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**Language and Intra-EU Immigrant Integration in the Netherlands:  
Evaluating Dutch language-based integration policies and exploring  
the effects of language use on intra-EU immigrants' integration.**

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A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Aziza", written over a light blue rectangular background.

## **MA Programme Euroculture**

### **Declaration**

I, Aziza Zijlstra, hereby declare that this thesis, entitled “Language and Intra-EU Immigrant Integration in the Netherlands: Evaluating Dutch language-based integration policies and exploring the effects of language use on intra-EU immigrants’ integration.” 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.

I declare that the written (printed and bound) and the electronic copy of the submitted MA thesis are identical.

I hereby also acknowledge that I was informed about the regulations pertaining to the assessment of the MA thesis Euroculture and about the general completion rules for the Master of Arts Programme Euroculture.

Signed



Date

01-06-2021

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## **Abstract**

Few studies have investigated the relation between language use, policies, and integration of intra-EU migrants. This study aimed to do precisely that, by investigating intra-EU immigrants' relational integration in the Netherlands at the institutional and inter-subjective level. To do so, it was investigated how Dutch policies and educational practices aimed to use language to steer intra-EU immigrant integration. Additionally, the relation between language use (English, Dutch, and country-of-origin language) and intra-EU immigrant integration (i.e., sense of belonging and perceived discrimination) was researched using pre-existing NIS2NL data of recent Spanish, Polish, and Bulgarian intra-EU immigrants in the Netherlands. Moreover, interviews were conducted to explore policy advisors' and educators' perspectives of the policies, practices, and integration processes. At the institutional level, it was found that Dutch policies aimed to help (low-skilled) EU labor migrants become full-fledged members of society by informing them about the available Dutch language trajectories. Interviewees were positive about this system, but they noted that information and communication to intra-EU immigrants could be improved. Also, more so than the policies, they emphasized the importance of informal language trajectories and the role of the Dutch citizens in the integration process. At the inter-subjective level, it was found that while using Dutch heightened intra-EU immigrants' sense of belonging to the Netherlands, CO-language use did not affect sense of belonging, and knowledge of English limited sense of belonging. Moreover, although both Dutch and CO-language use heightened perceived discrimination, knowledge of English and multilingualism lowered perceived discrimination. Interviewees emphasized the importance of Dutch for integration, the cultural value of the CO-language, and both the benefits and downsides of knowledge of English. Based on these findings, future policies should aim to contradict monoglossic ideologies in Dutch societies, by underlining that CO-language use does not affect immigrants' sense of belonging to the Netherlands, provided they also used the Dutch language. Future studies should further investigate these findings.

*Keywords:* intra-EU migration, relational integration, language use, language policy, integration policy, The Netherlands, freedom of movement

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## Table of Contents

<i>Introduction</i> .....	8
<i>Chapter 1: Theoretical Framework</i> .....	12
1.1. Theories of Integration.....	12
1.2. Relational Integration .....	14
1.3. Relational Integration, Belonging, and the Politics of Belonging.....	17
1.4. Relational Integration and Belonging: the role and use of language.....	18
1.5. Intra-EU Migration, Language, and Integration .....	21
1.6. Intra-EU Migration and Policies in the Netherlands .....	23
<i>Chapter 2: Present Study</i> .....	27
2.1. Research Questions.....	27
2.2. Social and Scientific Relevance.....	28
<i>Chapter 3: Methodology</i> .....	29
3.1. Key definitions .....	29
3.2. Quantitative data and analysis .....	31
3.2.1. Participants .....	31
3.2.2. Procedure.....	32
3.2.3. Variables.....	32
3.2.4. Analyses .....	34
3.3. Qualitative data and analysis.....	36
3.3.1. Policies and related educational practices .....	36
3.3.2. Interviews .....	37
3.4. Ethics.....	38
<i>Chapter 4: Results I – Immigrant integration processes and language</i> .....	40
4.1. Language use: Dutch .....	40
4.2. Language use: country-of-origin.....	42
4.3. Language use: English.....	45
4.4. Balancing languages: multilingualism .....	47
4.4.1. Balancing Dutch and CO-language.....	47
4.4.2. Influence of self-rated English Proficiency at Baseline .....	49

<b><i>Chapter 5: Results II – Existing Policies and Educational Practices</i></b> .....	<b>51</b>
<b>5.1. National Level</b> .....	<b>51</b>
<b>5.2. Municipal Level: Rotterdam</b> .....	<b>55</b>
<b><i>Chapter 6: Results III – Perspectives of Policy Advisors and Educators</i></b> .....	<b>58</b>
<b>6.1. Intra-EU Immigrants</b> .....	<b>59</b>
<b>6.2. Integration</b> .....	<b>61</b>
<b>6.3. Language and Integration: Processes</b> .....	<b>63</b>
<b>6.4. Language and Integration: Policies</b> .....	<b>65</b>
6.4.1. The Use of Dutch .....	67
6.4.2. The Dutch Language-Based Integration System.....	68
<b><i>Chapter 7: Discussion I – Policies and Perspectives: Steering Intra-EU Immigrant Integration</i></b> .....	<b>73</b>
<b>7.1. Intra-EU Immigrants in the Netherlands (‘Who’)</b> .....	<b>73</b>
<b>7.2. Intra-EU immigrant Integration in the Netherlands (‘Why’)</b> .....	<b>76</b>
<b>7.3. Role of Learning the Dutch Language (‘How’)</b> .....	<b>78</b>
7.3.1. (Non-)Formal Language Trajectories.....	79
7.3.2. Informal Language Trajectories .....	81
7.3.3. Information and Communication .....	82
<b>7.4. Combining the Who, Why, and How</b> .....	<b>84</b>
<b><i>Chapter 8: Discussion II – Language Use and Intra-EU Immigrant Integration</i></b> .....	<b>86</b>
<b>8.1. Dutch</b> .....	<b>86</b>
<b>8.2. CO-language</b> .....	<b>90</b>
<b>8.3. English</b> .....	<b>93</b>
<b>8.4. Multilingualism</b> .....	<b>94</b>
<b>8.5. Limitations of the Study</b> .....	<b>97</b>
<b><i>Conclusion</i></b> .....	<b>98</b>
<b><i>Bibliography</i></b> .....	<b>100</b>
<b><i>Appendix A</i></b> .....	<b>112</b>
<b><i>Appendix B</i></b> .....	<b>113</b>

*Appendix C*..... 115  
*Appendix D*..... 124  
*Appendix E*..... 131

## Introduction

With globalization and the opening of borders, migration throughout the world has increased rapidly. Unfortunately, immigrants have not always been openly welcomed and a climate of hostility towards immigrants has permeated the European Union (EU), not just toward immigrants from outside the EU, but also toward intra-EU migration.<sup>1</sup> Intra-EU migration concerns EU nationals or legally resident third-country nationals<sup>2</sup> moving from one EU member state to another, using the right to freedom of movement.<sup>3</sup> EU policies assume “that EU citizens, when moving to another member state as Europeans, are integrated by default.”<sup>4</sup> Therefore, relevant EU integration policies for intra-EU migrants are lacking. However, this has not limited the discussion, in the media and in politics, about intra-EU migrant integration. Due to the lack of EU policies on the matter, there has been a return to “nationalized conceptions of integration” through voluntary tests of knowledge of the national culture and language.<sup>5</sup>

Such language tests are part of the naturalization process in almost all EU member states.<sup>6</sup> The OECD has identified language as the key skill for facilitating integration.<sup>7</sup> Although language is used as a tool to further integration throughout Europe, few in-depth studies have investigated how different languages can impact integration. Although Harmut Esser did provide an overview of the relation between language and immigrant

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<sup>1</sup> Ekaterina Balabanova and Alex Balch, “Sending and Receiving: The Ethical Framing of Intra-EU Migration in the European Press,” *European Journal of Communication* 25, no. 4 (December 2010): 382–97, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323110381005>.

<sup>2</sup> There are a lot of rules which determine whether third-country nationals can use free movement rights. This is not pertinent to this thesis. For more information, see: [https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/what-we-do/networks/european\\_migration\\_network/glossary\\_search/right-free-movement\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/what-we-do/networks/european_migration_network/glossary_search/right-free-movement_en)

<sup>3</sup> “Intra-EU Mobility,” Migration and Home Affairs - European Commission, December 6, 2016, [https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/what-we-do/networks/european\\_migration\\_network/glossary\\_search/intra-eu-mobility\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/what-we-do/networks/european_migration_network/glossary_search/intra-eu-mobility_en).

<sup>4</sup> Liza Mügge and Marleen van der Haar, “Who Is an Immigrant and Who Requires Integration? Categorizing in European Policies,” in *Integration Processes and Policies in Europe*, ed. Blanca Garcés-Mascareñas and Rinus Penninx, IMISCOE Research Series (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2016), 82, <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-21674-4>.

<sup>5</sup> Adrian Favell, “The Changing Face of ‘Integration’ in a Mobile Europe,” 2013, 5, <https://www.adrianfavell.com/CESweb.pdf>.

<sup>6</sup> Guus Extra, Massimiliano Spotti, and Piet van Avermaet, eds., *Language Testing, Migration, and Citizenship: Cross-National Perspectives on Integration Regimes*, Advances in Sociolinguistics (London: Continuum, 2009), 14.

<sup>7</sup> OECD, “How to Make Integration Policies Future-Ready? A Changing Landscape for Integration,” *OECD Migration Policy Debates* 20 (2020): 2.



integration in host societies, this paper dates back to 2006 and the data sets used date back to as early as 1982.<sup>8</sup> With the increased use of English as a lingua franca,<sup>9</sup> and increased intra-EU migration across the EU, it is essential to perform a new investigation. Additionally, theoretical understandings of what ‘integration’ is have recently developed significantly. Following this development, the focus here is on relational integration, which Lea Klarenbeek defined as “the process of boundary change towards more relational equality”.<sup>10</sup> Within an immigration context, the social boundary of interest is the distinction between legitimate and non-legitimate members in society.<sup>11</sup> The idealized end-state of integration in a migration context is an integrated society “without any social boundaries between legitimate and non-legitimate members”.<sup>12</sup> This renewed understanding of integration changes how integration is measured, which is also why an investigation of the relation between language and relational integration in a migration context is necessary.

To narrow down the scope of the study to a feasible size, the focus is on intra-EU immigration to the Netherlands. Intra-EU migration is an important avenue to investigate, not only because of the recent increase in intra-EU migration and national concerns regarding intra-EU migrant integration, but also because the European migration system “is probably the most dramatically evolving and changing context of migration in the developed world”.<sup>13</sup> The focus on the Netherlands stems from the fact that, as a Dutch citizen who has lived in the Netherlands my entire life, I am already quite informed about

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<sup>8</sup> “Migration, Language, and Integration,” AKI Research Review 4 (Social Science Research Center Berlin: Programme on Intercultural Conflicts and Societal Integration (AKI), December 2006), i, <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.376.2951&rep=rep1&type=pdf>.

<sup>9</sup> Angelika Breiteneder, “English as a Lingua Franca in Europe: An Empirical Perspective,” *World Englishes* 28, no. 2 (2009): 256–69, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-971X.2009.01579.x>; Janet M. Fuller, “English in the German-Speaking World: Immigration and Integration,” in *English in the German-Speaking World*, ed. Raymond Hickey, 1st ed. (Cambridge University Press, 2019), 165–84, <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108768924.009>; Alison Edwards, *English in the Netherlands: Functions, Forms and Attitudes*, Varieties of English around the World G56 (Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2016).

<sup>10</sup> “Relational Integration: A Response to Willem Schinkel,” *Comparative Migration Studies* 7, no. 20 (December 2019): 4, <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40878-019-0126-6>.

<sup>11</sup> Klarenbeek, 4.

Legitimacy refers to the social construction of legitimacy, not legal status.

<sup>12</sup> Lea M Klarenbeek, “Reconceptualising ‘Integration as a Two-Way Process,’” *Migration Studies*, August 16, 2019, 3, <https://doi.org/10.1093/migration/mnz033>.

<sup>13</sup> Adrian Favell, “The New Face of East–West Migration in Europe,” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 34, no. 5 (July 2008): 711, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13691830802105947>.

the situation in the Netherlands, and I can read Dutch policies, legislation, and academic publications on the topic. Additionally, the Netherlands is a destination country of (intra-EU) migration,<sup>14</sup> making it very suitable for this analysis.

When investigating integration, it is also important to consider the two different levels of integration that exist: social and system integration. Whereas social integration concerns the relations between people, system integration concerns the relations between different institutions of a social system, such as the integration policies and language courses.<sup>15</sup> Klarenbeek's theory of relational integration also uses these two levels, under different names: the inter-subjective level and the institutional level.<sup>16</sup> These two levels of integration are related, because "[t]he essence of policies is the intention to guide and steer [...] integration processes of immigrants."<sup>17</sup> Thus, the system integration is meant to steer the social integration. To account for levels of integration, and to look at how they relate, this thesis will investigate both the effect of language on the integration process of intra-EU immigrants in the Netherlands and how Dutch language-based integration policies are used to steer these integration processes. On the level of policies, this thesis will not just provide an overview of the policies in the Netherlands, and the related educational practices, but also an investigation of how these policies are perceived by policy advisors and educators. On the level of integration processes, this thesis will identify how the use of different languages affects intra-EU immigrant integration within the Netherlands. For this, the focus will be on three languages: the country-of-origin language, Dutch, and English. English is also considered because the English language

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<sup>14</sup> R.P.W. Jennissen, "De Instroom van Buitenlandse Arbeiders En de Migratiegeschiedenis van Nederland Na 1945," *Justitiële Verkenning* 39, no. 6 (2013): 9–31; Roel Peter Wilhelmina Jennissen et al., *De nieuwe verscheidenheid: toenemende diversiteit naar herkomst in Nederland* (Den Haag: Wetenschappelijke Raad voor het Regeringsbeleid, 2018).

<sup>15</sup> Nicos Mouzelis, "Social and System Integration: Lockwood, Habermas, Giddens," *Sociology* 31, no. 1 (1997): 111–19; Margaret Archer, "Social Integration and System Integration: Developing the Distinction," *Sociology* 30, no. 4 (1996): 679–99.

<sup>16</sup> "Relational Integration"; "Reconceptualising 'Integration as a Two-Way Process.'"

<sup>17</sup> Blanca Garcés-Mascareñas and Rinus Penninx, "The Concept of Integration as an Analytical Tool and as a Policy Concept," in *Integration Processes and Policies in Europe*, ed. Blanca Garcés-Mascareñas and Rinus Penninx, IMISCOE Research Series (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2016), 19, <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-21674-4>.

has become an important language in many linguistic landscapes and everyday interactions in private and public spheres,<sup>18</sup> also in the Netherlands.<sup>19</sup>

Investigating this topic is highly relevant, both societally and scientifically. Not only does it fill a gap in the literature, as there is no recent broad investigation of the role of language for intra-EU immigrant integration, but it could also identify new possibilities for using language in integration policies. The interviews, policies, and data analyses, will point out the ways in which language use can affect integration, thereby giving clear tools and handles to use language in policies and educational practices to further integration.

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<sup>18</sup> Fuller, “English in the German-Speaking World.”

<sup>19</sup> Edwards, *English in the Netherlands*, 25.

## Chapter 1: Theoretical Framework

### 1.1. Theories of Integration

Before elaborating upon studies on language and integration, it is important to discuss what integration is understood to be. Over time, many theories of integration have developed. A primary distinction that has been made is that between system integration (the ‘parts’) and social integration (the ‘people’).<sup>20</sup> System integration concerns the way in which different institutions of a social system relate, including integration policies and related systems, such as language courses. Social integration, then, concerns the relations between people; in the context of immigration this concerns immigrants’ individual lives and their connections with others in society, to be summarized as the individual integration processes of people. David Lockwood, who formulated the distinction between social and system integration, thought it was crucial to consider the interaction between social and system integration.<sup>21</sup> Blanca Garcés-Mascareñas and Rinus Penninx describe how social and system integration interact when differentiating between integration policies (system integration) and integration processes (social integration): “[t]he essence of *policies* is the intention to guide and steer [...] *integration processes* of immigrants social integration”.<sup>22</sup>

Although this distinction clarifies the different levels of integration that exist within society, it does not provide an explicit definition of integration: when are individuals integrated and what do social integration processes lead to? To measure immigrant integration, much of the current research employs a multidimensional understanding of integration with three dimensions: the legal-political (e.g., naturalization/voting), socio-economic (e.g., housing), and social-cultural dimension (e.g., sense of belonging).<sup>23</sup> The level of integration is then measured by comparing immigrants’ ‘scores’ on socio-economic, legal-political, and social-cultural measures to

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<sup>20</sup> Archer, “Social Integration and System Integration”; Mouzelis, “Social and System Integration”; Garcés-Mascareñas and Penninx, “The Concept of Integration as an Analytical Tool and as a Policy Concept.”

<sup>21</sup> Archer, “Social Integration and System Integration.”

<sup>22</sup> Garcés-Mascareñas and Penninx, “The Concept of Integration as an Analytical Tool and as a Policy Concept,” 19. Emphasis added.

<sup>23</sup> Garcés-Mascareñas and Penninx, 14; Frank Van Tubergen, *Immigrant Integration: A Cross-National Study*, The New Americans (New York: LFB Scholarly Pub. LLC, 2006), 7; Karen Phalet and Marc Swyngedouw, “Measuring Immigrant Integration: The Case of Belgium,” *Studi Emigrazione* 40, no. 152 (2003): 781.

scores of host-country citizens; this is for example how the OECD measures immigrant integration.<sup>24</sup> When an immigrant group scores similar to ‘original’ members of the nation-state on these measures, they are considered integrated because they are able to achieve the same level of integration as the ‘natives’.

Recently, such measurements of integration have been criticized for their interpretation of integration as the ‘other’ becoming like the reference group of the “homogenous (white) natives”.<sup>25</sup> The most prominent criticist of (such) immigrant integration research is Willem Schinkel. In his seminal paper ‘Against ‘immigrant integration’: for an end to neocolonial knowledge production’, which sparked much debate among scholars studying integration, he argues not only that immigrant integration research lacks conceptual work, especially on the notion of ‘society’, but also that integration monitoring is a neocolonial practice.<sup>26</sup> The need to integrate the ‘other’ into the (national) ‘society’ is a neocolonial project because of its historical roots and its existence “in contexts of power asymmetry”.<sup>27</sup> Additionally, he argues that integration research is too close to “categories, questions and problematizations that prevail in the public discourse and in policy contexts”.<sup>28</sup> In a later paper, he elaborates that integration research is an imposition, specifically because of the problematic “*positionality*, always held by a collective *of which we already have a name*, be it ‘society’ or ‘Europe’ or ‘modernity’ or even ‘equality’”.<sup>29</sup> Instead, Schinkel argues for research that scrutinizes “migration and its consequences in ways that move beyond ‘integration research’”, such as investigations of how racial categories are bound up with integration discourse.<sup>30</sup>

Some academics, such as Adrian Favell, agree that immigrant integration research should be abolished altogether because of its embeddedness in nationalism and

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<sup>24</sup> OECD and European Union, *Settling In 2018: Indicators of Immigrant Integration* (Paris/European Union, Brussels: OECD Publishing, 2018), <https://doi.org/10.1787/9789264307216-en>.

<sup>25</sup> Fran Meissner and Tilmann Heil, “Deromanticising Integration: On the Importance of Convivial Disintegration,” *Migration Studies*, February 13, 2020, 9, <https://doi.org/10.1093/migration/mnz056>; Willem Schinkel, “Against ‘Immigrant Integration’: For an End to Neocolonial Knowledge Production,” *Comparative Migration Studies* 6, no. 31 (December 2018): 1–17, <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40878-018-0095-1>.

<sup>26</sup> Schinkel, “Against ‘Immigrant Integration.’”

<sup>27</sup> Schinkel, 12.

<sup>28</sup> Schinkel, 14.

<sup>29</sup> Willem Schinkel, “Migration Studies: An Imposition,” *Comparative Migration Studies* 7, no. 1 (December 2019): 7, <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40878-019-0136-4>.

<sup>30</sup> “Against ‘Immigrant Integration,’” 14.

neocolonialism.<sup>31</sup> Others, such as Rinus Penninx, argue that Schinkel's criticism is flawed because he conflates the study of the process of integration (social integration) and the study of integration policies (system integration), emphasizing that an awareness of this distinction is essential because it allows for an investigation of both the non-normative process of integration and the normative integration policies.<sup>32</sup> In terms of investigating those processes of integration non-normatively, he, together with Blanca Garcés-Mascareñas, suggested that integration is "the process of becoming an accepted part in society".<sup>33</sup> They argue this definition is non-normative because it does not specify the requirements for acceptance by the receiving society.<sup>34</sup> However, Penninx and Garcés-Mascareñas continue to measure integration by comparing the immigrant group to the reference group,<sup>35</sup> meaning that their understanding of integration remains normative and therefore problematic for those reasons discussed by Schinkel. Lastly, in terms of reactions to Schinkel's critique, there is Lea Klarenbeek's response.<sup>36</sup> She agrees with Schinkel's critique of integration research to a very large extent, but she argues that this is not a reason to abandon integration research altogether. Instead, she argues, the research must be altered to account for these difficulties. Her solution is a new understanding of integration: relational integration.<sup>37</sup>

## 1.2. Relational Integration

Relational integration, according to Klarenbeek, is "the process of boundary change towards more relational equality", whereby relational equality "demands that all members of society: 1) acknowledge everyone's moral worth; 2) have equal social standing as moral agents; 3) are entitled to an equal chance to participate in the polity; and 4) that all

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<sup>31</sup> "Integration: Twelve Propositions after Schinkel," *Comparative Migration Studies* 7, no. 1 (December 2019): 21, <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40878-019-0125-7>.

<sup>32</sup> "Problems of and Solutions for the Study of Immigrant Integration," *Comparative Migration Studies* 7, no. 1 (December 2019): 13, <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40878-019-0122-x>.

<sup>33</sup> "The Concept of Integration as an Analytical Tool and as a Policy Concept," 14.

<sup>34</sup> Garcés-Mascareñas and Penninx, "The Concept of Integration as an Analytical Tool and as a Policy Concept."

<sup>35</sup> 15.

<sup>36</sup> "Relational Integration."

<sup>37</sup> Klarenbeek, "Reconceptualising 'Integration as a Two-Way Process'"; Klarenbeek, "Relational Integration."

perspectives and interests are weighed equally in the processes of decision-making.”<sup>38</sup> This understanding of integration is not contingent on comparative measures of distributive equality, but rather on relational equality *within* society. It is important to understand that relational equality does not “primarily concern the decrease of *objective* difference, but rather the *meaning of perceived difference*.”<sup>39</sup> Relational integration applies not only to migration contexts but can also apply to different social boundaries, such as racial integration. In immigration contexts, the social boundary of interest is that of foreignness, the distinction between legitimate and non-legitimate members in society, whereby legitimacy refers to “a social construction of legitimacy, not legal status”.<sup>40</sup> Klarenbeek argues that the idealized end-state of integration in a migration context is an ideal-type integrated society “without any social boundaries between legitimate and non-legitimate members”.<sup>41</sup> By focusing on the *perceived* legitimacy of members, the focus is not on monitoring difference, but rather on how difference is constructed and on the relations between people within society. Thus, relational integration refers to the process of integration *between* insiders and outsiders *within* society, with the idealized goal of an integrated society without social boundaries between insiders and outsiders.<sup>42</sup> It is important to note here that this is inherently complex to investigate because “social boundaries are intersectional, and categories of insiders and outsiders are internally heterogeneous”.<sup>43</sup>

By emphasizing how relational integration happens *between* insiders and outsiders, Klarenbeek emphasizes that integration is a two-way process; insiders and outsiders integrate *with* each other. This means getting rid of what Schinkel calls ‘the dispensation of integration’, the fact that “those who are included in research constitute a perfect negative image of who are included in ‘society’” because those included in ‘society’ are exempt from integrating.<sup>44</sup> Instead, in Klarenbeek’s theory of relational integration, societies’ ‘insiders’ play an essential role. Unlike Penninx and Garcés-

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<sup>38</sup> “Relational Integration,” 4.

<sup>39</sup> Klarenbeek, 4.

<sup>40</sup> Klarenbeek, 4.

<sup>41</sup> “Reconceptualising ‘Integration as a Two-Way Process,’” 3.

<sup>42</sup> Klarenbeek, “Reconceptualising ‘Integration as a Two-Way Process’”; Klarenbeek, “Relational Integration.”

<sup>43</sup> Klarenbeek, “Relational Integration,” 14.

<sup>44</sup> “Against ‘Immigrant Integration,’” 4.

Mascareñas who write that their definition of integration is non-normative, Klarenbeek argues that any understanding, and investigation, of integration is normative.<sup>45</sup> It is this acknowledgment of normativity that makes her argument so strong; rather than trying to move away from normativity, she argues this normativity should be acknowledged and used. Relational integration is one potential, *desirable*, “outcome of what happens when people deal with differences in a post-immigration context”.<sup>46</sup> This outcome is desirable, because it is “intrinsically valuable, as a matter of social standing, and instrumentally valuable as a tool for distributive justice”.<sup>47</sup> Thus, there is a normative incentive to investigate what makes relational integration possible and what barriers to relational integration exist. By analyzing “underlying structures of relational inequality through which socio-economic positions are constructed, maintained, and transformed”, relational integration enables an analysis of “practices of exclusion, social closure, and discrimination of people categorized as ‘immigrant’ within a society”.<sup>48</sup>

Methodologically, the investigation of relational integration must focus on whether and how “social boundaries (*perceived differences*) between legitimate and non-legitimate citizens” constitute inequality in society.<sup>49</sup> Klarenbeek argues that both the institutional level and the inter-subjective level are important for investigations of integration processes in societies. Herewith she makes a distinction like that between system and social integration. At the institutional level (i.e., system integration), the way in which policies and related practices maintain or change social boundaries must be investigated.<sup>50</sup> At the inter-subjective level (i.e., social integration), relations between people “across and on either side of the social boundary” must be investigated.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> “Relational Integration,” 4.

<sup>46</sup> Klarenbeek, 4.

<sup>47</sup> Klarenbeek, 5.

<sup>48</sup> Klarenbeek, 5.

<sup>49</sup> Klarenbeek, “Reconceptualising ‘Integration as a Two-Way Process,’” 14.

<sup>50</sup> Klarenbeek, 14.

<sup>51</sup> Klarenbeek, 14.



### 1.3. Relational Integration, Belonging, and the Politics of Belonging

Klarenbeek writes that “the power differential in defining ‘who belongs’” is essential to the analysis of relational integration.<sup>52</sup> Belonging plays an essential role in relational integration, not just on the institutional level in terms of maintaining and reproducing boundaries of belonging, but also on the inter-subjective level in terms of the *meaning* of perceived difference in relations among people within society.<sup>53</sup> According to Yuval-Davis, the process of maintaining, reproducing, and contesting boundaries of belonging, are the ‘politics of belonging’.<sup>54</sup> The social boundaries between legitimate and non-legitimate members within society are also subject to politics of belonging. The process of boundary maintenance happens both at the edges and within society; bordering practices and processes at nation-state borders are called ‘firewall bordering’ while bordering processes and practices within society are called ‘everyday bordering’.<sup>55</sup> Relational integration concerns those processes and practices of everyday bordering, because it concerns social boundaries *within* society. Hegemonic political powers do not just maintain the nation-state borders but also those boundaries of belonging within the nation-state. For example, in the UK, the government created a hostile environment for illegal immigrants, who were deemed not to belong, and in this process, they not only transformed “citizens into unpaid and untrained border guards”, but also heightened racism and intolerance to immigrants in general.<sup>56</sup> It is therefore important to understand that on the institutional level of relation integration, bordering happens not just at national borders, but also within the nation-state.

Moreover, belonging is also important on the inter-subjective level because it describes whether outsiders are allowed to belong by insiders.<sup>57</sup> As Hellgren argued, an immigrant’s sense of belonging not only describes the extent to which immigrants

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<sup>52</sup> “Relational Integration,” 5.

<sup>53</sup> Nira Yuval-Davis, “Belonging and the Politics of Belonging,” *Patterns of Prejudice* 40, no. 3 (July 2006): 197–214, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00313220600769331>; Nira Yuval-Davis, Georgie Wemyss, and Kathryn Cassidy, *Bordering* (Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2019); Zenia Hellgren, “Immigrant Integration as a Two-Way Process: Translating Theory into Practice,” GRITIM-UPF Working Paper Series, 23 (2015): 1–30; Klarenbeek, “Relational Integration.”

<sup>54</sup> Yuval-Davis, “Belonging and the Politics of Belonging.”

<sup>55</sup> Yuval-Davis, Wemyss, and Cassidy, *Bordering*.

<sup>56</sup> Yuval-Davis, Wemyss, and Cassidy, 164.

<sup>57</sup> Hellgren, “Immigrant Integration as a Two-Way Process.”

identify with the host country, but also the extent to which they are *allowed* to belong.<sup>58</sup> Yuval-Davis identified three levels on which belonging is constructed which all affect an individual's sense of belonging: 1) their social location, 2) their individual identifications and emotional attachments, and 3) the ethical and political evaluation of those social locations and identifications.<sup>59</sup> In an immigration context, sense of belonging is related closely to perceived discrimination; when immigrants perceive more discrimination, their sense of belonging to the host society is lower.<sup>60</sup> The subjective perception of discrimination also measures the extent to which immigrants are allowed to belong, because it shows how much meaning is attached, by insiders, to the perceived difference between insiders and outsiders.<sup>61</sup> Specifically, the more meaning is attached to the perceived difference, the more likely discrimination is to occur. For example, previously, immigrants have described that when they perceived much discrimination, they felt like “second class citizens”.<sup>62</sup> Furthermore, perceived discrimination has been found to correlate positively with societal segregation.<sup>63</sup> Higher levels of segregation leads to less contact between insiders and outsiders, providing fewer opportunities to integrate together and, therefore, limiting relational integration.<sup>64</sup>

#### 1.4. Relational Integration and Belonging: the role and use of language

Across the world, language is used as a prerequisite for, or measure of, belonging and integration.<sup>65</sup> In the process of nationalization, national identity and language have

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<sup>58</sup> 9.

<sup>59</sup> “Belonging and the Politics of Belonging.”

<sup>60</sup> Eugene Tartakovsky, “Cultural Identities of Adolescent Immigrants: A Three-Year Longitudinal Study Including the Pre-Migration Period,” *Journal of Youth and Adolescence* 38, no. 5 (May 2009): 654–71, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-008-9370-z>.

<sup>61</sup> Tartakovsky; Filiz Kunuroglu et al., “Motives for Turkish Return Migration from Western Europe: Home, Sense of Belonging, Discrimination and Transnationalism,” *Turkish Studies*, 2017, 1–29; Phalet and Swyngedouw, “Measuring Immigrant Integration.”

