

# 1 Language testing and access

*Piet Van Avermaet*

*Centre for Diversity and Learning, University of Ghent,  
Belgium*

*Lorenzo Rocca*

*CVCL, University for Foreigners, Perugia, Italy*

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## Abstract

This paper summarises the presentations, case studies and discussions of the Language Assessment for Migration and Integration (LAMI) Forum organised by Association of Language Testers in Europe (ALTE) members and held at the ALTE 4<sup>th</sup> International Conference in Kraków in July 2011 under the auspices of the Secretary General of the Council of Europe, Mr Thorbjørn Jagland.

The forum continued the discussions that ALTE has been engaged in for a number of years now, notably at previous forums in Berlin and Cambridge in 2005 and 2008, respectively, as well as at other events in Berlin (September 2009), Rome (May 2010) and Munich (March 2011) to consider the growing prominence of language testing in European migration policy. Having to demonstrate language proficiency as part of the process of entering a country to work or study is nothing new, but in recent years, increasing migration has led to more and more countries placing a greater emphasis on using language tests for integration and citizenship purposes or as a requirement for obtaining a visa to first enter a country.

These recent developments clearly have important ethical and political implications with concerns of possible unfair discrimination related to issues of *access*. Although in terms of migration, access primarily means the opportunity to enter, or “get into”, a particular country, in reality, this also means access to many other many other aspects of everyday life such as education, increased job opportunities, health care, social welfare and human rights, and thus “getting on” in life in the host country. Furthermore, there is also the danger that certain students may not be able to prepare adequately to take a test in the first place because they cannot access suitable tuition.

In general, educational assessment should be seen in a positive light since it helps structure learning, provides evidence of ability and gives a sense of achievement. However, if language tests become a key discriminator in

determining entry, it is crucial that any test used is fair and fit for purpose so that particular groups are not unfairly denied access at any stage in their journey as migrants.

Given the ethical and political considerations now linked to language testing, as well as the social and political pressures to control migration and promote integration, it is essential that those bodies using language assessment in the context of migration fully understand the implications. The LAMI forum was an opportunity to discuss some of these issues and to explore how a framework could help in understanding the issues involved in language testing and access.

Such a framework will help tease apart the social, political and educational considerations and enable clearer thinking about the appropriate uses of language assessment. This may also lead to a better understanding of the ways in which different sorts of tests might be used effectively at different stages of the migrant's journey.

## Part 1 Framing the context

### The European perspective – the plurilingual and intercultural approach of the Council of Europe

The Council of Europe (CoE) is an intergovernmental organisation, set up in 1949 by 10 member states; it currently has 47 member states and is based in Strasbourg, France. The guiding principles of the CoE are democracy, human rights and the rule of law, and the issues of human rights and the legal status of migrants and refugees in Europe have been important challenges for the CoE for many years. This is clearly reflected in many of its conventions and recommendations, such as Article 8 of *The European Convention on Human Rights* (1953), the *European Convention on the Legal Status of Migrant Workers* (1977) and the *European Social Charter* (1996) which are central to the CoE's policy making *vis-à-vis* migration issues.

In 2008 the CoE organised the Conference of European Ministers responsible for Migration Affairs (held in Kiev) and in 2010 the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE) adopted *Recommendation 1917 on migrants and refugees: a continuing challenge for the Council of Europe* (2010b).

The CoE is also very clear in the way in which it defines the integration of migrants in host countries. In its Annual Report of 2008, the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) noted that 'successful integration is a two-way process, a process of mutual recognition, which bears no relation to assimilation' (2008:12). Similarly, in the *White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue- "Living Together as Equals in Dignity"* (Council of Europe 2008b) integration is defined as 'a two-sided process and as the

capacity of people to live together with full respect for the dignity of each individual' (2008b:11).

In view of these comments, it is evident that the basic guiding principles for the CoE are respect for migrants' human rights and dignity, and the organisation has the following objectives in relation to migration:

- to facilitate the exchange of information and discussion on language policies for integration
- to examine how the principles contained in the CEFR can best support the requirements of member states
- to offer guidance on ensuring quality in language training / testing and responding to needs.

For the CoE, languages are seen as pivotal to their policy. On the one hand, the CoE emphasises the importance of language competence since it provides the necessary basis for intercultural dialogue, social cohesion, democratic citizenship, and economic progress. And on the other hand, in positioning languages so centrally in their policy, the CoE promotes and supports linguistic diversity in member states, the plurilingualism of citizens, and plurilingual and intercultural education. Plurilingualism is seen as the ability to develop skills in and use more than one language as a natural, innate potential of the human mind. The language repertoires of all people need support to develop fully since 'all are entitled to develop a degree of communicative ability in a number of languages over their lifetime in accordance with their needs.' (Sheils 2008: 257).

With regard to language, the CoE supports a clear set of inclusive principles for plurilingual and intercultural education:

- a good quality education is a pre-requisite for social cohesion, democratic citizenship and intercultural dialogue
- well developed language ability is a basis for and an outcome of good quality education
- plurilingual and intercultural education aims to support the development of appropriate cultural and language competences as a basis necessary for full participation in educational processes
- to take into account and make use of all cultural and language competences available for the learners and to develop those required for their educational success
- a coherent approach to all languages present at school.

In order to put their plurilingual policy and its underlying principles into practice, the CoE has developed a set of policy instruments, tools and initiatives (all these documents can be found on [www.coe.int/lang](http://www.coe.int/lang)):

- *Guide for the Development of Language Education Policies in Europe* (accompanied by Reference Studies) (2003)

## Exploring language frameworks

- *Common European Framework of Reference for languages* (CEFR) (2001)
- *European Language Portfolio* (ELP)
- *Autobiography of Intercultural Encounters*
- *Language Education Policy Profiles*
- *Guide for the Development and Implementation of Curricula for Plurilingual and Intercultural Education* (2010a).

Furthermore, with a specific focus on adult migrants, the CoE (2008a) has written a concept paper on the role of languages in policies for the integration of adult migrants. Along with this paper a set of thematic studies have been developed:

- the CEFR and the development of policies for the integration of adult migrants
- quality assurance in the provision of language education and training for adult migrants – guidelines and options
- language tests for social cohesion and citizenship- an outline for policy makers [Association of Language Testers in Europe (ALTE) Authoring Group]
- language learning, teaching and assessment and the integration of adult migrants
- tailoring language provision and requirements to the needs and capacities of adult migrants.

In 2008 and 2010 the CoE conducted a survey (Extramiana and Van Avermaet 2010) in member states on language requirements for adult migrants. The objective was to get an overview of the main developments and trends concerning language requirements, including tests and language training. These surveys built on previous surveys that were conducted in co-operation with ALTE members in 2002 and 2007 (ibid.), and a rapid increase in the number of integration courses and tests has been observed over the years.

However, although the differences between the 2008 and 2010 surveys are limited, a large variation between countries in terms of regulations and conditions, proficiency level required and sanctions can be seen. Although by 2010 language requirements had been established in slightly more countries than in 2008 and the required level of proficiency had increased in a few cases, for example from A2 to B1, a noticeable change was the fact that language requirements prior to entry are increasingly being applied and an interest in following this route is growing in other countries. Furthermore, in some countries it is still the case that no language courses are offered by the government and this implies that candidates have to go to the private sector for such courses and often have to pay for them.

## The perspective of the testing community

In order to tease apart the social, political and educational considerations associated with the notion of access and its implications for language assessment, Saville (2009a) has proposed a frame of reference which can assist language test developers address issues related to language assessment and migration more effectively.

Saville uses the metaphor of a ‘migration journey’ to define six key areas of migration. Saville’s schematic diagram (Figure 1) helps to clarify the stages of the ‘journey’ from pre-arrival and arrival in a country to application for citizenship which a potential migrant may go through and provides six points of reference which can help test developers to focus with greater clarity about the use of assessments in relation to other important considerations *vis-à-vis* migrants.

The six stages that Saville distinguishes are: Pre-entry; Arrival and Entry; Extension of Stay; Settlement; Application for Naturalisation; and Granting of Citizenship. For each of these stages Saville describes the reasons for migration, the requirements, rights and responsibilities relevant to each stage of the process, and the consequences and impacts that may arise if the rules are breached.

