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The shifting landscape of Dutch integration policy

From LI literacy teaching to literacy in Dutch as entrance criterion to the Netherlands

Jeanne Kurvers and Massimiliano Spotti

Introduction

For some centuries, the Netherlands has been a good destination for refugees and immigrants. During the sixteenth and seventeenth century the wealth and relative freedom of religion in the Netherlands attracted many Protestants from Belgium and France as well as Jews from Spain and Portugal. Immigration declined in the nineteenth century, and the twentieth century saw different periods characterised by different groups of refugees or immigrants entering the country: refugees from Belgium during World War I, Jewish refugees from Germany and Eastern Europe after the implementation of the Nurnberg race laws in 1935, and Dutch-Indonesian repatriates and Moluccans from the former colony Indonesia after independence in 1949.

From the early 1960s on, guest workers from Southern Europe and later on Turkey and Morocco were recruited for manual labour. The independence of the former colony Suriname in 1975 and the economic situation in Suriname and the Dutch Caribbean brought many Surinamese and Caribbean immigrants to the Netherlands. In recent decades, ongoing immigration from Morocco, Turkey, Suriname and the Caribbean (partly also through family reunion) has been supplemented by asylum seekers and immigrants from global conflict areas in Asia and Africa. In recent years also, due to the expansion of the European Union, many immigrants from Poland, Bulgaria and Romania have been settling in the Netherlands, because European Union citizens and their family members have the right to move and reside freely within the territory of its Member States.

Out of a total population of nearly 17 million people, about 21 per cent falls under the category of 'foreign background'; about 1.5 million originating from the developed West (European countries, the US, Australia and Japan for example) and about 2 million from non-Western origin (CBS 2012). The largest immigrant groups in the Netherlands in 2013 are Turkish (and Kurdish), Indonesian, Moroccan, Surinamese (all

between 300,000 and 400,000) and the Dutch Caribbean (about 150,000). Other larger immigrant groups are from former Yugoslavia (about 80,000), China (50,000), Iraq (about 50,000), Afghanistan (38,000), Iran (30,000), Somalia (22,000), Cape Verde (20,000), Vietnam (19,000) and Thailand (15,000).

Although measures to regulate immigration were taken earlier as well, since the 1990s, the Civic Integration policy of the Dutch government has developed from a more or less foreigner-friendly policy, which supported migrants in building a new life in the Netherlands, to a much more restrictive policy. This requires migrants from non-Western countries to first pass several exams even before being allowed entry into the Netherlands, and after that, more exams to acquire permanent residence and citizenship. This illustrates that proficiency in the national language has increasingly become a cornerstone of integration policy in the Netherlands (as in other European countries). According to the latest amendments to language-related legislation, to gain access to the Netherlands applicants must have acquired not only some spoken Dutch and knowledge of Dutch society, but also reading ability in Dutch: for unschooled or low-educated migrants this means that proving their linguistic competence depends on their literacy skills. The impact of these changes in legislation on immigrants and practitioners in adult education is discussed in this chapter.

In the section following this introduction we present an overview of the history of the Civic Integration legislation in the Netherlands since the 1990s and amendments to these laws in 2011 and 2012. Then we discuss the consequences of these amendments to the Civic Integration Act: the Dutch Literacy test and (because no courses are provided by the Dutch government in the home countries of the migrants) the self-study toolkit that migrants can buy and use to prepare for the exam in their home country. In the following section we discuss the impact of the current legislation on low-educated migrants and adult second language teaching. Finally we close with the conclusion that the Dutch borders have become increasingly characterised by shibboleths at the entry gate for unschooled and low-educated immigrants.

Legislation on civic integration

History

Until the 1990s, there was no language-related legislation for admission and civic integration of migrants in the Netherlands. Preservation of one's first language and culture was part of the official policy, and considered just, because until then guest workers were expected ultimately to return to their home countries. Many migrants, however, did actually attend (literacy)

