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**The dynamics of teachers' beliefs about language,
citizenship and social interaction.**

Echoes of monolingualism in Flemish classrooms.

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“De weg naar dit dorp zou ik met een eigenaardig woord mijn ‘inburgeringstraject’ kunnen noemen. Het is een plomp begrip, door ambtenaren bedacht om aan politici het gevoel te geven dat ze een beleid konden voeren, en het is innerlijk tegenstrijdig.

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Anil Ramdas, Het raadsel van de aankomst, 1996

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Part 1 - Research framework

Introduction

In the context of increasing immigration, economic crisis, globalization and terrorist threat resulting in fundamental changes in Western European societies, questions about social cohesion, identity and citizenship emerge in political and wider social debate. This research project is aimed at gaining more insight in the dynamic relationship between integration, citizenship, education and language policies. Language policies are the concretization of language ideologies and are foundational for both integration and citizenship policies on the one hand and education policies on the other hand. Education, integration and citizenship policies are also closely linked, have mutual impact and reinforce each other. Education is one of the most important institutions for socialization, having been assigned an explicit role in preparing students for active participation in their future life. And participating in education – both by students and parents – is considered an important manifestation of integration in society and conditional for economic and social participation. Teachers play a pivotal role in the socialization function of education. In this research project I will deepen our understanding of the dynamic relationship between integration, citizenship, education and language policies by looking at teachers' beliefs and the influence of these beliefs on teacher-student interaction.

Exploring the policy triangle 'integration and citizenship – education – language' will increase our understanding of the interaction between language policies and teachers' beliefs in schools with a diverse school composition regarding the migration background of the students. In addition, we want to deepen our understanding of the interaction between teachers' beliefs regarding the role of language in education and citizenship.

Part One of this dissertation consists of three chapters, starting with an elaborate outline of the research problem examined in this doctoral study. In brief, I want to unravel the interaction between monolingual education policies

in a context of increasing migration and social diversity, on the one hand, and teachers' beliefs regarding integration, citizenship and language, on the other.

The outline of my research problem revolves around five main theoretical concepts: integration, citizenship, language ideologies, language policies and teachers' beliefs. These theoretical concepts will be deconstructed in the second chapter of this first part and will be used to construct a conceptual model at the end of Chapter 2. In turn, the conceptual model will be used throughout the following chapters of this dissertation to formulate the main research questions, to guide the empirical studies (Chapters 4 to 7 in Part Two) and to interpret the findings (Chapter 8 in Part Three).

In the third chapter of Part One, the research questions, the research methodology and the research context will be discussed.

Chapter 1. Definition of the research problem

1.1 Introduction

Over the past decades, Western European societies have gone through profound changes as a result of increasing and worldwide immigration, economic crisis, globalization and terrorist threat. This social transition has led to questions about social cohesion, identity and citizenship. Against the background of these developments, it is important to gain more insight in the interplay between language policies on the one hand and integration and citizenship policies on the other hand in contemporary Western European societies. To deepen our understanding of the interaction between language, integration and citizenship policies, I have situated my research project in one particular context: the societal domain of education in Flanders, Belgium. Language, as the primary means of instruction and communication between teachers and pupils, plays an important role in education. Furthermore, education is one of the most important institutions for the socialization of children and young people, teaching them the norms, values and expectations about appropriate behaviour as members of a designated society. In these processes of socialization, a crucial role is played by teachers since they teach, guide and evaluate young children and students in direct interaction in the classroom, but also on the playground and during other activities inside and outside the school. Thus, it is pivotal to look at teachers' beliefs and the relation between teachers' beliefs and teacher-student interaction to thoroughly understand the dynamic processes between language, integration and citizenship in the societal context of education. The beliefs or mental representations a person holds about him/herself, others and the surrounding world influence to a large extent the behaviour, practices and actions of that person. Beliefs are shaped by personal experiences, but are also affected by the characteristics of the near environment and the wider social, political, cultural

and historical context in which a person lives and functions. Beliefs can be considered as the sediments of general collective experiences.

Since the 1950's Western European societies have irreversibly changed from (perceived) mono-cultural societies into 'super-diverse' (Vertovec 2007) societies. Socio-economic and socio-political developments, such as the fall of the 'Iron Curtain', processes of globalization, climate change, shifting balances of power and the continuing poverty and political instability in Africa and the Middle East have increased worldwide migration to Western Europe.

In Western Europe, since World War II, we can distinguish five, successive migration waves which have rapidly transformed these societies into multicultural, multilingual and multi-religious societies. The first wave consisted of predominantly low-skilled labour migration during the 1950's, the 1960's and the first half of the 1970's, as a result of an active migration policy conducted by Western European countries in mainly Southern Europe, Morocco and Turkey. This wave of labour migration ended in the mid 1970's, when migration was limited to family reunification, matrimonial migration, asylum claims and EU-migration (second wave). The 1980's and 1990's were characterized by continued family reunification and matrimonial migration (third wave). The fourth wave occurred in the following decade with increasing asylum migration and migration from new European Union member states (Martiniello et al. 2010). Recently, Western Europe has been confronted with a fifth migration wave. The refugee crisis, that started in 2015 and is still going on, pertains to refugees originating from war zones in the Middle East and Africa arriving on the shores of Europe.

As of 1 January 2016, the population of the European Union, consisting of 28 member states, is about 510 million people¹. In 2014, 1.9 million immigrants from third countries (countries other than EU member states) migrated to the EU-28, another 1.8 million people moved within the European

¹ ec.europa.eu/eurostat retrieved 25/11/2016

Union from one member-state to another. About 34.3 million people, living in the EU-28, were born in a third country, and 18.5 million people were born in another member state than the country they were living in. Of the 34.3 million people born in a third country, 19.8 million were citizens of another country than the 28 member states of the European Union. This means that 14.5 million people have obtained citizenship of a country of the EU-28 after migration.² These figures are summarized in table 1 below.

Table 1. Population of the European Union

Population on 1 January 2016	510 million
Immigrants from third countries (2014)	1.9 million
Migrants between member states (2014)	1.8 million
Born in a third country	34.3 million
Born in another member state	18.5 million
Citizens of a third country	34.3 million
Obtained citizenship of a member state	14.5 million

1.2 Language, integration and citizenship

At the turn of the century, Western Europe and many other parts of the world were confronted with the emergence of Islamic fundamentalist terrorism, starting with the 9/11 attacks in New York and Washington. As a result of the ever present fear of terrorism, increasing and continuing immigration, and the economic crisis at the end of the 2000's, the political and social climate with regard to multiculturalism and diversity started to change. This led to questions being debated about the meaning and function of social cohesion, about identity

² ec.europa.eu/eurostat retrieved 25/11/2016

and citizenship in political debate and within the wider society (Van Avermaet 2009; Horner 2009; Blommaert and Verschueren 1998):

- How can social cohesion between different social, ethnic, cultural and religious groups be maintained in super-diverse societies?
- In a context of increasing migration flows – with new phenomena such as transmigration or multiple migration – how can it be determined who is a member of society, temporary or permanent?
- What does it mean to be a member of society, what does citizenship mean? What are the rights and responsibilities related to citizenship in a particular society?
- These questions also became questions about national and social identity: what distinguishes a citizen of one country from a citizen of another country?

The answers of policy makers and social debate contained one common element: language (Van Avermaet 2009; Horner 2009; Milani 2008; Shohamy 2006; Blackledge and Pavlenko 2002; Blommaert and Verschueren 1998). In a context of diversity, the availability of a shared language, interpreted as the dominant or national language of the host society, is considered indispensable to enable communication between a government and its citizens on the one hand and among citizens on the other hand. The use of a common language is regarded as a key means to social participation. A similar answer to these questions was given throughout the nineteenth century, at the time of the rise of the European nation-states.

A common language, as a political and social instrument, was and is considered to resolve the difficulties of citizenship and social identity in increasingly multicultural and multilingual societies. It becomes an explicit marker of citizenship (Shohamy 2006). Language thus becomes a distinctive feature of the social identity of countries, nations or people (Blommaert and Verschueren 1991).

In the context of fundamental economic, political, and social change, and continued global migration to Western Europe, policy makers constructed a renewed language ideology regarding national identity and citizenship: a system of beliefs and ideas about the role of language in the specific cultural, social and political context of Western European societies trying to deal with the ineluctable transition into super-diverse societies (Spolsky 2004; Shohamy 2006; Woolard 1998).

The construction of language ideologies does not happen abruptly or accidentally. It is always situated in specific social, historical and political contexts (Blommaert and Verschueren 1998; Blackledge and Pavlenko 2001). Moreover, language ideologies are related to identity construction, power relations and assertion of power in societies (Pavlenko 2002; Kroskrity 2000; Gal 1998). The role of language ideologies which denote language as a foundational element of national and social identity is not a new phenomenon. With the rise of the nation states in the nineteenth century, language was instrumentalized as a marker of national identity (Blommaert and Verschueren 1998). With the transition of the Western European nation-states into super-diverse societies in the twenty-first century, these monolingual ideologies have been revitalized and, at the same time, given a specific interpretation: from “a naturalized, taken-for-granted presence” to “a ticket for permanent entry”.

The language ideology that currently dominates the migration, integration and citizenship discourses of policy makers in most Western European societies re-visits the monolingual paradigm of the nineteenth century by emphasizing the conditionality of the national or dominant language for social participation. This language ideology underlines the following tenets (Silverstein 1996; Piller 2001; Blackledge 2005; Shohamy 2006; Milani 2008, Horner 2009):

- 1) The use of a common language by all members of society is essential for social cohesion;

- 2) Social cohesion can only be guaranteed by acquiring the standard variety of that national language;
- 3) Language proficiency (in the dominant, majority language) is a condition for social participation (participation is impossible without knowledge of the common language);
- 4) Language proficiency (in the dominant, majority language) is seen as a marker for knowledge of the culture and social norms and values;
- 5) Insufficient knowledge of the common language counts as a token of disloyalty to the host society.

Language ideologies manifest themselves as the basis for the development and implementation of language policies, and language policies play a role in achieving political goals and legitimizing ideological choices (Shohamy 2006). Language ideologies are passed on by those in authority as common sense thinking, and subsequently, they are not considered by the wider society as constructed but as doxa's or popular beliefs (Bourdieu 1977). Common sense thinking also has popular roots. People in authority appeal to common sense thinking as a way of aligning themselves to the popular beliefs of the wider society.

Based on the monolingual ideology, as outlined above, new language policies were developed and incorporated in policies of sanctioned migration, mandatory integration and responsible citizenship. In many Western European countries, new immigrants have to enrol in integration courses after arrival. Typically, this consists of a language course and knowledge of the host society. Some countries have programmes, requiring immigration candidates to take a remote language test, demonstrating a basic level of proficiency in the language of the host country, before migration.

The first tenet of the current monolingual ideology, the use of a common language for purposes of social cohesion, has become an essential part of integration policies through the notion of 'active citizenship', emphasizing

immigrants' active participation and self-reliance (Odé and Walraven 2013). Present-day integration and citizenship policies in many Western European countries make use of this notion of 'active citizenship'.

Comparing the nineteenth century version of the monolingual ideology with the twenty-first century version, we see that the relation between language and citizenship has been inversed: now citizenship, being a member of a particular society, has to be demonstrated by knowledge of the national language; whereas before citizens were supposed to be proficient in the national language (Schinkel 2008). Language proficiency in the national language has become an essential part of the social identity of a European nation-state. Increasingly, knowledge of the language (and knowledge of the host society) is being turned into a prerequisite for obtaining access to the territory, a residence permit and citizenship (Pulinx and Van Avermaet 2014). Previously, proficiency in the national language was considered the result of social participation and membership of a society; now language proficiency has been turned into a condition for participation and obtaining citizenship.

In Flanders (Belgium) the significance of language as an essential marker of social identity has been stressed even more, in the light of the specific socio-political and historic context of this region. Since the Second World War, Flanders has been engaged in a process of sub-state nation building and sub-state identity construction. The Flemish region is continuously working to gain more cultural, political and financial autonomy within the Belgian state structure. Dutch is the dominant language in Flanders and the official language of the Flemish region. Hence the Dutch language has become a distinctive feature of the national identity of the sub-state Flanders (situated in the north of Belgium) and the Flemish people, as different from the French language of Wallonia (situated in the south of Belgium) and the Walloon people.

Above, I have given a more general social and historic outline of the dynamic interaction between language, integration and citizenship policies in Western Europe. In the following part of this chapter, I will continue to look into

the interplay between language, integration and citizenship, but I do so in the specific context of education.

1.3 Language and education

The revitalized monolingual ideology underlying integration and citizenship policies has highly impacted education policies and still does – as we will demonstrate in this study, most particularly so in Flanders. Education has always been one of the most important institutions for socialization. In many European countries, the education system has been assigned an explicit role in preparing students for active participation in society in later life. The tenets of the monolingual ideology have been translated to the context of education (for Flanders see e.g. policy documents: Flemish coalition agreement 2004-2009; Vandembroucke 2007; Smet 2011):

- 1) Language proficiency in the dominant or national language (the language of instruction in education) is a condition for participation in education;
- 2) The use of home language other than the dominant or national language is detrimental to achieving academic success and it leads to insufficient language proficiency in the language of instruction;
- 3) Insufficient language proficiency in the language of instruction at the start of an education trajectory needs to be remediated so that academic success can be achieved;
- 4) Parents are to a large extent responsible for the (insufficient) language proficiency in the language of instruction of their children.

It is worth mentioning, that in the 1980s and 1990s, the Flemish education system showed more openness toward home languages other than Dutch. Since the turn of the century, programmes including bilingual curricula

or curricula in home language and culture were gradually being replaced by measures such as second language immersion programmes, remedial language courses and language testing in the instruction language.

The development and implementation of a monolingual policy in education reflected the monolingual integration and citizenship policies; this was also reinforced by the Flemish results in international comparative research. Particularly, the findings of PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment, OECD) of 2006 played an important role in the policy shift regarding language and education. The PISA survey showed a high mean level of achievement in Flemish secondary education, but further analysis of the results revealed the existence of a significant performance gap between students with high SES (socio-economic status) and low SES; between students with a non-migrant and students with a migrant background; and native Dutch-speaking students and students who speak (mostly) another language at home (Jacobs 2009). Since the 2006 PISA findings, Flemish policy makers have almost exclusively focused on the gap between native Dutch-speaking students and students with a different home language. This difference in performance was explained as a 'language deficiency problem' of the students and the 'inability' of their parents to speak Dutch. In Flanders, we can note a large overlap between students with another home language than the dominant language, Dutch, on the one hand and students with a migrant background on the other hand. Policy makers focused on home language and migration background, but the explanatory potential of the socio-economic status of the students and their parents was almost completely ignored.

Despite the sole focus on language (i.e. knowledge of Dutch) in Flemish education policies in the last 15 years, the consecutive PISA-surveys of 2009, 2012 and even 2015 did not show any improvement in the performance of students with a migrant background and/or another home language than Dutch – and neither for students with low socio-economic status. The achievement gap

between the different social groups of students remained extremely high in Flanders, compared to other participating countries and regions.

Although the deficit paradigm of looking at languages and language varieties has been problematized since the 1970's (see e.g. Labov 1972a and 1972b), the Flemish policy makers have maintained the monolingual ideology as the leading principle for developing and implementing education policies: "Insufficient knowledge of the language of instruction results in low academic performance". The first reaction of the Flemish policy makers to the recently published PISA 2015 results (in December 2016), focused yet again on the language deficiency of students and parents with another home language as the main explanatory variable for the achievement gap. By stating this, the responsibility for this gap and for social inequality was located outside the education system. It was placed on the side of the students and their parents, without reflecting on possible structural or systemic problems that also could explain this gap.

The economic, political, and social change, and continued global migration characteristic of present-day Western European societies, has led to the revitalization of monolingual policies, applied to integration, citizenship and education (Van Avermaet 2009; Horner 2009; Milani 2008; Shohamy 2006; Blackledge and Pavlenko 2002; Blommaert and Verschueren 1998). We can see the interplay between language policies in these different societal domains. Findings in the education context (low academic achievement of particular social groups) lead to assumptions regarding the integration of pupils and their parents and even their citizenship. These assumptions include the following: parents are unwilling to speak Dutch at home and, as a result, they fail to provide sufficient language learning opportunities for their children. This demonstrates their unwillingness to fully integrate in Flemish society and to internalize the values of this society regarding the role of education, for example parental involvement in learning and schooling, and the importance Flemish society attributes to a successful school career.

1.4 Summary

Over the past two decades, Western European societies have gone through profound changes as a result of increasing and worldwide immigration, economic crisis and terrorist threat. This social transition has led to questions about social cohesion, identity and citizenship. Policy makers and the wider society have responded to these questions by revitalizing the 19th century monolingual paradigm at the time of the rise of the nation-states (Van Avermaet 2009; Horner 2009; Blommaert and Verschueren 1998). The monolingual ideology has not been limited to migration and citizenship policies, but it permeates the societal domain of education (Van Avermaet 2009; Horner 2009; Milani 2008; Shohamy 2006; Blackledge and Pavlenko 2002; Blommaert and Verschueren 1998).

In this doctoral study, I want to unravel the dynamic interaction between language policies, and integration and citizenship policies based on a monolingual ideology. To gain an in-depth understanding of these dynamic processes, I will look more specifically at the context of the Flemish education system, where proficiency in the Dutch language is considered a condition for participation and school success, and a monolingual education policy is seen as the most efficient policy to achieve this conditionality.

Chapter 2. Theoretical framework

2.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I explained that this doctoral study is aimed at unravelling the interaction between monolingual education policies in a context of increasing migration and social diversity, and teachers' beliefs regarding integration, citizenship and language. More specifically, I want to look at the relation between monolingual policies in education, and the intended outcomes of these policies on the one hand and the beliefs teachers hold regarding integration, citizenship and language on the other.

In this chapter, I will deconstruct the main concepts comprised in the central research question of this doctoral study: integration, citizenship, language ideologies, language policies and teachers' beliefs.

At the end of this chapter, these key concepts will be put in relation to each other and presented as the building blocks of a conceptual model underlying this doctoral study.

2.2 Integration

Socio-economic and socio-political developments, such as the fall of the 'Iron Curtain' at the end of the 20th century, the enlargement of the European Union, processes of globalization, climate change, the shifting balances of power and the continuing poverty and political instability (mainly) on the African continent have increased worldwide migration to Europe. Western European societies have irreversibly transitioned from (perceived) mono-cultural societies into apparent culturally, linguistically and religiously diverse societies. Vertovec (2007) introduced the concept of 'super-diversity', referring to

European societies as characterized by a dynamic interplay of variables among an increased number of new immigrants who have arrived over the last decades in small and scattered groups. These are immigrants with multiple origins who are connected transnationally, with different socio-economic backgrounds, and legally stratified (Vertovec 2007). Van Avermaet and Sierens (2010) do not look at 'diversity' as the result or the product of increasing migration to Western European societies, but as a dynamic process taking place in those societies. Van Avermaet and Sierens describe diversity as a multiple, dynamic and complex phenomenon, focusing on the heterogeneous interaction between different beliefs. These processes of interaction lead to new perspectives, always changing and never consolidated. Interaction takes place between individuals and between individuals and society, tradition and culture.

In the first chapter, I have described the five successive migration waves, which have contributed largely to the profound transformation of Western Europe since World War II. Since 1950, with the creation of the European Coal and Steel Community in the aftermath of the Second World War, Europe has been involved in a continuous process of growing economic and political unification. This process of unification is also referred to as the integration of the European Union. The outer borders of the European Union are being reinforced turning Europe into 'a fortress Europe' (Van Avermaet 2009), but at the same time the inner borders between member states are fading out and becoming permeable. During this process of enlargement and unification, the European Union has been promoting the development of a European identity, complementary to the national identity of its citizens (Horner 2015; Delanty and Rumford 2005).

Both of these processes – continued worldwide immigration to Western Europe and the enlargement and integration of the European Union – have had an important effect on the different nation-states across Europe (Horner 2009; Van Avermaet 2009).

On the one hand, the (illusion of) mono-cultural societies seem(s) to be lost forever with the influx of languages, cultures and religions from all over the world; on the other hand, the nation-states have been giving up even more powers and competences to the European Union. These powers were previously considered to belong to the sole sovereignty of the nation-state, e.g. the symbolic value of creating a monetary union cannot be overestimated in this respect. As pointed out by Blommaert and Verschueren (1998), the individual member states of the European Union however never completely abandoned the ideal of the sovereign nation-state and its dogma of social and linguistic homogeneity, referring to the idea that the ideal society should be as uniform and homogeneous as possible.

Together with the loss of sovereign power, the growing influx of migrants and the proliferation of terrorist violence in European cities, we can notice an increase of nationalist discourse supporting restrictive migration and citizenship policies. Certain member states are openly questioning their involvement in the European Union and even the very existence of the EU. In an historical referendum in June, 2016 the United Kingdom voted to leave the European Union and the legitimacy and democratic deficit of the EU will be an important theme in different election campaigns in Europe in 2017.

The transition into a diverse society and the feeling of loss of economic and political independence have left policy makers and the wider society in Western Europe with questions about the meaning of national identity, and how to maintain social cohesion and preserve national, cultural and linguistic heritage (Van Avermaet 2009). In response to those challenges, Western European countries have developed integration policies. Blommaert and Verschueren (1998) define these policies both as the goals of the government's policies (migrants ultimately becoming 'integrated' into the host society) and the crystallization of the philosophy of their migrant policies. In other words, according to Blommaert and Verschueren, integration refers both to the

political goodwill of a society to accommodate migrants, as to the position migrants should eventually occupy in society.

Although legislation has been passed and countless policy papers have been written in order to implement integration policies, a precise definition of integration has never been formulated, explicating the exact criteria for integration, its endpoint and the precise target groups of integration policies. Horner (2009) calls this the 'semantic vagueness of integration'. Consequently, the integration process remains under the exclusive control of the majority group: at any time criteria can be altered, target groups can be expanded and endpoints can be moved forward by policy makers as well as the wider society. As Silverstein states (1996): "The policy makers are the privileged ones mastering and manipulating the norms for measuring integration". Migrants play no part in the determination of the conditions and modalities of integration, yet at the same time they are held solely responsible for the success or failure of their process of integration (Blommaert and Verschueren 1998; Horner 2009).

Due to the vagueness of the term and the increasing contestation – especially among the migrant population – of a nonreciprocal concept of integration, the term has become obsolete (Blommaert and Verschueren 1998, Schinkel 2008) and new concepts and frames have come into use. However – as will be discussed below – the underlying ideas and paradigms of integration have been maintained, including aspects such as the arbitrariness of the criteria for integration and the lack of negotiation with the minority group regarding conditions of integration.

2.3 Citizenship

In this section and the following section (Citizenship and integration entwined), I look at the concept of citizenship through the specific lens of migration and integration. Of course, dynamics of citizenship and social participation are universal processes and do play an important role regarding the non-migrant, majority population. The renewed interpretation of national identity and citizenship (e.g. see Chapter 1. Definition of the research problem) applies to all members of a certain society. Members of the majority and minority population alike have to demonstrate on a regular basis that they meet the standards of 'good citizenship' and that they have internalized the main features of the national identity. However, an important difference between the migrant and non-migration population refers to the problem of equality (Schinkel 2008; Odé and Walraven 2013). Although the majority population has to affirm they are 'good citizens', they are rarely placed outside of the society – even as 'not so good citizens' they are considered members of society. The aspect of conditionality does not (or to a much lesser extent) apply to majority members. As I will elaborate in the following sections, implicit and explicit mechanisms of moral scrutiny are used to continually question the citizenship of migrants. The majority population is exempt from this kind of permanent, moral evaluation (Schinkel 2007).

The meaning of the concept of citizenship has changed throughout history (Habermas 1996; Weber 1998; Heater 2004). In Ancient Greece, citizenship referred mainly to the right to political participation given to an exclusive group of members of the polis. In the Roman Empire, citizenship covered a whole range of legal rights regarding law, property and governance. These rights were attributed on the basis of exclusivity and inequality in a segmented class system. Citizenship in the European city-states of the sixteenth and seventeenth century was reserved for a particular group, namely people born inside the city (excluding foreigners from outside the city). With the nineteenth century rise of the nation-states in Europe, citizenship was again

expanded to include a larger spatial entity. The nation-states were a combination of a political and an economic entity (the state) and a cultural and/or ethnic entity (the nation). Until the nineteenth century, citizenship was for the most part comprised of political and economic rights and duties. But then, new elements were added such as language, culture and norms and values to encompass both dimensions of state and nation. At that time, the 'state' component of citizenship was at the forefront: citizens as legal members of the nation-state enjoying the same rights and duties. Although the content (an increasing number of rights and duties) and space (covering a larger territory) of citizenship was extended, it must be noted that citizenship remained characterized by exclusivity. It was not equally attributed to all the members of the state.

Looking at the concept of citizenship through a historical lens, we do not only find a continuous expansion of space, rights and duties; we also see a clear distinction between two systems of attribution of citizenship; a distinction that is maintained thus far and has an impact on the current integration and citizenship policies in the different European societies (van Houdt and Schinkel 2009). On the one hand citizenship can be based on 'jus sanguinis' or bloodline, and on the other hand citizenship can be based on 'jus soli' or place of birth. For a more detailed discussion, we refer to the introductory chapter of Extra, Spotti and Van Avermaet (2009).

Brubaker (1992) links the two types of granting citizenship (based on jus sanguinis on the one hand and jus soli on the other hand) to the political culture and the national consciousness of a country, distinguishing three expressions of citizenship. An ethno-national understanding of citizenship, based on 'jus sanguinis', sees the nation (the people) as an ethnic and ethno-cultural community, independent of state institutions and territory. A typical example of ethno-national citizenship is Germany. A state-national understanding of citizenship is based on 'jus sanguinis' but has also integrated the concept of 'jus sole'. The nation (the people) and the specific state structure they have created

(the institutions and the territory of the state) are considered as inseparable. The French concept of citizenship is an example of state-national citizenship. Brubaker adds a third form of citizenship, in particular citizenship based on a self-understanding as an immigration society. Immigration countries, such as the United States of America, presume dynamics of assimilation between birth and growing up on a specific soil. Citizenship is granted based on 'jus soli'.

Martiniello (1995) looks at the distinction between 'jus sanguinis' and 'jus soli' from a different perspective, by contrasting cultural and civic nationalism. Martiniello describes civic nationalism as a (French) republican approach defining the nation as a political community based on a constitution, laws and citizenship. Newcomers can be part of the community, irrespective of their ethnic or cultural background, if they are willing to respect the political rules and adopt the civic and national culture (Martiniello 1995; Loobuyck and Jacobs 2010). In contrast, cultural nationalism emphasizes the importance of a common history, language and religion. A cultural community is therefore less open to newcomers, because only those who belong to a particular cultural and national identity can obtain citizenship (Martiniello 1995; Loobuyck and Jacobs 2010). Looking at the Belgian context, we can see differences in approaching citizenship and integration between the southern and northern parts of the country, with Flanders leaning more towards a cultural nationalism and Wallonia towards a civic nationalism.

Since the early 1990's, citizenship has returned to the centre of social and political debate, in answer to questions about immigration, globalization, diversity, integration, social participation and, more recently, national security (Kymlicka and Norman 1994; Van Gunsteren 1998; Schinkel 2007; Citizenship, retrieved 28/11/2016 from <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/citizenship>). In the twenty-first century, the two dimensions of citizenship, related to the nation on the one hand and the state on the other hand, are still present in social and political debate. However, there seems to be an inversion of the relation between these two dimensions. Until the end of the 20th century, in policy

discourse and public debate citizenship was mostly used to refer to the economic and political rights and duties given by the state to its members through (the acquisition of) nationality. The concept of citizenship was not used so much in policy discourse and public debate on migration and integration (Dispas 2003). Active citizens were seen as citizens who participated in the political domain through activities such as voting, debating, protesting and lobbying. The definition of citizenship provided by Leary (2000) reflects this conception of citizenship: 'A bundle of rights – primarily, political participation in the life of the community, the right to vote, and the right to receive protection from the community – as well as obligations', as does the broad definition of citizenship one can find in the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (retrieved November 28, 2016 from <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/citizenship>), describing a citizen as a member of a political community who enjoys the rights and assumes the duties of membership.

Over recent decades however, the centre of gravity has shifted again from 'state' to 'nation' and we can see some similarities with the processes of nation-state building in the nineteenth century. In a time of globalization and international migration, the conceptualization of citizenship has again obtained a very national and local dimension (Schinkel 2010), reminding us of the concept of 'glocalization' meaning 'the simultaneity – the co-presence – of both universalizing and particularizing tendencies' (Robertson 1995). Presently, cultural rights and duties, such as knowledge of the dominant language and the host society, and the willingness to share a particular set of norms and beliefs, are increasingly seen as a condition for new members of a society to obtain political and economic rights. At the same time, the relationship between the state and the individual has changed, as the duties of the individual towards the state are more and more emphasized over the rights granted by the state (Blommaert and Verschueren 1998; Schinkel 2008; Schinkel 2010; Van Avermaet 2009; Odé and Walraven 2013).

Schinkel (2008) has conceptualized a division between 'formal' and 'moral' citizenship to deepen the understanding of the shift from state-related rights to nation-related duties. Formal citizenship consists of a set of economic and political rights and duties derived from (the acquisition of) nationality: e.g. holding a passport, being protected by the law and having to uphold the law. Moral citizenship refers to a set of values, norms and beliefs, albeit never clearly defined and open-ended – which members of society are expected to internalize and to act upon. Schinkel refers to formal citizenship as both the juridical status as member of a juridico-political order and a set of social rights (2010). Moral citizenship encompasses an extra-legal normative concept of citizenship, referring to an ideal of citizen-participation (Schinkel 2010). The distinction between formal and moral citizenship is not so much a dichotomy as it is a continuum, every expression of formal citizenship containing some elements of moral citizenship.

Similarities between the concept of moral citizenship and the concept of 'patriotism', as used e.g. in the socio-political context of the United States, can be found. However, the concept of patriotism puts more emphasis on the love for one's own country and the willingness to make sacrifices (to give one's life) for that country and is not specifically linked to dynamics of migration and integration (Retrieved 23/06/2017 from <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/patriotism/>). Whereas moral citizenship refers to a shared set of norms, beliefs, rights and duties within one particular society.

As indicated above, the past decades the 'moral' side of the continuum has gained importance in national citizenship policies in Western European countries, being strongly intertwined with integration policies (as will be indicated below). We could say that cultural nationalism is situated more on the side of moral citizenship and civic nationalism more on the side of formal citizenship, always taking into account the continuum-quality of the concept of

citizenship. We already indicated that Flemish citizenship and integration policies are leaning more towards cultural nationalism than civic nationalism.

Over recent years, in Western Europe the discourse on citizenship has changed fundamentally, especially in Flanders (Belgium) and the Netherlands (Blommaert and Verschueren 1998; Schinkel 2008; Schinkel 2010). Citizenship as a formal and general political and economic concept faded out of the discussions and debates and was steadily replaced by the concept of moral citizenship, mainly within the context of migration and integration. Citizenship and moral citizenship in particular, continues to be more inclusive of certain social groups within society and exclusive of other groups. This differentiation is mainly based on the socio-economic and migration background of groups and individuals. The shift from formal to moral citizenship has been so fundamental that moral citizenship has become a condition for obtaining formal citizenship and exercising the rights granted.

2.4 Integration and citizenship entwined

Due to the vagueness of the term of integration – remember the ‘semantic vagueness’ of integration described by Horner (2009) – and the non-reciprocal interpretation of integration, the term has become obsolete (Blommaert and Verschueren 1998; Schinkel 2007) and new concepts and frames of references have been used. However, the underlying ideas and paradigms of integration have been maintained, including aspects such as the arbitrariness of the criteria for integration and the exclusion of the minority group from negotiating the conditions of integration.

This has led to the re-conceptualization of citizenship based on moral citizenship considered as a condition for obtaining formal citizenship. Such moral citizenship is being crystallized through the knowledge of the language and moral values of the nation-state. An increasingly larger number of European

countries have passed legislation making language proficiency in the dominant language and knowledge of the host society conditions for obtaining nationality, residency or even entrance to the territory (Van Avermaet 2012; Pulinx, Van Avermaet and Extramiana 2014). But moral citizenship continues to play a role even after the acquisition of formal citizenship. After becoming a formal citizen with political and economic rights and duties, migrants continually have to demonstrate their proficiency in the national language and their adherence to the norms and values of the host society. Hence, full moral citizenship is achieved through a long process of integration in the host society. According to Schinkel (2008), some immigrants will never be perceived as ‘full’ citizens because of the conditional interpretation of the concept of citizenship. The process of becoming a citizen of their host country is never ending. The following comment, often made to people with a migrant background, even when born in Flanders, is a clear example: “For a migrant, your Dutch isn’t bad at all”.

In the current social and political discourse, the concepts of integration and citizenship have become interchangeable. This is neither a neutral nor just a semantic evolution susceptible to modes or trends in public debate; rather it has significant consequences. Immigrants coming to Western European countries not only have to integrate in the host societies, but they have to do so by going through a compulsory and formalized trajectory, adopting the language, values and norms of the new society – or in other words becoming a moral citizen³ (Schinkel 2008; Schinkel 2010; Odé and Walraven 2013; Pulinx, Van Avermaet and Extramiana 2014).

In the Netherlands and Flanders, new immigrants have to take an integration course that is called ‘inburgering’ and consists of a language course

³ E.g. The civic integration course in Flanders is built around five key norms and values, indicated as the ‘pillars of Flemish society’: freedom, equality, solidarity, respect and citizenship. These key norms and values are complemented with democracy, democratic rule of law and pluralism (retrieved July 7, 2017 from <http://www.integratie-inburgering.be/wat-doen-we/inburgering/inburgeringstraject/maatschappelijke-oriëntatie>)

and a course in societal knowledge referred to as the norms and values of the host society. 'Inburgering' literally means 'becoming a citizen'. This implies that immigrants are not seen as 'real' or 'good' citizens before migration, living by moral standards reconcilable with the host society. As seen above, citizenship was historically a general concept referring to the predominantly political and economic rights and duties given by a state to all of its nationals. By contrast, moral citizenship is almost exclusively used in the context of integration and refers to specific groups of members of society of immigrant descent. This moral scrutiny is applied to migrants – new and old – who come to European host societies via labour migration, family reunification, and matrimonial migration and asylum seekers.

However, it is not only first-generation migrants who have to demonstrate unremittingly and continually how good their linguistic and societal knowledge is. The requirement to achieve and continuously demonstrate moral citizenship is passed on the second and third (and even fourth ...) generation of people of migrant descent. Members of the majority are exempt from this kind of moral scrutiny (Silverstein 2996; Blommaert and Verschueren 1998; Schinkel 2008; Horner 2009).

Moral – more than formal – citizenship is now depicted as the endpoint of integration, but this endpoint will always remain out of reach for immigrants; it will never be fully achieved. In recent years, attempts have been made by policy makers in Western European countries to define and describe the particularities of national identity. This has led to social and political debates, e.g. in the Netherlands and France (I will elaborate on the particular context of Flanders in chapter 3), resulting mostly in a list of rights and duties which largely resemble the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (retrieved 29/11/2016 from <http://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/index.html>), mainly underlining the separation between church and state, equality between men and woman, and freedom of speech. Of course, the real specificity of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is its universal

relevance as opposed to national (or cultural and ethnic) peculiarities. So, the norms and beliefs that immigrants, as part of their integration process, are supposed to acquire and meet, are not made explicit since it is in the interest of the majority group to keep these norms implicit and easy to alter.

Another notion related to the concept of moral citizenship and underlying present-day integration and citizenship policies in many Western European countries, is the notion of 'active citizenship'. In the literature, multiple definitions of 'active citizenship' can be found, all including some common characteristics (Odé and Walraven 2013):

- 1) Social involvement and participation;
- 2) Active participation in public debate, political and democratic institutions;
- 3) Active citizenship has to be inclusive of all members of society;
- 4) Active citizenship supposes certain cognitive and social skills; and
- 5) Loyalty towards the society a person lives in.

And of course, participation in society – the key characteristic of active citizenship – supposes proficiency in the national language and knowledge of the host society, in other words supposes moral citizenship.

New members of society are not only expected to respect the law, but in addition make an active contribution to civil society initiatives (Verhoeven and Ham 2010). Hence, expectations are being created and a distinction is being made about what it means to be a good citizen and a not so good citizen (Odé and Walraven 2013).

A good citizen becomes the one that takes actively part in what civil society asks of him/her: participating in the voluntary and associative sector, contributing to neighbourhood initiatives and integrating as fully as possible in the host society (education, labour market, civil society, etc.). The not so good citizen takes a more passive attitude towards life and society, looking primarily

at the government and the institutions and not him/herself when action is required (Odé and Walraven 2013).

This distinction between citizens who are ‘good’ and other citizens who are ‘not so good’, reminds us of the shift from formal to moral citizenship, as described above (Schinkel 2008). Schinkel (2008) called this the virtualization of citizenship. As he puts it: “The situation arises, at least for a part of the population, that people are citizens in the formal sense, but their integration and consequently their citizenship is considered to be defective. Thus, their citizenship is still questioned” (Schinkel 2008).

From the Greek polis and the Roman Empire on, citizenship has always contained a moral dimension, in the sense that a ‘good’ or ‘real’ citizen is an ‘active’ citizen, participating in the social and political life of the society he or she lives in (Schinkel 2010). But being an active citizen is no longer defined as participating on the public stage and trying to influence political processes, shaping and reshaping social conditions. A strong tendency is displayed, focusing on individuals and their responsibilities and duties. The social and cultural, rather than the political dimensions of citizenship, are highlighted and democracy is seen more in terms of consensus and sameness than in terms of contestation and difference (Biesta 2011).

Paradoxically, one could state that being an active citizen today – especially in the context of integration – means being a passive citizen with regard to the political dimension of citizenship in that the citizen has to comply with a vague set of national norms and values.

2.5 Integration and citizenship in education

Not only integration and citizenship policies are aimed at fostering active citizenship and social cohesion. In many Western societies an explicit role has been assigned to the education system in preparing students for active

participation and taking up their role as citizens in society in later life (Eurydice 2012). Citizenship education has become increasingly important.

Citizenship education is a relatively new feature of school curricula in Western European education systems (Willemse et al. 2015; Osler, 2010). Citizenship education made its appearance approximately at the same time integration policies were being developed and implemented, this as a result of the social and political understanding that migration was becoming a permanent, increasing and more diverse phenomenon within these societies (Pulinx and Van Avermaet 2015) together with the rise of individualization (Willemse et al. 2015; Geijsel et al. 2012) and increasing terrorist violence and threats in Western European cities since 9/11 (Torney-Purta 2002). Since the beginning of the 21st century, almost all Western European countries, the United States of America, Canada and Australia, have passed legislation on the integration of citizenship education in the curriculum (Geboers et al. 2013).

According to UNESCO (1998), citizenship education can be defined as educating children, from early childhood, to become clear-thinking and enlightened citizens who participate in decisions concerning society. 'Society' is here understood in the specific sense of a nation with a circumscribed territory which is recognized as a state. The International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS), conducted by the International Association of Educational Achievement (IEA) and the largest recurring international study on civic and citizenship education, emphasizes the importance of civic competencies by linking these competences not only to social participation but as well to economic participation in later life: 'Civic competences are part of a broader skill set required in workplaces, and thus these competencies are not only of interest to political and community leaders, but are also valued by a growing number of employers (Schulz et al. 2016). The labour market is no longer satisfied with technical skills but demands complementary skills such as knowledge about significant changes in society, intercultural literacy, ethical judgment,

humanitarian values, social responsibility, and civic engagement (ICCS 2016; OECD 2015).

As Crick (2000) indicates, citizenship education transmitted by schools and teachers to students is closely related to the citizenship model a society upholds. In Western Europe, that citizenship model is one of active citizenship, focusing on the willingness of citizens to commit themselves to the public good (Odé and Walrave 2013). The European Commission (2015) makes this link explicit in stating that: “Education and training policy should enable all citizens to benefit from quality education and to acquire and update over a lifetime the knowledge, skills, and competences needed for employment, inclusion, active citizenship and personal fulfilment”. As indicated above, the conceptualization of citizenship has evolved from emphasizing the formal dimension of citizenship to emphasizing the moral dimension; considering a common language (the language of the dominant majority) and a set of shared norms, beliefs and cultural meanings as the most important expression of citizenship. Likewise, citizenship education has moved beyond the classic political and economic interpretation of citizenship, and personal development of individuals, shared norms, values and cultural meanings have been added (Geboers et al. 2013; Oser and Veugelers 2008).

Teaching children and young adolescents can be considered as a fundamentally moral activity aimed at the development of these young members of society – the development of their cognitive and social skills as well as their personal and identity development (Willemse 2015; Sanger and Osguthorpe 2013; Buzzelli and Johnson 2002). When looking at teaching as a moral activity, it becomes the responsibility of every teacher – not only the history, social sciences or civics teacher – to contribute to the citizenship education of their students.

This is an important consideration, since citizenship is not a neutral concept but related to the transmission of a set of norms and values acknowledged as shared within a specific society but never completely

explicated or clarified (see above). Thus the way citizenship is implemented in direct interaction between teachers and pupils and classroom practices, is to a large extent determined by the beliefs teachers hold on citizenship education and social reality in general. Some teachers may uphold beliefs contrasting the prevailing citizenship model. Depending on their individual level of agency, these teachers may negotiate certain tenets of citizenship education that are supposed to be taught. Moreover, as schools have a certain level of school autonomy, there might be differences in the implementation of citizenship education between schools. This is particularly relevant for Flanders, taking into account the pedagogical and didactical freedom of education which is guaranteed by the Belgian constitution.

Of course, learning about civics and citizenship is not limited to instruction in schools; it is the outcome of a range of processes that take place in different environments (Schulz et al. 2016). Young people learn about civics and citizenship through their interactions with a range of significant others and the various communities with which they are associated (Schulz et al. 2016).

2.6 Language policies and language ideologies

As we have already indicated, in the Western European context of globalization and continued migration, language policies are strongly entwined with integration and citizenship policies. Since the turn of the century, European countries have been involved in a process of redefining their national identity as a means to effectuate social cohesion and belonging in their diverse societies. Such a national identity refers to a common language, being the national or dominant language, and a set of shared norms and values, linked to a specific country or society. The national language is considered an essential part of this national identity; language is seen as an indicator of loyalty, patriotism, belonging, inclusion and membership (Shohamy 2006), and a facilitator of communication, literature, art and neighbourhood life. This reinforced role of

the common language in society – a crucial part of the re-defined national identity – is supported by the construction of language ideologies.

