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## Minority languages at Dutch elementary schools: empirical data and policy

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*Peter Broeder & Guus Extra*

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### DEFINITION AND IDENTIFICATION OF ETHNIC MINORITY GROUPS

As a consequence of socio-economically or politically determined processes of immigration, the traditional patterns of language variation across Europe have changed considerably over the past decades. Many industrialised European countries show evidence of a growing number of immigrant populations which differ widely, both from a cultural and from a linguistic point of view, from the mainstream indigenous population. It has been estimated that in the year 2000, one third of the population under the age of 35 in urban Europe will have an immigrant background. Within European Community countries, four major immigrant groups can be distinguished: people from Mediterranean EC countries, from Mediterranean non-EC countries, from former colonial countries, and political refugees (cf. Extra & Verhoeven 1993a). First, an economically or politically motivated process of migration took place. Especially in the case of Mediterranean groups, migration initially most often involved contract workers who expected -or were expected- to stay for a limited period of time. As the period of their stay gradually became longer, the pattern of economic migration was followed by a pattern of social migration of families. Subsequently, a second generation was born in the immigrant countries, while their parents often remained uncertain or ambivalent about whether to stay or to return.

These demographic shifts over time are accompanied by shifts of denotation for the groups under consideration (migrant workers, immigrant families, and ethnic minorities respectively), and by repeated demographic announcements of governmental authorities that "their country should not be seen as an immigrant country". Shifts of denotation for the groups under consideration not only derive from chronological changes over time, but also from the perspective of self-categorisation versus other-definition. The concept of 'ethnic minorities' commonly refers to groups whose members belong to different generations and who are considered by themselves or by others as different from a majority group in terms of number and spread, socio-economic and legal status, and/or language and culture (often including religion). As yet, phenomenological studies on these different aspects of denotation are virtually absent.

It is a common pattern for ethnic minority groups to live in a country where another language is dominant and where native speakers of this dominant language do not speak or understand most of these minority language varieties. Inter-group communication is most likely to take place in the dominant majority language. However, the language norms for inter-group communication do not need to be adopted for intra-group communication. Processes of language shift within ethnic minority groups do not primarily result from the basic need to understand or be understood, but from changing patterns in socio-cultural orientation. A substantial amount of research on language shift derives from periodically collected national population census data which include answers to questions on language use (cf. Veltman 1983 and De Vries 1989 for a methodological account of such demolinguisitic studies). Language-related questions in censuses originate from the increasing unreliability of the definition of ethnic minority membership on the basis of birth-place or nationality in successive generations. Intergenerational patterns of language shift amongst ethnic minority groups have been studied extensively in English-dominant immigrant countries like the USA (Fishman et al. 1985, Veltman 1983), Canada (De Vries 1989, De Vries & Vallee 1980), and Australia (Clyne 1991, Pauwels 1988). However, there is a reliability problem in language-related census data as well. The data quality problem derives from the lack of consistency in the precise phrasing of the language questions in successive censuses (De Vries 1989:60-63); from the biased responses to such questions owing to the degree of socio-cultural acceptance of ethnic community languages in a society at large; and from the underrepresentation of ethnic minority groups in census participation.

With Finland as a notable exception, there is no long-standing tradition of periodically collecting and analysing census data on home language use in Western Europe (cf. De Vries 1989). If census data were collected at all, some countries never introduced language-related issues in their questionnaires, while others included such questions only with reference to specific indigenous minority languages in selected regions (e.g., France, Italy, Britain) or they dropped such questions for political reasons (e.g., Belgium). In spite of the increasing size of immigrant groups and their descendants in Western Europe, most countries in this part of the world are only beginning to embark on larger-scale trend studies of intergenerational language shift (cf. Fase et al. 1992).

## ETHNIC MINORITIES IN THE NETHERLANDS

In the Netherlands, Dutch is the language with the largest number of native speakers and the most public functions. For many inhabitants of the Netherlands, however, Dutch is not the language of their primary socialisation process. A large number of both indigenous and non-indigenous minority languages are acquired and maintained over time. Indigenous minority language varieties have a regional base and are commonly referred to as dialects. The only regional variety with an official language status in the Netherlands is Frisian, spoken by more than 60% of the 600,000 inhabitants of the northern province of Friesland (cf. Extra 1989). Non-indigenous minority language varieties have been introduced from abroad as immi-

grant languages (cf. Extra & Verhoeven 1993b). Even before the Second World War, languages like Chinese, Italian and Polish were the home languages of relatively small ethnic communities in the Netherlands. After Indonesia became independent in 1949, 280,000 Dutch people were repatriated to the Netherlands, including 12,000 Moluccans. Between 1965 and 1973, more than 200,000 contract workers arrived from Mediterranean countries. In addition to this, a growing number of Antilleans and Surinamese arrived from previous Dutch colonies in the Caribbean. Finally, the number of political refugees from all over the world showed a steady increase.

