cours organisés

pour les publics migrants sont alors principalement des cours d'alphabétisation assurés par des bénévoles travaillant dans des associations militantes. L'objectif est principalement d'apprendre à lire et à écrire aux travailleurs immigrés dans la langue du pays d'accueil." (ORIV 2009: 28-29) The "FLE"-programme (*Français Langue Etrangère*) started in the 1970s. It targeted mainly refugees, but was not exclusively restricted to that group. The activities were organized by welfare associations, churches, labour unions, volunteers and the like, coordinated and from 1975 also financed by the state-funded FAS (resp. its follow-up organizations).

As in the case of Sweden, official integration policies came up far later, in France with a delay of roughly 20 years. The Haut Conseil à l'Intégration (HCI) was founded only in 1989: "Pour la première fois, le terme «intégration» est doté d'une définition et apparaît comme un domaine des politiques publiques." (ORIV 2009: 32). The implementation of formal reception plans, for family reunification immigrants, started in 1993 at the departmental level, and in 1994, language teaching was specified "to be an integral part of the departmental reception plans. All adult family reunification migrants were granted a credit of 200 hours of language courses and these were given priority in any language teaching financed by the FAS." (OECD 2008: 122) Nevertheless, a FAS review of the system of language training for immigrant adults revealed in 1995 that tuition capacities were insufficient: "... 45% of all adult foreign citizens had an insufficient mastery of French, either oral or written or both, about 29% had inadequate mastery of both oral and written French. On this basis, the FAS estimated that the number of places offered to trainees each year covered only about 3 to 10% of potential needs." (OECD 2008: 122).

- *Germany*

On the basis of bilateral recruitment agreements with several Mediterranean and Southern European countries, Germany received a large number of immigrant workers from the late 1950s on. Although the initial idea of a two-year rotation schedule was revised already in 1964 (Federal Foreign Office 2011), the state did not care about linguistic skills of migrants until the mid-1970s when the government started to finance language courses for guestworkers. Similar to France and Sweden, we note a long time gap between concern for language teaching and the official acknowledgement that integration was a governmental task: only in 1997, "the integration of foreigners became, for the first time, a formally established responsibility of the Federal government" (Liebig 2007: 25).

The first actors in the field were private institutions or sympathetic volunteers. In the 1960s, the German Goethe Institut produced the first language teaching film: "Guten

Tag Deutschland". It served as the didactic basis for a 81-hours course. But chances of participating in such training were low for labour migrants in the 1960s and early 1970s: "Deutschkenntnisse gehörten zu Beginn der "Gastarbeiterära" nicht zum sogenannten Eignungsprofil der Arbeitsmigranten ... ging man davon aus, dass sich Arbeitsabläufe, Aufgaben und Vorschriften leicht vermitteln ließen und weitere Kommunikation nicht nötig sei." (zur Nieden 2009: 127) Welfare and social care organizations, volunteers, and a few adult education centres, sometimes the caretakers of the dormitories offered language courses here and there (zur Nieden 2009: 128), but capacities were limited and insufficient.

"After the first oil shock in 1973 and the subsequent end to labour recruitment, it became increasingly clear that the concept of temporary "guestworkers" no longer reflected the reality of most immigrants. As a first step, in 1974, language training for "foreign workers" was introduced." (Liebig 2007: 24) The level was, however, quite basic: In the beginning, there was only one type of course available, comprising 80-120 hours. After 1975, the range of courses got broader, accounting for differentiated target groups, and the length increased up to 320 hours in 1981 (Kaufmann 1995: 336-338). Special language tuition for unemployed immigrants was introduced in 1987. These courses did, however, not target guestworkers, but recognised asylum seekers and ethnic Germans (Liebig 2007: 31). In 1991, the then existing range of general, intensive and alphabetization-including language courses was further extended by introducing special classes aiming at the "Deutsch als Fremdsprache" certificate. The key player in this process was the Sprachverband Deutsch, an organization focusing on teaching of German language, founded in 1974 and financed by the Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs. It was responsible for conceptualizing and coordinating the courses which were provided mainly by the social work organization "Internationale Bund", communal or welfare organizations and adult evening schools (Kaufmann 1995: 338-340). Participation of migrant workers from "guestworker countries" and their families was generously subsidized by the Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, at least until 2003. Later, financial support was reorganized according to residence permit status-criteria, i.e. in favour of ethnic Germans (zur Nieden 2009: 130, 133).

