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Series Editor: John Edwards

# **Urban Multilingualism in Europe**

## **Immigrant Minority Languages at Home and School**

Edited by

**Guus Extra and Kutlay Yağmur**

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*To Michael Clyne in Melbourne, Australia  
for his dedication to our field of concern*

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## Preface

### Which languages for Europe?

At a seminar in the Dutch town of Oegstgeest in October 1998, this question – “Which languages for Europe?” – was put to an international group of experts and policy makers. As the initiator of the seminar, the *European Cultural Foundation* was seeking to create a platform for open, non-partisan debate on this highly controversial issue. The participants considered the kinds of practices and policies which would conceive of language as a tool for communication and social cohesion as well as a foundation for culture. The European constellation of languages was discussed from the domestic as well as from the educational and political perspective.

The seminar prompted a number of participants to look even more closely at the status of various minority languages – in particular, regional languages and those spoken by migrant communities – as well as at the prevailing approaches to these languages and possible new approaches (cf. *The Other Languages of Europe*, edited by Guus Extra & Durk Gorter, *Multilingual Matters*, 2001). As it turned out, the Oegstgeest seminar was only the first step in a series of debates, research projects, and publications.

It soon became apparent that there was a poverty – even an absence – of relevant information and data concerning the language practice of different generations of migrant communities. This was seriously hampering attempts to investigate the issue and make meaningful comparisons. Having identified the potential of the *Multilingual Cities Project* to improve this situation, to make a significant contribution to the ongoing debate, and to influence policy makers at various levels, the *European Cultural Foundation* committed itself to encouraging and supporting the project.

In the event, ‘Multilingual Cities’ provided a great deal of valuable information. One of the most striking outcomes of the project is the visibility it has given both to the existence and vitality of these ‘hidden languages’ of Europe. Who knows, for example, that another language next to or instead of Swedish is spoken in the homes of one third of Göteborg’s primary school children? Or that, overall, more than eighty languages next to or instead of Dutch are spoken in the homes of children in The Hague, with Turkish, Hind(ustan)i, Berber and Arabic as the top-four of languages, respectively?

For those dealing with sociolinguistics, language education and languages policies, this crossnational research offers new insights and perspectives. The *Multilingual Cities Project* demonstrates that policies relating to language use need not 'lock people up' in their home language, since language practice evolves quickly from one generation to another; rather, such policies should build on the often-unrecognized strength of multilingualism among the new citizens of Europe.

Odile Chenal

Deputy-Director, European Cultural Foundation

# 1 Introduction

GUUS EXTRA & KUTLAY YAĞMUR

The focus of this Volume is on the increase of urban multilingualism in Europe as a consequence of processes of migration and minorisation. Both multidisciplinary and crossnational perspectives are offered on two major domains in which language transmission occurs, i.e., the domestic domain and the public domain. Prototypical of these two domains are the home and the school, respectively, which explains the subtitle of this Volume. At home, language transmission occurs between parents and children, at school this occurs between teachers and pupils. Viewed from the perspectives of majority language speakers *versus* immigrant minority (henceforward IM) language speakers, language transmission becomes a very different issue. In the case of majority language speakers, language transmission at home and at school are commonly taken for granted: at home, parents speak this language usually with their children, and at school, this language is usually the only or major subject and medium of instruction. In the case of IM language speakers, there is usually a mismatch between the language of the home and the language of the school. Whether parents in such a context continue to transmit their language to their children is strongly dependent on the degree to which these parents, or the IM group to which they belong, conceive of this language as a core value of cultural identity.