Language ideologies can be defined as systems of beliefs and ideas about the role language holds within the cultural, social and political context of a specific society (Spolsky 2004; Woolard 1998). The construction of these language ideologies does not happen abruptly or accidentally but is always situated in specific social, historic and political contexts (Blommaert and Verschueren 1998, Blackledge and Pavlenko 2001). Furthermore, language ideologies are not only linked to their social and political contexts, they are also related to instances of identity construction, power relations and assertion of power in societies (Pavlenko 2002; Kroskrity 2000; Gal 1998). As Woolard (1998) stated: “Ideologies of language are rarely about language alone”.

The current monolingual ideologies in Western Europe, promoting proficiency in the national language as a pivotal element of migration, integration and citizenship policies, can be seen as instrumental for preserving the dominant position of the national language and, the privileged position of the dominant group itself. These language ideologies can even be seen as tools for the inclusion of some and the exclusion of others. Blommaert and Verschueren (1991) refer in this context to the ideology of homogeneity, stating that the transformation into multicultural, multilingual and multireligious societies threatens the ideology of the (perceived) homogeneity of nation-states. Consequently, the predominance of the national language is promoted and linguistic diversity is dissuaded.

In the academic literature, the following recurring ingredients can be found that make up the language ideologies currently dominating integration and citizenship discourse and policy (Silverstein 1996; Piller 2001; Blackledge 2005; Shohamy 2006; Milani 2008, Horner 2009):

- 1) The use of one common language by all members of society is essential for social cohesion;

- 2) Social cohesion can only be guaranteed by acquiring the standard variety of that national language;
- 3) Language proficiency in the dominant, majority language is a condition for social participation (participation is impossible without knowledge of that common language);
- 4) Language proficiency in the dominant, majority language is seen as a marker for knowledge of the culture and the social norms and values;
- 5) Unwillingness or refusal to learn and use the dominant language is regarded as a sign of disloyalty and flawed integration and, consequently a threat to social cohesion.

These ideologies are propagated through political discourse, and seem to remain immune to academic or empirical refutation.

These tenets of monolingual ideologies become common sense, they become 'doxa', that is experiences through which 'the natural and the social world appears as self-evident' (Bourdieu 1977). Doxa's fall within the limits of the thinkable and sayable ("the universe of the possible discourse"), that "what goes without saying because it came without saying" (Bourdieu 1977).

Language ideologies are often constructed, discarding cognitive and scientific insights, and qualify as common sense thinking. They are then put into practice through language policies by "powerful and social institutions like the government [and] the law" (Simpson 1993). Language policies are instruments used to achieve certain political goals and to legitimize ideological choices (Shohamy 2006).

Spolsky (2004) distinguishes three components of language policy:

- 1) Language practices, the habitual pattern of selecting among the varieties that make up the linguistic repertoire of that speech community;
- 2) Language ideology, the beliefs about language and language use;

- 3) Language management, any specific efforts to modify or influence that practice by any kind of language intervention, planning or management.

In many Western European countries, language requirements – as examples of language management as described by Spolsky (2004) – have been implemented as part of migration, integration and citizenship policies. In these language policies, language testing plays a central role as an instrument of selection with effects of inclusion and exclusion. Language testing is a tremendous powerful policy measure, because of its perceived objectivity. This objectivity contrasts with the literature which underlines how tests are social constructs and how their design typically reflect the norms and values of the groups who implement and evaluate them (Van Avermaet 2009; Shohamy 2001 and 2006).

2.7 Language policies and language ideologies in education

But more specifically and pervasively, language ideologies are put into practice through language policies in the field of education. Shohamy (2006) sees language education policies as powerful mechanisms for creating de facto language practices in educational institutions, given the fact that children and young people are obliged to attend school until a certain age. This offers one explanation for why language policies, e.g. stringent monolingual policies as a tool to achieve more equal opportunities in education, are implemented and maintained, even though theoretical and empirical evidence to substantiate these policies are lacking. Language education policies are mostly developed and dictated at regional and national level. They are typically implemented through official documents such as curricula or mission statements and carried out by school principals, teachers and other school staff (Shohamy 2006). Teachers, as individual professionals and members of a school team, implement

these language policies in interaction with the local school context, their own experiences and beliefs (Creese 2010).

An important characteristic of monolingual ideologies and policies is that they contribute to the creation of a hierarchy of languages based on the social status attributed to these languages (Blommaert and Verschueren 1991). Bourdieu (1991) referred to the power of educational systems to classify different language varieties (and different cultural contents) as more or less valuable and as legitimate or illegitimate. This power is due to the powerful position of the system in the production of legitimate language competence. The education system will therefore strive for its own reproduction, in order to hold on to the social value of the linguistic competence it produces and its capacity to function as linguistic capital (Bourdieu 1979). The social status, ascribed to different languages, is not based on the linguistic characteristics of these languages but the position the speakers of the languages hold in society (Extra and Yagmur 2004; Bourdieu 1991, Blommaert and Van Avermaet 2008). In the context of migration, integration and citizenship, the social status of other languages than the majority language is strongly linked to the background of its speakers: Western European languages (and by extension the Western world) are considered high status languages, languages spoken by non-Western migrants are mainly considered low status languages. As a result, lingua franca uses (especially French and English) are typically rated higher than the use of non-Western European L1's, and within the space of lingua franca uses, not all varieties are rated equal.

The classification of languages as valuable and legitimate – and consequently, other languages as invaluable and illegitimate – is a very important mechanism to maintain processes of social reproduction in education. Linguistic capital can be acquired through prolonged exposure in an informal setting, mostly the family and local community, and through deliberate instruction of explicit rules in a more formal setting, being the education system (Bourdieu 1991). In societies, which are rapidly transitioning into diverse

societies, opportunities to appropriate the legitimate linguistic competencies (as classified by the education system) are unequally distributed among the participants in the field of education, especially in an education system based on a clear monolingual ideology. By marking specific home languages, particularly non-Western European home languages, as illegitimate, entire groups of families are no longer considered as settings where legitimate linguistic competences can be acquired. Secondly, in the context of monolingual education ideologies, proficiency in the legitimate language is considered a condition for participation in education. This means that the legitimate linguistic capital has to be obtained before entering the field of education. In other words, the home environment is expected to stimulate language acquisition that sufficiently corresponds with the expectations of the school environment. As a result, the same group of students and parents are excluded from education as a setting where valuable linguistic capital can be obtained. As Bourdieu (1991) stated: "Speakers lacking the legitimate competence are de facto excluded from the social domains in which this competence is required, or are condemned to silence".

But Bourdieu argued that the domination of one language over one or more other languages and varieties can only persist if dominant and dominated groups alike accept the superiority of the proclaimed dominant language. These shared ideas and beliefs about language become common sense, or in the words of Bourdieu, they become 'doxa' (1979).

The notion of doxa is very useful for understanding processes of reproduction and transformation (Waquant 2006). When the monolingual doxa are internalized by members of the dominant and the dominated groups, these ideologies and policies are not only reproduced but also reinforced. However, doxa may also be contested, negotiated and reconstructed instead of being simply reproduced by these groups (or individual members) and so initiate a process of transformation instead of reproduction.

Language ideologies often contribute to the continuation of an “institutional circle of collective misrecognition” (Bourdieu 1991), with subtle misrecognitions of languages considered as inferior by the dominant group and invisible exertions of symbolic power often disguised as favourable to multilingual practices and equality of opportunity (Blackledge and Pavlenko 2001).

However, these processes should not be regarded as merely mechanical. For instance, there may be individual differences between teachers who as individuals have a level of agency allowing them to negotiate or reject structural processes. Moreover, as most schools have a certain level of school autonomy (particularly in Flanders where this study was conducted, see below), we must also include the possibility of differences between schools.

This dissertation focuses more particularly on the role of language policies in education “because of the centrality of language to education” (Spolsky 2004). Furthermore, in many Western societies an explicit responsibility has been assigned to education as a social institution of preparing students for active participation in society in future life (see above). Thus, looking into the interweaving between language policies and citizenship policies is especially relevant in the context of education.

In an educational setting, language management happens continually. Language management refers to the formulation and proclamation of an explicit plan or policy, usually but not necessarily written in a formal document, about language use (Spolsky 2004). Language management in education can be situated at different levels: official language policies about language use in an education system as developed and implemented by policy makers, school policies regarding language use at school, and language policies implemented by individual teachers in their classroom.

“Pupils discover quickly which language choices (and language items) are appropriate and which are discouraged and punished. They learn that the

teacher has the privilege of determining who speaks and when and of judging how appropriate is the form of speech to be used, as well as the permitted topics. When these practices are spelled out by some external authority or taught explicitly by the teachers, this is an example of language management.” (Spolsky 2004).

2.8 Teachers’ beliefs

As indicated above, language policies reflect language ideologies and, consequently, reflect the beliefs of people in authority and policy makers. Spolsky (2004) distinguishes “three components of the language policy of speech community: its language practices, the habitual pattern of selecting among the varieties that make up its linguistic repertoire; its language beliefs or ideology, the beliefs about language use; and specific efforts to modify or influence that practice by any kind of language intervention, planning or management”. These three components, interposed in dynamic interaction, are also relevant in the societal domain of education.

Teachers’ beliefs are, to some extent, shaped by the policy framework, the prescribed policies and policy measures. Teachers’ beliefs are not only formed by national policies and policy frameworks, but are to a large extent influenced via the organizational, pedagogical and didactical school characteristics (Oakes 1985; Lee 2000; Van Houtte 2011). In this section, I elaborate on two school features particularly relevant for the understanding of the extent and effect of teachers’ beliefs regarding language, integration and citizenship, namely school composition and school curriculum.

Research regarding school composition mostly explores the effects of school characteristics on pupils (e.g. Agirdag, Van Houtte, and Van Avermaet 2012; Dumay and Dupriez 2008). However, it is reasonable to assume that the composition of schools has an equal impact on teachers’ beliefs. Existing

stereotypes associated with the characteristics of a school population – based on socio-economic composition of the pupils, ethnic composition of the student body, curriculum track – influence society's beliefs regarding the language proficiency (in the majority language) and academic achievement of the pupils alongside the wider educational quality of the schools (Van Houtte 2011; Agirdag and Van Houtte 2011).

The first characteristic influencing teachers' beliefs is the curriculum track provided by schools. The Flemish education system predominantly consists of three tracks: the general track (ASO), technical track (TSO) and vocational track (BSO). These three tracks fit into a clear hierarchy of social appreciation (Jacobs 2009; Duquet et al 2006), with the general track at the top and the vocational track at the bottom of the social ladder, and technical education holding the middle position. Academic tracks are attributed a higher social status by teachers, parents and students because of the stronger focus on knowledge and cognitive skills compared to vocational and technical tracks (Stevens and Vermeersch 2010, Van Houtte and Stevens 2009). Different types of secondary schools can be distinguished: multilateral schools offer all the tracks, and categorical or single-track schools only offer one track (sometimes two tracks). Often, schools offering the general or academic track are categorical schools with only one track (Van Houtte & Stevens, 2009). Teachers are mostly assigned to one of these tracks. In the Flemish education system, students with lower SES and migrant background are overrepresented in the – low status – technical and vocational tracks. Hence, students are highly segregated in different schools according to curriculum track (Duquet et al 2006; Hirtt et al 2007; Jacobs 2009). Previous studies in Flanders and elsewhere have indicated that teachers' beliefs are significantly linked to the curriculum tracks: teaching in academic and advanced tracks is associated with higher expectations than teaching in vocational tracks (Oakes 1985; Ennis 1994; Lee 2000; Van Maele and Van Houtte 2011).

Secondly, the composition of the school population may play a decisive role here, since teachers' evaluations are likely to be influenced by existing social stereotypes regarding certain characteristics of the composition of the student body (Van Houtte 2011). There is a general stereotypical belief that schools with a high percentage of ethnic minority and low SES (Socio-Economic Status) students are 'bad' schools (Merry 2012). These schools are often labelled 'black schools' or 'concentration schools'. Previous studies have shown that teachers working in 'black' or 'concentration' schools have lower expectations about the ability of their students (Rumberger and Palardy 2005) and tend to problematize the existing linguistic diversity (Agirdag, Van Avermaet and Van Houtte 2013).

Teachers' beliefs are influenced by policy frameworks at the national and at school-level on the one hand and by school characteristics on the other hand. But in turn, teachers' beliefs have an (indirect) impact themselves, particularly on student achievement. The most well-known example of such a teacher-effect is outlined in the study known as 'the Pygmalion Effect' (Rosenthal and Jacobsen 1968). This study demonstrated the effect of teachers' beliefs on their expectations about the academic performance of their students. Low expectations from teachers have a negative effect on pupils' achievement. Teachers' expectations, subsequently, were shown to have an effect on the actual academic achievement of their pupils (Rosenthal and Jacobson 1968). Similarly, it is likely that teachers' beliefs about the use of (home) languages in education will have an effect on other beliefs these teachers hold; as well as on the beliefs held by pupils; and teacher-pupil interaction (see Godley et al 2006; Wheeler 2008).

Wheeler (2008) indicated that most teachers lack the necessary pedagogical and didactical training to use the plurilingual competencies of pupils as an added value in the learning process. Consequently, speaking dialect or code-switching is mostly misdiagnosed as poor language proficiency in the majority language (Garcia and Wei 2014). On the other hand, teachers who are

exposed to basic sociolinguistic principles are more likely to reject the most extreme stereotypes associated with different language varieties (Bowie and Bond 1994). Previous studies also showed that negative attitudes to stigmatized languages are related to lower teacher expectations regarding pupils' use of these languages (Godley et al 2006; Agirdag, Van Avermaet and Van Houtte 2013). For instance, through observation an indirect relation was found between language use and teachers' expectations. Teachers were found to give lower grades to oral work presented in a vernacular dialect, even when the work presented was of the same quality as work presented in the standard language variety (Ramaut et al 2013; Crowl and MacGinitie 1974).

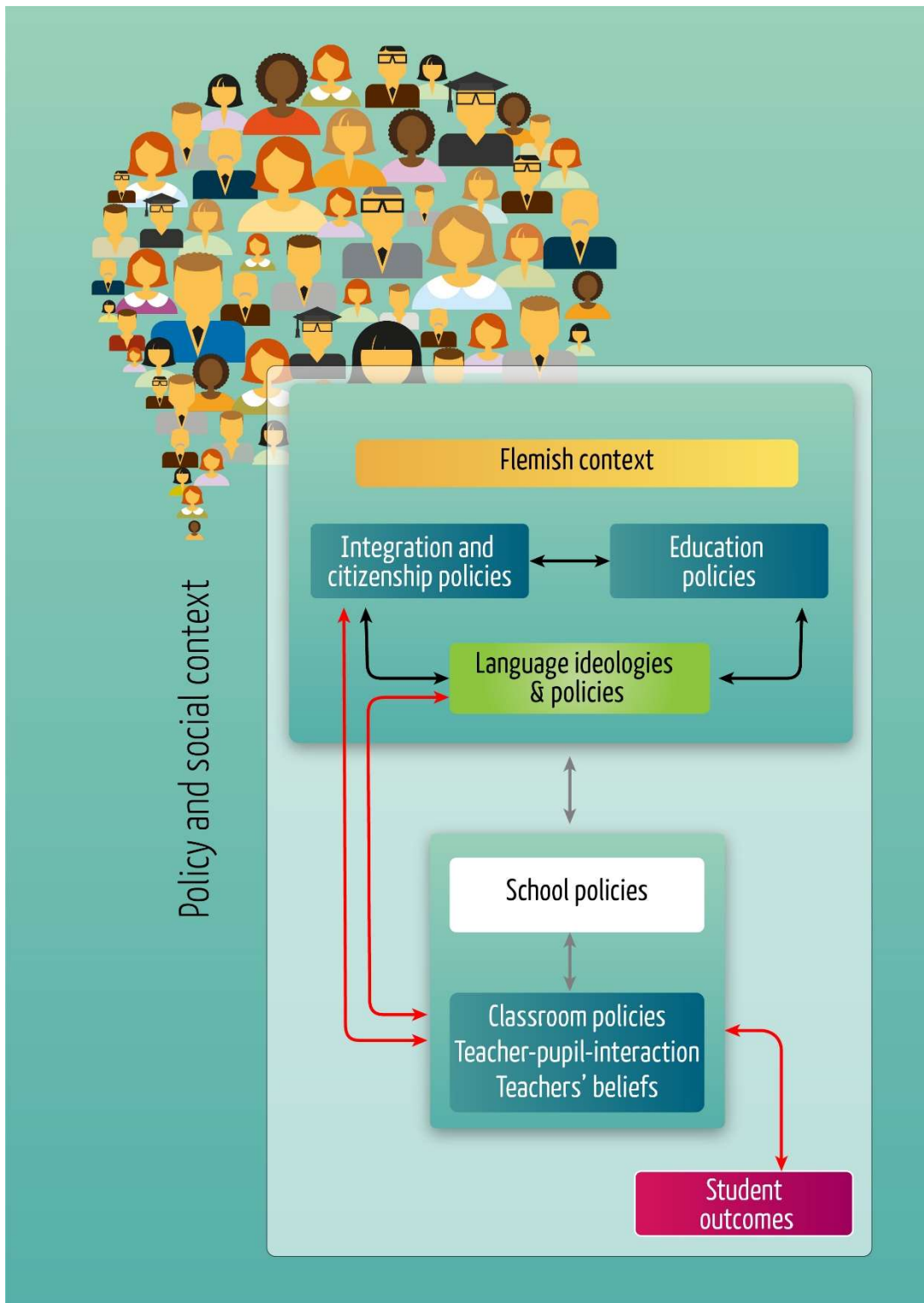
The literature discussed above indicates that negative teacher beliefs about stigmatized languages, (and the subsequent adherence to monolingual policies in education, as related to exclusive use of the majority language in educational settings), may lead teachers to expect students to have a reduced ability to reach set academic objectives.

2.9 Conceptual model

To deduce the research questions, to guide the empirical studies and to interpret the research findings, I have constructed a conceptual model – a visual representation of the relations between the key concepts of the theoretical framework.

This model visualizes the interaction between integration, citizenship and language policies on different levels in the wider social and political space and specifically in the social field of education. It is based on the literature discussed above (see Figure 1 below).

Figure 1. Conceptual model



The research project is situated in the Flemish context: it looks more specifically at the policy and wider social context. Based on the academic literature, as outlined in the theoretical framework, a dynamic triangle became evident which stresses the intimate ties between integration/citizenship, education and language policies (these are the *black arrows* in the schematic representation).

Language policies are the concretization of language ideologies (in turn related to specific social, cultural and historic contexts) and are foundational for both integration and citizenship policies on the one hand and education policies on the other hand. Education policies and integration/citizenship policies are also closely linked and mutually impacting with effects of reinforcement: 1) education is one of the most important institutions for socialization, having been assigned an explicit role in preparing students for active participation in later life; and 2) participating in education – both by students and parents – is considered an important manifestation of integration in society and conditional for economic and social participation.

In this doctoral study, I zoom in on the context of the Flemish (secondary) education system and more specifically, I want to gain insight in the relationship between integration/citizenship and language policies on the one hand and teachers' beliefs on the other hand. Furthermore, I want to investigate if teachers' beliefs regarding integration, citizenship and language have an influence on teacher-pupil interaction and, consequently, on student outcomes (*red arrows* in the schematic representation above). These 'red arrows' will be further explicated in the following section (3.2. Research questions), since they provide the basis for the formulation of the research questions.

Of course, national policies are not only translated into classroom policies, they are also put into practice at school-level through school policies, and school policies interact in their turn with classroom policies and teachers' beliefs. However, these relationships (see the grey arrows) are not the subject

of the empirical research presented in this study but are discussed on the basis of the existing academic literature.

Each of the four empirical chapters, outlined in Chapter 4 to 7, focuses on a specific part of the conceptual model, providing elements to answer the main research questions of this doctoral study. The conceptual model will be repeated at the start of each empirical chapter, so as to contextualize the particular focus of each of the empirical chapters.

Chapter 3. Methodology

3.1 Introduction

In this third chapter, the 'What' (main research questions), 'How' (research methodology), and 'Where' (research context) of this doctoral study will be further discussed, based on the theoretical framework as outlined in the conceptual model.

Firstly, I formulate the main research questions of this doctoral study. Secondly, the research methodology and the data analysis techniques are clarified. Finally, I present the socio-political context of Flanders (Belgium) where this study is situated.

This doctoral study was part of a large-scale, mixed-method and multidisciplinary research project – 'BET YOU!' – on the school careers of pupils with an immigrant background in secondary education (SE) in three cities in Flanders (Antwerp, Ghent and Genk) (Clycq et al 2014).

3.2 Research questions

As mentioned at the end of Chapter 1 (Definition of the research problem), this doctoral study wants to contribute to unravelling the dynamic interaction between language policies, integration and citizenship policies, and monolingual ideologies. In the triangle, formed by 1) integration and citizenship policies; 2) language policies; and 3) education policies, language policies are underlying for both integration/citizenship policies and education policies (see Conceptual model). To gain an in-depth understanding of these dynamic processes, I have situated this study in the specific context of the Flemish education system. In many Western societies an explicit role has been assigned

to education when it comes to integration and citizenship education, which prepares students for active participation and for taking up their role as citizens in society. Teachers play a crucial role in fulfilling the socialization function of education, since they teach, guide and evaluate young children and students in direct interaction in the classroom, but also on the playground and during other activities inside and outside the school. Thus, it is pivotal to look at teachers' beliefs and the relation between teachers' beliefs and teacher-student interaction to thoroughly understand the dynamic processes between language, integration and citizenship in the societal context of education. The beliefs or mental representations a person holds about him/herself, others and the surrounding world influence to a large extent the behaviour, practices and actions of that person. Beliefs are shaped by personal experiences, but are also affected by the characteristics of the near environment and the wider social, political, cultural and historical context in which a person lives and functions. Beliefs can be considered as the sediments of general collective experiences. So far, little is known about the specific relation between national monolingual policies and teacher beliefs regarding the role of language in education on the one hand and citizenship education on the other hand. In this doctoral study, I want to gain more insight in this relation, and furthermore, I want to look at the relationship between teacher beliefs and teacher-student interaction.

Overarching the four empirical studies, presented in Part 2 of this doctoral study, I formulated three main research questions. In Chapter 4 to 7, more specific research questions are formulated which inform the different empirical studies.

Main research questions

Research question 1. What are the beliefs teachers in Flemish secondary schools uphold about language and citizenship education? *What is the nature of teachers' beliefs?*

Firstly, I want to get a clear view of the beliefs teachers in secondary education in Flanders hold on integration, citizenship and language in education, and investigate how these beliefs are related to the national monolingual integration/citizenship and education policies.

How do teachers in secondary education think about the role of language in education? What are their beliefs regarding integration and the integration processes of students with a migrant background (and their parents)? How do teachers think about citizenship education and what aspects of citizenship education do teachers find important to transfer to their students?

Research question 2. Are teachers' (monolingual) beliefs regarding the role of language in education related to their beliefs on citizenship education? *What are the relationships between the different teachers' beliefs?*

After gaining insight in the beliefs of teachers in Flemish secondary education, regarding language and citizenship (Research question 1), I explore the relation between teachers' beliefs regarding language in education on the one hand and their beliefs regarding integration and citizenship on the other hand. I look at this relationship in a social and political context of monolingual ideologies, underlying both citizenship education and language policies in education.

Research question 3. Is there a relationship between teachers' beliefs regarding the role of language in education and citizenship education on the one hand and teacher-student interaction on the other hand? *What is the relationship of teachers' beliefs with teacher-student interaction?*

Finally, we want to gain in-depth insight in the characteristics of the relationship between national policies (on integration/citizenship and language) and teachers' beliefs. Monolingual integration/citizenship and education policies are developed by policy makers, as instruments for implementing monolingual ideologies. At present, in many Western European societies monolingual ideologies have been constructed in a context of social transformation. Since the mid-1950's, Western European societies have transitioned from (perceived) mono-cultural societies into 'super-diverse' societies. Monolingual ideologies refer to the conditionality of the knowledge of the dominant language for social participation, academic achievement and successful professional careers.

I want to examine if the relationship between teachers' beliefs regarding the role of language in education on the one hand and citizenship education on the other hand, has an impact on achieving the objectives of the integration/citizenship and education policies.

The four empirical studies, included in Part 2, all provide elements to answer these three overarching research questions:

- 1) What are the beliefs teachers in Flemish secondary education uphold about language and citizenship education?
- 2) Are teachers' (monolingual) beliefs regarding the role of language in education related to their beliefs on citizenship education?
- 3) Is there a relationship between teachers' beliefs regarding the role of language in education and citizenship education on the one hand and teacher-student interaction on the other hand?

In Part 3, based on the main findings of the empirical studies I formulate comprehensive answers to the main research questions.

3.3 Part of the large-scale research project ‘BET YOU!’

The study presented in this dissertation was part of the large-scale research project ‘BET YOU!’ (Clycq et al. 2014), funded by the Agency for Innovation by Science and Technology (IWT). This research project was carried out by a consortium composed of four research centres in Flanders (CEMIS Centre for Migration and Intercultural Studies, University of Antwerp – Centre for Diversity and Learning, Ghent University – HIVA Research Institute for Labour and Society, Catholic University of Leuven – IMMRC Intercultural, Migration and Minorities Research Centre, Catholic University of Leuven).

The ‘BET YOU!’ project was aimed at gaining more insight in the academic achievement of students with a migrant background in secondary education in Flanders. We wanted to deepen our understanding of the obstacles and barriers for successful school careers present in Flemish education, and the strategies students use to overcome these obstacles and barriers. The ‘BET YOU!’ project focused on the following topics:

- 1) The second grade of secondary education. Entering the second grade of secondary education, students have to make a choice for a specific track determining to a great extent their subsequent educational career and introduction to the labour market;
- 2) Applying a multicontext and multidisciplinary embedded approach as theoretical framework;
- 3) Stressing the importance of human agency in elaborating social structures; and

- 4) Studying the school career of pupils in specific cities and schools and from different ethnic minority communities.

The research project looked more specifically at the school careers of five ethnic groups: Chinese, Flemish, Moroccan, Polish and Turkish pupils in the second grade of secondary education. The 'BET YOU!' project was carried out simultaneously in three cities in Flanders: Antwerp, Ghent and Genk.

The research design of the 'BET YOU!' project consisted of a mixed method approach, combining a large-scale quantitative survey (over 11.000 pupils from ninety secondary schools in the three mentioned cities) and in-depth ethnographic research in the fields of school and home environment. In each city (Antwerp, Ghent and Genk), ethnographic data were collected on 114 second grade students in nine secondary schools (three schools in each city). In addition, school staff of the nine participating schools (principals, teachers and guidance counsellors) and members of the home environment of the students (family members, peers, educators in out of school activities) participated in semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions.

The 'BET YOU!' study was conducted in the cities of Antwerp, Ghent and Genk, Flanders' largest cities (besides the city of Brussels) and all three cities are characterized by a large and diverse migrant population. The disadvantaged position of students with a migrant background in education is predominantly an urban phenomenon as the majority of migrants live – as yet – in urban areas. The city of Antwerp is a harbour city, explaining (in part) the diversity of the migrant population. Ghent has a long history of textile industry, attracting migrant workers. The third city, Genk, was selected because the population of this city has a different profile than the population of the other two selected cities. Genk was historically an important mining city, receiving until the mid-1970's low skilled labour migration from predominantly Southern Europe, Morocco and Turkey. The three selected cities are spread over Flanders, with Ghent situated in the east, Antwerp in the middle and Genk in the west.

As part of the 'BET YOU!' research team, I conducted the ethnographic research in the three participating schools in the city of Ghent.

3.4 Research design of the doctoral thesis

To answer the main research questions, formulated above (3.3. Research questions), I have collected and analyzed three different data sets. Some of the data were collected as part of the 'BET YOU!' project; other data sets were collected independent of the 'BET YOU' project. The three data sets are:

- A small-scale corpus of policy documents, outlining language policies in education issued by Flemish Ministers of Education and Integration during two consecutive legislatures (2004-2009 and 2009-2014);
- Qualitative data collected during semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions in three schools in the city of Ghent (data I collected myself as part of the 'BET YOU!' project);
- Quantitative data collected via an online survey among teachers in three secondary schools in the cities of Ghent, Genk and Antwerp.

The semi-structured interviews and the survey were conducted over a period of 18 months (January 2010 – June 2011).

Table 2 provides an overview of the collected data sets as used in this doctoral research project.

Table 2. Data collection for the doctoral thesis

Research method	Location	'BET YOU!' project / own data collection
Qualitative data collection: Small-scale corpus of policy documents	Flemish policy level	Own data collection
Qualitative data collection: Semi-structured in-depth interviews and focus group discussions with teachers	Three schools in the city of Ghent	Part of the 'BET YOU!' project (collected and analyzed by myself)
Quantitative data collection: Online teachers' survey	Schools in the cities of Antwerp, Ghent and Genk	Own data collection

In the following sub sections (3.4.1. to 3.4.3.) each of the three data sets will be discussed.

3.4.1 Discourse analysis

A small-scaled corpus was compiled consisting of policy documents outlining language policies in the fields of education and integration developed and implemented by Flemish Ministers of Education and Integration in the periods 2004 – 2009 and 2009 – 2014. These policy documents provided us with insight in the Flemish languages policies in education and integration and the beliefs and ideologies behind these policies. The corpus contained four types of documents: 1) policy documents, issued at the start of each legislature presenting new policy initiatives; 2) complementary policy papers, issued in the course of a legislature, outlining more specific policies such as language policies

in education; 3) public speeches of Flemish Ministers; and 4) accounts of parliamentary debates on education and integration. The main documents of this small scale corpus are:

- Flemish Parliament, Minutes Plenary Meeting, 14 March 2007.
- Speech, Frank Vandenbroucke, Startdag Zorg+. Elke kleuter, elke schooldag, 2007.
- Vandenbroucke, F. 2007. *De lat hoog voor talen in iedere school. Goed voor de sterken, sterk voor de zwakken (Setting the bar high for languages in every school. Good for the strong, strong for the weak)*. Policy Paper Flemish Minister of Education and Training.
- Speech, Geert Bourgeois, Flemish Minister of Integration, 13 October 2009.
- Coalition agreement of the Flemish government 2004-2009. Vertrouwen geven, verantwoordelijkheid nemen. www.vlaanderen.be.
- Policy note Inburgering en Integratie 2009-2014. Geert Bourgeois, Vlaams minister van Bestuurszaken, Binnenlands Bestuur, Inburgering, Toerisme en Vlaamse Rand.
- Speech 'Identity and Autonomy', Jan Peumans, President of the Flemish Parliament, 11 July 2011, Flemish holiday.
- Smet, P. 2011. *Samen taalgrenzen verleggen (Moving linguistic boundaries together)*. Policy Paper Flemish Minister of Education and Training.
- Personal website Pascal Smet: <http://www.pascalsmet.be/article/samen-taalgrenzen-verleggen-kinderen-in-vlaanderen/>

Content analysis was performed on the small-scale corpus of policy documents about language in the fields of education and integration developed and implemented by Flemish ministers in the past two legislatures (2004 – 2014). The content analysis of these documents consisted of two steps. To start, a screening of collected documents was conducted to determine the topics of

discussion in each of these documents. Next, all of the collected documents were analyzed, marking passages on the role of language in integration and education.

3.4.2 In-depth interviews and focus group discussions

The in-depth interviews and focus group discussions with teachers were conducted in three schools in the city of Ghent.

Ghent is characterized by a large migrant population with a predominantly Turkish background. The three schools in Ghent were selected based on two criteria: population and curriculum. Firstly, the population of each of the schools had to include a sufficient share of students with a migrant background (varying from one third to a majority of the school population), and secondly the three most important tracks in the Flemish education system – the general, technical and vocational tracks – had to be represented in the overall sample of the three schools.

School A is the largest of the three selected schools and counts in total 1200 students, of which a minority of students with a migrant background (about one third of the school population). This school offers exclusively general tracks (languages, science, and mathematics) and is located in the city centre. The migrant population of the school consists mainly of students with a Turkish background.

School B is located close to the city centre offering professional and technical tracks related to the ‘soft’ industry (e.g. commerce, food, care). The majority of the school population, counting in total 730 students, has a migrant background and is characterized by a large diversity.

School C is located in the suburban area of the city and provides both professional and technical tracks related to the ‘soft’ (e.g. commerce, childcare) and the ‘hard’ (e.g. construction, mechanics and woodwork) sections of

industry. Similar to the second school, the population of this school – counting in total 520 students – has a migrant background but with a majority of Turkish origin.

In these three schools, overall 22 teachers participated in the in-depth interviews and focus group discussions: 5 teachers participated in school A; 7 teachers in school B, and 10 teachers in school C. The teachers took part in the study on a voluntary basis. Of these 22 teachers, there were 7 men and 15 women; 5 were teaching in the general track and 17 in the technical and professional tracks; 12 of the participating teachers are Dutch language teachers and 10 are specialist teachers related to the different tracks offered by the schools (see table 3 below).

Table 3. Teacher participation in the qualitative data collection

	Number of teachers (N = 22)
School	A = 5 B = 7 C = 10
M/F	M = 7 F = 15
Track	General = 5 Professional and Technical = 17
Dutch language /specialist teacher	Dutch language teachers = 12 Specialist teachers = 10

In total 25 interviews were conducted: 1 in-depth interview per teacher and 1 focus group discussion in each school.

For conducting the in-depth interviews and the focus group discussions, the method of a semi-structured interview was used, since I was interested in detailed and in-depth information about opinions and experiences of the

different interviewees. The semi-structured interview protocols were developed by the 'BET YOU!' research team, aimed at exploring the main relevant themes of the research topic: school trajectories and the role of school actors and school policies.

Appendix A and appendix B contain the semi-structured interview protocols (in Dutch), used for conducting the in-depth interviews and focus group discussions with the respondents of the qualitative data collection.

The qualitative research techniques used in the study (in-depth interviews and focus group discussions) provide insight on both a descriptive level and interpretative level by focusing on various important factors regarding the role of language in different educational situations and contexts.

The Grounded Theory Approach of Glazer and Strauss (1967) was used as guidance, especially their idea of Saturation Theory. According to the authors, data collection and analysis go hand in hand and are not separated phases of research. On the basis of the analysis of several interviews, the researcher is able to decide what further information needs to be collected. The aim is to develop the theory with the help of the analysis of the data and to adapt the theory when the data are not in line with the preliminary version of the theory. This process is called 'theoretical sampling', a method that has to lead to a grounded theory that the social phenomenon studied in the research, explains. The collection of data is finalized when 'theoretical saturation' occurs, or in other words, when further data collection and analysis do not provide fundamental changes in the theory. The researcher needs to guarantee the creation of a sample which is as representative as possible with respondents reflecting a variety of biographies.

During the open-ended interviews and focus-group discussions teachers were asked to talk in depth about their ideas and opinions regarding language (both the dominant language and the home language), parental support, home environment and academic motivation as factors for academic success. The respondents have each taken part in 2 interviews (1 in-depth interview and 1

focus group discussion) and each interview lasted approximately one hour. The in-depth interviews and focus group discussions were conducted by myself, audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim. The transcriptions were coded and analysed by the use of a software programme designed for qualitative data analysis (NVIVO 9, QSR International Pty Ltd 2011).

The interviews were all conducted in Dutch. To support or demonstrate research findings and results, quotations and excerpts of the transcriptions were translated in English and included in the empirical study presented in Chapter 5. The possibility of (limited) loss of nuance and specific meaning of typical Dutch expressions has to be taken into account. To guarantee the anonymity of the respondents, no names are used.

3.4.3 Online survey

The online survey was conducted in secondary schools in the three cities of Antwerp, Ghent and Genk⁴. To obtain a representative sample of schools and teachers in these three cities, all 118 schools offering a (combination of) general, technical or vocational secondary education curriculum were invited to participate in the research project. Secondary schools providing special needs programmes were not included in the survey (analogous to the school selection of the large-scale 'BET YOU!' project). In total, 48 of the schools in the population agreed to participate (40.7%).

The school composition is determined, based on the responses of the participating teachers. In the online questionnaire they were asked to give an estimation of the share of students with a migrant background in their school (see table 4 below). In other words, school composition refers to the

⁴ I conducted the online survey in the three cities where the large-scale 'BET YOU!' project was carried out, based on the same selection criteria. The data collected via the online teachers' survey was not used in the BET YOU!' project.

composition of the student population as perceived by the participating teachers.

Table 4. School composition – quantitative data collection

% Students with migrant background	Number of schools
0 – 20%	13
21 – 40%	7
41 – 60%	9
61 – 80%	13
81 – 100%	6
Total	48

In first instance, the school principals of the secondary schools received the invitation to participate in the research project. After confirmation of participation by the school principal, the teachers of these schools were in turn invited to take part in the online survey. All the teachers of the participating schools received a personal invitation letter with a unique access code to the online survey. Teachers participated on a voluntary basis. In total 774 teachers (31%) of the 48 participating schools responded to the survey by filling out an anonymous online questionnaire. For this purpose, I made use of the online survey service ‘Survey Monkey’.

The ratio of female and male respondents is similar to the ratio of female and male teachers in the Flemish education system (62.5% female respondents and 37.5% male respondents). Looking at the different tracks, 25% of the respondents work (mainly) in the general track, 37.5 % in the professional track, 19% in the technical track and 19% in other tracks (e.g. artistic secondary education, education for newly arrived migrants).

The online survey consists of four main themes: monolingualism, trust, self-efficacy and citizenship.

- Monolingualism: Teachers' beliefs regarding the use of (home) languages in education (monolingual beliefs) were measured using eight items (see table 4). The survey items were adapted from a previous research project conducted in Flanders (i.e. the SIPEF-project, see Agirdag, Van Avermaet and Van Houtte 2013). They were adapted to the context of secondary education. The items of the SIPEF-project were used in the context of primary education.
- Trust: Teachers' trust in students was measured on the basis of ten items derived from the trust scale developed by Hoy and Tschannen-Moran (1999).
- Self-efficacy: Teachers' self-efficacy was measured using twelve items from the Teachers' Sense of Efficacy Scale developed by Tschannen-Moran and Hoy (2001).
- Citizenship: Teachers were asked what students should learn to become active citizens, using a list of 12 possible answers based on the work of Zaman (2006). A second set of questions referred to elements of citizenship students learn at the schools from the teachers, using a list of 7 possible items. (See table 10).

Appendix C contains the online questionnaire (in Dutch).

The quantitative data, used in the empirical studies presented in Chapter 6 and 7, consisted of a clustered sample of teachers from within the schools (48 secondary schools in the cities of Antwerp, Ghent and Genk). Because the data are situated at different levels (individual teacher-level and school-level), multilevel modelling was appropriate (SPSS Version 20 in Chapter 6 and SPSS Version 22 in Chapter 7, MIXED procedure is used). Missing data were handled with the multiple imputation procedure: five imputations were requested and the pooled results were shown.

To analyse the data in Chapter 6, the following variables were used: monolingualism, trust, self-efficacy, teachers' experience, gender, curricular track and ethnic minority composition. In Chapter 7 we used the following variables: teachers' experience, gender, curricular track, ethnic minority composition, school sector, monolingualism and citizenship education.

3.5 Research context

3.5.1 Introduction

After clarifying the 'What' (research questions) and the 'How' (data collection and data analysis), in this third section of Chapter 3, the research context of this doctoral study is outlined. The research was located in Flanders, the northern Dutch-speaking part of Belgium. As will become clear throughout the different empirical chapters, the specific socio-political situation of Flanders plays an important role in the dynamic interaction between integration, citizenship and languages policies.

3.5.2 The Belgian state structure

Flanders is the northern Dutch-speaking part of Belgium. Belgium is a small country counting a little more than 30.000 square meters and 11 million inhabitants, but is at the same time characterized by a complex state structure. Since the last five decades, Belgium evolved from a unitary state with one central government to a federal state with three different policy levels: the federal state level; three linguistic communities (Flemish, French and German) and three economic regions (Flanders, Wallonia and the Brussels-Capital Region) (Adam 2013). Each of these three policy levels has authority over different aspects of policy. This division of authority over the different policy

levels is especially relevant when looking at language policies in education, integration and citizenship. Education is the responsibility of the communities, resulting in three different education systems: a Dutch-speaking, French-speaking and German-speaking education system. Integration policies also belong to the responsibility of the communities, but formal citizenship policies belong to the authority of the federal state. The constitutional reform of Belgium is, even at this very moment, still an incomplete and ongoing process. Ongoing debate is mostly about the transfer of authority from the federal to the regional level.

Especially Flanders has been the driving force behind the centrifugal constitutional reform of the Belgian state structure. Since the second half of the twentieth century, Flanders has incessantly worked – and continues to do so – to gain more cultural, political and financial autonomy. The process of sub-state nation-building became even more manifest from the 1990's onward, shaped by the electoral successes of (extreme) right-wing parties; the rise of a minority nationalism and the ongoing politicization of migration and integration issues (Adam 2010; Adam 2013). By 'minority nationalism' we mean ethno-cultural groups who think of themselves as nations within a larger state and have mobilized to form their own self-governing political communities, either as an independent state or as an autonomous region within a larger state (Kymlicka 1999). E.g. in the Flemish context, the extreme right-wing party used the slogan 'Eigen volk eerst' ('Own people first') referring to the need to protect the Dutch-speaking, Flemish people against the French-speaking, Walloon people and, at the same time, against the increasing migrant population.

3.5.3 Citizenship and integration policies in Flanders

The recent migration history of Western Europe, and also Belgium, can be subdivided into five successive migration waves leading to a rapid transformation into a multicultural, multilingual and multi-religious society.

The first wave consisted of predominantly low-skilled labour migration during the 1950's, 1960's and the first half of the 1970's, as a result of an active migration policy conducted by Western European countries in mainly Southern Europe, Morocco and Turkey. This wave of labour migration ended in the mid-1970's, when migration was limited to family reunification, matrimonial migration, asylum claims and EU-migration (second wave). The 1980's and 1990's were characterized by continued family reunification and matrimonial migration (third wave). The fourth wave occurred in the following decade, when family reunification and matrimonial migration was complemented by increasing asylum migration and migration from new European Union member states (Martiniello et al. 2010). Recently, Western Europe has been confronted with a fifth migration wave. The refugee crisis, that started in 2015 and is still ongoing, consists of refugees originating from war zones in the Middle East and Africa arriving on the shores of Europe.

This transition into a super-diverse (Vertovec 2007) society, as it is in other parts of Western Europe, has increased feelings of uncertainty and destabilization, and has led to questions about the meaning and function of social cohesion, identity and citizenship at policy level and within the wider society.

