



CHALLENGES AND REALITIES OF INTEGRATION IN FLANDERS:

LESSONS AND POLICY
RECOMMENDATIONS

Arcangelo Leone de Castris, George
Pepios, Elena Rosso, Şebnem Şahin,
Alexander Yates

CHALLENGES AND REALITIES OF INTEGRATION IN FLANDERS:

LESSONS AND POLICY
RECOMMENDATIONS

Arcangelo Leone de Castris, George
Pepios, Elena Rosso, Şebnem Şahin,
Alexander Yates

CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION	8
2. METHODOLOGY	10
3. ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS	11
4. POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS	23
5. CONCLUSION	25
REFERENCES	26
NOTES	30

Please cite as: Leone de Castris, A., Pepios, G., Rosso, E., Şahin, Ş., Yates, A.
Challenges and Realities of Integration in Flanders: Lessons and policy recommendations. 89 Initiative

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report provides an analysis and evaluation of the current state, coherence and consistency of integration policies at the European level as well as their implementation at the national (Belgium) and local (Flanders region) level. Methods include thematic analyses from both socio-political and socio-psychological perspectives aimed at the investigation of challenges and realities faced by migrants of different backgrounds during the integration process, within the framework of an inductive-grounded approach. Other groundwork includes a corpus of interviews as well as several studies based on the results of our thematic coding methodology.

Results of data analysed convey a gap between integration policy objectives and perception of outcomes from its main recipients. In particular, concrete improvements with regard to inclusion in the labour market, language, perception of unequal treatment, socialisation, and identity are hardly experienced by newcomers and people with migrant backgrounds in the Flanders region.

The report finds that the measures provided through integration policies are not sufficient to meet migrants' real needs. The major areas of weakness identified require further efforts for improvement.

Policy recommendations include:

1. The reform of civic integration programmes;
2. The enlargement, in range and number, of social activities and opportunities for integration within the civil society;
3. The inclusion of migrants in mentoring programmes from an early stage;
4. The increased involvement of the general public in integration activities;

5. The shortening of the refugee status recognition procedure;

6. An enhanced role for local stakeholders in integration policy-making.

The report also discusses the limitations of the analysis conducted. Some of the limitations include: the contextual sanitary restrictions encountered in the fieldwork, limiting primarily the number of people willing to be interviewed, as well as the risk of inconsistency linked to qualitative analysis methods and, in particular, thematic analysis, which we attempted to overcome by stating clearly our positioning and research method throughout the entirety of our work. Nonetheless, we have harnessed this opportunity to conduct in-depth research into how these issues affect migrants in their everyday lives, and, as such, can provide these unique insights.

1. INTRODUCTION

Integration is widely acknowledged to be one of the main challenges for migrants following their settlement in a host country.

In the European Union (EU), the improvement of integration of non-EU nationals into is one of the objectives envisaged by the Common Migration and Asylum Policy being developed by the European Commission. In fact, on 24th November 2020, the Commission released an Action Plan on Integration and Inclusion 2021-2027 as part of its New Pact on Migration and Asylum. The two-way integration process is deemed essential to enable a universally beneficial outcome from international mobility. The openness of the receiving system constitutes a sine qua non for migration, allowing it to harness its full potential and thus bring a significant added-value to both the hosting society and the newcomers.

The EU, together with its member states, actively engages in the development of targeted measures for the improvement of integration. This includes cross-sectoral public consultations on matters ranging from education to employment and beyond. However, member states still hold sovereignty in this policy area and, thus, the implementation of European guidelines cannot be fully guaranteed.

Despite growing efforts, the supranational level remains quite distant from the national and, even more so, from the local. Therefore, this research aims at investigating the experience of integration of migrants on a smaller scale.

The choice of the region has been made in consideration of the limited conditions of the research, including the timeframe and the spatial constraints. The project being conducted from Belgium, the research area chosen has been the West Flanders region.

Governed by a varied framework of language communities in a federal context, the regional integration policies in Belgium present an interesting case study per se. What is more, Flan-

ders constitutes an even more peculiar example of integration policies as it is the Belgian region having the top scores of well-being in almost all dimensions identified by the OECD ranking (2018)¹ and also as the Flemish community has the most centralized and various integration policy tools in the country. The Flemish integration system is indeed the most interesting because of what is known as the 'Belgian cultural diversity policy paradox'². According to the latter, the Flanders region has the most advanced system in terms of multicultural minority rights recognition. However, Flanders is also the region presenting the highest extreme-right anti-immigrant political success³.

Such factors are considered in our work designed to interrogate the gaps between existing policy objectives and the real challenges experienced by immigrants in the Flanders region.

The two research questions that will lead the analysis are the following:

1) To what extent do integration policies in Flanders respond to the actual needs of migrants?

2) How can they be improved to bridge the gap between existing policies and reality?

In order to operationalise these research questions, this work will analyse four main recurrent patterns identified in the narratives of integration experiences delving into the issues of labour market integration, language, discrimination, socialisation, and identity.

1 Ahmad Wali Ahmad Yar and Nadzeya Laurentsyeva. "Migrant Integration Policies at the local level in Belgium", CEPS, MEDAM Policy Insight, 2020.

2 Ilke Adam & Corinne Torrekens, "Different Regional Approaches to Cultural Diversity. Interpreting the Belgian Cultural Diversity Paradox". *Fédéralisme Régionalisme*, 15, 2015

3 Othman El Hammouchi, "Flanders' dark stain", POLITICO, last modified October 17, 2020, <https://www.politico.eu/article/flanders-flemish-racism-belgium-immigrants-vlaams-belang/>.

The team is grateful for the guidance of Dr. Manmit Bhambra, who has supervised this project offering invaluable support and insights.

2. METHODOLOGY

The project was set up as a deliberately small-scale study seeking to understand the complex realities of integration from a range of people from different migration backgrounds. This research seeks to analyse the process of integration from a socio-political and socio-psychological lens and to examine how migrants experience their own journey of integration; the challenges they face as well as the structural issues they may encounter. As this research is primarily geared towards informing policy on the 'challenges and realities of integration' in (West) Flanders, we have conducted fieldwork with local members of migrant groups and experts in order to provide a range of perspectives that can be combined to make a contribution to knowledge and, in turn, policy.