- *Netherlands*

In the Netherlands, during the 1960s and 1970s there was neither a language policy nor any other kind of political approaches towards integration (Bruquetas-Callejo et al. 2007: 12): Only in 1979, a wrr-report to the Dutch government drew attention to the importance of language problems: "het taalprobleem de grootste belemmering vormt voor een goed functioneren van de mediterrane migrant en zijn gezin in de Nederlandse samenleving." (Pennix 1979: 113)

Until then, only very few labour migrants had the chance of attending evening or weekend meetings that scattered groups of volunteers gave, using makeshift course materials and struggling with the additional problem of often illiterate participants, as about half of the Moroccan immigrants were analphabets. Financial support by communal authorities was a rare exception (Utrecht 2011; Penninx 1979: 113). Here and there, employers organized language courses, but costs were passed to the migrant workers (geschiedenis24 2010). Unofficial coordinator and contact point was the *stichtingen Bijstand Buitenlandse Werknemers*. The first course given by professional teachers was organized in 1981 in Utrecht – less out of concern for migrant problems, but explicitly financed as a measure of support for unemployed Dutch teachers (Utrecht 2011).

During the 1980s, however, the situation improved: "The beginning of the 1980s saw the design and implementation of explicit integration policies ... equality of ethnic minorities in the socio-economic domain; inclusion and participation in the political domain; and equity in the domain of culture and religion within constitutional conditions." (Bruquetas-Callejo et al. 2007: 12, 15). The Dutch state started to implement language tuition measures in the early 1980s – quite late, if compared to Sweden, France and Germany, but nearly simultaneously with a general integration framework. Notwithstanding that priority was still given to origin-country language teaching, the number of so-called NT2 (Dutch as a second language) courses increased. Courses were given at adult evening schools (*Volksuniversiteiten*) or organized by social organizations. For the years 1980-1985, the number of adult participants (including young adults in professional education and refugees) in all kinds of language classes was estimated at 40.000 to 60.000 per year, and it was concluded that the demand for language tuition was probably not satisfied during that period (wrr 2001: 47). Sources and conditions of financing were numerous and unsystematic, but involved, from the 1980s on, at least three ministries (Verhallen 1987: 27). In 1983, the Ministerie van Sociale Zaken en Werkgelegenheid started to finance Dutch language courses in firms during working hours, with an average length of 100-200 hours, cut down to 30-100 after 1994 (wrr 2001: 65).

- *Belgium*

Belgium is the only country under study that mentioned the organization of language courses in the destination country in its official labour recruitment agreement with Turkey. The Belgian-Turkish treaty with regard to foreign workers from 1964 had a clause asking that "L'employeur facilite et encourage l'initiation des travailleurs à la langue de la région notamment par l'organisation de cours de langue" (Accord 1964,

article 7).² A debate about integration policy emerged, however, only at the end of the 1980s, when the "Royal Commission for Immigrant Policy" (OECD 2008: 51) was founded, and there is no information that language lessons for adult migrant workers could have been of further official concern at some earlier point in time.³

There had indeed been firm-based course offers to Turkish workers in *Wallonia*, albeit at least in the beginning with a very narrow scope: "L'apprentissage de la langue locale n'est organisé que dans une perspective à court terme, basé en priorité sur le vocabulaire technique de la mine." (Khoojinian 2007: 522) These courses did not enjoy much popularity, and even premiums for participation failed to have an effect, both because the immigrant workers considered their stay only as temporary, in spite of the official support for family reunification (Khoojinian 2007: 543), and because of inappropriate teaching methods: "Dans les premiers temps, ces leçons manquent d'attrait, à tel point que même les primes de participation ne suffisent pas à y attirer les ouvriers turcs. Des cours sont suspendus en nombre d'endroits, faute d'élèves. Il faudra attendre la mise en place de méthodes audiovisuelles pour que ce type de cours rencontre plus de succès." (Khoojinian 2006: 86) Nevertheless, the Turkish Bulletin for Turkish Workers in Wallonia repeatedly asked his readers to participate: "À plusieurs reprises, nous avons invité nos lecteurs à suivre les cours de langue régionale donnés pour les travailleurs immigrés dans plusieurs localités industrielles. Des cours sont organisés chaque année soit par les pouvoirs publics et les services d'accueil de la main-d'oeuvre étrangère, soit par des organismes privés et même par les entreprises (charbonnages) lorsqu'un nombre suffisant de travailleurs le demande. [Bulletin des travailleurs turcs, n° 63, Octobre 1969, pp. 4-5.]" (Khoojinian 2007: 543) Unfortunately, there are no statistics available on these courses.