Current statistics of ethnic minority groups in the Netherlands are based on the traditional criteria of nationality and country-of-birth. Both criteria, and therefore all statistics, suffer from increasing erosion over time, due to processes of naturalisation and births in the Netherlands. Moreover, some ethnic groups have had the Dutch nationality since birth, e.g., all Antilleans and part of the Surinamese population. As mentioned before, the increasing erosion of statistics on ethnic minority groups is not a phenomenon that can only be observed in the Netherlands. Complementary or alternative criteria have been suggested in various countries with a longer immigration history. In English-dominant countries like the USA, Canada and Australia, census questions have been used with respect to self-categorisation ("To which ethnic group do you consider yourself to belong?") and home language use. A cross-national study of language-related census questions was conducted by Broeder et al. (1993).

As in most other Western European countries, there is no tradition of all-population censuses in the Netherlands. Recently, the responsible Dutch Ministry of the Interior made an attempt to reduce the increasing erosion of statistics on ethnic minorities in the Netherlands by proposing the following three ethnic determinants in all municipal population statistics (cf. Fernandes Mendes 1991): (1) birth-country of person, father and mother; (2) nationality of person, father and mother; (3) self-categorisation. Obviously, the combined birth-country criterion only suffices for first- and second-generation groups. Furthermore, the (combined) nationality criterion has limited value, because many ethnic minority groups have or will obtain Dutch nationality. According to Dales (1992:14), this already holds for about half of the target groups of governmental policy. The third criterion of self-categorisation caused many objections to be raised by both minority and majority groups in the Netherlands, due to its subjective loading, the possibility of multiple self-categorisation, and the potential misuse of the data collected. Ultimately, parliamentary support was given to the Ministry of the Interior for a gradual introduction of the combined birth-country criterion in all municipal population statistics, although it was recognised that this criterion would lead to a diminishing identification of ethnic minority groups over time (cf. Dales 1992:17). It was also recognised that other criteria could be relevant for specific purposes or domains. Explicit reference in this context was made to the relevance of the home language criterion in the domain of education (cf. Dales 1992:12). Table 1 contains population figures of 1990, based on the criteria of nationality vs. country of birth of person, father, mother, and person/father/mother respectively.

TABLE 1  
Population figures based on nationality vs. birth-country of person, father  
and mother on January 1, 1990

Groups	Nationality	Birth-country person	Birth-country father	Birth-country mother	Birth-country p/f/m
Dutch	14,250,656	13,725,771	13,361,591	13,228,155	12,667,804
Greeks	4,456	5,236	7,535	5,455	9,200
Italians	16,745	14,134	27,185	16,114	31,403
Former Yugoslavs	12,824	14,475	19,275	20,594	24,232
Portuguese	8,040	7,885	10,181	9,582	11,542
Spaniards	17,429	17,560	23,380	21,729	28,724
Turks	191,455	141,250	202,897	199,396	205,898
Antilleans/Arubans	0	56,063	49,613	52,510	81,079
Surinamese	14,609	157,054	205,010	205,799	236,995
Cape Verdians	2,341	7,957	11,956	11,848	12,254
Moroccans	147,975	115,488	164,058	159,657	167,810
Tunisians	2,441	2,647	4,040	2,944	4,606
Chinese	6,163	21,319	33,551	30,988	35,899
Vietnamese	5,194	7,170	7,901	8,110	8,735
Other groups	212,246	598,565	764,401	919,693	1,366,393
Total	14,892,574	14,892,574	14,892,574	14,892,574	14,892,574
Total excl. Dutch	641,918	1,166,803	1,530,983	1,664,419	2,224,770

Source: Roelandt et al. 1991:25.

Compared to the nationality criterion, the combined birth-country criterion (p/f/m) leads to a remarkable fall and rise in the number of indigenous and non-indigenous inhabitants of the Netherlands respectively. For other groups than those mentioned in Table 1, only global estimates can be given and the criteria for these estimates are rather unclear. Roelandt et al. (1991:31) give estimates from 1987/1988 for Moluccans (35,000), refugees (18,000), asylum-seekers (8,350) and Gypsies (3,700). Recent estimates (1992) of the number of illegal residents in the Netherlands vary between 30,000 (Dutch Council of Churches) and 150,000 (Ministry of Justice).

#### THE 1991 HOME LANGUAGE SURVEY IN DEN BOSCH

Home language use has earlier been referred to as a complementary or alternative criterion of ethnic identity. Although the Dutch Ministry of the Interior has recognised the potential value of this criterion, it has never been utilised in practice. Given the relevance of the home language criterion in an educational context, a home language survey has been carried out with the support of the Ministry of Education by Broeder et al. (1993) on the utility of this criterion in school population statistics. The main aim of the home language survey (henceforth: HLS) was to investigate the

feasibility of collecting *reliable* information on home language use of school children in an *efficient* way and with a *minimal burden* on both the children and the teachers. Derived from this aim, the HLS was set up in two stages: a survey study and a validation study. In the survey study 5,788 primary school children took part among which 1,272 children belonged to a non-Dutch ethnic minority group. The validation study focused upon 67 Turkish and 141 Moroccan children (Broeder et al. 1993), 100 Surinamese children (Habraken 1992) and 100 Moluccan children (Strating 1994).