courses in Dutch as a second language, provided by adult education centres. In several places, these centres also offered basic literacy courses in Turkish or Arabic; learning to read was considered to be easier in a first language and learning Dutch as a second language might be more successful if people had already learned to read in their first language. To illustrate: the first request Tilburg University received in 1984 from the Dutch State Secretary of Education posed the question why learning Dutch was so laborious for unschooled migrants and asked to investigate whether it would be more effective to start their education with learning to read and write in their first language (Kurvers and Van der Zouw 1990). Starting in 1998, an official integration policy with attendant legislation came into force, which was subsequently repeatedly changed over the next fourteen years. Figure 13.1 presents an overview of the legislation on admission and civic integration in the Netherlands since 1998, including the required levels in Dutch, based on the Dutch version of the Common European Framework of Reference of Languages (CEFR, Council of Europe 2001). The CEFR distinguishes six proficiency levels, ranging from the lowest level A1, the ability to communicate in short and simple sentences in a familiar context, to the advanced and independent level C2, corresponding to near-native use of oral and written language. (See Janssen-van Dieten 2006 for a critical reflection on the implications for low educated learners.)

- 1998: Law on Civic Integration (WIN):
Obligation to participate in integration courses, no requirements with regard to the level to be attained
- 2000–2004: Changes in the public and political climate: preparing new legislation
- 2006: Law on Civic Integration Abroad (WIB)
Admission dependent on passing the exams on Spoken Dutch and Knowledge of Dutch Society
- 2007: Law on Civic Integration (WI)
Residence permit dependent on passing exams on spoken and written Dutch and knowledge of Dutch Society
 - Exam: central exam and practice assessments
- 2011: Amendment to Law on Civic Integration Abroad (WIB)
 - Spoken Dutch: criterion for passing raised to A1 level CEFR
 - Literacy test (GBL) added
 - No provision of courses, self-study toolbox
 - Costs: Toolbox €110, Exam €350
- 2012 Amendment to Law on Civic Integration (WI)
 - Required level of Dutch A2 (future B1?)
 - Time-limits reduced to 3 years (+ 2 for unschooled).
 - Possibility of applying for dispensation for literacy requirements abolished
 - Central exam only
 - Funding stops from 2013 onwards

Figure 13.1 Dutch legislation on admission and civic integration

In 1998, the first Law on Civic Integration was passed, which required migrants to participate in courses of Dutch as a second language and familiarisation with Dutch society and work in the Netherlands. All courses were provided by adult education centres with only minor costs for students. Familiarisation with Dutch society and the labour market was regularly offered in a language familiar to the migrants, such as Turkish, Arabic or English.

In the period between 2001 and 2005, the public and political climate changed radically, due to major events like 9/11, the murders of Islam-critical politician Pim Fortuyn in 2002 and the equally if not more critical controversial interviewer/film-director Theo van Gogh in 2004, culminating in the establishment of anti-Muslim and anti-migrant populist political parties like Geert Wilders' PVV (Freedom Party). This change in climate is reflected in two new laws that were much more restrictive with regard to the admission of new arrivals and quite a bit more demanding as far as the requirements for civic integration were concerned than was the case in the 1998 law. These two laws were the Law on Civic Integration Abroad (WIB), which was passed in 2006, and the Law on Civic Integration (WI), passed in 2007. The Minister in the Liberal Party who introduced the new laws (Verdonk) repeatedly stated in the Dutch media that migrants are expected to speak Dutch everywhere and her slogan 'integration starts with language' (*language* being a synonym for *Dutch*) became a much-repeated sound-bite.

Among other things the 2006 Law on Civic Integration Abroad required migrants from non-Western countries wanting to settle in the Netherlands to pass an exam in spoken Dutch and a test of knowledge of Dutch society. It introduced an entrance examination for the Netherlands: only those migrants who had passed the spoken Dutch test at a level slightly below A1, the lowest level on the CEFR, called A1-minus, and on knowledge of Dutch society, were declared admissible to the Netherlands. In the explanatory memorandum to this law the Dutch government stated explicitly that there would be no test of written Dutch, so as not to discriminate against unschooled migrants applying for admission: 'The aim of the settlement requirements is not to prevent specific categories of migrants, such as illiterates, from entering the Netherlands. Therefore literacy is not required to be able to pass the basic exam abroad' (Verdonk and Bot 2006: 26). Because of this law, the law on foreigners ('Vreemdelingenwet' in Dutch) had to be adapted accordingly (Verdonk and Bot 2006). Next to the requirements about who could be declared admissible (no criminal past, minimal age for marriage, income and housing requirements for the partner etc.) a new article was added: passing the exam.