2 As already described (see p. 2), the Turkish agreement with Sweden had a clause on language courses held in the sending country prior to emigration, while the Turkish agreements with Austria, France, Germany and the Netherlands did not bring up the topic at all. See for Austria: Abkommen 1964; France: Convention 1965; Germany: BMFAS 1962; Netherlands: Overeenkomst 1964. Neither did the Belgian recruitment treaties with other countries (e.g. Yugoslavia or Greece) refer to the language problem. The (second) Belgian treaty with Italy, however, had a clause permitting Italian authorities to organize language classes for Italian workers in Belgium who intended to participate in professional qualification courses offered by the Belgian Labour Agency, thus passing the responsibility for these cases on to the sending country. Information on these courses is not available. See for Belgium-Greece: Accord 1957; for Belgium-Yugoslavia: Accord 1970; for Belgium-Italy: Protocol 1946; Accord 1966.

3 This statement does not apply to the children of immigrants: "With the relatively generous family reunification policy in Belgium, awareness of the non-temporary nature of "guest-worker" migrants appears to have developed earlier than in other European OECD countries (for the following, see Ouali, 2006). Already in the early 1960s, for example, there were calls to pay more attention to the integration of the children of immigrants. In 1969, special language training in French and Dutch was introduced – albeit initially only on an experimental basis." (OECD 2011: 51)

Apart from these employer-organized courses, until the late 1960s, mainly trade unions and immigrant associations handled the reception and integration of foreign workers (Perrin/Martiniello 2005: 138). The only public institution preoccupied with immigration matters was the *Service Provincial d'Immigration et d'Accueil de la Province de Liège* (Mangot 1997: 193). By the end of the 1960s, Moroccan immigrants initiated courses combining language tuition and alphabetization, supported by trade union activists and native volunteers (CFS et al. 2007: 41), and these kinds of combined courses have been offered since by a network of groups, now under the head of the "Lire et Écrire" organization. These courses also illustrate the Wallonian (non-)approach to official integration policies: Immigrants are not targeted as a special group, but as embedded in mainstream policies for disadvantaged groups in general. The local integration centers (*Centers Régionaux d'Intégration des Personnes Étrangères et d'Origine Étrangère CRI*), existing since 1996, support the socio-economic integration of immigrants at a local level (Manço 2010), and the consultative council for the integration of foreigners or persons with a foreign background set up in 2003 aims at providing advice with regard to foreigners' rights, but specific measures for immigrants are nevertheless not the rule (OECD 2008: 63-64). An exception are the FLE-courses ("*Français Langue Étrangère*") offered to all persons who do not speak French, financed and organised by regional programmes according to a law from 1996 on the integration of foreign persons or persons with a foreign background: "Les cours de FLE ... se veulent un vecteur d'intégration linguistique, mais également culturel. ... Ces cours de français s' adressent à tout non-francophone, quelles que soient leur durée d'établissement et leur situation administrative. La plupart des centres accueillant des demandeurs d'asile offrent ainsi à leurs résidents de tels cours gratuitement. ... En marge du service de l'Éducation permanente, les associations offrant à leurs adhérents des cours de FLE peuvent être reconnues et subventionnées par des programmes régionaux." (Perrin/Martiniello 2005: 145).

The OECD summarizes the Wallonian linguistic integration efforts approach as "a rather *ad hoc* approach to language training": "... there is a range of offers in place, according to the individual's needs. In general, however, language training does not appear to be very intensive, except in certain specific projects, for which there is nevertheless a long waiting list. Unfortunately, there are no data available which would enable one to study the effectiveness of language training in Belgium." (2008: 72).