<sup>62</sup> Kunuroglu et al., “Motives for Turkish Return Migration from Western Europe,” 14.

<sup>63</sup> Phalet and Swyngedouw, “Measuring Immigrant Integration,” 9.

<sup>64</sup> Van Tubergen, *Immigrant Integration*, 22; I. P. Tsapenko, “An Intercultural Program of Migrant Integration,” *Herald of the Russian Academy of Sciences* 87, no. 5 (September 2017): 454–63, <https://doi.org/10.1134/S1019331617050094>; Jill Court, “‘I Feel Integrated When I Help Myself’: ESOL Learners’ Views and Experiences of Language Learning and Integration,” *Language and Intercultural Communication* 17, no. 4 (October 2, 2017): 396–421, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14708477.2017.1368137>.

<sup>65</sup> Guus Extra and Massimiliano Spotti, “Testing Regimes for Newcomers to the Netherlands,” in *Language Testing, Migration, and Citizenship: Cross-National Perspectives on Integration Regimes*, ed. Guus Extra, Massimiliano Spotti, and Piet van Avermaet, *Advances in Sociolinguistics* (London:

become intertwined. National languages are artificial constructs which are imagined to be a symbol of the nation-state.<sup>66</sup> This has led to the one-nation-one-language ideology, which is the idea that all citizens of a nation-state speak the same language.<sup>67</sup> Thus, the national language is seen as a marker of membership of the imagined community of the nation-state.

Due to the important status of the national language within national communities, language is often used in policies to steer immigrant integration. For example, across the EU, language tests are increasingly becoming part of civic integration tests.<sup>68</sup> The common idea exists “that mastering the dominant language is necessary for participation in society, and that low proficiency in this language is indicative of low motivation to integrate and belong to the mainstream.”<sup>69</sup> This is also expressed in documents on integration, such as the following description of successful integration by a Dutch committee: “a person or group is integrated in Dutch society when they have an equal legal position, equal socio-economic participation, *knowledge of the Dutch language* and when common values, norms and patterns of behaviour are being respected.”<sup>70</sup> Besides the importance of the national language, the idea also exists that using another language than the national language of the host country shows that someone does not want to

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Continuum, 2009), 125–47; T. Huddleston and T. Liebig, “Labour Market Integration of Immigrants and Their Children: Developing, Activating and Using Skills,” in *International Migration Outlook 2014*, by OECD, International Migration Outlook (Paris: OECD Publishing, 2014), 35–132, [https://doi.org/10.1787/migr\\_outlook-2014-5-en](https://doi.org/10.1787/migr_outlook-2014-5-en); Ingrid Piller, “Naturalization Language Testing and Its Basis in Ideologies of National Identity and Citizenship,” *International Journal of Bilingualism* 5, no. 3 (September 2001): 259–77, <https://doi.org/10.1177/13670069010050030201>; Gabrielle Hogan-Brun, Clare Mar-Molinero, and Patrick Stevenson, eds., *Discourses on Language and Integration: Critical Perspectives on Language Testing Regimes in Europe*, Discourse Approaches to Politics, Society and Culture 33 (Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2009).

<sup>66</sup> Máiréad Nic Craith, *Europe and the Politics of Language: Citizens, Migrants and Outsiders* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 20.

<sup>67</sup> Piller, “Naturalization Language Testing and Its Basis in Ideologies of National Identity and Citizenship,” 261; Janet M Fuller, “Ideologies of Language, Bilingualism, and Monolingualism,” in *The Cambridge Handbook of Bilingualism*, ed. Annick De Houwer and Lourdes Ortega, Cambridge Handbooks in Language and Linguistics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 123, <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781316831922>.

<sup>68</sup> Extra, Spotti, and Avermaet, *Language Testing, Migration, and Citizenship*; Peter Scholten, *Framing Immigrant Integration: Dutch Research-Policy Dialogues in Comparative Perspective*, IMISCOE Research (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2011).

<sup>69</sup> Fuller, “Ideologies of Language, Bilingualism, and Monolingualism,” 124.

<sup>70</sup> Blok, S. (2004), Bruggen Bouwen: Eindrapport van de tijdelijke parlementaire onderzoekscmissie integratiebeleid, The Hague: SDU, quoted in Scholten, *Framing Immigrant Integration*, 194. Emphasis added.

belong, this is the monoglot ideology.<sup>71</sup> This is reflected in policies which have forced minority languages to the edges of societies. For example, the use of an immigrants' language and culture in education was abolished in the Netherlands in 2004 because it was deemed to conflict with integration policy.<sup>72</sup> This shows how language is used for politics of belonging and considered representative of someone's integration. Simultaneously, the use of immigrant languages is also demonized in public discourse,<sup>73</sup> which is problematic because language is an important part of someone's identity and self.<sup>74</sup> This puts immigrants in a difficult position having to choose between their mother tongue, an essential part of their identity, and being accepted into the new host society.

In addition to the immigrants' mother tongue and the host-country language, the English language must also be considered. Nowadays, English is "a common means of communication between Europeans with different first language backgrounds", meaning it is a lingua franca.<sup>75</sup> The English language is used in countries across the world, making the linguistic landscape of those countries inherently multilingual. For example, it has been shown that knowledge of English in Germany is "becoming essential in public life."<sup>76</sup> English has internationally gained much prestige, meaning that English is not just allowed to exist besides the national language, but also viewed as beneficial to citizens.<sup>77</sup> This contrasts with the perspective on an immigrant's mother tongue in many societies.

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<sup>71</sup> Thomas Ricento, "Language Policy, Ideology, and Attitudes in English-Dominant Countries," in *The Oxford Handbook of Sociolinguistics*, ed. Robert Bayley, Richard Cameron, and Ceil Lucas, vol. 1 (Oxford University Press, 2013), <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199744084.013.0026>.

<sup>72</sup> Guus Extra, "De Omgang Met Taaldiversiteit in de Multiculturele Samenleving: Nederland in Internationaal Vergelijkend Perspectief." (Universiteit van Tilburg, 2011), 23.

<sup>73</sup> Fuller, "English in the German-Speaking World," 169; "Why Immigrants in U.S. Avoid Speaking Their Native Language," *The Herald-Tribune*, accessed June 1, 2020, <https://www.heraldtribune.com/zz/news/20180526/why-immigrants-in-us-avoid-speaking-their-native-language>; "A Migrant's Mother Tongue -- a Language with No Value?," *InfoMigrants*, October 29, 2019, <https://www.infomigrants.net/en/post/20180/a-migrant-s-mother-tongue-a-language-with-no-value>.

<sup>74</sup> Gill Valentine, Deborah Sporton, and Katrine Bang Nielsen, "Language Use on the Move: Sites of Encounter, Identities and Belonging," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 33, no. 3 (July 2008): 376–87, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-5661.2008.00308.x>; John Earl Joseph, *Language and Identity: National, Ethnic, Religious* (Hampshire; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

<sup>75</sup> Breiteneder, "English as a Lingua Franca in Europe," 256.

<sup>76</sup> Fuller, "English in the German-Speaking World," 182.

<sup>77</sup> Extra, "De Omgang Met Taaldiversiteit in de Multiculturele Samenleving"; Marinel Gerritsen et al., "A Reconsideration of the Status of English in the Netherlands within the Kachruvian Three Circles Model," *World Englishes* 35, no. 3 (2016): 457–74, <https://doi.org/10.1111/weng.12206>.

Therefore, the host societies' language, the immigrant's mother tongue, and English could all play a role in immigrant integration. Additionally, multilingualism is also an important factor. Although the EU has tried to encourage multilingualism by making it a goal that "every European should speak a foreign language in addition to their mother tongue",<sup>78</sup> multilingualism is not always perceived positively.<sup>79</sup> Moreover, whereas multilingualism is often seen as a "combination of serial or parallel monolingualism", multilingualism is much more diverse and shaped by many variables such as "language status, speaker status, national histories, individual proficiencies and institutional contexts".<sup>80</sup> For example, multilingualism may be perceived more positively when one has learned a high status language such as English.<sup>81</sup> Therefore, there exists not only a stratification between different immigrants, but also a stratification between different multilinguals.

### 1.5. Intra-EU Migration, Language, and Integration

Recently, the OECD identified mastery of the host-country language "a key marker for social integration, and thus a pillar of any integration policy."<sup>82</sup> The importance of language has also been demonstrated in academic research: knowledge of the host-country language has been determined the most important skill for labor market integration of immigrants,<sup>83</sup> and it has also been shown to heighten immigrants' sense of belonging to the host society.<sup>84</sup> Because of this, language tests are an important element

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<sup>78</sup> Tony Capstick, *Language and Migration* (Abingdon; New York: Routledge, 2020), 111.

<sup>79</sup> Sylvia Jaworska and Christiana Themistocleous, "Public Discourses on Multilingualism in the UK: Triangulating a Corpus Study with a Sociolinguistic Attitude Survey," *Language in Society* 47, no. 1 (February 2018): 57–88, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404517000744>.

<sup>80</sup> Piller, "Naturalization Language Testing and Its Basis in Ideologies of National Identity and Citizenship," 26.

<sup>81</sup> Capstick, *Language and Migration*, 112.

<sup>82</sup> OECD, "How to Make Integration Policies Future-Ready?," 2.

<sup>83</sup> Huddleston and Liebig, "Labour Market Integration of Immigrants and Their Children," 41.

<sup>84</sup> Karin Amit and Shirly Bar-Lev, "Immigrants' Sense of Belonging to the Host Country: The Role of Life Satisfaction, Language Proficiency, and Religious Motives," *Social Indicators Research* 124, no. 3 (December 2015): 947–61, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-014-0823-3>; Thomas de Vroome, Maykel Verkuyten, and Borja Martinovic, "Host National Identification of Immigrants in the Netherlands," *International Migration Review* 48, no. 1 (March 2014): 1–27, <https://doi.org/10.1111/imre.12063>; Valentine, Sporton, and Bang Nielsen, "Language Use on the Move."

of naturalization processes across Europe.<sup>85</sup> Such naturalization processes are targeted at immigrants from outside the EU, because freedom of movement within the EU means that intra-EU migrants cannot be required to integrate in EU member states. With the EU enlargements, intra-EU migration increased, leading to increased cultural and linguistic diversity in EU member states, without the policies created to foster conformity like there are for non-EU migration. The increase of intra-EU migration has led to complexity and stratification between intra-EU migrants.<sup>86</sup> It has led to complexity because there are many different patterns of labor mobility of intra-EU migrants, which differ depending on a migrants' attachment to their origin and destination country. It has led to stratification, because migrants from different countries may be treated differently as they are seen as more or less favorable for the destination country.

Moreover, the EU and member states have contradicting ideas about intra-EU migration; while the EU emphasizes free movement, member states focus on settlement.<sup>87</sup> This relates inherently to different understandings of borders, belonging, and who is required to integrate. Free movement has been a key principle in the EU since its conception, and the idea is that EU citizens who use their right to free movement are “integrated by default”, as every EU citizen *belongs* in the EU.<sup>88</sup> The member states, on the other hand, still focus on national borders to determine who automatically belongs and who does not. Although national identity used to occupy “a central position” in people’s minds,<sup>89</sup> today, the relation between identity and location has become more complex, including identification with both broader regions, such as Europe,<sup>90</sup> and

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<sup>85</sup> Extra, Spotti, and Avermaet, *Language Testing, Migration, and Citizenship*, 14.

<sup>86</sup> Godfried Engbersen et al., “The Intra-EU Mobility Regime: Differentiation, Stratification and Contradictions,” *Migration Studies* 5, no. 3 (November 1, 2017): 337–55, <https://doi.org/10.1093/migration/mnx044>.

<sup>87</sup> Engbersen et al.

<sup>88</sup> Mügge and van der Haar, “Who Is an Immigrant and Who Requires Integration?,” 82.

<sup>89</sup> Piller, “Naturalization Language Testing and Its Basis in Ideologies of National Identity and Citizenship,” 261.

<sup>90</sup> Alberto Martinelli and Alessandro Cavalli, *European Society*, International Studies in Sociology and Social Anthropology, vol. 133 (Leiden: Brill, 2020); Gemma Scalise, “The Narrative Construction of European Identity. Meanings of Europe ‘from Below,’” *European Societies* 17, no. 4 (August 8, 2015): 593–614, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616696.2015.1072227>; Ruth Wodak and Salomi Boukala, “(Supra)National Identity and Language: Rethinking National and European Migration Policies and the Linguistic Integration of Migrants,” *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* 35 (March 2015): 253–73, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0267190514000294>.

smaller local regions, such as cities.<sup>91</sup> However, although people have adopted more complex identities, EU member states still emphasize national borders and have relatedly become concerned with “how to incorporate these EU citizens into their new home countries”.<sup>92</sup> Due to freedom of movement, obligatory integration tests for intra-EU migrants are not allowed. To bridge this issue, member states have set up voluntary integration systems for intra-EU migrants, often making use of language (e.g., organizing language courses).<sup>93</sup>

#### 1.6. Intra-EU Migration and Policies in the Netherlands

The Netherlands has been shaped by a long history of immigration. After the second world war, immigration consisted mainly of “flows of low-educated so-called ‘guest workers’”,<sup>94</sup> often followed by their families.<sup>95</sup> Moreover, there was also a flow of ‘postindustrial migration’, consisting of refugees and highly educated immigrants, and postcolonial migration from the Dutch Indies, Surinam, and the Netherlands Antilles.<sup>96</sup> Immigration from these traditional immigrant groups to the Netherlands has decreased over time, and has been replaced by increased intra-EU migration and new refugee flows.<sup>97</sup> The increase of intra-EU migration was largely due to the EU enlargements of 2004 and 2007.<sup>98</sup> First, immigrants mostly came from Poland,<sup>99</sup> but after 2006

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<sup>91</sup> Anna Brigevich, “Regional Identity and Support for Integration: An EU-Wide Comparison of Parochialists, Inclusive Regionalist, and Pseudo-Exclusivists,” *European Union Politics* 19, no. 4 (December 2018): 639–62, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1465116518793708>; Mary Gilmartin, “Migration, Identity and Belonging,” *Geography Compass* 2, no. 6 (November 2008): 1837–52, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1749-8198.2008.00162.x>.

<sup>92</sup> Peter Scholten and Rinus Penninx, “The Multilevel Governance of Migration and Integration,” in *Integration Processes and Policies in Europe*, ed. Blanca Garcés-Mascareñas and Rinus Penninx, IMISCOE Research Series (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2016), 97, <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-21674-4>.

<sup>93</sup> Favell, “The Changing Face of ‘Integration’ in a Mobile Europe.”

<sup>94</sup> OECD and European Union, *Indicators of Immigrant Integration 2015: Settling In* (Paris: OECD Publishing, 2015), 29, <https://doi.org/10.1787/9789264234024-en>.

<sup>95</sup> Jennissen et al., *De nieuwe verscheidenheid*, 23.

<sup>96</sup> Jennissen et al., 24.

<sup>97</sup> Jennissen et al., 25.

<sup>98</sup> Engbersen et al., “The Intra-EU Mobility Regime”; Scholten and Penninx, “The Multilevel Governance of Migration and Integration,” 95.

<sup>99</sup> This migration started before the EU enlargement, because there were many Polish citizens with a German passport, who preferred the economic situation in Germany over the situation in Poland.

immigration from Bulgaria and Romania also increased.<sup>100</sup> Moreover, since 2006, there has also been an increase of immigration from West- and South-European countries, especially Spain, due to the financial crisis and rising unemployment in those countries.<sup>101</sup> Thus, intra-EU migration to the Netherlands has increased over the past two decades, especially from Bulgaria, Romania, Poland, and Spain. Although intra-EU migrants are generally assumed to return to their country of origin at some point, it has been found that over half of these migrants intend to stay in the Netherlands.<sup>102</sup>

From 2004 to 2007, the discourse surrounding intra-EU movement in the Netherlands “held a strong liberal focus on the ‘opening’ of the borders by minimizing ‘administrative burdens’ and maximizing the impacts of ‘the four freedoms’.”<sup>103</sup> At that time, intra-EU movement was constructed as labor mobility, and the focus was on legal-economic elements of this mobility, such as regulating the “labour market and welfare state claims”.<sup>104</sup> However, in 2007, this discourse changed from a focus on mobility to ‘migration’.<sup>105</sup> This meant that mobile workers were now ‘migrants’. This legitimated “claims on ‘integration’” and an “increased focus on socio-cultural issues, such as language, participation and integration”.<sup>106</sup> As such, in 2007, local governments started to put Central-Eastern European migration (‘CEE migration’) on the agenda,<sup>107</sup> and a voluntary civic integration system, consisting mainly of Dutch language courses, was introduced for those who could not be required to integrate.<sup>108</sup> From 2007 until 2011, although local governments, specifically the municipalities of Rotterdam and the Hague, addressed these issues, there was a lack of vertical relationships with the national

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<sup>100</sup> Jennissen et al., *De nieuwe verscheidenheid*, 24.

<sup>101</sup> Jennissen, “De Instroom van Buitenlandse Arbeiders En de Migratiegeschiedenis van Nederland Na 1945,” 23.

<sup>102</sup> Inge Razenberg, Betty Noordhuizen, and Marjan de Gruijter, “Recente EU-Migranten Uit Midden-, Oost-, En Zuid-Europa Aan Het Woord” (Kennissplatform Integratie & Samenleving, December 2015).

<sup>103</sup> Mark Maria Adrianus van Ostaijen, “Worlds between Words: The Politics of Intra-European Movement Discourses” (2017), 167.

<sup>104</sup> van Ostaijen, 167.

<sup>105</sup> van Ostaijen, 167.

<sup>106</sup> van Ostaijen, 167.

<sup>107</sup> Peter Scholten et al., “Multilevel Governance from below: How Dutch Cities Respond to Intra-EU Mobility,” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 44, no. 12 (September 10, 2018): 2021, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2017.1341707>.

<sup>108</sup> Extra and Spotti, “Testing Regimes for Newcomers to the Netherlands,” 139.



government. This changed in 2011 when a new Minister of Social Affairs took office who “triggered intensive contact between [...] municipalities [...] and the Ministries of Social Affairs and Internal Affairs”.<sup>109</sup> The main focus of policy measures for CEE migration was “registration, work and enforcement of labour regulations, social provisions, (short stay) housing, civic integration and repatriation”.<sup>110</sup> By focusing “on ‘labour migrants’ and their ‘positive contribution to [...] the economy’” but also on the related socio-cultural problems, the socio-cultural and legal-economic institutional discourses were combined.<sup>111</sup> The situation has developed since then, but a similar combination of socio-cultural and legal-economic institutional discourses is still central in discussions of intra-EU movement in the Netherlands.

Recently, the Dutch cabinet created the ‘aanjaagteam bescherming arbeidsmigranten’, a team tasked with presenting new suggestions to improve the situation of labor migrants in the Netherlands.<sup>112</sup> In October 2020, they made several suggestions and pointed out several problems, such as the fact that EU labor migrants in the Netherlands feel like second-class citizens and that they have difficulty integrating because they are not given access to mandatory integration systems.<sup>113</sup> In response, the municipality of Rotterdam published a new action-program for EU labor migrants.<sup>114</sup> In this program, they identify language as a key element, not only because it can help migrants integrate, but also because knowledge of Dutch can protect EU labor migrants from exploitation as it allows them to investigate their rights in the Netherlands.<sup>115</sup>

In terms of language, in the municipality of Rotterdam, labor migrants can participate in language courses funded by WEB (adult education law) if they are registered in the municipality.<sup>116</sup> WEB stipulates that a certain budget should be made available yearly to fund both formal and informal adult education. Currently, the

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<sup>109</sup> Scholten et al., “Multilevel Governance from Below,” 2023.

<sup>110</sup> Scholten et al., 2024.

<sup>111</sup> van Ostaijen, “Worlds between Words,” 168.

<sup>112</sup> Aanjaagteam bescherming arbeidsmigranten, “Geen tweederangsburgers: Aanbevelingen om misstanden bij arbeidsmigranten in Nederland tegen te gaan,” October 30, 2020.

<sup>113</sup> Aanjaagteam bescherming arbeidsmigranten.

<sup>114</sup> “Werken aan een menswaardig bestaan: Actieprogramma EU-arbeidsmigranten 2021-2025” (Gemeente Rotterdam, April 2021).

<sup>115</sup> “Actieprogramma EU-arbeidsmigranten,” 30.

<sup>116</sup> “Actieprogramma EU-arbeidsmigranten.”

structural WEB-budget is 62 million euros a year. One problem is that many migrants do not register in the municipality, which means they cannot access these WEB-funded courses.<sup>117</sup> For them, informal language activities are an option, such as language cafés, language courses organized in Dutch public libraries and so-called ‘taalmaatjes’ (language buddies). These informal language activities are available across the Netherlands. Such activities often involve volunteers and are additionally funded through WEB, the ‘Tel mee met Taal’-program (count with language program), and other funds. The ‘Tel mee met Taal’ program was set up by several Dutch ministries in 2016 to prevent and reduce low literacy in the Netherlands.<sup>118</sup> They invest over 25 million euros each year to support initiatives that, for example, encourage reading or organize language classes at work. It is important to note that not every municipality in the Netherlands offers the same; the availability of language courses for EU labor migrants differs. Moreover, some municipalities restrict access to free language classes, excluding for example ‘kennismigranten’ (knowledge migrants) and expats.<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>117</sup> “Actieprogramma EU-arbeidsmigranten.”

<sup>118</sup> “Over Tel mee met Taal,” TelmeemetTaal (Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap, June 17, 2020), <https://www.telmeemetaal.nl/over-ons>.

<sup>119</sup> Amsterdam, “Gratis Nederlands leren,” Amsterdam.nl (Gemeente Amsterdam), accessed April 22, 2021, <https://www.amsterdam.nl/onderwijs-jeugd/de-nederlandse-taal/>.

## Chapter 2: Present Study

Although the role different languages play for immigrant integration was investigated before, the academic debate lacks a recent overview of these relations. Despite the fact that European migration is an interesting new type of migration, academic investigations of these processes for intra-EU migrants are especially lacking. Additionally, recent academic discussions of how integration should be understood have led to renewed understandings of integration, such as Klarenbeek's theory of relational integration.<sup>120</sup> It is therefore not just important to investigate the relation between the use of different languages and intra-EU migrant integration, but also to use this renewed understanding of integration as the “process of boundary change towards relational equality” between legitimate and non-legitimate members.<sup>121</sup> Additionally, it is important to investigate these processes at the institutional level (policies and practices) and the inter-subjective level (the integration processes between migrants and ‘legitimate’ members within society). As previously mentioned, the focus will be on these processes within the Netherlands.

### 2.1. Research Questions

To address all the above, two questions are central to this thesis. **First:** How do Dutch language-based integration policies and the related educational practices aim to steer the integration processes of intra-EU immigrants?

- **Sub question:** How do relevant parties – policy advisors and educators – perceive these policies and educational practices?

**Second:** How does the way in which intra-EU immigrants balance the use of different languages relate to their integration within the Netherlands?

- **Sub question 1:** How does the use of Dutch affect the integration of intra-EU immigrants within the Netherlands?
- **Sub question 2:** How does the use of the country-of-origin language affect the integration of intra-EU immigrants within the Netherlands?
- **Sub question 3:** How does self-rated English proficiency at baseline affect the integration of intra-EU immigrants within the Netherlands?

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<sup>120</sup> “Relational Integration.”

<sup>121</sup> Klarenbeek, 4.

- **Sub question 4:** How do policy advisors and educators envision these relations between language and intra-EU immigrant integration?

## 2.2. Social and Scientific Relevance

Investigating this topic is relevant, both societally and scientifically. It fills a gap in the research, by investigating the relation between the use of different languages and intra-EU immigrant integration, and by using a new understanding of integration: relational integration. The lack of investigations of intra-EU immigrant integration can partly be explained by the EU assuming these immigrants are integrated by default, implying there is no need to investigate their integration. However, national governments have shown concern about the integration of intra-EU immigrants,<sup>122</sup> and many (potential) problems and issues of intra-EU migration have been defined by Engbersen et al.<sup>123</sup> Therefore, this investigation is necessary and relevant. Additionally, these discussions of what ‘integration’ is and the renewed understanding of integration are very recent developments, which are yet to be implemented in immigrant integration research.

Moreover, this study also investigates the way in which, on the institutional level, policy measures are aimed at steering intra-EU immigrant integration processes. This investigation will not only demonstrate what the aims of Dutch language-based integration policies are, but also whether, and how, these policies relate to bordering processes and practices in society. By focusing on both the intersubjective level and the institutional level, this investigation can clarify not only the way in which Dutch policies and related educational practices use language to steer integration, but also the way in which language use affects the meaning of perceived difference, and thereby the relational integration between insiders and outsiders (intra-EU immigrants) within the Netherlands. Therefore, the study is not just scientifically relevant, but also societally relevant as it can lead to renewed understandings of how language and integration relate and how policies could and should account for those renewed understandings.

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<sup>122</sup> Favell, “The Changing Face of ‘Integration’ in a Mobile Europe.”

<sup>123</sup> “The Intra-EU Mobility Regime.”

### Chapter 3: Methodology

This study used a partially mixed concurrent equal status design,<sup>124</sup> meaning it involved a quantitative and qualitative element. These were carried out concurrently and considered equally important. They were not combined until the analysis. The qualitative part consisted of (1) an overview of Dutch language-based integration policies and the related educational practices and (2) in-depth interviews with educators of Dutch to intra-EU immigrants and policy advisors working on this topic. For the quantitative part, pre-existing data from the New Immigrant Survey – The Netherlands (NIS2NL) was analyzed.<sup>125</sup> Before elaborating upon this, key definitions used in the study are discussed below.

#### 3.1. Key definitions

Several key terms need to be defined: (1) intra-EU (im)migrants, (2) language use, and (3) integration. First, intra-EU migrants are EU citizens, or legally resident third country citizens, that move between EU member states.<sup>126</sup> In this thesis, the focus was on EU citizens only. Determining what to call intra-EU (im)migrants is quite complicated; they have been called, among others, mobile EU citizens,<sup>127</sup> intra-EU migrants,<sup>128</sup> and intra-EU immigrants.<sup>129</sup> The terms migrants and immigrants are often used interchangeably. Many articles have been written about the unclear distinction between these groups, with some arguing the difference is the length of stay in the host country,<sup>130</sup> others arguing the

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<sup>124</sup> Nancy L. Leech and Anthony J. Onwuegbuzie, “A Typology of Mixed Methods Research Designs,” *Quality & Quantity* 43, no. 2 (March 2009): 268, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11135-007-9105-3>.

<sup>125</sup> Marcel Lubbers et al., “The New Immigrant Survey – The Netherlands (NIS2NL). A Four Wave Panel Study.” (NWO-Middengroot, 2018), file number 420-004, DANS/EASY archive.

<sup>126</sup> “Intra-EU Mobility.”

<sup>127</sup> Elizabeth Collet, “The Integration Needs of Mobile EU Citizens: Impediments and Opportunities” (Migration Policy Institute Europe, March 2013).

<sup>128</sup> Anna Simola, “Lost in Administration: (Re)Producing Precarious Citizenship for Young University-Educated Intra-EU Migrants in Brussels,” *Work, Employment and Society* 32, no. 3 (2018): 458–74, <https://doi.org/10.1177/095001071071081877555653>; Claudia Paraschivescu, “Experiencing Whiteness: Intra-EU Migration of Romanians to Paris and London,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 43, no. 14 (November 13, 2020): 2665–83, <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2020.1772495>.

<sup>129</sup> Gusta G. Wachter and Fenella Fleischmann, “Settlement Intentions and Immigrant Integration: The Case of Recently Arrived EU-Immigrants in the Netherlands,” *International Migration* 56, no. 4 (August 2018): 154–71, <https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12434>.

<sup>130</sup> “Migratie in Beeld” (Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek en Documentatie Centrum (WODC), 2018).

difference is the intent to stay in the host country,<sup>131</sup> and again others saying that while the term ‘migrant’ disregards direction of movement and is more neutral, the term ‘immigrants’ refers to those with a specific destination country.<sup>132</sup> Most importantly, the choice for a certain term, and its definition, should be clear and justified. In this thesis, the word ‘intra-EU immigrant’ is used when referring to those who have specifically moved to the Netherlands. The term ‘intra-EU migrant’ is used to refer to the more general group of intra-EU migrants as it disregards direction of movement. Additionally, when discussing policies and interviews, the terms used by interviewees and in the documents will be used when paraphrasing, resulting in the mixed use of the terms ‘migrants’ and ‘immigrants’ in these discussions. It is recognized that terms like ‘migrant’ and ‘immigrant’ are not neutral, but no name or identifier is neutral, and everything is part of a specific discourse. A migration discourse was deemed most suitable here because of the focus on ‘integration’, a concept inherently connected to migration.

Second, this thesis focused on self-assessed daily language use, not proficiency. Third, Klarenbeek’s definition of relational integration was used, with a focus on both the institutional level and the inter-subjective level. This means that integration was understood as the “process of boundary change towards relational equality” between legitimate and non-legitimate members.<sup>133</sup> At the institutional level, this was investigated by analyzing the policies, and by conducting interviews with policy advisors and educators. At the inter-subjective level, the thesis used immigrant’s sense of belonging to the host society and perceived discrimination as measures of relational integration. Sense of belonging measures to what extent integration between insiders and outsiders is happening within society, as it shows not just whether someone identifies with the host society, but also if they are allowed to belong by insiders.<sup>134</sup> Similarly, perceived discrimination measures the extent to which meaning is attached to perceived difference between legitimate and non-legitimate members.<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>131</sup> Bridget Anderson and Scott Blinder, “Briefing: Who Counts as a Migrant? Definitions and Their Consequences” (The Migration Observatory, August 25, 2015).

<sup>132</sup> P Douglas, M Cetron, and P Spiegel, “Definitions Matter: Migrants, Immigrants, Asylum Seekers and Refugees,” *Journal of Travel Medicine* 26, no. 2 (February 1, 2019), <https://doi.org/10.1093/jtm/taz005>.

<sup>133</sup> Klarenbeek, “Relational Integration,” 4.

<sup>134</sup> Klarenbeek, “Reconceptualising ‘Integration as a Two-Way Process’”; Hellgren, “Immigrant Integration as a Two-Way Process.”

<sup>135</sup> Tartakovsky, “Cultural Identities of Adolescent Immigrants”; Kunuroglu et al., “Motives for Turkish Return Migration from Western Europe”; Phalet and Swyngedouw, “Measuring Immigrant Integration.”