Linguistic requirements may be set at each of the stages identified by Saville, so in each case the migrant is a potential test taker. It is essential then that the right test is developed. This means that the test has to be fit for the specific purpose for which it is intended and that it has to meet professional standards which take into account not only technical and practical concerns but also ethical concerns. In particular, the test developer has to ensure that the testing system is appropriate for the high stakes decisions that will be made based on it, and that the test is suitable for the intended test taker groups in terms of content, level, mode of delivery, etc.

In order for this to be achieved, those involved in the development of assessment tools for migrants have to answer the following questions:

- **Who** is going to be tested (i.e. the candidate profiles)?
- What **features of the language** will be covered and what is the justification for this?
- What **proficiency level** (e.g. CEFR level) is realistic for different groups?
- **When** and **where** will the testing take place – the **venues and physical conditions**?
- How will the **administration** be conducted and how will the **integrity** of the test be assured?
- How will the **results** be issued and verified?
- How will the results be used and what **decisions** will rest on the outcomes?

## Exploring language frameworks

- How will **data** be collected in order to validate the test (e.g. estimate its reliability)?
- How will the test's **impact** on individuals, and on society more generally, be evaluated?

The central shaded area in Figure 1 exemplifies the main transition stages where permissions are usually needed and where regulations have to be followed. The left-hand column represents those migrants who are already settled and who may have acquired the right to bring other family members to join them; and the right-hand column indicates the rights and responsibilities relevant to each stage of the migrant's journey and the sanctions that may be imposed if the rules are broken.

It goes without saying that every test has to be valid, and this is especially important when the stakes are high, as in the case of migrants. Passing or failing a language test can determine whether a migrant can stay in the host country or whether he or she can obtain or be denied citizenship.

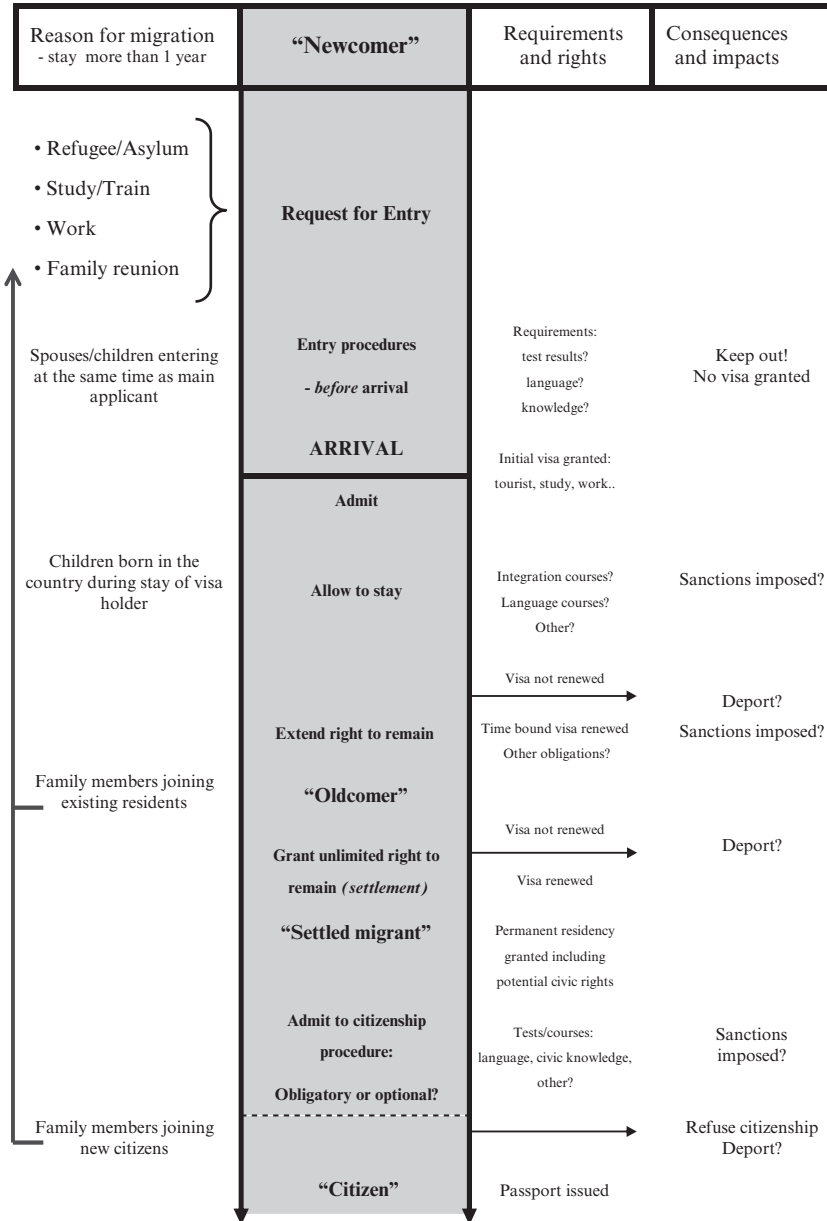
Saville (2011) distinguishes two main issues of fairness: test integrity and test impact. The first focuses mainly on technical issues, e.g. to eliminate fraud. The issue of test impact emphasises the importance of finding out about effects and consequences. As an example of test integrity Saville (*ibid*) refers to parameter 6 of the ALTE minimum standards: 'All centres are selected to administer your examination according to clear, transparent, established procedures, and have access to regulations about how to do so.' Other examples of test integrity are that test providers have to put measures in place to minimise the risk of identity substitution and that measures have to be implemented concerning fraud prevention: e.g. test reports with an embedded photographic image of the candidate and online results verification and/or security features to prevent tampering and forgery of results.

With regard to test administration Saville (2011) argues that every test provider has to ask the following questions:

1. Is there a sufficient network of testing centres?
2. Are the test centres checked and regularly monitored?
3. Are the staff suitably vetted and trained?
4. Is there a high level of security and confidentiality throughout the whole process?
5. Are the physical conditions suitable (including arrangements for candidates with special requirements)?

If these questions are not properly addressed, the implications of ignoring quality assurance in the test administration system can be enormous. Among other issues, there is the predictability of test content; cheating, malpractice and impostors; inaccurate and non-verifiable results and biased, discriminatory tests. In essence this means that the test is then unfair to everyone.

**Figure 1 Stages of the migrant’s ‘journey’ (Saville 2009a)**



Investigating impact is integral to validation and reviewing whether a test fits its specific purpose is an essential component in establishing the usefulness of an assessment system. This is consistent with Messick's views of validity (1989, 1996), especially 'consequential aspects of validity'. Impact also includes the effects and consequences a test has on the immediate learning context and on contexts beyond the classroom: e.g. on an individual's career or the life chances of migrants, and in educational systems and in society more generally. Impact research must be an integral part of a framework for developing and validating examination systems for use in migration contexts.

By adopting an '*impact by design*' approach (Saville 2009b: 269) and by using impact research to guide future actions, more effective assessment policies and practices can be developed to meet the needs of education and society. This will ensure that tests are designed to promote learning and help learners achieve their life goals, and that they are not used to deny access to certain groups of migrants.

### A critical perspective

Building on Saville's diagram of the migration 'journey' above, we can identify potential hurdles to access for migrants in terms of language requirements during the process of their migration and integration. Whether it is a question of entering the country, or of obtaining permanent residency, getting a job, entering school, accessing (language) education programmes, getting a house on the housing market; or becoming a formal or virtual citizen of the country (integration, social participation, social cohesion) – in all of these cases, language conditions are in place and impose a hurdle to finally becoming accepted as a 'moral citizen'.

As noted above, on the basis of different surveys over time, there has been a proliferation of integration tests and courses across Europe through policy emulation. While an ALTE survey in 2002 showed that 4 out of 14 countries (29%) had language conditions for citizenship, the 2007 ALTE survey showed that five years later this number had grown to 11 out of the 18 countries (61%) involved in the survey.