In *Flanders*, as in the Netherlands, there were punctually early good-will actions at local level, e.g. voluntary activists giving courses to Moroccan migrants in the Antwerpen *Centrum voor Buitenlandse Werknemers* from 1974 on (DE8 n.d.: 1). The Antwerpen Centre maintained its pioneer role also in the 1980s, as a point of contact for different actors and initiating tendencies towards a professionalization e.g. by setting up a data

base of teaching materials in 1987 (Janssen/Rutten 1992: 25). There were also firms that offered courses to foreign workers, but only very few: Following a survey among works councils in 26 firms in Antwerpen, only four organized such courses: "De meeste bedrijven waren van mening dat dergelijk onderricht buiten het bedrijf diende te gebeuren. Gebarentaal en voordoen bleken de meest voorkomende communicatiemiddelen." (Gossens 2004)

Due to lack of political attention to the problem, progress seems to have been much more modest than in the Netherlands. Even in the 1990s, there were long waiting lists for language classes: according to estimations from the year 1994, available NT2 (Dutch as a second language) course capacities covered only about 7 % of the potential target group (van den Branden 1994: 69). Official training programmes including Dutch language training for new arrivals had not been set up before the late 1990s, as part of a state-funded mandatory reception programme for newcomers, the so-called citizenship trajectories (Loobuyck/Jacobs 2006: 6).

- *Austria*

Austria was even more reluctant than Flanders in dealing with migration-related problems. "... policy did not envision Austria as a destination country for permanent migrants and as a consequence was not concerned with the issue of integration. The circumstances for integration were largely shaped by the Act on the Employment of Foreigners (*Ausländerbeschäftigungsgesetz*) ... Austrian integration policy only started to adjust to the fact of the permanent settlement of immigrants in the late 1980s." (OECD 2011: 35-36) Nevertheless, the Austrian organization "German as a foreign language" (ÖDaF) was founded in 1984, but "... die Zeiten davor liegen eher im Dunkeln" (Faistauer 1999: 103). In the 1970s, teachers working at adult evening schools tried to attract migrant workers to their courses distributing flyers, but these actions were isolated and unsystematic (Faistauer 1999: 103).

After 1984, the adult evening schools (*Volkshochschulen*) organized courses "German for foreigners", mostly on request of and financed by employment agencies (Plutzar 2008: 02-3-4). "Until 1993, migration policy and labour market integration remained largely under the responsibility of the social partners who discussed related topics as part of their negotiations about labour market and welfare policy. ... Only in 1997 was a formal federal framework for integration established, which mainly consisted of acknowledging the permanent presence of immigrants in Austria through legal measures." (OECD 2011: 35-36) But concern about language integration found an expression only from 2003 on, and not as an offer or supportive measure from the state, but the other way around: new arrivals from outside the EU had to commit themselves to acquiring a certain

language command within a fixed period of time. Tuition fees are co-financed by the Austrian integration fund (OECD 2011: 35-36, 56).

Didactic quality of the courses

Information on the didactic quality of the courses, i.e. on teachers' qualifications and manuals used, is close to non-existent for the period under review. *Germany* was the first country that addressed this question. Profiting from the long experience of the well-established Goethe-Institut, the German *Sprachverband Deutsch* introduced basic one-week-qualification courses for teachers already in 1974 (Kaufmann 1995: 345). Until the mid-1970s, German language instruction based on films: "Guten Tag Deutschland" (Goethe-Institut, 1966), and later "Viel Glück in Deutschland" (1974). From 1976, the *Sprachverband Deutsch* edited a list of approved teaching materials. Video courses were abandoned in 1977, in favour of manuals specifically designed for adult foreign workers. Evaluation of didactic materials in Germany started already in 1979, and since 1990 this process has even been standardized (Kaufmann 1995: 33-338).

In the other countries, calls for at least some basic training for teachers came up only from the 1980s on, and even *Sweden* was not much of an exception: "... the curriculum for immigrant language education during the 1950s and 1960s was, for the most part, not seen to be different from teaching language to majority Swedes." (Hill 2006: 293-294) The first Swedish language course designed for immigrants was introduced in 1967. It based on a textbook supported by radio and TV programs that was published by Swedish Broadcasting. From the mid-1970s on, courses funded by the Employment Agencies were given by teachers that had to fulfil formal qualification criteria. (Lindberg/Sandwall 2007: 84) "By the end of the 1970s a substantial part of the Sfi tuition was, however, still carried out as a preliminary pilot activity in private study associations, with no formal curriculums or requirements for teachers." Only after an evaluation in 1986, "Sfi finally became a permanent education program with a formal curriculum and some modest teacher qualification requirements" (Lindberg/Sandwall 2007: 82).