Because of its particular state structure, in Belgium the different authorities related to citizenship are not situated at one policy level but are distributed between the federal and the regional levels. Authority for matters of formal citizenship belongs to the federal level: 1) migration policy, voting rights for foreigners, anti-discrimination and anti-racism policies; 2) entrance to the country; 3) permanent residency and 4) acquisition of nationality. The regional level has authority for the implementation of integration and languages policies for migrants.

The cornerstone of the Flemish integration policy are the civic integration regulations (*inburgerings- en integratiedecreet* 2013). The Flemish government provides integration trajectories, compulsory for most new

migrants and for some categories of old migrants (depending on welfare, unemployment benefits, or social housing) (Adam and Jacobs, 2014). These trajectories mainly include language courses (the level of language proficiency has been recently increased from CEFR-level⁵ A1 to A2), a civic integration course (focusing on rules and regulations, common norms and values, guidance to the labour market and individuals counselling). Non-participation or drop-out is sanctioned with an administrative fine. Almost fifteen years after its first implementation, the Flemish civic integration policy has developed into a centralized and professionalized policy with a large network of implementing actors (e.g. the reception offices, the Houses of Dutch, and the Flemish employment agency) (Adam and Jacobs 2014).

This division of authorities between the levels of government has considerable consequences. For example, an immigrant who doesn't meet Flemish integration requirements, e.g. participating in a compulsory integration programme, cannot be sanctioned with a denial of federal rights. Or in the reverse situation, Flanders does not have the authority to impose an integration policy as a condition for entrance to the territory, permanent residence and acquisition of nationality. At the same time, at the federal level, unlike in some other European countries, language proficiency in the dominant language and knowledge about the host society are not requirements for obtaining formal citizenship.

3.5.4 Education policies in Flanders

Education in Flanders is compulsory between the age of six and eighteen. Pre-primary education, starting at the age of two-and-a-half, is not compulsory but strongly encouraged. Flanders has one of the highest participation rates

⁵ Common European Frame of Reference for Languages

(over 90%) worldwide for pre-primary education⁶. Both primary and secondary education encompass six years. Once turned eighteen, participation in education is no longer compulsory.

A main characteristic of education in Belgium is the ‘freedom of education’, guaranteeing free school choice for parents and students on the one hand, and a high level of organizational and pedagogical autonomy to school boards and schools on the other hand. Freedom of education is guaranteed by the Belgian constitution (article 24⁷).

This study is situated in secondary education. The secondary education system in Flanders consists of three main tracks: general secondary education (ASO), technical secondary education (TSO) and vocational secondary education (BSO). There are also secondary schools providing special needs programmes. Between the three main tracks (ASO, TSO and BSO), there exists a clear hierarchy of social appreciation, with general education at the top, vocational education at the bottom, and technical education in the middle. Academic tracks are attributed a higher social status by teachers, parents and students because of the stronger focus on knowledge and cognitive skills compared to vocational and technical tracks (Stevens and Vermeersch 2010, Van Houtte and Stevens 2009).

After finishing primary education, students are not formally allocated to a secondary school or a certain track. School and track choice is made by students and parents themselves, mainly based on prior achievement in primary education, the advice given by primary school teachers. There is also a strong relation between school and track choice and the social background of the parents (Boone and Van Houtte 2013). In contrast to many other countries, such as the UK or the USA, there are no centrally-organized standardized tests in Flanders. But because of the perceived difference in social status between the

⁶ <https://onderwijs.vlaanderen.be/nl/hoge-kleuterparticipatie-in-het-nederlandstalig-onderwijs-in-vlaanderen-en-brussel> - Last accessed 15/12/2015

⁷ http://www.senate.be/doc/const_nl.html - Last accessed 26/02/2015

four main educational tracks, parents and students often opt for enrolment in general secondary education irrespective of interests and abilities of the students. As a result, students often fail in general education, they get demotivated and 'go down the waterfall' or cascade, first moving to technical education and in many cases, later on to vocational education. This often results in withdrawal and dropping out of school without qualification (Duquet et al. 2006).

Another characteristic of the Flemish education system is the high level of social reproduction regarding educational outcomes. Different international comparative research programmes (PISA, TIMS, PIRLS)⁸ show a high mean level of achievement in Flemish secondary education, but further analysis of the survey results reveal the persistence of social inequality within the Flemish education system. E.g. the consecutive PISA-data demonstrate a great gap in performance between 1) students with high SES (socio-economic status) and students with a low SES; 2) students with a non-migrant background and students with a migrant background; and 3) native Dutch speaking students and students who speak (mostly) another language at home (De Meyer et al. 2005, De Meyer 2008, Jacobs 2009). Already in the first year of secondary education students with lower SES and migrant background are over-represented in technical and vocational tracks, while students with higher social and Western European background are overrepresented in the general track.

For example, figures show that almost 50 percent of the Turkish and North-African girls start secondary education in the vocational track. On average, 15 percent of all students leave secondary education without a qualification, but half of Turkish and North-African students do (Duquet, et. al., 2006). Regarding both early tracking and the waterfall system, there are not only important differences between students with a non-immigrant and an immigrant background, but also between various groups of students with an

⁸ PISA: Programme for International Student Assessment (OECD)
TIMSS: Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (IEA)
PIRLS: Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (IEA)

immigrant background. In general, school performance of Turkish and North-African students is significantly lower than students with another ethnic background (Duquet, et. al., 2006).

Research has indicated that the education system in Flanders has developed a dynamics of 'early tracking': in fact, students are not so much grouped together based on ability and interest, as they are on the basis of socio-economic, socio-cultural and ethnic background (Agirdag, Demanet, Van Houtte, and Van Avermaet 2011; Van Houtte and Stevens 2010; Van Praag et al. 2014; D'hondt 2016). The dynamic of early tracking not only leads to social reproduction in education, but also contributes to social segregation between students with different social, cultural and ethnic backgrounds in the Flemish context. Different types of secondary schools can be distinguished: multilateral schools offer all the tracks, and categorical schools only offer one or two tracks. Often, schools offering the general or academic track are categorical schools with only one track (Van Houtte and Stevens, 2009). So, students with lower SES and migrant background are not only grouped together in the lower tracks (technical and vocational tracks), but these students are also grouped together in separate schools. These schools are often labelled 'black schools' or 'concentration schools'.

The freedom of school choice, guaranteed by the Belgian constitution to parents and students, may well reinforce the processes of social and ethnic segregation between secondary schools. Especially white middle class parents with a Western European background have the necessary resources (economic, social and symbolic capital) to select or avoid certain ('black' or 'concentration') schools and enrol their children in their school of preference regardless of distance and financial costs (D'hondt 2016).

For a good understanding of the Flemish educational context, a reference has to be made to the Belgian state structure and the process of state reform taking place in Belgium. The consecutive state reforms, starting in the mid-1950's and still ongoing, are based on the 'one community, one language'

principle. In the Belgian Constitution, linguistically homogeneous regions were created (Van Avermaet and Gysen 2009). Dutch is the official language in Flanders, French in Wallonia, and German in the German-speaking part, while the Brussels-Capital Region is officially bilingual (Dutch and French). A specific set of laws was passed to regulate the language use in the different Belgian regions, referred to as the 'taalwetten' ('language laws'). Based on these laws, the language of instruction in the Flemish education system is the Dutch language.

As will be further developed throughout the different empirical chapters, a final characteristic (relevant for this study) of the Flemish education system is the clear monolingual paradigm underlying educational policies. The policy shift toward an explicit monolingual frame of reference is related to the increasing influence of international comparative research programmes, in particular the consecutive PISA surveys. As indicated above, the mean level of achievement is very high in Flanders but the social inequality within the Flemish education system proves persistent. Flemish policy makers have made use of the PISA results to implement more stringent language policies. A monolingual policy framework was developed, based on four main assumptions:

- 1) Dutch proficiency (the language of instruction in education) is a condition for participation in education;
- 2) The use of home language other than Dutch is detrimental to achieving academic success and it leads to insufficient Dutch language proficiency;
- 3) Insufficient language proficiency in Dutch at the start of an education trajectory needs to be remediated so that academic success can be achieved;
- 4) Parents are to a large extent responsible for the (insufficient) language proficiency in Dutch of their children.

In 2006, the then Flemish Minister of Education (Frank Vandenbroucke) published for the first time a specific policy document on language policy in

education: “Setting the bar high for languages in every school. Good for the strong, strong for the weak”. Since then, proficiency in the standard variety of the Dutch language has been considered as the most important condition for academic success. The Minister of Education described his three policy priorities as follows: “Language, language and language” (Vandenbroucke, 2007). The subsequent Flemish Ministers of Education have for the most part continued the policy guidelines set out in the 2006 policy document.

Part 2 - Empirical studies

Introduction

Part Two of this doctoral thesis consists of four chapters each presenting an empirical study in the format of a scientific article. The first three of these articles are published in international scientific journals, the last and fourth article was still under review when finalizing this dissertation.

In Chapter 4 'Integration in Flanders (Belgium). Citizenship as achievement' I will show, with Flanders as a particular context, how intertwined integration, citizenship and language policies have become in Western European societies. The focus on language proficiency in the national or dominant language has contributed to a shift in integration and citizenship policies, replacing the concept of formal citizenship with a moral or virtual concept of citizenship (Schinkel 2008; Pulinx and Van Avermaet 2015). Chapter 4 is based on the qualitative analysis of discourses by Flemish policy makers, policy papers and legislation.

In Chapter 5 'Linguistic diversity and education: dynamic interaction between language education policies and teachers' beliefs' we find that the beliefs teachers hold on monolingual policies at school often comprise beliefs not only regarding the language proficiency in Dutch of their migrant students but also regarding the more general integration process of the students and their parents. This study is based on qualitative research data collected during interviews with secondary education teachers in three Flemish schools.

Chapter 6 'Silencing linguistic diversity: the extent, the determinants and consequences of the monolingual beliefs of Flemish teachers', aims at deepening our understanding of the dynamic interaction between language policies, school characteristics and teachers' beliefs about monolingual education policies. Not only did we find that teachers strongly adhere to monolingual policies, while there are significant differences across schools, often related to the ethnic composition of the schools. And furthermore, we found that a stronger

adherence to monolingualism triggered teachers to have lower expectations about their students. The study presented in this chapter is based on the analysis of a survey of 775 teachers from across 48 secondary schools in Flanders.

Finally, in the last empirical chapter, I will look at the relation between teachers' beliefs about monolingual ideologies and policies in education and their beliefs about citizenship education. In a social and political context of monolingual ideologies, underlying both citizenship policies and language policies in education, we are interested in a possible relation between the monolingual beliefs of teachers and their beliefs about citizenship education. The last of the empirical chapters, Chapter 7 'Teachers' beliefs about citizenship education: different dimensions and variations across teachers and schools', is again based on the analysis of a survey of 775 teachers from across 48 secondary schools in Flanders. The results of this study indicate that we can distinguish three dimensions of citizenship education: social engagement, authoritative and participative. All three dimensions vary significantly at school and teacher-level. Furthermore, we found that some teacher characteristics and school characteristics were significantly related to teachers' beliefs about citizenship education. Finally, the results showed that teachers who adhere more strongly to monolingualism in education gave more attention to the authoritative dimension of citizenship education and less attention to the participatory dimension.

At the beginning of the four empirical chapters, the schematic representation of the conceptual model is reproduced and the specific focus of each chapter is highlighted (black and red arrows in the conceptual model are drawn in bold).

Chapter 4. Integration in Flanders (Belgium).

Citizenship as achievement: how intertwined are ‘citizenship’ and ‘integration’ in Flemish language policies?

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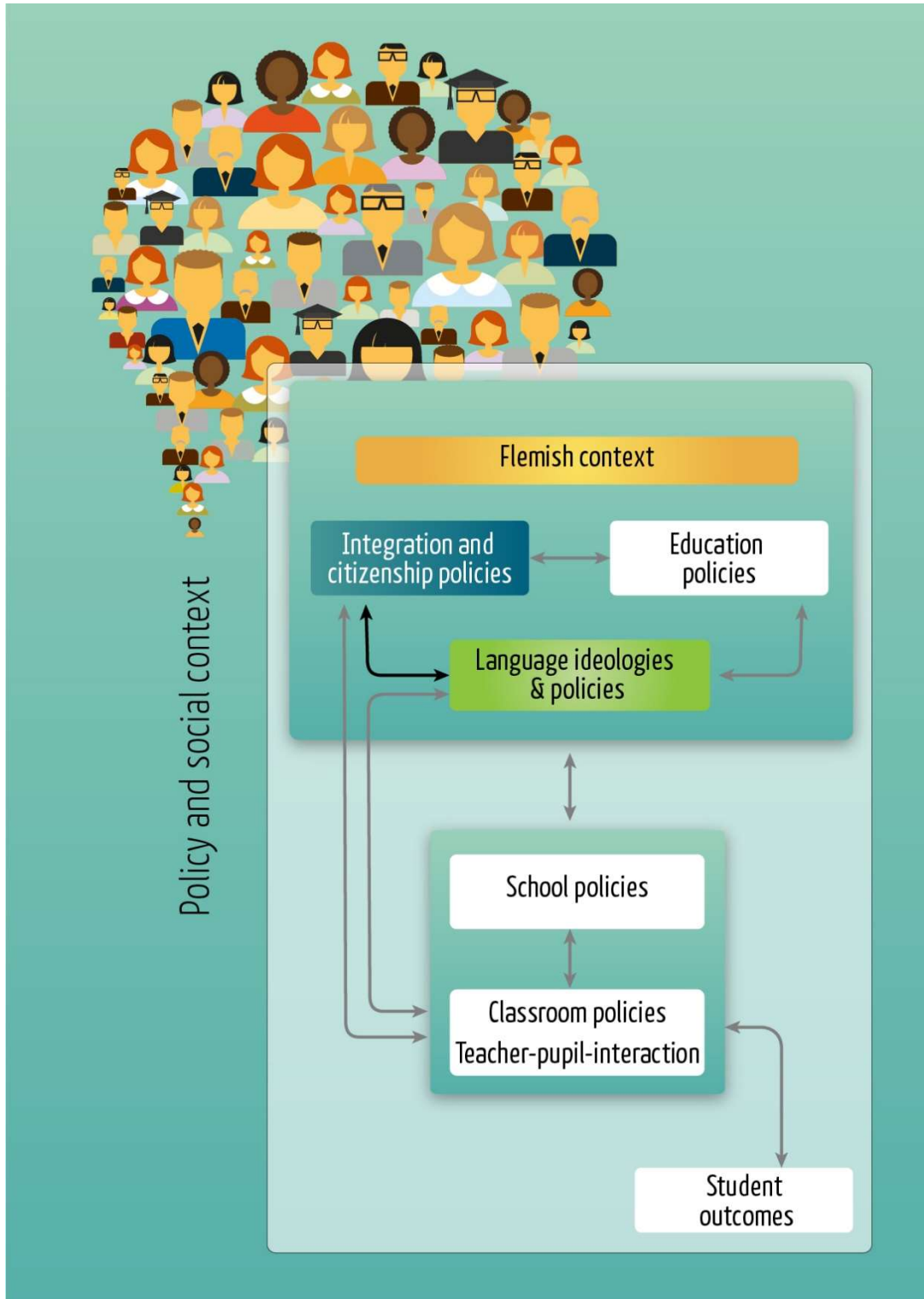
4.1 Abstract

In this article we will show, with Flanders (Belgium) as a concrete case, how intertwined integration and citizenship discourses and policies have become in contemporary super-diverse societies. Flanders is a clear example of how integration is gradually being replaced by virtual or moral citizenship. The fact that (moral) citizenship has replaced integration, has as a consequence that the concept of citizenship has shifted, in a subtle way, from a dynamic and contextualized process, which shapes itself in daily practice through social networks, into ‘citizenship as achievement’. This is an achievement that is the sole responsibility of certain groups in society. It is also an impossible achievement, because some are exempt from it and others will always be perceived as not yet belonging to the category of ‘true citizens’.

Keywords: moral citizenship, language ideologies, language and integration policies, super-diversity, social networks

4.2 Conceptual model

Figure 2. Conceptual model – chapter 4



4.3 Introduction

Although we cannot ignore the fact that some countries have already had language requirements for managing immigration and citizenship for a long time – e.g. Australia (McNamara 2009) or the US (Kunnan 2009) – the last three decades have seen a proliferation of compulsory language courses and/or tests for integration or citizenship through policy emulation (Foblets et al. 2008; Leung and Lewkowicz 2006; Extra, Spotti and Van Avermaet 2009, Van Avermaet 2009 and 2012). In some countries, language conditions were and still are a very covert part of obtaining citizenship. Belgium (Van Avermaet and Gysen 2009) or Spain (Vigers and Mar-Molinero 2009) are just two examples of contexts in which citizenship policies lack any overt language tests. Australia, however, in the late colonial period and early years of independence had a very overt exclusion policy of immigrants with the use of the dictation test (McNamara 2009).

Compared to other countries' current language and citizenship policies, Belgium is a very interesting case. Most language and citizenship policies have been developed at the level of the nation-state. As will be explained further in this paper, Belgium is a federalized state with a citizenship policy at the national level and integration policies at regional level. Although the Flemish government officially has no voice in the development of Belgium's citizenship policy, we would argue that Flanders is both covertly and overtly pushing its integration policy towards a more (virtual) citizenship policy.

Citizenship is currently very central in the social, political and academic debate, mainly in the context of integration, but in a very diffuse and incoherent way: national, European, global, shared, moral, formal, multicultural, active, social and inclusive citizenship are all variations of citizenship that are often heard in public debates without further clarification or precision. The meaning of citizenship is hardly ever discussed when used in policy discourse or public debate; each interlocutor refers to his or her own definition of citizenship. But

what exactly is citizenship? What do politicians mean when they talk about citizenship? What are the ideologies underlying the different adjectives we attach to the concept 'citizenship'? In what contexts are they used? And why is citizenship nowadays so central in the debate?

This article aims to uncover the dynamic interrelations between integration, language and citizenship policies in the particular socio-political and socio-cultural context of Flanders and Belgium. The focus will be on how language is used – consciously and unconsciously – in Flanders as the primary instrument for intertwining integration and citizenship.

The other main region in Belgium is Wallonia. The differences in ideological frameworks underlying the policy choices made in both regions regarding integration and citizenship will be highlighted to gain further insight into the way citizenship has been re-conceptualized and shaped to fit the political and social aspirations of Flanders.

This article is divided into three sections. First, we will conceptualize the notions of citizenship and integration and explore the interrelations between integration, citizenship and language policies. Next, we will address the particular socio-political and socio-cultural situation of Flanders and Belgium. And finally, the first two parts will be linked together by demonstrating how the particular situation in Flanders has led to a highly moral and conditional conceptualization of citizenship in this specific socio-political context.

4.4 The virtualization of citizenship: shifting from a formal to a moral concept of citizenship

4.4.1 Conceptualizing citizenship

The meaning of citizenship has changed throughout history. In Ancient Greece, citizenship referred mainly to the rights to political participation given to an exclusive group of members of the polis. In the Roman Empire, citizenship covered a whole range of legal rights concerning law, property and governance. These rights were attributed on the basis of exclusivity and inequality in a segmented class system. Citizenship in the European city-states of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was reserved for a particular group, namely people born inside the city (thus excluding foreigners born outside the city). The role of the citizen was extended to include a whole range of legal, political, economic, cultural and social rights and duties in the city. With the rise of the nineteenth century nation-state in Europe, citizenship was again expanded to include a larger spatial entity. The nation-states were a combination of a political and economic entity (the state) and a cultural and/or ethnic entity (the nation). Until then, for the most part citizenship had comprised of political and economic rights and duties. In the nineteenth century, new elements were added such as language, culture and norms and values to encompass both dimensions of state and nation. At that time, the 'state' component of citizenship was at the forefront: citizens as legal members of the nation-state enjoying the same rights and duties. Although the content (comprising an increasing number of rights and duties) and space (covering a larger territory) of citizenship was extended, it must be noted that citizenship remained characterized by exclusivity. It was not equally attributed to all the members of the state.

In the twenty-first century, the two dimensions of citizenship related to the nation-state are still present in social and political debate. However, there seems to be an inversion of the relation between these two dimensions. Until

the last century, in policy discourse and public debate citizenship was mostly used to refer to the economic and political rights and duties given by the state to its members through (the acquisition of) nationality. The concept of citizenship was not used so much in the discourse and debate on migration and integration (Dispas 2003). Active citizens were seen as citizens who participated in the political domain through activities such as voting, debating, protesting and lobbying. The definition of citizenship provided by Leary reflects this conception of citizenship: “A bundle of rights – primarily, political participation in the life of the community, the right to vote, and the right to receive protection from the community – as well as obligations” (2000, 247). Over recent decades however, the centre of gravity has shifted again from ‘state’ to ‘nation’ and, as will be illustrated, it is possible to find similarities with the processes of nation-state building in the nineteenth century. Presently, cultural rights and duties (such as knowledge of the host society) and the willingness to share a particular set of norms and beliefs are increasingly seen as conditions for people to obtain political and economic rights. At the same time, the relationship between the state and the individual has changed, as the duties of the individual towards the state are increasingly emphasized over the rights granted by the state.

Schinkel (2008) distinguished two layers of citizenship and labelled them formal and moral citizenship. Formal citizenship consists of a set of economic and political rights and duties derived from (the acquisition of) nationality: e.g. holding a passport, being protected by the law and having to uphold the law. Moral citizenship refers to a set of values, norms and beliefs – albeit never clearly defined, and open-ended – which members of society are expected to internalize and to act upon.

Over recent years, in Western Europe and especially in Flanders (Belgium) and the Netherlands (Blommaert and Verschueren 1998; Schinkel 2008), the discourse on citizenship has fundamentally changed. Citizenship as a formal and general political and economic concept faded out of the discussions

and debates and was steadily replaced by the concept of moral citizenship, mainly within the context of integration and migration. Citizenship, and moral citizenship in particular, continues to be more inclusive of certain social groups within society and exclusive of other groups, predominantly basing this differentiation on the socio-economic and migration background of these groups and individuals. The shift from formal to moral citizenship has been so radical that moral citizenship has become a condition for obtaining formal citizenship and fulfilling imposed duties and a condition for exercising the rights granted. Being an active citizen is no longer defined as participating on the public stage and trying to influence political processes, shaping and reshaping social conditions. But a strong tendency is displayed, focusing on individuals and their responsibilities and duties. The social more, rather than the political dimensions of citizenship, are highlighted and democracy is seen more in terms of consensus and sameness than in terms of contestation and difference (Biesta 2011).

Paradoxically, one could state that being an active citizen today – especially in the context of integration – means being a passive citizen with regard to the political dimensions of citizenship in that the citizen has to comply with a vague set of national norms and values.

4.4.2 Integration and citizenship policies intertwined

The change in the conceptualization of citizenship – moral citizenship increasingly prevailing over formal citizenship in policy discourse and social debate – can be situated in the transition of Europe into a ‘super-diverse’ society (Vertovec 2007). European societies are characterized by a dynamic interplay of variables among an increased number of new immigrants who have arrived over the last decade in small and scattered groups. These are immigrants with multiple origins who are connected transnationally, with different socio-economic backgrounds, and legally stratified (Vertovec 2007).

Socio-economic and socio-political developments, such as the fall of the 'iron curtain', the extension of the EU, globalization processes and continuing poverty in (mainly) African countries have increased migration into Western European countries. At the same time, Europe is going through a process of economic and political unification. Both of these processes have had an important effect on the different nation-states across Europe (Horner 2009, Van Avermaet 2009). On the one hand, the (illusion of a) mono-cultural societies seem(s) to have been lost forever with the influx of languages, cultures and lifestyles from all over the world; on the other hand, the nation-states are giving up ever more powers and competences to the European Union, powers which were previously considered to belong to the sole sovereignty of the nation-state (e.g. the symbolic value of creating a monetary union cannot be overestimated in this respect).

Questions about the meaning of national identity, and how to maintain social cohesion and preserve national, cultural and linguistic heritage are of growing concern for policy makers and society as a whole (Van Avermaet 2009). In response to these challenges, European countries have developed integration policies. Blommaert and Verschueren (1998) define these policies both as the goals of the government's policies (migrants ultimately becoming 'integrated' into the host society) and the crystallization of the philosophy of (Belgian) migrant politics. In other words, according to Blommaert and Verschueren, integration refers both to the political goodwill (of Belgians) to accommodate foreigners, and also to the position which migrants should eventually occupy in society. Although legislation has been passed and countless policy papers are being written in order to implement integration policies, a precise definition of integration has never been formulated, pinpointing the exact criteria for integration, the endpoint of integration and the precise target groups of the integration policies. Horner (2009, 122) calls it the 'semantic vagueness of integration'. Consequently, the integration process remains under the exclusive control of the majority group: at any time criteria can be altered, target groups can be expanded and endpoints can be moved forward by policy makers as well

by wider society. The policy makers are the privileged ones mastering and manipulating the norms used for measuring integration (Silverstein 1996). Migrants play no part in the determination of the conditions and modalities of integration, yet at the same time they are held solely responsible for the success or failure of their process of integration (Blommaert and Verschueren 1998; Horner 2009). Due to the vagueness of the term and the increasing contestation – especially among the migrant population – of a nonreciprocal concept of integration, the term has become obsolete (Blommaert and Verschueren 1998; Schinkel 2008) and new concepts and frames of reference came into use. However – as will be demonstrated in the analysis below – the underlying ideas and paradigms of integration have been maintained, including aspects such as the arbitrariness of the criteria for integration and the exclusion of the minority group from negotiating the conditions of integration.

This led to a re-conceptualization of citizenship based on the interplay between moral citizenship that is seen as a condition for obtaining formal citizenship. Such moral citizenship is being crystallized through the knowledge of the language and moral values of the nation-state. An increasingly larger number of European countries have passed legislation making language proficiency in the dominant, majority language and knowledge of the host society conditions for obtaining nationality, residency or even entrance to the territory (Van Avermaet 2012). Yet on the other hand, moral citizenship continues to play a role even after the acquisition of formal citizenship. After becoming a formal citizen with political and economic rights and duties, migrants have to continue demonstrating their proficiency in the national language and their adherence to the norms, values and beliefs of the host society. Hence, full moral citizenship is achieved through a long process of integration in the host society. According to Schinkel (2008) moral citizenship will never be achieved by some immigrants, they can never become and/or will never be perceived as ‘full’ citizens. The process of becoming a citizen of their host country is never ending. The following comment often made to

descendants of migrants, born in Belgium, is a clear example: “For a migrant, your Dutch isn’t bad at all”.

In the current social and political discourse, the concepts of integration and citizenship have become interchangeable. This is neither a neutral nor just a semantic evolution susceptible to modes or trends in public debate; rather it has significant consequences. Immigrants coming to Western European countries not only have to integrate in the host societies, but they have to do so by going through a compulsory and formalized trajectory, adopting the language, values, norms and beliefs of the new society – or in other words becoming a moral citizen.

In the Netherlands and in Flanders (Belgium), new immigrants have to take an integration course that is called ‘*in-burgering*’ and consists of a language course and a course in societal knowledge referred to as the norms and values of the host society. ‘Inburgering’ literally means ‘becoming a citizen’. This implies that immigrants are not seen as citizens before migration, or at least not citizens of the ‘right kind’ living by moral standards reconcilable with the host society. As we saw earlier, citizenship was historically a general concept referring to the predominantly political and economic rights and duties given by a state to *all* of its nationals. By contrast, moral citizenship is almost exclusively used in the context of integration and refers to *specific* groups of members of society of immigrant descent. This moral scrutiny is applied to migrants – new and old – who come to European host societies via labour migration, family unification, and matrimonial migration and as asylum seekers from Turkey, Morocco, the southern part of the world and Eastern European countries (see section 4.5.3. below).

However, it is not only first-generation migrants who have to demonstrate unremittingly and continually how good their linguistic and societal knowledge is. The requirement to achieve and continuously demonstrate moral citizenship is passed on to the second and third (and even fourth...) generations of people of immigrant descent. Members of the majority

are exempted of this kind of moral scrutiny. Schinkel (2008) called this the virtualization of citizenship. As he puts it:

“The situation arises, at least for a part of the population that people are citizens in the formal sense, but their integration and consequently their citizenship is considered to be defective. Thus, their citizenship is still questioned.” (Schinkel 2008, 55)

Moral – more than formal – citizenship is now depicted as the endpoint of integration, but this endpoint will always remain out of reach for (new) immigrants; it will never be fully achieved. In recent years, attempts have been made by policy makers in Western European countries to define and describe the particularities of national identity. This has led to social and political debates, e.g. in the Netherlands and in France, resulting mostly in a list of rights and duties which largely resembled the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, mainly underlining the separation between church and state, equality between men and women and freedom of speech. Of course, the real specificity of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is its universal relevance as opposed to national (or cultural and ethnic) peculiarities. So, the norms, values and beliefs that immigrants, as part of ‘their’ integration process, are supposed to acquire and meet, are not made explicit since it is in the interest of the majority group (the privileged) to keep these norms implicit and easy to manipulate. And the question is whether the norms can be made explicit and presented as common values for the nation, given the fact that diversity is a unique and distinguishing feature of every society.

4.4.3 Citizenship and language policies

We have highlighted earlier that both policy makers and society at wide consider the national language and knowledge of society to be essential and definable elements of moral citizenship. Under the same assumption, proficiency in the national language and knowledge of society can thus be used as 'objective' measures for moral citizenship.

The national language is viewed as an intrinsic part of national identity; language is considered an indicator of loyalty, patriotism, belonging, inclusion, and membership (Shohamy 2006). The construction of language ideologies does not happen abruptly or accidentally but is always situated in specific social, historic and political contexts – e.g. the socio-economic and the socio-political developments in Europe combined with a rapid transformation into a multicultural and multilingual society. Furthermore, language ideologies are not only socially and politically situated, but are also connected to instances of identity construction, and power relations in societies (Blommaert and Verschueren 1998, Blackledge and Pavlenko 2002).

The language ideologies that currently dominate the integration and citizenship discourse consist largely of the following elements (Silverstein 1996; Piller 2001; Blackledge 2005; Shohamy 2006; Milani 2008; Horner 2009):

The use of one common language by all members of society is a prerequisite for achieving social cohesion;

1) The use of one common language by all members of society is a prerequisite for achieving social cohesion;

2) Social cohesion can only be guaranteed by acquiring the standard variety of that national language;

3) Language proficiency in the national language is a condition for social participation and must therefore be acquired before participating;

4) Language proficiency in the national language is seen as a marker for knowledge of the culture and social norms and values;

5) Unwillingness or refusal to learn and use the dominant language is regarded as a sign of disloyalty and defective integration and a threat to social cohesion.

These ideologies are propagated and repeated continuously by policy makers, unaffected by academic or empirical repudiation. They become common sense, or in the words of Bourdieu, they become 'doxa', that is, experiences through which "the natural and social world appear as self-evident" (1977, 167). This encompasses what falls within the limits of the thinkable and sayable ("the universe of possible discourse"), a limit which "goes without saying because it comes without saying" (Bourdieu 1977, 167).

Finally, in many of the European countries that have language requirements as main part of their integration policies, language tests play a central role in the integration machinery and function as gatekeepers of the national order. They are powerful tools, and are perceived as objective and beyond discussion, despite the fact that language tests are social constructs and reflect the norms and values of those who have the power to develop the language test.

4.5 Socio-political and socio-cultural context in Belgium and Flanders

In order to deconstruct and make apparent the dynamic processes between language policies, integration and citizenship, we can apply the conceptualization of citizenship, as elucidated in the first part of this article, to the particular socio-political and socio-cultural situation of Flanders as part of the Belgian state structure. To fully understand these mechanisms, the second part of this article will therefore explain the Belgian state structure, the

differences in the ideological frames of reference between Flanders and Wallonia and the migration history of Belgium.

4.5.1 *The Belgian state structure*

Although Belgium is a relatively small country – with a little over 30.000 square kilometres and 11 million inhabitants – it is characterized by a complex state structure. Since the 1970's, Belgium evolved from a unitary state with one central government to a federal state with three different policy levels. Even now after forty years, the constitutional state reform of Belgium is still an incomplete and ongoing process, consisting mainly of a centrifugal redistribution of powers, transferring authority from the federal to the regional level.

As a federal state, Belgium consists of different policy levels: the federal policy level and the regional policy level, itself differentiated between the regions and the communities. Each policy level has its own parliament and government. Based on the principle of '*one community, one language*', the legislator has attempted to create linguistically homogeneous regions (Van Avermaet and Gysen 2009). Dutch is the official language in Flanders, French in Wallonia, and German in the German-speaking part, while the Brussels-Capital Region is officially bilingually Dutch and French.

Unlike in most other countries, in Belgium the different authorities related to citizenship are not connected to one policy level but are distributed between the federal and the regional levels. Authority for formal citizenship matters belongs to the federal level:

- 1) Migration policy, voting rights for foreigners, anti-discrimination and anti-racism policies;
- 2) Entrance to the country;

- 3) Permanent residency and;
- 4) Acquisition of nationality.

The regional level has authority for the implementation of integration and languages policies for migrants.

This division of authorities between the levels of government has considerable consequences. For example, an immigrant who doesn't meet Flemish integration requirements cannot be sanctioned with a denial of federal rights. Or in the reverse situation, Flanders does not have the authority to impose an integration policy as a condition for entrance to the territory, permanent residence and acquisition of nationality. At the same time, at the federal level, unlike in most other European countries, language proficiency and knowledge about the host society are not requirements for obtaining formal citizenship.

Regardless of the motive for immigration (e.g. seeking asylum, permanent or temporary residence), prior to entering the Belgian territory there are no language or other integration conditions. Since 2000, the procedure for acquiring Belgian nationality has been seen as one of the most lenient procedures in Europe, for the moment at least. The legislator aimed to promote integration by granting Belgian nationality based on elementary demands such as years of residence and presenting a number of legal documents. The procedure itself is free of charge. However, conditions regarding language proficiency in the dominant language, adherence to norms and values and social participation are slowly and quietly being introduced into the formal citizenship policies.

Due to the particular socio-political context, the Belgian society is characterized by a high level of linguistic sensitivity. Language and politics are strongly intertwined – this is called the 'communitisation' of the social and political debate. Almost every economic, social and political discussion is, to a large extent, reduced to cultural differences between the two main (linguistic)

communities of Flanders and Wallonia. In this context, the public and political discourses on language, the use of other languages or language varieties, the multilingual reality in education or language and integration in society at large are highly ideological (Van Avermaet and Gysen 2009).

4.5.2 Different frames of reference regarding integration and citizenship in Flanders and Wallonia

As mentioned above, in Belgium the legislative powers in terms of formal and moral citizenship belong, respectively, to the federal and the regional level. This implies that, unlike in most other European countries, elements of moral citizenship such as language proficiency in the dominant language and knowledge of the host society officially cannot (currently) be made conditional for obtaining formal citizenship. This also implies that each region could develop an integration policy based on different ideological traditions and views on migration, multiculturalism and multilingualism (Van Avermaet and Gysen 2009). The ideological paradigms which underpin the Flemish and Walloon integration policies are often described by policy makers, public opinion and scholars as fundamentally different from each other.

Martiniello (1995) outlined the differences in Flemish and Walloon integration policies by contrasting civic nationalism and cultural nationalism. Nationalism in Wallonia is described as a (French) republican approach defining the nation as a political community based on a constitution, laws and citizenship. Newcomers can become part of the community, irrespective of their ethnic or cultural background, if they are willing to respect the political rules and adopt the civic and national culture (Martiniello 1995; Loobuyck and Jacobs 2010). Flanders regards itself more as a cultural community (in the German sense of 'Volk', nation), emphasizing the importance of a common history, language and religion. A cultural community is therefore less open to

newcomers, because only those who belong to a particular cultural and national identity can obtain citizenship (Loobuyck and Jacobs 2010).

This makes it clear why integration and citizenship policies are more politicized in Flanders than in Wallonia. Differences in culture, ethnicity and language are at the very heart of the Flemish ideological framework, whereas in Wallonia the civic and political perspectives on community almost necessitate a negation of these very differences.

However, while these explanatory models depict dichotomous representations of socio-political situations, reality of course is always more complex and continuous. Loobuyck and Jacobs (2010) define Flemish nationalism as democratic cultural nationalism which aims to protect a common identity, language, culture and territory especially from Francophone influences, due to the French linguistic and cultural domination of Flanders in the past. This kind of cultural nationalism is open to newcomers, as long as they learn the language and history and adopt the culture – in the sense of the norms and values – of the Flemish community (but not forgetting, as pointed out earlier, that these norms and values are never completely made explicit).

Adam (2010, 2011a, 2011b) developed a conceptual framework for describing the integration and citizenship policies in Flanders and Wallonia, based on two continuums: 1) the degree of state intervention (interventionist versus laissez-faire) and 2) the degree of assimilation (multiculturalist versus assimilationist). Within this new framework, Flemish integration policies are defined as predominantly interventionist – assimilationist and Walloon integration policies as predominantly laissez-faire – multiculturalist.

4.5.3 Transition into a super-diverse society

The recent migration history of Belgium can be subdivided into four periods leading up to a rapid transition into a multicultural and super-diverse society: 1) a period of (predominantly low-skilled) labour migration during the 1960's and the first half of the 1970's; 2) labour migration was ended with the so-called migration-stop in 1974 and limiting migration to family reunification, matrimonial migration, asylum claims and EU-migration; 3) a period of continued family reunification and matrimonial migration in the 1980's and 1990's and 4) since the decade following 2000, continued family reunification and matrimonial migration has been complemented by increasing asylum migration and migration from the new European Union member states such as Poland and Bulgaria and Romania following the consecutive EU-enlargements (Martiniello et al. 2010).

This transition into a super-diverse society, as it is in other parts of Western Europe, (Vertovec 2007) has increased feelings of uncertainty and destabilization, and hence led to questions of identity, the reinforced need for a common language and shared norms and beliefs as well as the advantage or necessity of implementing civic integration programmes in the different regions. However, this process occurred at very different paces in Wallonia and Flanders.

4.6 Language policies in Flanders: citizenship and integration intertwined

The dynamics described in part two regarding the Belgian state structure; the ideological differences in Flanders and Wallonia and the migration history of Belgium are instrumental for us to understand the development of a highly moral and conditional interpretation of citizenship in

Flanders and the reactionary inward-orientated attempts made by the Flemish government to achieve this throughout integration and language policies. First, the Flemish policy context will be discussed in 4.6.1. and 4.6.2. By way of comparison, in 4.6.3. the language policy context of Wallonia will be presented.

4.6.1 Sub-state nation-building in Flanders

Since the second half of the twentieth century, and in accordance with its ideological framework of democratic cultural nationalism on the one hand (Loobuyck and Jacobs 2010) and an interventionist-assimilationist policy approach on the other (Adam 2010), Flanders has continuously worked to gain more cultural, political and financial autonomy. The process of sub-state nation-building became even more manifest from the 1990's onward, shaped by the electoral success of (extreme) right-wing parties; the rise of a minority nationalism and the ongoing politicization of migration and integration issues (Adam 2010). By 'minority nationalism' we mean ethno-cultural groups who think of themselves as nations within a larger state and have mobilized to form their own self-governing political communities, either as an independent state or as an autonomous region within a larger state (Kymlicka 1999). The current processes of sub-state nation-building and minority nationalism in Flanders cannot be seen in isolation from the rapid transition of Flanders into a multicultural society since World War II, as mentioned above. Adam (2011a) describes the sub-state nation-building process in Flanders as follows:

“The gained self-confidence due to devolution seems to have been translated into an interventionist-assimilationist integration policy, obliging new migrants and Belgians with an immigrant background to ‘take’ Dutch language courses and civic integration courses since 2003.” (Adam 2011a, 5)

The development of integration policies in many European countries partly has to be seen as a token of the revival of the nation-state, with its traditional paradigm of one language, one identity, and one uniform set of shared societal norms and cultural values. This is supposed to instill people with a feeling of security, order and confidence. This revival of the nation-state contrasts to the processes of globalization, the unification and enlargement of the EU, on the one hand, and the increasing importance attached to the regions and the localities, the city, the neighbourhood, on the other hand (Van Avermaet 2009). With respect to these processes, Flanders is an intriguing case. As a region, Flanders exerts pressure on Belgium; it attempts to erode Belgium's role as nation-state, challenging the idea that Belgium as a whole shares a uniform set of societal norms and cultural values. But at the same time, while it attempts to construct its own nation-state, with a shared set of societal norms and cultural values, Flanders, like elsewhere in Europe, is becoming more culturally diverse. This super-diversity, however, is perceived as a threat to the creation of the culturally homogeneous nation-state of Flanders. To counteract this perceived threat, Flanders attempts to use the same recipes as other traditional nation-states in Europe: developing an integration policy.

The pursuit of sub-state nation-building becomes apparent through the (often explicit) discourse of Flemish policy makers. The current President of the Flemish Parliament, giving a speech entitled "Identity and Autonomy", stated that:

"(...) The paradox remains: although the Flemings do not – as other nations – like to exhibit their identity, Flanders has become without a doubt more self-confident. The Flemish sub-state aspires to counter this lack of identity and to support a Flemish identity that should lead to nation-building. But this awareness of common interests has not yet sunk in to convince the entire population of it."⁹

⁹ Speech 'Identity and Autonomy', Jan Peumans, President of the Flemish Parliament 11 July 2011, Flemish holiday.

Besides the fact that the Flemings are referred to as 'a nation', this is a clear example of the social construction of a national identity, and the vagueness that continues to be present in such a social construct. In his speech, referred to in the above quote, the President of the Flemish Parliament, who belongs to a political party using the Flemish identity as a trademark, however, seems to be puzzled by the precise nature of this Flemish identity. In this short excerpt, he states firstly that Flemings do not like to show their identity (implying that they do have one), but then finds that the Flemings do lack a proper identity and continues by saying that they are not aware of their own identity (again assuming that such an identity exists). So, what precisely is the problem addressed in the speech? Is it the absence of a Flemish identity and thus the need to construct such an identity? Is it the lack of cognizance of this identity and thus the need to raise awareness of it? Or is it the proposal of modesty as a characteristic of the Flemish nature? The speaker does not offer an answer to these questions as he does not clarify further exactly what such Flemish identity consists of.

Another well-known feature of the process of constructing nation-states is language. As Bauman and Briggs (2003) state, the ideology of one national language (i.e. the standard variety) becomes a powerful trigger of group belonging. Mastery of that language is sold as a central pillar of the well-being of the national order. The use of one common language in Flanders is considered an indispensable element in this process of sub-state nation-building. The current Flemish Minister of Integration expressed this as follows:

“Participation and involvement in the Flemish society starts with knowing our language. Without a common language there is no solid society. Dutch language proficiency is the entry ticket for education and employment.”¹⁰

¹⁰ Speech, Geert Bourgeois, Flemish Minister of Integration, 13 October 2009.