The exam (a computerised test with a telephone connection that uses automatic speech recognition) is called the basic integration exam and is

to be taken at the Dutch Embassy or Consulate in the candidate's country of origin. The Exam on Spoken Dutch (TGN) tests oral skills and consists of four parts: sentence repetition, answering short questions, naming antonyms of given words and retelling stories. The exam on Knowledge of Dutch Society (KNS) consists of 30 questions in Dutch (out of the 100 that can be prepared for) based on a booklet with 30 illustrations (stills from the video film 'to the Netherlands') that are to be answered in Dutch as well. The questions include topics like geography, history, the Dutch constitution and legislative system, parenting and education, work and income, the health care system and the Dutch language.

In 2007, the second law was passed, the Law on Civic Integration (WI), which required migrants to pass another three exams after entering the Netherlands before gaining a permanent residence permit: two central exams (oral and written Dutch, and Knowledge of Dutch Society) and a 'practice' exam (using Dutch in real life situations). In these assessments, candidates could choose assessments (by certified assessors or portfolio proofs) that were best suited to their role in daily life (for example related to work or parenting). Adult education practitioners had been lobbying intensively to get this latter exam put in place. Newcomers were required to pass both oral and written exams benchmarked at level A2 on the CEFR, i.e. the level above 'beginner'. For long-term residents, level A1 for written Dutch sufficed. For refugees, only the requirements of the second law (WI) applied. The separate citizenship test, which existed until 2007, was replaced by the Civic Integration Exam. Migrants who had already passed another exam at a higher level (for example a regular high school exam or a State Exam in Dutch as a second language) did not have to take the Civic Integration Exam. That is to say, a demonstration of language competence fulfils the requirements for residence. Migrants with less than elementary education in their home country could apply for an exemption (dispensation) for the written part of the requirements to get Dutch citizenship, provided they could prove they had made a considerable effort trying to reach the required literacy levels. Migrants got three and a half years to pass the exams; unschooled migrants were granted two more years to do so. As a consequence of failure, they would not get their permanent residence permit (although most of the time local authorities were flexible in applying this rule).

Amendments in 2011 and 2012

In 2011, the Law on Civic Integration Abroad (WIB), which regulates admission to the Netherlands, was adjusted: the criterion for passing the test on spoken Dutch was raised to level A1 (CEFR) and a new test was added: a literacy test (although in 2006 similar literacy requirements had been considered discriminatory by the Dutch government). The exam on

Knowledge of Dutch Society remained unchanged. Since April 2011, migrants who want to get an entrance visa for the Netherlands not only have to prove that they can speak and understand Dutch, but also that they can read Dutch in Roman script at level A1 of the European Framework, i.e., that they are able to read and understand simple and short texts in Dutch. No courses are provided, but instead a self-study toolkit has been developed (by order of the government) to help potential immigrants to learn to read and comprehend written Dutch by themselves, with help of their relatives in the Netherlands (see below).

Taking the whole test costs €350, which comes on top of the other costs migrants have to meet to prepare themselves for the exam and to travel to a Dutch Embassy or Consulate in their country or a neighbouring country. The self-study toolkit costs €110. The website of the Dutch government states: 'You can prepare for the basic integration exam with the self-study toolkit *Naar Nederland (To the Netherlands)*. It contains all you need to learn to speak, understand and read in Dutch and to pass the basic integration exam abroad' (www.rijksoverheid.nl/onderwerpen/inburgering). The toolkit consists of a DVD with the film *To the Netherlands* and an accompanying photo book with an audio CD, a workbook, a learner's guide in Dutch and English (or another language if available), a DVD with digital exercises, log-in codes for the online practice program and codes to access two practice exams on spoken Dutch and literacy in Dutch. Students who want extra practice and want to do more practice exams can buy another four practice tests for €75.

Candidates have to pass all three parts (Spoken Dutch, Knowledge of Dutch Society, and Literacy and Reading Comprehension) to pass the examination in full. 'If you fail either part, you must retake the entire examination', so the official brochure *The Dutch Civic Integration Examination Abroad* (p. 13) clearly states, and every re-examination costs another €350 (www.government.nl/issues/integration/integration-procedure-abroad).