### The survey study

The survey study was carried out at 31 elementary schools in the municipality of Den Bosch, which has approximately 90,000 inhabitants. The relative size and variety of ethnic minority groups in Den Bosch mirrors the composition of the total Dutch population quite well. Data were collected for 5,788 primary school children. For each child a short questionnaire was administered orally and individually by the teacher. First the following screening question was asked:

- (1) *Is any language other than Dutch ever spoken in your home?*

Only for those children who gave an affirmative answer, language-related questions were asked for the following domains:

- (2) Language variety: *Which language(s) is/are used in your home?*
- (3) Language proficiency: *Can you understand/speak/read/write this language?*
- (4) Language choice: *Do you speak this language with your mother/father/elder brother(s) or sister(s)/younger brother(s) or sister(s)?*
- (5) Language dominance: *Which language do you speak best?*
- (6) Language preference: *Which language do you like to speak most?*

In addition, the teacher collected for all children in the class information on self-categorisation (*To which population group do you consider yourself to belong?*) and the country-of-birth and nationality of the child, mother, and father. From a total population of 5,788 children, a subsample of 1,272 children (about 22%) could be identified with this questionnaire as having non-Dutch ethnic roots. Within this subsample, five larger ethnic groups could be distinguished, i.e., Moroccan (428), Turkish (190), Surinamese (146), Antillean (56) and Moluccan (47) children.

On the basis of the answers recorded by the teachers for their children the adequacy of the different identification criteria could be established. The findings for ethnic identification on the basis of non-language criteria are given in Table 2.

Not all determinants were or could be established for all pupils. Table 2 shows a lot of missing data in particular on the criteria of nationality and self-categorisation. Especially for the latter the amount of missing data is remarkably high. Teachers had rather negative feelings about this criterion and/or children had problems with self-categorisation, in particular younger children.

TABLE 2  
Ethnic identification on the basis of non-language criteria  
(BC-P/M/F = birth-country of person/mother/father)

	Nationality	BC-P	BC-M	BC-F	BC-PMF	Self-categorisation
Moroccans	339/404 84%	121/404 30%	381/416 92%	387/402 92%	404/414 98%	242/308 79%
Turks	150/176 85%	38/176 22%	168/180 93%	174/177 98%	178/181 98%	117/149 79%
Surinamese	13/134 10%	14/142 10%	111/138 80%	108/129 84%	132/139 95%	31/108 29%
Antilleans	0/36 0%	34/55 62%	46/55 84%	38/47 81%	54/55 98%	20/44 45%
Moluccans	2/40 5%	2/44 5%	20/43 47%	19/39 49%	27/38 71%	10/37 27%

The nationality criterion is insufficient, because a large number of children already belong to a naturalised second generation. Only for the Moroccan and Turkish communities are a fair number of children identified through their non-Dutch nationality.

The combined criterion of origin (i.e., either the child or one of the parents were not born in the Netherlands) seems to present a fairly complete picture. However, the findings for Moluccan children, who have a relatively long history of residence in the Netherlands, indicate that this combined criterion will be problematic for the identification of the third and subsequent generations.

Finally, the self-categorisation criterion does not seem to be an adequate alternative for the criteria of nationality and country-of-birth. Table 2 shows that only a small number of children could be traced with this criterion within the Surinam, Antillean and Moluccan groups. The findings for ethnic identification on the basis of home language use are given in Figure 1 (Broeder et al. 1993:73).

The home language use criterion has a high coverage, in particular for Moroccan and Turkish children. The survey resulted in the emergence of more than 50 different home language varieties. A comparison of the coverage by the different identification criteria shows that the best determinant of ethnicity results from a combined use of home language use and country of origin. Of course the successfulness of the latter criterion will by definition decrease as the number of third and subsequent generation children increases. The complementary value of the two criteria can be established by extracting those children who are only covered by one of the criteria. The number of children with different outcomes on the criteria of home language use and country-of-origin is given in Table 3.

FIGURE 1  
Home language use of children in five ethnic groups  
(Is any language other than Dutch ever spoken in your home?)

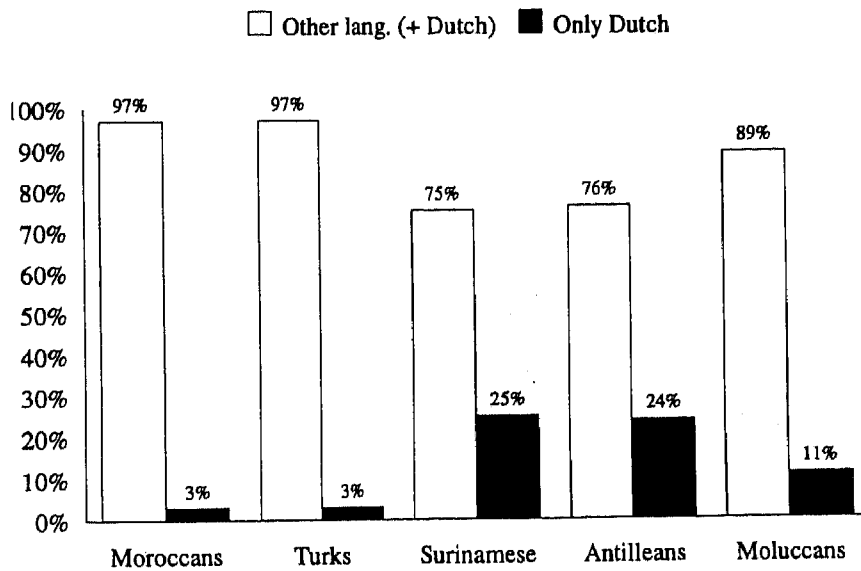


Table 3 reveals that the origin criterion can not simply be replaced by the home language use criterion. However, it is obvious that the home language use criterion traces ethnic minority children who are outside the scope of identification through origin.