### 3.2. Quantitative data and analysis

For the quantitative analysis, data from the New Immigrant Survey Netherlands (NIS2NL), a four-wave panel study among new Polish, Bulgarian, Spanish, and Turkish immigrants to the Netherlands between 2013 and 2018, was used.<sup>136</sup> This dataset was collected with the aim to investigate integration processes of migrants to the Netherlands during the first few years after migration. The data of Turkish immigrants was not used in this study, due to the focus on specifically EU citizens.

#### 3.2.1. Participants

NIS2NL collected longitudinal data from recent Polish, Turkish, Bulgarian, and Spanish immigrants to the Netherlands in four waves.<sup>137</sup> The first wave of data was collected in two batches, targeting those who registered in a Dutch municipality between May 2012 and October 2013, and between October 2013 and January 2014. They were contacted in November 2013 and March 2014. For each wave after the first, if participants agreed to participate in another wave and if they were still living in the Netherlands,<sup>138</sup> they were approached again. Respondents to the second wave were approached in March 2015 and May 2015. In the third wave, respondents were approached in September 2016. In the fourth wave, respondents were approached in January 2018.

The gender distribution among immigrants was only representative for the gross distribution of Turkish immigrants. For Polish, Bulgarian, and Spanish immigrants, women were overrepresented. This overrepresentation increased over the waves. The age distribution among immigrants was most representative of the gross sample in the first wave, although the youngest cohort of Spanish immigrants was underrepresented. Over time, selective attrition took place leading to increasing underrepresentation of the youngest cohort within all immigrant groups.

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<sup>136</sup> Lubbers et al., “The New Immigrant Survey – The Netherlands (NIS2NL). A Four Wave Panel Study.”

Access to the data for this project was granted by the research team.

<sup>137</sup> Appendix A contains a table with the number of successful responses per nationality, per wave.

<sup>138</sup> This was checked via Statistics Netherlands, who updated address information for those moving from, or within, the Netherlands.

### 3.2.2. Procedure

NIS2NL collected data in four waves with a questionnaire that was sent by regular mail to respondents and translated to their native language. They could fill in the questionnaire on paper or online.

### 3.2.3. Variables

Immigrants' Dutch language use was measured each wave by asking how often they used Dutch in their daily life. This ordinal variable had a scale from 1(=always) to 5(=never).<sup>139</sup> For clarity, this scale was recoded so that 1 indicated never and 5 indicated always. To investigate the longitudinal change in language use, a categorical variable was made to represent the change in language use over time, representing whether an immigrants' Dutch language use had increased(=1), decreased(=-1) or stayed the same(=0) from wave 1 to wave 4. Self-rated English proficiency at baseline was measured in the first wave by asking: 'How well would you say you speak English?'. This variable had four categories: 1=very well, 2=well, 3=not well, and 4=not at all.<sup>140</sup> For clarity, this scale was recoded so that 1 indicated not at all and 4 indicated very well. For one part of the analysis, a dichotomous variable of self-rated English proficiency at baseline was made, with responses 'not at all' and 'not well' indicating low self-rated proficiency(=0), and responses 'well' and 'very well' indicating high self-rated proficiency(=1).

Immigrants' use of country-of-origin language (CO-language) was not measured directly in the dataset. Spearman rank correlations pointed out that watching Dutch TV ( $r(726)=.43$ ,  $p<0.001$ ) and reading the Dutch newspaper ( $r(726)=.39$ ,  $p<0.001$ ) correlated significantly with using the Dutch language. These significant correlations show that media exposure is a predictor of language use. Therefore, immigrants' media exposure was used as predictor of language use. For their media exposure, immigrants were asked each wave how often they read newspapers/watched TV in Dutch/the CO-language. Immigrants' TV/newspaper exposure was measured on a scale from 1(=every day) to 5(=never).<sup>141</sup> For clarity, this scale was recoded so that 1 indicated never and 5 indicated every day. Moreover, categorical variables were made to represent the change in language

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<sup>139</sup> They could also indicate that they did not speak Dutch (=6). These responses, and missing values (=9), were excluded from the analysis.

<sup>140</sup> Missing values (=9) were excluded from the analysis.

<sup>141</sup> They could also indicate that they did not speak Dutch (=6). These responses, together with missing values (=9) were excluded.



use, based on CO-language media exposure. These variables represented whether immigrants' media exposure, TV/newspaper, had increased(=1), decreased(=-1), or stayed the same(=0) from wave 1 to wave 4.

The measures of media exposure, in Dutch and CO-language, were also used to investigate the balance of the use of Dutch and CO-language. Immigrants were divided into one of four groups for TV-watching and newspaper reading: (1) mainly using CO-language, (2) mainly using Dutch, (3) balancing the use of both languages, and (4) neither.<sup>142</sup> Table 1 shows how the media exposure variables were recoded.

TABLE 1. Recoded variable for language balance based on watching TV/reading newspaper

Watch TV/Read newspaper - Dutch	Watch TV/Read newspaper - Country of Origin				
	<i>Every day</i>	<i>Several times a week</i>	<i>Once/twice a week</i>	<i>Less often</i>	<i>Never</i>
<i>Every day</i>	3	3	3	2	2
<i>Several times a week</i>	3	3	3	2	2
<i>Once/twice a week</i>	3	3	3	2	2
<i>Less often</i>	1	1	1	4	4
<i>Never</i>	1	1	1	4	4

Note: (1) mostly CO-language (2) mostly Dutch (3) balanced between Dutch and CO-language (4) Neither.

To measure relational integration, sense of belonging was measured each wave by asking immigrants whether they agreed on a scale from 1(=totally agree) to 5(=totally disagree) with the statement: “I have a strong sense of belonging to the Netherlands”. To make interpretation easier, this ordinal variable was recoded so that 1 indicated ‘totally disagree’ and 5 indicated ‘totally agree’.<sup>143</sup> Perceived discrimination was measured each wave by asking immigrants the following: “Some say that people from [country of origin] are being discriminated against in the Netherlands. How often do you think [country of

<sup>142</sup> Group 4 was excluded from further analysis.

<sup>143</sup> Missing values (=9) and respondents who said they did not know (=6) were excluded from analyses.

origin] people are discriminated against in the Netherlands?”. There were five response options: 1=very often, 2=often, 3=sometimes, 4=almost never, and 5=never.<sup>144</sup> To make interpretation easier, this ordinal variable was recoded so that 1 indicated ‘never’ and 5 indicated ‘very often’.

#### 3.2.4. Analyses

Analyses were executed using SPSS27. Only data from Spanish, Bulgarian, and Polish participants who participated in all four waves was included, so that the longitudinal effect could be investigated. In the end, 788 participants were included in the analyses.

Repeated measures ANOVAs were performed, so that the effect of language use on the measures of integration could be investigated longitudinally. Sense of belonging and perceived discrimination were used as dependent variables, both measured at four points in time (during each wave). Repeated measures ANOVAs contain two types of tests: tests of within-subject effects and tests of between-subject effects. The test of within-subject effects test whether there is a difference in scores on the dependent variable between the four different times. Additionally, in a two-way repeated measures ANOVA, the test of within-subject effects also tests whether there is an interaction between time and the independent factor (i.e., is the within-subject change of the dependent variable over time different for different groups of subjects). The tests of between-subject effects test whether there is a significant effect of a factor or covariate on the average of a dependent variable across the four times, controlled for all other variables in the model.

The dependent variables in this study were 5-point Likert items. These ordinal variables cannot be normally distributed. As ANOVAs use the parametric F-statistic, they technically require a continuous dependent variable, due to the assumption of normality. However, ANOVAs are very robust against such violations when there is a large sample size ( $n > 30$ ).<sup>145</sup> They can be used with Likert-item dependent variables if the variables have at least five categories and the sample size is large.<sup>146</sup> In these cases, studies have

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<sup>144</sup> Missing values (=9) and respondents who said they did not know (=6) were excluded from analyses.

<sup>145</sup> Spencer E. Harpe, “How to Analyze Likert and Other Rating Scale Data,” *Currents in Pharmacy Teaching and Learning* 7, no. 6 (November 2015): 836–50, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cptl.2015.08.001>; Constantin Mircioiu and Jeffrey Atkinson, “A Comparison of Parametric and Non-Parametric Methods Applied to a Likert Scale,” *Pharmacy: Journal of Pharmacy, Education and Practice* 5, no. 2 (May 10, 2017), <https://doi.org/10.3390/pharmacy5020026>.

<sup>146</sup> Harpe, “How to Analyze Likert and Other Rating Scale Data.”

shown that parametric tests obtain the same results as non-parametric tests.<sup>147</sup> The use of parametric tests is preferable because non-parametric tests lead to a significant loss of information. Since the measures of sense of belonging and perceived discrimination had five categories, and the sample size was large ( $n=788$ ), ANOVAs could be used. In all analyses, the  $n$  was larger than 30 in each group, ensuring violations of normality were not problematic.<sup>148</sup> The repeated-measures ANOVA, besides normality, also assumes independence of samples of the independent variables, and sphericity. The assumption of independence of samples was met in each analysis. Furthermore, for the repeated measures analyses, Mauchly's test of sphericity was done to decide which test of within-subject effects to use. If sphericity was violated, the epsilon was investigated to see which correction to use. As suggested by Girden, when epsilon was higher than 0.75, the Huynh-Feldt correction was applied and if the epsilon was lower than 0.75, the Greenhouse-Geiser correction was applied.<sup>149</sup> All analyses mentioned below were done twice, once with sense of belonging and once with perceived discrimination as dependent variable.

First, to investigate the effect of the use of Dutch, the variable measuring change in Dutch language use was added as a factor to a two-way repeated measures ANOVA, and Dutch language use at wave 1 was added as a covariate. This covariate was centred, by subtracting the mean from each measurement, as was suggested by van Breukelen and van Dijk.<sup>150</sup> In a repeated measures ANOVA, the covariate can affect the analysis of the within-subject effects.<sup>151</sup> The following procedure to solve this issue was followed here: two ANOVA models were made, one including the covariate, of which the tests of between-subject effects were used, and one excluding the covariate, of which the tests of within-subject effects were used.<sup>152</sup>

Second, to investigate the effect of CO-language use, two models were made, based on immigrants' CO-language TV and newspaper exposure. These variables were

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<sup>147</sup> Mircioiu and Atkinson, "A Comparison of Parametric and Non-Parametric Methods Applied to a Likert Scale."

<sup>148</sup> See Appendix B for the  $n$  per group.

<sup>149</sup> Ellen R. Girden, *ANOVA: Repeated Measures*, Quantitative Applications in the Social Sciences 84 (California: Sage Publications, 1992).

<sup>150</sup> "Use of Covariates in Randomized Controlled Trials," *Journal of the International Neuropsychological Society* 13, no. 05 (September 2007), <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1355617707071147>.

<sup>151</sup> Van Breukelen and Van Dijk.

<sup>152</sup> "Problem Subject: Repeated Measures with Constant Covariates in GLM," accessed April 30, 2021, <https://imaging.mrc-cbu.cam.ac.uk/statswiki/FAQ/res22133>.

not combined into one ‘media-exposure’-variable because this would have led to a significant loss of information. Two-way repeated measures ANOVAs were made with change in TV/newspaper-exposure as a factor, and TV/newspaper-exposure during wave 1 as covariate. Again the covariate was centred and models were made with and without the covariate. Third, to investigate the effect of self-rated English proficiency at baseline, a two-way repeated measures ANOVA was performed including the measure of self-rated English proficiency at baseline as a factor.

Fourth, to investigate the relation between language balance and integration, a one-way ANOVA was performed with immigrant’s language balance, based on TV and newspaper exposure in CO-language and Dutch, and sense of belonging/perceived discrimination. The effect of language balance was not investigated longitudinally, because creating a variable of change in language balance would lead to an incredible loss of information. Also, this variable would contain so many categories that the analysis would be unreliable due to a small *n* per category. Thus, the focus was on the relation between language balance and measures of integration during the fourth and final wave, at which point there had been the most chance for immigrants and ‘insiders’ to integrate within society. After this analysis, the dataset was split using the dichotomous variable of English proficiency. The one-way ANOVAs were repeated to see if the relation between language balance and relational integration was affected by English proficiency.

### 3.3. Qualitative data and analysis

The qualitative part of this study consisted of two elements: an analysis of Dutch language-based integration policies and related educational practices, and interviews with policy advisors and educators.

#### 3.3.1. Policies and related educational practices

To answer the question of how Dutch language-based integration policies and related educational practices are aimed to steer the integration processes of intra-EU immigrants in the Netherlands, and to understand policy advisor’s and Dutch language teachers’ perceptions of those policies and practices, it was important to first do a framework analysis of those policies. The focus was on contextual analysis: describing and

identifying the form and nature of what exists.<sup>153</sup> This was done by gathering the relevant policies at the national level, and by investigating local policies at one municipality, namely Rotterdam. This municipality was chosen because they have been at the forefront of creating policy for intra-EU immigrants in the Netherlands.<sup>154</sup> This allowed for an analysis of local and national policies, with an awareness that different municipalities tackle the subject differently.

### 3.3.2. Interviews

In-depth interviews were conducted with three policy advisors and three Dutch language teachers who were contacted through different organizations. Participants read an information sheet and signed a consent form, which can be found in Appendix C in both Dutch and English. If participants gave informed consent, an online meeting was organized via Zoom or Microsoft Teams. Of the three educators, one worked for a private school (educator 1), one worked for the Alfa College, an ROC school in the North of the Netherlands (educator 2).<sup>155</sup> The third educator was a volunteer language teacher at a local language house in the province of Groningen; she taught informal language classes and offered support to formal language trajectories (educator 3). Of the three policy advisors, one worked for both KIS, a knowledge platform on integration and society, and MOVISIE, a knowledge institute (policy advisor 1). The other two policy advisors worked at the same municipality, on the topic of integration (policy advisor 2), and the topic of language and integration (policy advisor 3).

These interviews were designed as standardized open-ended interviews.<sup>156</sup> Thus, the interview structure was predetermined with open-ended questions and participants' answers could lead to follow-up questions. Interview designs were made for the interviews with policy advisors and educators. As recommended by Turner, the designed structures were tested in two pilot interviews.<sup>157</sup> After changing the interview designs in response to the pilots, the interviews were conducted. The final interview design for

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<sup>153</sup> Jane Ritchie and Liz Spencer, "Qualitative Data Analysis for Applied Policy Research," in *Analyzing Qualitative Data*, ed. Alan Bryman and Robert G Burgess (London: Routledge, 1994), 174.

<sup>154</sup> Scholten et al., "Multilevel Governance from Below"; van Ostaijen, "Worlds between Words."

<sup>155</sup> These regional education centers (ROC) offer middle level vocational education.

<sup>156</sup> Daniel W. Turner, "Qualitative Interview Design: A Practical Guide for Novice Investigators," *The Qualitative Report* 15, no. 3 (2010): 755.

<sup>157</sup> Turner, "Qualitative Interview Design."

educators and policy advisors can be found in Appendices D and E.<sup>158</sup> The interviews were recorded using voice recorder software on a mobile phone ensuring word-by-word transcriptions could be made. These transcriptions were made and analyzed in their original language: Dutch. After transcription, the recordings were deleted. Transcripts were not sent to participants for review, as the disadvantages of this outweigh the benefits.<sup>159</sup>

The interviews were analyzed using a thematic approach.<sup>160</sup> First, the data was familiarized through transcription, at which point initial ideas were noted down. Second, initial codes across the data set were generated using Johnny Saldaña's coding manual for qualitative researchers.<sup>161</sup> Third, the codes were grouped into themes and all data relevant to the identified themes was gathered.<sup>162</sup> Fourth, the themes were refined, generating a final "thematic 'map' of analysis".<sup>163</sup> Based on the discovered themes and codes, a report of the analysis was written. The focus was specifically on qualitative (the contents of coded sections), not quantitative (the number of sections per code), aspects. The small sample size of this study, six interviews, allowed for an in-depth analysis but simultaneously meant that any quantification of data was limited in its explanatory power. Therefore, the focus remained on qualitative analyses.

### 3.4. Ethics

The use of a pre-existing data set meant that precise research ethics of the data collection could not be determined. However, as it was an NWO study, this should be in order. Moreover, to obtain access to the data, extensive data access forms had to be filled in showing the care with which these data are handled. For the interviews, written consent was obtained from all participants. This included an information sheet, discussing the purpose and details of the research and how to withdraw from the study, and a consent

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<sup>158</sup> Interviews were conducted in Dutch, a translation of the interview design in English is provided.

<sup>159</sup> Irit Mero-Jaffe, "‘Is That What I Said?’ Interview Transcript Approval by Participants: An Aspect of Ethics in Qualitative Research," *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 2011, 17.

<sup>160</sup> Virginia Braun and Victoria Clarke, "Using Thematic Analysis in Psychology," *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 3, no. 2 (January 2006): 77–101, <https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa>.

<sup>161</sup> "An Introduction to Codes and Coding," in *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers* (London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2015), 1–31.

<sup>162</sup> Carl F. Auerbach and Louise B. Silverstein, *Qualitative Data: An Introduction to Coding and Analysis*, Qualitative Studies in Psychology (New York: New York University Press, 2003), 31–87.

<sup>163</sup> Braun and Clarke, "Using Thematic Analysis in Psychology," 87.

form. The data were handled carefully. Both the data from NIS2NL and from the interviews were stored in an encrypted folder, with a back-up on a safe server.<sup>164</sup> Moreover, all communication with participants was conducted through an e-mail account with two-factor authentication.

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<sup>164</sup> Sara Koopmans, “How To Keep You And Your Sources Safe In The Age Of Surveillance | HuffPost,” May 9, 2017, [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/weaponised-research-how-to-keep-you-and-your-sources\\_b\\_5912160ee4b07e366cebb696](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/weaponised-research-how-to-keep-you-and-your-sources_b_5912160ee4b07e366cebb696).

## Chapter 4: Results I – Immigrant integration processes and language

This chapter focuses on quantitative results stemming from the analysis of NIS2NL data. As discussed in Chapter 3, all assumptions were checked, and met, for all these analyses.

### 4.1. Language use: Dutch

To investigate the effect of Dutch language use on integration, two repeated-measures ANOVAs were created, one with sense of belonging and one with perceived discrimination as dependent variable. In both cases, change of Dutch language use was added as a factor. For both models, Huynh-Feldt corrected tests of within-subject effects were used. To investigate the between-subject effects, Dutch language use at baseline was added as a covariate to both models. Table 2 presents the results.

TABLE 2. Repeated measures ANOVAs for Dutch language use and integration

		Sense of belonging			Perceived Discrimination		
		F	df	<i>p</i>	F	df	<i>p</i>
<b>Within subject effects</b>	Time	0.897	2.864,	.438	0.637	2.913,	.587
			1981.850			1735.920	
<b>Within subject effects</b>	Time x change Dutch use	0.693	5.728,	.649	0.625	5.825,	.706
			1981.850			1735.920	
<b>Between subject effects</b>	Change Dutch use	5.271	2, 691	.005	1.775	2, 595	.170
	Dutch use at baseline	37.942	1, 691	<.001	7.444	1, 595	.007

No tests of within-subject effects were significant, meaning neither sense of belonging nor perceived discrimination differed significantly over time, and there was no significant interaction between time and the between-subjects factor of change in Dutch language use. However, several tests of between-subject effects were significant. A significant difference in average sense of belonging across time was found between the different groups based on change in Dutch language use over time, controlled for the use of Dutch at baseline. Additionally, a significant effect of Dutch language use at baseline on average sense of belonging across time, controlled for change in Dutch language use over time,



was found. Moreover, a significant relation between Dutch language use at baseline and average perceived discrimination across time, controlled for change in Dutch language use across time, was found.

These significant tests of between-subject effects were investigated further. For the significant effect of change in Dutch language use on sense of belonging, post-hoc test results are presented in Table 3.

TABLE 3. Post-hoc Bonferroni corrected pairwise comparisons of change in Dutch language use and sense of belonging

<b>X-Y</b>	<i>Mean difference (X-Y)</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Lower Bound 95%CI</i>	<i>Upper Bound 95%CI</i>
Decrease – Same	-0.255**	0.081	-0.449	-0.060
Decrease – Increase	-0.232*	0.081	-0.427	-0.037
Same – Increase	0.023	0.059	-0.119	0.164

\* $p < 0.05$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.001$

These comparisons show that, controlled for Dutch language use at baseline, those whose use of Dutch decreased over time had a significantly lower average sense of belonging across time to the Netherlands ( $M=3.084$ ,  $SD=0.070$ ) than those whose use of Dutch increased over time ( $M=3.316$ ,  $SD=0.037$ ) and those whose use of Dutch stayed the same over time ( $M=3.338$ ,  $SD=0.043$ ). No significant difference in average sense of belonging across time, controlling for Dutch language use at baseline, was found between those whose use of Dutch stayed the same and those whose use of Dutch increased.

The test of between subject effects also showed a significant relation between Dutch language use at baseline and average sense of belonging across time, controlled for change in Dutch language use over time. This was further investigated by creating parameter estimates in SPSS, which summarize the effect of each predictor on the dependent variable. Due to the repeated nature of the repeated measures ANOVA, parameter estimates are made for each measurement of the dependent variable (at time 1, time 2, etc.). At each of the four measurements of sense of belonging, the parameter estimates of Dutch language use at baseline showed that an increase in Dutch language use at baseline corresponded with a significant increase in average sense of belonging to

the Netherlands.<sup>165</sup> For perceived discrimination, during wave one, two, and four, the parameter estimates showed that an increase in Dutch language use at baseline corresponded with a significant increase in average perceived discrimination to the Netherlands.<sup>166</sup> No significant relation between Dutch language use at baseline and perceived discrimination during wave 3 was found.

Thus, Dutch language use at baseline correlated with a higher sense of belonging and higher perceived discrimination scores. Contradictorily, knowing Dutch makes immigrants more aware of the discrimination against them, but also makes them identify more with the Netherlands.<sup>167</sup> This contradiction will be discussed in further detail in Chapter 8.

#### 4.2. Language use: country-of-origin

To investigate the effect of CO-language use on measures of integration, two predictors of CO-language use were used: CO-language TV and newspaper exposure. Two repeated-measures ANOVA models were created for each of these independent variables, one with sense of belonging and one with perceived discrimination as dependent variable. In all four models, Huynh-Feldt corrections were applied to the tests of within-subject effects. For the tests of between-subject effects, TV/newspaper exposure at baseline was added as a covariate to the models respectively. Table 4 presents the results.

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<sup>165</sup> **Wave 1:**  $b=0.122$ ,  $t=5.167$ ,  $p<.001$ ; **Wave 2:**  $b=0.103$ ,  $t=4.349$ ,  $p<.001$ ; **Wave 3:**  $b=0.118$ ,  $t=4.769$ ,  $p<.001$ ; **Wave 4:**  $b=0.110$ ,  $t=4.581$ ,  $p<.001$ .

<sup>166</sup> **Wave 1:**  $b=0.078$ ,  $t=2.594$ ,  $p=.01$ ; **Wave 2:**  $b=0.077$ ,  $t=2.611$ ,  $p=.009$ ; **Wave 3:**  $b=0.042$ ,  $t=1.450$ ,  $p=.147$ ; **Wave 4:**  $b=0.058$ ,  $t=2.106$ ,  $p=.036$ .

<sup>167</sup> Francesca Di Saint Pierre, Borja Martinovic, and Thomas De Vroome, "Return Wishes of Refugees in the Netherlands: The Role of Integration, Host National Identification and Perceived Discrimination," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 41, no. 11 (September 19, 2015): 1836–57, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2015.1023184>.

TABLE 4. Repeated measures ANOVAs for CO-language use and integration

			Sense of belonging			Perceived Discrimination		
			F	df	<i>p</i>	F	df	<i>p</i>
<b>TV</b>	Within subject effects	<i>Time</i>	1.305	2,865,	.271	1.356	2,911,	.255
				1976.738			1731.903	
		<i>Time x change TV</i>	1.074	5,730,	.375	0.193	5,822,	.977
					1976.738			1731.903
Between subject effects	<i>Change TV</i>	1.316	2,689	.269	5.141	2,594	.006	
	<i>Exposure TV at baseline</i>	1.384	1,689	.240	17.575	1,594	<.001	
<b>News paper</b>	Within subject effects	<i>Time</i>	1.425	2,864,	.235	1.144	2,914,	.329
				1975.869			1733.825	
		<i>Time x change newspaper</i>	1.171	5,727,	.319	2.461	5,828,	.024
					1975.869			1733.825
Between subject effects	<i>Change newspaper</i>	0.691	2,689	.502	2.017	2,594	.134	
	<i>Newspaper exposure at baseline</i>	0.531	1,689	.467	15.239	1,594	<.001	

No significant within-subject or between-subject effect of CO-language use, measured with CO-language TV/newspaper exposure, on sense of belonging was found. However, significant effects of CO-language on perceived discrimination were found. For the tests of within-subject effects, although no significant effects of CO-language TV exposure were found, a significant interaction between time and change in newspaper exposure over time in terms of perceived discrimination was found. An examination of this interaction, by looking at the change in perceived discrimination per group over time, showed that whilst there was no large change in perceived discrimination for those who read less CO-language newspapers from time 1 ( $M=2.987$ ) to time 4 ( $M=3.013$ ) nor for those who continued to read a similar amount of CO-language newspapers from time 1 ( $M=2.880$ ) to time 4 ( $M=2.825$ ), there was a slight increase in perceived discrimination

scores from time 1 ( $M=2.860$ ) to time 4 ( $M=3.028$ ) for those who read more CO-language newspapers over time.

For the tests of between-subject effects, a significant difference in average perceived discrimination across time was found between the different groups based on change in watching CO-language TV, controlled for how much CO-language TV was watched at baseline. Additionally, a significant effect was found of CO-language TV exposure at baseline on average perceived discrimination across time, controlled for change in CO-language TV exposure over time. Similarly, a significant effect of CO-language newspaper exposure at baseline on average perceived discrimination across time was found, controlled for change in CO-language newspaper exposure. These significant between-subject effects were investigated further. For the significant effect of change in CO-language TV exposure on perceived discrimination, post-hoc test results are presented in Table 5.

TABLE 5. Post-hoc Bonferroni corrected pairwise comparisons of CO-language TV exposure and perceived discrimination

<b>X-Y</b>	<i>Mean difference (X-Y)</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Lower Bound 95%CI</i>	<i>Upper Bound 95%CI</i>
Decrease – Same	-0.248**	0.078	-0.436	-0.060
Decrease – Increase	-0.147	0.095	-0.374	0.080
Same – Increase	0.101	0.077	-0.085	0.286

\* $p < 0.05$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.001$

These comparisons show that those who decreased in watching CO-language TV over time ( $M=2.777$ ,  $SD=0.067$ ) scored significantly lower on perceived discrimination than those who had continued watching the same amount of CO-language TV over time ( $M=3.025$ ,  $SD=0.042$ ). Moreover, the previously described parameter estimates showed that an increase in CO-language TV exposure at baseline corresponded to a significant increase in perceived discrimination in all four waves,<sup>168</sup> and that an increase in CO-

<sup>168</sup> **Wave 1:**  $b=0.130$ ,  $t=5.046$ ,  $p < .001$ ; **Wave 2:**  $b=0.090$ ,  $t=3.501$ ,  $p < .001$ ; **Wave 3:**  $b=0.055$ ,  $t=2.136$ ,  $p=.033$ ; **Wave 4:**  $b=0.065$ ,  $t=2.688$ ,  $p=.007$ .

language newspaper exposure corresponded to a significant decrease in perceived discrimination across all four waves.<sup>169</sup>

#### 4.3. Language use: English

The effect of self-rated English proficiency at baseline on sense of belonging and perceived discrimination over time was investigated with two two-way repeated measures ANOVAs, one with sense of belonging and one with perceived discrimination as dependent variable. In both models, Huynh-Feldt corrections were applied to the tests of within-subject effects. Table 6 presents the results.

TABLE 6. Repeated measures ANOVAs of English proficiency and integration

		Sense of belonging			Perceived Discrimination		
		F	df	<i>p</i>	F	df	<i>p</i>
<b>Within subject effects</b>	Time	0.406	2.873,	.740	0.263	2.917,	.847
			1973.947			1729.751	
	Time x English proficiency	1.246	8.620,	.264	1.605	8.751,	.111
			1973.947			1729.751	
<b>Between subject effects</b>	English proficiency	13.071	3, 687	<.001	6.935	3, 593	<.001

Neither sense of belonging nor perceived discrimination differed significantly over time in either model. No significant interaction between time and self-rated English proficiency at baseline was found in either model. However, the tests of between-subject effects showed a main effect of self-rated English proficiency on the average sense of belonging across time and on the average perceived discrimination across time. The post-hoc results, investigating these significant effects, are presented in Table 7.

<sup>169</sup> **Wave 1:**  $b=-.102$ ,  $t=-3.135$ ,  $p=.002$ ; **Wave 2:**  $b=-0.104$ ,  $t=-3.262$ ,  $p=.001$ ; **Wave 3:**  $b=-0.094$ ,  $t=-2.989$ ,  $p=.003$ ; **Wave 4:**  $b=-0.095$ ,  $t=-3.171$ ,  $p=.002$ .

TABLE 7. Post-hoc Bonferroni corrected pairwise comparisons of self-rated English proficiency at baseline and sense of belonging score

<b>X – Y</b>	<b>Sense of Belonging</b>				<b>Perceived discrimination</b>			
	<i>Mean difference (X-Y)</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Lower Bound 95%CI</i>	<i>Upper Bound 95%CI</i>	<i>Mean difference (X-Y)</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Lower Bound 95%CI</i>	<i>Upper Bound 95%CI</i>
<i>Not at all – not well</i>	0.301*	.106	0.021	0.581	-0.051	0.128	-0.391	0.288
<i>Not at all – well</i>	0.459***	.091	0.218	0.700	0.118	0.113	-0.182	0.418
<i>Not at all – very well</i>	0.533***	.090	0.296	0.770	0.318*	0.112	0.022	0.615
<i>Not well – well</i>	0.158	.082	-0.058	0.375	0.169	0.095	-0.082	0.420
<i>Not well – very well</i>	0.232*	.080	0.021	0.444	0.370***	0.093	0.123	0.616
<i>Well – very well</i>	0.074	.059	-0.082	0.230	0.201*	0.071	0.012	0.389

\*p<0.05, \*\*p<0.01, \*\*\*p<0.001

In terms of sense of belonging, those who said they did not speak English at all ( $M=3.711$ ,  $SD=0.08$ ) scored significantly higher on sense of belonging across time than those who spoke English not well ( $M=3.411$ ,  $SD=0.069$ ), well ( $M=3.252$ ,  $SD=0.043$ ), or very well ( $M=3.178$ ,  $SD=0.043$ ). Similarly, those who spoke English not well scored significantly higher on sense of belonging than those who spoke English very well. In terms of perceived discrimination, those who indicated not to speak English at all at baseline ( $M=3.107$ ,  $SD=0.101$ ) scored significantly higher on perceived discrimination than those who indicated to speak English very well at baseline ( $M=2.789$ ,  $SD=0.049$ ). Similarly, those who did not speak English well at baseline ( $M=3.158$ ,  $SD=0.079$ ) had significantly higher scores of perceived discrimination than those who spoke English very well at baseline. Lastly, those who spoke English well at baseline ( $M=2.989$ ,  $SD=0.052$ ) scored significantly higher on perceived discrimination than those who spoke English very well.