Similarly, the 2008 and 2010 surveys conducted by *La délégation générale à la langue française et aux langues de France* (DGLFLF) and the Centre for Diversity and Learning (SDL) of Ghent University, on behalf of the Language Policy Division of the Council of Europe (Extramiana and Van Avermaet 2010), revealed a further increase in the number of countries setting stricter language conditions for integration in the host country. A comparable percentage (75%) of countries in 2008 as in 2010 had linguistic requirements as part of integration regulations. In 2008, 19% of the countries involved had language requirements prior to entry to the host country whereas this was 26% in 2010. While in 2008 57% of the countries involved



indicated that they had language requirements for permanent residency, this was 69% in 2010. 76% of the countries had language requirements for citizenship in 2008 but of the 23 countries in 2010 that said they had language requirements of one kind or another, almost all of them (96%) indicated that they had language conditions for citizenship.

This leads to the key question of why so many countries have such strict integration policies in which language always plays a central role. The official discourse is that this facilitates the process of integration; strengthens social cohesion and social participation; increases migrants' access to the labour market and further education, and is seen as a lever to become a 'virtual' citizen of the nation. Independent of the critical reflections one can make with regard to these policies, the question is whether they have any impact. Do pre-entry language tests serve an integration objective? Do language tests (and integration requirements in general) enhance access to the labour market, to further education? And do 'language for integration tests' contribute to the process of social participation and cohesion?

Given the relative lack of social impact studies, it is difficult to give a comprehensive answer to these questions. Most of the studies that claim to look at the impact of the policies in place only look at the number of migrants attending language courses, taking language tests, the dropout rates and the numbers of candidates that passed or failed the tests. Although these findings are very important, they do not tell us anything about the impact on integration processes or on social participation itself.

An interesting study on the social impact of integration policies was recently conducted by the Integration and Naturalisation Tests: the new way to European Citizenship (INTEC) Project (Strik, Böcker, Luiten and van Oers 2010). This was a comparative study in nine member states of the EU on the national policies concerning integration and naturalisation tests and their effects on integration. The countries involved were Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Hungary, Latvia, the Netherlands and the UK. The methodology used included both an analysis of policy documents and regulations, and some 329 interviews with immigrants, language schools/education centres, public officials and non-governmental organisations (NGOs).

The main outcome of this study was very clear: 'This research, however, did not find any reason to promote the connection of the integration requirements with the granting of a certain legal status (admission, permanent residence or citizenship). This connection is not necessary to motivate migrants, and it inevitably leads to the exclusion of certain groups from a secure legal status.' (Strik et al 2010)

The report went on to suggest that not only would this exclusion hamper the integration of such groups rather than promote it but would also negatively impact family life and conflict with the right to family reunion. It

recommended that the policy should be reconsidered. The report also concluded that language and integration policy had a limited effect on the actual integration of migration and that such policies should also take into account other factors such as a receptive society, equal opportunities in the labour market and efforts to fight discrimination. Van Avermaet (2012), in a small scale social impact study in Flanders, also found little evidence for the impact of integration policies in integration processes and social participation.

And yet we can observe that language requirements have become stricter and stricter in most countries. This can perhaps be explained by the fact that most EU countries feel a strong pressure to control migration flows, and to exclude potential immigrants with low educational and professional skills. Another explanation can be found in the monolingual ideologies that still strongly prevail in Europe. The official national language is seen as a powerful index of group belonging and its mastery as pivotal for the well being of the national order. The actual integration policies (official language and the norms and values of the host country) are sold as common sense, as self-evident truths or doxas. Since the strong association between linguistic and cultural knowledge on the one hand and citizenship on the other is treated as a doxa, it is impervious to academic counter arguments or rational dissonance.

Nonetheless, it is noteworthy that in recent years critical voices are increasingly being heard in official quarters. In comments in February 2011 criticising the stricter conditions for family reunion that have been imposed in a number of European countries in recent years, and notably in the Netherlands, Thomas Hammarberg, the Commissioner for Human Rights of the Council of Europe, noted that even long-term residents and naturalised citizens are being deprived of the human right of family reunion as policies in host countries become more restrictive and selective. He stated unequivocally that 'Applicants have to fulfil unreasonable requirements which create insurmountable obstacles to them living with their loved ones.' (Hammarberg 2011)

The Dutch sociologist Schinkel (2008) calls the actual discourse and policies with regard to integration and language tests a form of 'social hypochondria'. Hypochondria can be defined as a preoccupation with the fear of having a serious disease based on the person's misinterpretation of bodily symptoms. Social hypochondria, then, can be defined as a preoccupation on the part of social agents with fears that a given social body (e.g. school, neighbourhood, workplace, country, nation, etc.) has a serious disease or disorder, based on the social agents' misinterpretation of the symptoms occurring in that social body.

Most important here are the preoccupations and complaints about perceived threats to 'social cohesion' and 'social integration'. Schinkel (2008)

argues that the social body now feels constantly threatened by those who are considered not to belong, to be non-native. If empirical reality indicates that the feelings of threat to the health of a given social body on account of its ethnic composition, integration and social cohesion are not accurate, then these feelings should be considered a form of social hypochondria.

In view of the moves by governments to ever stricter language requirements for migrants, the language testing profession also has to take a broader socio-political and sociolinguistic perspective. This implies, among other things, carefully defining constructs like integration and social cohesion. The test developer has to reflect on the possible misuse and/or negative consequences of their tests. Test developers also have to interact with different stakeholders in society, including immigrants themselves, and should be concerned about whether taking a language test for integration enhances processes of integration and social cohesion.

Shohamy (2001:146–149) distinguishes five perspectives for the language testing profession to act ethically:

1. **Ethical perspective:** professional morality as a (virtual) contract between test developer, test taker and society. Implication: societal consequences for the test developer in case of misuse is limited.
2. **Awareness raising perspective:** the responsibility of the test developer is to make the users aware of all aspects of a test (and its use).
3. **All consequences perspective:** test developer has to take the responsibility for all consequences of test use.
4. **Perspective of sanctioning:** in case of incorrect use of a test the test developer should be sanctioned.
5. **Perspective of shared responsibility and open communication:** shared responsibility of all people (including non-technicians, policy makers, etc.) involved in making, using, . . . a test through open communication.

While perspectives 1–4 do not change the balance of power between different stakeholders, perspective 5 changes the balance of power through communicative action and is not dominated by the institutions to which the actors belong.

The language testing profession should attempt to take perspective 5 as a point of departure for the development of language tests for integration and citizenship. This is particularly important in order to ensure that tests are fair to all test-takers and that no groups of potential test-takers are denied access in any of its interpretations at any stage of their migration journey. The development of a frame of reference such as the one described above will assist policymakers, academics and practitioners to work together to create a coherent and comprehensive approach to addressing issues related to language testing and access, such as the implications of using language testing

at the pre-arrival and arrival stages of a migrant's journey and how to ensure tests are fair and fit for purpose.

## Part 2 Case studies – UK, Belgium and Italy

To illustrate the migrant's journey described above in order to show the ways in which government policy acts together with social, economic and linguistic factors, this section of the paper reviews the three case studies presented at the Language and Migration (LAMI) forum in Kraków (2011). In recent years several European countries have introduced a requirement to provide evidence of language competence not only for those people wishing to apply for long-term residence permits, but also as a requirement for obtaining a visa to first enter a country to study, work or for family reasons, i.e. initial access to the country, and the three case studies present the current legislation with respect to these requirements in the United Kingdom, Belgium and Italy.

The UK case study offers an overall picture of the situation regarding language requirements and language assessment for migrants in the UK and draws attention to the complexity of the current situation: on the one hand, stakeholders' feedback is needed to avoid the risk of unfairness in language assessment, and on the other hand, cuts in funding are limiting the positive effects of language courses. The Belgian case study first relates the complexity of the national situation in terms of quite different realities and policies in Flanders and Wallonia and consequently of different integration policies in the two regions. Secondly, it reports the results of a study aimed at collecting feedback about stakeholders' perceptions of the national integration programme. The Italian case study offers a perspective on how some of the difficulties of language learning provision, in the context of migration, may be usefully solved. In fact, the purpose of this particular case study was to examine if and how a national project could represent a possible model, in order to promote and foster:

- more communication, collaboration and coordination at national level in the field of migrants' language training and testing
- closer links between language training and testing through a common reference to the CEFR
- systematic feedback collection in order to better investigate the effects of the training and testing process on individuals, society and education.