TABLE 3  
Number of children with different outcomes on the criteria of home language use and country-of-origin

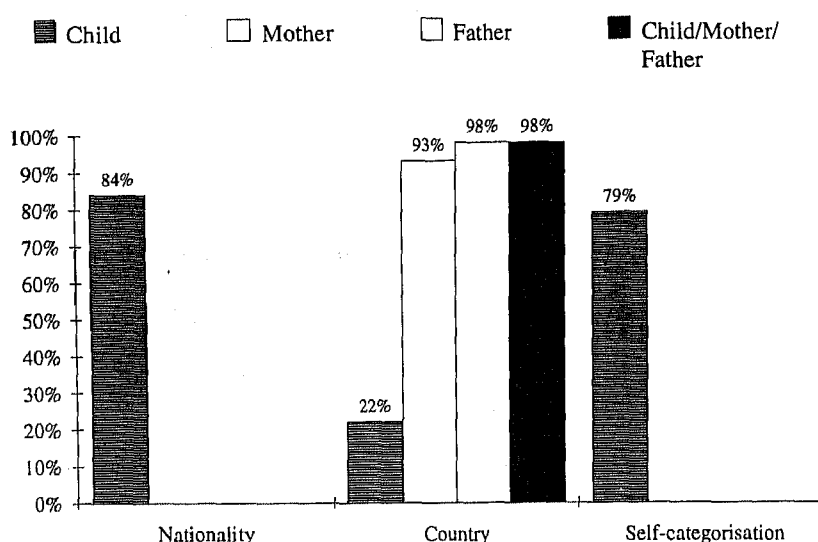
	Moroccan	Turkish	Surinamese	Antillean	Moluccan
Origin non-Dutch					
Home language Dutch	11	4	36	13	11
Origin Dutch					
Home language non-Dutch	10	3	7	1	10
Total	21	7	43	14	21



### The sub-sample of Turkish children

To illustrate the outcomes of the survey study, we will focus on data of the sub-sample of 190 Turkish children (see Broeder et al. 1993 for findings on other groups). Figure 2 gives the number of Turkish children which according to each of the non-language criterion are Turkish.

FIGURE 2  
Ethnic identification of Turkish children on the basis of non-language criteria



While 84% of Turkish children have Turkish citizenship, only 22% of the Turkish children were born in Turkey. Thus, most of them are a second generation Turkish in the Netherlands. By combining the country of birth of the child, mother and father almost all Turkish children (i.e. 98%) are identified. However, by self-categorisation 79% of the Turkish children can be traced. As has been shown in Figure 1, 185 Turkish children (97%) said that another language in addition to or instead of Dutch was spoken in their home. For almost all children this language was Turkish, Kurdish was used in the homes of six children. Additional languages used by some children included Arabic, Armenian, English, German or Italian.

Figure 3 shows the reported language proficiency of the Turkish children. Almost all children (97%-98%) claim that they are orally proficient in Turkish and Dutch. The number of children who claim writing and reading skills in Turkish is lower (61%-63%).

FIGURE 3  
Language proficiency of Turkish children

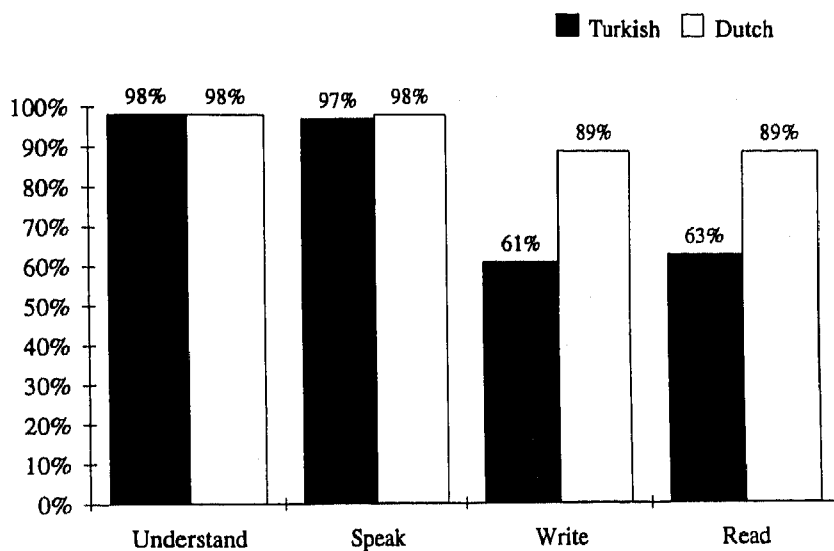
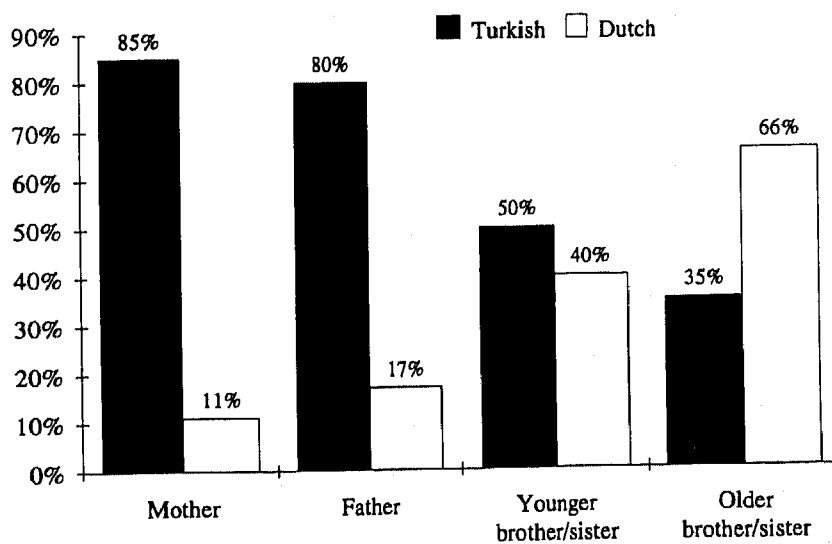