In *France*, there were two basic strands of language tuition in the 1970s, and didactic standards were also divided along these lines: "Certaines qui emploient des salariés professionnels, prennent en charge le public scolarisé, donc les «FLE», tandis que les associations de quartier, qui travaillent avec des bénévoles, s'occupent des «alphas». Jusqu'à la fin des années 70, la question de l'hétérogénéité ne se posera pas vraiment, ni d'ailleurs celle de l'appellation des cours. Il y a les «alphas» d'un côté, et les «FLE» de l'autre." (ORIV 2009: 30-31).

In the 1970s and 1980s, lessons of Dutch in the *Netherlands* were given mostly by volunteer non-professionals who first had to draw and put together some provisional teaching materials: "Lesgevers moesten het zelf uitzoeken en lesmateriaal maken. Pas eind zeventiger jaren kwamen de eerste echte taalmethodes. Er kwam een handleiding voor vrijwilligers. Dat boekje was gemaakt door de 2 begeleiders voor de vrijwilligers, die in 1981 werden aangesteld." (Utrecht 2011; wr 2001: 46-47). A review of language courses in the Netherlands in the mid-1980s summarized that especially the qualification of teachers needed more attention, and that course quality suffered because of teachers' high turnover rates that resulted from high shares of part-time and volunteer working (Verhallen 1987: 204).

The same applied to *Flanders*: "Although there has been a formal educational provision of Dutch as a second language (DSL) in Flanders since 1970, until the mid-nineties this was mostly limited to local volunteer initiatives within non-formal socio-cultural education. Little attention was paid in this to common orientation, quality management and the professionalisation of teachers." (Vandenbroucke 2008) The *Centrum voor Buitenlandse Werknemers Antwerpen* initiated a first tentative orientation towards professionalization in 1984 (CBW 20: 25), and set up a data bank of teaching materials from 1987 on (DE8 n.d.: 3). At the beginnings of the 1990s, the Catholic University of Leuven started a research project that accompanied and supported NT2-courses for adult immigrants, preparing wordlists and reading materials and developing teaching strategies (van den Branden 1994: 72). A major event was a round table conference on Dutch as a second language organised by Flemish authorities in 1993: "During the next ten years the provision of Dutch as a second language was uniformized on the basis of the policy recommendations resulting from this round table conference. To this end, the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages was adopted by all public provision providers." (Vandenbroucke 2008) Information on course materials in *Wallonia* are not available at all.

In *Austria*, courses were organized mainly at adult evening schools, but at least until the mid-1980s, there were no requirements set with regard to the teachers' qualification. (Plutzar 2008: 02-3). The necessity of a professionalization had been formulated already during the first scientific conference on "guestworkers" held in 1975 (Faistauer 1999: 104-105), but without any documented consequences. Only in 1992, the Federation for Adult Education Vienna (*Verband Wiener Volksbildung*) started to organize a two-year-qualification for teachers of German as a second language (Plutzar 2008: 02-4).

Improvements since 2000

Since the early 2000s, the situation has changed significantly. All six countries under study (for Belgium: only Flanders) set up so-called 'civic integration programs' for newly arrived immigrants that usually comprise language teaching, civic education and some additional form of individual advisory service by a case worker. In the late 2000s, however, several countries introduced compulsory language tests prior to immigration, and the Netherlands do not finance even compulsory language classes or tests any longer. Nevertheless, quality standards for courses are by far higher than in the early years - many countries now only employ teachers with a special qualification in teaching the mother tongue as a second language. They follow an elaborate curriculum, use standardized course material and the courses are differentiated not only into different levels (usually based on the Common European Reference Framework for Languages) but also for different groups of learners such as illiterate, highly skilled, youngster or women (for extensive information see Michalowski 2003 and 2007; OECD 2008; Council of Europe 2011).