The common denominator of the three case studies is the need to give migrants *access*, not only to the host country in the first instance, but also access to the job market, education, health care, and to human and civil rights. Thus, in the UK case study, the importance of campaigns such as *Right to a Voice* and *Action for ESOL* will be outlined, while impact studies that give insights into both education and society will be presented in the Belgian and Italian case

studies. With regard to the area of impact studies, this paper puts forward the principle that impact studies are a way of ensuring that migrants' voices are heard and thus facilitate access. In fact, collecting feedback from stakeholders can be useful in order to look at the impact of assessment not only in the educational domain (Alderson and Wall 1993, Wall 2005) but also on society (Bachman 1990). Bachman and Palmer (1996) defined the concept of impact as the use of tests and test results in a societal context. 'Impact, therefore, . . . operates at . . . two levels . . . i.e. at a micro level in terms of individuals who are affected by the particular test use and at a macro level in terms of the educational system or society' (Saville 2009b:25). Weiss (1998:8) described impact in terms of 'a synonym for outcome . . . that . . . may also refer to program effects for larger community'. In the three research projects presented here, implementing systematic analysis of the effects that language courses and tests have *in primis* for migrants also means creating better conditions to collect migrants' feedback. Consequently, this kind of analysis implies providing real *access*, in terms of opportunities to give opinions and to let migrants feel more involved in the whole process, not only the language learning process, but, above all, the process of social inclusion, and thus, of linguistic integration.

More generally, the case studies give an overview of different kinds of professional contributions and approaches to this area, with the aim not only of offering a descriptive picture, but also to:

- outline critical aspects and limitations of language policies in the UK, Belgium and Italy
- provide future scenarios
- try to find solutions to some of the issues that arise.

The discussion also addresses more general issues, as specific components of a wider critical reflection on migration and language requirements, by trying to find a shared answer to these open questions:

- Should language tests in the migration context be used in isolation or should they be designed as part of a coherent language-training programme?
- Should expert teachers also collaborate in the testing process?
- Should CEFR descriptors be adapted to make them more suitable for the migration context?

## The UK case study

### Test for migrant purposes

Since November 2005, those applying for British citizenship have taken a compulsory language test. ESOL Entry level 3 (the equivalent level to B1 of

the CEFR) was required, or alternatively, proof of progress through the levels towards it. Two years later, testing was also introduced for those requesting settlement in the UK. In 2008, five tiers were introduced to categorise migrants entering the UK, using a points based system. Of those intending to settle in the country, highly skilled professionals (Tier 1) were required to obtain proof of C1 (CEFR) level ability and skilled workers (Tier 2) level B2 (in all skills), with both needing to pass the *Life in the UK* test, a 35 item multiple choice test assessing knowledge of British society and English reading skill at B1 level based on the accompanying *Life in the UK Handbook*.

As Saville (2009a:24) notes, ‘one of the controversial aspects of this test is the nature of the citizenship construct itself which underpins it’. There is an on-going discussion among experts concerning the correspondence between language test performance and language use in terms of the contents of the *Life in the UK* test. Since 2009, for students (Tier 4) entering the UK, the language requirements for undergraduates have been level B2 and for those on a lower course, level B1.

Tier 5 entrants include temporary workers and young people involved in cultural exchange schemes. Visas issued for “family reunions” (spouses or partners of British citizens or settled individuals) require an A1 level in speaking and listening from an authorised test provider prior to entry.

## Caps and cuts

Current UK policy has attempted to reduce migration and has made cuts in funding in response to the economic crisis. New caps on migration, in terms of annual limits, were set in April 2011, restricting the highly-skilled (Tier 1) applicants to those of ‘exceptional talent’, often including entrepreneurs and investors. In 2008, 11% of all UK residents were born outside the country and in 2010, 41% of these held British nationality. London has the highest concentration of non-UK born residents (28%). 13% of those employed in the UK were born abroad, with native women having a 12% higher rate of employment than those born overseas, the lowest ratio being for women born in Pakistan and Bangladesh. Data indicates that between 2008 and 2010, the main reasons for migrants entering the UK changed. The numbers of those entering for work purposes decreased by 9%, while those for study increased by 13%. There has also been a slight increase in ‘family reunions’. Applicants must provide evidence demonstrating the required level of English for their category or they will be refused a visa, access to the country, leave to remain indefinitely and any associated services. Those who fail the ESOL Entry level 3 and the *Life in the UK* test in Tiers 1 and 2 and family categories can retake the exam within a specified time.

In 2002, the UK Government introduced a national strategy to improve adult literacy and ESOL skills, and in 2004, the *Skills for Life* national

qualifications were developed. The aim of this strategy is to improve the level of basic skills for 2.25 million adults, and at the same time also improving the quality of teaching and the standards of assessment. Until recently, *Skills for Life* courses were sponsored, but funding was reduced in 2007, with further cuts in 2011. Over the last two years, the number of ESOL courses available has dropped from 7430 to 5360. Those eligible for courses included people living or trying to settle in the UK whose first language is not English, refugees, asylum seekers, migrant workers, those from settled communities and the immediate family of those granted leave to remain in the UK for some years. In April 2011, the UK Border Agency (UKBA) published a new list of approved Secure English Language Tests, having radically changed the acceptance criteria.

## Right to a Voice and Action for ESOL

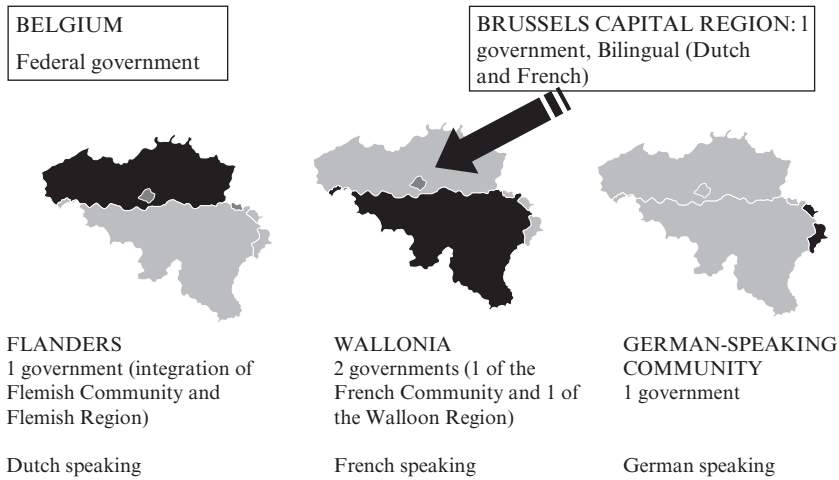
Not all migrants have the same opportunities to *access* language courses or authorised test centres, and this creates unfairness. In order to counteract this unequal access, due not only to cuts in funding, but also to the discriminatory decisions of policymakers, many people expressed their views through campaigns such as *Right to a Voice* and *Action for ESOL*. In 2007, the UK government withdrew the right of asylum seekers to attend English language courses for their first six months. Over 100 organisations joined the campaign *Right to a Voice*, with the aim of collecting voices from different stakeholders influenced by this policy decision: ESOL institutions, teachers and above all asylum seekers. To do so, the campaign created a 20-week programme of English learning activities to give users the chance to express their views, such as those summarised in the campaign leaflet, ‘if I had to wait six months to learn English . . . I would have felt excluded and my motivation and ability to learn would have dropped’ (National Institute for Adult Continuing Education: 2008). While *Right to a Voice* focused on a particular kind of migrants (asylum seekers), *Action for ESOL* was a campaign launched to defend language courses in general. After the new cuts were announced, *Action for ESOL* started to ask for better ESOL provision, in order to guarantee migrants greater *access*. With this aim, 20,000 people signed a petition to support the point stated in the Briefing Paper of the campaign that ‘sustained funding of ESOL is not a luxury, it is an essential public service’. (Action for ESOL 2011)

## The Belgian case study

### Belgium: complex state, complicated citizenship

The situation in Belgium is complex, regarding both citizenship and the state itself, given that there are six different governments and three different

**Figure 2 Governments and languages in Belgium**



languages. Figure 2 shows that in Flanders, Dutch is spoken, in the south (Wallonia), French is the recognised language, and finally there is a smaller German speaking community in the east.