In 2012, the Law on Integration (WI) for migrants who have already been admitted and received a temporary residence permit was also adapted. The obligation to pass the exam now only applies to new residents, and no longer to long-term residents with low levels of Dutch. The time limit allowed to migrants to pass the exams has been reduced to three years (plus another two years for unschooled migrants) and the possibility of applying for exemption from the literacy requirements for migrants with fewer than six years of elementary education has been abolished. According to the ministry, the main reason behind this is that as a result of the adaptations to the Law on Civic Integration Abroad migrants are already supposed to be able to read Dutch at level A1 (but see below). Besides this, the funding for integration courses has been terminated completely (as of 1 January 1 2013 for new arrivals) and there

is now only one spoken and written exam for Dutch as a second language. Practice-related assessments are no longer valid and the exam is no longer adapted to the several roles migrants have in society (such as workforce, education or parenting).

In sum, since 2013 migrants need to pass exams at level A1 to be able to enter the Netherlands with a provisional (temporary) residence permit, and to get a permanent residence permit they need to pass exams at A2 level within 3 to 5 years of arrival. The Netherlands is not the only country changing its migration policy this way. The same tendencies can be recognised across Europe (see Extra et al. 2009) and the implications of the power of language tests are discussed increasingly widely (see for example Shohamy 2006).

In the next sections, we will explore more extensively the new literacy test and the role of the self-study toolkit intended for migrants who have never been to school and have to learn to read and write by themselves, for the first time in life, in Dutch as a second language.

The 2011 literacy test

The literacy test introduced in 2011, called *Geletterdheid en Begrijpend Lezen (Literacy and Reading Comprehension)* is one of the three tests migrants have to pass in order to be declared admissible and receive a temporary residence permit in the Netherlands. Like the other two parts of the exam (Spoken Dutch and Knowledge of Dutch Society), the exam has to be taken at the Dutch Embassy or Dutch Consulate in the country of origin.

The test consists of five parts: word reading, sentence reading, text reading (all reading aloud), sentence comprehension and text comprehension. These five parts are included in the computerised phone-pass test. The instructions in the learner's guide for practising the phone-pass test first ask the student to enter the telephone number, after which the computer answers in Dutch 'Thank you for calling the Ordinate test system. Please type in your Test Identification Number'. After this, the candidate has to enter a personal TIN-code, follow the instructions for each of the parts, and read out the words, sentences or texts after hearing a tone.

For word reading, the candidate is asked to read aloud four lists of Dutch words, ranging from short monosyllabic words to more complex multisyllabic words. Sentence reading requires the candidate to read aloud eight Dutch sentences. For text reading, the candidate has to read out loud three texts of about 50 words each in 30 seconds. One of the texts is written in a letter font that resembles handwriting. In sentence completion, the candidate is asked to read out loud 28 sentences and to complete the sentence with the appropriate word (to be chosen from three alternatives). For example: *Ik heb heel hard gewerkt, maar nu heb ik een*

rustige ... drukte, kast, week ('I worked very hard, but now I have a quiet ... pressure, cupboard, week'). For reading comprehension, the candidate needs to read a text and answer a few questions about the text. An example is presented in Figure 13.2. (All examples are from one of the official practice tests that are included in the self-study toolkit, provided by the Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom relations).

The text informs the reader about Lotte, who got a notebook from her grandmother and invites her friends to write something in it. Lotte is very happy with the notebook and she assumes it will help her remember who her friends were, when she was young. The reader has to answer three questions. From whom did Lotte get the notebook? Who is Lotte's best friend? What will the notebook be for Lotte when she has grown old?

According to the test developers (Van Emmerik et al. 2011), the first (reading aloud) parts measure accuracy and fluency. This part determines 50 per cent of the score on the test. Sentence Completion and Text Comprehension are supposed to measure comprehension and determine the other 50 per cent of the score. The literacy test is a computerised phone-pass test (a speech recognition device automatically generates a literacy score), because it had to fit in with the software and frame of the test already developed for spoken Dutch.

One could argue that perhaps speech recognition is not the most valid and reliable method to measure reading accuracy and comprehension for second language learners. For mother tongue speakers, accuracy and speed in oral reading are reliable predictors of beginning reading proficiency (Adams 1990; Byrne 1998). This however, is not automatically the case for beginning readers in a foreign language. Due to differences in the phonological repertoires of the various languages, a test taker might be able to apply the alphabetical principle easily, but is still unable

Tekst

Oma heeft Lotte een mooi cadeau gegeven. Ze heeft Lotte een schrift gegeven. Alle vrienden van Lotte mogen erin schrijven. Haar beste vriendin Mila schrijft als eerste in het schrift. Sommige vrienden maken ook nog een tekening, zoals Anna. Zij heeft een paard getekend bij een klein gedicht. Lotte is heel blij met het schrift. Als ze later oud is, is het een mooie herinnering. Dan weet ze nog steeds wie vroeger haar vrienden waren.