To this end, we have employed an inductive-grounded approach⁴ driven by the testimonies of the interview subjects - both people of migrant background and experts in the field of integration. The main advantage of this qualitative research method is that it does not require an ex-post verification of the truthfulness of the data gathered, as the testaments of lived migration experience constitute the crux of this work. Guided by this varied input, as a team we all conducted our own thematic coding of the qualitative data set until we reached thematic saturation. The core themes we found are presented in this report.

To derive informative and feasible policy recommendations, we researched the integration policies in place at multiple levels of governance (local, regional, national, European). This enabled us to identify the strengths and weaknesses of the current policies, by comparing them against integration vectors identified in the literature and the interview findings.

One of the major initial setbacks we encountered during the data collection phase was the difficulty of finding potential interview subjects who could converse in English. Since none of the team researchers speaks Dutch, this potentially limited the pool of people we could interview. Also, this was further complicated by the ongoing covid-19 pandemic, which constrained significantly the possibility to conduct face-to-face interviews.

⁴ Virginia Braun and Victoria Clarke, "Using thematic analysis in psychology", *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 3, no.2 (2006): 77-101.

3. ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

Labour Market Integration

Among the main themes identified during our coding of the data corpus, the observation of the integration dynamics of immigrants into the labour market and their patterns constitute a key area of analysis. The selection of a more tailored data set has allowed to generate a first map for thematic analysis.

According to recent surveys⁵ and working papers published, disadvantaged groups in Belgium, including non-natives, experience 'large disparities in employment' and are largely represented in both more precarious and part-time jobs⁶. This status is generally associated with low education attainment and skills.

Through the coding of the data set, two main themes have been defined as follows:

1. Disenchantment with the inconsistency of local government support;
2. Resentment towards employment practices.

These two themes of disenchantment and resentment of immigrants vis-à-vis the government and employers have been observed through the lenses of a constructionist approach so as to understand how barriers to accessibility to the job market are structurally embedded in social realities, regardless of public policies frameworks.

To start with, a better definition seems essential to clarify the scope of the research and the specific features included by the two broader themes identified.

First of all, the 'disenchantment with the inconsistency of local government support' would generally refer to the observed systematic fashions concerning the hard-to-get recognition of diplomas, the job-skills mismatch, and the questionable

effectiveness of the available tools for the assistance of immigrants in job search.

The perceived gap between policies implemented and the actual needs of immigrants is observed across the data set, irrespective of interviewees' socio-economic status.

This issue is largely witnessed by non-EU immigrants, whose employment status is considered worse than their EU counterparts⁸.

"I have a doctor's degree and now I work in a store. But, in order to get this job, I had to follow some classes to show I had the skills. [...] It took a lot of time to get. I got rejected many times."

[The regional government] "tries to help you as best as they can, to give you equal opportunities, [...] but, ultimately there is a lack of understanding, which isn't malicious but it's just not knowing what your need is. If you're not determined to make it work, despite being heavily disadvantaged, you won't find anything".
(Maria, 52 y.o., Russia)

Nonetheless, non-natives educated in Belgium share the same feeling of disenchantment with the government support and this latter's inability to understand immigrants' real needs.

"I went to the elementary school and high school in Flanders, [...] my Master's [...] at a University in Flanders. [...] I think some stuff is actually disadvantageous, but that's not necessarily the consequence of their policies. Maybe they have their policies as well. But there is this

⁵ OECD, "OECD Economic Surveys: Belgium 2020", OECD Publishing, Paris, 2020.

⁶ Rodrigo Fernandez et al., "Identifying and addressing employment barriers in Belgium, Korea and Norway: Implementing the OECD Jobs Strategy", OECD Social, Employment and Migration Working Papers, No. 249, OECD Publishing, Paris, 2020.

⁷ Constructionist approach: meaning and experience are socially produced and reproduced, thus the focus is on theorizing sociocultural contexts and structural conditions, rather than motivations - Virginia Braun and Victoria Clarke, "Using thematic analysis in psychology", *Qualitative research in psychology* 3, no. 2 (2006): 77-101.

⁸ Tom Bevers and Valérie Gilbert. "Integration of People of Foreign Origin in the Belgian Labor Market", *Reflète et Perspectives de la Vie Économique* 4, (2016): 41-55.

thing that's going on."

(Omar, 27 y.o., Middle East)

Moreover, similar perceptions have also been detected among people working with migrants.

"I suppose you know the VDAB, the Flemish agency that helps people to find a job out there. They can kind of guide you towards a job. [...] But I think [that] overall, I don't know why, it's not working well. [...] As with any other sector, you need to find a balance between what people really need and what is acceptable for the rest of the society".

(Timur, 27 y.o., Caucasus)

Such a mismatch between objectives of integration policies and enduring employment hardships⁹ for immigrants may suggest a lack of substantiality of the former. Several studies applying the MIPEX¹⁰ witness such shortcomings in the implementation, targeting, and effectiveness of integration policies.

Theoretical assumptions on *knowledge utilisation*¹¹ frame the non-use of studies as the main cause of a low coherence and consistency of integration policies, thus generating the feeling of disenchantment.

Secondly, the theme identified as the 'resentment of immigrants towards employment practices' derives from a perceived lack of real efforts by employers in offering equal opportunities in recruitment. This includes a failure to provide re-education or training apt to enable immigrants to meet Belgian standards, and the resulting uneven distribution of migrants in the labour sectors.

This theme is recurrent among people educated

abroad and in potentially discriminatory recruitment practices towards immigrants.

"Once I went to a store for an internship, a programme brought in by the government, and I ended up not getting the job. Which was strange, because they were really happy with my work. The person who guided me ask[ed] the reasons why they didn't hire me. The answer was that everything was fine, but 'they just didn't see me working there".

"I have a Russian degree but I did not get the chance to re-educate to meet Belgian standards, even to work in the field of my studies. [Migrants] have something to offer when they come here, but they cannot contribute to their host countries in their fields of expertise".

(Maria, 52 y.o., Russia)

"I couldn't work as a Professor before they recognised the diploma. [...] I almost never got the chance to work".

(Denitsa, Bulgaria)

"There's a lot of industries in Germany and a lot of factory work. [...] So, they get these people, who are paid more than a Minister in their home countries, to do these factory jobs. If you look at the factories, the majority of the people are from a migrant background".

(Omar, 27 y.o., Middle East)

"[...] There are quite some people with a diploma from their own country, but [it] has to be recognized as a valuable Belgian diploma. This takes a lot of time [...] and makes it more difficult for [immigrants] to actually find a job within their field".