Specific powers concerning migration are attributed to each level of decision-making. Policy at federal level deals with formal citizenship, including migration policy, voting rights for foreigners, permanent residency and obtaining Belgian nationality. The regional level of government in Belgium is not responsible for any formal stage in the migrant’s journey. However, Flanders does have an ‘integration policy’. Newcomers and some oldcomers have to take a language course, as part of an integration programme. This Flemish policy has no formal benefits for migrants who are successful on an integration programme. Such a policy focuses more on the moral aspect of citizenship. Therefore, in contrast with other countries, in Belgium there is a very strong link between formal and moral citizenship, as migrants are expected to integrate into the society they live in without implications for their formal status in the regions of Belgium.

### Differences in policy: Flanders and Walloon regions

The autonomy of the different regions has led to very different policies on integration. In Flanders, for example, where right wing parties have had more success, integration is a political issue. In 2010, the Flemish Minister for Integration underlined the importance of a common language, insisting that proficiency in the Dutch language was a key to education and employment. Speaking of identity and autonomy, the Flemish ‘Minister-President’



suggested there was a need for a ‘Copernican’ revolution, where the centre of gravity would no longer be the federal state. Each region would act as a nation-state and determine its own policy and agenda. The Walloon region, on the other hand, with no extreme right wing parties, is more attached to the idea of a federal state, but shows signs of moving towards regional awareness. The area has been renamed ‘Wallonia’ as opposed to Walloon Region, and a new motto established *Wallonie, terre d'accueil*, meaning “a welcoming land”. As a consequence of the contrasting political situations in Flanders and Wallonia, the policy framework for integration of the two regions differs; Flanders is more interventionist, though at the same time oscillating between multiculturalism and assimilation, while Wallonia is more *laissez-faire*, encouraging multiculturalism, although this is unstated.

Concrete steps taken by the government in Flanders for integration (moral citizenship) include creating a special minister with responsibility for civic integration, introducing compulsory civic integration courses for certain categories of newcomers, making ‘willingness to learn’ the Dutch language a requirement for some social benefits, and having parents sign a ‘declaration of involvement’ when enrolling their child in school.

The Flemish policy programme on civic integration states that ‘old and new Flemings have to have access to the necessary instruments to play an active role in our society’ (Bourgeois 2009). However, the N-VA (*Nieuw-Vlaamse Alliantie*, the party of the Minister for Civic Integration) proposes a compulsory, but fair, civic integration programme for newcomers in Flanders who wish to obtain Flemish citizenship. Candidates do not have to take a language test. N-VA would like civic integration to start in the country of origin, as a kind of *pre-access*. Policies introduced in the 90s, such as recognition and funding of migrant organisations, are also to be continued to encourage multiculturalism. In the Walloon region issues of integration and citizenship are not seen as such a problem, consequently there are no specific ministerial responsibilities regarding civic integration and no civic integration policy for newcomers.

### Impact study in Flanders

A two-phase study was carried out in Flanders between 2008 and 2009 to look at the social impact of the integration policy in Flanders (Van Avermaet 2012). Forty informants were interviewed using a semi-structured questionnaire, to ascertain the views of the three main stakeholder groups: teachers, immigrants and members of the ‘majority group’, i.e. employers, employment agencies and lay people in the street.

### **Teachers**

For most teachers, the fact that there is no central standard language assessment was not a problem. This can be explained by the fact that Flanders has no culture and tradition in its educational systems of centralised testing. Tests are the sole responsibility of teachers. The general opinion was that a language test is a central part of getting an integration certificate. However, some felt that other aspects, such as participation and commitment within the course, were just as important as the test itself.

### **Immigrants**

Immigrants enrolled on a course at the time felt it would increase their future job prospects. However, those who had completed a course and not found employment were quite negative about the value of the certificate, and others thought that the language they had acquired was not useful for their work situation. On the other hand, several older immigrants regretted not having taken the opportunity of doing a language course at an early stage.

### **Members of the ‘majority group’**

All employers said that language is the crucial criterion for obtaining a job, although, most do not ask for evidence of a Dutch language or an integration certificate, preferring to assess the person themselves at the interview. Employment Agencies held similar views, considering certification to be of limited value. The ‘majority group’ was equally divided between those convinced that a centrally developed language test is necessary and those who trust teachers to devise their own.

### **Critical considerations**

Although Belgium continues to have one of the most lenient policies for obtaining nationality, Flanders and Wallonia have very different stances on the issue of ‘moral’ citizenship, and the ‘integration policy’ in Flanders has been accused of holding on to old and obsolete values, effectively leading to the exclusion of some migrant groups.

## **The Italian case study**

### **New language requirements**

Until 2010, there were no language requirements for migrants in Italy for the purpose of obtaining a long-term residency permit or citizenship. However, since then, new legislation has been introduced for newcomers and for migrants already settled in Italy (see Grego Bolli, this volume), and for both groups, a formal test has been provided to assess knowledge of Italian and, in

the case of the newcomers, the Integration Agreement requires the migrant to also pass a Knowledge of Society (KoS) test.

### **Test for migrants: CVCL's approach and the ILN project**

CVCL's (Centro per la Valutazione e le Certificazioni Linguistiche dell'Università per Stranieri di Perugia) approach to assessment in the migration context has always been to establish a link between language teaching/learning and assessment. The language certificates produced by CVCL in this context are the concrete representation of this approach. They have been developed and produced by CVCL experts jointly with a group of teachers working in state schools called CTP (*Centri Territoriali Permanenti per l'Educazione degli Adulti*), who are involved in the teaching of Italian to migrants. This collaboration between the two different areas of expertise also led to the production of specific syllabuses to prepare students for the exams. The syllabuses are based on the linguistic exponents found in *Profilo della lingua italiana* (Spinelli and Parizzi 2010).

This 'holistic approach' to the area of learning/teaching and assessment was the main reason why CVCL was involved in a national project in 2010 called ILN – *Italiano, lingua nostra* ("Italian, our language") – commissioned by the Italian Ministry of Interior and supported by European funding. The project was undertaken by CVCL, in collaboration with a network of centres involved in language tuition for adult migrants.

#### **ILN: aims**

The ILN project represented a learning opportunity for a limited number of migrants (N=2843). They were self-selected, but had to reflect a specific profile of users, as not everyone was able to benefit from the European Fund for Integration (EFI). Those who were not entitled to benefit from the EFI included EU citizens, non-documented migrants, migrants under 16 or over 65 years old, refugees, prisoners and migrants who have lived in Italy for more than five years. As a result, only 16.4% of the overall migrant population are potential beneficiaries of the EFI: that is about 918,000 out of more than 5 million. Consequently, the 645 migrant respondents may be considered only a small sample of the 918,000 migrants who could be involved in A2 language courses.

Despite the limited number of migrants, the ILN project was a unique experiment in the Italian context, representing an opportunity to reflect on the deficiencies of the existing system. In fact, in order to complete the project, it was necessary to overcome weaknesses of this system (see Grego Bolli, this volume), such as:

- poor coordination in language training, in terms of objectives and contents of language courses: teaching materials, manuals, etc

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- high percentage of drop-outs
- lack of correspondence between language training and assessment.

ILN managed to guarantee more uniformity in the training process through central coordination as far as syllabus definition and teaching materials are concerned. The focus of the training process was not only on the classroom, but also on the outside world to support the social inclusion. The 149 language courses spread across ten regions, in fact, provided 50 hours of lessons in the classroom, plus 20 hours of outside activities involving communication in real-life situations.