Two opposite cases of migration and minorisation may serve to illustrate this point, i.e., the Turkish community in Western Europe and the Dutch community in Australia. In this Volume, it becomes clear that for many Turks, Turkish is indeed a core value of their cultural identity in a migration context. In Part II and Part III of this Volume, it is shown that the vitality of Turkish in different European migration contexts remains high compared to the vitality of many other IM languages. A case in point is the outcome of the home language survey in The Hague, reported in Chapter 9. Table 9.10 in this chapter shows that Turkish emerges as the most vital IM language in The Hague and that this status is matched only by Somali and Farsi, in spite of their much shorter status as languages of migration and minorisation in the Netherlands. The Dutch community in Australia represents the opposite trend. In Part I of this Volume, it is shown that the Dutch tend to transmit their language at home to a much lesser degree than any other IM group in Australia (see Chapter 3, Tables 3.7 and 3.8). A similar pattern for Dutch

emerges in other English-dominant immigration countries, such as Canada (see Chapter 3, Table 3.10). In Chapter 5, it is shown that a contrast between Turkish and Dutch also emerges for language transmission at school. Table 5.2 in this chapter makes clear that the enrolment figures for Dutch in Victorian schools in Australia are much lower than those for Turkish, in spite of the fact that the Dutch belong to a far larger community in Melbourne/Victoria than do the Turks.

Part I of this Volume deals with multidisciplinary perspectives on our theme.

Chapter 2 offers *phenomenological* perspectives. This chapter deals with the semantics of our field of concern and with a number of central notions in this field. The focus is on the concepts of ethnic identity and ethnic identification, the relationship between language and identity, and the notions of ‘foreigners’ and ‘integration’ in the European discourse on IM groups.

Chapter 3 offers *demographic* perspectives. As a consequence of increasing processes of international migration and minorisation, the composition of populations in industrialised countries is changing considerably. Due to these changes, more information is needed on the composition of population groups, in particular in emerging multicultural societies. In most European countries, there is no tradition of taking periodical censuses, and data on population groups are commonly based on nationality or birth-country criteria. In this chapter, we offer crossnational perspectives on these and other criteria, derived from census experiences abroad. The European context is taken as the point of departure. For various reasons, nationality statistics and birth-country statistics offer a limited picture of the actual composition of a multicultural society. We demonstrate the problems of these two criteria, and discuss the potential value of two complementary or alternative criteria, i.e., ethnicity and (home) language use. A comprehensive analysis is made of census questions in a number of non-European English-dominant immigration countries: Australia, Canada, the USA, and the Republic of South Africa. In all of these countries, there is a longstanding and extensive experience of gathering nationwide census data on the multicultural composition of their populations. In each of these countries, English has become the language of status and power. At the same time, these countries are characterised by both indigenous and non-indigenous population groups that use other languages at home. Our focus is in particular on the operationalisation and the outcomes of census questions related to ethnicity and (home) language use. In addition, from a European perspective, the home language survey experiences of Great Britain and Sweden in educational contexts are reflected on.

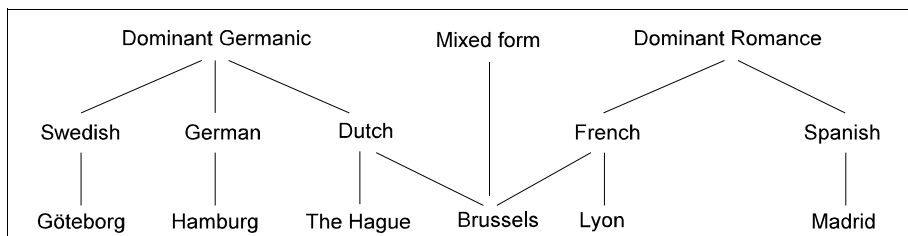
In Chapter 4, *language rights* perspectives are described. Language rights are variable phenomena, depending on the situational context, on the cultural per-

spective taken, and on other innumerable social, political, and extralinguistic factors. What is seen as a right in one context is unthinkable in another context. Human rights in general and language rights in particular are of paramount importance, but without unyielding institutions to turn these rights into realities, the recognition of language rights on paper is pointless. Having examined numerous language rights documents, we witness a language of hegemony, in which dominant groups bestow some alms to some minority groups. When the socio-political sphere in a society changes, language rights also change. In times of economic hardship, the minorities' belts are tightened first: instruction in their languages at school and broadcasting in their languages need to end. In order to overcome these ever-changing language rights, an overarching sense of human rights needs to be developed. A number of international and national institutions work towards this end. In this chapter, different approaches to language rights are presented. In order to show the variation in the understanding of language rights, various perspectives and actual conditions in some countries are briefly presented first. In addition, a number of global and European documents concerning language rights and their limitations are discussed.