(Timur, 27 y.o., Caucasus)

Unjustified rejection, relegation of immigrants to

9 Irena Kogan, "Integration Policies and Immigrants' Labour Market Outcomes in Europe", *Sociological Sciences* 3, no. 16, (2016), 335-358.

10 MIPEX: Migration and Integration Policy Index

11 Knowledge utilisation (John Kingdon, 1984): observation of the non-use or the misuse of studies in public policies development.

12 OECD, "Improving the labour market integration of immigrants" in OECD Economic Surveys: Belgium 2015, pp. 55-78.

precarious contracts¹², and non- recognition of diplomas in Flanders figure among the main drivers of the perception of an unequal employment environment.

Perceived discriminatory practices of recruiters have gained political relevance since the 1990s thanks to the publication of a study by the ILO (Arriijn et al. 1997) on the ethno-stratification of the labour market¹³. The coding of the data set suggests that, although the progress made towards more equal and fair employment practices¹⁴, the uneven representation of immigrants is more likely to be a structural issue, rooted in employers' negative selectivity rather than in integration policy provisions¹⁵.

Language and Integration

One of the frequently observed themes in migrant integration literature is the role of language and language learning in the host country. Indeed, studies have consistently demonstrated that sociocultural integration of migrants is strongly linked to the eventual proficiency in the newly acquired language¹⁶. Language acquisition is an essential component in integration as other components such as integration into the labour market and social life require an adequate level of

the host language. Unsurprisingly, this was also a common pattern in our data set. Linguistic integration is one of the key elements of states' immigrant integration policies; as policymakers consider its inevitable link to effective integration to the labor market and to society¹⁷. In Flanders, language courses are at the core of the "civic integration programme". The programme aims to "achieve the participation and integration of immigrants in Flemish society"¹⁸ and consists of a Dutch language course, a social orientation course and a career orientation course. Considering that the language course lasts 80 to 240 hours while the other two courses are 60 and 20 hours long respectively, language learning is the most important component of the programme. Three categories of immigrants are identified: newcomers (those who recently arrived in Belgium), old comers (those who have been in Belgium for more than a year but do not speak Dutch) and ministers of official religions (leaders of religious communities for which the ability to communicate with the society is considered essential). For all these categories, the integration programme is compulsory. Immigrants are subject to administrative fines in case they refuse to attend the programme or do not attend regularly.

Before the civic integration programme was put in place, immigrants were left with little to no assistance from authorities regarding Dutch language learning. Interviewees who had arrived before the programme was implemented underlined that this made their life difficult:

"When we came here, the situation was very difficult for us. [...] We were even left alone in learning the language.

13 Ilke Adam, "La discrimination ethnique à l'embauche à l'agenda politique belge", *Immigration et marché du travail* 94, (2006): 11-25.

14 Steps taken towards fairer employment practices: development of diversity plans in Flanders, making the employers improve the proportional representation of immigrants within a fixed delay; the obligation for employers to provide an average of five training days per year to improve accessibility of adult education and training (2017).

15 Signaling perspective approach: credentials received within the education are conceived as institutionalized signals of job-related competence (Spence 1973, Stiglitz 1975). Signals can also be negative and lead to stigmatization (Cain 1986), such as employers' uncertainty about immigrants' productivity and trainability. Negative selectivity accounts for employers' association of migrants having resorted to counselling in job search with less educated and less productive workers.

16 Kate Hammer, "Sociocultural integration and second language proficiency following migration". In *The Linguistic Integration of Adult Migrants: Some Lessons from Research*, eds, J.-C. Beacco, D. Little, H.-J. Krumm and Ph. Thalgott. (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton in cooperation with the Council of Europe, 2017). 91-96

17 Sarah Van Hoof, Sara Nyssen and Sibo Kanobana, "If they could, they would put them on a drip with Dutch': Language learning and the professional integration of migrants in Flanders" *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 2020, no. 264, (2020): 73-94.

18 Reinhilde Pulinx, *Living together in diversity – Linguistic integration in Flanders*, Council of Europe Language Policy Division, 2008.

For example, I never really go to any Dutch class. The only Dutch I learned was because of the people around me and my current job.”
(Maria, 52 y.o., Russia)

Thus, it can be said that the programme has filled a gap in providing migrants with some form of linguistic assistance. Interviews seemed to attest to this improvement:

“But is good that we are requested to study the local language and they provide us with the classes. In the beginning when we looked for job, but they didn't accept us in many places, they said first you have to go and make your language better you have to learn more, and then you can find job.”
(Afsar, 23 yo, Iran)

However, the compulsory attendance of the civic integration programme also brings about certain shortcomings. Firstly, attendance of the programme is linked to negative incentives; such as administrative fines and refusal of financial support:

“I lived 3 years with my husband. And at the time I left him, I had to live on my own. But in order to do so, I firstly received a letter from the social organization (OCMW) of Bruges. This allowed me to get some financial support from the City of Bruges. However, in order to get it, I had to learn the language.”
(Denitsa, Bulgaria)

Such negative incentives may lead to the reverse effect of refusal of cooperation. Indeed, costly punishment can discourage cooperation rather than incentivizing it¹⁹. On the other hand, immigrants and especially refugees often arrive without the necessary resources to take time off work or job hunting to attend language classes. Furthermore,

they are not provided with childcare support which they need to participate in the programme:

“The government did offer classes when they had just arrived. However, my parents' situation was difficult: they came to a new country with barely any money and had four kids in total. So it wasn't logical to go to class full time because they had to immediately get working and start building their life from anew. So, that was probably the biggest obstacle: taking the decision to work full time and make money or learn the language. So they learned Dutch by doing and working. But still to this day, after 24 years, it's not close to perfect at all.”
(Omar, 27 y.o., Middle East)

Moreover, the interviews revealed that in some instances the classes were poorly designed. Indeed, some conditions within the class environment were pedagogically less than ideal for language learning:

“My brothers [...] when we came to Belgium [...] were below ten years old and had to attend Dutch integration classes. [...] It was a mix between different people (refugees etc) and different ages in one class. Judging by what my brothers have told me, it wasn't the best experience because it was too mixed e.g. you had a 14 year old with a 17 year old. Some people don't give their true age when they apply for asylum so you had even older people in the class. So, the dynamics in the classroom were not one of learning.”
(Omar, 27 y.o., Middle East)

Discrimination

In the process of conducting interviews with migrants and coding the data gathered, two interrelated themes of discrimination and social acceptance rose to the forefront. Our findings on the permeance of discrimination against migrants in Flemish society and the rudimentary degree of acceptance by the majority shed light on an understudied phenomenon in Belgium, i.e. limited state research into the subject of ethnic minorities.