A better knowledge of society was also supported through teaching materials: in particular, a KoS book was jointly produced for the A2 learners by the CTPs and CVCL. It was subdivided by subject: health education, civics, safety at work, advertisements, history and geography outlines, the constitution. In ILN, different channels had the aim of guaranteeing central coordination and of improving the monitoring phase. During the project, ILN provided newsletters, online chats, a blog and a forum to improve communication among stakeholders.

The purpose of this case study is to examine to what extent this national project could provide a possible model (see Grego Bolli, this volume) for similar work, including as it does, high levels of collaboration between stakeholders through an integrated approach. The analysis of the data will give more insights about the impact of the combination of language training and language certification on teachers' daily work and on migrants' learning, social and personal experiences.

### **ILN: data**

Data was collected at the end of the ILN project through the administration of two questionnaires, one for students (SQ) and one for teachers (TQ), which look at the impact of the project in three different areas: social, personal and educational.

The two questionnaires had been pre-tested and validated for this purpose, and were administered anonymously to the A2 level learners and their teachers after the final exam. They were presented in closed questions, where users had to mark 1 to 5, depending on how much they agree with the closed statements (not much = 1; a lot = 5).

The SQ questionnaire was divided into seven sections, representing seven different key areas, and in order to concentrate on the migrants' needs, the research questions focussed on the migrants' relationship with Italian society, the Italian language, the ILN A2 language and KoS course, the CELI A2 exam, the training process and also – in the last section – the new law that introduced language requirements for the first time in Italy. Graphs showing the results of the data are included in the Appendix.

### **ILN: migrants involved**

ILN collected 645 SQs and 63 TQs, and 74 nationalities were represented. It is interesting to show the relationship between the two different data: the occurrence of the first four nationalities in the total non – EU population in Italy and their occurrence in the ILN sample (Figure 3 in the Appendix). Although it is possible to notice some similarities, there are also a number of relevant differences.

As far as the similarities are concerned, Moroccans are the second largest group in Italy and the largest in ILN. Historically they represent the main group of CTP users; according to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) world map of illiteracy, Morocco is the nearest country to Italy with the percentage of illiterate people higher than 50%. With regard to differences, it was noted that although Albanians are the biggest migrant group in Italy, they are only the sixth largest among groups represented in the project. A possible reason for this is that in many cases they are already well integrated into Italian society: they have been resident for a long time and the Italian language no longer represents an obstacle for them. However in the case of Chinese migrants, it can be noted that although they represent the third largest migrant group in Italy, they rank only eighth in terms of the number of participants in the ILN project. This may be related to the view expressed by the CoE that ‘Integration is a dynamic, two-way process of mutual interaction, requiring not only efforts by national, regional and local authorities but also a greater commitment by the host community and immigrants’ (2009).

Some items in the questionnaire may suggest that respondents from the Chinese community are not as engaged with the target culture as other communities. For example, in the section, ‘The Italian language at home’, while 13.8% of the total SQ respondents answered ‘*I never speak Italian at home*’, the percentage rises to 100% when only the Chinese answers are considered.

### **Migrants involved and level of literacy**

Another very relevant topic relates to the years spent at school and the level of literacy (Figure 4 in the Appendix). According to the SQs, 18.3% of respondents had spent fewer than five years at school and the percentage goes up further to 50% when only the data taken from the TQs is considered. This is because teachers responding to this question only took into account the migrants in their traditional classes, not in ILN. The percentage of students who have spent fewer than five years at school rises to 88% when those involved in traditional language course administered by private centres are included.

The number of Moroccans involved in ILN who spent fewer than five years at school totalled 84%. The UNESCO world map on illiteracy, as well

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as Adami (2009), stress the fundamental link between poor levels of literacy and social inclusion. In addition, high percentages like the ones above (50% with little schooling in the State schools and 88% in private centres), clearly represent a strong reason to reflect critically on what could be done to fill the gap in the CEFR below A1 level and to create frameworks for adult illiteracy. This work should become a priority for teachers and language testers involved in the migration context.

### **Literacy and writing**

The wide gap between oral interaction and writing is inversely proportional to literacy and the CEFR levels. As a consequence, the SQ data shows that the test tasks found to be most useful, both during the course and in the final examination, are those tasks which go some way to bridging the gap between writing and other language skills. It is very interesting to look at the feedback in relation to writing in two different contexts: in ILN, nothing (including writing components) was compulsory. Migrants opted to take writing items because they wanted to improve their weakest skill. In the new Italian legislation (Decree 4 June 2010), the A2 test is compulsory in order to obtain the long-term residence permit. In some interviews given to the media after the administration of the first test, migrants said, 'Let me speak, but don't ask me to write!'

### **Language competence for social inclusion**

In the second section of the SQ, the focus is on the role of the Italian language for social inclusion. The results indicated that the Italian language is obviously an important tool for communication, but also (as shown in Figure 5 in the Appendix) it is essential in order to gain respect in society. In other words, the language offers a kind of social key for better access, with more rights – a social key which we hope will open “closed gates”. The vast majority give the response that language is useful to communicate better (left side of Figure 5) and to be more respected (right side of Figure 5).

### **ILN: users feedback**

Taking into account the whole training process, the feedback is generally very positive: students and teachers consider ILN as an opportunity, something useful. However, a negative aspect that emerges concerns the stress due to very busy timetables, the effort required and the anxiety caused because of deadlines which are often too close.

### **Feedback about the lessons**

The feedback about the lessons seems very positive in the SQ. Looking in more detail at the question of the time spent outside the classroom, it is interesting to note that these hours seem to facilitate *access* not only to the

local community, but also to classmates by creating a better ‘community for learning’ and for practising the language with a peer group. In fact, as far as the statement *‘the hours outside helped me to know my classmates better and make friends with them’* is concerned, there is a large degree of agreement with regard to the positive options that describe how these hours consolidate relationships, above all helping the older students to get to know other people better. In fact, older students, as was also confirmed in the TQs, often have more difficulties in establishing relationships, sharing experiences, and opening their minds to the outside world. In this respect, *access* should not only be discussed in relation to professional, cultural and religious features, but also in relation to age. In similar vein, when reviewing the responses to another question in the SQ regarding what respondents do not like about Italy, older students respond above all that *‘we don’t have Italian friends.’*

### **Feedback about the teaching material**

The SQ gives information on the students’ feedback about teaching materials. In particular, Figures 6 and 7 in the Appendix show that the KoS book was greatly appreciated because it provided useful information to get to know Italian society better, to help users in their daily life and to help them in preparing the final exam.

### **ILN: correspondence between language training and assessment**

The TQ investigated in more detail the feedback concerning the actions of central coordination, in terms of lesson planning, asking if teachers agreed or disagreed with the statement *‘knowing the course ended with the final exam helped me with lesson planning and to make the best use of time’*, or other statements, such as *‘gave me a clear direction, with clearer outlines’*. Also in the case of lesson planning, the number of positive answers is very high, as Figure 8 in the Appendix shows.

Similarly, Figure 9 shows that quite a high concentration of respondents selected the option: *‘I do not agree much’* with the statement *‘knowing the course ended with the final exam led to a sort of standardisation of the format, not positive in terms of less creativity.’* Therefore, teachers seem not to have suffered too much because of the time spent on exam preparation. Coming back to the introduction, these TQ answers seem to confirm the necessity of promoting and consolidating the link between language training and testing.

Another key question was: *‘Can students and teachers consider ILN as a starting point?’* From Figure 10 in the Appendix, it can be seen that the majority of students answered, *‘yes, it is a starting point, because I still have to improve.’*

Confirmation of this view is clearly underlined by Figure 11 in the Appendix: the majority of teachers answered, *‘yes, it is only a starting point because this kind of project should:’*

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- *provide more hours of lessons (not less than 100)*
- *be extended also to the upper levels of the CEFR (in particular to B1)*
- *become compulsory (and always without any charge)*
- *become part of a more systematic and structured action.*

This last bullet point strongly confirms how all the stakeholders, particularly teachers, need coordination at the national level.