Vragen

Van wie heeft Lotte het schrift gekregen?
Wie is de beste vriendin van Lotte?
Wat is het schrift voor Lotte als ze later oud is?

Figure 13.2 Sample text with questions

Source: Ministerie van Binnenlandse zaken 2011

to pronounce words as expected when they do not consist of sounds or sound patterns that are familiar to him or her. One indication to this effect is that, compared to other nationalities, Chinese candidates passed the exam least often (59 per cent) in the first half of 2012 (Moroccans showing a pass rate of 79 per cent, Russians of 97 per cent), a situation that is not very common for Chinese students in general (Van Esch et al. 2012).

As mentioned earlier, no courses are offered to migrants who want to join either their partner or family in the Netherlands, but migrants can buy the self-study toolkit *Naar Nederland (To the Netherlands)* to prepare themselves with help of their relatives in the Netherlands. Another possibility is to visit the Netherlands on a tourist visa and to take a four-week course at a Dutch language institute costing around €800.

The toolkit for self-study

By order of the Dutch government, a self-study toolkit was developed to enable candidates to prepare for the exams on Spoken Dutch, Knowledge of Dutch Society, and Reading and Reading Comprehension. The toolkit consists of:

- Guidelines with instructions and online translations in several languages.
- For Knowledge of Dutch Society: a DVD with a film on eight topics, a book with stills of the video and 100 questions and answers, one for each of the stills.
- For Spoken Dutch, Reading and Reading Comprehension: a workbook with an audio CD and a DVD (or online exercises), 65 lessons with exercises and a wordlist.

According to the Guidelines, the first 20 lessons introduce the basics of reading and writing in Dutch in the Roman alphabet for unschooled students, and the other 45 lessons aim at supporting the learning of written and spoken Dutch up to the required A1 level. From lesson 21 onwards, the basic content is on reading aloud words and sentences and on sentence and text comprehension. On the DVD and the online version of the program, instructions can be read in one of the five different languages (English being one of them) that are currently available, and it is also possible to get an oral translation of words in one of these languages.

Twenty-five years of research on unschooled adult second language learners has brought ample evidence that learning to read and write for the first time in a new language cannot be done simply via a self-study toolkit (Kurvers and Van der Zouw, 1990; Kurvers, 2002, 2007; Onderdelinden et al. 2009; Kurvers et al. 2010; Young-Scholten and

Naeb, 2010). Most such learners do not possess the required metalinguistic skills for self-study (such as knowing how to isolate particular words or sounds in on-going spoken language), they do not know many words in the new language and they probably do not understand what the online instructor is talking about. In the first lesson, for example, on Dutch numbers 1–12, the student sees a picture of a boy and two girls with the numbers 2, 3 and 4 next to it. The accompanying online voice in the e-learning program says ‘I have three children’ and the online instruction asks the student to ‘count the words’ and tick the right number (Kurvers et al. 2013). An unschooled student would most likely not only fail to recognise word boundaries in his or her own language, a failure that obviously also affects any other language s/he might try to master, but the instruction given is also quite confusing, in that the student would have to tick the number 4 next to a picture with three children.

Impact of legislation on adult education and immigration

From the 1980s on, experts and practitioners in the field of adult education have been active and innovative in professionalising the field of second language teaching and learning for migrants. The CEFR was adapted to Dutch and a special literacy framework for Dutch as a second language was developed for unschooled migrants (Stockmann and Dalderop 2005), many innovative teaching materials were developed (see Spotti and Kurvers, this volume), a handbook for second language teachers was written (Bossers et al. 2010), teacher training courses were offered and were well attended. Besides, special journals for second language and literacy teachers (*LES* for second language teachers and *ALFA-nieuws* for literacy teachers) were established, as was, in 2003, a union of second language teachers.

During the 1990s, the most critically discussed aspect of the legislation was the obligation to attend integration courses, although many practitioners also observed a positive impact of the obligation, especially for women who had previously sometimes been forbidden from attending. In the years after 2006, the most hotly discussed topics (by academics and practitioners) were the entrance exams to the Netherlands, the validity and fairness of the speech recognition-based test for spoken Dutch and literacy, the washback effect of the exams on a teaching system that should prepare migrants for participation rather than drilling them to pass a test and the unlikelihood that unschooled migrants will pass the exams and get a residence permit. The financial consequences for immigrants who have to borrow a lot of money to pay for own integration courses were also critically discussed.