FIGURE 4  
Language choice of Turkish children



A good indication for the status of Dutch compared to other languages spoken at home can be derived from the degree to which Dutch is spoken with other family members and the difference in language choice depending on the family member. Figure 4 shows how many children indicated that they speak often Dutch with their father, mother, and younger/older brothers or sisters. A classical pattern of intergenerational language shift emerges. Only a few children often spoke Dutch with their mother (11%). The percentage for Dutch often spoken with the father is a little higher (17%). A break appears for the language used in interaction with brothers and sisters. Here the use of Dutch is much higher, in particular with older brother and sisters.

A good indication of the degree of language maintenance can be derived from the degree to which often another language is used instead of or in addition to Dutch. Again a clear pattern emerges in Figure 4. A relatively large number of children said that they often speak Turkish with their parents, whereas less children said that they often speak Turkish with their brothers or sisters.

The findings for language dominance reported by the Turkish children are given in Figure 5. A differentiation is made according to grade levels (note that grade 1/2 corresponds roughly with age 4/5, etc.). Whereas in grades 1-4, Turkish is the dominant language, the reported dominance pattern shifts in grades 5-8 in favour of Dutch. At first sight the same picture emerges for the language preference the Turkish children reported (compare Figures 5 and 6). For a better interpretation of the relationship between reported language dominance and language preference those children can be selected who give different answers to 'best language' and 'preferred language' questions. It turns out that 50 of the 179 children responded differently, i.e., 24 children who are dominant in Dutch prefer to speak Turkish, and 26 children who are dominant in Turkish have a preference for speaking Dutch. This implies that for one third of the Turkish children the language they speak best is not the language they like most.

### **The validation study**

A major characteristic of data derived from language surveys is that by definition such data represent reported behaviour. Moreover, the report on language behaviour is commonly provided to interviewers (i.e., researchers) who do not belong to the same ethnic group. The aim of the validation study was to provide insight into the stability and reliability of the reported ethnic criteria, including the language-related criteria. In the validation study, 67 Turkish children and 141 Moroccan children were reexamined. The Moroccan children were oversampled in order to have enough children to differentiate between 82 Arabic speaking children and 59 Berber speaking children. In both cases, those children were selected who were at the start (ages 4-6) or at the end (commonly ages 10-12) of their primary school career. For both groups an extensive questionnaire and a bilingual receptive vocabulary test were administered.

The children who took part in the validation study were interviewed individually in Turkish, Arabic or Berber by a native speaker of these languages. The interviewer used an extensive questionnaire with 89 questions. In addition to the questions of

FIGURE 5  
Language dominance of Turkish children

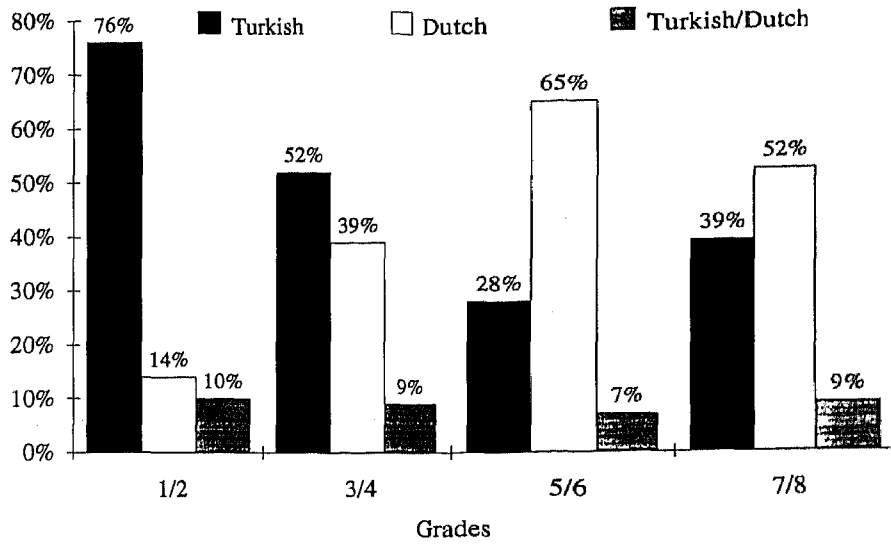
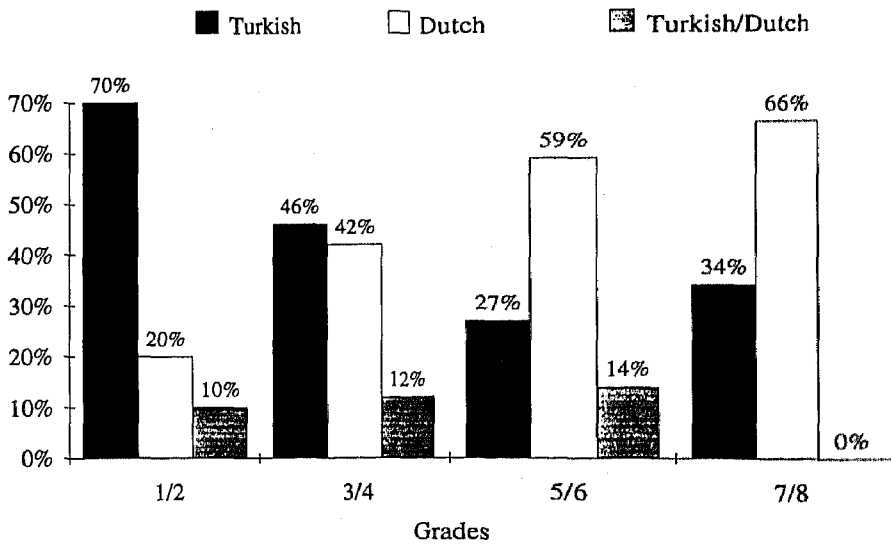