4.6.2 Citizenship as achievement in Flanders

In the first part of this article we deconstructed the virtualization of citizenship as the complex interdependence between formal and moral citizenship. Moral citizenship, through integration, is made a condition of formal citizenship and participation in the society. However, after acquiring formal citizenship, the process of moral citizenship persists through a daily proof of willingness to integrate. Every verbal and non-verbal act of an immigrant is judged on an undefined and ever-changing integration scale (Schinkel 2008). The conditions that have to be met for someone to become fully integrated or achieve full moral citizenship remain unattainable or virtual. The intertwinement of citizenship and integration, of formal and moral citizenship, is becoming even more obvious in the context of Flanders and Belgium. Flanders and Wallonia, as regional political entities, do not have legal authority regarding formal citizenship (migration policies and acquisition of nationality). Although Flanders vigorously aspires to become a sub-state nation within the Belgian framework, it has not yet succeeded in acquiring the legal powers accompanying these aspirations. In striving towards this goal, Flanders seeks to implement a pervasive citizenship policy by stretching the boundaries of the attributed authorities and creating a moral citizenship through integration and language policies. Some of the most telling examples of these processes will now be presented, together with the consequences for migrants in particular and the Flemish society as a whole.

The year 2004 can be considered as a turning point regarding Flemish integration policies. Until 2003, the integration policy in Flanders was characterized as a policy of reception ('onthaalbeleid') aimed at familiarizing newcomers with Flemish society and promoting their (economic) participation (Van Avermaet and Gysen 2009). In 2003, the Flemish parliament approved the Act on the Flemish Integration Policy ('inburgeringsbeleid'), which was then implemented as of April 2004. The new integration policy is mainly built around

the provision of an integration programme comprising 1) a Dutch language course at CEFR level A1 (Council of Europe 2001); 2) an introduction to the Flemish and Belgian society; 3) careers guidance on education, training or employment opportunities and 4) personal coaching. New migrants taking up long-term residence in Flanders and ministers of recognized religions and confessions were required to participate in the integration programme. Newcomers to the Brussels Capital Regions and citizens of European Union Member states, the European Economic Area and Switzerland were not obliged but encouraged to do so.

Since being adopted in 2003, the Integration Act has been amended many times, invariably restricting the modalities of implementation. The most revealing change made to the Integration Act was to extend the target group from newly-arrived immigrants to all first and second generation migrants. Migrants who had already resided for a longer period of time in Flanders or had been born in Flanders were suddenly labelled as eligible for integration. They were no longer considered to be sufficiently integrated, and their moral citizenship was questioned, although in most cases they had already acquired formal citizenship and many of them had already been living in Belgium for more than 30 years. Within the larger target groups, certain sub-groups were prioritized such as the recently immigrated, the unemployed and parents of school-age children. New categories of people required to participate in an integration programme were added, e.g. Belgians born abroad and having at least one parent not born abroad. The integration programme was free of charge when first implemented in 2003, but a few years later participants started having to pay for an integration course. A sanction system of administrative fines between 50 and 5000 euro was put into effect in case of non-participation when required, irregular participation or not accomplishing the integration course without a valid reason.

When the new legislation first came into force in 2004, a Flemish Minister was appointed for the first time with the specific authority to

implement an integration policy. At the same time, the Flemish government introduced the notion of 'active and shared' citizenship. 'Active and shared' citizenship was explicitly linked to the integration policy. In addition, the responsibility for social cohesion was shifted to the individual citizens (Schinkel 2008). Under the heading "Living together in diversity", the Flemish government clarified its understanding of 'active and shared citizenship' (Flemish Government 2004, own translation):

"Flemish society has changed profoundly in recent decades. Diversity has become an irreversible reality. This evolution not only implies an enrichment of our society, but also a challenge for its social cohesion. If we want to address this challenge efficiently and effectively, everyone has to be conscious of his or her individual responsibility. This means that everyone has to demonstrate 'an active and shared citizenship', comprising: 1) participating in our society with respect for others; 2) contributing to prosperity by work and personal effort; 3) respecting the fundamental rights and liberties and the norms stipulated in the Constitution and legislation; 4) not excluding or discriminating against others based on their ethnic, religious or cultural background. Living together is a responsibility of everyone: the government, enterprises, schools and associations, but above all, of the individual citizen. The Flemish government cannot solve all the problems of society. It can define the framework, [and] determine the conditions permitting to live together in diversity."

By incorporating the notion of 'active and shared' citizenship into the chapter of the policy document enumerating the policy measures regarding integration and intercultural cohesion, the Flemish government made clear that citizenship has to be achieved exclusively by people who migrate(d) to Flanders or people who are considered to be migrants by affiliation (second generation immigrants) – citizenship does not apply to all members (all citizens) of Flemish society. Moreover, 'active and shared' citizenship is no longer seen as

something that is spatially and temporally contextualized, which becomes evident in practical ways. It has become an achievement and its success or failure depends on the responsibility of a specific group in society. The conditions and criteria for processes of integration and citizenship are controlled by the policy makers and the majority population group. The Flemish government states clearly that individual citizens are responsible for the social cohesion and quality of living together and by doing so the government denies its own responsibility for implementing anti-discrimination policies and guaranteeing equal access to e.g. social services, labour market, and education. It is also interesting to read in this policy document that diversity has now become an irreversibly reality, as if the Flemish government did once consider diversity as reversible (but that this point in time has regrettably now passed).

As demonstrated above, the Flemish government has no authority when it comes to migration policies and the acquisition of Belgian nationality. The Flemish government cannot stipulate conditions for migrants prior to arrival or for migrants who want to apply for permanent residency. These limitations, resulting from the Belgian constitutional framework, do not however moderate the Flemish government's attempts to implement a comprehensive and compulsory integration policy and to push the legal boundaries of what Flanders can do with regard to integration by installing policies with stricter conditions and sanctions. To illustrate this area of tension, two short examples will be given of attempts made by the Flemish government to influence the migration flows to Flanders. First, a special integration course, consisting of an introduction to the Flemish society and the Dutch language has been developed for candidate migrants in their countries of origin. This introductory package will be made available free of charge in a certain number of countries characterized by high migration rates to Flanders – of course without the slightest impact on the formal migration policies implemented by the federal policy level. Secondly, the Flemish government is currently developing strategies to raise the awareness of transnational marriage, and discourage second and third generation immigrants from entering into it.

Although the areas in which the Flemish government can develop integration policies are limited to social welfare, employment and language related policy issues, the following examples demonstrate the eagerness of the Flemish government to make its integration policies as conditional and restrictive as possible and by doing so to gradually displace integration by virtual or moral citizenship.

In recent years, increasing emphasis has been put on language proficiency in Dutch or the person's willingness to learn the Dutch language as a prerequisite for having access to social services. To benefit from social housing programmes, a candidate has to prove his/her proficiency in the Dutch language at CEFR level A1 or has to be prepared to take a Dutch language course. Someone who receives social security benefits and is seen as lacking the necessary language competences (often based on the arbitrary criteria of social service assistants) can be obliged to take a Dutch language course. The attendance of Dutch language classes is monitored by the social services, and non-attendance or insufficient attendance can lead to a discontinuation of social security. In the same way, social services can turn Dutch language courses into a requirement for receiving unemployment benefits. Although Flanders is not authorized to develop policies to exclude people from entering the country; for permanent residency or for formal citizenship, it has developed policies that can exclude people from those societal domains for which they have the legal authority. And, needless to say, the most vulnerable of the intended groups (e.g. unemployed or low skilled, illiterate and/or low educated immigrants) are affected by these kinds of conditional policies.

Unsurprisingly, on more than one occasion the integration policy of the Flemish government has been the object of official contestation, in some cases being taken to the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg. The policy has also received criticism from international organizations such as the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination of the United Nations.

In spite of all the efforts made by the Flemish government to implement restrictive and compulsory integration policies, the social impact of these policies remains very limited. Based on social impact studies (Van Avermaet 2012) it can be demonstrated that the concrete integration and citizenship policy measures implemented by the Flemish government do not achieve their objectives of advancing reciprocal mechanisms and dynamics of social participation between all members of society, as set out in legislation, policy documents and policy discourse. The real goals of the integration and citizenship policies seem to be much more implicit and rather aimed at assimilation than integration because they are nonreciprocal, non-negotiable and use the norms and values of the majority group as single frame of reference (Blommaert and Verschueren 1998).

Paradoxically, the implicit goals of these policies appear to be aimed at the majority group rather than the migrant population as they demonstrate the conditions and demands migrants have to fulfil in order to be allowed to participate in Flemish society.

Every person obliged or entitled to enrol in an integration programme has to sign a contract committing him/herself to attend the different courses comprised in the integration programme on a regular basis. People can be sanctioned if they do not meet these conditions. Strangely enough, although the language courses that participants are obliged to take are set at certain proficiency levels (i.e. CEFR level A1), they never have to demonstrate (e.g. by taking a test) that the prescribed proficiency level has actually been achieved. The integration attestations are awarded merely on the basis of course *attendance*. No standardized tests are used to evaluate the participants' output level at the end of the integration programme. Consequently, the value of the integration attestation is unclear and also comes under question (and is consequently not recognized) by different socio-economic actors and the wider society.

After a decade of implementing a compulsory integration policy, the Flemish government is still – openly and actively – looking for ways to accord social appreciation and formal rights to the accomplishment of an integration programme. This can be seen in the policy paper of the current Flemish Minister of Integration (Policy note Inburgering 2009-2014):

“Both as government and society, we expect new Flemings to do the necessary things to gain their place in our society as soon as possible. Participating in an integration programme is for many of the new Flemings the first step in this process. On the other hand, new Flemings making an effort to integrate should get the necessary appreciation.”

Besides the fact that this clearly demonstrates that citizenship is something an immigrant has to achieve, it also shows that the current Flemish Minister of Integration is concerned about the lack of social impact and reciprocity regarding the integration efforts demanded from migrants.

While the integration policy in Flanders is of a conditional nature and strongly linked to a discourse of ‘nation building’ and (sub)national identity, the Walloon context is completely different and follows a slower pace. This will be discussed in the next section.

4.6.3 Wallonia, integration policies at a slower but more and more steady pace

The electoral success of extreme right-wing parties (or even the existence of such political parties) claiming regional independence and characterizing the political context of Flanders has not been mirrored in the south of Belgium (Adam 2010). The Walloon region remained strongly attached to the federal level, although the first steps towards regional awareness have been taken. The Walloon Minister-President stated that:

“Wallonia still needs a unifying and mobilizing project that will support a collective Walloon consciousness without complexes. 2010, the year of the thirtieth anniversary of the Walloon Region, offers the occasion to deal with this question.”¹¹

To start this new initiative, the Walloon region has been renamed ‘Wallonia’, as the Minister-President explained:

“(The name) Walloon Region only described our region as a part of a whole and we gave it a new motto ‘La Wallonnie, Terre d’Acceuil – Wallonia, the welcoming land’.”¹²

Even without sub-state nation-building processes, for example in Flanders, these new labelling practices of the Walloon region demonstrate the same ambiguity and vagueness as the quest to grasp the Flemish identity we find in the northern part of Belgium. Wallonia clearly wants to position itself in relation to Flanders as a region of its own (and not only as a part of Belgium), but at the same time it wants to emphasize its openness to others – implicitly opposing the integration and citizenship policies of Flanders.

In the national election campaigns of 2007 and 2010 as well as during the highly-strained period forming a government in 2010 and 2011 (the longest government formation in Belgian history), the Flemish political parties made integration and citizenship one of the most important points on the Belgian political agenda and in doing so, raising regional consciousness in the north and the south of Belgium. Since then, there has been an increased political will on both sides of the linguistic border to restrict the nationality procedure. In the coalition agreement of 1 December 2011, a reform of the procedure for nationality acquisition was announced, comprising principally of the following elements: 1) uninterrupted residence and integration will lead to obtaining the nationality and not the other way around; 2) conditions regarding language and

¹¹ La Libre Belgique, 12 March 2010: “Wallonie, Terre d’acceuil”.

¹² La Libre Belgique, 12 March 2010: “Wallonie, Terre d’acceuil”.

integration of the applicants will be formally implemented; 3) the economic participation of the applicant may be an element of appreciation of integration; and 4) the possibilities to deprive Belgian nationality of someone will be expanded. These reforms, announced in the coalition agreement, clearly reflect the Flemish perspective on language, integration and citizenship, but also leave much margin for interpretation and negotiation. The concrete realization of the planned policy measures will unquestionably be subject of fierce debate between the different political parties in the time to come.

Until recently, integration as an aspect of moral citizenship was absent from the political and social debate in Wallonia. However, influenced by the Flemish language and integration policies, and undoubtedly also by the examples of citizenship policies implemented in neighbouring countries such as Germany and the Netherlands, the government of the Walloon region has recently announced plans to initiate integration programmes for newly arrived immigrants. These will comprise French language courses, a course on knowledge about the society and an orientation course to promote social participation and employment. Even though the specific details of these policy measures still need to be clarified, it is apparent that the ideological framework of the Walloon government regarding integration and citizenship is gradually emulating the Flemish model.

Recent developments – the introduction of language and other integration measures as conditions for the acquisition of the Belgian nationality and the intention to provide integration courses for newly arrived migrants in Wallonia – demonstrate the progressive acceptance of the conceptualization of moral citizenship at the federal and regional policy levels in Belgium.

4.7 Conclusion

The specific structure of the Belgian state entails that Flanders has a limited impact on migration policies and the policy for obtaining formal citizenship in Belgium. One of the strategies adopted by the Flemish government to deal with these limitations is to stretch the boundaries of the attributed authority and implement a moral citizenship policy through integration and language policies. A second strategy consists of influencing the federal policy level through a peremptory process of devolving powers of migration and formal citizenship policies from central to regional government. This is substantiated by the move to frame these issues as cultural differences between the two main linguistic communities Flanders and Wallonia.

In this article we have used the concrete case of Flanders to try and show how intertwined integration and citizenship discourses and policies have become in contemporary super-diverse societies. Flanders is a clear example of how integration is gradually becoming interchangeable with the concept of virtual or moral citizenship. The fact that (moral) citizenship has become ever more intertwined with integration has as a consequence that the concept of citizenship has shifted, in a subtle way, from a dynamic and contextualized process, which shapes itself in daily practice through social networks, into 'citizenship as achievement'. This is a process that is the sole responsibility of certain groups in society, and even more the responsibility of the individuals within these groups. However, it is an impossible achievement, because some are exempt from it and others will always be perceived as not yet belonging to the category of 'true citizens'.

Citizenship as social practice is often perceived by the wider society as passive, underlining the authoritative aspects of citizenship such as respecting the law and accepting the *status quo* regarding social and economic positions of different social groups. However, citizenship is neither neutral nor passive. It implies and presupposes the acceptance of the rights and duties that stem from

the universal concepts around which a society organizes itself; and above all, citizenship can only be realized if every form of discrimination and exclusion that disables the social participation of some members of that society comes to an end. Citizenship as practice is only possible if we start to accept the idea of a diverse, multicultural and a multilingual society, and consequently the concept of multicultural citizenship (Van Avermaet 2009).

Chapter 5. Linguistic diversity and education.
Dynamic interactions between language education policies
and teachers' beliefs. A qualitative study in secondary schools
in Flanders (Belgium)

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5.1 Abstract

This article aims to deepen our understanding of the dynamic interaction between language ideologies, education policies and teacher beliefs about monolingualism. This study takes place in Flanders (Belgium) which is characterized by educational policies based on a strong monolingual ideology. The research design combines document analysis regarding recent language policies in Flemish education, and in-depth interviewing of teachers in secondary education. The main objective of this study is to examine how language policies in education are reflected in teacher beliefs in schools in secondary education. We will look at the interaction between the monolingual policies explicated by the Flemish policy makers and the beliefs of secondary education teachers on home language and language use. Finally, we want to gain more insight in the explanatory schemes teachers use to rationalize their monolingual beliefs. The results of this study indicate that teachers strongly adhere to monolingual policies, and rationalize these monolingual beliefs by mainly referring to time and integration arguments. Even though, some teachers are confronted with the limitations of a monolingual approach to

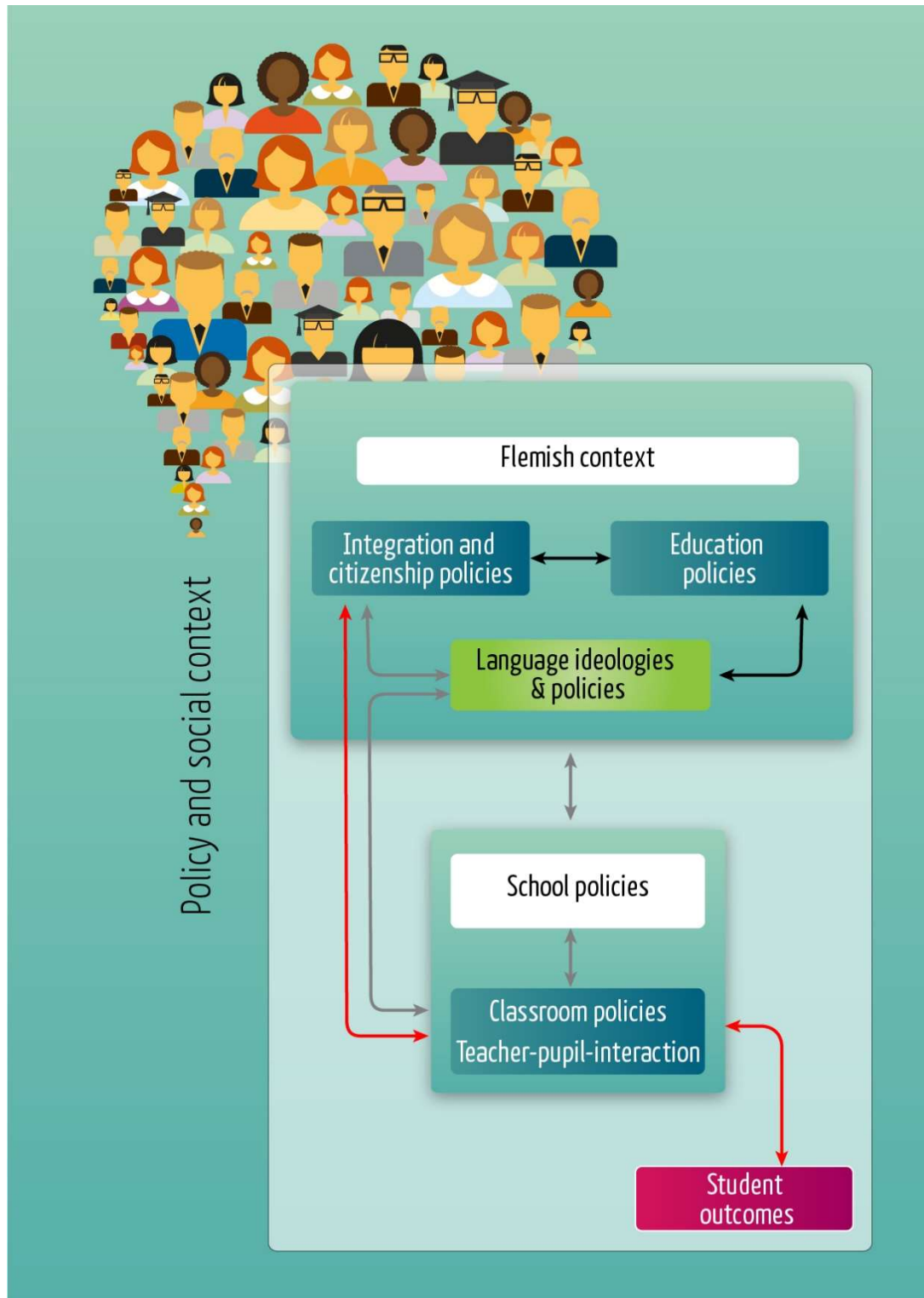
linguistic diversity, an alternative framework seems to be lacking. We also found that these monolingual beliefs strongly impact their inter-subjective relations, particularly teacher-pupil and teacher-parent relations. Implications for policy makers are discussed.

Keywords

Language ideologies, monolingual policies and practices, teacher beliefs, teacher-pupil interaction, qualitative research design

5.2 Conceptual model

Figure 3. Conceptual model – chapter 5



5.3 Introduction

The past two decades, education policies in many Western countries have emphasized language use and proficiency in the dominant language as a condition for academic success. The use of and proficiency in the home languages of students with different social and ethnic backgrounds are valued by policy makers as elements of identity building and cultural integrity, but not as didactical capital for academic performance and the acquisition of the dominant language (Cummins 2011 and 2013; Van Avermaet 2009; Agirdag 2014; Extra, Spotti, and Van Avermaet 2009). Home languages are now placed explicitly outside the curriculum and attributed no value for academic performance. If at one time educational policies did include projects and programmes providing bilingual curricula or curricula in home language and culture, these initiatives have been gradually dismantled and replaced by policy measures such as L2 submersion programmes, remedial language courses and testing policies and practices in the dominant language (Blommaert and Van Avermaet 2008; Extra and Yagmur 2004; Vaish 2012).

These monolingual education policies, as currently implemented in different Western European countries, are based on monolingual ideologies and put into practice by school principals, teachers and school staff through mission statements, curricula and language tests (Shohamy 2006; Gkaintartzi, Kiliari, and Tsokalidou 2014). Thus, in order to be effective, these language policies developed at macro-level need to be internalized by social actors at micro-level and the education system plays an important role in this process (Bourdieu 1991). However, the education system cannot be regarded as a static entity. As most schools have a certain level of autonomy (this is in particular the case in Flanders, where this study is conducted, taken into account the freedom of education as guaranteed by the Belgian constitution), there might be differences at school-level (i.e. meso-level) in how teachers reproduce, contest, negotiate and reconstruct the macro-level language policies.

The main objective of this study is to examine how language policies in education are reflected in teachers' beliefs in schools in secondary education. We will look at the interaction between the monolingual policies explicated by the Flemish policy makers and the beliefs of secondary education teachers on home language and language use. A previous quantitative study, based on a survey of 775 teachers across 48 secondary schools in Flanders, Belgium (Pulinx, Agirdag and Van Avermaet 2014) looked at the monolingual beliefs of teachers, whether and how teacher beliefs vary across schools, and what the consequences of these beliefs are. The results of that study indicate that teachers in general strongly adhere to monolingual policies. The most significant differences were related to the ethnic composition of the schools. Teachers in schools with a mixed population (schools with 40 to 60% of ethnic minority students) adhered the most strongly to monolingual beliefs. Furthermore, it was demonstrated that stronger monolingual beliefs of teachers are related to lower levels of teacher trust in the academic engagement of their students (Pulinx, Agirdag and Van Avermaet 2014).

Building on the findings briefly discussed above, in this study we want to gain more profound insight in teachers' beliefs regarding language, home language and language use in education through qualitative research methods. We argue that the national education policies and school policies regarding language and language use not only impact teachers' beliefs, but also their inter-subjective relations, particularly teacher-student-relations. The beliefs teachers hold on language proficiency and home language often interact with more general beliefs regarding students with a migrant background, e.g. parental involvement, academic and future expectations, and motivation.

This study is a qualitative mixed method study based on document analysis regarding current language policies in Flemish education and in-depth interviews and focus group discussions with teachers. These teachers were, at the time of the interviews, working in three schools of secondary education

situated in an urban context in Flanders, Belgium. The population of each of these three schools consists in large part of students with a migrant background.

This paper has four parts. The conceptual framework used to analyse the collected data in relation to the formulated research objectives is outlined in the first part. Secondly, the research methodology and data analysing techniques are presented. Thirdly, the findings are discussed and summarized. And finally, the paper concludes with a discussion on the implications of the research findings.

5.4 Conceptual framework

The conceptual framework, used to examine the relation between language policies in education and teacher beliefs on language use in education, consists of three elements:

- 1) Languages policies as expressions of language ideologies (Spolsky 2004; Shohamy 2006);
- 2) The notions, developed by Bourdieu, of linguistic capital, symbolic power and doxa (Bourdieu 1979 and 1991) to gain insight in the processes of social reproduction in education;
- 3) The explanatory schemes of time, integration and control that are used to rationalize strong monolingual beliefs.

For each of these three elements the theoretical conceptualization will be outlined and a research question will be formulated. The theoretical framework will then be used to analyse the qualitative data that were collected via document analysis and in-depth interviewing.

5.4.1 Language ideologies

Language ideologies are systems of beliefs and ideas about the role language holds within the cultural, social and political context of a specific society. The construction of these language ideologies does not happen abruptly or accidentally but is always situated in specific social, historic and political contexts. Furthermore, language ideologies are not only socially and politically situated, but are related to instances of identity construction, power relations and assertion of power in societies (Spolsky 2004; Blackledge and Pavlenko 2002; Kroskrity 2000; Blommaert and Verschueren 1998). As Woolard (1998) stated: "Ideologies of language are rarely about language alone".

Language ideologies are then turned into practice by those in authority through language policies, and more specific through language education policies. Language policies are instruments to achieve certain political goals and to legitimize ideological choices. Shohamy (2006) sees language education policies as powerful mechanisms for creating de facto language practices in educational institutions, given the fact that children and youngsters are (until a certain age) obliged to attend school. This explains why languages policies are developed and maintained, notwithstanding theoretic and empirical evidence stating otherwise.

Language education policies are mostly developed and dictated at regional and national level. They are implemented through official documents such as curricula or mission statements and carried out by school principals, teachers and other school staff (Shohamy 2006). Teachers, as individual professionals and members of a school team, implement these language policies in interaction with the local school context, their own experiences and beliefs (Creese 2010).

The language ideologies that currently dominate the integration and citizenship discourse in most Western European societies consist largely of the following elements:

- 1) The use of one common language by all members of society is a prerequisite for achieving social cohesion;
- 2) Social cohesion can only be guaranteed by acquiring the standard variety of that national language;
- 3) Language proficiency in the national language is a condition for social participation and must therefore be acquired before participating;
- 4) Language proficiency in the national language is seen as a marker for knowledge of the culture and social norms and values;
- 5) The unwillingness or refusal to learn and use the dominant language is regarded as a sign of disloyalty and defective integration and a threat to social cohesion.

These ideologies are propagated and repeated continuously by policy makers, unaffected by academic or empirical repudiation (Silverstein 1996; Piller 2001; Blackledge 2005; Shohamy 2006; Blommaert and Van Avermaet 2008; Milani 2008; Horner 2009; Van Avermaet 2009).

These ideological hallmarks are clearly echoed in contexts of education, as will be discussed further in this paper. However, processes of internalization of language ideologies by individual teachers should not be regarded as mechanic or automatic processes. There might be individual differences across teachers as they have a level of agency in which they can negotiate or reject structural processes. Moreover, as most schools have a certain level of school autonomy (this is in particular the case in Flanders where this study is conducted), there might be differences across schools.

Hence, the first research question is formulated as follows: do teachers adhere to the monolingual language policies as currently implemented in the

Flemish education system and how are these beliefs expressed in the discourse of the teachers?

5.4.2 Linguistic capital, symbolic power and doxa in the field of education

As indicated in the above paragraph, this study looks at the interaction between monolingual ideologies and policies in Flemish education and teacher perceptions regarding the home language(s) and language use of their students. Furthermore, we want to investigate the relation between monolingual mind-sets of teachers and a more general deficit perspective on home languages and cultures of students with a migrant background.

Bourdieu (1991) has exposed the mechanisms through which the educational system classifies certain languages as valuable and legitimate within the education and school context. Bourdieu also outlined the unique position education holds regarding social language use and legitimate language competences. He sees the education system as a large-scale production process delivering producers and consumers of language. Therefore, this system will try to hold on to the social value of the linguistic competences it produces and the linguistic capital these competences represent (Bourdieu 1991).

The classification of languages as valuable and legitimate – and consequently, other languages as invaluable and illegitimate – is a very important mechanism to maintain processes of social reproduction in education. Linguistic capital can be acquired through prolonged exposure in an informal setting, mostly the family, and through deliberate instruction of explicit rules in a more formal setting, being the education system. (Bourdieu 1991). In societies, rapidly transitioning into super-diverse societies (Vertovec 2007), opportunities to appropriate the legitimate linguistic competences (as classified by the education system) are unequally distributed among the participants in the field of education, especially in an education system based

on a clear monolingual ideology. By marking specific home languages as illegitimate, entire groups of families are no longer considered as settings where legitimate linguistic competences can be acquired. Secondly, in the context of monolingual education ideologies, proficiency in the legitimate language is considered a condition for participation in education. This means that the legitimate linguistic capital has to be obtained before entering the field of education. As a result, the same group of students and parents are excluded from education as a setting where valuable linguistic capital can be obtained. As Bourdieu (1991) stated: "Speakers lacking the legitimate competence are de facto excluded from the social domains in which this competence is required, or are condemned to silence."

Not only are the opportunities to acquire linguistic capital unequally distributed, linguistic exchanges are also relations of symbolic power in which the power relations between individual speakers or their respective groups are actualized (Bourdieu 1991). It goes without saying that speakers with more legitimate capital enter into the field of linguistic exchange with more symbolic power. For Bourdieu (1979), the opposition between legitimate and illegitimate languages coincided predominantly with the opposition between different social classes: "A language is worth what those who speak it are worth, i.e. the powers and authority in the economic and cultural power relations (...) The dominant language is the language of the dominant class." In most Western societies, becoming more and more diverse as a result of increasing migration and globalization, an additional opposition can be found between native and non-native speakers (notwithstanding the strong correlation between social class and home language often apparent in these societies).

But Bourdieu argued that the domination of one language over one or more other languages and varieties can only persist if dominant and dominated groups alike accept the superiority of the proclaimed dominant language. These shared ideas and beliefs about language become common sense, or in the words of Bourdieu, they become 'doxa', that is, experiences through which "the natural

and social world appear as self-evident” (1979). This encompasses what falls within the limits of the thinkable and sayable (“the universe of possible discourse”), a limit which “goes without saying because it comes without saying” (Bourdieu 1979).

The notion of doxa is very useful for understanding processes of reproduction and transformation (Waquant 2006). When the monolingual doxa are internalized by members of the dominant and the dominated groups, these ideologies and policies are not only reproduced but also reinforced. But these doxa can also be contested, negotiated and reconstructed instead of reproduced by these groups (or individual members) and thus initiating a process of transformation instead of reproduction.

Language ideologies contribute to the continuation of the ‘institutional circle of collective misrecognition’ (Bourdieu 1991), comprising subtle misrecognitions of languages considered as inferior by the dominant group and invisible exertions of symbolic power often disguised as favourable to multilingual practices and equality of opportunity (Blackledge and Pavlenko 2002).

Derived from the above, the second research question of this study reads as follows: can we discover the central elements of the monolingual ideology, dominating Western European integration and citizenship discourse, in the policy documents and policy statements outlining the Flemish education policies and in the discourse of the actors functioning in this setting (in this study: the teachers)? Furthermore, can processes of classification of languages, symbolic power and misrecognition and reproduction of linguistic capital be exposed in the different policy documents and discourses?

5.4.3 Time, integration, school success and control as explanatory schemes

Teacher beliefs regarding home language(s) and language use have already been the subject of extensive research, demonstrating strong adherence of teachers to monolingual ideologies in education (Pulinx, Van Avermaet and Agirdag 2014; Valdiviezo 2009 and Ramaut et al. 2013). Teachers are not only aware of the monolingual beliefs they adhere to, but they also provide motivation and rationalization for their own mental dispositions (Van den Branden and Verhelst 2009; Mampaey and Zanoni 2013).

Van den Branden and Verhelst (2009) distinguished three explanatory schemes, used by teachers to rationalize their monolingual beliefs:

- Time argument: students with another home language than the language of instruction in education, are generally coping with language deficiency. These students often use the language of instruction solely within the school setting. Therefore, all the available learning and teaching time in school has to be used for decreasing the language deficiency.
- Integration argument: teachers are convinced that the integration into the host society of students with a migrant background is advanced by exclusively allowing the use of the majority language in the school setting. Proficiency in the majority language is considered a condition for full participation in the host society as well as academic and professional success.
- Control argument: teachers are afraid to lose control over processes of discipline and order in the classroom, learning processes and student-student interaction when allowing students to use their home language (teachers are unfamiliar with) in the school and classroom context.

To the three arguments, distinguished by Van den Brande and Verhelst, we would like to add a fourth argument: school success. On the one hand, this argument can be considered a specification of the integration argument (language proficiency in Dutch to further academic integration), on the other hand this argument is closely linked to the conditionality of language proficiency in Dutch for academic achievement (as one of the main elements of the monolingual ideology underlying Flemish education policies).

Mampaey and Zanoni (2013), looking into the monocultural practices in the Flemish education system (i.e. mandatory use of the Dutch majority language; banning of religious symbols such as headscarves, and a curriculum focusing on the Flemish and Western majority culture), differentiated between five core aims or motives for teacher adherence to monolingual and monocultural school policies. These core arguments demonstrated great conformity with the arguments found by Van den Branden and Verhelst (2009):

- Ethnic minority students' educational attainment;
- Majority staff's control over ethnic minority students;
- Ethnic minority students' future socio-cultural and professional integration in Flemish society;
- Positive relations between the school and external stakeholders;
- Positive inter-ethnic group relations among students.

Building on the discussed literature above, a third research question is thus formulated: how do teachers, participating in this study, motivate and rationalize their own monolingual beliefs?

5.5 Methodology

The study is based on a qualitative research design, combining document analysis and in-depth interviewing. The research is conducted over a period of eighteen months (January 2010 – June 2011)¹³.

As outlined above, we have formulated three research questions based on the conceptual framework. First, do teachers adhere to the monolingual policies as currently implemented in the Flemish education system and how are these beliefs expressed in the discourse of the teachers? Second, can we find evidence of an underlying monolingual ideology, processes of classification of languages, symbolic power and recognition and reproduction of linguistic capital in policy documents and discourses regarding Flemish education? And third, how do teachers, participating in this study, motivate and rationalize their own monolingual beliefs?

To answer these research question, a mixed-method qualitative research design was used, consisting of discourse analyses and in-depth interviewing.

Firstly, policy documents outlining language policies in education developed and implemented by the Flemish Ministers of Education in the periods 2004 – 2009 and 2009 – 2014 were analysed. These documents consist of 1) policy documents, issued at the start of each legislature presenting new policy initiatives; 2) complementary policy papers, issued in the course of a legislature, outlining more specific policies such as languages policies in education; 3) public speeches of Flemish Ministers of Education; and 4) accounts of parliamentary debates on education.

¹³ This study was part of the larger research project “Bet You! Boosting the Educational Trajectories of YOUTH in Flanders. A study of the obstacles for and strategies of students with and without an immigration background in secondary education” (www.oprit14.be) and funded by the Agency for Innovation by Science and Technologie (IWT).

Secondly, in-depth, open-ended interviews and focus-group discussions were conducted with teachers working in the second grade of secondary education in one of the two largest urban regions in Flanders. This city is characterized by a large migrant population with a predominantly Turkish background. The three schools were selected based on two criteria: population and curriculum. Firstly, the population of each of the schools had to include a sufficient share of students with a migrant background (varying from one third to a majority of the school population), and secondly the three most important tracks in the Flemish education system – the general, technical and vocational tracks – had to be represented in the overall sample of the three schools.

School A, the largest of the three selected schools, counts in total 1200 students and offers exclusively general tracks (languages, science, mathematics). This school is located in the city centre and the migrant population of the school (about one third) consists mainly of students with a Turkish background. In this school 5 teachers participated in the research. School B is located close to the city centre offering professional and technical tracks related to the ‘soft’ industry (e.g. commerce, food, care). The majority of the school population, counting in total 730 students, has a migrant background and is characterized by a large diversity. In this school 7 teachers participated in the research. School C is located in the suburban area of the city and provides both professional and technical tracks related to the ‘soft’ and the ‘hard’ (e.g. construction, mechanics and woodwork) industry. Similar to the second school, the population of this school – counting in total 520 students – has a migrant background but with a majority of Turkish origin. In the third school, 10 teachers participated.

Overall 22 teachers have taken part in the study and 25 interviews (22 in-depth interviews and 1 focus group discussion in each school) have been conducted: of these 22 teachers, there were 7 men and 15 women; 5 were teaching in the general track and 17 in the technical and professional tracks; 12 of the participating teachers are Dutch language teachers and 10 are specialist

teachers related to the different tracks offered by the schools. The teachers were asked to talk in depth about their ideas and opinions regarding language (both the dominant language as the home language), parental support, home environment and academic motivation as factors for academic success. The majority of the respondents have taken part in at least 2 interviews (1 in-depth interview and 1 focus group discussion) and each interview lasted approximately one hour. The in-depth interviews and focus group discussions are conducted by the same interviewer, audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim.

The transcriptions are coded and analysed by the use of a software programme designed for qualitative data analysis (NVIVO 9, QSR International Pty Ltd 2011).

The interviews are all conducted in Dutch. To support or demonstrate research findings and results, quotations and excerpts of the transcriptions are translated in English and included in part four of this article. The possibility of (limited) loss of nuance and specific meaning of typical Dutch expressions has to be taken into account. To guarantee the anonymity of the respondents, no names are used.

5.6 Findings

5.6.1 Monolingual education policies in Flanders (RQ 2)

The description of the research findings, starting with the second research question – evidence of monolingual ideologies, processes of classification of languages, symbolic power and misrecognitions, and reproduction of linguistic capital – is answered. When presenting the findings of the document and discourse analysis regarding education and language

policies in Flanders, at the same time the socio-political context in which this study takes place is depicted.

In the 80's and 90's the Flemish government allowed more openness towards plurilingualism and home languages (other than the majority language) in the education system. Since then, programmes including bilingual curricula or curricula in home language and culture are gradually being dismantled and replaced by policy measures such as L2 submersion programmes, remedial language courses and languages testing in the dominant language (Blommaert and Van Avermaet 2008; Extra and Yagmur 2004; Agirdag 2010). This shift in education policies can for the most part be explained by two processes taking place in Flanders. Firstly, the increased impact of international comparative research programmes (such as PISA, TIMSS and PIRLS)¹⁴ on education policies and, secondly the process of sub-state nation building that is taking place in Flanders over the past decades.

5.6.1.1 *Home language as language deficiency*

The policy shift towards monolingualism is in part related to the increasing influence of international comparative research programmes, and especially, the PISA-study. Although the mean level of achievement is very high in Flanders, detailed analyses of the PISA results unveiled the persistence of social inequality within the Flemish education system (De Meyer e.a. 2005, De Meyer 2008; Jacobs 2009). The PISA 2006 survey was comprised of three literacy tests, measuring reading, mathematical and scientific literacy. For all three literacy tests, Flanders was part of the group of the then highest scoring countries/regions. But, compared to the results of the PISA 2003 survey, Flanders had dropped two places for reading literacy (dropping from the third

¹⁴ PISA: Programme for International Student Assessment (OECD)
TIMSS: Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (IEA)
PIRLS: Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (IEA)

to the fifth place) and four places for mathematical literacy (dropping from the first to the fifth place). Further analysis of the PISA-data showed that in none of the other participating countries/regions a greater gap in performance was established between 1) students with high SES and students with low SES; 2) students with a non-immigrant background and immigrant students, and 3) native Dutch speaking students and students who speak (mostly) another language at home (Jacobs 2009).

The data analysis shows that Flemish policy makers made use of the PISA results for implementing more stringent language policies. Quoting the then Flemish Minister of Education (Vandenbroucke 2007): “The Pisa results show that the achievement gap between students speaking the instruction language at home and students with a different home language than the instruction language is the widest in Flanders.” An explicit monolingual policy framework was formulated, based on three main assumptions: 1) Dutch language proficiency is a condition for participation in education; 2) the use of a home language other than Dutch is detrimental for achieving academic success and leads to insufficient Dutch language proficiency, and 3) insufficient Dutch language proficiency at the start of an education trajectory is a deficit that needs to be elevated in order to achieve academic success.

For the first time, a specific policy document on language policy in education was published by the Flemish Minister of Education (Vandenbroucke 2007): “Setting the bar high for languages in every school. Good for the strong, strong for the weak”. Proficiency in Standard Dutch is since then explicitly put forward as the most important condition for academic success. The Minister of Education described his three policy priorities as follows: “Language, language and language” (Vandenbroucke 2007), hereby declaring that multilingualism leads imperatively to ‘zerolingualism’ when implemented headlong (Flemish Parliament 2007). The next Flemish Minister of Education (2009-2014) published in 2011 a second language policy document, titled: “Moving linguistic

boundaries together” (Smet 2011), mainly continuing the policy guidelines set out by his predecessor.

An analysis of the policy documents shows a striking change in the explanations offered by the Flemish Minister of Education for the existing social inequalities between students with different socio-economic and migration backgrounds in education regarding the PISA 2003 and 2006 results. Social inequalities, stereotyping, stigmatizing and discrimination as well as insufficient language proficiency in Dutch were cited as explanatory factors for the differences in academic performance made clear by PISA 2003. The education policies, outlined at the beginning of the new legislation period 2004-2009, were explicitly focused on promoting equal opportunities.

But when the PISA 2006 results did not show any improvement (on the contrary) regarding social equality in Flemish education and when it became clear that Flanders had dropped ‘several places’ in the rankings, the explanations offered by the policy makers changed strikingly. Insufficient language proficiency in the dominant language (the language of instruction at school) was pointed out as one of the most important explanatory factors for differences in student outcomes. Referring to the PISA 2006 results, Christiansen and Stanat (2007) stated that children who do not speak, read or write the language of instruction to the level of their peers, perform less well in school.

Explanations based on socio-economic factors were pushed into the background. Tensions between achieving equal opportunities and educational quality (especially rendering education sufficiently challenging for the highest achievers) are since then increasingly highlighted.

5.6.1.2 *Language and identity in a super-diverse society*

Since the 20th century, the region of Flanders is continuously working towards more cultural, political and financial autonomy. This processes of sub-state nation building and nationalism in Flanders cannot be isolated from the rapid transition of Flanders into a multicultural society since World War II. The transition into a super-diverse society (Vertovec 2007) reinforces the quest for a recognizable identity, comprising a common language, shared norms, and values. The national language is viewed as an intrinsic part of national identity; language is considered an indicator of loyalty, patriotism, belonging, inclusion and membership (Shohamy 2006).