Evaluations of the exam in the home country (which has to be passed for admission to the Netherlands) in 2010, 2011 and 2012 present

Table 13.1 Average exams per month and pass rates by educational level, before and after implementation of the new entrance exam (1 April 2011)

	Before policy change <i>Jan 2010–April 2011</i>		After policy change <i>April 2011–December 2012</i>	
	<i>Average exams taken per month</i>	<i>Pass rate:</i>	<i>Average exams taken per month</i>	<i>Pass rate:</i>
Total:	707 (100%)	90%	375 (100%)	76%
Low-educated	175 (24%)	87%	68 (18%)	62%
Middle-educated	350 (48%)	92%	167 (45%)	75%
High-educated	199 (28%)	95%	137 (37%)	87%

Calculations based on Van de Grift et al. 2011, 2012; and Van Esch et al. 2012.

statistics about the number of examinations taken before and after the implementation of the New Basic Integration Examination on 1 April 2011: the (relative) number of migrants from different educational backgrounds who took the exam, and the pass rates (Van de Grift et al. 2011; 2012; Van Esch et al. 2012). Table 13.1 presents the data on the period before and after the introduction of the new policy. Because the period before covers 15 months (2010 and the first quarter of 2011) and the period after 21 months (April 2011–December 2012), in Table 13.1 the average numbers per month are presented. ‘Low-educated’ in the table refers to a maximum of six years of schooling, middle-educated to 6–12 years and higher-educated to more than 12 years of education.

The statistics first reveal that the average number of exams taken decreased by 47 per cent (from 707 to 375), and that this reduction was much steeper for the low-educated applicants (a decrease of 62 per cent, from 175 to 68). On top of that the statistics reveal that the pass rate for this smaller group of low-educated migrants dropped from 87 per cent to 62 per cent. The combination of the two statistics reveals that, compared with the previous year, only about 24 per cent of low-educated migrants managed to gain an entrance visa in the year after the policy was introduced.

Conclusions and discussion: going Double Dutch

Since the 1990s, Dutch integration policy has shifted from being fairly foreigner-friendly to becoming more restrictive. While early integration policy considered maintaining cultural diversity to be worthwhile, now this diversity is seen as something that obstructs integration. Ability in the Dutch language is considered the most important feature of being a Dutch citizen.

While until the early 1990s unschooled migrants were even offered mother tongue literacy classes to increase their linguistic awareness in order to facilitate the acquisition of the Dutch language, the current policy is one that is unrecognisably different. To obtain a temporary residence permit, applicants now must have acquired before entrance not only spoken Dutch at A1 level and knowledge of Dutch society, but also reading ability in Dutch at level A1. After this, within three to five years, a second examination has to be taken on spoken and written Dutch at level A2 of the CEFR, and a more advanced test on knowledge of Dutch Society. The free market principle has also entered integration policy: no free courses are provided by the government and from 2013 onwards the migrants have to pay for the whole trajectory themselves (they are entitled to loans, like students in higher education). The self-study toolkit developed by order of the government does not take into account the perspective of the true beginner in learning or the double cognitive load involved in having to learn to read and write for the first time, and having to do this in a new language. Research has shown convincingly that learning to read is not just a matter of beginners being supplied with letters, written words and texts, and needless to say the process is obviously complicated further by having to learn to read in an unfamiliar language.

The evaluations that took place after the new legislation was passed seem to reveal that it is not so much highly educated migrants (the knowledge workers) but rather the unschooled and low-educated migrants who are hampered by this new policy. We can conclude that since April 2011, the Dutch borders have been practically closed to low-educated non-Western migrants. We called this 'Double Dutch'. Double Dutch, apart from its regular meaning in English, is also the name of a children's skipping rope game in which one rope moves in one direction, and the other in the other direction. Double Dutch also refers to a language game with a secret language like Pig Latin: only those who speak the secret language belong to the in-group, and the rest are excluded. While practitioners and experts in the adult education field have been working very hard for the last twenty years to professionalise teachers and to improve integration of migrants in society, the Dutch government decided in favour of, in our eyes, an extremely restrictive integration policy for unschooled and low-educated migrants.

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