FIGURE 6  
Language preference of Turkish children



the survey study, this questionnaire included more detailed questions on communicative patterns and language attitudes. The main conclusions can be summarised as follows. Firstly, even the objective non-language criteria, i.e., birth-country and nationality, exhibit some instability, particularly for the youngest children. Secondly, also the criterion of self-categorisation shows instability. Finally and in contrast, the pattern of ethnic identification through home language use and language proficiency is strikingly consistent. For these two criteria almost all children gave the same answer to the teacher as to the Turkish or Moroccan interviewer.

The bilingual receptive vocabulary test for the children in grade 1/2 derives from Narain & Verhoeven (1994), the grade 7/8 vocabulary test from Aarts et al. (1993). The tests consisted of 35-60 multiple choice items of depicted content words. For each test there were three versions: a Dutch version, a Turkish version, and an Arabic version. Figures 7 and 8 summarise for the Turkish children the results on the vocabulary tests (29 children in grades 1/2 and 35 children in grades 7/8). The mean percentage correct scores are given.

There were a number of significant correlations between the observed test scores and the reported language criteria. In general the bilingual receptive vocabulary tests evidenced a high reliability and consistency of the children's reported language behaviour. The test results indicate that the Turkish children in grades 1/2 are dominant in Turkish, whereas the children in grades 7/8 are more balanced bilinguals. Moreover, for both age groups significant correlations appear in the degree of dependency between proficiency in both languages: high proficiency in one of the languages does not correspond with low proficiency, but with high proficiency in the other language.

The results of the children in grades 7/8 can be compared to the findings of Aarts et al. (1993), who used the same vocabulary test with 263 Turkish children in the Netherlands and with a reference group of 274 Turkish children in Turkey (see Figure 8). When the differences in contexts of language acquisition and language exposure are taken into account, the Turkish children in the Netherlands have remarkably high scores in Turkish compared to their peers in Turkey at the end of primary school.

The results of the 1991 Home Language Survey (HLS) in the municipality of Den Bosch point out the complementary value of identification through home language use as compared to information based on the country of birth of the children and their parents. Moreover, the survey shows that reliable information on the language(s) used at home by primary school children can be collected in relatively simple and efficient ways, and with a minimal burden on both the children and teachers. As a follow-up on the 1991 HLS in Den Bosch a second more extensive language survey has recently been carried out in the southern part of the Netherlands. In the 1993 HLS more than 30,000 primary school children took part among which more than 9,000 children belonged to a non-Dutch ethnic minority group. The data and findings of the 1993 HLS will be made available separately.

Reliable data on home language use should be considered as prerequisites for answering basic policy questions about home language instruction. Periodically collected data amongst school children would provide the basis for a dynamic

FIGURE 7  
Outcomes of the bilingual receptive vocabulary test for Turkish children  
(grades 1/2)

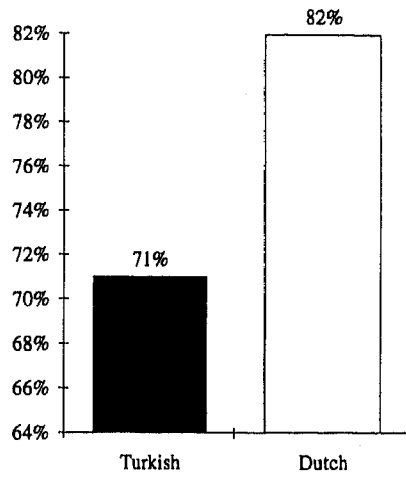
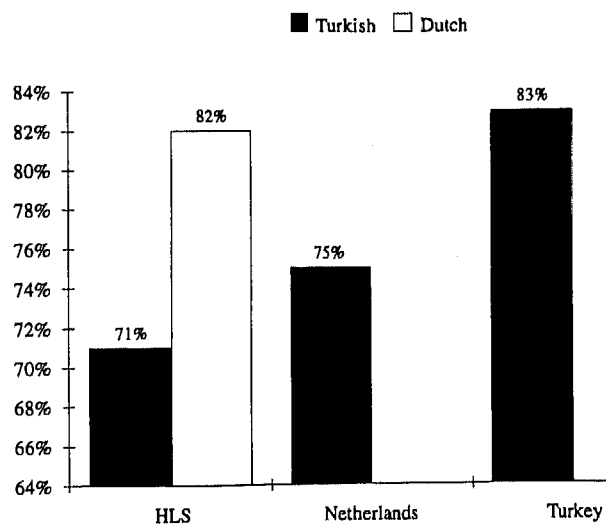