Chapter 5 offers *educational* perspectives. Two strategies are commonly referred to as prerequisite for language maintenance, i.e., intergenerational transmission at home and language teaching at school. In this chapter, we present case studies of educational policies and practices with respect to IM languages in two widely different and distant contexts in Europe and abroad, i.e., North Rhine-Westphalia in Germany and Victoria State in Australia. In each of these federal states, interesting affirmative action programmes have been set up in this domain. We focus on *Muttersprachlicher Unterricht* (Mother Tongue Education) in North Rhine-Westphalia, and on the learning and teaching of *Languages Other Than English* (LOTE) in Victoria State.

Parts II and III of this Volume deal with *sociolinguistic* perspectives on the distribution and vitality of IM languages at home and at school in six major multicultural cities in six different European Union countries, in the context of the *Multilingual Cities Project* (MCP). The MCP was carried out as a multiple case study under the auspices of the *European Cultural Foundation*, established in Amsterdam. It was coordinated by a research team at *Babylon*, Centre for Studies of the Multicultural Society, at Tilburg University in the Netherlands, in cooperation with local universities and educational authorities in all participating cities.

The aims of the MCP were to gather, analyse, and compare multiple data on the status of IM languages at home and at school. In the participating cities, ranging from Northern to Southern Europe, Germanic or Romance languages have a dominant status in public life. Figure 1 gives an outline of the project.



**Figure 1** Outline of the *Multilingual Cities Project* (MCP)

The criteria for selecting a city to participate in this multinational study were primarily that it should be a major urban centre and have a great variety of IM groups, as well as a university-based research facility that would be able to handle the local data gathering, the secondary data analysis, and the final reporting of the local results. Given the increasing role of municipalities as educational authorities in all partner cities, the project was carried out in close cooperation between researchers at local universities and local educational authorities. In each partner city, this cooperation proved to be of essential value.

Part II of this Volume offers national and local perspectives on the *Multilingual Cities Project*.

Chapter 6 deals with the rationale and research goals of the MCP, with the design of the questionnaire used for carrying out large home language surveys, and with data collection and data processing. We focus on the methodology of measuring language distribution, specifying home language profiles, measuring language vitality, and comparing the status of IM languages at school. The final section offers a brief introduction to Chapters 7-12. Local reports about the participating cities were made available for *Göteborg* (Nygren-Junkin & Extra 2003), *Hamburg* (Fürstenau, Gogolin & Yağmur 2003), *The Hague* (Extra, Aarts, Van der Avoird, Broeder & Yağmur 2001), *Brussels* (Verlot, Delrue, Extra & Yağmur 2003), *Lyon* (Akinci, De Ruiter & Sanagustin 2004), and *Madrid* (Broeder & Mijares 2003).

Chapters 7-12 focus on each of these six cities in the order presented in Figure 1. In all chapters, background information on demographic, multicultural,

and multilingual trends in the city and country under consideration is given, with mention of local and/or national peculiarities and flavours. In addition, in all chapters, attention is paid to the outcomes of the local home language survey and to the status of home language instruction in primary and secondary schools according to a similar set of parameters.

Part III of this Volume offers crossnational and crosslinguistic perspectives on the *Multilingual Cities Project*.

Chapter 13 gives a crossnational outline of the top-20 languages reported by children in the age range of 6-11 years across the participating cities/countries. Pseudolongitudinal home language profiles are specified for the most frequently reported language groups in each of the cities. The concept of language group is based on the pupils' answers to the question of whether and, if so, which other languages are used at home next to or instead of the mainstream language. For each language group, four language dimensions are presented and commented upon in a pseudolongitudinal perspective:

- language proficiency: the extent to which the pupil can understand/speak/read/write the home language;
- language choice: the extent to which the home language is commonly spoken with the mother, father, younger and older brothers/sisters, and best friends;
- language dominance: the extent to which the home language is spoken best;
- language preference: the extent to which the home language is preferably spoken.