Policy documents and political discourse of policy makers regarding Flemish education explicitly refer to language as a marker of a common (sub-) national identity. The Dutch language has been classified as the legitimate language – leaving little margin for negotiation: “(...) Language policy in education has to focus on high proficiency in Standard Dutch, as the language of instruction, the common language and the language representing a common identity” (Smet 2011). By establishing the legitimate language in the field of education, other languages have been declared illegitimate in the education and school setting: home languages – other varieties than the Standard Dutch variety or languages spoken by migrant students – “are part of the private culture” of the students and their parents and are consequently placed outside the linguistic field of education (Smet 2011). The conditionality of Dutch language proficiency for social participation, education and employment is in turn reinforced by the intertwining of education and integration policies.

Quoting from the same policy document of the former Flemish Minister of Education (Smet 2011): “A rich proficiency in Standard Dutch is an essential condition for academic success, entrance to the labour market, a condition for social self-reliance and integration, access to youth work, culture, sports,

increasing social cohesion, and developing sense of citizenship of every individual.”

The then Flemish Minister of Integration expressed this as follows: “Participation and involvement in the Flemish society starts with knowing our language. Without a common language there is no solid society. Dutch language proficiency is the entry ticket for education and employment.”¹⁵

In such a context of sub state nation building and increasing diversity, concepts as ‘home language’, ‘language minority’ and ‘foreign language speaker’ (*anderstalige*) have obtained a particular meaning. These terms almost exclusively refer to (second or third generation of) different groups of migrants – especially migrant workers originating from Morocco or Turkey – and more recently people migrating via family reunification, matrimonial migration and refugees. Widespread social prejudices ascribe to these groups of students low levels of proficiency in the Dutch language, the use of low status home languages such as Turkish or Arabic and low levels of academic achievement (De Rycke and Swyngedouw 1999; Blommaert and Van Avermaet 2008; Nouwen and Vandenbroucke 2011).

These misrecognitions and manifestations of symbolic power – using the notions of Bourdieu – are legitimized and reinforced by official education policies and political discourse. Further clarification of the language policies implemented in education¹⁶ stated that:

“The instruction of home languages will be made possible only **outside**¹⁷ of the curriculum. Children will not be offered special classes to maintain or enrich their home language during official school hours, because this will weaken already (linguistically) weak children. On the other hand, linguistically strong students who want to get a head start, can take on

¹⁵ Speech, Geert Bourgois, Flemish Minister of Integration, 13 October 2009

¹⁶ Personal website Pascal Smet: <http://www.pascalsmet.be/article/samen-taalgrenzen-verleggen-kinderen-invlaanderen/>

¹⁷ Bold in source text

an extra language course within the curriculum. These additional courses will be extended to all the official languages of the European Union and Chinese, Russian and Hindi.”

As Bourdieu demonstrated, a classification is made between superior or high status languages (the languages of the European Union such as English, French and German, and Chinese, Russian and Hindi) and the inferior or low status home languages (primarily Turkish and Arabic in the Flemish context, languages linked to the different groups of immigrant workers and – more recently – migrants via family reunification and matrimonial migration and refugees). But additionally, a classification is made between the speakers of these languages: the former being the strong, the latter being the weak.

Based on the findings of the document analysis, we can state that the language policies in Flemish education are based on a strong monolingual ideology; and that clear classification of languages is present in the Flemish context, classifying the dominant language as the only legitimate language and banning low status languages from the field of education.

5.6.2 Teacher beliefs on (home) language and language use in education (RQ 1)

The first research question was formulated as follows: do teachers adhere to the monolingual language ideologies and the language policies as currently implemented in the Flemish education system and how are these beliefs expressed in the discourse of the teachers? Based on the in-depth interviews and the focus group discussions, conducted with 22 teachers in three schools of secondary education in an urban region in Flanders, we found that the teachers voiced strong monolingual beliefs and affirmed the main tenets of the monolingual ideology currently dominating the education and integration discourse in Western Europe (see. 5.4.1. Language ideologies) and the

assumptions underlying the monolingual policy framework in Flemish education.

Most teachers believe that there is no room for other home languages than Dutch within the school setting. The exclusive legitimacy of the Dutch language in education and school is implemented through school policy measures, such as not allowing students to speak their home language in classrooms, hallways, the playgrounds and the cafeteria and sanctioning students for doing so. In all three schools, participating in the research project, sanctions were administered to students when caught by teachers for speaking their home language with peers and these sanctions ranged from detention to supplementary language classes or copying texts.

Teachers motivate the banning of home languages other than Dutch from the school setting by emphasizing that school is often the only setting in which students can learn and use the Dutch language.

“Those Turkish students, they are more and more in a ghetto again. Because 15 years ago, almost all the parents were able to speak Dutch. Now, parents are coming to parent-teacher meetings, Turkish parents who were born here and went to school here and they have problems speaking Dutch. They understand it, but they do not speak it. That is what our society is like. They have their own shops, their own associations, and their own community life. They do not need the Dutch language anymore.” (Woman, Dutch language teacher, school A)

“At home, they speak the language of their parents and often that is not Dutch. So, it already starts at home and has consequence for school. And we have to learn them to be proficient in Dutch at the end of the school year. It’s not enough, I cannot manage it in three hours a week. School is the most important thing they can hold on to. But they have to continue outside of school and that’s the problem. Once they are past the school gate it (*speaking Dutch*) stops.” (Man, Dutch language teacher, School B).

The assumptions that low status home languages lead to language and learning deficits at the start of a school career, and that Dutch language proficiency is a condition for academic success, are strongly supported by the teachers. These assumptions can also be linked to the school success argument for rationalizing monolingual beliefs (see 5.6.3. Motivating and rationalizing monolingual beliefs).

“I do think that students have to take more Dutch language courses at the start of secondary education. That is not only the basis for the Dutch language course, but it is important for all the subjects. To do well in school, it is very important that they first learn the language. How can they understand a subject like geography, just to give an example, if they do not speak the language very well and if they do not understand specific words?” (Woman, Dutch language teacher, School C).

“You do know, that a lot of these students are born here and still their Dutch language skills are very weak. Very weak, and they are born here, you know. But they didn’t go to kindergarten. Now it’s different, they have to go to 3rd year of kindergarten. But, still. They enter primary education and they already have a large deficit. Sometimes it cannot be remediated. Especially, when they do not put in the effort.” (Woman, Dutch language teacher, school C).

But occasionally, an individual teacher expresses the possibilities of a more open and inclusive attitude towards students and the use of their home languages in a school context.

“The language proficiency of students with a Turkish background is very poor. I have one student who reads books written in Turkish from time to time. Sometimes she translates (*Dutch*) words in Turkish for the other students. But it does happen that they don’t understand these words even in Turkish. Their language proficiency in general is very poor, that is the main problem.” (Woman, Dutch language teacher, School C).

5.6.3 *Motivating and rationalizing monolingual beliefs (RQ 3)*

How do teachers, participating in this study, motivate and rationalize their own monolingual beliefs? When analysing the data collected via the in-depth interviews and focus group discussions, we found in particular confirmation for the time, integration and school success argument and not for the control argument (see 5.4.3. Time, integration, school success and control as explanatory schemes).

5.6.3.1 *Time argument*

As already indicated, teachers believe that students with a migrant background have insufficient language skills in Dutch, being the instruction language in Flemish education. In addition, teachers think that the school context is the only context in which these students learn and use Dutch. Because a good knowledge of Dutch is considered necessary for full participation in the Flemish society and for achieving academic and professional success in later life, all the available learning and teaching time in school and in the classroom has to be used to improve the Dutch language skills of the students. Teachers refer frequently to the absence of the Dutch language in the home and social environment of the students, emphasizing the (lack of) responsibility taken on by the parents in this regard.

“That is the problem. You can do everything in Turkish. At school, Turkish students socialize with other Turkish students and outside of school they only meet Turkish friends. They go to their own shops. They have no contact with Dutch youth. (...) But they can do everything in Turkish. There are Turkish banks, hospitals, you can even obtain your driving license in Turkish. Shops, everything is in Turkish.” (Woman, specific teacher, School C)

Teachers seem to have a very dichotomous way of looking at the language proficiency in the instruction language of the students and their parents: they either speak Dutch or they don't.

- I: "You said that none of the students in your class is Dutch-speaking. How many of these students are born in Flanders?"
- R: "Probably all of them. No, not all. One or two have migrated recently to Flanders."
- I: "The students you call non-Dutch-speaking, they have been going to school in Flanders from kindergarten on. But you describe them as non-Dutch-speaking?"
- R: "Yes, indeed. I am sorry, but they are non-Dutch-speaking and they will stay non-Dutch-speaking."

(Woman, specific teacher, School C)

5.6.3.2 School success argument

We added the argument of school success as a specification of the integration argument to the explanatory schemes distinguished by Van den Branden and Verhelst (2009). The instruction language in Flemish education is Dutch, therefore academic success cannot be achieved without sufficient language proficiency in Dutch. The conditionality of Dutch language proficiency for academic achievement is deeply rooted in the mind-sets of teachers. The importance of a good knowledge of Dutch, students and parents alike, for achieving academic success is a belief shared by all the teachers. This argument already become apparent in the discussion of research question 1 (5.6.2. Teacher beliefs on (home) language and language use in education).

"There are (recent) migrants who are intelligent enough, but they lack the necessary language skills. I have an example of a girl from Moldavia.

One day, she was crying. She said: 'I have bad results, but I have learned all that already in my country'. She was about 16 and she had to fall back two years. But she said: 'I have learned all that, I just can't reproduce it. I can't explain it in Dutch'." (Woman, Dutch language teacher, School C)

The same argument of Dutch language proficiency as a condition for academic success is used by the teachers when referring to the parents of their students. Parental support is considered a crucial factor for the success or failure of school careers. Teachers ask parents to daily check the school diary and to follow up on homework, report cards and school-parent communication. Teachers also expect parents to create a positive home environment regarding Dutch language use (learning to speak Dutch themselves, watching Flemish television, offering after school activities in a Dutch language environment, stimulating reading books in Dutch by going to the library, etc.).

"I do think that if the students are motivated enough to learn the language and if a lot of effort is put into it at home, they can succeed. It's a different situation, if no effort is made to learn Dutch or if there are not much opportunities to learn Dutch." (Woman, Dutch language teacher, School A)

5.6.3.3 *Integration argument*

A third argument, used by teachers to rationalize the exclusive legitimacy of Dutch in the school setting – requiring the use of Dutch and banning the use of (low status) home languages – is the integration argument: monolingual school policies contribute to furthering the integration of migrant students into the education system, the labour market and the wider society.

The kind of parental involvement with the schooling of their children (as described above, see 5.6.3.2. School success argument), requires – as to the teachers – not only a good knowledge of the language of instruction in school

but also an academic mind-set as conceptualized in Flemish society. Parents with a migrant background do not always (sufficiently) meet the expectations set by school and teachers. Teachers attribute these unfulfilled expectations for the most part to cultural differences between parents and school, hereby opposing the culture of the students and their parents to the Flemish culture and the value attributed to education in Flemish society.

“But it requires a change in mentality. When I look at my own situation. My child doesn’t come home from school without showing her school diary. She’s only 6 years old, but she does it spontaneously. Even if school doesn’t demand it, she does it automatically. When I came home from school, even when I was already in the last year of secondary education, I showed my school diary every day to my parents. (...) That’s a change in mentality. Yes, of course. My parents supported me like that, and now we do it in the same way.” (Woman, specific teacher, School B)

“Before, the school was vibrant and students would come to school for after-school activities. Now, that’s not the case anymore. I do not think it is part of their culture, recognizing the value of school and education. And they (*the parents*) do not expect much of their children, they know not much about it and they are not interested.”

“Signing school diaries, returning letters that need to be filled out or signed, checking homework, it is all so very difficult.” (Women, specific teacher, School C)

Learning and speaking Dutch is often considered by the teachers as a sign of willingness to integrate in Flemish society. This strongly corresponds with the dominant policy discourse on integration and the monolingual ideologies underlying these discourses. Consequently, some teachers have great difficulty to understand why parents and students with a migrant background continue to cling to their own language.

“There’s a negative evolution taking place, compared to 10 or 15 years ago. Before, they (*the parents*) came to parent-teacher meetings. They used to be much more interested. My husband is a pharmacist, he says: ‘Before, when mothers came to the pharmacy with their children, they spoke Dutch. They spoke Dutch with their children in the pharmacy. In recent years, they don’t do that anymore, they all speak Turkish again.’ So, it’s not only in school we notice this evolution. Furthermore, he says that there are mothers in their thirties or forties who are dressed in a very Western way. They give the impression to be fully integrated. But they speak to their children in Turkish.” (Woman, Dutch language teacher, School A)

“I just cannot understand it. They are all born here. But when they have a family and children of their own (*they speak again their own language*). Those (*children*) start kindergarten already with a language deficit, they don’t speak Dutch. And they (*the parents*) have been to school here from kindergarten on. But with their children they speak their own language. Well aware of the fact that they will be entering kindergarten with a deficit.” (Woman, specific teacher, School C)

These quotations clearly demonstrate the dichotomous approach teachers adopt regarding the language proficiency of students and parents. The concept of linguistic proficiency as a set of repertoires and registers – varieties of the Dutch languages combined with varieties of other languages, used depending on the context, interlocutor and topic discussed – seems to be absent. In the above quotation, it can be presumed that the Turkish woman in her role as costumer speaks (a variety of) Dutch with the pharmacist, but changes to (a variety of) Turkish when speaking to her child as a mother. She is not recognized as a person with multilingual competences, only as a non-Dutch-speaking person.

Some teachers do demonstrate a more profound insight in the complex processes of integration and identity building. They don’t consider the fact of

preserving the home language as a sign of non-willingness to integrate and they are capable of mirroring the experience of their students to their own experiences.

“If they speak Turkish – or any other language – at home, that seems 100% normal to me. But these parents should also emphasize the following: ‘I can (*speak Dutch*) or I cannot. But you have to do better than me in life, so you better start learning it.’ I do think parents have to lead the way. That they don’t do it at home, that’s normal. When I visit my parents in (*a specific region in Flanders*), I also speak the local dialect. That’s normal.” (Woman, Dutch language teacher, School A)

“I have two girls in my class and they speak Serbian to each other. I do understand, it’s much easier to have a conversation in Serbian. Otherwise, they have to listen to poor Dutch all the time. (...) If you want to talk to your friends, it’s much easier (*to speak your own language*). I do understand that it’s very difficult for those youngsters. And you can repeat it as often as you like (*that they have to speak Dutch*).” (Man, Dutch language teacher, School B).

5.6.3.4 Monolingualism ‘by deficit’

Next to the time and integration argument, teachers seem to rationalize their monolingual beliefs in the absence of an alternative framework to deal with the increasing linguistic diversity in school and classrooms. Teachers voice – implicitly and explicitly – their doubts about the effectiveness of the education and language policies that are currently implemented at regional, school and classroom level. The Dutch language proficiency of migrant students appears to be decreasing instead of increasing despite all the support measures (e.g. remedial teaching, pull-out classes, language testing) put into place. Nevertheless, the existing class and teaching practices are maintained.

Education policies at Flemish level continue to confirm and reinforce a monolingual approach of linguistic diversity in education, while the necessary pedagogical and didactical competences to develop alternative perspectives and practices are lacking at school and teacher-level.

“All the things we do at school. I find this really frustrating, we really do a lot about language. But I do ask myself if all this is effective. I don’t see it. Their (*the students*) languages proficiency is decreasing instead of increasing. The more we do about language, the worse it seems to get.” (Woman, specific teacher, School C)

“I mean it, individually they are all adorable, but sometimes it’s about group dynamics. They are caught up in a negative spiral and in the end they make fun of themselves. They say: ‘I have broken Dutch’. They know that’s not correct but they keep on saying it. I don’t think it’s evolving in a positive manner. I really have a bad feeling about it.” (Woman, Dutch language teacher, School C)

Teachers do experience that the current pedagogical and didactical frameworks, based on monolingual ideologies and policies, are no longer adapted to the linguistic diversity of the school and classroom population they are working with every day.

“I thought it (*grammar lesson*) would go much quicker. (...) We had a test today, I think they understand it now. That makes me feel good. Ok, that’s where we are now. And all the other learning objectives we have to meet, that just won’t work. What’s the point in rushing through all these lessons and to note in their class diaries that we have seen it all, if they don’t understand it? Who are we helping then, I wonder?” (Woman, Dutch language teacher, school C)

“We have a lot of migrant students, Dutch is not their mother tongue. But we teach them Dutch as mother tongue, for them it’s the second or third language they have to learn and additionally they have to learn French

and English. So we notice that these students mostly fail the language subjects Dutch, French and English.” (Man, Dutch language teacher, School B)

“That’s a very big problem for me. I teach Dutch, and I am supposed to teach Dutch to native speakers. The textbooks and the learning objectives are developed for students who speak Dutch as a mother tongue. In the first grade of secondary education, there are no native speakers. So work with that! You just can’t meet the objectives. It’s impossible. I do not mean the students are impossible. But with those students, you just can’t meet the objectives.” (Woman, Dutch language teacher, School C)

Some teachers try to respond to the changing needs of their students by adapting classroom practices, but these efforts remain minimal and do not break out of the confinement of the monolingual framework.

“I do try to take into account that a lot of my students are non-Dutch-speaking. For Flemish students that (*French*) is a third language, but for some Turkish students it’s already the fourth or the fifth language. I do think you have to be aware of this, it’s really necessary.” (Woman, specific teacher, School C)

“And listening exercises, that makes them (*students*) really panic because they have to listen and write at the same time. We have an agreement. I do not sanction spelling or grammar mistakes when correcting listening exercises. Why not? Because I am evaluating listening competences. And then I want to know if they understood the (*spoken*) text. I also adapt the questions, for example by using multiple choice or only filling in a word.” (Woman, specific teacher, School B)

5.7 Conclusion and discussion

In the above section, we have provided answers to the three research questions outlined in part two based on data collected by means of qualitative research methods. Firstly, we wanted to examine if teachers adhere to the monolingual language policies as currently implemented in the Flemish education system and how these beliefs are expressed in the discourse of the teachers. Secondly, we wanted to look for evidence of an underlying monolingual ideology, processes of classification of languages, symbolic power and recognition, and reproduction of linguistic capital in policy documents and discourses regarding Flemish education. And thirdly, we wanted to gain insight in the explanatory schemes teachers use to motivate and rationalize their own monolingual beliefs.

Our findings indicate that the language policies in Flemish education are based on a strong monolingual ideology; and that a clear classification of languages is present in the Flemish education context, classifying the dominant language as the only legitimate language and banning low status languages from the field of education. In addition, we can state that teacher beliefs regarding the use of (home) language in education coincide to a large extent with the monolingual policies implemented in Flemish education. Teachers use time, school success and integration arguments to motivate and rationalize these monolingual beliefs.

Teachers voice – implicitly and explicitly – their doubts about the effectiveness of the education and language policies that are currently implemented at regional, school and classroom level. The Dutch language proficiency of migrant students appears to be decreasing instead of increasing despite all the support measures (e.g. remedial teaching, pull-out classes, languages testing) put into place. Nevertheless, the existing class and teaching practices are maintained in the absence of an alternative framework to approach the increasing linguistic diversity in schools and classrooms.

These findings have important implications for policy makers. Current education policies in Flanders, aimed at improving the achievement rate of non-Dutch-speaking students, is based on the assumption that Dutch language proficiency is a condition for academic success. However, the intended objective – increasing the Dutch language proficiency by imposing the exclusive use of Dutch and the banning of other home languages in the school context – appears to be jeopardized by the interaction between teachers' language beliefs, teachers' trust in students and teachers' expectations about academic achievement. Pulinx, Van Avermaet and Agirdag (2014) found an association between the monolingual beliefs of teachers and the level of trust they have in their students: the stronger the monolingual beliefs are, the less trust teachers have in their students. From the literature on teacher-pupil interaction (Rosenthal and Jacobsen 1968; Crowl and MacGinitie 1974; Godley et al. 2006; Agirdag, Van Avermaet, and Van Houtte 2013, Ramaut e.a. 2013) we know that trust in students is related to the expectations teachers hold regarding the academic achievement of students, and these expectations are in turn determining for the actual academic outcomes of students.

In the quotations of teachers illustrating the arguments used for rationalizing their monolingual beliefs (in particular related to the integration argument), stereotypes and beliefs teachers hold on the ethnic and cultural background of the students and their parents become apparent. These stereotypes and beliefs start out by referring to the home language and the language use of the students and their parents, but is then transferred to other – ascribed – characteristics of the speakers of these languages. In the literature, such processes of stigmatization, based on the language of a person or a group of persons, are labelled as 'linguicism' (Skutnabb-Kangas and Philipson 1989): "Ideologies and structures which are used to legitimate, effectuate and reproduce unequal division of power and resources (both material and non-material) between groups which are defined on the basis of language."

Based on the above mentioned literature, we can assume that these processes of stigmatization and stereotyping on the side of the teachers are also determining for the level of trust they have in their students.

The monolingual beliefs of teachers are shaped by an ongoing dynamic and reciprocal interaction process between education policies and specific school contexts. Therefore, teachers can be key actors in bringing about more open and inclusive language policies in education. A transition from a monolingual toward a multilingual approach regarding home languages in education will be most successful when initiated by teachers at school and classroom level. The opposite shift – changing regional and national language policies first – seems more difficult to initiate taking into account the strong adherence to policies in the socio-political reality of Flanders. Earlier research programmes have shown that practice orientated and experimental approaches can lead to changes in the beliefs of teachers regarding the (linguistic) competences and academic involvement of their students (Ramaut e.a. 2013; Valdiviezo 2009).

By supporting grass root initiatives (small scale projects merging bottom-up, based on school and classroom experiences), conducting action research and experimental research programmes and professionalization of teacher training, change in school policies and teachers' beliefs can be brought about. Subsequently, education and language policies at regional and national level can be influenced by the altered beliefs and experience at school and teacher-level. In other words, monolingual school policies can be contested and reconstructed at school and classroom level.

Chapter 6. Silencing linguistic diversity: the extent, the determinants and consequences of the monolingual beliefs of Flemish teachers

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6.1 Abstract

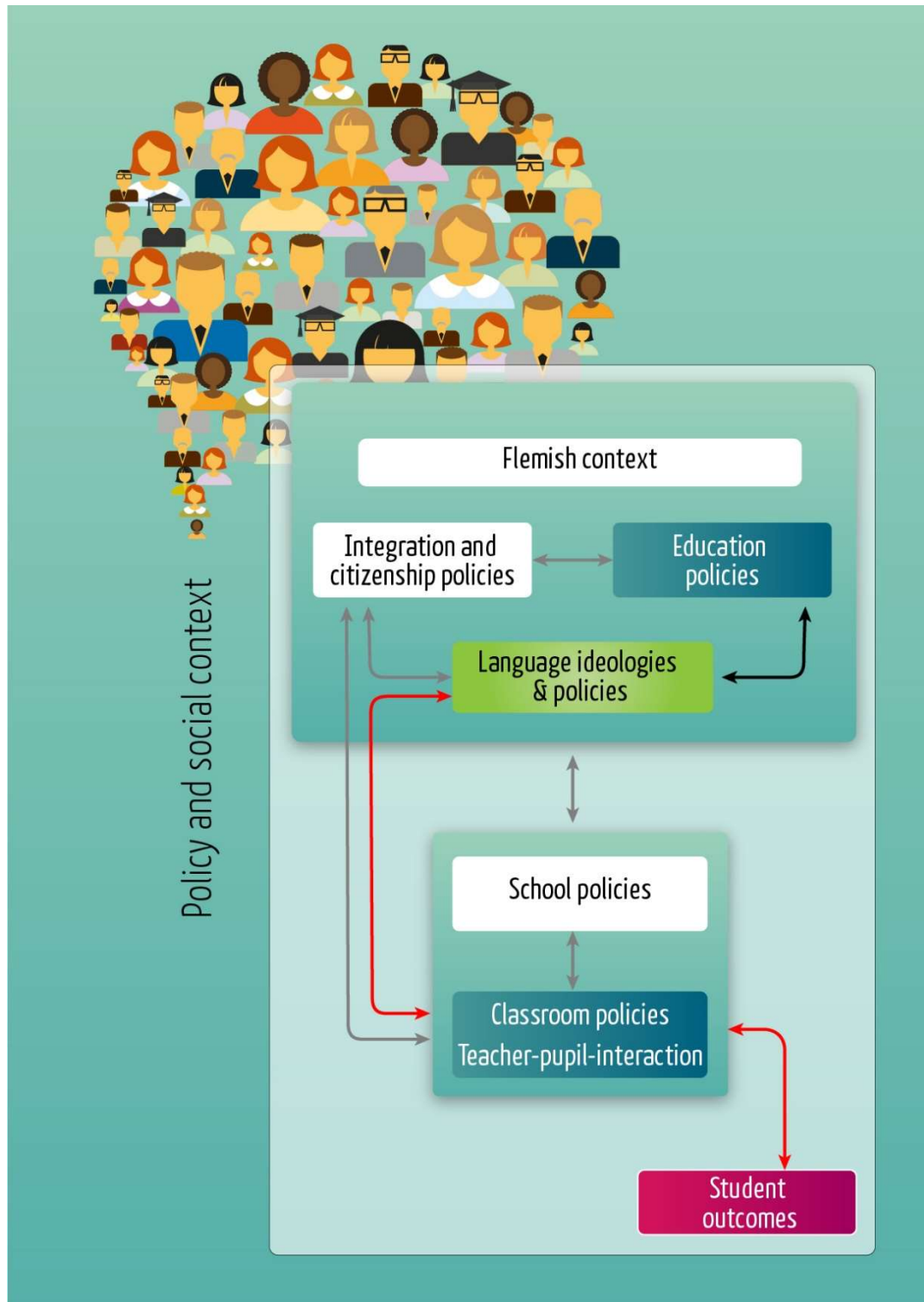
This article aims to deepen our understanding of the dynamic interaction between language policies, school characteristics and teachers' beliefs about monolingualism. The study takes place in Flanders (Belgium), a region characterized by educational policies which are based on a stringent monolingual ideology. Based on a survey of 775 teachers from across 48 secondary schools, we examined how these policies affected teachers' beliefs, whether and how teacher beliefs vary between schools, and what the consequences of these beliefs are. The results of our multilevel analysis indicate that teachers strongly adhere to monolingual policies, while there are also significant differences across schools, which are related to the ethnic composition of those schools. Furthermore, a stronger adherence to monolingualism was found to trigger teachers to have lower expectations about their students but not about their ability to teach. Finally, implications for policy makers are discussed.

Keywords

Monolinguals, teachers' beliefs, teachers' expectations, language ideology, Flanders

6.2. Conceptual model

Figure 4. Conceptual model – Chapter 6



6.3. Introduction

Over the past two decades, education policies in many Western countries have emphasized language use and proficiency in the dominant language as a condition for academic success. The use of and proficiency in the home languages of pupils with different social and ethnic backgrounds are valued by policy makers as elements of identity building and cultural integrity, but not as didactic capital for academic performance or related to the acquisition of the dominant language (Cummins 2011 and 2013; Van Avermaet 2009; Agirdag 2014; Extra, Spotty, and Van Avermaet 2009). In most countries, home languages are now placed explicitly outside the curriculum and attributed no value in academic terms. While in the late 1980's and 1990's, some educational policies did provide for curricula which were bilingual, or which used students' home languages and culture such as Intercultural Education programmes and Education in Home Language and Culture programmes¹⁸, these initiatives have been gradually dismantled and replaced by policy measures such as L2 submersion programmes, remedial language courses and testing policies and practices focusing on the dominant language (Blommaert and Van Avermaet 2008; Extra and Yagmur 2004; Vaish 2012). The current education policies in different Western countries are based on monolingual ideologies and put into practice by school principals, teachers and school staff through mission statements, curricula and language tests (Shohamy 2006; Gkaintartzi, Kiliari, and Tsokalidou 2014).

Thus, in order to be effective, the language policies developed at macro-level need to be internalized by social actors at micro-level and education systems play an important role in this process (Bourdieu 1991). However, an education system cannot be regarded as a static entity. Most schools have a certain level of autonomy (particularly in Flanders, where this study is conducted, seeing as the Belgian constitution guarantees in article 24 a high

¹⁸ <http://www.ond.vlaanderen.be/onthaalonderwijs/inhoud/historiek/> - Last accessed 26/02/2015

level of freedom of education¹⁹), and we are therefore likely to find differences at school-level (i.e. meso-level) in how teachers reproduce the macro-level language policies. Until now, this macro-meso-micro link has received little attention in educational and sociolinguistic research. Hence, the first objective of this study is to examine how the language policies are reflected in teachers' beliefs in different schools. More specifically, we will examine the degree to which teachers adhere to monolingual beliefs in education and whether these beliefs vary across schools.

Secondly, most empirical studies on teachers' beliefs on multilingual education make use of a qualitative approach (for recent studies, see Valdiviezo 2009; Ramaut et al 2013; Pulinx, Agirdag, and Van Avermaet 2014). These qualitative studies have greatly contributed to our understanding of the present topic, and have been crucial for identifying teachers' beliefs in linguistically diverse classrooms. However, an exclusively qualitative approach has significant limitations. The small sample sizes and the lack of a comparative perspective in many of these studies do not allow us to draw conclusions about the conditions that can intensify or diminish teachers' beliefs about monolingual policies. Most importantly, a quantitative (multi-level) approach might inform us on how teachers' beliefs are influenced by the characteristics of the school context in which they function (see also Agirdag, Van Avermaet, and Van Houtte 2013). Therefore, the second objective of this study is to examine to what degree school characteristics determine the level of teachers' adherence to or rejection of monolingual education ideologies by using a larger sample of schools and teachers.

Third, previous studies have tended to stress the fact that teachers' monolingual beliefs negatively affect the academic achievement of linguistically diverse students (see Crowl and MacGinitie 1974; Godley et al 2006; Wheeler 2008). However, it is not clear *how and why* teachers' beliefs about monolingualism relate to achievement performance. The third objective of the

¹⁹ http://www.senate.be/doc/const_nl.html - Last accessed 26/02/2015

present study is therefore to examine the relationship between teacher's beliefs about monolingualism and teachers' expectations of their students and themselves. More specifically, we expect that a stronger adherence to monolingual beliefs will trigger teachers to have lower expectations of both students' ability and engagement (i.e. teacher trust), and also of their own professional ability (i.e. teacher efficacy).

This paper has five parts. The first part outlines the conceptual framework used to analyse the data collected in relation to the formulated research objectives. Secondly, we present the socio-political context of Flanders where the study is situated. Thirdly, we outline the research methodology and data analysis techniques. Next, the findings are discussed and summarized. And finally, the paper concludes with a discussion of the implications of the research findings.

6.4. Conceptual framework

The conceptual framework we used to examine the relation between language policies in education and teachers' beliefs on language use in education consists of three elements:

- 1) Languages policies as an expression of language ideologies;
- 2) The relation between school characteristics and teachers' beliefs;
- 3) The relation between monolingual beliefs and teachers' expectations.

For each of these elements of the conceptual framework, we have formulated a research question.

6.4.1. Language ideologies

Language ideologies can be defined as systems of beliefs and ideas about the role which language holds within the cultural, social and political context of a specific society (Spolsky 2004; Woolard 1998). The construction of these language ideologies does not happen abruptly or accidentally but rather it is always situated in specific social, historic and political contexts (Blommaert and Verschueren 1998, Blackledge and Pavlenko 2001). Furthermore, language ideologies are not only linked to their social and political contexts, they are also related to instances of identity construction, power relations and assertion of power in societies (Pavlenko 2002; Kroskrity 2000; Gal 1998). As Woolard (1998) stated: “Ideologies of language are rarely about language alone”.

Language ideologies often averse from cognitive/academic dissonance and palmed of as common sense thinking, are then put into practice by those in authority through language policies, more specifically through language education policies. Language policies are instruments used to achieve certain political goals and to legitimize ideological choices. Shohamy (2006) sees language education policies as powerful mechanisms for creating de facto language practices in educational institutions, given the fact that children and young people are obliged to attend school until a certain age. This explains why languages policies are implemented and maintained, even though theoretical and empirical evidence to substantiate these policies are lacking.

Language education policies are mostly developed and dictated at regional and national level. They are implemented through official documents such as curricula or mission statements and carried out by school principals, teachers and other school staff (Shohamy 2006). Teachers, as individual professionals and members of a school team, implement these language policies in interaction with the local school context, their own experiences and beliefs (Creese 2010).

The educational system has the power to classify different languages (and different cultural contents) as more or less valuable and as legitimate or illegitimate. This power is due to the system's monopoly in the production of legitimate language competence. The education system will therefore strive for its own reproduction, in order to hold on to the social value of the linguistic competence it produces and its capacity to function as linguistic capital (Bourdieu 1979). Bourdieu also outlined the unique position of education with regards to social language use and legitimate language competences. He sees the education system as a large-scale production process delivering producers and consumers of language. Bourdieu argued that the domination of one language over one or more other languages and varieties can only persist if both the dominant and dominated groups alike accept the superiority of one proclaimed dominant language. Language ideologies contribute to the perpetuation of this "institutional circle of collective misrecognition" (Bourdieu 1991; see also Blackledge and Pavlenko 2001).

However, this process should not be regarded as merely mechanical. There might be individual differences between teachers who as individuals have a level of agency allowing them to negotiate or reject structural processes. Moreover, as most schools have a certain level of school autonomy (particularly in Flanders where this study was conducted, see below), there might be differences between schools. Hence, the first research question is as follows: to what extent do individual teachers adhere to the monolingual language policies as currently implemented in the Flemish education system and is there significant variation between schools?

We hypothesize that teachers will reproduce monolingual language policies, while important differences can be expected between schools given the school autonomy in Flanders.

6.4.2. The relation between school characteristics and teachers' monolingual beliefs

As indicated in the above paragraph, language policies are to some extent expressions of language ideologies and, consequently, expressions of the beliefs of regional and national policy makers. Teachers' beliefs are, amongst other things, formed by these prescribed policies and policy measures. Teachers' beliefs are not only shaped directly by national policies and policy frameworks, but are also to a large extent influenced via the organizational, pedagogical and didactical school characteristics (Oakes 1984; Lee 2000; Van Houtte 2011). Based on the existing literature, we selected two school features as relevant for the understanding of the extent and effect of teachers' monolingual beliefs, namely school composition and school curriculum.

Until now, research regarding school composition has mostly explored the effects of these school characteristics on pupils (e.g. Agirdag, Van Houtte, and Van Avermaet 2012; Dumay and Dupriez 2008), however it is reasonable to assume that the composition of schools has an equal impact on teachers' beliefs. Existing stereotypes associated with the characteristics of a school population – based on socio-economic composition of the pupils, ethnic composition of student body, curriculum track – influence society's beliefs regarding the language proficiency (in the majority language) and academic achievement of the pupils alongside the wider educational quality of the schools (Van Houtte 2011; Agirdag and Van Houtte 2011).

The first characteristic influencing teachers' beliefs is the curriculum track provided by schools. The Flemish education system predominantly consists of three tracks: the general track (ASO), technical track (TSO) and vocational track (BSO). These three tracks fit into a clear hierarchy of social appreciation (Jacobs 2009; Duquet et al 2006), with the general track at the top and the vocational track at the bottom of the social ladder, and technical education holding the middle position. Teachers are mostly assigned to one of

these tracks and most schools only cover certain tracks. Hence, students are highly separated in different schools according to their curriculum track. Linguistic minority students are highly concentrated in the less well-regarded tracks (Duquet et al 2006; Hirtt et al 2007; Jacobs 2009). Previous studies in Flanders and elsewhere have indicated that teachers' beliefs are significantly linked to the curriculum tracks: teaching in academic and advanced tracks is associated with higher expectations than teaching in vocational tracks (Oakes 1985; Ennis 1994; Lee 2000; Van Maele and Van Houtte 2011).

Secondly, the composition of the school may play a decisive role here, since teachers' evaluations are liable to be influenced by existing social stereotypes regarding certain characteristics of the composition of the student body (Van Houtte 2011). There is a general stereotypical belief that schools with a high percentage of ethnic minority and low SES (Socio-Economic Status) students are 'bad' schools (Merry 2012). Previous studies have shown that teachers working in schools of this type have lower expectations about the ability of their students (Rumberger and Palardy 2005) and tend to problematize the existing linguistic diversity (Agirdag, Van Avermaet, and Van Houtte 2013).

Following on from the above, the second research question of this study is as follows: what is the relation in the Flemish context between the ethnic composition and curriculum track of a school and its teachers' beliefs about monolingualism? We expect a higher adherence to monolingualism in the case of teachers working in schools with a higher share of ethnic minority students and teachers working in the vocational track.

6.4.3. Relation between teachers' monolingual beliefs and teacher-pupil interaction

Above, we discussed the possible effects of education policies and policy measures (macro-level) and school characteristics (meso-level) on teachers' beliefs (micro-level). However, the inverse is also true, as these beliefs might in turn, have an (indirect) impact on student achievement. The most well-known example of such a teacher-effect is outlined in the study known as 'the Pygmalion Effect' (Rosenthal and Jacobsen 1968). This study demonstrated the effect of teachers' beliefs on their expectations about the academic performance of their students. Teachers' expectations, subsequently, were shown to have an effect on the actual academic achievement of their pupils (Rosenthal and Jacobson 1968). Low expectations from teachers have a negative effect on pupils' achievement. Similarly, it is likely that teachers' beliefs about the use of (home)languages in education will have an effect on other beliefs these teachers hold; as well as on the beliefs held by pupils; and teacher-pupil interaction (see Godley et al 2006; Wheeler 2008).

Wheeler (2008) indicated that most teachers lack the necessary pedagogical and didactical training to use the plurilingual competences of pupils as an added value in the learning process. Consequently, speaking dialects or code-switching is mostly misdiagnosed as poor language proficiency in the majority language (Garcia and Wei 2013). On the other hand, teachers who are exposed to basic sociolinguistic principles are more likely to reject the most extreme stereotypes associated with different language varieties (Bowie and Bond 1994). Previous studies also showed that negative attitudes to stigmatized languages are related to lower teacher expectations regarding pupils' use of these languages (Godley et al 2006; Agirdag, Van Avermaet, and Van Houtte 2013). For instance, through observation an indirect relation was found between language use and teachers' expectations. Teachers were found to give lower grades to oral work presented in a vernacular dialect, even when the work

presented was of the same quality as work presented in the standard language variety (Ramaut et al 2013; Crowl and MacGinitie 1974).

The literature discussed above indicates that negative teacher beliefs about stigmatized languages (and the consequent adherence to monolingual policies in education, as related to exclusive use of the majority language in educational settings), might lead teachers to expect students to have a reduced ability to reach prescribed academic objectives. When strong monolingual beliefs lead to lower expectations, teachers will suspect that their teaching ability has diminished, i.e. that they have lower self-efficacy. Likewise, we can expect a negative relation between strong monolingual beliefs and the level of trust teachers have in their pupils' academic engagement (Tshannen-Moran and Hoy 2001). By this, we mean the level of confidence teachers have in their pupils to meet individual obligations and expectations regarding school work and effort. However, we are not aware of any previous empirical study that examined the relationship between monolingual beliefs on the one hand and teacher self-efficacy or teacher trust on the other hand.

Building on the literature discussed above, a third research question can thus be formulated: can we find a relation between monolingual teachers' beliefs and the level of teachers' self-efficacy and trust in their pupils? Based on the literature as discussed above, we expect to find a negative relation, namely that a strong adherence to monolingual education policies relates to a lower sense of self-efficacy and to lower trust in pupils.

6.5. Socio-political context and education policies in Flanders

In terms of context, in the 1980's and 1990's, the Flemish education system showed more openness towards plurilingualism and home languages (other than the majority language) in school. However, since then, programmes including bilingual curricula or curricula in home language and culture have gradually been dismantled and replaced by policy measures such as L2 submersion programmes, remedial language courses and language-testing in the dominant language (Blommaert and Van Avermaet 2008; Extra and Yagmur 2004; Agirdag 2010). This policy shift in education policies can for the most part be explained by two processes taking place in Flanders. Firstly, over recent decades a process of sub-state nation building has been taking place in Flanders; secondly there has been a great increase in the impact of international comparative research programmes (such as PISA, TIMSS and PIRLS²⁰) on education policies.

Since the start of the twenty-first century, the region of Flanders has continuously worked towards increased cultural, political and financial autonomy. These processes of sub-state nation building and nationalism in Flanders cannot be isolated from the rapid transition of Flanders into a multicultural society since World War II. The transition into a super-diverse society (Vertovec 2007) reinforces the quest for a recognizable Flemish identity, comprising a common language, shared norms, and values.

In this context of sub-state nation building and increasing diversity, concepts such as 'home language', 'language minority' and 'foreign language speaker' (*anderstalige*) have acquired a particular meaning. These terms almost exclusively refer to (second or third generation) different groups of migrants – in particular migrant workers originating from Morocco or Turkey – and more recently people migrating via family reunification, matrimonial migration and

²⁰ PISA: Programme for International Student Assessment (OECD)
TIMSS: Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (IEA)
PIRLS: Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (IEA)

refugees (De Rycke and Swyngedouw 1999; Nouwen and Vandenbroucke 2011). Widespread social prejudices ascribe to these groups of pupils low levels of proficiency in the Dutch language, the use of 'low status' home languages such as Turkish or Arabic and low levels of academic achievement (Mahieu and Clycq 2007; Blommaert and Van Avermaet 2008; Nouwen and Vandenbroucke 2011).

Secondly, the policy shift towards monolingualism is related to the increasing influence of international comparative research programmes, in particular the PISA-study. Although the mean level of achievement is very high in Flanders, detailed analyses of the PISA results unveiled the persistence of social inequality within the Flemish education system (De Meyer et al 2005, De Meyer 2008; Jacobs 2009). None of the other participating countries/regions reported a greater gap in performance between 1) pupils with high SES and pupils with low SES; 2) pupils with a non-immigrant background and immigrant pupils, and 3) native L1 speaking pupils and pupils who speak (mostly) another language at home (Jacobs 2009).

Flemish policy makers made use of the PISA results to implement more stringent language policies. An explicit monolingual policy framework was formulated, based on three main assumptions: 1) Dutch language proficiency is a condition for participation in education; 2) the use of a home language other than Dutch is detrimental to academic success and leads to insufficient Dutch language proficiency, and 3) insufficient Dutch language proficiency at the start of an education trajectory is a deficit that needs to be elevated in order to achieve academic success. These three assumptions are formulated based on an analysis of the main policy documents on language in education, issued by Flemish policy makers in the past decade (Pulinx and Van Avermaet, 2014).