FIGURE 8  
Outcomes of the bilingual receptive vocabulary test for Turkish children  
(grades 7/8)



language policy and for intergenerational trend studies on processes of language maintenance and language shift. In the next section, basic issues of educational policy in the Netherlands on home language instruction for ethnic minority children will be discussed.

### HOME LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION (HLI)

For various reasons, HLI policy is a complex task for schools in the Netherlands. First of all, given the multicultural and multilingual composition of many primary schools, this task is not restricted to the implementation of bilingual programs, but it is extended to arranging multilingual education. Practical experiences with and empirical evidence on education in an exclusively bilingual context can therefore only be transferred to a limited extent. Secondly, there is large variation in the type and degree of bilingualism of ethnic minority children, both within and across different ethnic groups. Viewed from an intergenerational perspective, these differences show a steady increase over time, with a tendency of language dominance patterns shifting towards Dutch. Thirdly, embedding HLI for a variety of target groups in the school curriculum is no easy task. Some ethnic minority groups receive HLI apart from the core curriculum, whereas other groups receive this instruction instead of instruction in specific other subjects in the core curriculum. Finally, the feasibility of HLI is often questioned in cases where there is a relatively small demand of small-sized and/or widely scattered groups.

The developments in this much-debated domain of Dutch education should be evaluated against the background of a policy perspective on ethnic minority children in terms of socio-economic and second-language 'deficits' rather than ethno-cultural differences. In the early seventies, a struggle against deficits of low socio-economic status (SES) children was announced for all elementary schools in the Netherlands by the Ministry of Education. As a consequence, schools with many low SES children received additional teaching personnel. While the influx of ethnic minority children from low SES families at Dutch schools strongly increased during the seventies and eighties, minorities policy became implicitly more and more equated with a struggle against deficits, at the cost of ethno-cultural differences.

In 1992 the CALO report *Ceders in de tuin* ('Cedars in the garden'), an advisory report for the Dutch Ministry of Education, proposed a reconsideration of current concepts in educational policy on ethnic minorities in the Netherlands (cf. CALO 1992). The CALO report pleaded for a change in the conceptualisation of HLI from a deficit to a cultural perspective. The chosen perspective has widely different consequences for the target groups, goals, target languages, and evaluation of HLI. Current and proposed policy concepts in this domain will be compared on each of the dimensions presented in Table 4.

TABLE 4  
Home Language Instruction from a deficit vs. cultural perspective

	HLI from a deficit perspective	HLI from a cultural perspective
Target groups	Temporary facility for low SES children from first/second generation	Structural facility for children with a non-Dutch home language, independent of SES and generation
Goals	Primary focus on dependent goals: bridging the home/school gap and contribution to second language learning or school success	Primary focus on autonomous goals: contribution to first language learning
Target language	Home language	Home language or standard language of source country (optional)
Evaluation	In terms of school success in other subjects	In terms of first language proficiency

### Target groups of HLI

Since 1974, access to HLI at Dutch elementary schools has been granted to the following target groups: (1) children who have at least one parent of Moluccan origin, (2) children of contract workers from eight Mediterranean countries with which bilateral labour contracts have been concluded in the past, and (3) children of refugees. The list is indicative of multiple policy restrictions. Firstly, it is meant to be exhaustive in terms of source countries and/or target groups. Secondly, the list is meant as a temporary facility, given its focus on first/second generation children of immigrant groups. Finally it takes a deficit perspective by excluding higher SES groups like the Chinese, and by excluding Antillean and Surinamese children who are more or less fluent speakers of Dutch due to the colonial status of Dutch in the respective source countries. Chinese children are explicitly excluded from HLI, because "it has not been shown that the Chinese community in the Netherlands has a SES comparable to the Mediterranean groups mentioned above" (cf. Ministry of the Interior 1983).

In spite of the low institutional support of HLI, the degree of participation of at least Turkish and Moroccan children in these programs is high. Table 5 contains nationwide participation figures for various ethnic communities at Dutch elementary schools in 1990 and 1991. No comparative studies have been done so far on



differences in participation degree. The variable picture, however, may derive from differences in attitudes and/or spread of specific groups.