¹⁹ Anna Dreber, David G. Rand, Drew Fudenberg, et al. “Winners don't punish”. *Nature* 452, (2008): 348–351.

Belgian censuses are conducted every 10 years and these suffer from several shortcomings. It is difficult to access relevant data, while censuses do not cover subjects like perceived discrimination, religiosity, and language use. In fact, 'large-scale survey-research directed at ethnic minorities, with translated questionnaires and questions covering a wide spectrum of life as an ethnic minority, is virtually absent'²⁰. The academic literature provides some insights that might explain the above phenomena – i.e. the inability of the Belgian integration process to keep up with migration flows. Meanwhile, increased immigration to Belgium in recent years – notably from EU member states – has exacerbated the structural inability of Belgian society and public policy to incorporate older migrant groups from Turkey and North Africa²¹.

Discrimination on the grounds of racial background or ethnic origin is multifaceted and is expressed in different forms and shapes, affecting different stages of an individual's social and economic life. This thematic approach and compartmentalisation will be used to present our relevant findings below.

A recurrent observation is that different ethnic or minority groups experience greater discrimination and ethnic hatred than other groups, a finding which emerges from interviews with people of different racial and ethnic background.

"you wouldn't say that I look like a foreigner [...] But it's not the same for my husband. He looks more like a foreigner. [...] Once, I went to the market with my husband - he has a darker skin, as he's from the Caucasus - we bought a watermelon, which was fairly big, and the seller was speaking to me in Dutch. Then, when my husband wanted to pick it up, the seller said:

"oh, is your donkey with you then?"
(Maria, 52 y.o., Russia)

"I was 17, I was working in a store [with] an magrebi woman and a person, [...] said like, "oh, when you see like, you know, blacks or Arabs walking, you know, just at that corner, we don't have a view from the camera. So always stand there."
(Omar, 27 y.o., Middle East)

The existence of this phenomenon of ethnically motivated discrimination – one that is based on arbitrary criteria such as a person's skin colour, appearance and language – is echoed by a social worker from CAW (Welfare Advice Office) we have interviewed:

"The problems migrants face depends on their origins. If they are Russian, they look Caucasian, so they don't face problems in the streets. But, from the moment they talk they face problems. But, if you're from Africa or Nepal people will see anyway that you are a migrant and so many experience problems with racism, discrimination when looking for housing or work and at street level or in the bus."

There is evidence that this differential treatment – encapsulated in the permeance of ethnic hierarchies²² – has fostered feelings of internalised racism among the interview subjects themselves. These experiences of exclusion serve as barriers to integration and belonging. Such exchanges continue to exacerbate challenges of inclusion; migrants are continually reminded of their difference and 'outsider' status.

"I am not the guy who would pull out the racism card

20 Koen Van der Bracht et al., "Ethnic Diversity in Belgium: Old and New Migration, Old and New Developments", *Journal of Diversity and Gender Studies* 1, no. 1 (2014): 78.

21 Ibid, 73.

22 Pieter-Paul Verhaeghe and Bart Van de Putte, *Migrant Zkt Toekomst: Gent Op Een Keerpunt Tussen Oude En Nieuwe Migratie*, (Antwerp: Garant, 2012).

easily. Even if I might have experienced that in the past I always questioned if I did fully put in the effort in order not to be questionable."
(Timur, 27 y.o., Caucasus)

"I catch myself being extra friendly to people just because I know they might think it's just another Arab. And is it fair? I don't know."
(Omar, 27 y.o., Middle East)

Moreover, another persistent theme is the prevalence of discriminatory practices and attitudes in the schooling and education system in Belgium. The academic literature tellingly reveals that socio-economic deprivation among migrant groups commences from an early age, when socio-economic inequality – a by-product of discrimination – is replicated through the education system²³. The discrimination experienced by migrant children in Flemish (and Belgian) schools is detrimental for attainment, which is confirmed by the fact that Belgium is one of the countries with the highest ethnic achievement gaps²⁴. For instance, ethnic minority students tend to perform worse on standardised maths and language tests compared to their ethnic Belgian peers. Also, ethnic minorities are overrepresented in vocational higher education tracks and are afflicted by higher dropout rates²⁵. This is especially the case in the Flemish educational system, whose downstream and early tracking system is detrimental to ethnic minorities²⁶. One of our interviewees (Omar) experienced directly this differential treatment at high school, when he was

forced to go to a vocational school:

"they convinced my parents that he can't handle the difficulty of the programme and maybe it's better to send him to this high school with this programme, where it's a bit more practical and less theoretical"

His explanation for this kind of discriminatory treatment elicits the salience of confirmation bias among teachers:

"it's a mentality of 'he comes from a background where they still speak Arabic at home or Albanian at home or Swahili. So he definitely cannot do economics for six hours, math for eight. Just send them to commerce or send them to secretarial!'"

However, through his testimony it can be deduced that there are double standards at play when it comes to the way majority group students are being treated:

"I know so many people who were Belgian or at least white and they had 58/59% of the grade that I had. And they were just told to make sure they have good grades in the second semester, and it will be fine."

Moving on, our data reveals that discrimination against ethnic minority groups manifests itself in more tacit ways such as in house search or job hunting. Our interviewees provide evidence of this type of socio-economic discrimination:

"my name is longer, it's an Armenian name. And so, people have preconceived notions. I remember about a position I was the best candidate for and when you are rejected and call to have an explanation, they don't have any."
(Maria's son, 23 y.o. Russia)

The interviewee could not get a job even though

23 Dirk Jacobs and Andrea Rea, *Verspild talent: de prestatiekloof in het secundair onderwijs tussen allochtone en autochtone en andere leerlingen volgens het PISA-onderzoek 2009*, (Brussels: Koning Boudewijnstichting, 2011).

24 Ibid.

25 Nils Duquet et al., *Wit krijgt schrijft beter. Schoolloopbanen van allochtone jongeren in beeld*. (Antwerp: Garant, 2006).

26 Maurice Crul et al., "School Careers of Second- Generation Youth in Europe: Which Education Systems Provide the Best Chances for Success?". In *The European Second Generation Compared*, ed. Maurice Crul, Jens Schneider and Frans Lelie. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012), 101-164.

he speaks fluent Dutch and has a high level of education: bachelors and masters. Name bias in hiring is well-documented in the literature. More specifically, a KU Leuven study illustrates that job candidates with foreign sounding names in Belgium (Flemish part) are twice as likely to be turned down²⁷.