For the first time, a specific policy document on language policy in education was published by the Flemish Minister of Education (Vandenbroucke 2007): "Setting the bar high for languages in every school. Good for the strong, strong for the weak". Since then, proficiency in Standard Dutch has been more explicitly proposed as the most important condition for academic success. The

Minister of Education described his three policy priorities as follows: “Language, language and language” (Vandenbroucke 2007), hereby declaring that multilingualism leads imperatively to ‘zerolingualism’ when implemented headlong (Flemish Parliament 2007). In 2011, the subsequent Flemish Minister of Education (2009-2014) published a second language policy document, entitled: “Moving linguistic boundaries together” (Smet 2011), mainly continuing the policy guidelines set out by his predecessor.

As such, this is the socio-political context in which we will examine to what degree monolingual beliefs are internalized and expressed by secondary school teachers Flanders.

6.6. Methods

6.6.1. Population and sample

Data were collected during the 2010-2011 school year as part of a large-scale, mixed-method and multidisciplinary research project – BET YOU! – on the school careers of pupils with an immigrant background in secondary education (SE) in three cities in Flanders (Antwerp, Ghent and Genk) (Clycq et al 2014). To obtain a representative sample of schools and teachers in these three cities, all 118 schools which offer general, technical or vocational SE curriculum were invited to participate in the research project. Secondary schools providing special needs programmes were not included in the survey. In total, 48 of the schools in the population agreed to participate (40.7%). The participation of teachers was dependent on school participation. Within the 48 schools that agreed to participate, 774 teachers (31%) responded to our survey by filling out an anonymous online questionnaire. For this purpose, we made use of the online survey service ‘Survey Monkey’.

6.6.2. Research design

The quantitative data consisted of a clustered sample of teachers from within the schools. Because the data are at different levels (individual teacher-level and school-level), multilevel modelling is most appropriate (SPSS Version 20, MIXED procedure is used). Missing data were handled with the multiple imputation procedure: five imputations are requested, and the pooled results are shown. With respect to the first research objective, we start by examining teachers' responses to each item on the monolingualism scale (see Variables section) in order to determine the extent to which teachers adhere to or reject monolingualism in education. Then, we will calculate the degree to which the variance in teachers' beliefs about monolingualism is present at the school-level by calculating a multilevel unconditional model for the monolingualism scale. This will inform us as to whether teachers' beliefs about monolingualism significantly vary between schools.

With respect to the second research objective (i.e. determinants of monolingualism), we will conduct a multilevel regression analysis with monolingualism beliefs as the outcome and school ethnic composition and track (curriculum) as exploratory variables. Additionally, we will include teacher gender, teacher experience, and school sector as control variables.

Regarding the third research objective (i.e. consequences of monolingualism), two multilevel regression models will be calculated: one with teachers' trust in students as outcome, and a second with teachers' self-efficacy beliefs as outcome. In these two models, teachers' monolingualism beliefs are entered as the main exploratory variable, while we include teacher gender, teacher experience, school track, and school ethnic composition and school sector as control variables.

6.6.3. Variables

Monolingualism

Teachers' beliefs regarding the use of (home) languages in education (monolingual beliefs) were measured using eight items (see Table 6). These items have been used in a previous research project conducted in Flanders (i.e. the SIPEF-project, see Agirdag, Van Avermaet and Van Houtte 2013). The items as used in the present research project were only adapted to the context of secondary education, whereas the items used in the SIPEF-project were used in the context of primary education. Answer categories and their scores were as follows: (1) absolutely disagree, (2) disagree, (3) neutral, (4) agree, and (5) completely agree. Items 3, 4 and 6 were reverse coded (see Table 6). Responses to these eight items were averaged. Mean score (M) was 3.740, with a standard deviation (SD) of 0.624. The scale yielded a satisfactory Cronbach's alpha of 0.816 (see Table 5 for descriptive statistics). A multilevel confirmatory factor analysis revealed satisfactory fit for a one factor model, that is, the value of Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA) was 0.091 and the Standardised Root Mean Square Residual (SRMR) was 0.073. A SRMR-value less than 0.08 is generally considered a good fit (Hu and Bentler 1999).

Trust

Teachers' trust in students was measured with ten items derived from the trust scale developed by Hoy and Tschannen-Moran (1999). Example items are: "I have to closely supervise the pupils" or "The pupils cheat if they have the chance". Teachers had five possible categories of response, ranging from absolutely disagree (scored 1) to completely agree (scored 5). Responses to these ten items were averaged (M = 3.191; SD = 0.499; see Table 5). Cronbach's alpha for this scale was 0.827.

Self-efficacy

Teacher self-efficacy was measured using twelve items from the Teachers' Sense of Efficacy Scale (Tschannen-Moran and Hoy 2001). Teachers were asked to indicate the extent to which they perceive themselves as capable of conducting a particular action successfully and they had 5 possible response categories, ranging from absolutely disagree (scored 1) to completely agree (scored 5). Responses to these twelve items were averaged items ($M = 3.482$, $SD = 0.408$; see Table 5). Cronbach's alpha for this scale was 0.821.

Teacher experience

Teacher experience is measured by the number of years that a teacher has been teaching ($M = 15.99$; $SD = 11.360$; see Table 5).

Gender

In our sample, 62.5% of the teachers were females and 37.5% were males; this reflects exactly the gender composition of teachers in Flemish secondary education (Department of Education 2011).

Curriculum track

We distinguish between four types of teachers according to the tracking system in which they function (see Table 5). In secondary education in Flanders, most students are tracked into three different tracks: the academic, technical and vocational track. The academic track (ASO) prepares students for higher education, the technical track (TSO) offers technical training, and the vocational track (BSO) focuses on specific vocations. Most teachers only teach in one of these tracks. Teachers that are assigned to more than one track and other types

of teachers (e.g. teachers assigned to L2 submersion classes for newcomers) are categorized as 'Others' (see Table 5).

Ethnic minority composition

School ethnic minority composition is measured by the percentage of ethnic minority students (in the survey: 'allochtonen') in a school, as estimated by the teachers. We distinguished five categories of school ethnic-minority composition: (1) 0% to 20%, (2) 21 to 40%, (3) 41 to 60%, (4) 61 to 80%, and (5) 81 to 100% (see Table 5).

School sector

The school sector variable was split between 24 publicly run schools and 24 privately run (Catholic) schools (see Table 5). The privately run schools are to some extent under-represented in the sample. About two-thirds of the schools are private schools and one-third are public schools.

Table 5. Descriptive statistics: Frequency at teacher-level (N teacher) and school-level (N school) minimum score (Min), maximum score (Max), mean (for interval variables) and percentage (for categorical variables), standard deviation (SD) and Cronbach's alpha.

	N school	N teacher	Min	Max	Mean	SD	Alpha
<i>Teacher-level</i>							
Monolingual beliefs		603	1	5	3.740	0.624	0.816
Trust in students		607	1	4.9	3.191	0.499	0.827
Sense of self-efficacy		621	2.42	5	3.482	0.408	0.821
Experience		670	0	55	15.99	11.36	
Gender		674					
Female		421	0	1	62.5%		
Male (ref)		253	0	1	37.5%		
Track		558					
Technical		108	0	1	19.4%		
Vocational		207	0	1	37.1%		
Other		105	0	1	37.1%		
Academic (ref)		138	0	1	18.8%		
<i>School-level</i>							
Ethnic minority composition	48	86					
0-20%	13	172	0	1	27.1%		
21-40%	7	100	0	1	14.6%		
41-60%	9	129	0	1	18.8%		
61-80%	13	187	0	1	27.1%		
81-100% (ref)	6	86	0	1	12.5%		
School sector	48	674					
Private/Catholic	24	433	0	1	50.0%		
Public (ref)	24	241	0	1	50.0%		

6.7. Results

6.7.1. Research Question 1

To which extent do teachers in secondary education adhere to the monolingual language policies as presently implemented in the Flemish education system? To answer this question, we examined teachers' responses to the items of the 'monolingualism scale'. The percentages of teachers that responded 'agree' or 'complete agree' are shown in Table 6. These figures indicate that the vast majority of teachers participating support the current monolingual policies in Flemish education. 77.3% of the teachers agree that students should not be allowed to speak a foreign language at school (item 1) and 78.2% of the teachers state that linguistic deficiency is the most important cause of poor educational performance of non-native speakers (item 2). In addition, only a small minority (about 5%) of teachers are in favour of mother tongue education or bilingual education is (see item 4 and item 6). It is also noteworthy that almost a third of the teachers in our sample believe that students should be punished for speaking their mother tongue for their own benefit (see item 8).

To what degree do teachers' monolingualism beliefs vary between schools? To answer this question, we calculated the variance components from the unconditional model. We are particularly interested in the variance at school-level, which is computed as the between-school variance component divided by the sum of the within-school variance and between-school variance [$\tau_0 / (\sigma^2 + \tau_0)$]. We calculated that teachers' monolingual beliefs varied significantly across schools (18.84%; $p < 0.001$).

Table 6. Items of monolingual beliefs in education scale. Percentage of teachers answering ‘agree’ and ‘completely agree’ are shown (N Teachers = 674; N Schools = 48)

Item	Description	(Completely) Agree
1	Non-Dutch-speaking pupils should not be allowed to speak their home language at school.	77.3%
2	The most important cause of academic failure of non-Dutch-speaking pupils is their insufficient proficiency in Dutch.	78.2%
3	The school library (classroom library, media library) should also include books in the different home languages of the pupils.	12.8%
4	Non-Dutch-speaking pupils should be offered the opportunity to learn their home language at school.	6.8%
5	By speaking their home language at school, non-Dutch-speaking pupils do not learn Dutch sufficiently.	72.1%
6	Non-Dutch-speaking pupils should be offered regular subjects in their home language.	3.2%
7	It is more important that non-Dutch-speaking pupils obtain a high level of proficiency in Dutch than in their home language.	44.7%
8	It is in the interest of the pupils when they are punished for speaking their home language at school.	29.1%

6.7.2. Research Question 2

Above, we demonstrated that teachers strongly support monolingual policies in education, while there is a significant variation between schools. Now we want to further explore these monolingual beliefs by answering the second research question: what are the effects of school ethnic composition and curriculum track on teachers’ beliefs about monolingualism?

In Table 7, we present the results of the multilevel regression analysis on teachers’ monolingual beliefs. At teacher-level, gender is the only variable that has a significant effect: female teachers expressed less support for monolingual policies in education than their male colleagues ($b = -0.109$; $p = 0.029$; standardized effect [b^*] = -0.084). At the school-level, the schools’ ethnic composition is related to individual teachers’ monolingual beliefs and this

relationship is curvilinear: the level of monolingual beliefs peaks in schools with a balanced ethnic composition, i.e. in schools with a 40 to 60% ethnic minority students (M = 3.908), whereas teachers express less monolingual beliefs in schools with almost no ethnic minority students (0 to 20%; M = 3,616), and monolingual beliefs are the lowest in schools with almost exclusively ethnic minority students (80 to 100%: M = 3.527). The curvilinear relationship between school ethnic composition and monolingual beliefs is illustrated by Figure 5.

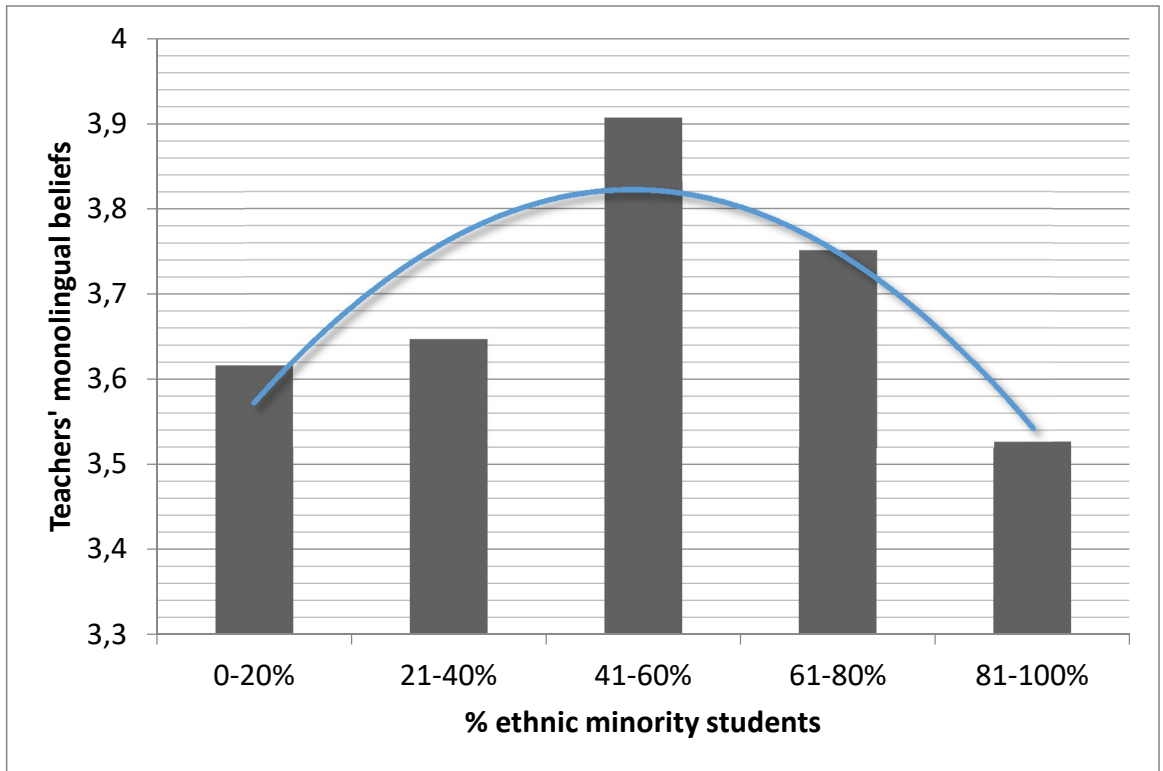
However, there is no significant relation between curriculum track and teachers' monolingual beliefs.

Table 7: Multilevel regression: determinants of teachers' monolingual beliefs (N Teachers = 674; N Schools = 48)

	B	SE	P
Intercept	3.527	(0.134)	***
Gender			
Female	-0.109	(0.050)	*
Ref: Male			
Experience	0.002	(0.002)	
Track			
Technical	0.096	(0.078)	
Vocational	0.125	(0.073)	
Other	-0.010	(0.095)	
Ref: Academic			
Ethnic minority composition			
0-20%	0.089	(0.125)	
21-40%	0.120	(0.139)	
41-60%	0.381	(0.126)	**
61-80%	0.224	(0.120)	°
Ref: 81-100%			
School sector			
Private/Catholic	0.023	(0.071)	
Ref: Public			

*p < 0.05; **p < 0.01; ***p < 0.001; ° = 0.062

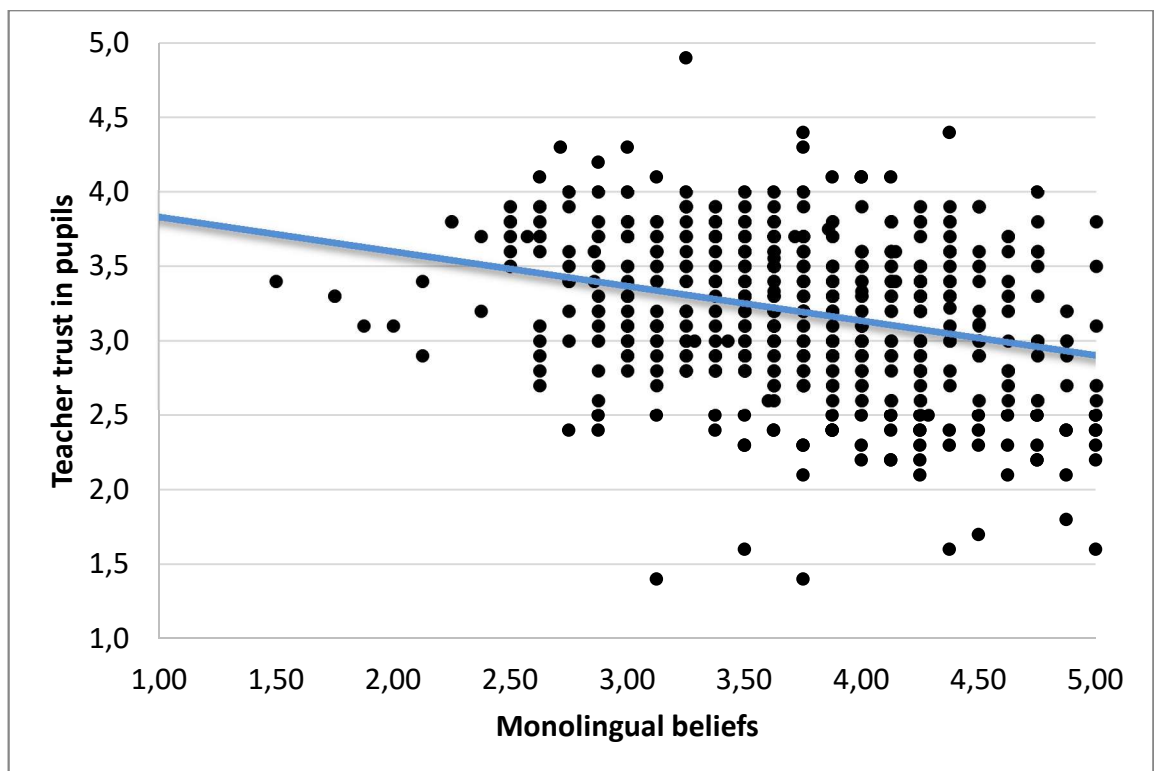
Figure 5. An illustration of the curvilinear relationship between school ethnic composition (as estimated by teachers) and monolingual beliefs (N Teachers = 674; N Schools = 48)



6.7.3. Research Question 3

In the above section, we examined the determinants of monolingual beliefs of teachers; in this section we focus on the effects of these beliefs on teachers' trust in their pupils and estimation of their self-efficacy. The results shown in Figure 6 and Table 8 indicate that stronger monolingual beliefs are related to lower levels of trust in the academic engagement of their pupils ($b = -0.203$; $p < 0.001$; $b^* = -0.253$). However, no relation was found between monolingual beliefs and sense of self-efficacy ($b = 0.011$; $p = 0.701$).

Figure 6. Relation between teachers' monolingual perceptions and the level of trust teachers have in their pupils (N Teachers = 674; N Schools = 48)



Although other effects did not constitute the focus of this third research question, it is worth noting that teachers' trust in students decreases as the share of ethnic minority students in a school increases, and teachers have more trust in students when teaching in the academic track than in technical, vocational or other tracks. The only significant effect on self-efficacy is school sector.

Table 8. Multilevel regression: the impact of monolingual perceptions on teachers' trust in students and sense of self-efficacy (N Teachers = 674; N Schools = 48)

	TRUST			SELF-EFFICACY		
	b	SE	p	B	SE	P
Intercept	3.909	(0.148)	***	3.511	(0.127)	
Monolingualism	-0.203	(0.030)	***	0.011	(0.028)	
Gender						
Female	0.022	(0.036)		0.023	(0.034)	
Ref: Male						
Experience	-0.003	(0.002)		-0.001	(0.001)	
Track						
Technical	-0.125	(0.060)	*	0.053	(0.058)	
Vocational	-0.228	(0.061)	***	0.005	(0.062)	
Other	-0.115	(0.057)	*	0.102	(0.057)	
Ref: Academic						
Ethnic minority composition						
0-20%	0.372	(0.107)	***	-0.026	(0.059)	
21-40%	0.367	(0.118)	**	0.019	(0.066)	
41-60%	0.179	(0.108)		-0.036	(0.063)	
61-80%	0.140	(0.102)		-0.069	(0.056)	
Ref: 81-100%						
School sector						
Private/Catholic	-0.013	(0.061)		-0.102	(0.036)	**
Ref: Public						

*p < 0.05; **p < 0.01; ***p < 0.001

6.8. Discussion

In order to deepen our understanding at micro-, meso- and macro-level of the dynamic interaction between language policies, beliefs and practices in education, three objectives were outlined in the present study. The first objective was to explore the degree of teachers' monolingual beliefs and the variation of these beliefs between schools. Secondly, we wanted to examine if school characteristics determine the level of teachers' adherence to or rejection of monolingual education ideologies. And thirdly, we wanted to gain insight into the relationship between teachers' monolingual beliefs on the one hand and teacher expectations on the other hand.

Our findings indicate that the beliefs of teachers regarding the use of (home) language in education coincide to a large extent with the monolingual policies implemented in Flemish education. In addition, there was an association between the monolingual beliefs of teachers and the level of trust they have in their pupils: the stronger the monolingual beliefs are, the less trust teachers have in their pupils. From the literature, as discussed in the paragraph regarding the relation between teachers' monolingual beliefs and teacher-pupil interaction, on teacher-pupil interaction we know that trust in pupils is related to the expectations teachers hold regarding the academic achievement of pupils, and these expectations, in turn, determine the actual academic outcomes of pupils.

Unlike we had expected, no relation was found between strong monolingual beliefs of teachers and a reduced sense of self-efficacy. Although teachers indicate that they are unable to reach the prescribed academic objectives when teaching classes with a majority of ethnic minority pupils, our findings demonstrate that teachers do not relate this to their own teaching abilities. As mentioned above, the monolingual policy framework includes the idea that insufficient Dutch language proficiency at the start of an education trajectory is a deficit that needs to be elevated in order to achieve academic

success. Therefore, insufficient language proficiency in Dutch is perceived as a deficit situated on the level of pupils (and their parents) and hence is seen as something needing to be solved at that level. The teachers and teaching competences or pedagogical and didactical approaches at teacher- and school-level are not questioned – in spite of rapidly changing school composition and increasing linguistic diversity.

An important relationship was found between the monolingual beliefs of teachers and the ethnic composition of a school (as estimated by the teachers). The monolingual language policies receive the most support in schools with a more or less even distribution of ethnic minority and non-minority pupils. This finding can be construed in two different ways. A first explanation is based on the 'Group Threat Theory' (Longshore 1982; Goldsmith 2004). This theory refers to situations where different ethnic groups of comparable size are present and a dominant group is (not yet) established. It is in such situations that the most intense feelings of threat are experienced and the struggle for dominance is still ongoing. In line with the Group Threat Theory, we can say that the use of the Dutch language is mostly perceived as threatened in the so-called 'mixed school' (about 50% of ethnic minority pupils). In schools with a (numerical) majority of non-migrant pupils (so-called 'white concentration schools'), the use of the Dutch language is not threatened at all and in schools with a (numerical) majority of ethnic minority children (so-called 'black concentration schools'), the struggle for dominance has been concluded to the detriment of the Dutch language. A second, more intuitive explanation refers to the evolution the so-called 'black concentration schools' have experienced over the past few decades whereby they started out as white concentration schools, then becoming a mixed school and ending up as 'black concentration schools'. During this evolution, these schools have gained experience and expertise in dealing with a changing school composition and addressing increasing (linguistic) diversity at school and classroom level. They do not feel the need to implement a strict monolingual school policy. However, findings based on qualitative research comprising of in-depth interviews and group discussions

with teachers in secondary education in Flanders (Pulinx, Agirdag and Van Avermaet 2014), seem to subscribe the explanation of the findings to something closer to the Group Threat Theory rather than the second interpretation.

These findings have clear implications for policy makers. Current education policy in Flanders, aimed at improving the achievement rate of non-Dutch-speaking pupils, is based on the belief that Dutch language proficiency is a condition for academic success. However, the intended objective – increasing language proficiency in Dutch by imposing the exclusive use of Dutch and the banning of other home languages in the school context – appears to be jeopardized by the interaction between teachers' language beliefs, teachers' trust in pupils and teachers' expectations about academic achievement. These beliefs are shaped by an ongoing dynamic and reciprocal interaction process between education policies and specific school contexts. Therefore, teachers can be key actors in bringing about more open and inclusive language policies in education. A transition from a monolingual toward a multilingual approach regarding home languages in education will be most successful when initiated by teachers at school and classroom level. The opposite shift – changing regional and national language policies first – would likely be more difficult to initiate taking into account the strong adherence to monolingual language policies in the socio-political reality of Flanders. Earlier research programmes have shown that practice-orientated and experimental approaches can lead to changes in the beliefs of teachers regarding the (linguistic) competences and academic involvement of their pupils (Ramaut et al 2013; Valdiviezo 2009).

By supporting grassroots initiatives (small-scale projects merging bottom-up schemes based on school and classroom experiences), conducting action research and experimental research programmes and professionalization of teacher training, it is possible to bring about change in school policies and teachers' beliefs. Subsequently, education and language policies at regional and national levels can be influenced by the altered beliefs

and experience at school and teacher-level. In other words, monolingual school policies can be contested and reconstructed at school- and classroom-level.

Chapter 7. Teacher's beliefs about citizenship education and language: different dimensions and variation across teachers and schools

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7.1 Abstract

This article aims at deepening our understanding of the beliefs teachers hold regarding citizenship education. The study takes place in Flanders (Belgium), a region characterized by integration policies based on the notion of active citizenship on the one hand and monolingual language policies on the other hand. In Flanders, as in many Western societies, an explicit role has been assigned to the education system in preparing students for active participation in society in later life. Based on a survey of 775 teachers from across 48 secondary schools, we looked at the aspects of citizenship teachers find important and we explored if we can distinguish different dimensions of citizenship education beliefs among teachers. We examined if teacher or school characteristics have an influence on the prevalence of different dimensions of citizenship education and looked at relations between teachers' beliefs regarding citizenship education and monolingualism. The results of our multilevel analysis indicate that we can distinguish three dimensions of citizenship education: social engagement, authoritative and participative. All three dimensions vary significantly at school- and teacher-level. Furthermore, we found that some teacher characteristics and school characteristics were significantly related to teachers' beliefs about citizenship education. Finally, the results showed that teachers who adhere more strongly to monolingualism in

education gave more attention to the authoritative dimension of citizenship education and less attention to the participatory dimension.

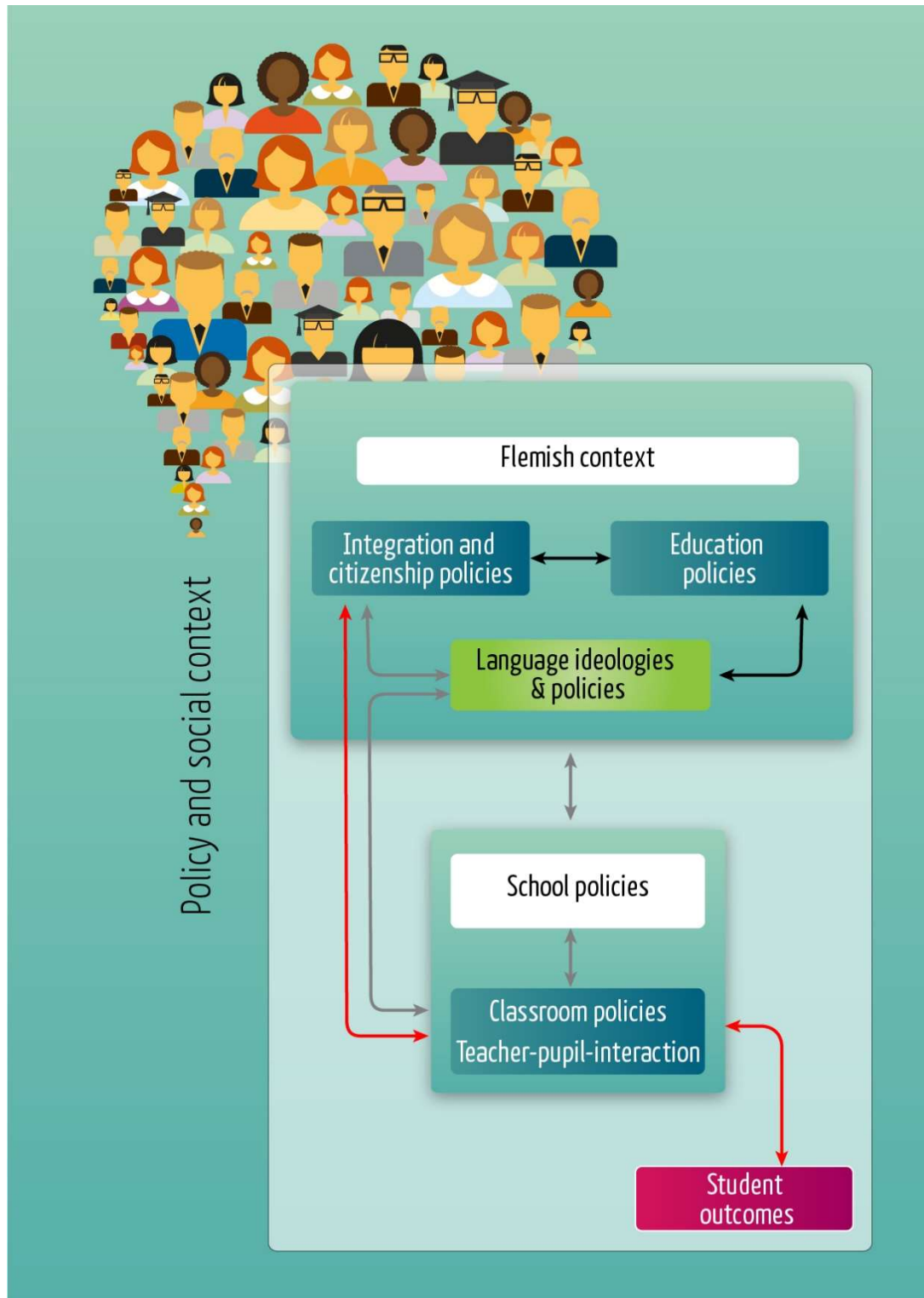
This paper has four parts. In the introduction the research objectives are formulated. Secondly, the research methodology and data analysis techniques are outlined. In the third part, the findings are discussed and summarized. And finally, the paper concludes with a discussion of the implications of the research findings.

Keywords

Teachers' beliefs, citizenship education, monolingualism, quantitative research, Flanders

7.2 Conceptual model

Figure 7. Conceptual model – Chapter 7



7.3 Introduction

Over the last three decades, most Western European societies have become characterized by diverse and transitory migration processes, consisting of migrants frequently moving within the European space, refugees and asylum seekers, migration in the context of family reunification, marriage migration, exchange students and high skilled workers. Traditional processes of acculturation or intergenerational assimilation, no longer seem to occur automatically. The recent wave of migration, the so-called European refugee crisis consisting of refugees originating from war zones in the Middle East and Africa, exerts great pressure on Western European societies when it comes to developing and implementing policies around concepts such as social cohesion, integration, citizenship, identity, and language (Van Avermaet 2009).

Questions about the meaning of national identity, how to maintain social cohesion and preserve national, cultural and linguistic heritage are of growing concern for policy makers and society as a whole (Van Avermaet 2009). The national language and knowledge of society are considered essential and definable elements of citizenship and successful processes of integration (Shohamy 2006).

In Western Europe, present-day integration policies often make use of the notion of 'active citizenship', aimed at encouraging migrants to participate socially, politically and economically in the host society. The Flemish government frames integration policies and citizenship courses as a mandatory appeal to migrants to take up active citizenship, defining it as follows (Inburgering, Flemish Department Home Affairs): "to respect the basic principles of the democratic rule of law and to actively participate in society". New members of society are not only expected to respect the law, but in addition make an active contribution to civil society initiatives (Verhoeven and Ham, 2010). Hence, expectations are being created – by the government and the wider society – about what it means to be a good citizen and a not-so-good

citizen (Odé and Walraven 2013). As Odé and Walraven (2013) explain further, a good citizen is the one that takes actively part in what civil society asks of him: participating in the voluntary and associative sector, contributing to neighbourhood initiatives and integrating as fully as possible in the host society.

But not only explicit integration policies are aimed at promoting active citizenship and social cohesion. In many Western societies, the education system plays an important role in the socialization of children and adolescents, and thus in preparing students for active participation in society in later life. Civic or citizenship education has become increasingly important. However, little is known about the interpretation education gives to citizenship and the beliefs teachers hold about citizenship education. The largest international comparative research programme regarding civic and citizenship education is the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS), recurrently conducted by the International Association of Educational Achievement (IEA). ICCS was built on two pioneer studies conducted by IEA in 1971 and 1999. ICCS was established in 2009 as a baseline study, and a new survey has been conducted in 2016.²¹ The Flemish results of the 2010 ICCS-survey showed a high mean level of knowledge transfer, but a much lower score for social and democratic attitudes of students, e.g. regarding trust in government institutions, gender equality, student participation at school and political participation (Van Avermaet and Sierens 2012). Strikingly, research results demonstrated a very negative attitude of Flemish students towards migrants and the multicultural society. Although teachers are included in this study, the main focus is put on measuring the knowledge, beliefs and attitudes of students regarding citizenship (Van Avermaet and Sierens 2012). So far, little is known about teachers' beliefs regarding citizenship education.

Citizenship education is not a neutral subject matter in the education curriculum, since it is related to the transmission of a shared set of norms and values considered as shared within a specific society but never completely

²¹ See: iccs-vlaanderen.be/achtergrond

explicated or clarified. Thus the way citizenship is implemented in direct interaction between teachers and pupils and classroom practices, is to a large extent determined by the beliefs teachers themselves hold on citizenship education and social reality in general. There might be differences between teachers, having a level of agency as individuals allowing them to negotiate or reject certain elements of the prevailing citizenship model and, consequently, certain tenets of citizenship education. Moreover, as most schools have a certain level of school autonomy there might be differences between schools. This is particularly relevant for Flanders, where this study is conducted, taken into account the pedagogical and didactical freedom of education as guaranteed by the Belgian constitution. As stated by Zaman (2006): “Little theoretical and conceptual frameworks have examined the direct role of teachers in the school context of influencing the students’ political attitudes and perceptions, and few studies cover building models that illustrate how teachers do influence and change their students in regard to political issues.”

Hence, the first objective of this study is to examine the beliefs teachers hold about citizenship education and we formulated the first research question as follows: what aspects of citizenship do teachers find important and can we distinguish different dimensions of citizenship education beliefs among teachers?

Although citizenship education is rapidly gaining importance, it is a relatively new component of school curricula in Western European education systems (Osler 2011). Citizenship education made its appearance approximately at the same time integration policies were being developed and implemented, as a result of the social and political awareness that migration was becoming a permanent, increasing and more diverse phenomenon within Western European societies (Pulinx and Van Avermaet 2015). The increasing and continuing migration to Western Europe, together with the economic and financial crises and the emergence of terrorist violence at the end of the 2000’s,

led to questions about social cohesion, social identity and citizenship at policy level and within the wider society.

According to UNESCO (1998), citizenship education can be defined as educating children, from early childhood, to become clear-thinking and enlightened citizens who participate in decisions concerning society. 'Society' is here understood in the specific sense of a nation with a circumscribed territory which is recognized as a state. As Crick (2000) indicated, citizenship education transmitted by schools and teachers to students is closely related to the citizenship model a society upholds. In Western Europe, that citizenship model is one of active citizenship, focusing on the willingness of citizens to commit themselves to the public good (Odé and Walrave 2013). The European Commission makes this link explicit in stating that: "Education and training policy should enable all citizens to benefit from quality education and to acquire and update over a lifetime the knowledge, skills and competences needed for employment, inclusion, active citizenship and personal fulfilment".

Citizenship education can be taught in different ways varying between and within countries, e.g. as a specific subject, integrated into social studies subjects, integrated into all subjects, or as an extracurricular activity (Zaman 2006). So far, little is known about teachers' perceptions on citizenship and citizenship education. Citizenship education, e.g. looking at the definition by the UNESCO (see above), is a very comprehensive subject, implemented through various classroom practices and containing varying elements and components.

As indicated above, citizenship education is to a large extent the expression of the citizenship model a society wants to implement, and consequently the expression of the beliefs of regional and national policy makers (Crick 2000). Teachers' beliefs are, amongst other things, formed by implicit policies and policy measures. Teachers' beliefs are shaped by national policies and policy frameworks, but also the organizational and didactical school characteristics, and most importantly, teachers' beliefs are shaped by the dynamic interactions between policies at national, school and classroom level

(Oakes 1985; Lee 2000; Van Houtte 2011). A quantitative (multilevel) approach regarding teachers' beliefs might inform us on how teachers' beliefs are influenced by the characteristics of the school context in which they function (see Agirdag, Van Avermaet and Van Houtte 2013).

Therefore the second objective of this study is to examine the prevalence of various citizenship education beliefs across different teachers and schools. As such, the question is: do teacher or school characteristics have an influence on the prevalence of different dimensions of citizenship education?

Finally, a paramount characteristic of current integration and education policies in Western Europe is the prevailing monolingual paradigm. Regarding integration and citizenship policies, the monolingual frame of reference regards knowledge of the national language as an intrinsic part of the national identity; language is considered an indicator of loyalty, belonging, inclusion, and membership of the (host) society (Shohamy 2006). As to education, this monolingual paradigm implies an almost exclusive focus on proficiency in the national language as the key factor for successful participation in education, the labour market and in the wider society. Educational failure of migrant students, having another home language than the national language, is primarily – and often exclusively – explained by insufficient skills in that national language. In many West European countries, the use of home languages is not allowed in the classroom (in some schools, even the use of home languages on the playground or in the cafeteria is not permitted) and home languages are attributed no value in academic terms.

Education policies in most Western European countries are based on a clear monolingual ideology. A language ideology can be defined as a system of beliefs and ideas about the role language holds within the cultural, social and political context of a specific society (Woolard 1998; Spolsky 2004). The language ideologies that currently dominate the education, is at the same time the underlying language ideology of the current 'active citizenship' policies in Western Europe, emphasizing active participation and self-reliance. This

monolingual ideology consist largely of the following five elements (Silverstein 1996; Piller 2001; Blackledge 2005; Shohamy 2006; Milani 2008; Horner 2009, Pulinx and Van Avermaet 2015):

(1) The use of one common language by all members of society is a prerequisite for achieving social cohesion;

(2) Social cohesion can only be guaranteed by acquiring the standard variety of that national language;

(3) Language proficiency in the national language is a condition for social participation and must therefore be acquired before participating;

(4) Language proficiency in the national language is seen as a marker for knowledge of the culture and social norms and values;

(5) Unwillingness or refusal to learn and use the dominant language is regarded as a sign of disloyalty and defective integration and citizenship.

Since the turn of the century, programmes including bilingual curricula or curricula in home language and culture were gradually being replaced by measures such as second language emersion programmes, remedial language courses and language testing. Students' linguistic capital – other than the dominant, national language – is not activated as a didactical resource for learning (Sierens and Van Avermaet 2014). These educational policies, based on a monolingual ideology, are then put into practice by school principals, teachers and school staff through mission statements, curricula and language tests (Shohamy, 2006; Gkaintartzi, Kiliari, and Tsokalidou, 2015). A previous study, conducted in Flanders, has demonstrated that teachers strongly adhere to monolingual policies, while there are also significant differences across schools related to the ethnic composition of those schools. Furthermore, a stronger adherence to monolingualism was found to trigger teachers to have lower trust in the academic engagement of their students (Pulinx, Van Avermaet and Agirdag 2015).

Although educational policies and citizenship education are both based on a monolingual frame of reference, and although language proficiency in the dominant language is considered a key factor for integration and active citizenship, the link between language and citizenship remains – at the most – implicit in school and classroom practices. Language proficiency in the dominant language is considered a condition for integration, and consequently has to be achieved preferably before participation. Language education and citizenship education are seen as separate learning objectives, translating into practices such as pull-out classes and immersion programmes on the one hand and non-linguistic citizenship learning objectives on the other hand.

Therefore, the third and main objective of this study is to examine the relation between teachers' beliefs about monolingualism in education and their beliefs about citizenship education. In a social and political context of monolingual ideologies, underlying both citizenship education and language policies in education, we are interested in a possible relation between the monolingual beliefs of teachers and their beliefs about citizenship education. A third research question can thus be formulated: are teachers' beliefs about monolingualism related to the different dimensions of citizenship education?

7.4 Methods

7.4.1 Population and samples

Data were collected during the 2010-2011 academic year as part of a large-scale and multidisciplinary research project 'BET YOU!'²² on the school careers of pupils with an immigrant background in secondary education in three cities in Flanders (Antwerp, Ghent and Genk) (Clycq et al 2014). To obtain a representative sample of schools and teachers in these three cities, all 118

²² Funded by the Flemish government agency for Innovation by Science and Technology.

schools which offer general, technical or vocational curriculum were invited to participate in the research project. Secondary schools providing special needs programmes were not included in the survey. In total, 48 of the schools in the population agreed to participate (40.7%). The participation of teachers was dependent on school participation. Within the 48 schools that agreed to participate, 774 teachers (31%) responded to our survey by filling out an anonymous online questionnaire. For this purpose, we made use of the online survey service 'Survey Monkey'.

7.4.2 Research design

To provide an answer for the first research question, we conducted exploratory factor analysis with Varimax rotation to examine the different dimensions of citizenship that can be distinguished according to teachers' responses on two questions existing of 12 items. First, we asked teachers: '*What should students learn to become active citizens?*' A list of 12 possible answers, based on the work of Zaman (2006), was given with items like '*Participating in peaceful protest against unjust laws*' and '*Obeying the law*' (see Table 10). Teachers had the possibility to answer on a Likert-type scale with five options going from 'completely not agree' (scored 1) to 'completely agree' (scored 5). Secondly, we asked teachers: '*What element of citizenship do students learn at your school?*' and we provided a list of 7 possible answers that included forms of citizenship education that can be taught at school such as '*Contribute to solving problems in the community*' and '*Be patriotic and loyal citizens of their country*' (see Table 10). Teachers had the possibility to answer on a Likert-type scale with five options going from 'completely not agree' (scored 1) to 'completely agree' (scored 5). The items that loaded higher than 0.400 are used to calculate scales of different dimensions of citizenship education according to teachers by taking the mean score on the items (see Variables section).

To investigate the second and third research question, we conducted multilevel regression analyses to examine the teacher and school-level correlates of different dimensions of citizenship education according to teachers. Because the data were at different levels (individual teacher-level and school-level), multilevel modelling is most appropriate (SPSS Version 22, MIXED procedure is used). Missing data were handled with the multiple imputation procedure: five imputations are requested and the pooled results were shown. For the second research question, the effects of teacher experience, teacher gender, curriculum track, school ethnic composition and school sector is examined (see Variables section). For the third research question, we added the effects of teachers' monolinguals into the model.

7.4.3 Variables

Teachers' experience. Teachers' experience is measured by the number of years that a teacher has been teaching ($M = 15.99$; $SD = 11.360$; see Table 7).

Gender. In our sample, 62.5% of the teachers were females and 37.5% were males; this reflects exactly the gender composition of teachers in Flemish secondary education.