Therefore, those with lower English skills had higher average scores on sense of belonging across time and also higher average scores of perceived discrimination across

time. This relates to the fact that, high English proficiency is related to less motivation to learn the host-country language,<sup>170</sup> and thus less understanding of the discrimination in society.<sup>171</sup> At the same time, low English proficiency is related to more motivation to learn the Dutch language, and therefore more identification with the host-country.<sup>172</sup> This contradiction will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 8.

#### 4.4. Balancing languages: multilingualism

##### 4.4.1. Balancing Dutch and CO-language

The relation between language balance, based on TV and newspaper exposure, and measures of integration, during the fourth and final wave, was investigated using one-way ANOVAs, the results of which are in Table 8.

TABLE 8. Repeated measures ANOVAs of language balance and integration

	Sense of belonging			Perceived Discrimination		
	F	Df's	<i>p</i>	F (df)	df	<i>p</i>
TV balance	8.498	2, 600	<.001	4.964	2, 573	.007
Newspaper balance	12.667	2, 518	<.001	.564	2, 489	.569

These results show that there was a significant difference in sense of belonging and perceived discrimination between different language balance patterns based on TV exposure. Additionally, there was a significant difference in sense of belonging between immigrants with different language patterns based on newspaper exposure. The results of the post-hoc tests, investigating the significant results, can be found in Table 9.

<sup>170</sup> Esser, "Migration, Language, and Integration," 25.

<sup>171</sup> Kunuroglu et al., "Motives for Turkish Return Migration from Western Europe."

<sup>172</sup> Di Saint Pierre, Martinovic, and De Vroome, "Return Wishes of Refugees in the Netherlands."

TABLE 9. Post-hoc Bonferroni corrected pairwise comparisons language balance, sense of belonging, and perceived discrimination

		Sense of Belonging				Perceived discrimination			
		Mean difference (X-Y)	SD	Lower Bound 95%CI	Upper Bound 95%CI	Mean difference (X-Y)	SD	Lower Bound 95%CI	Upper Bound 95%CI
TV	CO-language - Dutch	-0.323***	0.087	-0.534	-0.113	0.168	0.099	-0.070	0.407
	CO-language-Balance	-0.258**	0.081	-0.453	-0.064	0.284**	0.091	0.065	0.503
	Dutch-Balance	0.065	0.087	-0.154	0.285	0.116	0.104	-0.133	0.366
News paper	CO-language-Dutch	-0.368*	0.142	-0.706	-0.028				
	CO-language-Balance	-0.394***	0.081	-0.589	-0.199				
	Dutch-Balance	-0.026	0.143	-0.369	0.317				

\*p<0.05, \*\*p<0.01, \*\*\*p<0.001

For sense of belonging, the pattern of difference between language balance patterns was the same based on newspaper and TV exposure. Those who mostly watched TV in the CO-language ( $M=3.190$ ,  $SD=0.900$ ) had a significantly lower sense of belonging to the Netherlands than those who watched mostly Dutch TV ( $M=3.513$ ,  $SD=0.725$ ), and a significantly lower sense of belonging to the Netherlands than those with a balanced language pattern based on TV exposure ( $M=3.448$ ,  $SD=0.882$ ). Similarly, those who mostly read CO-language newspapers ( $M=3.111$ ,  $SD=0.852$ ) had a significantly lower sense of belonging to the Netherlands than those who mostly read Dutch newspapers ( $M=3.478$ ,  $SD=0.863$ ), and a significantly lower sense of belonging to the Netherlands than those with a balanced language pattern based on newspaper exposure ( $M=3.505$ ,  $SD=0.921$ ). No significant differences were found, for TV or newspaper exposure, between the sense of belonging of those who used mostly Dutch



and those who had a balanced language pattern. For perceived discrimination a significant difference was only found based on TV exposure, not newspaper exposure. These pairwise comparisons showed that those who mostly watched CO-language TV ( $M=3.071$ ,  $SD=0.972$ ) had significantly higher scores of perceived discrimination than those who had a balanced language pattern based on TV exposure ( $M=2.787$ ,  $SD=0.922$ ). No significant difference was found between those who watched Dutch TV only ( $M=2.903$ ,  $SD=0.918$ ) and those who watched both Dutch and CO-language TV, nor between those who watched CO-language TV only and those who watched Dutch TV only.

#### 4.4.2. Influence of self-rated English Proficiency at Baseline

To investigate the influence of self-rated English proficiency on the relation between language balance and measures of integration, only the measure of language balance based on watching TV was considered. The  $n$  per language balance group, based on newspaper exposure, with low self-rated English proficiency at baseline was too small to yield reliable results (smallest  $n$  was 9). Therefore, these analyses were only performed using the language balance measure based on TV exposure. Table 10 shows the results of the one-way ANOVAs, split for self-rated English proficiency.

TABLE 10. One-way ANOVAs of language balance based on TV exposure and integration, split for English proficiency

		Sense of belonging			Perceived Discrimination		
		F	Df	$p$	F (df)	df	$p$
TV balance	<i>English skill= well/very well</i>	10.637	2, 419	<.001	3.020	2, 395	.05
	<i>English skill= not well/not at all</i>	1.135	2, 176	.324	2.528	2, 174	.083

No significant difference between immigrants with different language balance patterns was found for immigrants with low self-rated English proficiency at baseline, nor did significant differences in perceived discrimination, based on language balance patterns, occur for immigrants with high-self rated English proficiency at baseline. A significant difference was found, however, in sense of belonging scores between immigrants with

different language balance patterns, for those with high self-rated English proficiency at baseline. Table 11 shows the post-hoc test results investigating this significant difference.

TABLE 11. Post-hoc Bonferroni corrected pairwise comparisons of language balance based on TV-exposure and sense of belonging, for those with high self-rated English proficiency at baseline

<b>X-Y</b>	<i>Mean difference (X-Y)</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Lower Bound 95%CI</i>	<i>Upper Bound 95%CI</i>
CO-language – Dutch	-0.441***	0.099	-0.679	-0.202
CO-language – Balance	-0.297**	0.096	-0.529	-0.066
Dutch – Balance	0.143	0.103	-0.105	0.392

\*p<0.05, \*\*p<0.01, \*\*\*p<0.001

For the group with high self-rated English proficiency at baseline, those who watched TV only in the CO-language ( $M=3.068$ ,  $SD=0.066$ ) had a significantly lower sense of belonging than those who watched TV in Dutch ( $M=3.508$ ,  $SD=0.068$ ), and those who had a balanced language pattern ( $M=3.365$ ,  $SD=0.075$ ). No significant difference was found between those who watched TV in Dutch only and those who watched TV in both Dutch and the CO-language.

## Chapter 5: Results II – Existing Policies and Educational Practices

Besides these quantitative results, qualitative results were also found: an overview of existing policies and related educational practices, and results from interviews with policy advisors and educators. This chapter provides the overview of existing policies and educational practices. Please note that throughout this chapter, Dutch documents are cited. The English translations in the main text were made by me.

To investigate how Dutch language-based integration policies and the related educational practices aim to steer the integration processes of intra-EU immigrants, it was important to describe and identify the form and nature of what exists, in terms of the policies and practices in the Netherlands and the municipality of Rotterdam. In general, it was found that few Dutch language-based integration policies were targeted specifically to intra-EU immigrants, rather, such measures were taken within the policy initiatives to battle low literacy in the Netherlands. In the following two sections, the important national and local policy plans and advice will be discussed.

### 5.1. National Level

At the national level, two important elements of the policy and approach were identified: the policies and projects aimed at targeting low literacy,<sup>173</sup> and the recent advice from a government team on EU labor migration.<sup>174</sup> The low-literacy policies explain the existing language-based integration policies targeted at intra-EU immigrants and their implementation in educational practice. The advice on EU labor migrants shows the changes deemed necessary in relation to these policies. Moreover, this advice also shows the targeted group of intra-EU immigrants in Dutch policy: EU labor migrants. Combining the low literacy approach and the approach to EU labor migrants, the brochure

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<sup>173</sup> Ingrid van Engelshoven, “Samen Aan de Slag Voor Een Vaardig Nederland: Vervolgaanpak Laaggeletterdheid 2020-2024 [Letter to Parliament],” maart 2019, <https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/documenten/rapporten/2020/03/09/bijlage-1-kamerbrief-over-plan-om-aanpak-laaggeletterdheid-2020-2024>; “Vervolgaanpak Laaggeletterdheid 2020-2024: Tel Mee Met Taal” (Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap, March 2019); Ministerie van Algemene Zaken, “Aanpak laaggeletterdheid - Taal, rekenen en digitale vaardigheden,” Rijksoverheid (Ministerie van Algemene Zaken, March 10, 2016), <https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/onderwerpen/taal-rekenen-digitale-vaardigheden/aanpak-laaggeletterdheid>; “Wet educatie en beroepsonderwijs” (1995), <https://wetten.overheid.nl/BWBR0007625/2018-08-01>.

<sup>174</sup> Aanjaagteam bescherming arbeidsmigranten, “Eerste Aanbevelingen van Het Aanjaagteam Bescherming Arbeidsmigranten,” June 11, 2020; Aanjaagteam bescherming arbeidsmigranten, “Geen Tweederangsburgers.”

for new ‘EU labor migrants’ has a specific section on learning the Dutch language for EU labor migrants which refers to initiatives funded through the low literacy approach.<sup>175</sup>

The low literacy policies are relevant for intra-EU immigrants in the Netherlands, because they cannot be required to integrate. The low literacy approach funds a voluntary integration system in which intra-EU immigrants can take part, by supplying money for language courses. Thus, although EU labor migrants are not required to do civic integration, nor the language tests involved, there are some programs through which intra-EU immigrants can be supported in learning the Dutch language.<sup>176</sup> These programs are part of the Dutch government’s approach to low literacy. The first structural element of this approach is a structural funding set up in the Education and Vocational Training Act (WEB) of 1995.<sup>177</sup> Through WEB, several Dutch language courses, such as Dutch training aimed at literacy and courses Dutch as a second language, are funded, as described in Article 7.3.1. of the Act. This funding is specifically targeted at adults who are not required to follow the civic integration procedure.<sup>178</sup> In line with decentralization of the Dutch government, municipalities are responsible for the implementation of this funding. To do so, municipalities receive a benefit for education programs “on the basis of criteria that apply equally to each municipality”.<sup>179</sup> Additionally, every region has a so-called ‘contact municipality’, which must ensure that the target groups in all municipalities in the region can use the WEB-funded educational facilities.<sup>180</sup> Education using this funding can only be offered to “persons aged eighteen or older who are residents of the municipality in the region concerned”.<sup>181</sup> This means they have to be registered in the Municipal Personal Records Database (‘Basisregistratie Personen’/BRP) as a resident.

In addition to the WEB-funding, which amounts to a structural 62 million euros per year, the ‘Tel mee met Taal’-program, a program aimed at addressing low literacy in

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<sup>175</sup> “Nieuw in Nederland: Voor Europese Arbeidsmigranten” (Ministerie van Sociale Zaken en Werkgelegenheid, January 2019).

<sup>176</sup> Wouter Koolmees, “Taalaanbod Europese Arbeidsmigranten [Letter to Parliament],” September 4, 2018.

<sup>177</sup> Wet educatie en beroepsonderwijs.

<sup>178</sup> Wet educatie en beroepsonderwijs, sec. 4 of Article 7.3.1.

<sup>179</sup> Wet educatie en beroepsonderwijs, sec. 1 of Article 2.3.2.

<sup>180</sup> Wet educatie en beroepsonderwijs, sec. 2 of Article 2.3.2.

<sup>181</sup> Wet educatie en beroepsonderwijs, sec. 1 of Article 2.3.3.

the Netherlands, was set up by four Dutch ministries in 2017. In 2019, the follow-up approach low literacy of this program was released, investing about 25 million a year from 2020 to 2024 to reduce and prevent low literacy in the Netherlands.<sup>182</sup> The three main aims of this approach are 1) getting more people to work with language, calculation, and digital skills, 2) gathering information on which language classes work to improve the quality of Dutch language classes, and 3) getting appropriate help for people with low levels of literacy. Important projects funded through *Tel mee met Taal*, which are relevant for intra-EU immigrants, are ‘*Taal voor het Leven*’ (Language for Life) and the ‘*Taalakkoorden*’ (Language agreements).<sup>183</sup> ‘*Taal voor het Leven*’ is a cooperative program which “helps municipalities and organizations with organizing schooling for people who want to read, write, or speak better, or want to enhance their digital literacy.”<sup>184</sup> Within this program, *Taalzoeker.nl* was created, which is a search engine for language classes in your neighborhood. The ‘*taalakkoorden*’ are “initiatives from the government to get partners to cooperate to improve language proficiency and prevent low literacy”.<sup>185</sup> The most important language agreement is one that employers can sign if they want to help improve the language proficiency of employees.<sup>186</sup> Moreover, a big part of the ‘*Tel mee met Taal*’ funding goes to language houses and language points, where, among others, intra-EU immigrants are assisted with finding a suitable language course.<sup>187</sup> Municipalities can use their WEB-funding to fund free access to such language courses for these immigrants.

Thus, through these policies to prevent and reduce low literacy certain systems have been set up that intra-EU immigrants can also use, like *taalzoeker.nl*.<sup>188</sup> Closely related to these policies is the policy advice regarding EU labor migrants from the team tasked with presenting new suggestions to improve the situation of labor migrants in the

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<sup>182</sup> “Over *Tel mee met Taal*.”

<sup>183</sup> Ministerie van Algemene Zaken, “Aanpak laaggeletterdheid - Taal, rekenen en digitale vaardigheden.”

<sup>184</sup> “Over *Taal Voor Het Leven*,” *Taal voor het Leven*, accessed May 4, 2021, <https://www.taalvoorhetleven.nl/over-taal-voor-het-leven/het-programma/>.

<sup>185</sup> “*Taalakkoord*,” *Stichting Het Begint met Taal* (blog), accessed May 4, 2021, <https://www.hetbegintmettaal.nl/faq-items/taalakkoord/>.

<sup>186</sup> Ministerie van Sociale Zaken en Werkgelegenheid, “Home - *Taalakkoord*,” webpagina (Ministerie van Sociale Zaken en Werkgelegenheid, May 6, 2015), <https://www.taalakkoord.nl/>.

<sup>187</sup> Koolmees, “*Taalaanbod Europese Arbeidsmigranten [Letter to Parliament]*.”

<sup>188</sup> Koolmees; “*Nieuw in Nederland*,” 13.

Netherlands.<sup>189</sup> In June 2019 they made their first suggestions, and they published a full report in October 2020 with advice to prevent abuse of EU labor migrants in the Netherlands.<sup>190</sup> Although other reports regarding the situation of labor migrants in the Netherlands had been written, the results were minimal, something this report aimed to address.<sup>191</sup> In this report, labor migrants were defined as “someone who comes from a different country, and stays in the Netherlands temporarily for work, focusing specifically on EU-citizens who use freedom of movement, but are not planning to stay for a longer period of time.”<sup>192</sup> Throughout this advice the importance of learning the Dutch language for EU labor migrants’ position in Dutch society was addressed. Furthermore, it was described how EU labor migrants felt like second-rate citizens, because they cannot access integration trajectories and the language classes in those trajectories.<sup>193</sup> Additionally, it was suggested, in connection to the relation of dependency between the EU labor migrant and the employer, that the language barrier prevents migrants from being self-reliant.<sup>194</sup> Moreover, this advice, besides addressing the value of learning the Dutch language, also addressed the value of being able to access services in your own mother tongue, which is currently complicated in the Netherlands.<sup>195</sup> In response to this team’s first advice, a website was created to inform EU labor migrants about their rights and duties in several languages (workinnl.nl). EU labor migrants can also be redirected from this website to the FairWork foundation which combats and prevents modern slavery.<sup>196</sup>

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<sup>189</sup> Aanjaagteam bescherming arbeidsmigranten, “Geen Tweederangsburgers.”

<sup>190</sup> Aanjaagteam bescherming arbeidsmigranten.

<sup>191</sup> Aanjaagteam bescherming arbeidsmigranten, 55.

<sup>192</sup> Aanjaagteam bescherming arbeidsmigranten, 12.

<sup>193</sup> Aanjaagteam bescherming arbeidsmigranten, 55.

<sup>194</sup> Aanjaagteam bescherming arbeidsmigranten, “Eerste Aanbevelingen van Het Aanjaagteam Bescherming Arbeidsmigranten.”

<sup>195</sup> Aanjaagteam bescherming arbeidsmigranten, “Geen Tweederangsburgers”; Aanjaagteam bescherming arbeidsmigranten, “Eerste Aanbevelingen van Het Aanjaagteam Bescherming Arbeidsmigranten.”

<sup>196</sup> “Stichting FairWork,” FairWork, accessed May 4, 2021, <https://www.fairwork.nu/>.

## 5.2. Municipal Level: Rotterdam

At the municipal level, the two relevant policy plans reflect a local adaptation of the national policies discussed in the previous section. Specifically, the municipality of Rotterdam made a policy framework for language policy to tackle low literacy from 2019 to 2022.<sup>197</sup> Additionally, they published an action program on EU labor migration in April 2021, for the period from 2021 to 2025, in response to the national advice for the protection of EU labor migrants.<sup>198</sup> This action program aims to structurally improve the situation of EU labor migrants in the municipality of Rotterdam. Rotterdam was the first municipality to respond to the national advice, and in the document, it is explained that they want “to play a pioneering role” in the national legislative changes on this issue.<sup>199</sup>

In this program, they build on their policy for EU labor migrants, an issue they have worked on since 2007. The program has three aims: 1) creating a better understanding of the number of EU labor migrants in Rotterdam through accurate registration in the municipality, 2) normalizing the position of the EU labor migrant in Rotterdam, and 3) perpetuating livable neighborhoods for both EU labor migrants and other citizens of Rotterdam.<sup>200</sup> The definition of EU labor migrants in this document is specific: “a person between 18 and 67 years old from Middle or Eastern Europe, or from Greece, Italy, Portugal or Spain that works at least 18 hours a week, is not in the Netherlands for knowledge migration or study and has lived in the Netherlands for a maximum of 8 years.”<sup>201</sup> In this program, knowledge of the Dutch language is identified as key to improving the situation of EU labor migrants, not only because it helps migrants integrate, but also because knowledge of the Dutch language can protect EU labor migrants from exploitation as it allows them to know their rights in the Netherlands.<sup>202</sup> To improve Dutch proficiency of EU labor migrants, the municipality of Rotterdam gives them, if registered in the BRP, access to the WEB-funded language offer. They can find this offer through the municipality’s website ‘beterintaal.nu’ or through referral from district teams. Migrants who are not registered in the municipality cannot access this

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<sup>197</sup> “De Taalspiraal: Beleidskader Taal in Rotterdam 2019-2022” (Gemeente Rotterdam, March 2019).

<sup>198</sup> “Actieprogramma EU-arbeidsmigranten.”

<sup>199</sup> “Actieprogramma EU-arbeidsmigranten,” 5.

<sup>200</sup> “Actieprogramma EU-arbeidsmigranten,” 10.

<sup>201</sup> “Actieprogramma EU-arbeidsmigranten,” 10.

<sup>202</sup> “Actieprogramma EU-arbeidsmigranten,” 30.

offer, but they can access informal language activities, such as language cafés which are organized, for example, by voluntary organizations such as Humanitas.<sup>203</sup>

This language element in the action program for EU labor migration relates closely to the language policy framework in Rotterdam which aims to tackle low literacy.<sup>204</sup> This framework is directed at many groups in Rotterdam: Dutch low-literate citizens, young Dutch citizens without basic qualification, newcomers who are required to do civic integration, ‘oldcomers’ who are still not proficient in the Dutch language, and those with a migration background who are not required to do civic integration.<sup>205</sup> Three main features form the basis of the policy plan: 1) focusing on a life course approach, targeting people of different ages in different ways, 2) connecting to the intrinsic motivation of people, and 3) providing space for innovation for how to tackle low literacy.<sup>206</sup> This is done through formal, non-formal, and informal language trajectories. Although both formal and non-formal trajectories are intentional, systematic, and organized by institutions or organizations, formal trajectories are aimed at obtaining a diploma or certificate and non-formal trajectories are not.<sup>207</sup> Informal trajectories are, for example, language buddy systems and language cafes organized in libraries.

This policy framework focuses not just on language by itself, but also on integrating language with other policy areas in four tracks: language and work, language and money, language and health, and language and development. Additionally, language is integrated in the policy areas of well-being and integration; this transcends those four mentioned tracks.<sup>208</sup> With regards to the policy area ‘integration’, intra-EU immigrants are not mentioned. The policy area of well-being covers those previously mentioned informal language trajectories.<sup>209</sup> The work done at this informal level of the voluntary integration system includes the organization of language cafés in libraries, the structure of language buddies offered by volunteer organizations, and language classes taught by volunteers. As described earlier, the informal language trajectories are aimed at

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<sup>203</sup> “Actieprogramma EU-arbeidsmigranten,” 30.

<sup>204</sup> “De Taalspiraal,” 8.

<sup>205</sup> “De Taalspiraal,” 10.

<sup>206</sup> “De Taalspiraal,” 15–16.

<sup>207</sup> “De Taalspiraal,” 12.

<sup>208</sup> “De Taalspiraal,” 20.

<sup>209</sup> “De Taalspiraal,” 20.



improving language proficiency without working towards a diploma or certificate. Moreover, the educational practices in these informal language trajectories are more related to the social aspect, such as language cafes where people can use Dutch to communicate with others. Such informal, local, bottom-up initiatives can be funded through formal funds, such as WEB and ‘Tel mee met Taal’, but also through other funds, such as the Oranje Fonds which funds buddy-projects.<sup>210</sup>

This structure of formal, non-formal, and informal language trajectories, funding, and policy, shows the tools that are available to provide language courses to intra-EU immigrants. Rotterdam is at the forefront of these policy initiatives; they were the first municipality to form a policy plan in response to the advice of the governmental team on EU labor migrants.<sup>211</sup> It is vital to remember that the system of decentralization, and the lack of clear national policy for this group (besides the new recommendation, which is just advice for now), means that the provisions for the group of intra-EU immigrants can differ per municipality. This overview, however, clearly shows the role of the low literacy approach, using both WEB and Tel mee met Taal, and the role of the informal language trajectories, in providing a voluntary integration system for intra-EU immigrants.

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<sup>210</sup> “Maatjes Gezocht | Oranje Fonds,” accessed May 11, 2021, <https://www.oranjefonds.nl/maatjes-gezocht>.

<sup>211</sup> “Actieprogramma EU-arbeidsmigranten.”

## **Chapter 6: Results III – Perspectives of Policy Advisors and Educators**

In addition to this overview of policies and educational practices, six interviews were conducted to investigate the perceptions of three policy advisors and three educators on these policies and practices. As said before, one policy advisor worked at KIS and MOVISIE (policy advisor 1). The other policy advisors worked at a municipality (policy advisors 2 and 3). As for the educators, two worked for language schools offering formal language trajectories to, among others, intra-EU immigrants (educators 1 and 2), and the third worked as a volunteer (educator 3). The interviews were conducted and analyzed in Dutch. English translations, made by me, and the Dutch original are provided in-text. The footnotes indicate which interviewees mentioned certain topics.

After coding the interviews, four overarching themes were identified: integration, intra-EU immigrants, and both the processes and policies in relation to language and integration. The full thematic map of analysis is presented in Figure 1.

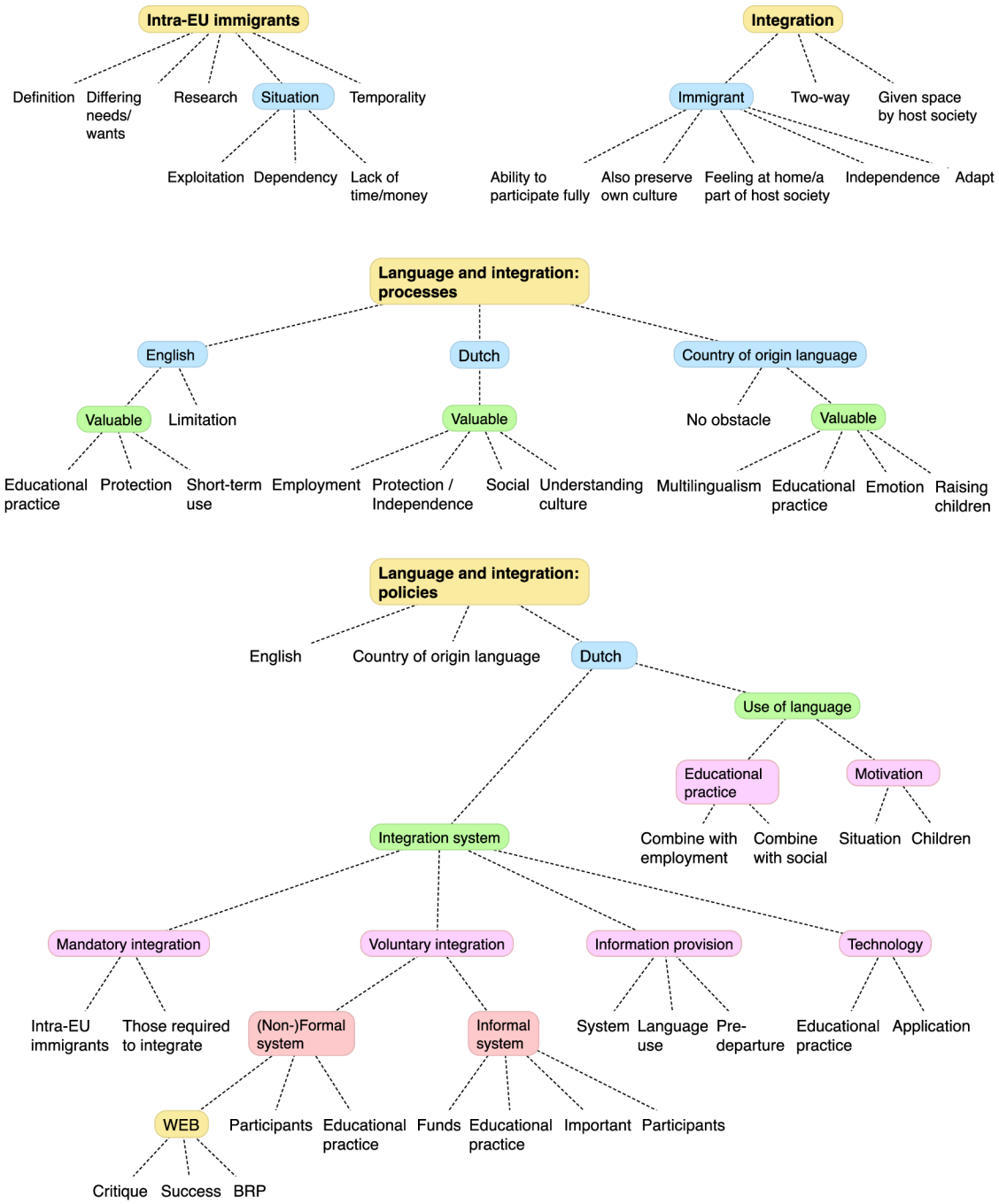


Figure 1. Thematic map of analysis

These results will be discussed, per overarching theme, below. For these discussions the relevant sections of the thematic map will be presented again for clarity.

6.1. Intra-EU Immigrants

The theme of intra-EU immigrants concerns how intra-EU immigrants in the Netherlands were described throughout the interviews. The relevant part of the thematic map of analysis is presented in Figure 2.

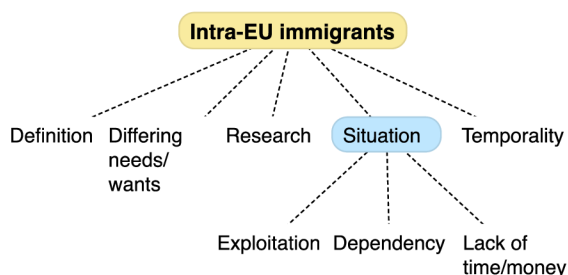


Figure 2. Thematic map of analysis: 'intra-EU immigrants'

Interviewees were not asked who they thought intra-EU immigrants were, but throughout the interviews, implicit ideas surfaced. Specifically, there was a difference between the educators and policy advisors in terms of their focus on *who* intra-EU immigrants are (code: 'definition'). Whereas the educators discussed a diverse range of intra-EU immigrants, including also, for example, students, the policy advisors focused on 'EU labor migrants'. All interviewees discussed how the group of intra-EU immigrants and/or EU labor migrants is very diverse with different wants and needs (code: 'differing needs/wants'). For example, policy advisor 1 said:

What you do see, is a difference between, yes, say, the singles, say people that still have family there [in the country of origin], that come here to work and in between commute back and forth, and the ones who have say settled here.

(‘Wat je wel ziet is een onderscheid tussen ja zeg maar de de de alleenstaanden, zeg maar mensen die dus nog steeds familie daar hebben, hier echt komen werken en tussendoor pendelen en teruggaan, en degenen die zeg maar zich hier gesettled hebben’).<sup>212</sup>

Similarly, educator 2 made a division of intra-EU immigrants into students, labor migrants, and those moving to the Netherlands to join their family, discussing how students and labor migrants often wait before learning Dutch, whilst those migrating for family often start within months of arrival.<sup>213</sup> In relation to this, two policy advisors indicated the need for additional research on the diversity of intra-EU immigrants' wants and needs to make good, suitable policy (code: 'research').<sup>214</sup>

<sup>212</sup> Policy advisor 1 (policy advisor at KIS and MOVISIE), interview by author, 8 April 2021.

<sup>213</sup> Educator 2 (teacher at Alfa College), interview by author, 8 april 2021.

<sup>214</sup> Policy advisor 2 (policy advisor integration at Dutch municipality), interview by author, 13 April 2021; Policy advisor 3 (policy advisor language and integration at Dutch municipality), interview by author, 14 April 2021.