Notwithstanding name bias in recruitment, discrimination based on an applicant's name has also been observed in the private rental market.

"my [Belgian] best friend was also looking for a place and I sent an email. The guy just uploaded, you could see what time they uploaded the free rooms and I sent an email right away. But the guy replies 'sorry, it's rented out already'. I was like [to my friend] 'man, I want to bet you send an email and you're gonna have an appointment'. He sends an email, he gets an appointment that day and the next day he signs the contract, and he moves there."
(Omar, 27 y.o., Middle East)

Omar's testimony echoes the findings of a telephone survey on 579 properties in the two big Flemish cities of Antwerp and Ghent, which involved 3 different test persons: 1) ethnic minority member with a foreign accent; 2) ethnic minority member without foreign accent; 3) ethnic Belgian²⁸. Based on the survey's results, at least one of ethnic minority test persons was discriminated against in 19% of properties, which equally applies to host society language proficient migrants. As language proficiency is associated with being a recent or more integrated immigrant, "this indicates that

integration does not affect the probability of being discriminated against"²⁹

Socialisation

Socialisation is a fundamental component of civic integration. It is a process directly dependent on migrants' capacity to succeed in learning the local language and to familiarise themselves with the main features and values of the culture they interact with. However, we should be wary of considering socialisation and, more generally, civic integration as unidirectional processes. In fact, the openness and receptiveness of the host culture are also decisive factors³⁰. In our context-related, empirical research, we look at socialisation – intended as the process of getting to know and understand the social reality of a certain environment thanks to which individuals can engage in social interactions and anticipate the consequences of their actions³¹ – through the lenses of our interviewees' life experiences. This is key, in fact, to developing a critical perspective that goes beyond the narrow consideration of the policy measures implemented within the Flemish program of civic integration, and to touching upon the more transient yet topical dimension of personal relationships. In fact, socialisation and, more generally, integration are policy domains where an empirical, constructionist analysis is particularly relevant in order to assess the impact of public policies.

In Belgium, the three regions of Wallonia, Flanders

27 Bart Capéau et al., *Wie heeft voorrang: jonge Turken of prille grijsaards? Een experimenteel onderzoek naar discriminatie op basis van persoonsken-merken bij de eerste selectie van sollicitanten.* (Leuven: HIVA, 2011).

28 Koen Van der Bracht, Ad Coenen & Bart Van de Putte, "The Not-in-My-Property Syndrome: The Occurrence of Ethnic Discrimination in the Rental Housing Market in Belgium", *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 41, no. 1 (2015): 158-175.

29 Ibid, 171.

30 Carmel Camilleri & Hanna Malewska-Peyre, "Socialization and Identity Strategies", in *Handbook of Cross-Cultural Psychology: Basic Processes and Human Development*, eds. John W. Berry, Pierre R. Dasen, T.S. Sarawathi (Needham Heights: Allyn & Bacon, 1997), 54-55.

31 Dieter Geulen, "Subjektorientierte Sozialisierungstheorie", in *Sozialisation, Biografie und Lebenslauf: Eine Einführung*, eds. Imbke Behnken, Richard Huisinga, Jana Mikota (Weinheim: Juventa, 2009), 31.

and Brussels have all developed civic integration policies, combining language classes, social orientation courses and individual counseling. In Flanders, civic integration is managed at the regional level by Agentschap. The only exceptions are Ghent and Antwerp, where specific integration centers operate with larger degrees of autonomy³². The goal of these measures is to make sure that newcomers who intend to live in Belgium can and will become active members of the society they are hosted by. As mentioned earlier, in order to facilitate understanding of and engagement with the host society, Flanders require the fulfilment of a mandatory 'civic integration path' for newcomers who are at least 18 years old and are registered in the Rijksregister. For newcomers who are younger than 18 years old, civic integration is instead accomplished by means of education. In fact, like all underage children in Belgium, they are subject to compulsory schooling³³. Finally, asylum seekers who are waiting for the recognition of the refugee status – and therefore are not yet registered in the Rijksregister – can discretionally choose to follow 'social orientation' courses starting from three months after their arrival.

Interviewees often identified the courses they attended pursuant to the 'civic integration path' as some of the most important moments in which they can socialize, be it with other migrants or, in some cases, with Flemish people. In general, all interviewees agree on the positive impact that group initiatives can have on socialization, be it in the field of education, volunteering or work. tion, be it in the field of education, volunteering or work.

"The person who gave you our contact, she's local and

she's a very close friend. I met her when I used to work in a non-profit organization, as a volunteer, for the second-hand economy."
(Maria, 52 yo, Russia)

"I met them [local people] at the course for professional activity. The course I am following is not only for refugees, but most of them are people from Belgium. [...] They are good people in general, and in many aspects they try to also help."
(Afsar, 23 yo, Iran)

Nevertheless, and despite the substantial funding allocated for integration policies³⁴, our dataset has shown that socialization is a particularly thorny issue, especially for migrants arriving to Flanders in their adult age and, more generally, for people of color. Despite the diverse nature of our sample, which includes migrants of different ethnicities, backgrounds and legal statuses – asylum seekers as well as legal residents – only three interviewees reported examples of positive personal relations with Flemish people. One of them, however, is a white, North American woman, hence not fully representative of the socialisation challenges normally faced by migrants. The other two are a man of twenty-seven born in Middle East, arrived in Flanders at the age of one, and a Kurdish asylum-seeker woman of twenty-three. They stated that:

"I mix with some [Flemish people], with my friends and their families. I go home with them and there's no problem. With my parents [...] It's not like we have Belgian families coming over on Friday evening to spend the whole evening. No. But we do mix, there is still some interaction, but I wouldn't call it mixing together."
(Omar, 27 y.o., Middle East)

³³ Vlaanderen.be, "Guidance for newcomers (civic integration path)", accessed 30/03/2021, website: <https://www.vlaanderen.be/en/guidance-for-newcomers-civic-integration-path>

³⁴ For example, for the period 2014-2020 Belgium had the opportunity to apply for 89 million EUR to the Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund (AMIF). One third of that sum had to be spent for integration. Source: Esf-vlaanderen.be.

"I met them in the course for professional activity. I met them there. The course I am following is not only for refugees, but most of them are people from Belgium, who don't have jobs [...] They are good people in general, and in many aspects they try to also help. The people are good but I think that those who have the power to do something, they are completely different than the local people.