Curriculum track. We distinguish between four types of teachers according to the tracking system in which they function (see Table 9). In secondary education in Flanders, most students are tracked into three different tracks: the academic, technical and vocational track. The academic track (ASO) prepares students for higher education, the technical track (TSO) offers technical training and the vocational track (BSO) focuses on specific vocations. Most teachers only teach in one of these tracks. Teachers who are assigned to more than one track and other types of teachers (e.g. teachers assigned to L2 submersion classes for newcomers) are categorized as 'Others' (see Table 9).

Ethnic minority composition. School ethnic minority composition is measured by the percentage of ethnic minority students (in the survey: '*alloctonen*') in a school, as estimated by the teachers. We distinguished five categories of school ethnic minority composition: (1) 0–20%, (2) 21–40%, (3) 41–60%, (4) 61–80% and (5) 81–100%.

School sector. The school sector variable was split between 24 publicly run schools and 24 privately run (Catholic) schools (see Table 9). The privately run schools are to some extent under-represented in the sample. About two-thirds of the schools are private schools and one-third are public schools.

Monolingualism. Teachers' beliefs regarding the use of (home) languages in education (monolingual beliefs) were measured using eight items (see Pulinx, Van Avermaet and Agirdag 2015). Answer categories and their scores were as follows: (1) absolutely disagree, (2) disagree, (3) neutral, (4) agree and (5) completely agree. Responses to these eight items were averaged. Mean score (M) was 3.740, with a standard deviation (SD) of 0.624. The scale yielded a satisfactory Cronbach's alpha of 0.816.

Citizenship education. Three variables of citizenship education according to teachers is distinguished and these are called: Participatory citizenship, Authoritarian-patriotic citizenship, and Citizenship education taught at school (see Results section).

Table 9. Descriptive statistics: frequency at teacher-level (N teacher) and school-level (N school) minimum score (Min), maximum score (Max), mean (for interval variables) and percentage (for categorical variables) and standard deviation (SD).

	N school	N teacher	Min	Max	Mean	SD
<i>Teacher-level</i>						
Experience		670	0	55	15.99	11.36
Gender		674				
Female		421	0	1	62.5%	
Male (ref)		253	0	1	37.5%	
Track		558				
Technical		108	0	1	19.4%	
Vocational		207	0	1	37.1%	
Other		105	0	1	37.1%	
Academic (ref)		138	0	1	18.8%	
Monolingualism		603	1	5	3.74	0.62
Citizenship education						
Participatory		629	1	5	2.79	0.47
Authoritarian-patriotic		632	1	5	3.40	0.59
Taught at school		632	1	5	3.71	0.51
<i>School-level</i>						
% Minority pupils	48					
80-100 %	6	86	0	1	12.5%	
60-80 %	13	187	0	1	27.1%	
40-60 %	9	129	0	1	18.8%	
20-40 %	7	100	0	1	14.6%	
0-20 % (ref)	13	172	0	1	27.1%	
School type	48	674				
Private/Catholic	24	433	0	1	50.0%	
Public (ref)	24	241	0	1	50.0%	

7.5 Results

7.5.1 Research question 1

The first research question is to examine teachers' conceptualizations of citizenship education and to investigate the different dimensions that can be distinguished. With respect to the question: '*What should students learn to become active citizens?*' the explorative factor analysis revealed two distinct factors. The first factor (Eigenvalue = 2.700, explained variance of = 22.5%) include four items that refer to participatory issues of citizenship education such as participating in activities promoting human rights and engaging in political discussion and debates (see Table 10). This scale had a Chronbach's alpha score of .708. A second factor (Eigenvalue = 1.923, explained variance = 16.0%) consists of four items that refer to authoritarian and patriotic issues of citizenship (see Table 10). This scale had a Chronbach's alpha score of .639.

The remaining four possible responses for this question were removed from the analyses as two of these items did not load on any factor higher than 0.400 and two other items formed a third factor that was not interpretable.

With respect to the question '*What element of citizenship do students learn at your school?*', the explorative factor analysis revealed only one factor (see Table 10). All seven items loaded one factor (with an Eigenvalue of 3.379, explained variance of 48.3%) which covers different aspects of citizenship education at school. This scale had a Chronbach's alpha score of .820.

As such, three dimensions of citizenship education according to teachers are revealed: participatory citizenship vs. authoritarian-patriotic citizenship, and a third, general dimension of citizenship education that is taught by teachers at school.

Table 10. Explorative Factor Analysis: Loadings for the three factors of citizenship education according to teachers.

Factors and items	Loading
<i>Participatory citizenship</i>	
1. Participating in peaceful protest against unjust laws	0.744
2. Participating in activities promoting human rights	0.803
3. Engaging in political discussion and debates	0.729
4. Joining a political party	0.564
<i>Authoritarian-patriotic citizenship</i>	
1. Obeying the law	0.729
2. Hard working	0.647
3. Respect for representatives of the government	0.652
4. Being patriotic and loyal	0.671
<i>General citizenship education taught at school</i>	
1. Understand people who have different ideas	0.681
2. Cooperate in groups with other students	0.577
3. Contribute to solving problems in the community	0.706
4. Be patriotic and loyal citizens of their country	0.758
5. Act to protect the environment	0.678
6. Be concerned about what happens in other countries	0.779
7. Understand the importance of voting in national and local elections	0.665

7.5.2 *Research question 2*

The second research question focuses on the correlates of the three dimensions of citizenship education. We examine both school-level and teacher-level correlates. The results of the multilevel regression analyses (see Table 11) for participatory dimension of citizenship indicates that more experienced teachers put significantly more importance on the participation than unexperienced teachers ($b = 0.005$; $p = 0.007$). We also find a significant difference between teachers working in schools with 0 to 20 percent ethnic minority pupils and those who work in schools 60 to 80 percent ethnic minority pupils ($b = -0.211$; $p = 0.013$), but this difference does not reflect systematic differences with respect to the ethnic minority composition of the school as other categories do not significantly differ from each other. Gender, track and school sector are not related to the degree that teachers put emphasis on participatory citizenship (see Table 11).

With respect to the authoritarian-patriotic dimension of citizenship, the results indicate that gender has a significant effect. That is, female teachers tend to put more focus on authoritarian-patriotic citizenship than their male colleagues ($b = 0.111$; $p = 0.004$). The ethnic composition of the student body is clearly related to teachers' beliefs about citizenship education: teachers who work in school with 40 to 60 percent ($b = 0.244$; $p = 0.001$), 60 to 80 percent ($b = 0.138$; $p = 0.048$) and 80 to 100 percent ethnic minority pupils ($b = 0.201$; $p = 0.033$) think that authoritarian-patriotic forms of citizenship are more important than teachers working in schools with 0 to 20 percent ethnic minority pupils. The years of experience, curriculum track and school sector do not have a significant effect (see Table 11).

Regarding the perceptions about the degree of citizenship education taught at school, our results indicate that female teacher perceive significantly higher degrees of citizenship education than male teachers do ($b = 0.142$; $p = 0.001$). Moreover, teachers working in schools with higher share of

ethnic minority pupils report less implementation of citizenship education than teachers working in schools with 0 to 20 percent ethnic minorities, although the difference is only statistically significant for the 20 to 40 percent category ($b = -0.182$; $p = 0.013$), and the 60 to 80 percent category ($b = -0.142$; $p = 0.024$). The years of experience, curriculum track and school sector do not have a significant effect on the level of perceived citizenship education taught at school (see Table 11).

Table 11. Multilevel regression analysis: correlates of three dimensions of citizenship education: Unstandardized coefficients (b), standard errors (SE), and p-values (p).

	Participatory			Authoritarian-patriotic			Taught at school		
	<i>B</i>	SE	<i>p</i>	<i>B</i>	SE	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>P</i>
Intercept	2.846	0.088	***	3.145	0.072	***	3.670	0.073	***
Gender									
Female	-0.005	0.049	ns	0.111	0.038	**	0.142	0.042	**
Ref: male									
Experience	0.005	0.002	**	0.002	0.001	ns	0.003	0.002	Ns
Track									
Technical	-0.095	0.081	ns	-0.024	0.064	ns	-0.570	0.001	Ns
Vocational	-0.093	0.08	ns	0.017	0.056	ns	-0.075	0.075	Ns
Other	-0.059	0.084	ns	-0.056	0.063	ns	0.024	0.064	Ns
ref: Academic									
Ethnic composition									
80-100 %	0.051	0.106	ns	0.201	0.094	*	-0.800	0.082	Ns
60-80 %	-0.211	0.079	*	0.138	0.069	*	-0.142	0.062	*
40-60 %	0.060	0.086	ns	0.244	0.076	**	-0.086	0.069	ns
20-40 %	-0.148	0.092	ns	0.012	0.081	ns	-0.183	0.073	*`
ref: 0-20 %									
Sector									
Catholic	-0.002	0.059	ns	0.062	0.053	ns	0.037	0.048	ns
Ref: public									

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

7.5.3 Research question 3

The third research question focusses on the relationship between teachers' beliefs about monolingualism and their perceptions of citizenship education. The results shown in Table 4 make clear that, all else being equal, teachers who adhere more strongly to a monolingual ideology in education tend to put *less* focus on the participatory aspects of citizenship education ($b = -0.120$; $p = 0.002$). The reverse is true for the authoritarian-patriotic dimension of citizenship education: teachers who adhere more strongly to a monolingual ideology in education tend to put significantly more importance on the authoritarian-patriotic dimension of citizenship education ($b = 0.191$; $p < 0.001$). Finally, the level of citizenship education taught at school is not significantly related to teachers' beliefs about monolingualism in education (see Table 12).

Table 12. Multilevel regression analysis: teachers' monolingualism beliefs and three dimensions of citizenship education: Unstandardized coefficients (b), standard errors (SE), and p-values (p).

	Participatory			Authoritarian-patriotic			Taught at school		
	<i>B</i>	SE	<i>p</i>	<i>B</i>	SE	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>p</i>
Intercept	3.284	0.167	***	2.453	0.028	***	3.673	0.035	***
Monolingualism	-0.120	0.039	**	0.192	0.029	***	-0.001	0.034	ns
<i>+ all variables in Table 3</i>									

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

7.6 Discussion

In this study, we wanted to deepen our understanding of the beliefs teachers hold about citizenship education and language and to do this, we outlined three research objectives. The first objective was to look at the aspects of citizenship education teachers find important and to look for different dimensions of citizenship beliefs among teachers. Secondly, we wanted to examine the prevalence of various citizenship education beliefs across different teachers and schools. And our third and main objective was to gain insight in the relation between teachers' beliefs about monolingualism and their beliefs about citizenship education.

Our findings indicate that the conceptualization of citizenship education, held by teachers in secondary education in Flanders, is not unequivocal. Based on the aspects of citizenship education teachers find important (indicated in our quantitative survey), we can distinguish three different dimensions of citizenship: firstly, a participatory dimension of citizenship education; secondly, an authoritarian-patriotic dimension; and thirdly, a more general dimension covering different aspects of citizenship education at school. This third dimension of citizenship education contains elements related to social behaviour at school, but transferable to social behaviour in society in later life, such as cooperating in group, contributing to problem-solving and protecting the environment.

We found a distinction between the participatory dimension on the one hand and the authoritarian-patriotic dimension on the other hand. Whereas some teachers try to transfer elements of active citizenship to their students, such as engaging in political discussion and participating in peaceful protest against unjust laws, other teachers emphasize the importance of obeying the law, being patriotic and working hard.

Looking at citizenship education beliefs across teachers and schools, we did find some correlations at school-level and teacher-level.

Firstly, more experienced teachers attach more importance to the participatory dimension of citizenship than less experienced teachers. In the literature, a positive effect is found between teachers' experience and student achievement (Rockoff 2004). Our results suggest that more experienced teachers can create more opportunities to experiment with forms of citizenship in the classroom (e.g. group discussions or problem-solving exercises in small groups). But further research is needed to falsify this hypothesis.

Regarding the authoritarian-patriotic dimension of citizenship, a correlation was found for gender, with female teachers being more likely to stress the authoritarian-patriotic dimension of citizenship education. These results come across as counter-intuitive. We did not expect to find this correlation, since research on teaching practices and teachers' beliefs and attitudes has shown that there are no differences between certain categories of teachers, such as male and female teachers regarding feelings of professional insecurity and classroom management strategies (e.g. dealing with disruptive behavior in the classroom, or creating a positive learning environment). Sociolinguistic research more generally has widely attested that female language users tend to attach more importance to prestige variables and correctness in language use (Trudgill 1972, Gordan 1997). These sociolinguistic findings could indicate that female teachers tend more to maintaining strict normative frameworks, and thus are more likely to uphold the authoritarian-patriotic dimension of citizenship. Follow-up research is needed to gain further insight in the correlation between gender and dimensions of citizenship education.

Secondly, a relation was found between the authoritarian-patriotic dimension and the ethnic composition of the student population (as estimated by the teachers): in schools with a higher share of ethnic minority students, teachers emphasized the authoritarian-patriotic dimension of citizenship more than teachers in schools with a lower share of ethnic minority students. Here, we construe an hypothesis making use of the general stereotypical belief,

present in education and the wider society, that schools with a high percentage of ethnic minority and low SES students, so-called 'black school' or 'concentration schools', are 'bad' schools (Agirdag and Van Houtte 2011; Merry 2012). We hypothesize that teachers in schools with a higher share of ethnic minority students, having internalized the general beliefs regarding 'bad' schools, are convinced that a more authoritarian-patriotic approach of citizenship is more appropriate in interaction with their students. Engaging in political discussions in the classroom or solving problems by letting students work together in smaller groups, would more easily lead to disruptive behaviour of the students and the loss of control and classroom discipline.

The results of our research project become even more interesting, when we look at the relationship between the teachers' monolingual beliefs and their beliefs regarding citizenship education. Teachers with strong monolingual beliefs (e.g. 'non-Dutch-speaking students should not be allowed to speak their 'home language' at school' or 'the most important cause of academic failure of non-Dutch-speaking students is their insufficient proficiency in Dutch') tend to attach more importance to the authoritarian-patriotic dimension of citizenship and less importance to the participatory dimension of citizenship education.

Taking into account the specific socio-political context of Flanders, rapidly transitioning into a super-diverse (Vertovec 2007) society in a context of sub-state nation building (Pulinx and Van Avermaet 2015), and a strong monolingual ideology is at the base of Flemish integration, citizenship and education policies. This monolingual ideology consists of the following tenets:

- 1) The use of a common language is essential for social cohesion;
- 2) Language proficiency in the common language is a condition for social participation (participation is impossible without knowledge of that common language);
- 3) Insufficient knowledge of the common language is a sign of unwillingness to learn;

4) And hence a token of disloyalty to the host society (Pulinx and Van Avermaet 2015).

This study indicates that the objectives of integration and citizenship policies aimed at social participation, based on a strong monolingual ideology, can have counterproductive outcomes when mediated by teachers' beliefs just about language and citizenship.

We found that students with an ethnic minority background are more likely to be taught the authoritarian-patriotic dimension of citizenship education, and are less likely to be taught the participatory dimension and the more general dimension, aimed at social behaviour at school and in later life. Referring back to the concept of active citizenship, emphasizing the importance of active participation and self-reliance (Odé and Walraven 2013), combined with the socialization function attributed to the education system in most Western European societies, this is a very striking finding. Thus, by putting more emphasis on the authoritarian-patriotic dimension teachers are offering these students less opportunities to develop social skills and competencies aimed at social participation.

Part 3 - Conclusions

1 Introduction

The general aim of this doctoral study has been to deepen our understanding of the interplay between language policies, and integration and citizenship policies which are based on a monolingual ideology in contemporary Western European societies. I have situated my research project in the societal domain of education in Flanders (Belgium), since this is where three policy areas (language, integration and citizenship) come together in a most particular way. Language is the primary means of instruction and communication between teachers and pupils, and education is one of the most important institutions for the socialisation of children and youth. Teachers play a pivotal role in the socialization function of education. In this research project I examined teachers' beliefs and the influence of these beliefs on teacher-student interaction, to gain more insight in the dynamic relationship between integration/citizenship, education and language policies. Furthermore, in the Flemish education system proficiency in the Dutch language is considered to be a condition for participation and school success. This study has once again brought to the surface how monolingual education policies are seen as the most efficient way to achieve this conditionality.

Since the middle of the last century, most Western European societies have transitioned from (perceived) mono-cultural societies into 'super-diverse' (Vertovec 2007) societies, as a result of economic and socio-political developments leading to sustained and increased worldwide migration. These social changes have led to a set of questions being debated by policy makers and within the wider society about social cohesion, national identity and citizenship. In this concluding part of my doctoral thesis, I will provide at least some partial answers to these questions, e.g. referring to the revitalization of the 19th century monolingual paradigm, as developed and used at the height of the rise of the European nation-states. Linguistic nationalism, as part of political discourse, can already be found in the 16th century, e.g. in England. The monolingual paradigm was then further developed in the 19th century as a political

justification for the unification of fragmented linguistic communities and the creation of monolingual nation-states such as Germany and Italy.

Bourdieu (1991) underlined the central role of education in processes of linguistic market unification. In Western European societies, the renewed monolingual ideology has not been limited to migration and citizenship policies, but it permeates the societal domain of education.

The conceptual model which I have used in the theoretical framework to visualize the relations between the key concepts emphasizes the policy triangle formed by 1) integration and citizenship policies; 2) language policies; and 3) education policies. In this triangle, language policies are underlying both integration/citizenship policies and education policies. Teachers play a crucial role in fulfilling the socialization function of education, since they teach, guide and evaluate young children and students in direct interaction in the classroom, but also on the playground and during other activities inside and outside the school. Thus, it is pivotal to look at teachers' beliefs and the relation between teachers' beliefs and teacher-student interaction so as to thoroughly understand the dynamic interaction between language, integration and citizenship in the societal context of education. The beliefs or mental representations a person holds about him/herself, others and the surrounding world influence to a large extent the behaviour, practices and actions of that person. Beliefs are shaped by personal experiences, but they are also affected by the characteristics of the near environment and the wider social, political, cultural and historical context in which a person lives and functions. Beliefs can be considered as the sediments of general collective experiences. In this study, I wanted to look at the specific relation between national monolingual policies and teachers' beliefs regarding the role of language in education on the one hand and citizenship education on the other hand. In addition, I wanted to examine the relationship between teachers' beliefs and teacher-student interaction.

To gain more insight into the dynamic interaction between integration, citizenship and language policies in the societal domain of education, I formulated three main research questions:

- What are the beliefs teachers in Flemish secondary education schools uphold about language and citizenship education? *What is the nature of teachers' beliefs?*
- Are teachers' (monolingual) beliefs regarding the role of language in education related to their beliefs on citizenship education? *What are the relationships between the different teachers' beliefs?*
- Is there a relationship between teachers' beliefs regarding the role of language in education and citizenship education on the one hand and teacher-student interaction on the other hand? *What is the relationship of teachers' beliefs with teacher-student interaction?*

To bring together the elements necessary to answer these three overarching research questions, I have conducted four empirical studies. These empirical studies are based on the analysis of three different data sets:

- A small scale corpus of policy documents, outlining language policies in education and integration issued by Flemish Ministers of Education and Integration during two consecutive legislatures (2004-2009 and 2009-2014) – Study 1 & 2;
- Qualitative data collected during semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions in three schools in the city of Ghent (January 2010 – June 2011) – Study 2;
- Quantitative data collected via an online survey among teachers in 48 secondary schools in the cities of Antwerp, Genk and Ghent (January 2010 – June 2011) – Study 3 & 4.

2 Summary of the findings

First, I will briefly recall the main findings of the four empirical studies that were presented in Part 2 of the dissertation. Next, I will use these findings to formulate and discuss integrated answers to the main, overarching research questions.

2.1. Study 1. Integration in Flanders (Belgium). Citizenship as achievement. How intertwined are 'citizenship' and 'integration' in Flemish Language policies?

The first study of this doctoral thesis investigated the dynamic interaction between integration and citizenship discourses and policies in contemporary, super-diverse Western European societies. Flanders was used as a case study to show how integration is gradually being replaced by moral citizenship, referring to the distinction made by Schinkel (2008) between formal citizenship and moral citizenship. Formal citizenship consists of a set of economic and political rights and duties derived from (the acquisition of) nationality, e.g. holding a passport, being protected by the law and having to uphold the law. Moral citizenship refers to a set of values, norms and beliefs (but these are open-ended and never clearly defined; members of society are expected to internalize them and to act upon them).

As indicated above, the ongoing and increasing migration flows to Western European societies in the past decades made questions about the meaning of national identity, the maintaining of social cohesion and the preservation of the national, cultural and linguistic heritage of growing concern for policy makers and the wider society. The dynamic interaction between increasing (linguistic, cultural, religious and social) diversity in society, rising feelings of social insecurity and the pursuit of sub-state nation building, led to

the revival of a monolingual ideology as the basis for integration, citizenship and language policies in Flanders. Policy making was at the intersection of a dialogue between a monolingual policy discourse and common sense monolingual thinking.

Based on the literature and an analysis of political discourse, I found that a renewed monolingual ideology had been developed in a context of increasing migration and social diversity. The main tenets of this monolingual ideology are the following:

- The use of a common language is essential for social cohesion;
- Language proficiency in the common language is a condition for social participation;
- Insufficient knowledge of the common language is a sign of unwillingness to learn;
- Insufficient knowledge of the common language counts as a token of disloyalty to the host society.

This monolingual ideology is not a new phenomenon, but a revitalization of the monolingual ideology developed in the 19th century at the height of the unification processes leading to the creation of monolingual European nation-states (e.g. Germany and Italy). At that time, language was instrumentalized as a marker of national identity (Blommaert and Verschueren 1998). The monolingual ideology considers the national language as an intrinsic part of national identity; language is seen as an indicator of loyalty, patriotism, belonging, inclusion and membership (Shohamy 2006). The specific socio-political context of Flanders in the 20th century – characterized by processes of emancipation of the Dutch language and sub-state nation building (in respect of the 19th century unitary, French-speaking Belgian state) leading to a complex state structure – has stimulated the development of a clear monolingual ideology underlying integration and citizenship policies.

Based on the renewed monolingual ideology, new language policies were developed and incorporated in policies of sanctioned migration, mandatory integration and responsible citizenship. In many Western European countries, new migrants have to participate in integration courses after – and in some cases, even before – migration. These integration courses, which typically consist of a language course and a course in knowledge of the host society, are built around key norms and values of that host society (e.g. freedom, equality and democracy). Going through such a compulsory and formalized trajectory, adopting the language, norms and values of the new society, migrants have to become a ‘moral citizen’.

Although, citizenship was historically a general concept referring to all members of a certain society, moral citizenship is almost exclusively used in the context of integration and refers to members of society with a migrant background, and more specifically migrants coming from non-Western societies. Not only first-generation migrants have to demonstrate – continuously – that they have learned the language and internalized the norms and values of the host society. The next generations of people of immigrant descent remain susceptible to this kind of permanent moral scrutiny regarding language proficiency in the dominant language, norms and values, whereas the majority population is mostly treated as exempt from this.

Flemish society is characterized by a high level of linguistic sensitivity due to its particular socio-political context. The past decades, Flanders has been engaged in a process of sub-state nation building and sub-state identity construction, stressing even more the significance of language as an essential marker of social identity and citizenship. Language and politics are strongly intertwined in social and political debate. In this context, the public and political discourses on language, the use of other languages or language varieties, the multilingual reality in education or language and integration in society at large are highly ideological.

In this doctoral research project, I have attributed a pivotal role to teachers' beliefs and the relationships between teachers' beliefs and teacher-student interaction. The behaviour of a person is to a large extent influenced by the beliefs that person holds about him/herself, the others and the surrounding world. These beliefs are in turn shaped by personal experiences, the characteristics of the near environment and the social, political, cultural and historical context in which that person lives and functions. The renewed monolingual ideology, developed in contemporary Western Europe (and scrutinized in this first empirical study), reflects the beliefs of people in authority and policy makers, and also popular support by a section of the population. Consequently, the beliefs of teachers functioning in the educational system of these Western European societies, including Flanders, are in part formed by the renewed monolingual ideology, the shift in the conceptualization of integration and citizenship, and the policy frameworks based on these changing paradigms.

2.2. Study 2. Linguistic diversity and education. Dynamic interactions between language education policies and teachers' beliefs. A qualitative study in secondary schools in Flanders (Belgium)

In the second study, I wanted to gain more insight in the interplay between language ideologies, education policies and teachers' beliefs about monolingualism. The findings of this qualitative study (based on the analysis of policy documents and in-depth interviews and focus group discussions with 22 teachers in three secondary schools) show that a clear monolingual ideology is at the base of the language policy in the Flemish education system. Furthermore, I found that teachers' beliefs regarding the use of (home) languages other than Dutch at school and in the classroom coincide to a large extent with this monolingual ideology. Teachers use time, school success and integration

arguments to motivate and rationalize these monolingual beliefs, and not so much the control argument.

However, some teachers did also voice their doubts about the effectiveness of the education and language policies currently implemented at Flemish level (macro), at school-level (meso) and at classroom-level (micro). Teachers mentioned that the Dutch language proficiency of students with a migrant background appears to be decreasing instead of increasing, despite the supportive (monolingual) measures put into place. Current education policies in Flanders, aimed at increasing the academic achievement of non-Dutch-speaking students, are based on the conditionality of Dutch language proficiency for participation and school success. Monolingual education policies are considered the most efficient way to achieve this goal. But teachers, based on their everyday experiences, have started to question the strict monolingual approach in education. Notwithstanding, the existing monolingual class and teaching practices are maintained in the absence of an alternative framework to approach the increasing linguistic diversity in schools and classrooms.

The interviews revealed teachers' stereotypical beliefs about the ethnic and cultural background of the students and their parents were revealed. Especially when teachers illustrated the integration argument, used for rationalizing monolingual beliefs, these stereotypical beliefs became apparent. Stereotypical beliefs about the home language and the language use of the students were transferred to other (ascribed) characteristics of the students and their parents, e.g. insufficient Dutch language proficiency as an indication of lacking parental involvement in the education of their children, or as unwillingness to learn the Dutch language and thus to fully integrate in Flemish society. Such processes of stigmatization, based on the language of a person or a group of persons, is known in the literature as 'linguicism' (Skutnabb-Kangass and Philipson 1989).

2.3. Study 3. Silencing linguistic diversity: The extent, the determinants and consequences of the monolingual beliefs of Flemish teachers

The third study was based on a survey of 775 teachers from across 48 secondary schools in Flanders and examined how strict monolingual education policies affect teachers' beliefs and how the consequences of those beliefs are related to teacher-student interaction. More specifically, I outlined three objectives in this study: 1) to explore the degree of teachers' monolingual beliefs and the variation of these beliefs across schools; 2) to examine if school characteristics determine the level of teachers' adherence to or rejection of monolingual education ideologies; and 3) to gain insight into the relationship between teachers' monolingual beliefs on the one hand and teacher expectations on the other hand.

This study not only confirmed the findings of the previous qualitative study, indicating that the vast majority of the teachers in secondary education support the current monolingual policies in Flemish education. E.g., 77.3% of the teachers agree that students should not be allowed to speak a foreign language at school and 78.2% state that linguistic deficiency is the most important cause of poor educational performance of non-native speakers. Besides this confirmed finding, an important relationship was found between the monolingual beliefs of teachers and the ethnic composition of a school. The monolingual language policies receive the most support in schools with a more or less even distribution of students with a migrant background and majority students. No significant relation was found between curriculum track and teachers' monolingual beliefs and no relation was found between strong monolingual beliefs of teachers and a reduced sense of self-efficacy.

However, I did find a relationship between the monolingual beliefs of teachers on the one hand and the level of trust they have in the academic engagement of the students on the other hand. The literature on teacher-student interaction teaches us that trust in students is related to the

expectations teachers hold regarding the academic achievement of students, and these expectations, in turn, determine the actual academic outcomes of students (Rosenthal and Jacobsen 1968; Crowl and McGinty 1974; Godley e.a. 2006; Agirdag, Van Avermaet and Van Houtte 2013; Ramaut e.a. 2013). I also found that teachers' trust in students decreases when there are more students with a migrant background, and teachers have more trust in students when teaching in the academic track than in the technical and vocational track. Both trends reinforce each other, since the Flemish education system is characterized by a striking overrepresentation of students with a migrant background in technical and vocational tracks.

This third study indicates that the current monolingual education policies in Flemish education, aimed at increasing Dutch language proficiency and academic outcomes of students with a migrant background, can have reverse effects when it is mediated by teachers' beliefs.

2.4. Study 4. Teachers' beliefs about citizenship education and language: different dimensions and variations across teachers and schools

The fourth and final empirical study of this doctoral thesis was also based on the online teachers' survey and investigated teachers' beliefs regarding citizenship education. The first objective of this study was to look at the aspects of citizenship education teachers find important, and to look for different dimensions of citizenship beliefs among teachers. The second objective was to examine the prevalence of various citizenship education beliefs across different teachers and schools. The third and main objective of this study related back to the previous two empirical studies, and was to gain insight in the relation between teachers' beliefs about monolingualism in education and their beliefs about citizenship education. This is a research question which is especially

relevant in a socio-political context of monolingual ideologies underlying both citizenship, integration and education policies.

I found that teachers in secondary education in Flanders conceptualize citizenship education in varying ways. Three different dimensions of citizenship were found: 1) a participatory dimension of citizenship education; 2) an authoritarian-patriotic dimension; 3) and a more general social dimension, referring to different aspects of social behaviour at school and in later life. We found a distinction between the participatory dimension on the one hand and the authoritarian-patriotic dimension on the other hand. Some teachers seem more prone to transferring aspects of the participatory dimension to their students, other teachers stress more the authoritarian-patriotic dimension.

Correlations were found at school-level and teacher-level. Firstly, more experienced teachers attach more importance to the participatory dimension of citizenship than less experienced teachers. Another correlation was found between gender and the authoritarian-patriotic dimension of citizenship: female teachers are more likely to stress the authoritarian-patriotic dimension. This is a counter-intuitive result, since research on teaching practices and teachers' beliefs and attitudes has shown that there are no differences between certain categories of teachers, such as male and female teachers regarding feelings of professional insecurity and classroom management strategies (e.g. dealing with disruptive behavior in the classroom, or creating a positive learning environment). Sociolinguistic research more generally has widely confirms that female teachers attach more importance to prestige variables and correctness in language use (Trudgill 1972, Gordan 1997). These sociolinguistic findings could indicate that female teachers tend more towards maintaining strict normative frameworks, and thus are more likely to uphold the authoritarian-patriotic dimension of citizenship. Further research is needed to understand more profoundly the correlation between gender and dimensions of citizenship education. Secondly, also at school-level a relation was found regarding the authoritarian-patriotic dimension: in schools with a higher share

of ethnic minority students, this dimension is more emphasized than in schools with a lower share of ethnic minority students.

As the third and main result of this fourth empirical study, I found that teachers with strong monolingual beliefs tend to attach more importance to the authoritarian-patriotic dimension of citizenship and less importance to the participatory dimension. Summarizing these findings, students with a migrant background are more likely to be taught the authoritarian-patriotic dimension of citizenship, and are less likely to be taught the participatory and the more general dimension aimed at social behaviour at school and in later life.

3 General conclusions and discussion

3.1. The monolingual paradox of integration and citizenship

Reflecting on the findings of this doctoral study, I can conclude that the monolingual ideology underlying and supporting the objectives of the Flemish integration, citizenship and education policies has counterproductive effects when it is mediated by teachers' beliefs about language and citizenship. This study makes an important contribution to the academic literature by bringing to the surface the possible harmful effects of a strong monolingual ideology as the basis for education and integration policies. Based on the literature (e.g. Shohamy 2006), we already know that language ideologies have an impact on education policies and practices. In this study I provide empirical evidence of the intertwining of ideology and policy in a context of recently revitalized monolingual ideologies, globalization and increased migration. Moreover, I disclose some potentially negative effects of these interacting dynamics between ideology and policy on academic achievement and social participation of students with a migrant background and/or another home language than the dominant or majority language. In this section, I will demonstrate this by pointing out a set of contradictions and drawing attention to possible

detrimental effects of a monolingual framework used for the development of integration, citizenship and education policies.

The current Flemish integration, citizenship and education policies are aimed at stimulating social participation (in education, society and the labour market), social cohesion within society and active citizenship. In the societal field of education, language policies are developed to increase the language proficiency in the language of instruction of all students, and students with a different home language in particular. Based on the monolingual ideology, language proficiency in the language of instruction (being the language of the host society) is considered by policy makers and the wider society as conditional for achieving academic success. I have demonstrated that the majority of Flemish teachers in secondary education have strong monolingual beliefs, and consider the school and classroom environment as an exclusive monolingual space. However, based on the findings of this doctoral study, I have demonstrated that monolingual beliefs at the micro level of classroom policies (teachers' beliefs) can lead to decreasing instead of increasing academic outcomes of students. Teachers with strong monolingual beliefs have less trust in the academic engagement of their students. Lower levels of trust are related to lower academic expectations, and lower expectations in turn effect the academic outcomes of students (Rosenthal and Jacobsen 1968; Crowl and McGinty 1974; Godley e.a. 2006; Agirdag, Van Avermaet and Van Houtte 2013; Ramaut e.a. 2013). I call this the monolingual paradox of integration and citizenship.

By concluding that policy frameworks based on a monolingual ideology can have counterproductive effects, I do not question the necessity of a common language to establish communication, dialogue, negotiation and mutual understanding between different social, ethnic, cultural and religious groups in today's super-diverse societies. What I do question is the conditionality of language proficiency in the national or dominant language for participation in society and, more particularly, in education. By inverting the relationship

between language proficiency and participation – language proficiency in the dominant language as a result of participation instead of language proficiency as a condition for participation – the paradox can be lifted.

3.2. Answering the three main research questions

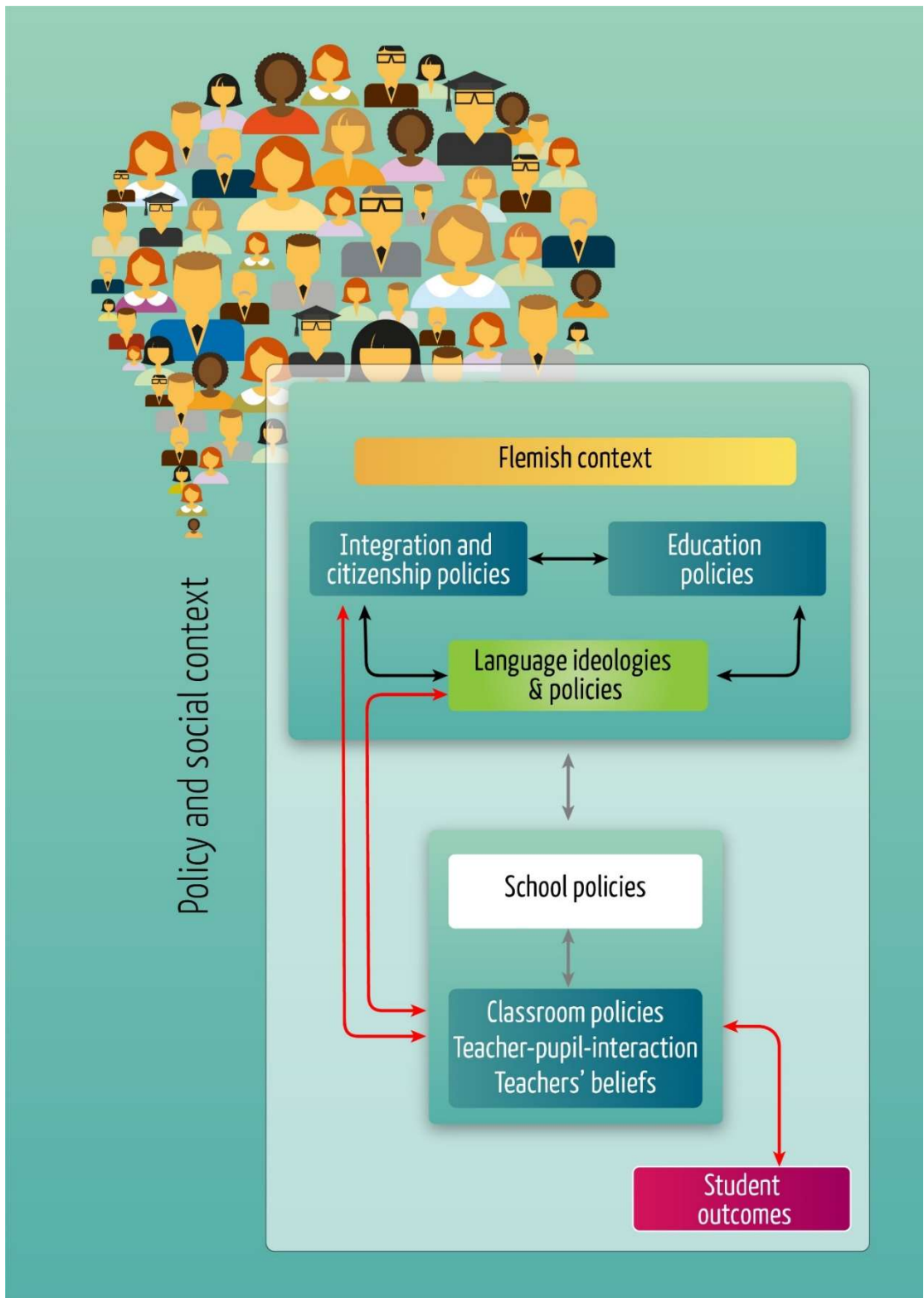
The findings of the four empirical studies provide elements to formulate comprehensive answers to the main research questions and, consequently, to deepen our knowledge of the interplay between integration, citizenship and language policies in the context of Flemish secondary education. In this section, I will return to the conceptual model and discuss the main findings of this doctoral study in relation to the key concepts of the theoretical framework.

Main research questions:

- What are the beliefs teachers in Flemish secondary education schools uphold about language and citizenship education? *What is the nature of teachers' beliefs?*
- Are teachers' (monolingual) beliefs regarding the role of language in education related to their beliefs on citizenship education? *What are the relationships between the different teachers' beliefs?*
- Is there a relationship between teachers' beliefs regarding the role of language in education and citizenship education on the one hand and teacher-student interaction on the other hand? *What is the relationship of teachers' beliefs with teacher-student-interaction?*

Bringing to mind the conceptual model, the three overarching research questions are related to the red arrows in the schematic representation.

Figure 8. Conceptual model



Research question 1. What are the beliefs teachers in Flemish secondary education schools uphold about language and citizenship education?

Both the quantitative and the qualitative empirical studies have clearly demonstrated that teachers in Flemish secondary education have strong monolingual beliefs and support the monolingual policy currently implemented in the education system. As indicated above (and made visual in the conceptual model), in this study I look at the relationship between teachers' beliefs and education policy as a dynamic and mutually influencing relationship.

Most teachers believe that there is no room for other home languages than the Dutch language within the school setting. The exclusive legitimacy of the Dutch language in education is implemented through school policy measures, such as not allowing students to speak their home language in classrooms, in hallways, on the playground and in the cafeteria. Often, sanctions are administered when students do speak their home language within the school. The vast majority of the teachers agree that students should not be allowed to speak a foreign language at school (77.3%) and that linguistic deficiency is the most important cause of low academic achievement (78.2%). Only a small minority of teachers support mother tongue education or bilingual education (about 5%). It is important to note that almost a third of the teachers believe that it is in the best interest of the students to punish them when speaking their home language at school.

An important relationship was found between the monolingual beliefs of teachers and the ethnic composition of a school. The monolingual language policies receive the most support in schools with a more or less even distribution of students with a migrant background and majority students. I linked this finding to the Group Threat Theory (Longshore 1982; Goldsmith 2004), in the sense that the use of the majority language is mostly perceived as threatened in these so-called 'mixed' schools. The struggle for linguistic dominance 'has not yet been concluded' in these schools.

Teachers motivate and rationalize these monolingual beliefs mainly by using self-constructed arguments that are not supported by recent second language acquisition findings. The arguments, formulated by teachers, are mainly related to:

- Time: all the available learning and teaching time in school has to be used for countering the deficiency in the language of schooling. Allowing pupils to use their mother tongue hinders that process;
- Integration: proficiency in the majority language is a condition for full participation in the host society and for academic and professional success;
- School success: this argument is a specification of the integration argument on the one hand and refers to the conditionality of language proficiency in the language of instruction on the other hand.

The control argument (using the Dutch language to maintain control of classroom dynamics) is invoked to a much lesser extent. The integration and school success arguments are closely linked to the monolingual ideology underlying Flemish education policies, since Dutch language proficiency is seen as conditional for integration in the Flemish society on the one hand and school success on the other hand (and not the other way around: Dutch language proficiency as the result of participation in society and at school).

Although teachers motivate and rationalize their monolingual beliefs, they expressed – implicitly and explicitly – doubts about the effectiveness of the current monolingual policy framework. Based on daily classroom experience, they notice that the Dutch language proficiency of students with a migrant background is deteriorating instead of progressing. However, teachers maintain existing monolingual classroom policies and practices in the absence of an alternative framework. Flemish education policies continue to confirm and reinforce a monolingual approach of linguistic diversity in education. A fourth

argument to motivate and rationalize monolingual teachers' beliefs can thus be added: the argument of monolingualism by deficit. Teachers continue to support and implement monolingual education policies, as prescribed by policy makers, because an alternative national policy framework is currently missing. This can be seen as a throwing up of arms in the air.

Based on the findings of the online teachers' survey, it became apparent that teachers have divergent ideas about citizenship education. Three dimensions of citizenship education can be distinguished:

- A participatory dimension, focusing on aspects such as engaging in political discussion and debate, and participating in activities promoting human rights;
- An authoritarian-patriotic dimension, focusing on aspects such as obeying the law, and working hard;
- A general, social dimension, focusing on elements of social behaviour at school and transferable to future life such as understanding people with different ideas, and cooperating in group.

Teachers do not address these three dimensions of citizenship to the same extent; they focus mainly on one of these dimensions. Correlations were found at:

- Teacher-level: more experienced teachers focus more on the participatory dimension, and female teachers seem to address mainly the authoritarian-patriotic dimension. Based on sociolinguistic findings, a hypothesis can be formulated that female teachers tend more to maintaining strict normative frameworks, and thus are more likely to uphold the authoritarian-patriotic dimension of citizenship. However, research on teaching practices and teachers' beliefs and attitudes does not seem to

support this hypothesis. Further research is needed to explain these findings.

- School-level: in schools with a higher share of ethnic minority students, teachers focus more on the authoritarian-patriotic dimension. We linked these findings to the general stereotypical belief that schools with a high percentage of ethnic minority and low SES students, the so-called 'black schools' or 'concentration schools', are 'bad schools'. Teachers seem to consider an authoritarian-patriotic approach of citizenship to be more appropriate in these schools.