Additionally, the bad situation of some of these intra-EU immigrants was discussed (theme: ‘situation’). This was specifically connected to the group of EU labor migrants and the lack of time/money they have because of the long days they make (code: ‘lack of time/money’),<sup>215</sup> how they are exploited (code: ‘exploitation’),<sup>216</sup> and how they cannot undertake action to prevent this exploitation because of the relation of dependency between worker and employer (code: ‘dependency’).<sup>217</sup> Lastly, policy advisors also discussed the temporariness of EU labor migrants’ stay in the Netherlands (code: ‘temporality’). Both policy advisors 2 and 3 assumed that EU labor migrants were in the Netherlands temporarily:

You have to stay realistic, you cannot expect heaven and earth from them, because they are here in the end to work a lot and to in the end also return [to their country of origin].

(‘Ja je moet toch realistisch blijven, je kan niet hemel en aarde van ze verwachten, want ze komen toch hier om ontzettend veel te werken en om uiteindelijk ook weer een keer terug te keren’).<sup>218</sup>

However, policy advisor 3 did say that life-events, such as having children or an economic crisis, can make labor migrants realize that they want to stay here. Then they will also invest in learning the language. This was also expressed by policy advisor 1, who was even more adamant that this temporariness, against immigrant’s and host society’s expectations, often turns into permanency.

## 6.2. Integration

Interviewees also discussed what integration is, as described by the theme ‘integration’. The relevant selection of the thematic map of analysis is presented in Figure 3.

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<sup>215</sup> Policy advisor 1; Educator 2.

<sup>216</sup> Policy advisor 1; Policy advisor 2; Policy advisor 3; Educator 2.

<sup>217</sup> Policy advisor 2; Policy advisor 3; Educator 2.

<sup>218</sup> Policy advisor 2.

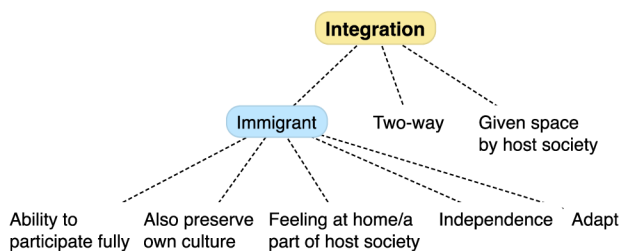


Figure 3. Thematic map of analysis: 'integration'

When discussing integration, most interviewees focused on what constitutes integration for the immigrant (theme: 'immigrant'). First, all interviewees saw an immigrant's ability to participate fully as an important sign of successful integration (code: 'ability to participate fully'). Second, policy advisors 1 and 3 argued that integration also includes the preservation of an immigrant's own culture, because this has additional value (code: 'also preserve own culture'). Third, five interviewees mentioned that to be integrated, an immigrant should feel at home and a part of society (code: 'feeling at home/a part of host society').<sup>219</sup> Fourth, two interviewees argued that an important factor of integration was immigrant's independence in society (code: 'independence').<sup>220</sup> Lastly, two interviewees said that integration meant adaptation to Dutch norms and culture (code: 'adapt').<sup>221</sup>

Besides this, interviewees also mentioned that for immigrants to integrate, the host society should provide them space to do so (code: 'given space by host society').<sup>222</sup> Interviewees mentioned how the host society plays a role by not just allowing immigrants to integrate, but also by accepting them:

That they [the immigrants] do not feel like a stranger or a hostile person but that they think how nice I am accepted here.

(‘Dat zij [de immigranten] zich niet als een vreemde of vijandige gevoeld worden maar dat ze denken wat leuk ik word hier goed opgenomen’).<sup>223</sup>

<sup>219</sup> Policy advisor 1; Policy advisor 3; Educator 1 (Dutch teacher at private language school), interview by author, 1 April 2021; Educator 2; Educator 3 (volunteer Dutch teacher), interview by author, 14 April 2021.

<sup>220</sup> Policy advisor 1; Policy advisor 3.

<sup>221</sup> Policy advisor 1; Educator 3.

<sup>222</sup> Policy advisor 1; Policy advisor 3; Educator 2; Educator 3.

<sup>223</sup> Policy advisor 1.

Furthermore, two policy advisors also referred to the two-way process of integration, describing that integration happens between immigrants and the host society, instead of immigrants integrating *into* the host society (code: ‘two-way’).<sup>224</sup>

### 6.3. Language and Integration: Processes

A large part of the interviews concerned the relation between language and integration. Interviewees specifically discussed the relation between the use of a certain language and integration processes of intra-EU immigrants. Figure 4 presents the relevant part of the thematic map of analysis.

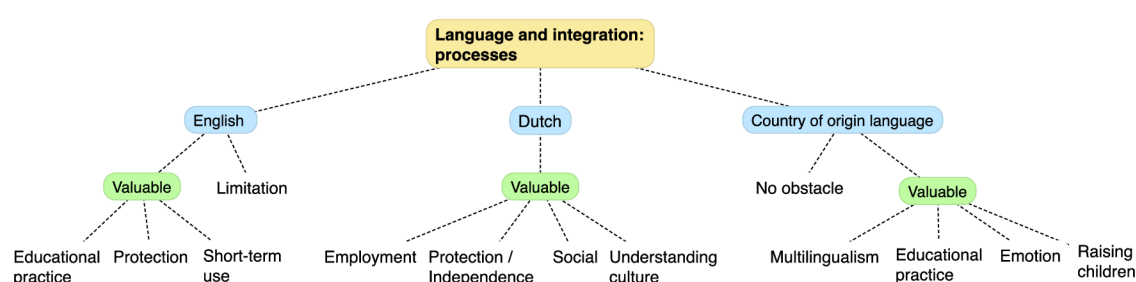


Figure 4. Thematic map of analysis: ‘language and integration’

Interviewees discussed this relation for three languages: English, Dutch, and the country-of-origin language. Interviewees had mixed feelings about whether English (theme: ‘English’) helped intra-EU immigrants integrate (theme: ‘valuable’) or if it had negative effects on immigrant integration (code: ‘limitation’). Although two interviewees thought this language was solely a valuable addition,<sup>225</sup> three felt it was a double-edged sword, with both value and negative sides,<sup>226</sup> and one interviewee only saw the negative effects of knowing English for intra-EU immigrant integration.<sup>227</sup> Interviewees thought knowing the English language would be valuable for several reasons. All educators thought it was a useful tool in Dutch language classes, because of its function as a lingua franca (code: ‘educational practice’). Three interviewees felt the English language had great short-term benefits, allowing immigrants to function in Dutch society upon arrival (code: ‘short-term

<sup>224</sup> Policy advisor 1; Policy advisor 3.

<sup>225</sup> Policy advisor 2; Educator 3.

<sup>226</sup> Policy advisor 3; Educator 1; Educator 2.

<sup>227</sup> Policy advisor 1.

use’).<sup>228</sup> Lastly, one policy advisor thought it could help protect intra-EU immigrants from exploitation because it would allow immigrants to inform themselves about Dutch legislation and rules, as Dutch government websites are published only in Dutch and English (code: ‘protection’).<sup>229</sup> Interviewees also mentioned that the English language could hinder integration of intra-EU immigrants.<sup>230</sup> Specifically, all argued that immigrants had less incentive to learn Dutch if they knew English.

Interviewees also discussed the relation between the use of Dutch and intra-EU immigrant integration processes in the Netherlands (theme: ‘Dutch’). All interviewees thought that using Dutch was beneficial to intra-EU immigrant integration (theme: ‘valuable’), but they mentioned different reasons as to why. All of them argued knowing Dutch helps immigrants get (better) jobs (code: ‘employment’). Two policy advisors thought that if immigrants know Dutch, they can protect themselves and become more independent (code: ‘protection/independence’).<sup>231</sup> Additionally, several interviewees argued that being able to speak Dutch can improve an immigrant’s social network in the Netherlands (code: ‘social’),<sup>232</sup> for example by allowing them to speak to Dutch colleagues during the coffee break at work,<sup>233</sup> or parents at their children’s school.<sup>234</sup> Lastly, three interviewees thought learning and using the Dutch language helps immigrants understand the Dutch culture (code: ‘understanding culture’).<sup>235</sup>

Besides English and Dutch, interviewees also discussed the relation between the use of the country-of-origin language (CO-language) and intra-EU immigrant integration processes. Two educators argued that the use of the CO-language does not limit an immigrant’s integration (code: ‘no obstacle’).<sup>236</sup> The importance of opportunities to bring Dutch into practice, regardless of the amount of CO-language use, was emphasized by educator 1. Educator 2 argued it is only natural to continue using the CO-language:

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<sup>228</sup> Policy advisor 3; Educator 2; Educator 3.

<sup>229</sup> Policy advisor 2.

<sup>230</sup> Policy advisor 1; Policy advisor 3; Educator 1; Educator 2.

<sup>231</sup> Policy advisor 2; Policy advisor 3.

<sup>232</sup> Policy advisor 1; Policy advisor 3; Educator 1; Educator 2.

<sup>233</sup> Educator 1.

<sup>234</sup> Educator 2.

<sup>235</sup> Policy advisor 1; Policy advisor 2; Educator 3.

<sup>236</sup> Educator 1; Educator 2.



I think you do that automatically and that that does not have to be a limitation at all. And I also tell them [students], if they have children, always, to use their own language with their children.

(‘Ik denk dat dat dat je dat automatisch doet en dat dat opzich helemaal niet dat dat een belemmering hoeft te zijn. En ik zeg zeker ook als ze kinderen hebben altijd dat ze hun eigen taal met de kinderen moeten spreken’).

This last sentence also shows that this educator thought about the value of the CO-language for intra-EU immigrants (theme: ‘valuable’) when they are raising children (code: ‘raising children’). Policy advisor 3 also mentioned that research has shown it is better to raise your child in your own mother tongue, because once children speak one language well, it is easier for them to learn a second language. Besides the value of the CO-language for raising children, interviewees emphasized other reasons why this language was valuable. Policy advisor 1 emphasized the benefits of multilingualism for the integration of intra-EU immigrants (code: ‘multilingualism’). He argued language makes “that you understand both worlds better and with that can also place into context why things are different here” (‘dat je dus beide werelden beter begrijpt en daarmee dus ook een goed beter een context kan plaatsen van waarom hier dingen anders zijn.’). Lastly, Educator 3 emphasized immigrants need the CO-language to express their emotions (code: ‘emotion’) and she argued the CO-language is a great tool in class when there are multiple students with the same CO-language (code: ‘educational practice’):

For us that is sometimes also a benefit, if one says oh I don’t understand, then I tell the other: you understand, can you explain in Polish? So that is an advantage for us, it is how you help each other.

(‘voor ons is dat soms ook een voordeel, he, als de een zegt van oh ik begrijp het niet, dan zeg ik tegen de ander: jij begrijpt het, kun je het even voorleggen in het Pools? Dus dat is voor ons ook wel weer een voordeel, zo help je elkaar’).

#### 6.4. Language and Integration: Policies

Besides this, interviewees also discussed their views of the language-based integration policies in the Netherlands. Figure 5 presents the thematic map of analysis for this theme.

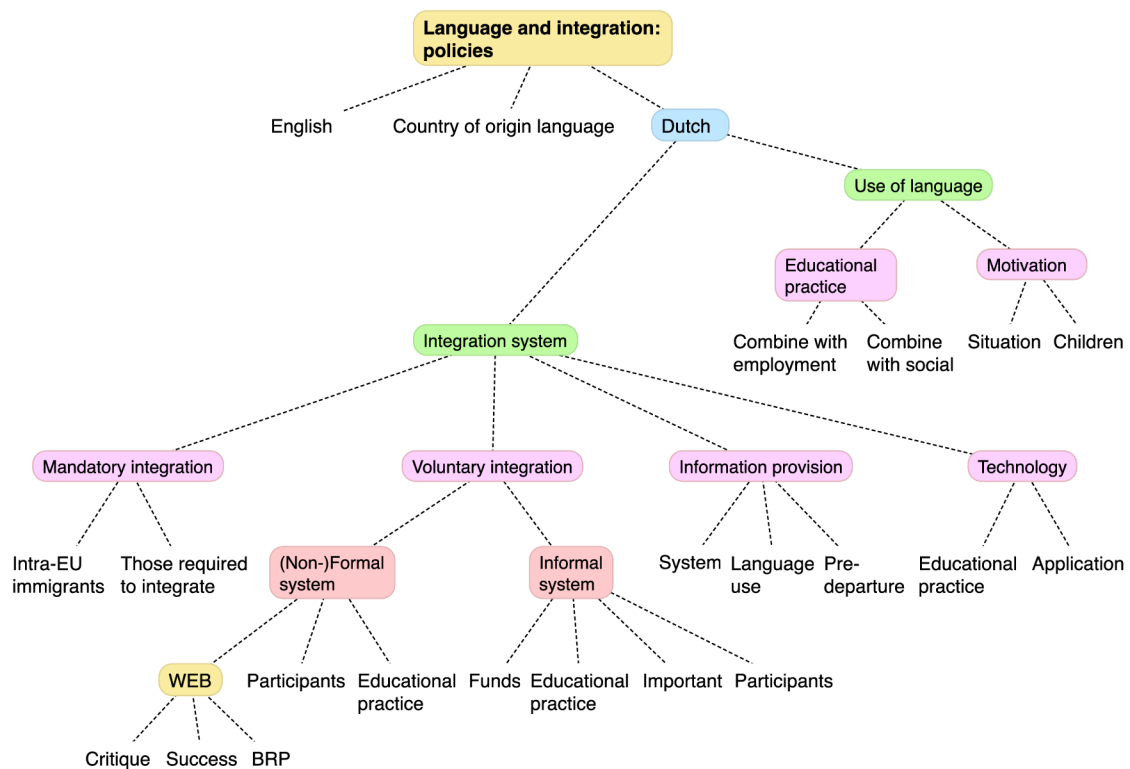


Figure 5. Thematic map of analysis: 'language and integration'

First, besides a discussion of the use of Dutch in the language-based integration policy, policy surrounding English and the CO-language was also briefly discussed. Policy advisor 3 wondered whether a language course in English, instead of Dutch, might be popular among EU labor immigrants, because this lingua franca can be used all over Europe (code: 'English'). The use of the CO-language in information provision from the government/municipality was mentioned several times (code: 'country-of-origin language').<sup>237</sup> Policy advisors 2 and 3 mentioned several times that a political decision was made in the Netherlands to refrain from the use of languages other than Dutch and English in official communication. They said that this makes reaching immigrants more difficult:

The government [should be] approachable and accessible and findable, which is complicated when you do not communicate in all languages.

(‘dat de overheid toenaderbaar en toegankelijk en vindbaar is, wat dus nogal moeilijk is wanneer je niet in alle talen communiceert’)<sup>238</sup>

<sup>237</sup> Policy advisor 2; Policy advisor 3; Educator 3.

<sup>238</sup> Policy advisor 2.

Educator 3, probably unaware of this political decision, suggested that letters should be sent to immigrants in their own language, to make information more accessible to them.

#### 6.4.1. The Use of Dutch

Besides these comments about the CO-language and English, the conversation mainly centered around the use of Dutch in policy (theme: ‘Dutch’). There were two separate underlying themes to this discussion: *how* the Dutch language can be used in these policies (theme: ‘use of language’), and the way in which the Dutch integration system works (theme: ‘integration system’). Figure 6 presents the theme ‘use of language’ which will be discussed first.

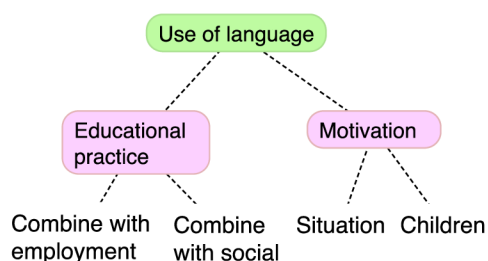


Figure 6. Thematic map of analysis: 'use of language'

Within the discussion of the use of the Dutch language in integration policies for intra-EU immigrants, interviewees discussed the educational practice (theme: ‘educational practice’). Four interviewees argued that for language learning to take its full effect, language classes should be combined with a form of employment (code: ‘combine with employment’).<sup>239</sup> They related this to the new Dutch civic integration law which emphasizes dual trajectories combining language learning and a form of work. For similar reasons, interviewees emphasized the importance combining language learning with a social aspect (code: ‘combine with social’).<sup>240</sup> As they argued, the classes, language cafés, and language buddy systems help immigrants get out of isolation and meet other people in the Netherlands.<sup>241</sup>

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<sup>239</sup> Policy advisor 1; Policy advisor 3; Educator 1; Educator 3.

<sup>240</sup> Policy advisor 1; Policy advisor 3; Educator 1; Educator 3.

<sup>241</sup> Policy advisor 1; Educator 2.

Several interviewees also mentioned the importance of considering an intra-EU immigrant's motivation before creating and implementing policies (theme: 'motivation'). Interviewees discussed how an intra-EU immigrant's situation was an indicator of their motivation (code: 'situation').<sup>242</sup> As educator 3 said: "once people *want to integrate*, yes, we can do much more, we have many more opportunities" ('zodra men het *ook wil om te integreren*, ja kunnen wij veel meer, hebben we ook veel meer mogelijkheden').<sup>243</sup> In terms of intra-EU immigrants' situation and their motivation, policy advisor 1 distinguished between immigrants who return to their family in the country of origin every few months (without an interest in language acquisition), and immigrants who have started to build a life in the Netherlands who want to learn Dutch. Policy advisor 3 also discussed specific situations when intrinsic motivation appears like having children, work, or living arrangements. Five interviewees mentioned a particular situation which improved immigrant's motivation to learn the language: when they had children (code: 'children').<sup>244</sup> Therefore, policy advisors argued that when intra-EU immigrants have children, they should be informed about the available language courses, through the consultation office,<sup>245</sup> the school,<sup>246</sup> or when registering the child at the municipality.<sup>247</sup>

#### 6.4.2. The Dutch Language-Based Integration System

Moreover, interviewees also discussed the way in which the Dutch integration system works (theme: 'integration system'). Figure 7 provides an overview of this theme.

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<sup>242</sup> Policy advisor 1; Policy advisor 2; Policy advisor 3; Educator 3.

<sup>243</sup> Emphasis added.

<sup>244</sup> Policy advisor 1; Policy advisor 2; Policy advisor 3; Educator 2; Educator 3.

<sup>245</sup> Policy advisor 3.

<sup>246</sup> Policy advisor 1.

<sup>247</sup> Policy advisor 2.

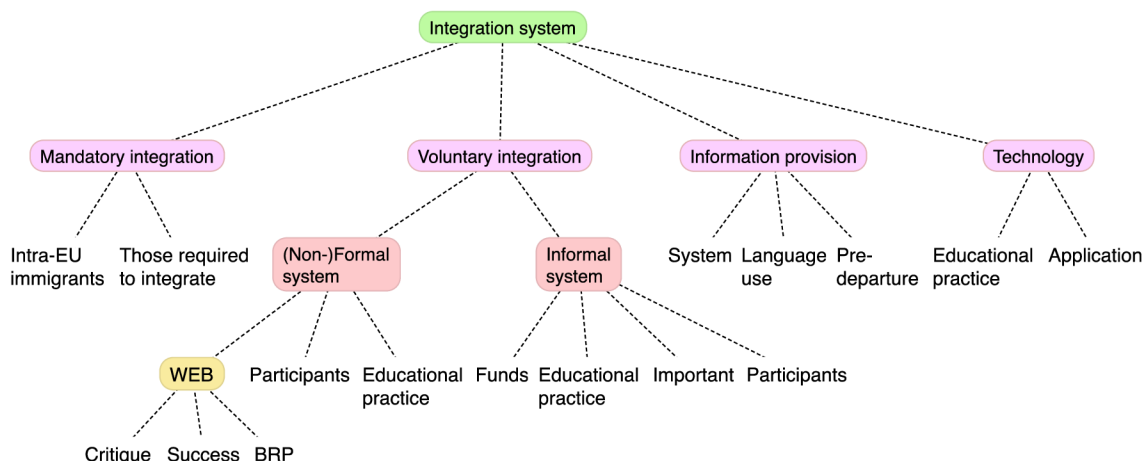


Figure 7. Thematic map of analysis: 'integration system'

First, policy advisors discussed the mandatory integration system (theme: 'mandatory integration'). They all felt this system was good for the target group (e.g., refugees) (code: 'those required to integrate'). When asked whether they felt such a system could also, hypothetically, be beneficial for intra-EU immigrants, policy advisors were hesitant (code: 'intra-EU immigrants'). Although some thought it could be beneficial as an external motivator to learn Dutch,<sup>248</sup> all policy advisors agreed that this system would not work for intra-EU immigrants because these immigrants were deemed to lack the time<sup>249</sup> and motivation<sup>250</sup> to do so. Additionally, policy advisor 3 argued it was undesirable to put up such barriers as intra-EU immigrants are beneficial to the economy.

The voluntary integration system was a bigger subject of discussion in the interviews. These discussions revolved around two themes: the non-formal and formal language trajectories (theme: '(non-)formal system'), and the informal language trajectories (theme: 'informal system'). All interviewees discussed the (non-)formal language trajectories in some way and, in doing so, all of them discussed the WEB-funding (theme: 'WEB'). Most interviewees deemed WEB a success as it offers immigrants the chance to learn Dutch, and improve their situation in the Netherlands, without the financial burden (code: 'success').<sup>251</sup> However, issues with the system were

<sup>248</sup> Policy advisor 1; Policy advisor 3.

<sup>249</sup> Policy advisor 1; Policy advisor 2.

<sup>250</sup> Policy advisor 3.

<sup>251</sup> Policy advisor 2; Policy advisor 3; Educator 1; Educator 2.

also mentioned (code: ‘critique’).<sup>252</sup> First, policy advisor 1 and educator 1 mentioned that the system of decentralization in the Netherlands has led to big discrepancies regarding what municipalities offer to intra-EU immigrants. Second, educator 3 argued that municipalities should stimulate companies employing many intra-EU immigrant employees to allocate time for following language trajectories. Moreover, policy advisor 2 mentioned that EU labor migrants often do not register in the BRP. As registration in the BRP is a precondition for participation in WEB-funded trajectories, they often do not have access to these language trajectories (code: ‘BRP’). This was not specifically critique of the WEB-funding. Rather this policy advisor argued EU labor migrants should be better informed so that they register in the BRP. Besides WEB, all educators also discussed the educational practice in (non-)formal trajectories (code: ‘educational practice’). They explained that they focused on the participants wants and needs, but also on achieving a common goal: a diploma. Thus, in these courses all elements of language learning – reading, writing, listening, speaking – were included. In terms of the participants in these trajectories (code: ‘participants’), educator 1 said they are “very happy and grateful that this opportunity exists, and that the municipality pays for it” (‘dan is eigenlijk iedereen ook wel blij en dankbaar dat de mogelijkheid er is dat de gemeente dat financiert, ja’).

The informal language trajectories were also discussed. The importance of this system was addressed by almost all interviewees (code: ‘important’).<sup>253</sup> For example, policy advisor 1 argued that buddy projects mean that “you do not just learn the language but also learn about the culture of country” (‘die maatjesprojecten hebben ook een voordeel dat je niet alleen de taal leert maar dat je dus ook de cultuur van een land leert kennen’), thereby fostering a greater intercultural awareness. Relatedly, both policy advisor 1 and 2 argued that such informal systems deserve more attention, although policy advisor 2 added that it needs to be investigated whether intra-EU immigrants want this as well. Similarly, educator 1 saw language cafés as a good place to bring the learned language into practice with others and educator 2 argued it provides intra-EU immigrants with a place to build a social network. The important role of funds in financing these informal language trajectories was mentioned by both policy advisor 1 and educator 3 (code: ‘funds’). Lastly, within the topic of informal language trajectories, educator 3

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<sup>252</sup> Policy advisor 1; Policy advisor 3; Educator 1; Educator 3.

<sup>253</sup> Policy advisor 1; Policy advisor 2; Policy advisor 3; Educator 2; Educator 3.

described how the educational practice in her one-on-one sessions was very tailored to the individual (code: ‘educational practice’):

We hear specifically from the coordinator what someone wants to learn. Some want purely communication, others also want to read, write.

(‘Dan krijgen we specifiek van de coördinator door eh wat men graag wil leren. Hè de een wil puur communicatie, de ander wil ook lezen, wil ook schrijven.’)

Moreover, she also described how these classes are important for the intra-EU immigrant (code: ‘participant’), not just because they learn the language, but also because a relation of trust is built between the volunteer and the students:

I think it’s a question of trust, it usually goes through us first, I have even been with people to the municipality. So, besides the classes you also go with them there. I have been with the people [participants] to the bank, to help them with that.

(‘dat is denk ik weer een kwestie van vertrouwen, het gaat dan eerst meestal via ons, hè, ik ben zelf wel met mensen naar de gemeente geweest. Dus naast de lessen ga je daar ook mee. Ik ben wel met de mensen naar een bank geweest, hè, om ze te helpen daarbij’)

So, as she said, the work as a volunteer “is a different function than just for language, yes” (‘het is een andere functie dan alleen voor taal. Dat is zo’) because it also involves a trust relation between the volunteer and students.

In addition to discussing the mandatory and voluntary integration systems, interviewees also talked about information provision to intra-EU immigrants (theme: ‘information provision’) and the use of technology (theme: ‘technology’) in this integration system. In terms of information provision, interviewees discussed the difficulty of creating awareness among intra-EU immigrants about the available language trajectories (code: ‘system’).<sup>254</sup> Whilst policy advisors emphasized the work to be done to enhance this awareness,<sup>255</sup> educators exemplified the lack of information provision by saying that intra-EU immigrants find the language courses through word of mouth, not via the municipality.<sup>256</sup> In addition to this, educators mentioned that the official language use in letters from the government and municipalities is a big issue, because immigrants

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<sup>254</sup> Policy advisor 2; Policy advisor 3; Educator 2; Educator 3.

<sup>255</sup> Policy advisor 2; Policy advisor 3.

<sup>256</sup> Educator 2; Educator 3.

often do not understand these letters (code: ‘language use’).<sup>257</sup> Lastly, within the theme of information provision, policy advisor 1 pleaded that the immigrants should be provided with a clearer idea of what it means to move to another country and told about the importance of learning the host-country language (code: ‘pre-departure’). Moving to the theme of technology, he argued in relation to this that the government should perhaps invest in an application through which immigrants can learn the Dutch language before moving to the Netherlands (code: ‘application’). The use of an application to support immigrant integration was also mentioned by policy advisor 3 who suggested an application could be made for all newcomers with answers to their questions. Additionally, educators also mentioned the use of technology in their classes (code: ‘educational practice’), by addressing the importance of a language method with a good online component,<sup>258</sup> and the use of translation applications when there is no common language in class.<sup>259</sup>

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<sup>257</sup> Educator 2; Educator 3.

<sup>258</sup> Educator 1.

<sup>259</sup> Educator 3.



## Chapter 7: Discussion I – Policies and Perspectives: Steering Intra-EU Immigrant Integration

This thesis set out to answer two questions; this chapter covers the first question, by discussing how Dutch language-based integration policies, and the related educational practices, are aimed at steering the integration processes of intra-EU immigrants and how policy advisors and educators perceived these policies and educational practices. In analyzing the documents and interviews, the importance of how reality, and problem situations, are named and framed became apparent. Scholten previously argued that, when investigating how problem framing makes sense of problem situations, one should look at how groups involved are named ('who'), how the problem is explained ('why'), and what solutions are suggested ('how').<sup>260</sup> Therefore, to answer the first research question and its sub question, three elements should be discussed: *which* intra-EU immigrants are the subject of the policies ('who'), the aim of the policies in terms of integration ('why'), and the role of learning the Dutch language and the educational practice to achieve these aims ('how').

### 7.1. Intra-EU Immigrants in the Netherlands ('Who')

Interestingly, both the policies and interviewed policy advisors focused on a specific group of intra-EU immigrants: EU labor migrants. This shows that, as was previously found, a migration discourse is attached to intra-European movement in the Netherlands.<sup>261</sup> This migration discourse shows that a boundary of foreignness exists, and is maintained, within Dutch society between EU labor migrants (outsiders) and Dutch citizens (insiders), even though both are EU citizens. Moreover, the discursive focus in Dutch policy is not just on EU migrants, but on EU *labor* migrants. This means that not only a social boundary based on foreignness is created and maintained with the label 'migrants', but a difference is also constructed between different intra-EU immigrants, focusing specifically on those who come to the Netherlands for work. The diversity of intra-EU migrants was emphasized not just by the European Commission who stated that the free movement of people "also concerns other categories [than workers] such as

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<sup>260</sup> Framing Immigrant Integration, 36.

<sup>261</sup> van Ostaijen, "Worlds between Words," 84.

students, pensioners, and EU citizens in general”,<sup>262</sup> but also by academics,<sup>263</sup> and by the interviewed educators. This shows not just that the group of intra-EU immigrants is diverse, but also that there is a diverse group of intra-EU immigrants participating in Dutch language classes.

Despite this diversity, the policy documents and interviewed policy advisors focused on EU labor migrants and informing specifically those intra-EU immigrants about the available Dutch language trajectories. This shows a clear differentiation between those who are deemed to *require* special attention (EU labor migrants), and the other intra-EU immigrants. This implies that EU labor migrants are seen as more ‘different’ from Dutch citizens than other intra-EU immigrants. This relates to Klarenbeek’s discussion of how “some immigrants are seen as more ‘immigrant’ than others” in societies,<sup>264</sup> as EU labor migrants are currently perceived as more in need of integration than other intra-EU immigrants. It also relates to Yuval-Davis’ discussion of social locations, which exist at an intersection of social divisions and have “at each historical moment, [...] particular implications *vis-à-vis* the grids of power relations in society.”<sup>265</sup> Different intra-EU immigrants have different positionalities on the grid of power relations in the Netherlands, with EU labor migrants having a lower positionality than other intra-EU immigrants. The fact that EU labor migrants are differentiated from other intra-EU immigrants as the ones that require attention in policies, implies that the social boundary of foreignness between Dutch citizens (insiders) and EU labor migrants (outsiders) within Dutch society is less permeable than the social boundary of foreignness between Dutch citizens and other intra-EU immigrants. This all shows how, in addition to a social boundary of foreignness, there is also a differentiation between the perceived ‘foreignness’ of different intra-EU immigrants.

However, in addition to this, the focus is not on the broad category of EU labor migrants, but specifically on *low-skilled* labor migrants. There is much more societal concern about low-skilled EU labor migrants than other intra-EU immigrants, as

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<sup>262</sup> European Commission, “Free Movement of Workers- Achieving the Full Benefits and Potentials. COM 694.” (Brussels: EC, 2002).

<sup>263</sup> Meghan Benton and Milica Petrovic, “How Free Is Free Movement? Dynamics and Drivers of Mobility within the European Union” (Brussels: Migration Policy Institute, March 2013); Razenberg, Noordhuizen, and de Gruijter, “Recente EU-Migranten Uit Midden-, Oost-, En Zuid-Europa Aan Het Woord”; Engbersen et al., “The Intra-EU Mobility Regime.”