(Afsar, 23 yo, Iran)

When asked about their friends, however, most respondents automatically refer to co-nationals or other migrants.

"Even myself, I have no Flemish friends. My friends here are all of other descents. You have to have a lot of common ground, principles in common, in order to really get along in private lives"

(Timur, 25 yo, Caucasus)

"[...] when I date people, I only date people of foreign descent. Last time I was with someone local it was in high school. I don't know why nor the difference. Maybe it's the fact there's more understanding of things you go through when you're an immigrant. With friends you don't go in depth on certain topics."

(Maria's son, 24 yo, Russia)

As in the case of Omar, who arrived in Flanders at the age of one, data showed that when individuals are in contact with the hosting culture since their early age, therefore having the opportunity to master the local language and study together with Flemish children, chances to build relational bridges with local communities are higher. However, even for second generation migrants, socialization remains a challenge. For example, as noted by Denitsa with reference to her child:

"We cannot find very good childhood friends, but I am a very open person and I easily get along with people. However, I don't feel like I have right now very good friends in Belgium nor in Bulgaria."

(Denitsa, Bulgaria)

Finally, our qualitative evidence has shown that the state of physical segregation and administrative uncertainty in which asylum seekers live has a substantial, negative impact on their social relations. Often the refugee centres where asylum seekers reside are located far from urban areas and are poorly connected. Furthermore, the state of uncertainty connected to the length of the administrative procedure of refugee status recognition is a source of frustration and disengagement from social life:

"[...] for people with a lot of problems here, the last thing they think about is to get to know other people. They all think about the procedures. When they give them the answer for their interview or case or whatever and they leave the centrum, then people can relax, think about their life, get to know other people."

Identity

In the same vein as has been argued, the process of migrating from one country to another can be described as a 'total' event³⁵, during which the complete (re-)construction and transformation of the identity of the migrant may take place. A number of themes recur throughout the literature on what makes up the identity of migrants, including their country of origin, language, religion, politics, culture, social status and class³⁶. Ozasir Kacar and Essers draw upon politics, class and entrepreneurship in particular as three factors around which migrants' identities are (re)constructed, in this instance by

35 M. Mauss, *The gift: Forms and functions of exchange in archaic societies*. London: Cohen & West, (1966)

36 Maria Caterina La Barbera. "Identity and migration: An introduction." In *Identity and migration in Europe: Multidisciplinary perspectives*, Springer, Cham, (2015)

Turkish women in the Netherlands³⁷.

This reconstruction of identity also reaffirms the argument that identity itself is a fluid concept, that migrants 'do' rather than simply 'have'. For example, Ozasir Kacar and Essers discuss how changes in politics, including domestic politics as well as the relationship between host countries and countries of origin can influence how migrants construct their identity³⁸. Buitelaar, for example, notes that the 9/11 attacks became an important moment in the creation of an 'otherness' surrounding migrants in the Netherlands³⁹. Across the border in Flanders, 9/11 was also raised as an important moment in the othering of migrants. For example, one interviewee stated that:

"when 9/11 happened, I can't remember the social consequences, I was a kid so I don't remember that but my brother told me that for us you just feel being stared at everywhere"

The same interviewee raised that a similar impact had been felt following more recent terrorist attacks, and noted that the subsequent negative impact that this had had on the political narrative around migrants and integration had led him to feel as if he needed to perform in a manner that would counter this political narrative, stating that:

"I felt this responsibility that I have to show people that there are good migrants, there are people who are studying hard and integrating and trying to learn and contribute to society. But then often, it keeps me up and like, I shouldn't be doing that. Like, what do I care, you know, and it's this, it's still

going to this day, it's this conflict that I have with myself."

It can thus be seen through such responses that identity is indeed a fluid concept, that is impacted by political changes and is something that migrants 'do'. Furthermore, the above quotation highlights the internal conflict that this can create within migrants' identities. In this instance, the interviewee felt the need to counter how he felt he was being perceived by the local population due to negative perceptions created by news stories and political rhetoric. However, whilst on the one hand acknowledging that he would feel the need to perform the identity of a 'good migrant', he was simultaneously conflicted by a feeling of not wanting to have to do so.

Furthermore, politics at the scale of the Flanders government was also raised as having an impact upon migrant identities, and in particular the belonging that they feel towards their community. For example, one interviewee raised the current Flanders government as a barrier to achieving this sense of belonging explicitly via the anti-migrant rhetoric they use, as well as implicitly via a lack of organised interactions between migrants and host communities:

"Also being perceived as being part of the community, and creating a sense of belonging, because it is very difficult to organise something to create this. This also involves working with the population because it is important that they see migrants as equal members of the community. This is perhaps more difficult as the Flanders government is moving towards the right and people tend to be less welcoming towards migrants. There is a rhetoric around jobs being taken by migrants, and a feeling of being threatened by them and this is very difficult to change."

The difficulty of constructing a feeling of belonging

37 Sibel Ozasir Kacar, and Caroline Essers. "The interplay between identity construction and opportunity structures: Narratives of Turkish migrant women entrepreneurs in the Netherlands." *International Small Business Journal* 37, no. 7 (2019)

38 Ibid.

39 Marjo Buitelaar. "'I Am the Ultimate Challenge' Accounts of Intersectionality in the Life-Story of a Well-Known Daughter of Moroccan Migrant Workers in the Netherlands." *European Journal of Women's Studies* 13, no. 3 (2006).

within migrant identities, however, was not only raised in terms of their relationship with the country that they are now living in, but also their country of origin. More broadly within the literature, La Barbera notes that the process of migration can cause migrants to feel as if they do not yet belong in their country of origin, but also no longer in their country of origin⁴⁰.

This sentiment came through strongly from the participants that were spoken to throughout this study, with multiple interviewees raising the fact that their identity had not only been impacted by a lack of feeling of belonging towards Belgium, but also towards their country of origin. For example, three quotes from different interviewees describe this conflictual feeling:

"I don't really know if I feel Belgian, but I also don't really know if I feel from the place I was born. It's quite weird."

"But I have Belgian culture in my identity - that's the bottom line. It's not the majority but neither is the Arabic side. It's a weird blend of multiple elements. It's maybe a product of the environment I grew up in with many different nationalities, that I cherry pick the best things of everything."

"But then again, if you come from a migrant background you don't really have 100% a home."