TABLE 5  
Participation in home language instruction at Dutch elementary schools in  
1990 and 1991

Source country	1990			1991		
	N total	N HLI	%	N total	N HLI	%
Turkey	38,294	31,328	82	40,187	32,297	80
Morocco	38,867	27,506	71	40,728	28,266	69
Spain	2,721	914	34	2,614	965	37
Greece	815	318	39	887	241	27
Italy	2,529	262	10	2,469	274	11
former Yugoslavia	2,989	807	27	3,046	554	18
Portugal	1,506	508	34	1,355	615	45
Tunisia	671	69	10	854	209	24
Moluccan Islands	4,755	1,726	36	4,613	1,656	36
Cape Verdian Isl.	2,462	1,031	42	2,817	1,128	40
Other	23,865	0	0	26,263	0	0
Total	119,474	64,469	54	125,833	66,205	53

The CALO (1992) proposal is to disregard both the SES and the generation criterion, and to allow education in 'non-indigenous living languages' for all children who make use of another language at home, apart from or instead of Dutch, in contact with at least one of the parents. Moreover, HLI should be based on an individual right to learn and a school obligation to teach, dependent on the degree of demand and on the availability of qualified teachers.

### Goals of HLI

The goals of HLI have traditionally been formulated in terms of dependence. In the current policy conception, HLI should primarily contribute to bridging the gap between home and school environment, and to promoting second language learning and/or school success. Only rarely has the primacy of autonomous goals in terms of promoting first language proficiency been advocated. Such goals were proposed by Diephuis et al. (1992a, 1992b) for Turkish and Arabic at elementary and secondary schools respectively. It is interesting to note that autonomous goals for HLI at secondary schools have been accepted earlier and more widely. The National Examination Board for Turkish and Arabic at secondary schools defined the target proficiency level for these languages in great detail (cf. Uitleg 1990). The CALO (1992:40-41) argued for the primacy of autonomous instead of dependent goals at both elementary and secondary schools.

### **The target language variety of HLI**

The choice of the target language variety for HLI has led in the past to the problematising of programs in which the home language of ethnic minority children diverges widely from the standard language of the source country. This holds in particular for Moroccan children who often speak a Berber variety at home. In cases of home and standard language divergence, the CALO (1992:67-68) proposed a conditional right of option for parents of elementary school children and for youngsters at secondary schools, derived from the principles of cultural self-orientation and freedom of choice. At this moment, the option of home language instruction instead of standard language instruction is allowed and practised for Moluccan children (who learn Moluccan Malay instead of Bahasa Indonesia) and Syrian-Orthodox children from Turkey (who may opt for Aramese instead of Turkish).

### **Evaluation of HLI**

Evaluation of HLI programs for ethnic minority children finally suffers from a bias similar to that of many American studies on bilingual education in its focus on HLI effects on second language learning and/or school success in other subjects. In this biased conception, progress in first language proficiency is rarely conceived of and measured in terms of school success. The empirical evidence for HLI effects on second language learning and/or school success is rather ambiguous (cf. Appel 1984, Teunissen 1986, Driessen 1990). As yet, empirical studies of the HLI effect on first language proficiency have hardly been undertaken. Aarts et al. (1993) reported positive effects of Turkish instruction on Turkish proficiency of Turkish elementary school children in the Netherlands, whereas similar effects of Arabic instruction emerged to a lesser degree for Moroccan children (cf. Driessen 1990 for similar results).

Although the Ministry of Education (1993) showed sympathy with the chosen cultural perspective of the CALO report on HLI, the proposed extension of HLI target groups is as yet restricted to Chinese, Antillean and Surinamese children. Again, governmental policy is determined by an (extended) list of target groups rather than by convincing criteria.

## **DISCUSSION**

Due to the deficit vs cultural perspective on home languages used in the Netherlands, there is a top-down focus of majority groups (e.g., national or local education authorities, school boards or principals, and majority language teachers) on the acquisition of Dutch as a second language, most commonly in combination with a rather negative attitude towards first language maintenance over time. On the other hand, there is a bottom-up focus of minority groups (e.g., ethnic minority organisations or parents, and ethnic minority language teachers) on first language learning and maintenance over time (cf. Van de Wetering 1990, De Jong et al. 1988, 'Inspectie van het Onderwijs' 1987). It is a common Dutch attitude that ethnic minority families should give up their home language and should switch to Dutch, and that ethnic minority children should spend all their energy on second language learning instead

of wasting time on first language maintenance. In this conception, multilingualism is seen as a problem, not a resource.

It is an intriguing question where such attitude stems from. A key for understanding should be sought in the attitude of many Dutch people in the Netherlands and abroad towards their own language and culture. In a study entitled *Het Nederlandse onbehagen* ('The Dutch discomfort'), Pleij (1991) argued that a major characteristic of Dutch identity seems to be the denial of such an identity, in combination with a widely observed lack of cultural self-awareness. A magnifying effect of this attitude can be observed in the attitude towards the language of origin of many Dutch people abroad. Successive population census data in the USA, Canada and Australia have shown that Dutch immigrants in each of these countries are at the top of the list of those ethnic communities who give up their home language to a large extent within one generation, and shift to English (cf. Clyne 1991). At least in the context of these English-dominant immigration countries, the language of origin is apparently not conceived of by many Dutch people as a core-value of cultural identity (cf. Clyne 1991, Smolicz 1980, 1992). It does not seem to be a senseless claim that the observed attitude of many Dutch people, in the Netherlands and abroad, towards their own language and culture is mirrored in the attitude towards the languages and cultures of ethnic minority groups in the Netherlands.

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