<sup>264</sup> “Relational Integration,” 4.

<sup>265</sup> “Belonging and the Politics of Belonging,” 199.

demonstrated in political and societal discussions.<sup>266</sup> As a Dutch politician said: “the advantages [of EU labor migration] are for the employer, the disadvantages are for society”.<sup>267</sup> While high-skilled workers, such as university professors, from other EU countries are also technically EU labor migrants, they are not the ones perceived as problematic and ‘disadvantageous’ for society. Similar tensions in society regarding low-skilled labor workers were also found in the UK where the public was more concerned about intra-EU migrants who were low-skilled labor workers than students or high-skilled labor workers.<sup>268</sup> These tensions in society, and the focus on low-skilled EU labor migrants, also showed in the policies.<sup>269</sup> Low-skilled EU labor migrants are the target of policies, because they are seen as vulnerable due to the, often, precarious situations they find themselves in, in terms of living arrangements, working hours, and relation of dependency with the employer.<sup>270</sup> This was also reiterated in interviews:

Yeah, you also hear much less beautiful things, people who come here to work in complicated circumstances, bad circumstances, bad salary. [...] People that work in the horticultural sector and have to make long days and actually don’t get much pay.

(‘Maar verder ja hoor je ook veel minder mooie dingen, mensen die hier komen werken in toch moeilijke omstandigheden, slechte woonomstandigheden, slecht salaris. [...] Mensen die in in tuinbouwsector werken en hele lange dagen moeten maken en eigenlijk niet veel betaald worden.’)<sup>271</sup>

In addition to describing EU labor migrants as ‘vulnerable’, both national and local policy documents assumed these EU labor migrants are in the Netherlands *temporarily*.<sup>272</sup> Although two policy advisors also assumed temporariness, policy advisor 1 emphasized that this temporariness often turns into permanency:

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<sup>266</sup> Hanneke Keultjes en Laurens Kok, “Meer of minder migranten uit de EU? Jetten en Segers kruisen de degens,” AD.nl, February 16, 2020, <https://www.ad.nl/politiek/meer-of-minder-migranten-uit-de-eu-jetten-en-segers-kruisen-de-degens~abd54af3/>; Peter de Graaf, “Geen Polen in het café? Dat kan zomaar niet, ook niet in De Kikker en De Tijd in Tiel,” de Volkskrant, May 7, 2018, <https://www.volkskrant.nl/gs-b76717ac>.

<sup>267</sup> Kok, “Meer of minder migranten uit de EU?”

<sup>268</sup> Anderson and Blinder, “Briefing: Who Counts as a Migrant?,” 5.

<sup>269</sup> Aanjaagteam bescherming arbeidsmigranten, “Geen Tweederangsburgers,” 3.

<sup>270</sup> Aanjaagteam bescherming arbeidsmigranten, 3; “Actieprogramma EU-arbeidsmigranten.”

<sup>271</sup> Educator 2.

<sup>272</sup> Aanjaagteam bescherming arbeidsmigranten, “Geen Tweederangsburgers”; “Actieprogramma EU-arbeidsmigranten.”

You see also that that comparison is there of them coming here to work temporarily but in the end that temporariness has become a sort of permanent temporariness and therefore they have never invested in, among other things, the language.

(‘Daar zie je toch ook wel dat die vergelijking er is van dat ze hier komen om eh tijdelijk komen om te werken maar uiteindelijk die tijdelijkheid is een soort permanente tijdelijkheid geworden en en daardoor dus nooit geïnvesteerd hebben onder andere in taal.’)

The fact that EU labor migration is not as temporary as was assumed is supported by different reports.<sup>273</sup> It has been found that approximately half of the migrants from Poland, Bulgaria, and Romania were still in the Netherlands after 10 years,<sup>274</sup> and that, in 2015, three quarters of surveyed Polish migrants who registered in the Netherlands after 2004 thought they would still live in the Netherlands in five years’ time.<sup>275</sup> Thus, it is likely that many EU labor migrants will settle permanently.

## 7.2. Intra-EU immigrant Integration in the Netherlands (‘Why’)

Besides understanding who the subjects of these policies are, it is also important to understand what the goals of these policies are for the integration of these EU labor migrants. This is related closely to the situation many low-skilled EU labor migrants live in as was just described: a relation of dependency with their employers, exploitation, long working hours, and bad living conditions. The national policy advice aims to ensure that EU labor migrants are *seen and treated* as full-fledged members of society.<sup>276</sup> Adapting this goal to a local level, the municipality of Rotterdam’s policy plan has “strong ambitions for structural solutions [i]n the interest of a livable and safe city where no one is invisible” with the hope to normalize the EU labor migrant’s position in Rotterdam.<sup>277</sup> Thus, these policies aim to counteract the wrongdoings EU labor migrants experience by

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<sup>273</sup> Razenberg, Noordhuizen, and de Gruijter, “Recente EU-Migranten Uit Midden-, Oost-, En Zuid-Europa Aan Het Woord”; Mérove Gijsberts et al., *Bouwend aan een toekomst in Nederland: de leefsituatie van Poolse migranten die zich na 2004 hebben ingeschreven* (Den Haag: Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau, 2018), <https://www.scp.nl/publicaties/publicaties/2018/04/24/bouwend-aan-een-toekomst-in-nederland>.

<sup>274</sup> Razenberg, Noordhuizen, and de Gruijter, “Recente EU-Migranten Uit Midden-, Oost-, En Zuid-Europa Aan Het Woord,” 5.

<sup>275</sup> Gijsberts et al., *Bouwend aan een toekomst in Nederland*, 61.

<sup>276</sup> Aanjaagteam bescherming arbeidsmigranten, “Geen Tweederangsburgers.”

<sup>277</sup> “Actieprogramma EU-arbeidsmigranten,” 3.

making them less vulnerable and more self-reliant.<sup>278</sup> In these aims, a relational understanding of integration can be found as the focus is on changing social boundaries in society to allow labor migrants to become full, accepted, members of society. Similarly, in the interviews, both educators and policy advisors emphasized that intra-EU migrants are integrated when they can participate fully in society and when they feel they belong in society.

Moreover, both in policies and interviews the relation of dependency between these labor migrants and their employers was discussed. Klarenbeek wrote that “relational inequality emerges where power relations constitute superior and inferior positions that generate and justify inequalities in the distributions of freedoms, resources, and welfare”.<sup>279</sup> The relation of dependency in the employment sector for EU labor migrants is a perfect example of relational inequality in society: there are superior (employers) and inferior (EU labor migrants) positions that generate inequalities in society, for example in terms of housing and labor rights. In tackling these issues, the policies tackle relational inequality in Dutch society, by emphasizing the “self-reliance of migrants”<sup>280</sup> and their independence.<sup>281</sup>

As discussed, tackling social boundaries and relational inequality was central in both policies and interviews, however, only interviewees explicitly discussed the role of Dutch citizens in this process. The policies emphasized the role of migrants and the Dutch government and municipalities, but only implicitly referred to the role of host-society citizens. For example, the national advice says EU labor migrants have to be “seen” as full-fledged members of society, which might refer to Dutch citizens’ perspective of these migrants. However, the role of Dutch citizens is never made explicit. The assumption is that by addressing the precarious situation of EU labor migrants, “the social cohesion in cities and villages will [also] be improved”.<sup>282</sup> In the interviews, however, both educators and policy advisors emphasized the role of the host society in allowing migrants to

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<sup>278</sup> Aanjaagteam bescherming arbeidsmigranten, “Geen Tweederangsburgers”; “Actieprogramma EU-arbeidsmigranten.”

<sup>279</sup> “Relational Integration,” 3.

<sup>280</sup> Aanjaagteam bescherming arbeidsmigranten, “Geen Tweederangsburgers,” 17.

<sup>281</sup> Policy advisor 1; Policy advisor 3.

<sup>282</sup> Aanjaagteam bescherming arbeidsmigranten, “Geen Tweederangsburgers,” 18.

integrate.<sup>283</sup> Furthermore, some even addressed explicitly that integration happens *between* migrants and host-society citizens, rather than migrants integrating *into* society, moving to an understanding of integration as a two-way process,<sup>284</sup> as exemplified by this quote:

If you put a Dutch citizen and a foreigner together then they learn from each other not just the language but also other customs. And I think that if you get to know the other culture that that can promote integration *from both sides* and acceptance also.

(‘Als je een Nederlandse en een buitenlandse persoon bij elkaar zou zetten dan leert dat van elkaar niet alleen de taal maar ook andere gebruiken. En ik denk dat als je de andere cultuur leert kennen dat dat ook bevorderend kan zijn voor de integratie *van beide kanten* en acceptatie eigenlijk ook.’)<sup>285</sup>

Therefore, interviewees showed more awareness of the role of ‘insiders’ in changing or maintaining social boundaries in society. Hegemonic powers can set social boundaries but citizens, by categorizing people as ‘us’ or ‘them’, play an important role in either maintaining or contesting these boundaries.<sup>286</sup> For example, two cafes in the Netherlands refused to allow speakers of Polish into their bar in 2018,<sup>287</sup> demonstrating how citizens can form a barrier to EU labor migrants’ integration. Unlike the policies, interviewees discussed how immigrants need to be *given space* by the host society.

### 7.3. Role of Learning the Dutch Language (‘How’)

Understanding both the interpretation of *which* intra-EU immigrants require attention and the goals of policies, the focus can turn to how the role of language is envisioned to support the intra-EU immigrant integration in policy. The policy documents mention language as one of the important tools for achieving the goals discussed in the previous section: improving the self-reliance of EU labor migrants and removing them from situations of exploitation.<sup>288</sup> The document about the follow-up low literacy approach

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<sup>283</sup> Policy advisor 1; Policy advisor 3; Educator 2; Educator 3.

<sup>284</sup> Klarenbeek, “Relational Integration.”

<sup>285</sup> Policy advisor 1. Emphasis added.

<sup>286</sup> Yuval-Davis, Wemyss, and Cassidy, *Bordering*, 164.

<sup>287</sup> Graaf, “Geen Polen in het café?”

<sup>288</sup> Aanjaagteam bescherming arbeidsmigranten, “Geen Tweederangsburgers”; “Actieprogramma EU-arbeidsmigranten”; “Vervolgaanpak Laaggeletterdheid 2020-2024.”

elaborates why literacy is important: “to participate in our society you need these skills [literacy]. [...] People with few of these skills have a harder time to find a paid job, run into money-issues more frequently, and more often have health issues.”<sup>289</sup> Thus, ability to use the Dutch language is linked to the socio-economic status of a diverse group of people with low levels of literacy in the Netherlands, both citizens and immigrants alike. Additionally, the policy documents on EU labor migrants also addressed the social importance of learning the Dutch language. Similarly, interviewees emphasized that knowing the Dutch language gives intra-EU immigrants more opportunities to integrate, both socio-economically, by increasing their job opportunities and independence, and socio-culturally, by increasing their ability to participate in Dutch society. Moreover, interviewees emphasized the importance of combining language learning with a form of practice, in employment or in a social setting. This relates to the new Dutch civic integration procedure, in which language learning is combined with (voluntary) employment, as this is assumed to help migrants integrate and learn the language faster.<sup>290</sup> In terms of the use of language in these policies, and the perspective of interviewees, both the language trajectories on offer, (non-)formal and informal, and the communication and information to intra-EU immigrants about these trajectories, should be discussed.

### 7.3.1. (Non-)Formal Language Trajectories

The free access to (non-)formal WEB-funded language trajectories for EU labor migrants is emphasized in policy plans aiming to steer the integration of these migrants.<sup>291</sup> These language trajectories offer diplomas that prove language skills to, for example, future employers. They focus on all elements of Dutch language learning: speaking, writing, listening, and reading, and educators indicated that participants must work hard to get the diploma. This WEB-funded offer was, generally, praised by interviewees.<sup>292</sup> As educator 2 said:

This way we offer people who do not have a high salary the chance to learn the language and improve their position by finding a job, or a better job.

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<sup>289</sup> “Vervolgaanpak Laaggeletterdheid 2020-2024.”

<sup>290</sup> “Nieuwe Wet Inburgering,” Rijksoverheid.nl (Ministerie van Algemene Zaken, July 2, 2020), <https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/actueel/nieuws/2020/07/02/nieuwe-wet-inburgering-aangenomen>.

<sup>291</sup> “Actieprogramma EU-arbeidsmigranten.”

<sup>292</sup> Policy advisor 2; Policy advisor 3; Educator 1; Educator 2.

(‘Er zijn toch ook wel veel mensen die niet een heel hoog salaris hebben en op die manier wel de kans hebben om toch de taal te leren en zo ook hun positie kunnen verbeteren dus beter werk kunnen vinden of überhaupt werk kunnen vinden.’)

However, both in policies and interviews, the discrepancies between municipalities in terms of this offer was criticized. For example, educator 1 explained that to improve language skills, students generally need to do two modules. While some municipalities provide students access to two modules at once, other municipalities first provide access to one and revisit later. In those cases, sometimes students have to wait a year before they are allowed to do the second module, at which point their newly learned language skills have dissipated. Furthermore, both policies and policy advisors discussed that to participate in WEB-funded language trajectories, participants must be registered in BRP.<sup>293</sup> Thus, to allow them to participate, EU labor migrants should be informed about registration, which means there is a need for a visible, approachable government.<sup>294</sup> Lastly, on the topic of (non-)formal language trajectories, the national advice on labor migration suggested that EU labor migrants should be able to participate in the existing Dutch mandatory integration systems,<sup>295</sup> a sentiment shared by educator 3:

They do have a job here, they have their own houses, they buy houses here, then I think, well, then that noncommittal element should be gone, that they really learn Dutch,[...] that’s something you miss a little [in the policy].

(‘Ze hebben hier wel werk, ze hebben hier echt huizen, ze kopen zelfs huizen hier, dat ik denk, nou dan mag die vrijblijvendheid soms er wel eens af dat ze ook Nederlands leren, [...] dat mis je dan wel eens een beetje.’)

However, the interviewed policy advisors saw several issues with this because EU labor migrants, generally, were deemed to lack both time and motivation. Previous reports found that language acquisition is determined by “motivation, ability, opportunity, and cost”.<sup>296</sup> Policy advisors discussed how motivation is a constraint to the use of mandatory integration systems:<sup>297</sup> although EU labor migrants building a life in the Netherlands (e.g., a family) might benefit from a mandatory system, it would not make sense for migrants

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<sup>293</sup> “Actieprogramma EU-arbeidsmigranten.”

<sup>294</sup> “Actieprogramma EU-arbeidsmigranten.”

<sup>295</sup> Aanjaagteam bescherming arbeidsmigranten, “Geen Tweederangsburgers.”

<sup>296</sup> Esser, “Migration, Language, and Integration,” 16.

<sup>297</sup> Policy advisor 1; Policy advisor 2; Policy advisor 3.



who are commuting back and forth to the country of origin.<sup>298</sup> Additionally, it was recently found that although EU labor migrants that have been in the Netherlands for a long time have a strong need to learn the language, they find it hard due to time constraints.<sup>299</sup> Thus, even if these migrants are motivated, their situation limits their possibilities. In these discussions, policy advisors emphasized that the current WEB-funded offer is good and that the focus should be on making this offer as accessible as possible for this target group.

### 7.3.2. Informal Language Trajectories

Besides (non-)formal trajectories, policies also discussed informal language trajectories. These trajectories are open to anyone and have no registration requirement. They do not lead to diplomas or certificates and focus completely on the migrants' needs. This contrasts with the pre-set structure and goals of (non-)formal language trajectories. In the language policies, reference is made to the informal trajectories, but the (non-)formal trajectories are discussed in much more detail.

In the interviews, however, both policy advisors and educators put much more emphasis on the importance of these informal language trajectories.<sup>300</sup> First, they argued that these informal options offer intra-EU migrants the chance to practice their Dutch whilst simultaneously creating a social network in the Netherlands. Second, one policy advisor argued that these informal language trajectories have the potential to foster intercultural awareness between citizens and migrants. The importance of intercultural contact was previously addressed in literature about 'interculturalism',<sup>301</sup> which "is a model of diversity management [...] designed *to develop from below* (and not to impose from above) *intercultural communications*".<sup>302</sup> The informal language trajectories are an

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<sup>298</sup> Policy advisor 1; Policy advisor 3.

<sup>299</sup> Wetenschappelijke Raad voor Regeringsbeleid (WRR), "Samenleven in Verscheidenheid: Beleid Voor de Migratiesamenleving" (Den Haag: WRR, 2020).

<sup>300</sup> Policy advisor 1; Policy advisor 2; Policy advisor 3; Educator 2; Educator 3.

<sup>301</sup> Ricard Zapata-Barrero, Tiziana Caponio, and Peter Scholten, "Theorizing the 'Local Turn' in a Multi-Level Governance Framework of Analysis: A Case Study in Immigrant Policies," *International Review of Administrative Sciences* 83, no. 2 (June 2017): 241–46, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0020852316688426>; Ricard Zapata-Barrero, "Methodological Interculturalism: Breaking down Epistemological Barriers around Diversity Management," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 42, no. 3 (February 17, 2019): 346–56, <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2019.1538527>; Tsapenko, "An Intercultural Program of Migrant Integration."

<sup>302</sup> Tsapenko, "An Intercultural Program of Migrant Integration," 458.

example of this as they 1) are organized from below by volunteers and independent organizations, and 2) foster intercultural communication between different members in society. These intercultural practices have had positive results in cities,<sup>303</sup> confirming the importance of the fact that informal language trajectories foster intercultural communication.

Third, the volunteer Dutch teacher emphasized the importance of the relation of trust between volunteers and students in these trajectories. She helped migrants find their way in society (e.g., by going to the bank with them). Besides the practical significance of this trust relation, it also has emotional significance.<sup>304</sup> In situations with heightened insecurity, like migration contexts,<sup>305</sup> people are more in need of trust.<sup>306</sup> Thus, this trust relation is very important. It cannot be said whether this trust relation also exists between teachers and students in (non-)formal trajectories. However, unlike volunteers, those teachers are contractually paid and might not have the time or opportunity to join migrants to the municipality. Thus, this might be a specific advantage of the informal trajectories.

### 7.3.3. Information and Communication

Besides *offering* these trajectories, the importance of *informing* intra-EU immigrants, specifically low-skilled EU labor migrants, about these language trajectories was emphasized in both policies and interviews. Examples of top-down initiatives to make this offer more well-known are websites that help migrants find language trajectories (e.g., taalzoeker.nl and beterintaal.nu), and a brochure for new labor migrants in the Netherlands, which is available in Dutch, English, Polish, Romanian, Spanish, and Bulgarian. Interestingly, the use of a variety of languages in this brochure is quite unique, because in 2004 the political decision was made to use only Dutch and English in information provided by the government (e.g., the municipality website).<sup>307</sup> Exceptions can be made, such as this brochure, but policy advisors described the complexity of doing

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<sup>303</sup> Tsapenko, “An Intercultural Program of Migrant Integration.”

<sup>304</sup> Bart Nooteboom, *Vertrouwen: Opening Naar Een Veranderende Wereld* (Utrecht: Uitgeverij Klement, 2017).

<sup>305</sup> Jeffrey H. Cohen and Ibrahim Sirkeci, “Migration and Insecurity: Rethinking Mobility in the Neoliberal Age,” in *After the Crisis: Anthropological Thought, Neoliberalism and the Aftermath*, ed. James G. Carrier, 1st ed., Routledge Studies in Anthropology (New York: Routledge, 2016), 96–113, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315657417>.

<sup>306</sup> Nooteboom, *Vertrouwen*, 19.

<sup>307</sup> Extra, “De Omgang Met Taaldiversiteit in de Multiculturele Samenleving.”

so.<sup>308</sup> In the interviews, it was addressed that because the CO-language of migrants is rarely used, it is more difficult to reach the migrants. Several interviewees also mentioned that the formal letters from the government to intra-EU immigrants are written in formal Dutch,<sup>309</sup> which, as educator 3 says, even Dutch citizens struggle to understand. She and another educator criticized these complicated letters and pleaded for them to be simpler, or even in the migrants' CO-language,<sup>310</sup> repeating previous pleas for more CO-language communication.<sup>311</sup>

Other ways in which the information and communication to intra-EU immigrants about language trajectories could be improved were also addressed in policies and interviews. EU labor migrants are often unaware of the existing offer, and if they are, the interviews with educators illustrated that this was through word of mouth, not through government communication. To inform these migrants better, several policy advisors suggested working with self-organizations of EU labor migrants or churches they go to, to spread information there.<sup>312</sup> The use of those networks was also included in the municipality of Rotterdam's policy plan.<sup>313</sup> Additionally, the policies convey the aim to make the government more 'approachable' by creating information points for EU labor migrants,<sup>314</sup> and allowing them to participate in the creation of policy.<sup>315</sup> Lastly, regarding information provision, one policy advisor argued that EU labor migrants should be informed pre-departure, perhaps even through an application migrants can use to learn Dutch pre-departure.<sup>316</sup> This matches a recent development in academic literature on integration, which has emphasized that there are three parties involved in immigrant integration: the receiving society, the migrant, and the migrants' home country.<sup>317</sup> The

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<sup>308</sup> Policy advisor 2; Policy advisor 3.

<sup>309</sup> Educator 2; Educator 3.

<sup>310</sup> Educator 2; Educator 3.

<sup>311</sup> Razenberg, Noordhuizen, and de Gruijter, "Recente EU-Migranten Uit Midden-, Oost-, En Zuid-Europa Aan Het Woord," 9.

<sup>312</sup> Policy advisor 2; Policy advisor 3.

<sup>313</sup> "Actieprogramma EU-arbeidsmigranten," 13–14.

<sup>314</sup> Aanjaagteam bescherming arbeidsmigranten, "Geen Tweederangsburgers," 33.

<sup>315</sup> Aanjaagteam bescherming arbeidsmigranten, 56; "Actieprogramma EU-arbeidsmigranten," 14.

<sup>316</sup> Policy advisor 1.

<sup>317</sup> Garcés-Mascareñas and Penninx, "The Concept of Integration as an Analytical Tool and as a Policy Concept."

integration process can already start in the home country, for example in language classes, or by emphasizing long-distance engagement of these immigrants with their home country.<sup>318</sup>

#### 7.4. Combining the Who, Why, and How

Having discussed the three important elements of the Dutch policy, and policy advisors' and educators' perspectives, the research questions can be answered. The first research question was: How do Dutch language-based integration policies and the related educational practices aim to steer the integration processes of intra-EU immigrants? As was shown, the policies aimed to improve the situation of specifically low-skilled EU labor migrants by using Dutch language classes as a tool to offer EU labor migrants more protection from exploitation and to normalize their position in society. In terms of educational practices, different types of language classes are offered to EU labor migrants, the top-down (non-)formal trajectories leading to diplomas or certificates, while the bottom-up informal trajectories are more focused on the specific wishes of participants and on the social aspect of language learning. In terms of *how* to do this, the policies emphasized better information provision to EU labor migrants about their options in terms of language trajectories.

In addition to clarifying the existing policies, the sub question was: How do relevant parties – policy advisors and educators – perceive these policies and educational practices? In general, interviewees were very positive about the Dutch approach to intra-EU immigration and the use of language. However, there were interesting differences in focus and interesting suggestions in addition to those in the policies. First, although policy advisors also focused on (low-skilled) EU labor migrants, educators had a much broader understanding of intra-EU immigrants, much more in line with the EU's conception of freedom of movement. Second, in terms of integration, interviewees placed much more emphasis on the role of the host society citizen in this process than the policies. Although the interviewees did not discuss this specifically in relation to the policies, it was an interesting difference in understanding, compared to the policies, about who were responsible for integration. Third, although the interviewees were positive about the offer

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<sup>318</sup> Eva Østergaard-Nielsen, "Sending Country Policies," in *Integration Processes and Policies in Europe*, ed. Blanca Garcés-Mascareñas and Rinus Penninx, IMISCOE Research Series (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2016), <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-21674-4>.

of language trajectories in the Netherlands, they did have some feedback. They emphasized the significance of informal language trajectories, much more than the policies did, and they further signaled the sometimes-lacking information provision to intra-EU immigrants. Specifically, suggestions were to offer more pre-departure information and to reconsider the language use in official communication.

## **Chapter 8: Discussion II – Language Use and Intra-EU Immigrant Integration**

This thesis also aimed to find out how intra-EU immigrants' language use related to their integration within the Netherlands, which is discussed in this chapter. Specifically, the focus was on the use, and balance, of three languages: Dutch, the immigrants' CO-language, and English. To measure integration, sense of belonging to the Netherlands and perceived discrimination were used. Additionally, the aim was to find out how these relations were envisioned by policy advisors and educators.

### **8.1. Dutch**

First, for the effect of Dutch on intra-EU immigrants' integration, an increased use of Dutch upon arrival correlated with more perceived discrimination across time. Although this seems counter-intuitive, it corroborates earlier findings.<sup>319</sup> The explanation is that host-country language proficiency provides immigrants with a better understanding, and awareness, of “discriminatory messages and stances” against their group.<sup>320</sup> Thus, this shows there is still much meaning attached to the perceived difference between Dutch citizens (insiders) and intra-EU immigrants (outsiders) in the Netherlands. Interestingly, perceived discrimination did not differ significantly between intra-EU immigrants whose use of Dutch increased, decreased, or stayed the same over time. This further supports the idea that perceived discrimination is affected by whether an immigrant understands the host-country language, not by the extent to which they use the language. Thus, “[a] common view is that mastering the dominant language is necessary for participation in society”,<sup>321</sup> but once immigrants master this language, they are more aware of the discrimination against their group in society. While immigrants expect that the host society will be more positive towards them once they learn the language, it increases their awareness of the discrimination against their group in the host-country, a contradiction that can be quite disappointing.<sup>322</sup> This could be considered and acknowledged more in policies and educational practices, which as was discussed in the previous chapter, only focus on the importance of mastering the dominant language for intra-EU immigrants.

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<sup>319</sup> Kunuroglu et al., “Motives for Turkish Return Migration from Western Europe,” 14; Di Saint Pierre, Martinovic, and De Vroome, “Return Wishes of Refugees in the Netherlands.”

<sup>320</sup> Di Saint Pierre, Martinovic, and De Vroome, “Return Wishes of Refugees in the Netherlands,” 20.

<sup>321</sup> Fuller, “Ideologies of Language, Bilingualism, and Monolingualism,” 124.

<sup>322</sup> Di Saint Pierre, Martinovic, and De Vroome, “Return Wishes of Refugees in the Netherlands,” 20.

Thus, an awareness of these effects, found not just here but also previously,<sup>323</sup> must be added to policy.

Second, the more intra-EU immigrants used the Dutch language upon arrival, the higher their sense of belonging to the Netherlands across time was. Additionally, sense of belonging differed significantly between intra-EU immigrants whose use of Dutch increased, decreased, or stayed the same over time. Specifically, sense of belonging was significantly lower when Dutch usage decreased over time, compared to unchanged or increased Dutch use, controlling for use of Dutch upon arrival. Thus, for sense of belonging, not just knowledge of the Dutch language, but also how much it was used, mattered. Interestingly, as was discussed in the previous chapter, interviewees also emphasized the importance of bringing the language into practice. These findings corroborate previous findings that the use of the host-country language heightens immigrant's sense of belonging to the host country.<sup>324</sup> This could be related to how language is an important marker of membership to the imagined community of the nation-state, as follows from the one-nation-one-language ideology.<sup>325</sup>

The results that the use of Dutch upon arrival led to more perceived discrimination and a higher sense of belonging to the Netherlands for intra-EU immigrants contradicts previous findings that a higher perceived discrimination in the host country leads to a lower sense of belonging to the host country.<sup>326</sup> Interestingly, this seemingly contradictory result was also found by di Saint Pierre, Martinovic and de Vroome who found that Dutch proficiency led to more perceived discrimination but also more identification with the host country.<sup>327</sup> For an explanation of these contradictory findings, we should turn to Kassaye, Ashur, and van Heelsum's study of the effect of perceived

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<sup>323</sup> Di Saint Pierre, Martinovic, and De Vroome, "Return Wishes of Refugees in the Netherlands."

<sup>324</sup> Amit and Bar-Lev, "Immigrants' Sense of Belonging to the Host Country"; de Vroome, Verkuyten, and Martinovic, "Host National Identification of Immigrants in the Netherlands."

<sup>325</sup> Fuller, "Ideologies of Language, Bilingualism, and Monolingualism."

<sup>326</sup> Tartakovsky, "Cultural Identities of Adolescent Immigrants"; Hellgren, "Immigrant Integration as a Two-Way Process"; Ruben G Rumbaut, "Sites of Belonging: Acculturation, Discrimination, and Ethnic Identity among Children of Immigrants," in *Discovering Successful Pathways in Children's Development: Mixed Methods in the Study of Childhood and Family Life*, ed. Thomas S. Weiner (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2005), 111–64.

<sup>327</sup> "Return Wishes of Refugees in the Netherlands."

discrimination on the sense of belonging to the Netherlands of Dutch Somalis.<sup>328</sup> Specifically, they distinguished three groups: 1) those who emphasized their belonging to the Netherlands and stressed the inaccuracy and irrelevance of the discrimination, 2) those who “experienced a complex sense of belonging” due to several intersecting variables such as employment and skin color, and 3) those without a sense of belonging because the perceived discrimination caused resentment.<sup>329</sup> This shows that there are different ways in which perceived discrimination and sense of belonging can relate. Both this study and di Saint Pierre, Martinovic, and de Vroome’s study found a similar effect of host-country language proficiency on perceived discrimination and sense of belonging. This suggests that immigrants with host-country language proficiency might fall in the first group described above: those who *understand* their group is discriminated against but at the same time, by expressing their belonging, “emphasize their “right ‘to belong’ and thus counter [the] exclusion” they experience.<sup>330</sup>

Thus, learning and using Dutch was associated with advantages and disadvantages for intra-EU immigrants. However, interviewees only discussed benefits of knowing Dutch, emphasizing an unawareness in society of these ‘side-effects’ of learning the host-country language. This is not to say that immigrants should not learn the Dutch language, but rather, that this discrimination in society should be addressed and that an increased awareness of this effect is required to help immigrants deal with this. In terms of the benefits of the Dutch language for intra-EU immigrants, all interviewees discussed the socio-economic benefits of learning the Dutch language (e.g., job opportunities), something that has been confirmed in academic studies.<sup>331</sup> Moreover, interviewees felt that knowledge of Dutch could help intra-EU immigrants build a social network in the Netherlands and become more self-reliant. Moreover, they felt it could help intra-EU immigrants understand Dutch culture better, as policy advisor 1 explains:

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<sup>328</sup> “The Relationship between Media Discourses and Experiences of Belonging: Dutch Somali Perspectives,” *Ethnicities* 16, no. 6 (December 2016): 773–97, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468796816653627>.