Finally, migrants are likely to use their linguistic ability to construct and transform their identity. In some instances, language can be a source of tension between migrants and their host societies⁴¹, and multiple respondents mentioned that it was,

as one interviewee put it, "the main challenge" to integration. However, with regard to identity construction, Kascar and Esser note the use of second generation's migrants' ability to speak the native language as a way of countering the discourse around societal and political expectations of Turkish migrants in the Netherlands⁴². A similar notion was brought out by this study, whereby younger respondents felt at ease with Dutch, and spoke of the language being a much lesser barrier to their integration than it was to first generation migrants, such as their parents, for example. Additionally, amongst migrants where language had stopped being a barrier, it clearly had begun to shape the identity of migrants. For example, one respondent noted that regarding the language:

"It's a bit of a strange situation, I guess. We speak our 'own language' almost. We speak Russian and a bit Armenian and a bit of Dutch as well."

This was in-line with the comments of other respondents who had a strong command of the Dutch language. It also highlights the linguistic differences that migrants may experience in the school and/or professional lives vis-a-vis their private lives, thus creating differential identities as migrants go through their day, depending on who they're with. The difference between migrant identities between public and private spheres has been expanded upon elsewhere, and can be understood as a form of identity negotiation that migrants carry out under the demands of a host society⁴³.

Therefore, this study has raised two main points regarding the (re)construction of migrants' identities in the Flanders region. Firstly, a strong theme

40 La Barbera, op. cit.

41 La Barbera, op. cit.

42 Ozasir Kacar and Essers, op. cit.

43 Caroline Essers, Hans Doorewaard, and Yvonne Benschop. "Family ties: Migrant female business owners doing identity work on the public-private divide." *Human relations* 66, no. 12 (2013).

surrounding politics was raised by respondents, reflecting the impact of extreme political narratives surrounding migrants on the construction of their identities, both in the long term (for example since 9/11) and in the shorter term in response to party-political changes in Flanders itself. These impacts have not only been found to be on the ways in which migrants perform their identity, but also on their sense of belonging to Belgium. Secondly, language was also raised as a major theme when discussing identity. Whilst frequently it was raised as a barrier to identity construction, the idea of identity 'negotiation' can also be drawn upon, for example through migrants' use of different languages in their private and professional lives.

4. POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

I. Reform of civic integration programmes

- Negative incentives (administrative fines, refusal of financial support) should be replaced with positive incentives because (i) punishment is not an effective tool of incentivisation and (ii) migrants already possess the motivation to learn the native language of the host country.
- Schemes of adequate childcare support for adult migrants with children should be devised to provide time for the former to attend civic integration classes.
- Classes should be reshaped to meet diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds, whilst considering different age groups, of migrants to ensure ideal language learning conditions.
- Intercultural dialogue should be encouraged through the addition of tools to promote cultural diversity and combat discrimination.

II. Enlarge the range and number of social activities available to both asylum seekers and immigrants.

- More opportunities should be offered to both asylum seekers and people with a migrant background to interact through activities such as:
 - Voluntary work;
 - Cultural visits and Sightseeing;
 - Cooking classes;
 - Sports days / local 'Olympic' Games;
 - Job orientation days to meet both employers and locals.
- Such activities should be promoted by local authorities dealing with integration policies – refugee centers, migrant assistance services, and social partners – targeting all individuals of migrant background, as well as different civil society sectors.
- The activities should be monitored through satisfaction surveys in the short-term, and

observation of integration trends in the medium- and long-term, to evaluate efficiency and propose adjustments accordingly.

III. Include migrants in the existing job mentoring programs from an early stage

- To improve labour market inclusiveness, mentoring activities should be open to migrants before the achievement of a work permit.
- Mentor-mentee programs (e.g. Mentor2Work, launched in Flanders in 2017), are appropriate tools for reducing the gap between newcomers and/or job seekers with a migrant background and the job market. More must be fostered.
- Existing programs should be extended to include newcomers from an early stage so as to reduce inactivity periods and improve efficiency.

-For example, orientation days could be– devised to give newcomers the chance to familiarise themselves with the host society's workplace characteristics ahead of their active job search.

- Employers and employees should be encouraged to implement these activities and projects on an incentive-based basis. To this end, greater awareness of mentoring and its benefits should be fostered across different sectors of the job market.

IV. Increase involvement of the general public in integration activities

- Conform to the European Commission's understanding of integration under the 'Action Plan on Integration and Inclusion 2021-2027' as a two-way process:
 - The host society should create opportunities for immigrants' full

economic, social, cultural, and political participation, whilst migrants should make an active effort to adapt to their new country of residence.

- Run a public awareness campaign directed towards the majority group to counter pre-conceived attitudes towards migrants, such as xenophobic and discriminatory narratives
- Make use of EU funds such as the future Asylum and Migration Fund (AMF) to finance volunteering projects co-designed by migrants and host communities as well as mentoring/buddy programmes

V. Speed-up the standard procedure of international protection

- Full compliance with the current benchmark of 6 to 12 months for all applicants is required, with a deadline of 6 months for processing an application advisable.

VI. Enhanced role for local stakeholders in the making of integration policy

- Fostering of multi-stakeholder partnerships with all relevant actors, including civil society organisations, educational institutions, employers, social partners.
- Consultations in the crafting of integration policies with host society actors *and* migrants.
- Policy proposals to the regions and municipalities harnessing the ideas of migrants.

5. CONCLUSION

Our research involves qualitative analysis aimed at informing policy development, allowing social as well as psychological interpretation of data and, thus, connecting the 'distant' social realities and challenges of migrants to the policy agenda. Investigating the realities of integration in Belgium and, more specifically in Flanders, has been a rewarding and informative endeavour, as it has offered a snapshot into the policy apparatus in place in an EU member state in which regionally devolved government and competence allocation occurs. Although tailored to the endemic situation of Flanders and specifically the interrelations between migrants and the host society, our policy recommendations can be equally applied across European societies and at any level of governance. Motivated by the European Commission's recently proposed Action Plan on Integration and Inclusion 2021-2027, our report proposes an inclusive and universal approach to the integration process, that strives to encompass both migrants as well as multiple host society stakeholders.

Integration is a two-way learning process and can only yield positive results if it is grounded on the principles of dialogue, social cohesion, and cultural exchange.

REFERENCES

Adam, Ilke, "La discrimination ethnique à l'embauche à l'agenda politique belge", *Immigration et marché du travail*, no .94 (2006): 11-25.