Summary

The historical review of language integration policies in six European countries revealed quite different national approaches to the problem. The countries we looked at can roughly be divided into 3 groups: with Sweden as the best-practice-example on the top, readily tackling the language problem right from the beginning, i.e. starting in the mid-1960s. France was also quite early aware of the necessity to foster language integration with educational measures – but with a focus on alphabetization instead of simple language teaching given that the majority of migrants were Algerians or Moroccans who already spoke and understood French quite well. Germany can be placed in the middle, as the government already in the mid-1970s began to finance language courses. In these three countries, the problem of linguistic integration was addressed by state authorities well ahead of establishing integration policy as a governmental task. All the other countries in our data set ignored the language problem until the early or even late 1980s, although in the 1970s there were already volunteers here and there in Flanders and the Netherlands who gave free lessons to migrants, scattered examples of employer-organized courses for miners in Wallonia, and a few adult evening classes teachers in Austria who distributed flyers in order to convince migrants to attend their German courses. In the Netherlands and Flanders, attention to migrants' language command was part of the national set up of an integration policy, while Austria established its formal federal framework for integration in 1997, but officially formulated language requirements (and started to partly finance the necessary courses)

only six years later. Wallonia never opted for specific policies for immigrants, but rather for a general approach combating exclusion of all disadvantaged people.

The information collected also showed that the courses migrants enjoyed before 2000, are hardly comparable to today's quality standards. Contrasted to the intense and sophisticated contemporary integration courses, the didactic quality of language courses taught between the 1960s-1990s was overall rather poor, and course durations were quite short. The following table contrasts language course provision by country and historical period. In the early 2000s, all countries under study offered (and at least partly financed) integration courses for recent migrants. Interestingly, the countries (Belgium and Austria) that were already reluctant in the early years to set up language courses for immigrants still provided comparably less state-funded language tuition to immigrants at that time. After 2007, several countries made changes in their integration policy, introducing language tests prior to admission to the country for certain groups of migrants and language tests as a condition for permanent settlement and citizenship. The most evident turn took place in the Netherlands where host-country language command became mandatory, but the individual migrant has to bear the costs for tests and course participation. Sweden maintains its high standards: no compulsory tests or skill requirements, but comprehensive and generously financed course offers.

Language course provision according to countries and historical period

Country	Early courses*	Contemporary Programs: 2005/2006**	Contemporary Programs: 2009/2010***
Austria	<p>no systematic language tuition programmes</p> <p>no language requirements for admission to the country, settlement or citizenship</p>	<p>100 language lessons a 45 min</p> <p>since 2002, compulsory integration agreements incl. language training (required for permanent residence (Niederlassungsbewilligung)), sanctions for non-compliance financing: up to 50% state-refunded (depending of success and duration of participation) target level: A1</p>	<p>up to 300 h</p> <p>language skills and course participation compulsory for permanent residence and access to citizenship financing: individual; partly state-refunded (up to 750 Euros) target level: A1, in 2011: B1</p>
Belgium: Flanders	<p>no systematic language tuition programmes</p> <p>language skills required for citizenship, but not formally tested</p>	<p>90-180 h basic language training + 60 h social advice within one year</p> <p>since 2004, compulsory integration contracts incl. language training (but only symbolic fines for non-participation) for recent immigrants, since 2006 also for welfare-dependent resident migrants (but only symbolic fines for non-participation); optional: work-related language training (120 to 400 h) financing: state-funded target level: n.a.</p>	<p>90-240 h of basic language training (extended to 600 h for low-skilled migrants) + 60 h social advice</p> <p>as in 2005/2006: compulsory for recent migrants and welfare-dependent resident migrants (but only symbolic fines for non-participation) financing: state-funded target level: n.a.</p>
Belgium: Wallonia	<p>no systematic language tuition programmes</p> <p>language skills required for citizenship, but not formally tested</p>	<p>No specific introduction programmes targeting migrants; available programmes: alphabetization courses (provided by <i>Lire et Ecrire</i>) and language courses for unemployed (financed by the public employment service)</p>	<p>as in 2005/2006: no requirements concerning language skills; available programmes: social advancement courses (provided by <i>Lire et Ecrire</i>) and language courses for unemployed (financed by the public employment service)</p>
France	<p>Social Action Fund (FAS) started in the 1960s to set up limited training facilities for immigrants</p> <p>language skills required for citizenship, but not formally tested</p>	<p>200-400 h language training + one day civic instruction</p> <p>for recent migrants, since 2003 contracts for reception and integration incl. language training (Contrats d'accueil et de l'integration, CAI), compulsory for long-term stay since 2006 financing: state-funded target level: n.a.</p>	<p>200-400 h language training (option: up to 600 h) + one day civic instruction</p> <p>language tests and course participation compulsory for admission to the country and permanent residence; access to citizenship requires an interview financing: state-funded if compulsory target level: A1 (for admission to the country: +civic knowledge)</p>

(cont.)