<sup>329</sup> Kassaye, Ashur, and van Heelsum, 787.

<sup>330</sup> Kassaye, Ashur, and van Heelsum, 784.

<sup>331</sup> Huddleston and Liebig, “Labour Market Integration of Immigrants and Their Children,” 41; Esser, “Migration, Language, and Integration”; Henrik Emilsson and Katarina Mozetič, “Intra-EU Youth Mobility, Human Capital and Career Outcomes: The Case of Young High-Skilled Latvians,” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 2019, 1–19.



If you cannot express yourself in the language, you will only scratch the surface in conversations and also only scratch the surface of the culture, because there are ehh [...] a few sayings and expressions and if you haven't made those your own from the start, you miss a part of the integration.

(‘Als jij je niet kan uitdrukken in de taal dan zul je dus altijd een beetje in de oppervlakte de gesprekken voeren maar ook de cultuur in de oppervlakte kennen, want er zijn ehh [...] een aantal gezegdes en uitdrukkingen en als je dat niet eigen hebt gemaakt vanaf het begin dan mis je toch wel een stukje van de integratie.’)

The importance of language for cultural understanding was previously emphasized in academic studies.<sup>332</sup> The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis states that our worldview is influenced by the languages we speak. This is also called linguistic relativity and means that we “cannot see the world [...] without the screen of language”.<sup>333</sup> Whilst language definitely affects our reality and shapes our thoughts, the question of how much language influences us remains.<sup>334</sup> However, the fact that interviewees saw learning the Dutch language as an important tool to understand Dutch culture means they adhered, to some extent, to the idea that language shapes our understanding of the world.

The question was how using Dutch affects the integration (i.e., the process of boundary change towards relational equality between legitimate and non-legitimate members) of intra-EU immigrants within the Netherlands. Although the positive relation between language use and sense of belonging implies that using the Dutch language helps change the process of boundary change towards relational equality between insiders and outsiders, the correlation between language use and perceived discrimination, and the lack of difference in perceived discrimination across time, shows that Dutch language use of intra-EU immigrants did not lead to a dissipation of those social boundaries of foreignness in society. Thus, although Dutch language use aided integration, it did not lead to full relational integration. Moreover, in terms of how policy advisors and educators envisioned this relation between Dutch language use and intra-EU immigrant integration, they were solely positive, repeating the sentiment in national policies across

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<sup>332</sup> Milton J. Bennett, “How Not to Be a Fluent Fool: Understanding the Cultural Dimension of Language,” *New Ways in Teaching Culture*, 1997, 16–21; Basel Al-Sheikh Hussein, “The Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis Today,” *Theory and Practice in Language Studies* 2, no. 3 (March 1, 2012): 642–46, <https://doi.org/10.4304/tpls.2.3.417-429>.

<sup>333</sup> Hussein, “English for Specific Purposes in Spanish Higher Education Settings,” 643.

<sup>334</sup> Hussein, 645.

the EU that learning the national language is essential for immigrant integration.<sup>335</sup> However, the policies and these interviews lacked awareness of how language use can affect the perceived discrimination of intra-EU immigrants. These results show the need to further address the discrimination against intra-EU immigrants in Dutch society.

## 8.2. CO-language

To investigate how using the CO-language affects the integration of intra-EU immigrants within the Netherlands, CO-language TV and newspaper exposure were used as measures of CO-language use. Interestingly, CO-language use did not affect immigrant's sense of belonging to the Netherlands, contradicting ideas in society that CO-language use can be harmful to immigrants' integration.<sup>336</sup> Instead of considering this a sign that CO-language should be given no attention, as for example Esser did,<sup>337</sup> it should be taken as a sign that the idea that CO-language use harms immigrant integration should be addressed. Currently, ideologies such as the monoglossic ideology, and negative attitudes towards the migrant's mother tongue, are forcing immigrants to choose between *belonging* in the country of origin, and their mother tongue and therefore their identity.<sup>338</sup> Future policy should increase awareness that this language does not harm immigrant's integration and that this language is essential for intra-EU immigrants' identity. This awareness could reduce discrimination in society and thereby improve relational integration.

CO-language media exposure did significantly relate to perceived discrimination; although more CO-language TV exposure at baseline correlated with higher perceived discrimination, more CO-language newspaper exposure at baseline correlated with lower perceived discrimination. This difference was likely caused by confounding variables which were not included in this study. Newspaper readership is correlated with variables like income, age, and educational level.<sup>339</sup> Therefore, CO-language newspaper exposure is potentially correlated with educational level or income which perhaps affected

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<sup>335</sup> Extra, Spotti, and Avermaet, *Language Testing, Migration, and Citizenship*; Scholten, *Framing Immigrant Integration*.

<sup>336</sup> "A Migrant's Mother Tongue -- a Language with No Value?"; "Why Immigrants in U.S. Avoid Speaking Their Native Language"; Fuller, "Ideologies of Language, Bilingualism, and Monolingualism."

<sup>337</sup> "Migration, Language, and Integration."

<sup>338</sup> Valentine, Sporton, and Bang Nielsen, "Language Use on the Move"; Joseph, *Language and Identity*; Extra, "De Omgang Met Taaldiversiteit in de Multiculturele Samenleving."

<sup>339</sup> Edward C Malthouse and Bobby J Calder, "Demographics of Newspaper Readership: Predictors and Patterns of U.S. Consumption," *Journal of Media Business Studies* 3, no. 1 (2006): 1–18.

perceived discrimination. Watching the TV, however, has not been found to correlate with such variables. Future studies should further investigate this contradictory effect of CO-language media exposure at baseline on perceived discrimination.

Additionally, it was found that decreased CO-language TV exposure over time led to significantly less perceived discrimination than when TV exposure increased or stayed the same, controlling for CO-language TV exposure at baseline. Similarly, an increase in CO-language newspaper exposure led to an increase in perceived discrimination. Both these results emphasize that Dutch society is more welcoming to migrants whose use of the CO-language decreases, and thus that the migrant's mother tongue is not valued highly in Dutch society. This indicates a lack of relational integration as much meaning is attached to perceived difference between insiders and outsiders.

Thus, except for the outlier result of CO-language newspaper exposure, these results suggest that while there was no significant relation between CO-language use and immigrants' sense of belonging, CO-language use did significantly affect immigrants' acceptance in Dutch society from the host-society citizens' side, and thereby also relational integration in Dutch society. This could be evidence of the presence of monoglossic ideologies, ideologies that "value monolingualism over multilingualism for both individuals and society",<sup>340</sup> in the Netherlands. This corroborates findings by the Dutch scientific council for government policy that many assume multilingualism harms the acquisition of the Dutch language.<sup>341</sup> Moreover, the negative response to the use of the Polish language can also be found in Dutch media, for example in an article about two café owners that closed their cafes to Polish speakers.<sup>342</sup> According to Guus Extra, the languages of non-natives "in Dutch society are invariably perceived in terms of language problems and language deficiency and rarely, if ever, in terms of opportunity and cultural enrichment."<sup>343</sup> He explained that Dutch citizens, for their cultural identity, turn to feelings of 'gezelligheid' (coziness) and Dutch food, but not to the Dutch language. This

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<sup>340</sup> Fuller, "Ideologies of Language, Bilingualism, and Monolingualism," 123; Ricento, "Language Policy, Ideology, and Attitudes in English-Dominant Countries."

<sup>341</sup> Wetenschappelijke Raad voor Regeringsbeleid (WRR), "Samenleven in Verscheidenheid."

<sup>342</sup> Graaf, "Geen Polen in het café?"

<sup>343</sup> "De Omgang Met Taaldiversiteit in de Multiculturele Samenleving," 27.

might explain why Dutch citizens find it difficult to understand the value of a migrants' mother tongue for migrants' cultural identity.<sup>344</sup>

The policies, discussed in the previous chapter, did not refer to immigrants' CO-languages negatively, but also did not address the cultural value of these languages or the opportunities they may offer. Interviewees, however, did discuss these values. None of the interviewees thought CO-language use negatively affected intra-EU immigrant integration. Most emphasized that, regardless of whether the CO-language is used, the knowledge and use of Dutch was most essential for their integration. Moreover, some interviewees discussed the CO-language's personal value for intra-EU immigrants. For example, an educator mentioned the emotional value of this language, something that has been confirmed in previous studies.<sup>345</sup> Moreover, like academic studies have found,<sup>346</sup> two interviewees discussed the value of the CO-language when raising children. It has been found that "a good command of the mother tongue makes it easier to learn a new language, because general language skills and already learned concepts can be 'transferred' to the second language."<sup>347</sup> Lastly, a policy advisor emphasized the importance of the CO-language in a multilingual context. He argued that in understanding both the CO-language and Dutch, the differences between the cultures and societies can be better understood and accepted.<sup>348</sup>

The question was how using the CO-language affected the integration of intra-EU immigrants within the Netherlands. CO-language use did not relate to immigrants' sense of belonging, implying that CO-language use did not affect intra-EU immigrant integration within the Netherlands at all. However, CO-language use did correlate with higher perceived discrimination suggesting that there is a lack of relational integration in Dutch society, especially from the side of the host-country citizens. Moreover, in terms of how policy advisors and educators envisioned this relation, they emphasized how the

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<sup>344</sup> Extra, 29.

<sup>345</sup> Valentine, Sporton, and Bang Nielsen, "Language Use on the Move"; Gill Valentine, Deborah Sporton, and Katrine Bang Nielsen, "Identities and Belonging: A Study of Somali Refugee and Asylum Seekers Living in the UK and Denmark," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 27, no. 2 (April 2009): 234–50, <https://doi.org/10.1068/d3407>.

<sup>346</sup> Wolfgang Butzkamm, "We Only Learn Language Once. The Role of the Mother Tongue in FL Classrooms: Death of a Dogma," *The Language Learning Journal* 28, no. 1 (December 2003): 29–39, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09571730385200181>; Wetenschappelijke Raad voor Regeringsbeleid (WRR), "Samenleven in Verscheidenheid," 211.

<sup>347</sup> Wetenschappelijke Raad voor Regeringsbeleid (WRR), "Samenleven in Verscheidenheid," 211.

<sup>348</sup> Policy advisor 1.

use of the CO-language did not matter if effort was put into learning and using the Dutch language. Additionally, they emphasized the emotional and cultural value of the CO-language for immigrants. This value is not reflected in current policies, which emphasize the use of the Dutch language and offer limited communication in languages other than Dutch or English.<sup>349</sup> Future policies should focus more on addressing the stigmatization of CO-language use and the monoglossic ideologies in Dutch society.

### 8.3. English

In terms of the effect of self-rated English proficiency at baseline on intra-EU immigrant integration, it was found that lower English proficiency at baseline corresponded to a higher sense of belonging of intra-EU immigrants to the Netherlands. Although this may seem counter intuitive, as English has become increasingly essential in daily life,<sup>350</sup> some interviewees predicted this and speculated that it relates to the lack of incentive to learn Dutch when knowing English.<sup>351</sup> Similarly, Esser wrote that “knowledge of English [...] undermines the acquisition of all other L2s.”<sup>352</sup> Simultaneously, higher English proficiency at baseline corresponded with lower perceived discrimination. This might be because those with higher English proficiency do not learn Dutch, and therefore do not understand they are discriminated against,<sup>353</sup> as was discussed previously. Moreover, the fact that English is a high-prestige language,<sup>354</sup> could also lead to more acceptance of people with high English proficiency, and thus less perceived discrimination. The interviewees also discussed the value of English for intra-EU immigrants in the Netherlands, specifically for their independence, for communication with host-society citizens on the short-term, and as an asset in Dutch language class. This emphasizes how English is becoming more essential in daily life.<sup>355</sup> Relatedly, one policy advisor

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<sup>349</sup> Extra, “De Omgang Met Taaldiversiteit in de Multiculturele Samenleving,” 23.

<sup>350</sup> Fuller, “English in the German-Speaking World.”

<sup>351</sup> Policy advisor 1; Policy advisor 3; Educator 2; Educator 3.

<sup>352</sup> “Migration, Language, and Integration,” 25.

<sup>353</sup> Kunuroglu et al., “Motives for Turkish Return Migration from Western Europe”; Di Saint Pierre, Martinovic, and De Vroome, “Return Wishes of Refugees in the Netherlands.”

<sup>354</sup> Extra, “De Omgang Met Taaldiversiteit in de Multiculturele Samenleving”; Gerritsen et al., “A Reconsideration of the Status of English in the Netherlands within the Kachruvian Three Circles Model”; Esser, “Migration, Language, and Integration”; Capstick, *Language and Migration*, 112.

<sup>355</sup> Fuller, “English in the German-Speaking World”; Edwards, *English in the Netherlands*.

speculated that intra-EU immigrants might be more interested in English language classes than Dutch language classes, because they could also use English in other EU member states.<sup>356</sup>

Thus, the answer to the question of how English proficiency at baseline affects intra-EU immigrant integration is quite complex as knowledge of the English language simultaneously improved and impaired relational integration. It impaired relational integration because high English proficiency at baseline was correlated with a lower sense of belonging, probably because immigrants with knowledge of English lack an incentive to learn Dutch. As a positive relation between Dutch language use and sense of belonging was found here and in previous studies,<sup>357</sup> this might limit sense of belonging. Simultaneously, however, high English proficiency also improved relational integration, because it lowered perceived discrimination, probably due to the high prestige of the English language. In terms of how policy advisors and educators envisioned the relation between knowledge of the English language and intra-EU immigrant integration, they reflected a similar contradiction as described above, by emphasizing both the short-term values of knowing the English language, but also the long-term adverse effects related to intra-EU immigrants' incentive to learn Dutch.

#### 8.4. Multilingualism

Lastly, the aim was also to understand the way in which the balance of the use of different languages relates to intra-EU immigrant integration within the Netherlands. While no significant difference was found in sense of belonging between those who had a balanced language pattern (i.e., used both Dutch and CO-language) and those who used only Dutch, based on TV and newspaper exposure, both these groups had a significantly higher sense of belonging to the Netherlands than those who used only the CO-language. This fortifies this study's, and previous studies',<sup>358</sup> findings that there is a strong positive relation between Dutch language use and sense of belonging. Additionally, it confirms that the

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<sup>356</sup> Policy advisor 3.

<sup>357</sup> Amit and Bar-Lev, "Immigrants' Sense of Belonging to the Host Country"; de Vroome, Verkuyten, and Martinovic, "Host National Identification of Immigrants in the Netherlands."

<sup>358</sup> Amit and Bar-Lev, "Immigrants' Sense of Belonging to the Host Country"; de Vroome, Verkuyten, and Martinovic, "Host National Identification of Immigrants in the Netherlands"; Valentine, Sporton, and Bang Nielsen, "Language Use on the Move."

CO-language had no impact on intra-EU immigrants' sense of belonging, provided they also spoke the host-country language.

This has important policy implications, as it contradicts prevailing ideas in society that CO-language use limits immigrant integration.<sup>359</sup> This study's findings show that an immigrant's mother tongue is not a barrier to integration. Currently, in the Netherlands, education in the mother tongue and culture is not allowed, as it was thought to conflict with integration policy.<sup>360</sup> Such political decisions further perpetuate the idea that this language forms a barrier to immigrant's integration, a sentiment the public then also takes on. As Yuval-Davis, Wemyss, and Cassidy explained, citizens can be used to carry out the control of borders of belonging within society.<sup>361</sup> In the Netherlands, the Dutch government's stigmatization of CO-language use creates borders that are then reiterated by citizens, heightening racism and intolerance in the process. These findings demonstrate that it should be no problem for immigrants to use their CO-language, provided they also learn and use the Dutch language. Furthermore, allowing immigrants to use their CO-language, and accepting them as they are, would help improve the relational integration in society. A first step to achieving this is to use policy to create awareness of the fact that the CO-language does not harm an immigrant's integration.

English proficiency at baseline also made a significant difference for the relation between language balance and sense of belonging to the Netherlands. While the language balance mattered for immigrants with high English proficiency upon arrival, it did not matter for those with low English proficiency upon arrival. An investigation of the average sense of belonging score among the two groups showed that whilst those with low English proficiency at baseline had a high sense of belonging to the Netherlands regardless of their language balance, those with high English proficiency at baseline had a lower average sense of belonging unless their TV exposure was balanced or Dutch-only. This again emphasizes that proficiency in the English language was not beneficial for sense of belonging, and reaffirms the importance of knowing Dutch, *especially* when speaking English well.

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<sup>359</sup> "Why Immigrants in U.S. Avoid Speaking Their Native Language"; "A Migrant's Mother Tongue -- a Language with No Value?"; Fuller, "Ideologies of Language, Bilingualism, and Monolingualism."

<sup>360</sup> Extra, "De Omgang Met Taaldiversiteit in de Multiculturele Samenleving," 23.

<sup>361</sup> *Bordering*, 164.

Language balance based on TV exposure also related to intra-EU immigrant's perceived discrimination. Specifically, those with balanced TV exposure perceived significantly less discrimination than those who watched CO-language TV only. This suggests that a balanced language pattern relates to decreased levels of perceived discrimination. These findings support the benefits of multilingualism as described by an interviewee, who thought that understanding both the CO-language and the host-country language would foster a better understanding of both cultures and societies for intra-EU immigrants.<sup>362</sup> The other interviewees did not discuss multilingualism and instead emphasized the importance of Dutch. This shows a lack of awareness of the benefits of multilingualism, something that was also found previously,<sup>363</sup> and might relate to the status of the languages a multilingual speaks.<sup>364</sup>

Thus, in relation to how language balance affects intra-EU immigrant integration: these results showed both the importance of learning the Dutch language for sense of belonging to the Netherlands, especially for intra-EU immigrants with high English proficiency at baseline, and the fact that the CO-language had no negative effects on immigrants' sense of belonging, if they also used Dutch. As said before, the fact that the CO-language has *no* negative effects on integration, as found here, should become much more salient in policies and media. Additionally, as perceived discrimination was found to be significantly lower for those with balanced language patterns, policies might also benefit from more awareness of the benefits of multilingualism. For example, in Catalonia, a bilingualism normalization policy was found to improve social cohesion.<sup>365</sup> Thus, all in all, the results in terms of multilingualism confirmed the importance of learning Dutch for intra-EU immigrants, and simultaneously provided evidence for the benefits of multilingualism, and the fact that CO-language use does not have to harm relational integration, provided immigrants learn the Dutch language and host-society citizens become more open to CO-language use.

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<sup>362</sup> Policy advisor 1.

<sup>363</sup> Jaworska and Themistocleous, "Public Discourses on Multilingualism in the UK."

<sup>364</sup> Piller, "Naturalization Language Testing and Its Basis in Ideologies of National Identity and Citizenship," 26.

<sup>365</sup> Michael Newman, Mireia Trenchs-Parera, and Shukhan Ng, "Normalizing Bilingualism: The Effects of the Catalan Linguistic Normalization Policy One Generation After," *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 12, no. 3 (June 2008): 306–33, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9841.2008.00369.x>.



### 8.5. Limitations of the Study

Some limitations of this study must be discussed before moving to the conclusion. First, the quantitative data included data from Bulgarian, Polish, and Spanish citizens. This means the results are not representative for all intra-EU migrants. Moreover, the dataset overrepresented women, and underrepresented the youngest cohorts. Furthermore, although perceived discrimination during wave 1 did not differ much between participants that participated in all four waves and participants that dropped out at some point, the sense of belonging of those who participated in all four waves ( $M=3.257$ ,  $SD=0.882$ ) was higher than that of those who dropped out ( $M=3.161$ ,  $SD=1.001$ ). Thus, the data, in terms of sense of belonging, was somewhat selective. Lastly, the use of a pre-existing dataset meant that the way in which the questions were asked could not be changed, resulting in the use of media exposure measures as predictors of CO-language use and language balance.

For the qualitative analysis, the limited number of interviewees means that the results must be understood as specific to these six individuals. Moreover, interviewees were not asked about their ideas of who intra-EU immigrants are; given the implicit differences between policy advisors and educators, and the interesting discourse in policies, this is a lack of the study. Future studies could include such questions to further investigate this avenue. Lastly, coding and analysis was done by one researcher, making this a personal interpretation of the interviews.

Additionally, the study did not consider the intersectionality of identity. Other variables such as gender, age, and race could have impacted intra-EU immigrant integration. This is something future studies could investigate. Furthermore, due to time constraints, there was no data from the Dutch citizens' perspective. In this study, the perspective of intra-EU immigrants in terms of perceived discrimination and sense of belonging were taken as measures of relational integration. Future studies could include the perspective of Dutch citizens.

## **Conclusion**

This study aimed to investigate the institutional and inter-subjective level of the relation between language use and intra-EU immigrants' relational integration in Dutch society. To investigate the institutional level of relational integration, the language-based integration policies for intra-EU immigrants in the Netherlands were investigated, and interviews were conducted to gauge both policy advisors' and educators' perceptions of these policies. To investigate the inter-subjective level of relational integration, immigrants' language use and integration processes in the Netherlands were investigated by analyzing existing NIS2NL data, and by investigating policy advisors' and educators' perspectives of these relations.

First, at the institutional level, the Dutch policy was found to be aimed at steering the integration of low-skilled EU labor migrants. Specifically, by providing EU labor migrants access to, and information about, the available Dutch language trajectories, the policies aimed to make those EU labor migrants self-reliant, independent full-fledged members of society. Thus, it was found that the policies were aware of, and actively addressed, existing boundaries of foreignness between insiders and outsiders in Dutch society. In the interviews, policy advisors also focused on EU labor migrants, but educators had a broader understanding of who intra-EU immigrants were. Additionally, in contrast to the policies, the role of Dutch citizens in the process of integration was emphasized in the interviews. Thus, the interviews, more so than the policies, showed an understanding of integration as a two-way process. Lastly, although interviewees were positive about the existing Dutch language trajectories, they emphasized that communication about these options to intra-EU immigrants could be improved.

Second, at the inter-subjective level of relational integration, different languages related differently to intra-EU immigrant's integration. In terms of sense of belonging, although learning and using Dutch improved intra-EU immigrant's sense of belonging to the Netherlands, CO-language use did not affect sense of belonging, and knowledge of English limited sense of belonging. Simultaneously, both Dutch and CO-language use were found to heighten perceived discrimination, whilst knowledge of English and multilingualism lowered perceived discrimination. The benefits of multilingualism were also emphasized by a policy advisor. Furthermore, policy advisors and educators emphasized the importance of learning and using the Dutch language for intra-EU immigrant integration, the emotional and cultural value of the CO-language for intra-EU

immigrants, and both the short-term benefits and long-term disadvantages of knowing English.

These results could and should be used when creating future policies, using language, for intra-EU immigrants in the Netherlands. Policies should address the stigmatization of CO-language use in Dutch society by creating awareness about the fact that an intra-EU immigrants' CO-language is essential for their cultural identity and that using this language does not limit integration. Currently, CO-language use leads to higher perceived discrimination because host-society citizens are not accepting of CO-language use. This should be addressed in policies by addressing the value of multilingualism and the mother tongue *in addition to* the value of the host-society language.

All in all, this study uncovered not just how Dutch policies and related educational practices are used to steer intra-EU immigrant integration, but also how the use of different languages was related to intra-EU immigrants' relational integration in the Netherlands at the inter-subjective level. Future studies should continue these investigations, by doing similar studies in different EU member states, by considering the host-society citizens' perspective, by considering sense of belonging to the EU, and by including other variables (e.g., gender, age, income) that could be mediating variables. Furthermore, the fact that multilingualism was found to lower perceived discrimination requires further investigation. Due to the use of media exposure as predictor of language balance, the question is whether the same would be found if the language balance variable was based on self-rated daily language use. If this relation still exists then, it should be investigated how exactly this relation works, for example by interviewing intra-EU migrants.

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## Appendix A

Number of successful responses to NIS2NL survey per nationality, per wave.

TABLE 12. Number of successful responses per wave per nationality, including response rate per wave and percentage of approachable respondents from previous wave

Respondent	Wave			
	1	2	3	4
Polish	1768	828	490	346
Turkish	921	422	265	208
Bulgarian	790	358	204	160
Spanish	1329	649	375	282
Total <i>N</i>	4808	2257	1334	996
<i>N</i> male/female	2240/2586	994/1263	556/778	411/583
Response rate (%)	32.2	58.7	68.2	76.5
Approachable from previous wave (%)	-	81.5	88.5	97.6

*Source:* Marcel Lubbers et al., “The New Immigrant Survey – The Netherlands (NIS2NL). The Codebook of a Four Wave Panel Study.” (NWO-Middengroot, 2018), file number 420-004.



## Appendix B

*N* per category of ANOVAs

TABLE 13. *N* per category for ANOVA analyses

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Sense of Belonging</b>	<b>Perceived discrimination</b>
<b>Dutch language change</b>	Less	95	91
	The same	250	206
	More	350	302
	<i>Total n</i>	<i>695</i>	<i>599</i>
<b>CO-language TV exposure change</b>	Less	162	131
	The same	354	317
	More	177	150
	<i>Total n</i>	<i>693</i>	<i>598</i>
<b>CO-language newspaper exposure change</b>	Less	177	157
	The same	283	234
	More	233	207
	<i>Total n</i>	<i>693</i>	<i>598</i>
<b>Self-rated English proficiency at baseline</b>	Not at all	71	56
	Not well	95	90
	Well	243	212
	Very well	282	239
	<i>Total n</i>	<i>691</i>	<i>597</i>
<b>Language balance (TV exposure)</b>	CO	248	240
	Dutch	154	144
	Balance	201	192
	<i>Total n</i>	<i>603</i>	<i>576</i>
<b>Language balance (newspaper exposure)</b>	CO	253	241
	Dutch	46	41
	Balance	222	210
	<i>Total n</i>	<i>521</i>	<i>492</i>

Table 13 continued.

<b>Variable</b>		<b>Category</b>	<b>Sense of Belonging</b>	<b>Perceived discrimination</b>
<b>Language balance (TV exposure)</b>	Good English proficiency	CO	163	158
		Dutch	122	111
		Balance	137	129
		<i>Total n</i>	<i>422</i>	<i>398</i>
	Bad English proficiency	CO	85	82
		Dutch	32	33
		Balance	62	62
<i>Total n</i>		<i>179</i>	<i>177</i>	

## Appendix C

### Informed Consent Form in Dutch and English

#### Dutch version

#### **Toestemmingsverklaring**

##### Project titel:

Language and Intra-EU Immigrant Integration in the Netherlands: Evaluating Dutch language-based integration policies and exploring the effects of language use on intra-EU immigrants' integration.

(Taal en intra-EU immigrant integratie in Nederland: Een evaluatie van Nederlands integratiebeleid op basis van taal en een exploratie van het effect van taalgebruik op de integratie van intra-EU immigranten)

##### Primair onderzoeker:

Aziza Anna-Lee Zijlstra

U leest deze toestemmingsverklaring omdat ik u heb gevraagd om mee te doen aan mijn onderzoek over taalgebruik en integratie van intra-EU immigranten in Nederland. In dit formulier zult u geïnformeerd worden over dit onderzoek zodat u een geïnformeerd besluit kan maken over of u wel of niet mee wil doen. Dit formulier bestaat uit twee onderdelen:

- Informatiebrief waarin informatie over de studie staat
- Toestemmingsformulier dat getekend kan worden indien u besluit om deel te nemen

**Introductie**

Mijn naam is Aziza Zijlstra. Ik ben een student van het masterprogramma Euroculture aan de Universiteit van Groningen en de Universiteit van Olomouc in Tsjechië. Binnen dit masterprogramma ben ik nu bezig met mijn scriptie, waarin ik onderzoek doe naar het effect van het taalgebruik van intra-EU immigranten op hun integratie in Nederland. Met deze informatiebrief wil ik u graag in meer detail informeren over het onderzoek en u uitnodigen om mee te doen aan het onderzoek. U bent uitgenodigd om mee te doen aan het onderzoek omdat u met uw ervaring mij kan helpen om deze processen beter te begrijpen. Uw deelname aan dit onderzoek is volledig vrijwillig. Als u besluit om deel te nemen, dan kunt u altijd van gedachten veranderen en uw deelname terugtrekken. Neem rustig de tijd om een beslissing over uw deelname te nemen. Als u nog vragen heeft over het onderzoek, dan zijn mijn contactgegevens aan het einde van deze informatiebrief te vinden.

**Doel van het onderzoek**

Intra-EU migratie (EU-burgers die verhuizen naar andere EU-landen) is aan het toenemen in de gehele EU. Er is ook een toename aan intra-EU migratie naar Nederland. Deze scriptie onderzoekt twee dingen: (1) op welke manier het taalgebruik van deze intra-EU immigranten een effect heeft op hun integratie in Nederland, en (2) hoe beleid en onderwijspraktijk in Nederland gebruik maken van taal om de integratie van deze immigranten te sturen. Uw ervaring met dit beleid of de onderwijspraktijken kan helpen om verschillende dingen aan het licht te brengen: (1) hoe dit beleid praktisch geïmplementeerd wordt, (2) of het beleid en/of de onderwijspraktijken als succesvol ervaren worden, en (3) of er ook ongeschreven regels zijn als het gaat over het beleid of de onderwijspraktijken. Gecombineerd met de kwantitatieve analyse van het effect van taalgebruik op de integratie van intra-EU immigranten zal dit leiden tot nieuwe inzichten over de verbanden tussen taal en integratie. Daarbij kan het ook leiden tot nieuwe ideeën over het gebruik van taal in beleid en educatie om de integratie van intra-EU immigranten te sturen.

**Procedure**

Als u besluit mee te doen aan mijn onderzoek, zal u deelnemen aan een interview met mij dat ongeveer 30-45 minuten zal duren. Dit interview zal online plaatsvinden via Zoom, Google Meet of Microsoft Teams, afhankelijk van uw voorkeur. Mochten er tijdens het interview technische problemen zijn (bijvoorbeeld met de internetconnectie), dan is het alternatief een telefonisch interview. Tijdens het interview zullen verschillende vragen gesteld worden over uw werk en uw mening over het beleid en/of de onderwijspraktijken waarbij gebruik wordt gemaakt van taal om de integratie van intra-EU immigranten te beïnvloeden. Als er vragen zijn waar u liever geen antwoord op geeft, dan kunt u dit altijd aangeven. Die vragen worden dan overgeslagen. Het volledige interview zal worden opgenomen zodat na afname van het interview een transcriptie gemaakt kan worden. De opname van het interview is vertrouwelijk, is alleen zichtbaar voor mij als onderzoeker en wordt bewaard in een versleutelde folder. De opname wordt verwijderd zodra de

transcriptie af is. De transcriptie (of onderdelen daarvan) wordt in de uiteindelijke scriptie opgenomen. Dit wordt geanonimiseerd, dus uw naam zal niet worden genoemd. U kunt op het bijgevoegde toestemmingsformulier aangeven of u toestemming geeft voor het delen van informatie zoals de naam van de organisatie waarvoor u werkt. U kunt ook aan het interview deelnemen zonder hier toestemming voor te geven.