Adam, Ilke and Corinne Torrekens. "Different Regional Approaches to Cultural Diversity. Interpreting the Belgian Cultural Diversity Paradox". *Fédéralisme Régionalisme*, 15, 2015.

Ahmad Yar, Ahmad Wali and Nadzeya Laurentsyeva, "Migrant Integration Policies at the local level in Belgium", CEPS, MEDAM Policy Insight, 2020.

Bevers, Tom and Valérie Gilbert, "Integration of People of Foreign Origin in the Belgian Labor Market", *Reflets et Perspectives de la Vie Économique* 4, (2016): 41-55.

Braun Virginia and Victoria Clarke, "Using thematic analysis in psychology", *Qualitative research in psychology* 3, no. 2 (2006): 77-101.

Buitelaar, Marjo. "'I Am the Ultimate Challenge' Accounts of Intersectionality in the Life-Story of a Well-Known Daughter of Moroccan Migrant Workers in the Netherlands." *European Journal of Women's Studies* 13, no. 3 (2006): 259-276.

Camilleri, Carmel and Hanna Malewska-Peyre, "Socialization and Identity Strategies", in *Handbook of Cross-Cultural Psychology: Basic Processes and Human Development*, eds. John W. Berry, Pierre R. Dasen, T.S. Sarawathi (Needham Heights: Allyn & Bacon, 1997), 41-67.

Capéau, Bart, Lieve Eeman, Steven Groenez, and Miet Lamberts, *Wie heeft voorrang: jonge Turken of prille grijsaards? Een experimenteel onderzoek naar discriminatie op basis van persoonsken-merken bij de eerste selectie van sollicitanten.* (Leuven: HIVA, 2011).

Crul, Maurice, Philipp Schnell, Barbara Herzog-Punzenberger, Maren Wilmes, Marieke Slooman and Rosa Aparicio Gómez., "School Careers of Second- Generation Youth in Europe: Which Education Systems Provide the Best Chances for Success?". In *The European Second Generation Compared*, ed. Maurice Crul, Jens Schneider and Frans Lelie. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012), 101-164.

Dreber, Anna, David G Rand, Drew Fudenberg and Martin A. Nowak. "Winners don't punish". *Nature* 452, (2008): 348-351.

Duquet, Nils, Ignace Glorieux, Ilse Laurijssen, and Yolis Van Dorsselaer. *Wit krijgt schrijft beter. Schoolloopbanen van allochtone jongeren in beeld*. (Antwerp: Garant, 2006).

El Hammouchi, Othman. "Flanders' dark stain", *POLITICO*, last modified October 17, 2020. <https://www.politico.eu/article/flanders-flemish-racism-belgium-immigrants-vlaams-belang/>

European Commission, "Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions, Action plan on Integration and Inclusion 2021-2027 [COM(2020) 758 final]", 24 November 2020. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/default/files/pdf/action_plan_on_integration_and_inclusion_2021-2027.pdf

Essers, Caroline, Hans Doorewaard, and Yvonne Benschop. "Family ties: Migrant female business owners doing identity work on the public-private divide." *Human relations* 66, no. 12 (2013): 1645-1665.

Fernandez, Rodrigo, Alexander Hijzen, Daniele Pacifico and Stefan Thewissen. "Identifying and addressing employment barriers in Belgium, Korea and Norway: Implementing the OECD Jobs Strategy", *OECD Social, Employment and Migration Working Papers*, No. 249, OECD Publishing, Paris, 2020.

Geulen, Dieter, "Subjektorientierte Sozialisierungstheorie", in *Sozialisierung, Biografie und Lebenslauf: Eine Einführung*, eds. Imbke Behnken, Richard Huisinga, Jana Mikota (Weinheim: Juventa, 2009).

Hammer, Kate, "Sociocultural integration and second language proficiency following migration". In *The Linguistic Integration of Adult Migrants: Some Lessons from Research*, eds. Jean-Claude Beacco, Hans-Jürgen Krumm, David Little, Philia Thalgot (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton in cooperation with the Council of Europe, 2017), 91-96.

Jacobs, Dirk and Andrea Rea, *Verspild talent: de prestatiekloof in het secundair onderwijs tussen allochtone en autochtone en andere leerlingen volgens het PISA-onderzoek 2009*, (Brussels: Koning Boudewijnstichting, 2011).

Kogan, Irena, "Integration Policies and Immigrants' Labour Market Outcomes in Europe". *Sociological Sciences* 3, no. 16 (2016): 335-358.

La Barbera, MariaCaterina. "Identity and migration: An induction." In *Identity and migration in Europe: Multidisciplinary perspectives*, (Cham: Springer, 2015), 1-13.

Mauss, Marcel. *The gift: Forms and functions of exchange in archaic societies*. London: Cohen & West, 1966.

OECD, "Improving the labour market integration of immigrants", in *OECD Economic Surveys: Belgium 2015*, OECD Publishing, Paris, 2015.

OECD, "OECD Economic Surveys: Belgium 2020", OECD Publishing, Paris: 2020.

Ozasir Kacar, Sibel, and Caroline Essers. "The interplay between identity construction and opportunity structures: Narratives of Turkish migrant women entrepreneurs in the Netherlands."

International Small Business Journal 37, no. 7 (2019): 713-731.

Pulinx, Reinhilde, Living together in diversity – Linguistic integration in Flanders, Council of Europe Language Policy Division, 2008.

Van Hoof, Sarah, Nyssen, Sara and Kanobana, Sibö, "If they could, they would put them on a drip with Dutch': Language learning and the professional integration of migrants in Flanders" International Journal of the Sociology of Language 2020, no. 264, (2020): 73-94.

Van der Bracht, Koen, Bart Van de Putte, Pieter-Paul Verhaeghe, and Klaartje Van Kerckem, "Ethnic Diversity in Belgium: Old and New Migration, Old and New Developments", Journal of Diversity and Gender Studies 1, no. 1 (2014): 73-81.

Van der Bracht, Koen, Ad Coenen and Van de Putte, Bart, "The Not-in-My-Property Syndrome: The Occurrence of Ethnic Discrimination in the Rental Housing Market in Belgium", Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies 41, no. 1, (2015): 158-175.

Verhaeghe, Pieter-Paul and Bart Van de Putte, Migrant Zkt Toekomst: Gent Op Een Keerpunt Tussen Oude En Nieuwe Migratie, (Antwerp: Garant, 2012).





NOTES

Proudly associated with



European
Institute

 Initiative