Country	Early courses*	Contemporary Programs: 2005/2006**	Contemporary Programs: 2009/2010***
Germany	<p>in the late 1970s, subsidized courses varying between 24 and 144 hours; from 1980 on: up to 320 h, special courses for different target groups</p> <p>language skills required for citizenship, but not formally tested</p>	<p>600 h language training + 30 h civic instruction and individual advisory service (6 months fulltime)</p> <p>since 2005, integration courses incl. language training compulsory for recent migrants with limited command of German, partly also for resident welfare-dependent migrants</p> <p>financing: state-funded</p> <p>target level: B1</p>	<p>up to 900 h (extended to 1200 h for low-skilled migrants)</p> <p>language tests compulsory for admission to the country, permanent residence and access to citizenship; course participation compulsory for permanent residence</p> <p>financing: state-funded if compulsory</p> <p>target level: A1 prior to immigration, B1 for permanent residence and citizenship</p>
Netherlands	<p>from the 1980s on, guestworker immigrants were offered a few hours of language teaching per week (partly funded by local communities); from 1983 on state-subsidized language courses at work in a few firms; 400 h language courses for refugees only</p> <p>language skills required for citizenship, but not formally tested</p>	<p>400-800 h language training within 1.5 years, combined with civic instruction and individual advisory service</p> <p>since 1998, integration courses incl. language training (Wet Inburgering Nieuwkomers) compulsory for recent migrants, reform in 2005: language tests compulsory for permanent settlement</p> <p>financing: individual; state-refunded in case of successful course participation</p> <p>target level: B2</p>	<p>course length: n.a.</p> <p>language tests compulsory for admission to the country, permanent residence and access to citizenship</p> <p>financing: individual; no refunding, tests are fee-based</p> <p>target level: A1/A2 (for admission to the country: +civic knowledge)</p>
Sweden	<p>in the 1970s, 200-240 h of free language training, offered also during work hours</p> <p>no language requirements for admission to the country, settlement or citizenship</p>	<p>525 h language training within two years, combined with civic instruction and individual advisory service</p> <p>long tradition of "Swedish for Immigrants", several reforms; since mid-2000, voluntary orientation programmes (introduktion) "Swedish for Immigrants" for all migrants (objective: start in first year of arrival); compulsory for recent migrants in case of welfare dependency, but no sanctions for non-participation</p> <p>financing: state-funded</p> <p>target level: B1</p>	<p>525 h language training within two years, combined with civic instruction and individual advisory service</p> <p>as in 2005/2006: voluntary "Swedish for Immigrants" courses provided by municipalities and private schools</p> <p>financing: state-funded</p> <p>target level: B1</p>

* Sources: Koopmans et al. (2012); Germany: Kaufmann (1995: 336-338); France: OECD (2008: 118); Netherlands: wrr (2001:46-47); Sweden: Lindberg (2007: 80)

** Sources: Austria: Feik (2003: 56-57); Belgium-Flanders: OECD (2008: 59), Belgium-Wallonia: OECD (2008: 63); France: Joppke (2007: 2-3), OECD (2008: 122-125); Germany: Schönwälder et al. (2005: 35-37), Liebig (2007: 27-31); Netherlands: Schönwälder et al. (2005: 5-7), OECD (2008: 203-204); Sweden: Schönwälder et al. (2005: 21-23)

*** Sources: Austria, Belgium-Wallonia, France, Germany, Netherlands, Sweden: Council of Europe (2011); France: Yoffe (2010); Belgium-Flanders: <http://www.inburgering.be/en/civic-integration-programme>; Austria: <http://www.integrationsfonds.at/iv/migr/>

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SP IV 2012-701

Bystander responses and xenophobic mobilization

Robert Braun, Ruud Koopmans

Alle Discussion Papers sind online abrufbar:

<http://www.wzb.eu/de/publikationen/discussion-paper/>