### **Risico's en voordelen**

Er is een kans dat u persoonlijke of confidentiële informatie deelt of dat u zich oncomfortabel voelt om over bepaalde onderwerpen te praten. Het is belangrijk dat u weet dat u geen antwoord hoeft te geven op vragen die u niet wilt beantwoorden. U hoeft daarvoor geen reden te geven. Daarnaast wil ik nogmaals benadrukken dat het transcript geanonimiseerd zal worden en dat uw naam hierin dus niet genoemd zal worden.

Alhoewel deelname geen directe voordelen heeft voor u, zal uw deelname aan mijn onderzoek wel de kennis over het Nederlandse integratiebeleid op basis van taal, en gerelateerde onderwijspraktijken, vergroten. Gecombineerd met de kwantitatieve analyse van data van intra-EU immigranten zelf zal dit kunnen leiden tot belangrijke aanbevelingen wat betreft dit beleid en deze onderwijspraktijken.

### **Vertrouwelijkheid & het delen van de resultaten**

Informatie over u zal niet gedeeld worden buiten het onderzoeksteam (bestaande uit mijzelf en mijn twee begeleiders). De opnames van het interview zullen veilig bewaard worden en verwijderd worden wanneer de transcripties af zijn. De transcripties, die in de uiteindelijke onderzoeksoutput inbegrepen zullen worden, zullen geanonimiseerd. Hierbij wil ik nogmaals wijzen op de keus die u wordt aangeboden in het toestemmingsformulier: u kunt hier kiezen om wel of niet toestemming te geven voor het includeren van uw functie en/of de organisatie waarvoor u werkt. Uw deelname aan het onderzoek is hiervan niet afhankelijk. Alle documenten die gerelateerd zijn aan dit onderzoek zullen bewaard worden in een versleutelde folder. Na afloop van het onderzoek kunt u ook een kopie van de scriptie krijgen om te zien hoe uw bijdrage hierin is opgenomen, mocht u dit willen.

### **Disseminatie van het onderzoek**

Dit onderzoek zal een masterscriptie worden. De resultaten van het onderzoek kunnen verspreid worden op verschillende manieren, bijvoorbeeld in een presentatie op een conferentie, in een publicatie in een wetenschappelijk tijdschrift of in een artikel in de media. In de scriptie zal uw naam niet worden genoemd, maar (delen van) de transcriptie zullen wel bijgevoegd worden. Daarnaast kunnen uw woorden geciteerd worden in de onderzoeksoutput.

### **Het recht om te weigeren of in te trekken**

U hoeft niet deel te nemen aan het onderzoek als u dit niet wil. Tijdens het interview mag u op elk moment stoppen met uw deelname. Ook na het interview mag u nog besluiten om u toch terug te trekken uit het onderzoek. In dat geval zal ik al uw informatie (zoals de transcriptie van het interview) verwijderen.

**Contactgegevens**

In het geval van vragen of zorgen kunt u contact opnemen met de onderzoeker, Aziza Zijlstra:

Mobiel telefoonnummer: +31614963454

E-mail: [a.a.zijlstra.2@student.rug.nl](mailto:a.a.zijlstra.2@student.rug.nl)

## Toestemmingsformulier

*Vink alstublieft de juiste vakken aan*

**Ja**   **Nee**

### **Deelname aan het onderzoek**

Ik heb de informatiebrief gedateerd 15/03/2021 gelezen en begrepen. Ik heb de mogelijkheid gehad om vragen te stellen over het onderzoek en deze vragen zijn beantwoord naar mijn tevredenheid.

Ik geef vrijwillig toestemming om een deelnemer te zijn in dit onderzoek en ik begrijp dat ik kan weigeren om vragen te beantwoorden en dat ik me op elk moment kan terugtrekken uit het onderzoek, zonder een reden op te geven.

Ik begrijp dat deelname aan het onderzoek inhoudt dat ik deelneem aan een interview dat wordt opgenomen. Een transcriptie zal gemaakt worden van deze video-opname, waarna de video-opname verwijderd zal worden.

### **Gebruik van de data in de studie**

Ik begrijp dat de informatie die ik deel gebruikt zal worden in een masterscriptie, die verder gecommuniceerd zou kunnen worden naar een groter publiek (zoals bij een academische conferentie).

Ik begrijp dat de persoonlijke informatie die over mij is verzameld waarmee ik geïdentificeerd kan worden, zoals mijn naam, niet gedeeld zal worden buiten de onderzoeksgroep.

Ik begrijp dat de data die verzameld wordt tijdens het interview geciteerd kan worden in onderzoeksoutput. Dit zal geanonimiseerd worden.

Optioneel: Ik geef hierbij toestemming dat mijn functie genoemd mag worden in de onderzoeksoutput.

Optioneel: Ik geef hierbij toestemming dat de naam van de organisatie waarvoor ik werk genoemd mag worden in de onderzoeksoutput.

### **Handtekeningen**

\_\_\_\_\_  
Naam participant

\_\_\_\_\_  
Handtekening

\_\_\_\_\_  
Datum

\_\_\_\_\_  
Naam onderzoeker

\_\_\_\_\_  
Handtekening

\_\_\_\_\_  
Datum

Contactgegevens voor meer informatie: *Aziza Zijlstra*, +31614963454,  
[a.a.zijlstra.2@student.rug.nl](mailto:a.a.zijlstra.2@student.rug.nl)

English version

**Informed Consent Form**

Project title:

Language and Intra-EU Immigrant Integration in the Netherlands: Evaluating Dutch language-based integration policies and exploring the effects of language use on intra-EU immigrants' integration.

Primary investigator:

Aziza Anna-Lee Zijlstra

You are reading this informed consent form because I have asked you to participate in my study on language and integration of intra-EU immigrants in the Netherlands. In this form, you will be provided with information about this study, so that you can make an informed decision about whether you wish to participate. This informed consent form consists of two parts:

- Information sheet to share information about the study with you
- Consent form which can be signed if you choose to participate



**Introduction**

I am Aziza Zijlstra; I am a student of the master programme Euroculture at the University of Groningen and the University of Olomouc. Within this MA programme, I am now working on my MA thesis, in which I investigate the effect of intra-EU immigrants' language use on their integration in the Netherlands. With this information sheet, I would like to provide you with some more detailed information about this study and invite you to participate in the study. You have been invited to participate because your experience can contribute much to our understanding of these processes. Your participation in this research is entirely voluntary. If you choose to participate, you can change your mind during the process and withdraw your participation at any time. Please take your time to decide whether you would like to participate in the study. If you have any further questions, my contact details are provided at the end of this information sheet.

**Purpose of the research**

Intra-EU migration (EU citizens moving to other EU countries) is increasing across the EU and there has also been an increase of intra-EU migration to the Netherlands. This study investigates two things: (1) in what ways the language use of these intra-EU immigrants has an effect on their integration in the Netherlands, and (2) how certain policies and educational practices in the Netherlands are aimed at steering the integration of these immigrants using language. Your experience with these policies or related educational practices can reveal several things: (1) how these policies are practically implemented, (2) whether the policies/educational practices are perceived as successful, and (3) whether there are any unwritten rules. Combined with the analysis of the effect of language use on integration of these intra-EU immigrants, this will result in renewed understandings of the connections between language and integration of intra-EU immigrants in the Netherlands. Moreover, it could provide new ideas in terms of using language in policies and education to integrate intra-EU immigrants.

**Procedure**

If you decide to participate, you will be asked to take part in an interview with myself that will take approximately 30-45 minutes. This interview will take place online, using Zoom, Microsoft Teams, or Google Meet, depending on your preference. Should technical problems occur during the interview (for example with the internet connection), the alternative is a phone call. During the interview, you will be asked several questions about your work and your opinions about policies and education which use language to steer the integration of intra-EU immigrants. If there are questions you do not wish to answer, you can say so, and we will move on to the next question. The full interview will be recorded so that it can be transcribed after the interview has taken place. The recorded interview will be confidential, and access to the recordings will be restricted to myself. The recording will be kept safely in an encrypted folder and will be destroyed once the interview has been transcribed. The transcription (or parts of it) will be included in the final research paper, but it will be anonymised, making sure that no-one is identified by name. On the accompanying consent form, you can indicate whether you give permission

for sharing certain pieces of information: the name of the organisation you work for and the name of your job function. You can also participate in this study without agreeing to this.

### **Risks and benefits**

In terms of risks, there is a chance that you may share some personal or confidential information by chance, or that you may feel uncomfortable talking about some of the topics. You do not have to answer any questions you do not want to answer. You are not required to give a reason for that. In addition, I want to emphasize that the transcript will be anonymized.

Although participation has no direct benefit to you, your participation in my research will increase the knowledge about language-based integration policies, and related educational practices, in the Netherlands. Combined with the quantitative analysis of data of intra-EU immigrants, this could result in very important recommendations regarding these policies and practices.

### **Confidentiality & sharing the results**

Information about you will not be shared to anyone outside the research team (myself and my two supervisors). The recordings of the interviews will be kept private and will be deleted once transcripts have been made. The transcript of the interview, which will be enclosed in the final MA thesis, will be anonymized. Again, I want to point out that you have a choice in the consent form to agree or disagree with sharing your job function and/or the name of the organisation you work for. Your participation in the research does not depend on this. Any documents pertaining to this study will be kept in an encrypted folder. Once the research paper has been finalized, it is possible for you to receive a copy to see how your contributions were included.

### **Dissemination of the research**

This study will become an MA thesis. The results of this study may be presented at graduate-level conferences, published in graduate-level journals, or discussed in media outlets. In the MA thesis, you will not be identified, and no personal information will be shared, however (parts of) the transcripts will be included. Moreover, you can be anonymously quoted in the research output.

### **Right to refuse or withdraw**

You do not have to take part in this research if you do not wish to do so. You may stop participating at any time that you wish during the interview. You can also withdraw from the study at any time after the interview has finished. In that case, I will delete all the information related to you.

### **Contact details**

In case of questions, concerns, or complaints, you can contact the researcher, Aziza Zijlstra:

Mobile phone number: +31614963454; E-mail: a.a.zijlstra.2@student.rug.nl



## Appendix D

### Interview Design Educators: Dutch and English translation

#### Dutch version

#### **Introductie**

- Bedankt dat u de tijd heeft genomen om dit interview met mij te doen
- Introduceer mezelf
- Introduceer het doel van het onderzoek
  - “Met dit interview gaat u me helpen met mijn onderzoek voor mijn masterscriptie. In deze scriptie, onderzoek ik de manier waarop taal geassocieerd is met de integratie van intra-EU immigranten in Nederland. Intra-EU immigranten zijn EU-burgers die van het ene EU-land naar het andere EU-land migreren. Om de connectie tussen taal en integratie van intra-EU immigranten in Nederland te onderzoeken kijk ik naar twee dingen: het effect van het gebruik van verschillende talen op hun integratie, en de manier waarop beleid taal gebruikt om deze integratieprocessen te sturen.”
  - “Met uw ervaring kunt u veel toevoegen aan dit onderzoek”
- Toestemmingsverklaring
  - “U heeft een toestemmingsverklaring gelezen en getekend. Ik wil nogmaals herhalen dat u op elk moment mag aangeven dat u niet meer mee wilt doen aan mijn onderzoek. Het transcript van dit interview zal volledig geanonimiseerd worden in de uiteindelijke scriptie. Ook wil ik nogmaals benadrukken dat quotes uit dit interview gebruikt kunnen worden in onderzoeksoutput, zoals de scriptie maar ook presentaties. Ook deze quotes zullen geanonimiseerd worden.”
  - Benoemen of er wel of niet toestemming is gegeven voor het delen van functie/naam van organisatie in onderzoeksoutput.
- Contact
  - “U kunt altijd contact met mij opnemen na het interview als u vragen of opmerkingen heeft. U heeft mijn e-mailadres al, maar u kunt ook andere contactgegevens vinden op het formulier van geïnformeerde toestemming.”
- Introductie interview

- “Het volledige interview zal, zoals ik al eerder heb aangegeven, tussen de 30 en 45 minuten duren. Heeft u nog vragen voordat we beginnen?”
- “Als u geen vragen of opmerkingen meer heeft dan start ik nu de opname.”

**\*\*Start opname en controleer of hij opneemt\*\***

## **Interview**

### Functie van de geïnterviewde

Om dit interview te starten, zou ik u graag een aantal vragen willen stellen over uw functie als een docent Nederlands.

- Binnen welke organisatie geeft u Nederlands les?
  - Optioneel: Zou u mij iets meer kunnen vertellen over deze organisatie?
- Hoe zou u uw functie als docent Nederlands zelf omschrijven?
- Hoeveel tijd per week spendeert u aan het Nederlands lesgeven?
- Wat is de achtergrond van de mensen die uw lessen volgen?
  - Optioneel: Hoe lang zijn deze mensen over het algemeen al in Nederland wanneer ze aan deze lessen beginnen?
- Wat is de setting van de Nederlands lessen, zijn deze één-op-één of in groepsvorm?
- Welke talen gebruikt u meestal in de lessen?
- Welke methode gebruikt u in deze lessen?
- Wat, zou u zeggen, is (de focus en) het einddoel van uw lessen?
  - Optioneel als het antwoord in een andere richting gaat dan verwacht: Welke kennis van de Nederlandse taal wilt u uw studenten het liefst hebben bijgebracht in de lessen?
- Toegevoegd na 1 interview: Hoe/hoeveel betalen intra-EU immigranten voor de Nederlands lessen?

### Motivatie

- Wat zijn volgens u redenen waarom intra-EU immigranten Nederlands willen leren?
  - Optioneel: doorvragen, bijvoorbeeld of ze dit voor hun werk of juist voor hun sociale contacten doen.

### Integratie

- Voordat we verder gaan praten over taal en integratie, wilde ik u eerst vragen wat integratie volgens u betekent?
- Wat maakt volgens u integratie succesvol?

### Taalgebruik

Voor mijn studie ben ik geïnteresseerd in de relatie tussen het gebruik van verschillende talen en de integratie van deze immigranten.

- Wat is volgens u de relatie is tussen het leren van de Nederlandse taal en de integratie van intra-EU immigranten?
  - o Optioneel: Zou u in meer detail kunnen treden met een aantal voorbeelden?
- Wat is volgens u de relatie tussen het spreken of kennen van de Engelse taal en de integratie van intra-EU immigranten in Nederland?
- En wat denkt u over gebruik van hun moedertaal (de taal van hun herkomstland), welke relatie bestaat er volgens u tussen het gebruik van de moedertaal en de integratie van deze immigranten in Nederland?

### Beleid

Ondanks het feit dat intra-EU immigranten geen inburgering hoeven te doen, heeft de Nederlandse overheid wel financiering vrijgemaakt voor projecten die, gebruik makend van taal, hun integratie in Nederland ondersteunen. Het grootste voorbeeld hiervan is het “Tel mee met Taal-programma”.

- Was u al bekend met dit programma?
  - o Wanneer ja:
    - Hoe bent u ermee bekend?
    - Kent u nog andere programma’s die dit als doel hebben?
  - o Wanneer nee:
    - Geef meer uitleg van de projecten.
    - Kent u nog andere programma’s die dit als doel hebben?
- Wat vindt u ervan dat de overheid op deze manier met dit soort financiering taalcursussen voor intra-EU immigranten beschikbaar probeert te maken?
- Wat vindt u van de manier waarop de integratie van intra-EU immigranten in grote lijnen georganiseerd en gereguleerd is in Nederland?
  - o Optioneel: Hebben immigranten hier ook tegenover u hun mening over gegeven?

- Wanneer ja: Hoe denken zij over de manier waarop hun integratieproces geregeld is?
- Heeft u nog suggesties of ideeën wat betreft andere dingen die de overheid zou kunnen doen om deze immigranten te kunnen steunen in hun integratie?

### Conclusie

- Als laatste wil ik u nog vragen of er iets is wat u nog toe wil voegen aan wat we net hebben besproken?

Dat brengt ons bij het einde van mijn vragen en dan stop ik nu dus de opname.

\*\* stop opname \*\*

### **Afsluiting**

“Enorm bedankt voor het meedoen aan mijn onderzoek en het delen van uw perspectief op dit onderwerp. Als u wil kan ik u een kopie van mijn scriptie sturen wanneer deze af is, zodat u kan zien hoe uw bijdrage erin is verwerkt.”

\*\* Schrijf extra bevindingen op vlak na het einde van het interview \*\*

### English version

#### **Introduction**

- Thank you for taking the time to do this interview with me.
- Introduce myself.
- Introduce purpose of the interview.
  - “With this interview, you will be helping me with my MA thesis study, which investigates the way in which language use is associated with the integration of intra-EU immigrants in the Netherlands. Intra-EU immigrants are EU citizens that have moved from one EU country to another EU country. In my study, I am focusing specifically on the integration of intra-EU immigrants in the Netherlands. In order to investigate this, I am focusing on two things: the effect the use of different languages on their integration, and the way in which policies aim to steer integration processes using language.”

- “With your experience, you can contribute greatly to my study of these topics.”
- Informed consent.
  - “You filled in and signed the informed consent form. I just want to reiterate that you can stop participating in this study at any time. Although a transcript of this interview will be included in the final paper, this transcript will be anonymized as was clarified in the informed consent form. Moreover, I just want to repeat that quotes from this interview may be used in research outputs, but these quotes will also be anonymized.”
  - Mention whether they gave permission to share their job function/the name of the organization they work for in research output.
- Contact.
  - “You can always get in touch with me after the interview if you have any questions or concerns. You already have my e-mail address, but further contact details can also be found on the informed consent form.”
- Introduce actual interview.
  - “The full interview will take between 30 and 45 minutes.”
  - “Before we start, do you have any remaining questions?”
  - “If you have no further questions or objections, I will start the recording and we will start the interview.”

**\*\*Start recording and verifying it is recording\*\***

## **Interview**

### Function of interviewee

To start this interview, I will ask you some questions about your function as a Dutch language teacher.

- Within which organization do you teach Dutch?
  - *Optional:* Could you tell me a little bit about this organization?
- How would you describe your function as a language teacher?
- How much time a week do you spend as a Dutch language teacher?
- What is the background of people in your classes?
  - *Optional:* How long have these people been in the Netherlands when they start with the classes.



- What is the setting of these classes, are they one-on-one or in a group?
- What languages do you usually use in these classes?
- What do the classes look like in terms of content?
- What is your focus or ultimate goal of your classes?
  - *Optional if the answer goes in a different direction than expected:* What would you most like to teach your students?
- Added after one interview: How (much) do intra-EU immigrants pay for the Dutch classes?

### Motivation

- Having taught Dutch to intra-EU immigrants, what are, to your knowledge, some of the reasons intra-EU immigrants start learning Dutch?
  - *Optional:* ask further questions, for their job, for social contacts, etc.?

### Integration

- Before continuing to talk about language and integration, I first want to ask you what integration means according to you?
- What makes integration successful according to you?

### Effect language use

I am also interested in the relation between language use and the integration of these intra-EU immigrants.

- What is, in your experience, the relation between learning the Dutch language on the integration of intra-EU immigrants?
  - *Optional:* Could you elaborate with some specific examples of these effects?
- In your experience, what is the relation between speaking or knowing the English language and the integration of intra-EU immigrants in the Netherlands?
- And what about speaking and using the language of their country of origin, what relation exists between this and their integration, in your experience?

### Policies

Although intra-EU immigrants are not required to integrate, the government has set up funding, the education budget of municipalities, and programs, such as the Tel mee met Taal program, which could help their integration.

- Were you aware of these projects?
  - o *if yes*
    - What do you know about these projects?
    - Do you know any other similar projects?
  - o *if no*: explain the projects more clearly.
    - Do you know any other similar projects?
- What do you think about the way in which the government tries to support language courses for (intra-EU) immigrants with funding?
- What do you think, in general, about the way in which the integration of intra-EU immigrants is currently arranged in the Netherlands?
  - o *Optional*: Could you tell me whether you have heard from immigrants themselves about this?
    - *If yes*: Could you tell me how they think about the way in which their integration into the Netherlands is organized?
- Do you have any other suggestions/ideas with regards to what you think the government should do to support these immigrants?

### Conclusion

- Lastly, I just want to ask if there is anything that you would like to add to what we have just discussed?
- I will now stop the recording.

**\*\*stop the recording\*\***

### **Thank you & closing the interview.**

“Thank you very much for participating in my study and providing your perspective on the topic. Once I have made a transcript of this interview, I will send it to you so that you can let me know if there’s anything you feel was not reflected accurately in the transcript.”

**\*\*write additional observations made during interview\*\***

## Appendix E

### Interview Design Policy Advisors; Dutch and English Translation

#### Dutch version

#### **Introductie**

- Bedankt dat u de tijd heeft genomen om dit interview met mij te doen
- Introduceer mezelf
- Introduceer het doel van het onderzoek
  - “Met dit interview gaat u me helpen met mijn onderzoek voor mijn masterscriptie. In deze scriptie, onderzoek ik de manier waarop taal geassocieerd is met de integratie van intra-EU immigranten in Nederland. Intra-EU immigranten zijn EU-burgers die van het ene EU-land naar het andere EU-land migreren. Om de connectie tussen taal en integratie van intra-EU immigranten in Nederland te onderzoeken kijk ik naar twee dingen: het effect van het gebruik van verschillende talen op hun integratie, en de manier waarop beleid taal gebruikt om deze integratieprocessen te sturen.”
  - “Met uw ervaring kunt u veel toevoegen aan dit onderzoek”
- Toestemmingsverklaring
  - “U heeft een toestemmingsverklaring gelezen en getekend. Ik wil nogmaals herhalen dat u op elk moment mag aangeven dat u niet meer mee wilt doen aan mijn onderzoek. Het transcript van dit interview zal volledig geanonimiseerd worden in de uiteindelijke scriptie. Ook wil ik nogmaals benadrukken dat quotes uit dit interview gebruikt kunnen worden in onderzoeksoutput, zoals de scriptie maar ook presentaties. Ook deze quotes zullen geanonimiseerd worden.”
  - Benoemen of er wel of niet toestemming is gegeven voor het delen van functie/naam van organisatie in onderzoeksoutput.
- Contact
  - “U kunt altijd contact met mij opnemen na het interview als u vragen of opmerkingen heeft. U heeft mijn e-mailadres al, maar u kunt ook andere contactgegevens vinden op het formulier van geïnformeerde toestemming.”
- Introductie interview.

- “Het volledige interview zal, zoals ik al eerder heb aangegeven, tussen de 30 en 45 minuten duren. Heeft u nog vragen voordat we beginnen?”
- “Als u geen vragen of opmerkingen meer heeft dan start ik nu de opname.”

**\*\*Start opname en controleer of hij opneemt\*\***

## **Interview**

### Functie van de geïnterviewde

Om dit interview te starten, zou ik u graag een aantal vragen willen stellen over uw werk.

- Binnen welke organisatie werkt u?
  - *Optioneel:* Zou u mij iets meer kunnen vertellen over deze organisatie?
- Hoe zou u uw functie binnen deze organisatie zelf omschrijven?

### Integratie

- Voordat we verder gaan praten over taal en integratie, wilde ik u eerst vragen wat integratie volgens u betekent?
- Wat maakt volgens u integratie succesvol?

### Integratie op basis van taal

Eerst wil ik graag een aantal vragen stellen over het gebruiken van taal om de integratie van immigranten te sturen.

- Wat is, volgens u, de relatie tussen het leren, en gebruiken, van de Nederlandse taal en de integratie van (intra-EU) immigranten?
- Wat is, volgens u, de relatie tussen het spreken of kennen van de Engelse taal en de integratie van (intra-EU) immigranten in Nederland?
- En wat is, volgens u, de relatie tussen de integratie van (intra-EU) immigranten en het blijven spreken en gebruiken van de taal van hun herkomstland – vaak hun moedertaal?

### Integratiebeleid en intra-EU immigranten

Voor immigranten die niet uit de EU komen bestaat er in Nederland het inburgeringsproces. Een belangrijk onderdeel van het inburgeringsexamen is het Staatsexamen NT2.

- Wat vindt u ervan dat het staatsexamen NT2 een groot onderdeel is van het inburgeringsexamen?
- Als dit mogelijk zou zijn, wat zou u er dan van vinden als intra-EU immigranten ditzelfde proces zouden moeten doorlopen, inclusief het maken van het staatsexamen NT2?

Vanwege het beleid van de Europese Unie hoeven (en mogen) intra-EU immigranten geen inburgering te doen. Desondanks hebben overheden van EU-lidstaten wel vrijwillige integratie systemen opgezet, waarvan taalcursussen vaak een groot onderdeel zijn.

- Bent u bekend met initiatieven van de Nederlandse overheid of Nederlandse gemeentes om de integratie van intra-EU immigranten te bevorderen?
  - o *Wanneer ja:*
    - Kunt u dit toelichten?
    - *Wanneer niet het taal-specifieke beleid genoemd:* Uitleg “Tel mee met Taal-programma”.
  - o *Wanneer nee:* Uitleg geven van initiatieven. De initiatieven van de Nederlandse overheid zijn vooral gebaseerd op het financieren van projecten en taalcursussen. Daarmee kun je bijvoorbeeld denken aan het “Tel mee met Taal-programma”. Daarnaast raden ze aan gemeentes aan om hun educatiebudget te gebruiken om taalcursussen en taalhuizen te financieren.
- Wat vindt u ervan dat de overheid op deze manier met financiering taalcursussen voor intra-EU immigranten beschikbaar probeert te maken?
- Wat voor effect denkt u dat deelname aan een taalcafé of een taalhuis kan hebben voor intra-EU immigranten?
- Wat vindt u van de manier waarop de integratie van intra-EU immigranten in grote lijnen georganiseerd en geregeld is in Nederland?
- Bent u bekend met andere, non-gouvernementele, initiatieven om de integratie van intra-EU immigranten te bevorderen?
  - o *Wanneer ja:*
    - Zou u wat namen of voorbeelden kunnen geven?
    - Wat vindt u van deze initiatieven?
- Heeft u nog suggesties of ideeën wat betreft andere dingen die de overheid zou kunnen doen om deze immigranten te kunnen steunen in hun integratie?

## Conclusie

- Als laatste wil ik u nog vragen of er iets is wat u nog toe wil voegen aan wat we net hebben besproken?

Dat brengt ons bij het einde van mijn vragen en dan stop ik nu dus de opname.

\*\* stop opname \*\*

## **Afsluiting**

“Enorm bedankt voor het meedoen aan mijn onderzoek en het delen van uw perspectief op dit onderwerp. Als u wil kan ik u een kopie van mijn scriptie sturen wanneer deze af is, zodat u kan zien hoe uw bijdrage erin is verwerkt.”

\*\* Schrijf extra bevindingen op vlak na het einde van het interview \*\*

## English version

### **Introduction**

- “Thank you for taking the time to do this interview with me.”
- Introduce myself.
- Introduce purpose of the interview.
  - o “With this interview, you will be helping me with my MA thesis study, which investigates the way in which language use is associated with the integration of intra-EU immigrants in the Netherlands. Intra-EU immigrants are EU citizens that have moved from one EU country to another EU country. In my study, I am focusing specifically on the integration of intra-EU immigrants in the Netherlands. In order to investigate this, I am focusing on two things: the effect the use of different languages on their integration, and the way in which policies aim to steer integration processes using language.”
  - o “With your experience, you can contribute greatly to my study of these topics.”
- Informed consent.
  - o “You filled in and signed the informed consent form. I just want to reiterate that you can stop participating in this study at any time. Although a

transcript of this interview will be included in the final paper, this transcript will be anonymized as was clarified in the informed consent form.

Moreover, I just want to repeat that quotes from this interview may be used in research outputs, but these quotes will also be anonymized.”

- Mention whether they gave permission to share their job function/the name of the organization they work for in research output.
- Contact.
  - “You can always get in touch with me after the interview if you have any questions or concerns. You already have my e-mail address, but further contact details can also be found on the informed consent form.”
- Introduce interview.
  - “The full interview will take between 30 and 45 minutes. Before we start, do you have any remaining questions?”
  - “If you have no further questions or objections, I will start the recording.”

**\*\*Start recording and verifying it is recording\*\***

## **Interview**

### About interviewee

To start this interview, I will ask you some questions about your job.

- Within which organization do you work?
  - *Optional* : Could you tell me a little bit about this organization?
- How would you describe your function within this organization?

### Integration

- Before continuing to talk about language and integration, I first want to ask you what integration means according to you?
- What makes integration successful according to you?

### Integration based on language

First, I would like to ask some questions about using language to steer immigrant integration.

- What is, in your experience, the relation between learning, and using, the Dutch language on the integration of (intra-EU) immigrants?

- What is, in your experience, the relation between speaking or knowing the English language and the integration of (intra-EU) immigrants in the Netherlands?
- And what is, in your experience, the relation between the integration of (intra-EU) immigrants and them continuing to use the language of their country of origin – often their mother tongue?

### Integration policy and intra-EU immigrants

For immigrants that are not from the EU, the Dutch government requires a civic integration exam, which includes the Staatsexamen NT2.

- How do you feel about including this language exam in the civic integration exam?
- If it were possible, how would you feel about having intra-EU immigrants go through the same process, including the Staatsexamen NT2?

Intra-EU immigrants are not required to integrate by the Dutch government, due to EU legislation. Yet, governments of the EU have created voluntary integration systems, mostly consisting of the organization of language courses.

- Do you know of any initiatives from the Dutch government or municipalities to support the integration of intra-EU immigrants?
  - o *if yes:* could you elaborate upon those initiatives?
  - o *if no:* Explain ‘Tel mee met Taal’-program and the education budget of the municipalities.
- What do you think about the way in which the government tries to support language courses for (intra-EU) immigrants with funding?
- What effect do you think participating in language cafes and language houses could have for intra-EU immigrants?
- What do you think about the way in which the integration of intra-EU immigrants is largely organized and arranged in the Netherlands?
- Do you know of any other, non-governmental, initiatives to support the integration of intra-EU immigrants?
  - o *if yes:*
    - Could you give some examples or names?
    - What do you think about these initiatives
- Do you have any other suggestions/ideas with regards to what the government should do to support intra-EU immigrants?



### Conclusion

- Lastly, I just want to ask if there is anything that you would like to add to what we have just discussed?
- I will now stop the recording.

**\*\*stop the recording\*\***

### **Thank you & closing the interview.**

“Thank you very much for participating in my study and providing your perspective on the topic. Once I have made a transcript of this interview, I will send it to you so that you can let me know if there’s anything you feel was not reflected accurately in the transcript.”

**\*\*write additional observations made during interview\*\***