### Feedback about the exam

Another issue concerns the final exam. Matching the SQs and the TQs, the consensus is very high *vis-à-vis* the statements regarding what the final exam represented:

- in the SQ, *‘a goal that I wanted to reach’* and, above all, *‘an added reason to attend the course’*, and
- in the TQ, *‘something that meant students attended more regularly’*, guaranteeing teaching with more continuity.

Two different perspectives shown in Figure 12 in the Appendix confirm the same fundamental point: this was definitely a success for ILN in terms of a high attendance rate and a low drop-out rate (15.8% versus the national average of 33.4%). In addition, the attendance rate supports the positive effects of the link between training and assessment, which has been postulated, in particular in the context of migration.

### Feedback about the continuum (training course plus final exam)

It is very useful to underline two different points of view that emerged from the SQ and the TQ with regard to the same question, *‘Are 70 hours of instruction sufficient to move from A1 (after common entry test) and approach an A2 exam?’* (Figure 13 in the Appendix.)

Students generally answered in the affirmative and this was also confirmed by the high percentage of students who passed the final exam, thus obtaining the A2 certification. On the other hand, the perception of teachers seems to be the opposite: it is possible that many Italian teachers are still accustomed to comparing the language competence of their students to a subjective and theoretical concept of ‘perfect knowledge’, a knowledge not scaled in progressive levels, often mainly grammar oriented, that can be ‘good’ or ‘bad’; hence, from this perspective, 70 hours to reach a ‘good’ competence is clearly not enough.

### CEFR levels in the migration context

The last question in the TQ was an open question, *‘Using your experience, do you think the profiles of the CEFR are applicable for training courses in the context of migration?’*



These are the five recurring answers:

1. *'Absolutely' (23%).*
2. *'Yes, we have to use the profiles because they represent guidelines that are fundamental to giving coherence and criteria to observe the can do statements' (9%).*
3. *'Yes, but it is necessary to integrate and adapt the descriptors after a specific needs analysis of the users' (51%).*
4. *'Yes, but it is necessary to complete the gap before AI: the Framework does not help teachers in describing sub levels of illiteracy, so present in a context of migration' (41%).*
5. *'Yes, but it is important for a syllabus not to link a language course to a unique level of the CEFR; this is because, especially in that context, the learners often don't have an homogeneous profile, with a big distance between oral interaction and writing' (37%).*

Again, it is possible to notice two recurrent aspects in the migration context: the priority to create frameworks, which contain descriptors for those who are illiterate and the need to adapt the CEFR descriptors to make them more suitable for the different kinds of user, especially in the lower proficiency range.

### **Language policy and migrants feedback**

The last closed question in the SQ was, *'In Italy a law (Decree 4 June 2010) will soon introduce the requirement to pass a language test in order to obtain the long term residency permit.'* There was a near-unanimous response from students, irrespective of gender, age or nationality, showing a high degree of agreement with the statement, *'I think that it is right for the Italian state to ask for a compulsory certificate of language competence'*. However, it must be noted that the ILN students were privileged students who had just completed a course, taken the final exam, and had benefited from an opportunity to study and take an exam free of charge. In addition, all the students also endorsed the other option, *'I think that asking for a compulsory certificate of language competence is right, but the State must give me the chance to learn Italian. I can't manage on my own: I need to attend a course'*. In other words, it is possible to conclude that migrants feel the State should not require assessment without providing training; final exams, in the migration context, should not be isolated but rather intended as part of a coherent training programme. This confirms the first additional consideration of this paper: language tests for migration purposes should be designed as an inclusive part of a process.

### **Limitations and critical considerations**

Working on the intersection between second language learning and language for social inclusion, the need to combine these two concepts through the

close relationship between teaching and assessment emerges clearly. In this sense, ILN could be considered as an example of good practice in sharing, monitoring and conducting an impact study. Unfortunately, however, it is not part of a systematic action plan. ILN, in fact, was only for a minority of migrants: CVCL was only able to involve fewer than 3,000 migrants out of an overall presence in Italy of more than five million. What it is needed is a more structured approach that should be agreed after consultation with relevant experts and national institutions. However, state funding for social integration in Italy has already been reduced from 2.52 billion Euros in 2008 to 349 million Euros in the most recent legislation. Both the restrictive profile required by law for European Fund for Integration benefits and the cut in funding are limiting the migrants' *access* to the process of linguistic integration and social inclusion.

## Conclusions

Some final considerations emerge from these case studies: first of all a warning about the consequences of the reductions in state funding within the context of migration. In the UK *Skills for Life* saw a 27% reduction in terms of the number of courses administered and, in Italy, the funds for social integration were reduced by 76.3%. As a direct consequence of these cuts, there has already been a shift from language training to language assessment.

The second consideration concerns the need for more systematic communication and an effective exchange of information at European level. There has been a long debate within the language testing community in relation to the socio-political use of language tests. ALTE, as a professional association, and LAMI, as a specific working group of experts in this area, have worked hard to address these issues and disseminate an understanding of the legislation in European countries in relation to migration policies. Nevertheless, there is still a further need for more sharing of information and concrete experiences.

Thirdly, there is a need for more systematic study and research in terms of migration policies, language requirements and their impact on migrant communities, education, and society. By reporting on the migration policies of the UK, Belgium and Italy, and by underlining the importance of a continuous monitoring process, through specific impact studies to look at the stakeholders' feedback on language requirements, this paper has contributed to this important issue.

Given that assessment processes with respect to social inclusion involve professional ethics and extend to the political repercussions of test results, it is clear that ensuring that standard procedures are met when preparing language certification is still fundamental, but it is no longer enough; for

best practice, it is essential to consider the social impact that tests have. The common denominator of the three case studies presented above is the aim of demonstrating the link between impact and *access*: only through an analysis of the consequences that language policies, courses and tests have is it possible to let the migrants' voice be heard.

A fourth consideration concerns the need to provide a more structured approach and systematic action at European level that incorporates the above-mentioned impact study. This should have two related and positive effects, namely to involve a larger number of migrants in the training process and to improve communication, collaboration and coordination between all the stakeholders, in order to develop a closer training – testing link.

The three case studies presented in this paper have highlighted the function of *Skills for life* in the UK, the N-VA programme in Belgium and ILN in Italy in representing three examples of a *continuum* between teaching and assessment, between the status of *student* and the status of *candidate*. This continuum represents the *conditio sine qua non* in order not to isolate evaluation for migration purposes, but to relate it to a specific training programme. In future, more can be done in terms of adapting the CEFR descriptors to take into account users' needs, as well as involving appropriately experienced teachers and introducing different types of assessment, which are fit for the purpose for which they are intended.