In the fourth empirical study, I did not find a relation between curriculum track (in secondary education in Flanders, the three main tracks are the academic, technical and vocational track) and the dimension of citizenship teachers focus on. At school-level, I did find another relationship: teachers, working in schools with a higher share of ethnic minority students, focus more on the authoritarian dimension of citizenship education. In other words: the dimension of citizenship teachers find important is related to the ethnic composition of the school, regardless of the curriculum track they are working in. In contemporary research literature on the educational situation of minority groups in Flanders, 'race' and 'ethnicity' are absent as a valid explanatory factor. The relation between school composition and the authoritarian dimension of citizenship, across the various tracks, may indicate that 'race' and 'ethnicity' need to be reintroduced as a salient factor in Flemish education.

Research question 2. Are teachers' (monolingual) beliefs regarding the role of language in education related to their beliefs on citizenship education?

In the fourth empirical study, I found that teachers with strong monolingual beliefs (e.g. "non-Dutch-speaking students should not be allowed to speak their 'home language' at school" or "the most important cause of

academic failure of non-Dutch-speaking students is their insufficient proficiency in Dutch”) tend to attach more importance to the authoritarian-patriotic dimension of citizenship and less importance to the participatory dimension of citizenship education. I did not find a significant relation between teachers’ monolingual beliefs on the one hand and the general, social dimension of citizenship on the other hand.

To explain these findings, a couple of hypotheses can be offered.

Firstly, we can assume that a person who has more conservative beliefs on one topic will also hold more conservative ideas on other topics. This hypothesis presumes that both monolingual beliefs and adherence to an authoritarian-patriotic dimension of citizenship refers to a conservative mind-set, being a set of assumptions implying that a society will be made stronger by retaining its traditional culture, values, and social institutions.

A second hypothesis can be formulated from the perspective of classroom management. Both the authoritarian-patriotic dimension of citizenship and the monolingual ideology can be linked to a sense of ‘control’: controlling the behaviour of the students and controlling the language they use in the classroom. Teachers in general are to a large extent focused on preventing or correcting disruptive behavior of students, applying discipline and demanding respect. Professional insecurity, experienced by teachers when confronted with increasing (linguistic, cultural, religious and social) diversity in the classroom, may reflect on the dimensions of citizenship teachers emphasize in interaction with their students. Teachers are reluctant to stimulate or even allow group discussions on sensitive political or social topics. And they are afraid of not understanding, and thus not controlling, everything that is being said in the classroom. To avoid the possibility of gossiping behind their back and the back of other students, teachers do not allow other languages than the language of instruction to be used in the classroom.

Research question 3. Is there a relationship between teachers' beliefs regarding the role of language in education and citizenship education on the one hand and teacher-student interaction on the other hand?

A direct relation between teachers' monolingual beliefs and teacher-student interaction was found in the third empirical study. The results of the online teacher survey showed that stronger monolingual beliefs are related to lower levels of trust in the academic engagement of the students. As indicated above (section 2.3.), the literature on teacher-student interaction has demonstrated the relation between teachers' trust and the expectations teachers have on the academic achievements of their students. Consequently, teachers' expectations affect the actual academic outcomes of the students (Rosenthal and Jacobson 1968; Crowl and McGinty 1974; Godley e.a. 2006; Agirdag, Van Avermaet and Van Houtte 2013; Ramaut e.a. 2013).

This is one of the most important findings of this doctoral study, because the possible counter productivity of a strong monolingual policy as the basis for education and integration policies is brought to the surface.

Related to teacher-pupil interaction and trust we did find another important relationship: teachers' trust in students decreases as the share of ethnic minority students in a school increases, and teachers have more trust in students when teaching in the academic track than in the technical and vocational track. In the theoretical framework (see section 2.8. Teachers' beliefs), I indicated that teachers' beliefs are to a large extent shaped by organizational, pedagogical and didactical school characteristics (Oakes 1985; Lee 2000; Van Houtte 2011). More specifically, school composition and curriculum track play an important role. Most research looks at the impact of school characteristics, such as school composition, on pupils. But it seems plausible to assume that school characteristics equally impact teachers' beliefs.

Stereotypes associated with the characteristics of a school population – socio-economic and ethnic composition of the students, curriculum track –

influence society's beliefs regarding the language proficiency (in the majority language), the academic achievement of the students and the educational equality of the schools (Van Houtte 2011; Agirdag and Van Houtte 2011). A main characteristic of the Flemish education system is the high level of social reproduction regarding educational outcomes. From the first year of secondary education students with a migrant background and students with lower SES are overrepresented in the technical and vocational tracks, and students with higher SES and Western European background are overrepresented in the general track. Academic tracks are attributed a higher social status by teachers, parents and students because of the stronger focus on knowledge and cognitive skills compared to vocational and technical tracks (Stevens and Vermeersch 2010; Van Houtte and Stevens 2009). Previous studies have indicated that teachers' beliefs are significantly linked to the curriculum tracks: teaching in academic and advanced tracks is associated with higher expectations than teaching in vocational tracks (Oakes 1985; Ennis 1994; Lee 2000; Van Maele and Van Houtte 2011). In addition, there is a general stereotypical belief that schools with a high percentage of ethnic minority and low SES students are 'bad' schools (Merry 2012). These schools are often labelled 'black schools' or 'concentration schools'. Teachers working in these 'black' or 'concentration' schools have lower expectations about the ability of their students (Rumberger and Palardy 2005) and tend to problematize the existing linguistic diversity (Agirdag, Van Avermaet and Van Houtte 2013). The findings of the third empirical study regarding the relationship between teachers' trust, ethnic composition of the schools and curriculum track are consistent with the findings on expectations in these previous studies.

A more indirect relationship between teachers' beliefs and teacher-student interaction was found in the second, qualitative study. While motivating and rationalizing their monolingual beliefs, especially concerning the integration argument, stereotypical beliefs teachers have on the ethnic and cultural background of the students and their parents came to the surface. During the in-depth interviews and focus group discussions, teachers started

talking about the role of language in education and the language use of students and parents, but then shifted to more general stereotypical beliefs about the speakers of other language than Dutch. E.g. teachers link insufficient proficiency in the Dutch language to insufficient parental involvement with the schooling of their children. Limited parental involvement is then linked to cultural differences: the Flemish culture attributes high value to academic engagement and achievement, as opposed to the culture of students and parents with a migrant background. This can be understood as a rescaling of the 'cultural difference' argument used in the 1970's at the start of the process of democratization of education, aimed at accomplishing equal academic participation of all social groups. Working class parents were criticized by teachers and school staff (and the wider society) for not being involved in the school life of their children or not showing interest in their academic achievement. The same middle class discourse, unveiled by Bourdieu (1991) and used in the 1970's to stigmatize working class parents, is now being transferred to parents with a migrant background and other home languages than the Dutch language.

Processes of stigmatization, based on the language of a person or a group of persons is in the literature referred to as 'linguicism' or 'linguistic discrimination'. Skutnabb-Kangas and Philipson (1989) defined linguicism as "ideologies and structures that are used to legitimate, effectuate and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources between groups which are defined on the basis of language". Based on the literature on teachers' beliefs (see section 2.8. Teachers' beliefs), we know that processes of stigmatization and stereotyping by teachers are related to lower levels of trust and lower teachers' expectations.

Looking more specifically at the relationship between teachers' beliefs regarding citizenship education and teacher-student interaction, we found that students with an ethnic minority background are more likely to be taught the authoritarian dimension and are less likely to be exposed to the participatory

dimension and the more general dimension. This is a second, very important finding of this research project, indicating that that students with a migrant background are given less opportunities to develop social skills and participatory competences. Yet – to go full circle – these skills and competences are exactly what is required of ‘good citizens’ based on the current integration and citizenship policies. These results indicate that teaching practices and teacher-student interaction, when primarily aimed at keeping control of the classroom, are linked to the authoritarian-patriotic dimension of citizenship and do not contribute to the accomplishment of the socialization function of education. This refers back to the hypothesis related to classroom management, formulated when answering the second main research question.

3.3. Discussion

As I have demonstrated throughout this doctoral dissertation, teachers in Flemish secondary education hold strong monolingual beliefs, related to the monolingual paradigm underlying current policies on language, citizenship and integration. Adherence to strong monolingual beliefs in the context of education would not be problematic, if I hadn’t found a negative correlation of these beliefs with teacher-student interaction. The monolingual ideology, mediated by teachers’ beliefs, appears to have counterproductive effects on both the level of trust teachers have in their students and the dimension of citizenship they emphasize and (didactically) construct in citizenship education. I have labelled this key-finding of my doctoral study ‘the monolingual paradox of integration and citizenship’.

This monolingual paradox is two-layered. I will discuss these two layers, and in each case I will attempt an explanation and discuss the contours of possible alternatives.

3.3.1 Monolingual beliefs and student outcomes

The first layer of the monolingual paradox is related to student outcomes. Strong monolingual beliefs have a negative impact on the level of trust teachers have in their students. Based on the literature, we know that lower levels of trust in the academic engagement of students are related to lower levels of students' cognitive outcomes. How is this paradoxical? Flemish educational policies, explicitly based on a monolingual ideology, are aimed at stimulating participation and equality in education. To achieve this aim, most school policies focus almost exclusively on an L2 submersion model of learning, often not valuing and even banning pupils' multilingual repertoires, at the micro-level of classroom practices and policies. Instead of increasing academic outcomes of students, these strong monolingual beliefs of teachers, as my study indicates, potentially lead to a decrease in academic outcomes. Alternative policy frameworks need to be developed and implemented to lift the monolingual paradox at the first layer.

Alternative frameworks and policies need to go beyond the binary thinking of replacing a monolingual paradigm by a traditional bilingual or multilingual one. Monolingual education consists of language immersion or submersion in the dominant language and is currently the prevalent, almost exclusive model in Flanders. Monolingual education policies can be characterized as 'one-size-fits-all' policies, implemented in the same way in every school and every classroom. Traditional bilingual or multilingual education refers to the provision of education in the home language of the students, in addition to or in combination with education in the majority language of schooling. There are many different models of monolingual, bilingual and multilingual education (Archibald et al., 2004; García, 2009). The outcomes of these different models depend on a multitude of variables, such as the quality of the learning environment, the educational and organisational conditions and the circumstances of implementation. Recently, traditional models of bilingual education have been criticized for theoretical reasons and

arguments of practicality. New sociolinguistic insights show how multilingual communication in today's complex world (translanguaging) often require to move beyond the binaries of viewing languages as compartmentalized units. The feasibility of customary bilingual education in urban linguistic heterogeneous classrooms can also be questioned from a practical point of view. The diversity in home languages and cultural backgrounds of the students in schools and classrooms calls for a different approach than that of implementing traditional bilingual or multilingual education models.

So, given the fact that an exclusive L2 submersion model is less effective than assumed and seems to have negative effects on both cognitive and non-cognitive outcomes; given the fact that schools and classrooms have become super-diverse spaces; given the practical and financial constraints of traditional bilingual education; given new theoretical insights in language use in super-diverse spaces and given the counterproductive and highly ideologized binary discussions in society at large and education in particular about monolingual or bilingual models, we need to move in the direction of a new approach to learning at school that integrates ML education and L2 learning. We need a model that at the same time exploits the multilingual repertoires of children; stimulates communication and interaction between all pupils to enhance learning in general and learning the language of schooling in particular and that has a positive effect on teachers' trust. The outcome of the new model cannot be that the linguistic differences between students (often related to cultural, social and religious differences) are accentuated and that students end up being in separate language groups (these being possible effects of implementing more traditional bilingual or multilingual education models).

As demonstrated in the second empirical study, cracks in the monolingual paradigm can already be detected at micro-level (classroom policies). Other research projects have indicated that intervening directly at the level of classroom practices and school policies can influence teachers to move away from the monolingual policies and practices and adopt a more open and

plurilingual approach. In the 'Home Language Project', conducted in different primary schools in Ghent (Flanders) a positive effect was found on teachers' attitudes towards children with different home languages than Dutch, when integrating and making use of the linguistic diversity of the classroom in the processes of learning (Ramaut et al 2013, Sierens and Ramaut 2017). This finding suggests that a positive effect of multilingual approaches – in contrast to monolingual classroom practices – can be expected at the level of trust teachers have in the academic engagement of their students.

Based on these research findings in multilingualism in education and building on the scientific insights regarding language learning and second language acquisition in particular, an alternative framework can be designed. One of the alternative frameworks that meets the conditions outlined above is the model of functional multilingual learning (FML-model). The FML-model deals in a more positive way with children's multilingual repertoires at school and in the classroom. It implies that a mainstream school adopts the policy and a teacher the practice of exploiting children's full linguistic repertoire to enhance the opportunities for learning, as well as to reinforce their wellbeing, self-confidence, motivation and school and classroom involvement (all are key elements for learning and school success) (Sierens and Van Avermaet 2015). The multilingual repertoire can be seen as didactic capital that can draw explicitly on children to strengthen their (educational) development. Their linguistic repertoire can be a scaffold for learning the language of schooling and more generally, for acquiring and unravelling new knowledge (Sierens and Van Avermaet, 2015). Teachers can stimulate students to use home languages in collaborative tasks, allowing them to switch languages to give additional explanations to each other, and at the same time intervening actively to monitor learning progress and demanding feedback from the students. A step further can be the integration of team teaching with a bilingual co-teacher in classroom practices. One of the outcomes that could be observed in the 'Home Language Project' (Ramaut et al., 2013) was the positive impact of positively exploiting children's' multilingual repertoires on teachers' beliefs and on the trust in their

students. The further development of small scale models and frameworks such as 'functional multilingual learning' need to be facilitated and stimulated by policy makers and other stakeholders in education in order to lift the monolingual paradox of integration and citizenship.

3.3.2 Monolingual beliefs and citizenship education

The second layer of the monolingual paradox is related to citizenship education. This study shows that strong monolingual beliefs of teachers are related to focussing more on an authoritarian-patriotic dimension of citizenship and less on a participatory dimension. In addition, teachers working in schools with a higher share of ethnic-minority students consider the authoritarian-patriotic dimension of citizenship as more important than teachers in schools with a lower share of ethnic minority students. How is this paradoxical? These findings indicate that students with a migrant background are less likely to be taught the participatory dimension of citizenship, but are more likely to be exposed to the authoritarian-patriotic dimension. This contradicts Flemish integration and citizenship policies. These policies explicitly aim at stimulating active citizenship and social participation. When immigrant students are mainly exposed to a more authoritarian-patriotic approach of teaching, one can argue that the opposite will be achieved of what the integration and citizenship policies aim for.

Another interesting finding that came out of the two quantitative studies was that I did not find a significant relation between teachers' monolingual beliefs and their beliefs on citizenship education on the one hand and the curriculum track they are working in on the other hand. Taking into account the social hierarchy of the main curriculum tracks in the Flemish education system (placing the general track at the top of the social ladder, the vocational track at the bottom and the technical track in the middle), a relation between teachers' beliefs and curriculum track could have been expected. However, both studies

did show a significant relation between teachers' beliefs and ethnic school composition.

I explain these two findings as follows. On the basis of this finding, one can conclude that teacher beliefs on citizenship (and monolingual beliefs are closely linked to beliefs on citizenship, because of the monolingual ideology underlying citizenship policies) are more impacted by the stereotypical beliefs present in the wider society about the ethnic composition of the school than by the stereotypical beliefs on curriculum track. This should not come as a surprise. Most of the debates and (media) discussions on education in Flanders currently focus on the so-called 'problems' of the 'underperforming' ethnic minority groups and school composition than on the more general 'problems' of tracking. This can be related to the re-conceptualization of citizenship towards moral citizenship. After becoming a formal citizen with political and economic rights and duties, migrants continually have to demonstrate their proficiency in the national language and their adherence to the norms and values of the host society. Hence, full moral citizenship is achieved through a long process of integration in the host society. It is not only first-generation migrants who have to prove how good their linguistic and societal knowledge is. The requirement to achieve and continuously demonstrate moral citizenship is passed on the second and third (and fourth ...) generation of people of migrant descent. Members of the majority are exempt from this kind of moral scrutiny (Schinkel 2008). In schools with a higher share of students with a migrant background teachers seem to be more sensitive to this conceptualization regarding moral citizenship present in the wider society.

The influence of implicit, but tenacious stereotypical beliefs of teachers regarding 'race' and 'ethnicity' can provide a second explanation for the relation between teachers' monolingual and authoritarian-patriotic citizenship beliefs and the ethnic school composition. In Western European societies, the educational system is considered to be a 'post-racial' social institution where race-relations are no longer problematic and social interaction is assumed to be

no longer impacted by racism and racial discrimination. Related to the idea of a 'post-racial' education system is the concept of 'colour blindness'. This concept of 'colour blindness' is – so far – mainly used in the Anglo-Saxon literature (e.g. as a principal tenet of the Critical Race Theory), referring to a “post-civil-rights area where race is no longer viewed as a major obstacle to social, economic and political participation” (Rosenberg 2004). Racism may no longer be the direct subject of political discourse or public debate, yet it remains implicitly present in society and the privileges of the dominant racial group continue to be kept intact (Gloria Ladson-Billings 1995, Rosenberg 2004, Bonilla-Silva 2006, Delgado 2012). Racism is no longer a characteristic of society (and the education system), but it remains present at the micro-level of beliefs, attitudes and behaviour of individuals (and individual teachers). The notion of colour blindness is in turn strongly related to the 'white privilege' discourse, arguing that white people can maintain an elevated status and certain privileges in different societal domains in Western societies that mask racial inequalities (Anderson, Taylor and Logio 2014). These privileges are not experienced by non-white people, living in the same social, political and economic circumstances. It is stressed more and more, that racial explicitness needs to be brought back into political – and educational – debate, in order to promote respect for different racial and ethnic minorities, to place marginalized minorities again in the centre of public and political debate (Modood and Ahmad 2007, Agirdag 2017, Bovenkerk, F. 2017).

In current educational research on the situation of minority groups in Flanders 'race' or 'ethnicity' are not included as a valid explanatory factor. Although 'ethnicity' is taken as a variable when looking at school success, it is almost exclusively used as a distinguishing element for comparing academic achievement of different groups of young children and students, e.g. comparing the results of different ethnic groups in national or international quantitative surveys (for Flanders, see: Duquet e.a. 2006, De Meyer 2008, Jacobs 2009). As a result the possible correlation between (subconscious) stereotypical beliefs teachers hold about race and ethnicity and its impact on the educational

achievement of different racial and ethnic groups is overlooked by most stakeholders in education.

Since the 1980's, the concept of ethnic and cultural minorities ('etnisch-culturele minderheden'), as used in research and political and social debate regarding social inequality in education, has been continuously broadened and eventually been replaced by the concept of diversity. In the context of education, diversity refers to all kinds of possible 'differences' between students (and sometimes teachers), e.g. linguistic, cultural, ethnic, religious and social background, gender, disabilities and learning difficulties. Ethnicity has been given a predominantly cultural meaning, and race and physical features of race have been gradually left out of the definition of diversity.

On the basis of the findings of this research project – particularly the relationship between teachers' beliefs and ethnic school composition – I argue that race and ethnicity need to be reintroduced as explanatory factors in educational research on social reproduction, educational inequality and the position of ethnic minority students in the Flemish education system. Ethnicity and race need to be thematised explicitly in educational research and socio-political debate. This can help us to gain more insight in the ongoing dynamics at school and in the classroom in general and in unravelling the relationship between teachers' monolingual and authoritarian-patriotic citizenship beliefs and the ethnic school composition.

For the first layer (i.e. the monolingual paradox and student outcomes), I argued for replacing the monolingual policies and practices by an alternative framework such as the FML-model. With regard to the second layer (i.e. the monolingual paradox and citizenship education and ethnic group composition) I argue that, to alter the authoritarian-patriotic view of citizenship into a participatory view, not only a powerful multilingual pedagogical model is needed. We must also become more aware of and counteract the effects of 'colour blindness', starting at the micro- (classroom-) and meso- (school-) level. Some schools in Flanders start to introduce 'citizenship education' as a subject

in their curriculum. Although this is a first step into the right direction, more is needed. Introducing 'citizenship education' as a subject focuses on strengthening pupils' competencies from a participatory view on citizenship. This will be in vain if a school policy does not focus and invest at the same time in altering teachers' stereotypical beliefs with regard to 'race' and 'ethnicity'. For this, long-term, sustainable, small scale, collaborative engagements between teachers, school staff and researchers is needed. A promising approach is a reflexive pedagogy through video-coaching, whereby school professionals, coaches and researchers are made aware of their pedagogical and didactic approaches in the classroom, critically reflect on and deconstruct teacher-student interactions, taking the dynamics of 'colour blindness' as a lens. Through these processes of reflection, deconstruction and mediation by researchers and coaches, subconscious teacher beliefs regarding race and ethnicity can be brought to the surface. As was the case in the 'Home Language Project' (Ramaut et al. 2013), teachers' pedagogical and didactic practices can be directed towards a more open and participative approach.

4. Implications for policy and practice

The main implication of this doctoral study – both on the policy and practice level – is the unravelling of the monolingual paradox of integration and citizenship, especially in the societal domain of education. Based on the conclusions of this study, we have gained more insight into the dynamic, ongoing and reciprocal interaction between education policies, specific school contexts and teachers' beliefs. Our increased understanding of these processes can stimulate reflection – by policy makers and in the wider society – on how we can best deal with the increasing multilingualism and inequality in society and in education.

The findings of this study do not question the importance of a shared language facilitating communication and participation in society. On the

contrary, a common language is essential for achieving social cohesion and interaction between all living together in society. But such a common language has to be approached as common and shared, as a means of encounter between members – old and new – of society. At the moment, the language of the host society remains the ‘dominant’ language, considered as a condition for participation and citizenship; an entrance ticket to social participation but constantly changing in value for those members with a migrant background.

Given the socio-political context of Flanders, we do not expect language policy in education to be shifted from a monolingual to a plurilingual approach in the short or medium term. Flemish education policies, aimed at improving the achievement rate of non-Dutch-speaking students, are likely to remain based on a monolingual paradigm. But, as we have demonstrated in this study, imposing a monolingual approach and setting aside home languages as illegitimate and without value in the school context, can have counterproductive effects as a result of the interaction between teachers’ beliefs, teachers’ trust in students and teachers’ expectations about the academic achievement of the students.

We think teachers can be key actors in bringing about more open and inclusive language policies and practices at school- and classroom-level, since they are already aware of the limited effectiveness of the monolingual education policy. This awareness is based on daily classroom experiences. So far, teachers appear to hold on to the existing class and teaching practices; they do so in the absence of an alternative didactical and pedagogical framework.

Previous research in experimental settings has demonstrated that it is possible to change teachers’ beliefs regarding the (linguistic) competences and the academic engagement of their students (Ramaut e.a. 2013; Valdiviezo 2009). By supporting long-term, sustainable, small scale, collaborative initiatives, conducting action research and experimental programmes and cooperating with teacher training institutions change can be set off at school- and classroom-level. Subsequently, education and language policies can be

influenced from the bottom up by the altered beliefs and experiences of teachers and school staff.

5. Research limitations and directions for further research

This doctoral research project is only a first step (albeit an important one) in gaining more insight into the dynamic interaction between language, integration and citizenship policies in the societal domain of education. Some of the limitations of this study can be lifted by conducting further research.

Firstly, the data used in the research project exclusively consisted of auto-reported behaviour of teachers (during in-depth interviews and focus group discussions, and in the online survey). The design of further research should include the collection of data based on observed and (video) recorded behaviours of teachers and students in classroom and school settings.

Secondly, the direction of the relationship between monolingual ideologies, education policies and teachers' beliefs can be further examined. In the conceptual model, we have drawn double sided arrows without indicating the precise direction of this relationship. In order to stimulate a real transition from a monolingual to a plurilingual ideology, we need to understand more profoundly the interactions between policies at macro-level, school policies at meso-level and teachers' beliefs (or classroom policies) at micro-level. To what extent is this relationship determined by the macro-level and what is the impact of teacher agency?

And finally, further research can be aimed at further validating the scale we used to measure teachers' beliefs regarding citizenship education. For this research project, we had to use an existing but not yet fully validated scale (Zaman 2006). It is possible that other relevant dimensions of citizenship education were not captured by the scale we used in the fourth empirical study.

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Appendix A:

Semi-structured interview protocol – in-dept interviews

Focusthema's

Doel

- Peilen naar sense of (f)utility (met specifieke aandacht voor aspiraties van de leerkrachten en perceptie van een succesvolle/goede leerkracht)
- Peilen naar percepties van leerkrachten over leerlingen

Werkwijze

- open vragen
- Stellingen

We laten de leerkrachten zichzelf op een continuum plaatsen akkoord-niet akkoord (absoluut niet – niet – akkoord – volledig akkoord) als insteek voor het gesprek hierover. De posities die lkrn innemen worden niet an sich verwerkt.

Citaten

We delen mee dat citaten authentiek zijn waardoor ze reflecteren wat mogelijks leeft. Deze willen we voorleggen en toetsen aan hun ervaringen.

Zijn citaten herkenbaar of niet? Leeft dit hier ook in deze school/deze stad?

Hoe ervaart leerkracht citaat?

Inleiding voor de respondent:

Verder verloop van gesprek is tweeledig:

Eerst gaan we in op de invloed die je als leerkracht hebt op de schoolloopbaan van de leerlingen. Dit is de hoofdmoot van het gesprek. Daarbij maken we gebruik van stellingen en gaan we ook enkele uitspraken van leerlingen voorleggen. Het gaat om leerlingen die meedoen aan het onderzoek in 1 van de 9 scholen die deelnemen, de kans dat het om een uitspraak van uw eigen leerlingen gaat is dus eerder klein. Vervolgens leggen we je enkele interessante uitspraken voor van leerlingen.

SENSE OF (F)UTILITY

Overgang vanuit dagboek vraag 1: Kan je als leerkracht het verschil maken?

- Stelling 1: Als leerkracht kan ik er eigenlijk weinig aan doen wanneer de schoolse prestaties van de leerlingen ondermaats zijn.
 - Stelling 1a: Als leerkracht is het niet makkelijk leerlingen met een moeilijke thuissituatie vooruit te helpen (cf. aansluiting bij dagboek vraag 3)
- Stelling 2: Als leerkracht kan ik alle leerlingen motiveren om hun best te doen.
 - Stelling 2a: Of leerlingen gemotiveerd zijn, hangt vooral van henzelf af en in mindere mate van de leerkracht of de ouders.
 - Stelling 2b: Leerlingen hebben tegenwoordig zoveel vormen van 'afleiding' dat het als leerkracht steeds moeilijker wordt ze nog te motiveren voor school.
- Citaten over belang leerkracht in schoolloopbaan (zie apart document)

Bijvragen stellingen:

- Moeilijk maar haalbaar? Hoe motiveer je als leerkracht best lln (door succeservaringen of net door uitdaging)?
- Reflectie naar de schoolcontext en het beleid, de interacties en comptabiliteit met collega's en directie
- Nood aan randomkadering?
- Ondersteuning vanuit school, beleidsmatig ...?

Cf. aansluiting dagboek vraag 2: Heeft een leerkracht specifieke competenties nodig? Welke zijn noodzakelijk om voor de klas te staan? Zijn er specifieke competenties nodig om in deze specifieke school les te geven? Is er een verschil naargelang klas/studierichting ...?

- Waarmee staat of valt een goede/succesvolle leerkracht?
 - Wat is een goede/slechte leerkracht? Wat is succesvolle/niet-succesvolle leerkracht?
 - Halen leerlingen betere resultaten bij een goede leerkracht?
 - Is men wanneer men die competenties (die u beschrijft) bezit per definitie een succesvolle/goede leerkracht?
 - Zijn er nog andere zaken cruciaal? Welke?
- Hoe denkt u dat leerlingen 'een goede leerkracht' omschrijven? Wat verwachten ouders van een leerkracht (welke taken / afbakening taken (vb. opvoeden/kennis doorgeven/...)? Wat verwacht de directie van haar leerkrachten?
 - Citaat over goede leerkracht (zie apart document)

- Stemt dit overeen met uw visie, of zijn er spanningen tussen uw eigen invulling en de verschillende verwachtingen van leerlingen, ouders, directie?

Relatie tot andere collega's, directie ...

- Stelling 3: Ik voel me gesteund in mijn taak als leerkracht.
 - Stelling 3a: Ik krijg voldoende ontwikkelingskansen op school.
 - Stelling 3b: Zelfs in moeilijke situaties kan ik steunen op de andere leerkrachten.
 - Stelling 3c: De directie handelt steeds in het belang van de leerkrachten.

Hoe ziet u uw verdere toekomst als leraar?

- Welke taken neemt u momenteel op zich?
 - Is er hieromtrent vanuit de school inspraak mogelijk?
- Hoe ziet u uw professionele toekomst?
 - Heeft u er ooit aan gedacht van job te veranderen?
 - Blijft u op deze school? Hoe lang denkt u nog? (indien reeds geruime tijd op school) Heeft u er ooit aan gedacht van school te veranderen?

PERCEPTIE LEERLINGEN

- Stelling 4 overgang vanuit SOF: Sommige leerlingen zullen het nooit goed doen op school.
- Stelling 5 Sommige leerlingen zullen nooit bereiken wat ze willen (bvb. schoolloopbaan, arbeidsaspiraties).
 - Waaraan ligt dit: Liggen de verwachtingen van de leerling te hoog in verhouding met wat ze kunnen? Is hun omgeving niet ondersteunend genoeg?
- citaten die een ander beeld geven over vaak veronderstelde ideeën over lln, ouders, thuisomgeving (bvb. over taal, eigen aspiraties van lln, studiekeuze ...) – zie apart document
- Bijvragen stellingen
 - Wat zijn cruciale factoren? (vrienden, te weinig doorzettingsvermogen, foute attitude, cognitieve capaciteiten ...)
 - Met wat heeft het te maken?
 - ...

Stellingen

- Stelling 1 : Als leerkracht kan ik er eigenlijk weinig aan doen wanneer de schoolse prestaties van de leerlingen ondermaats zijn.
- Stelling 1a : Als leerkracht is het niet makkelijk leerlingen met een moeilijke thuissituatie vooruit te helpen
- Stelling 2 : Als leerkracht kan ik alle leerlingen motiveren om hun best te doen.
- Stelling 2a : Of leerlingen gemotiveerd zijn, hangt vooral van henzelf af en in mindere mate van de leerkracht of de ouders.
- Stelling 2b : Leerlingen hebben tegenwoordig zoveel vormen van 'afleiding' dat het als leerkracht steeds moeilijker wordt ze nog te motiveren voor school.

Citaten individueel interview met leerkracht

- *Goede leerkracht*

Citaat 2

Een goede leerkracht is een leerkracht die rekening houdt met elke leerling apart (...) Ja niet iedereen heeft dezelfde capaciteiten, niet iedereen neemt de leerstof hetzelfde op. Sommigen begrijpen dat niet, anderen wel, en ja, daar moet een leerkracht rekening mee houden, vind ik.

EVENTUEEL:

Citaat 1

Een goede leerkracht is zowat speelser, je hebt zo leerkrachten die toch wel op een goede manier les geven maar toch ook plezier kunnen maken en lachen tijdens de les.

- *Belang leerkracht in schoolloopbaan*

Citaat 4

We hebben een jongere leerkracht, die kan echt goed uitleggen, en dankzij haar heb ik echt goede punten. We hebben ook een oudere leerkracht, en die schreeuwt en die schreeuwt ... (...) Als die blijft roepen, dan durf je niets te vragen, en ja, dan snap je niets.

Citaat 6

Bij mij was dat niet dat ik naar een makkelijkere studierichting moest gaan maar een hogere. Ik wou vorig jaar Economie doen, maar drie leerkrachten waren na mijn gesprek met mijn klastitularis (bij mij) gekomen en die hebben gezegd 'Jij kan beter Wetenschappen doen'.

EVENTUEEL

Citaat 5 [studiekeuze]

Ik volg wel het advies van de school, want de leerkrachten die weten dat meestal beter dan mij dus dan probeer ik -mijn mama ook- te luisteren naar de leerkrachten. (...) Bijvoorbeeld in 't eerste middelbaar had de leerkracht mij aangeraden om geen Latijn verder te doen, nog voor ik mijn rapport had gekregen. En ja, ik wou dat zelf ook niet, en ik heb gedaan wat hij (de leerkracht) heeft gezegd en het is toch goed uitgekomen.

Citaat 3 [motivatie]

Eigenlijk moeten leerkrachten (er) zijn om (leerlingen) te motiveren. Je kan (als leerkracht) zeggen van 'Ja als ik u was, zou ik dat niet doen' ofzo. Maar een leerkracht moet niet zeggen 'Jullie gaan daar echt niet in slagen' of zo.

- *Leerlingen*

Citaat 8

Nu ben ik toch wel vermoeid ze. Het is nu ook vlak voor de examens, dus ze (leerkrachten) beginnen meer en meer te geven en normaal gezien is dat eigenlijk nie zo veel als je dat bekijkt, maar omdat dat allemaal samen is. Voorbeeld, maandag hebben we twee toetsen, dinsdag hebben we er drie. Dat hangt allemaal samen, dus, ja, uw weekend gaat weer door met leren, dan kan je weer niet uitrusten. Alé, hoe moet je dan zorgen dat je terug fit geraakt, zodat je er weer tegenaan kunt gaan. Ik denk dat ze daar soms wel rekening mee moeten houden. Zo kan je ook beter presteren.

Citaat 11 [verkeerd inschatten]

Ze (de leerkracht) zei zo dat 't volgens haar toch gemakkelijker gaat zijn voor mij als ik naar STW ga. (...) Zij (de leerkracht) dacht, dat ik thuis écht moest blokken om op mijn toets juist boven de helft te zijn. Maar dat was zo niet. Maar

ik heb toch ASO gedaan, want ik dacht zo echt bij mezelf 'Ik ga mij niet laten doen, ik ga ASO blijven studeren' en dat is mij gelukt.

Citaat 14

Vaak als er iets op geschool gepikt of kapot is, dan denken ze altijd aan de Marokkanen of de Turken.

Citaat 17 [school als prioriteit?]

Stel dat school zo zwaar wordt dat ik met dat (vrijwilligerswerk bij jeugdwerking) moet stoppen, dan denk ik toch dat ik eentje (studierichting) lager ga om dat te kunnen blijven... Ik wil niet zo 'school, school, school' want dan ben ik ook minder bezig met familie en vrienden.

EVENTUEEL:

Citaat 7

R: Ja, als ik zo in de buurt kom van de school, dan heb ik altijd zoiets, zeg maar een beetje stress. En ik weet nog dat bijna op het einde van het jaar - want ik doe ook rugby hier op school -, gingen we in het weekend met de bus naar Brussel, om naar een wedstrijd te gaan kijken. En, ik weet nog, toen keek ik eens naar het gebouw, en op dat moment kon ik denken: "nu is dat zo een gebouw, en niet zo school". Maar meestal is dat zo, als ik daar dicht bij ben, dan heb ik zo, dan voel ik mij altijd zo ...

Citaat 9

Wat ermee te maken heeft dat ik het soms minder doe op school is: soms geven (leerkrachten) zoveel dat je zegt: "Ik doe dat niet meer". Bijvoorbeeld gisteren hadden we 2 of 3 toetsen, ik heb gewoon geen enkele geleerd, ik zat gewoon geblokkeerd. Als ik zo in mijn agenda kijk en zie dat er 2, 3 of 4 toetsen zijn, dan schrikt dat mij af, en dan doe ik dat niet.

Citaat 13

Als wij dan nog eens lachen in de klas, dan is dat zo 'Allez wordt is volwassen' maar wij zijn pubers, weet je, wij gaan niet volwassen worden als wij nog pubers zijn. Maar dat is normaal. Sommige leerkrachten kunnen daar echt niet tegen. Als wij lachen om iets, dan kunnen wij echt blijven lachen.

Appendix B:

Semi-structured interview protocol – focus group discussions

Periode afname: november – december 2010

Afname door de schoolonderzoekers

Participanten: 3 à 5 focusleerkrachten per school

De thema's:

Welbevinden van de leerkrachten

Omschrijving leerlingen (categorisering)

Verwachtingen tegenover leerlingen (perspectieven)

DEEL 0: Introductie voor de deelnemers

Tijdens dit eerste gesprek wil ik eerst en vooral iets beter kennismaken met u als leerkracht. Daarnaast zal ik ook vragen stellen over het leerkracht zijn zelf en de groep leerlingen waaraan u les geeft. Het is de bedoeling dat u vooral vanuit uw eigen ervaring of mening antwoordt. De meeste vragen zijn eerder algemeen, maar u mag natuurlijk steeds specifieke voorbeelden ter illustratie aanhalen.

Ik zal het gesprek ook opnemen, om nadien te kunnen herbeluisteren wat er zoal gezegd is. Dit gesprek is vertrouwelijk, dat wil zeggen dat de opname ervan enkel voor onderzoeksdoeleinden gebruikt wordt en ook dat gegevens ook anoniem verwerkt worden, dat wil zeggen dat achteraf niet meer te achterhalen is wie wat gezegd heeft.

Het spreekt ook voor zich dat persoonlijke ervaringen en opvattingen kunnen verschillen en ook mogen verschillen, het is niet de bedoeling consensus te vinden over bepaalde zaken. Er zijn dan ook geen 'juiste' of 'foute' antwoorden.

DEEL 1: Welbevinden van de leerkrachten

MOTIVATIE

- Waarom bent u leerkracht geworden?
 - Wat sprak of spreekt u het meest aan in dit beroep?
- Wat doet u elke dag naar school komen? Wat motiveert u als leerkracht?
 - Waaruit haalt u persoonlijk (het meest) voldoening?

EVALUATIE LESGEVEN

- Wat zijn de grootste uitdagingen die u dagdagelijks op school ondervindt? (= wat maakt leerkracht zijn een soms moeilijke of lastige taak?)
 - Mogelijke topics om op door te vragen: uitdagingen mbt lesgeven, opvoeden, gezag, omgang met leerlingen, ouders, (samenwerken met) collega's, directie, schoolbeleid, infrastructuur, ...
 - Wat zijn de oorzaken van of wat draagt bij tot die uitdagingen?
 - Zijn er bepaalde zaken die in de praktijk volledig anders dan iedereen denkt of dan u zelf voordien verwachtte (bv. o.b.v. uw opleiding)?
- Krijgt u hiervoor voldoende ondersteuning? Hoe gebeurt dit?
 - Wie ondersteunt u daarin (vb. andere leerkrachten, de directie, een leerkrachtencoach, een externe begeleider, ...) en

hoe (vb. leerkrachtencoaching, externe vormingen, informele babbels, ...)?

- Stel dat u directeur van deze school zou worden – wat zou u doen om leerkrachten beter te ondersteunen, om die uitdagingen aan te pakken?

DEEL 2: De leerlingen

Introductie: ‘Uw dagdagelijkse ervaringen als leerkracht worden uiteraard deels bepaald door wat in de klas gebeurt, met uw leerlingen. Met de volgende vragen wil ik meer te weten komen over uw leerlingen en de uw interactie daarmee.’

OMSCHRIJVING LEERLINGEN

- Kunt u de groep leerlingen waaraan u les geeft (in het 3de jaar) omschrijven? (Stel dat ik nog nooit op deze school geweest was en u zou vragen ‘wat voor leerlingen heeft u’, wat zou u dan allemaal zeggen?)
 - Hebben deze leerlingen een specifiek profiel, of zijn het ‘doorsnee’ leerlingen die we in elke school kunnen terugvinden? Wat typeert hen? Hebben zij een specifieke achtergrond, een specifiek gedrag of attitude?
- Daarbij aansluitend, is het nodig om uw manier van lesgeven, uw ‘stijl’ als leerkracht als het ware, aan te passen aan die groep leerlingen? Zo ja, hoe doet u dat dan (concreet)?
 - Deze school biedt ... (vul in: ASO/TSO/BSO) richtingen aan. Denkt u dat er significante verschillen zijn tussen (het profiel van) leerlingen naargelang die onderwijsvormen (ander ‘soort’ leerlingen?)

- Hebt u het gevoel dat volgende factoren een invloed hebben op uw manier van lesgeven, iets uitmaakt, een verschil maakt voor u als leerkracht?
 - het geslacht van de leerlingen
 - de sociaal-economische achtergrond van de leerlingen
 - de leeftijd van de leerlingen
 - de etnische achtergrond van de leerlingen
 - de taalkennis van de leerlingen
 - het schoolverleden van de leerling (vb. blijven zitten, uit andere school, ...)
 - de thuissituatie

VERWACHTINGEN LEERLINGEN

Intermezzo: u geeft nu (ondermeer) les aan leerlingen in het 3de jaar, op het einde van dit schooljaar zitten deze leerlingen in de helft van hun secundaire schoolloopbaan.

- Denkt u dat uw eigen leerlingen hun schoolloopbaan allemaal zullen vervolmaken?
 - Wat bepaalt volgens u hun kansen hiervoor?
 - Hebben leerlingen dit vooral in eigen handen (.... of worden hun kansen extern - door andere zaken/ andere personen/ ... bepaald)?
 - Welke obstakels ziet u zoal?
 - Kan de school deze obstakels uit de weg ruimen?

- Waar komen leerlingen terecht wanneer ze deze school verlaten na het 6de jaar? (Indien ze dus hun diploma halen, studeren ze verder of gaan ze werken? Wat zijn hun kansen op de arbeidsmarkt? Welk soort werk?)
 - Werken? Verder studeren? (Waar hangt die keuze vanaf?)
 - Als je kijkt binnen een studierichting, ziet de toekomst er voor alle leerlingen gelijkaardig uit? Zo nee, wat maakt dat er verschillen zijn?
- Bereidt uw school volgens u haar leerlingen voldoende voor op hun toekomst? Hoe doet ze dat?

Slot gesprek + mededelingen

Nog zaken die u wou vermelden maar die nog niet aan bod kwamen?

Een beetje uitleg over de volgende bijeenkomst: in de periode januari/februari wil ik graag individueel afspreken met elk van u. Voorafgaand aan dat gesprek, zal ik u na de kerstvakantie een klein opdrachtje ter voorbereiding ervan doorgeven. Wat dit concreet inhoudt zal ik dan ook toelichten.

In tussentijd zal ik u ook via mail vragen een lijstje met achtergrondgegevens over uzelf in te vullen (om met betrekking tot uw leeftijd, woonplaats, gezinssituatie, werkervaring etc.) . We doen dit bij elke deelnemer aan het onderzoek, niet zozeer omdat elke achtergrondvariable belangrijk is maar eerder omdat we bij het anoniem verwerken van de data toch over een soort van persoonsprofiel zouden beschikken.

Alvast hartelijk bedankt voor dit gesprek!

Appendix C: Online teacher survey