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## Appendix

Figure 3 Occurrence of the first four in the total non – EU population

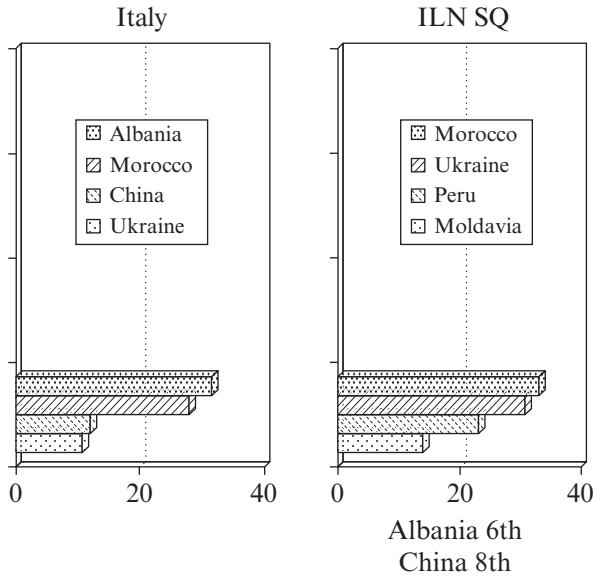
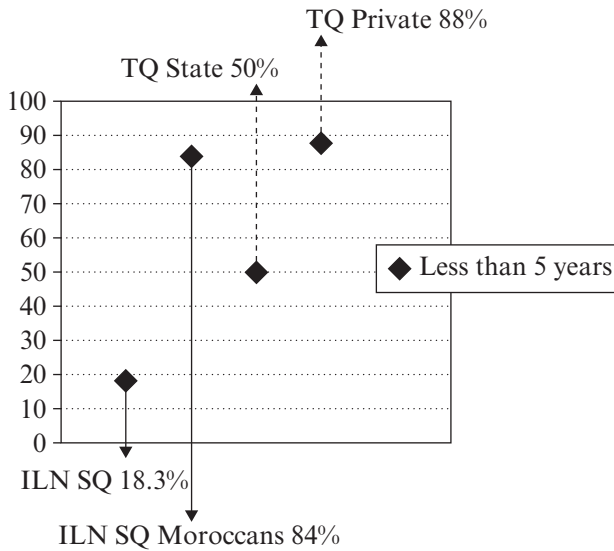
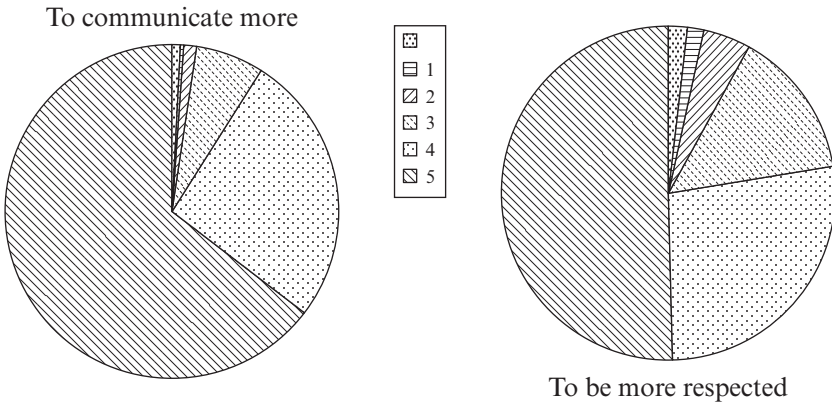


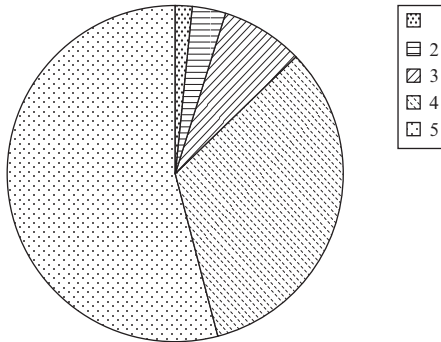
Figure 4 Years spent at school



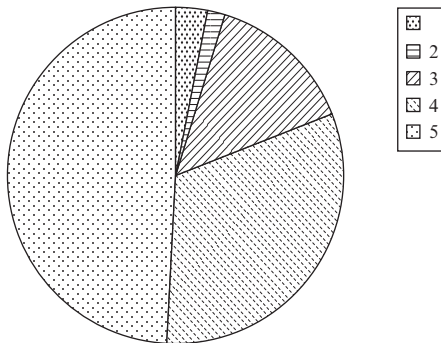
**Figure 5 The role of the Italian language for inclusion**



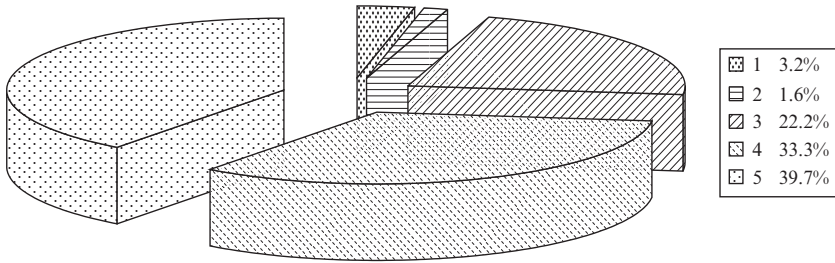
**Figure 6 Knowledge of Society (KoS) book as an instrument to collect useful information for daily life**



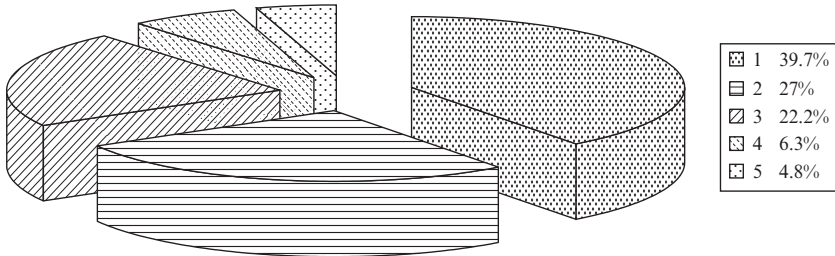
**Figure 7 Knowledge of Society (KoS) book as an instrument to better prepare students for the final exam**



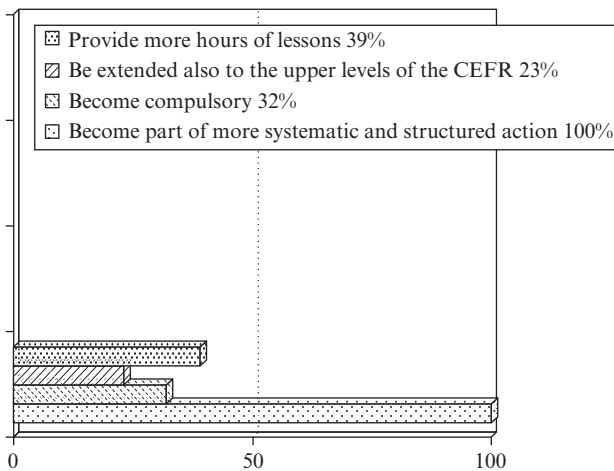
**Figure 8 Positive influence of the final exam in lesson planning**



**Figure 9 How teachers perceive the risk of standardisation in terms of the impact on their daily teaching**

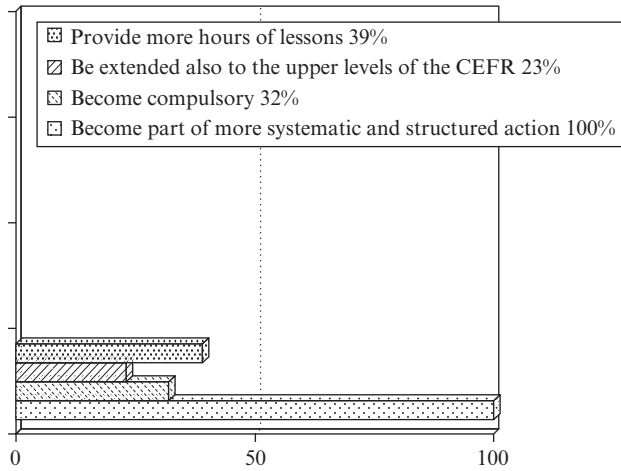


**Figure 10 Why students consider ILN as only a starting point in their learning process**

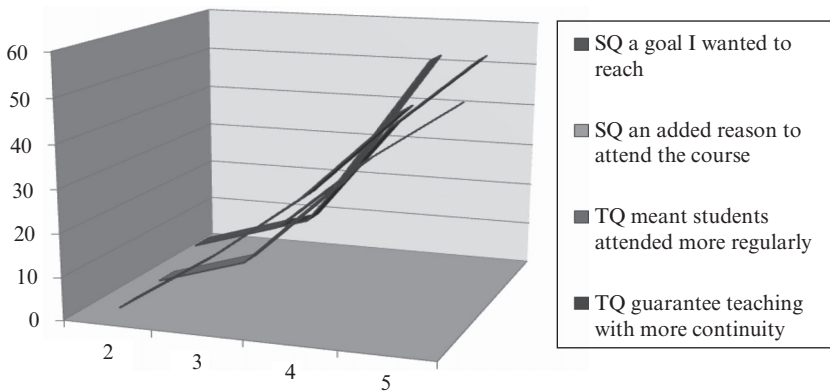




**Figure 11 Why teachers consider ILN as only a starting point**



**Figure 12 What the final exam represented**



**Figure 13** Enough time?