For each of the 20 language groups, graphic diagrams are provided for each of these four language dimensions reported on by children in three successive age groups. Tabulated information is provided on the number of pupils and the language vitality per age group (6/7, 8/9 and 10/11 years old) and per generation (first, second, and third, depending on the countries of birth of parents and children). The concept of language vitality is operationalised and calculated on the basis of the following specifications of the four language dimensions under consideration:

- language proficiency: the extent to which the home language under consideration is *understood*;
- language choice: the extent to which this language is commonly spoken at home *with the mother*;
- language dominance: the extent to which this home language is spoken *best*;
- language preference: the extent to which this home language is *preferably* spoken.

In Chapter 14, we offer crosslinguistic perspectives on the same 20 language groups for which language profiles were specified in Chapter 13 from a cross-national point of view. Our focus is on the same age groups and generations as are presented in Chapter 13. First, we give an overview of the crosslinguistic database under consideration and the representation of particular language groups in particular cities. Next, we present crosslinguistic perspectives on the four dimensions specified above. We also present crosslinguistic perspectives on language vitality, derived from these four language dimensions.

In Chapter 15, we present the major outcomes of a comparative study on the teaching of the languages of IM groups in the six European Union cities and countries discussed in Part II of this Volume. Being aware of crossnational differences in denotation, we use the concept of *community language teaching* (CLT) when referring to this type of education. Our rationale for using the concept of CLT rather than the concepts of *mother tongue teaching* or *home language instruction* is the inclusion of a broad spectrum of potential target groups. First of all, the status of an IM language as a ‘native’ or ‘home’ language can change through intergenerational processes of language shift. Moreover, in secondary education, both minority and majority pupils are often *de jure* (although seldom *de facto*) admitted to CLT (in the Netherlands, e.g., Turkish is a secondary school subject referred to as ‘Turkish’ rather than ‘home language instruction’; compare also the concepts of *Enseignement des Langues et Cultures d’Origine* and *Enseignement des Langues Vivantes* in French primary and secondary schools, respectively). We focus on the status of CLT in primary and secondary schools in all participating cities and countries. We also present reported data on CLT participation and needs, derived from the language survey amongst primary school children carried out in all six cities.

Chapter 16 offers conclusions and discussion. In retrospect, we look back at the context and outcomes of the MCP. Moreover, we offer suggestions for dealing with multilingualism at school.

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# **Part I**

## **Multidisciplinary perspectives**

GUUS EXTRA & KUTLAY YAĞMUR



## 2 Phenomenological perspectives

*(...) the difference between North American writing on minority groups in the US and British writing on similar groups in Britain lies in the fact that the North American writers consider those they are writing about to be American, while the British writers persist in seeing their subjects as foreign or alien. (quoted by Marcus Banks 1996:184)*

This chapter deals with the semantics of our field of concern and with a number of central notions in this field. In Section 2.1, we discuss the concepts of ethnic identity and ethnic identification. Section 2.2 deals with the relationship between language and identity. In Section 2.3, we focus on two common notions in the European discourse on immigrant minority groups: the notions of *foreigners* and *integration*.

### 2.1 Ethnic identity and identification

Although *identity* is a widely used and popular concept, it is not easy to define. The concept commonly refers to a whole variety of partial identities, e.g., in terms of nationality, gender, age, socio-economic status, language use, religion, or particular norms and values. For this reason, there are numerous studies on the concept of identity, taken from the perspective of, e.g., social, ethnic, or cultural identity (Jenkins 1996, 1997, Roosens 1989, Hall & Du Gay 1996). Most research into ethnic identity and ethnic identification stems from cultural anthropology, social psychology, or demography, and a variety of research methods have been used. Stanfield & Dennis (1993) make a distinction between qualitative, quantitative, and historical/comparative methods. In qualitative studies, the researcher may function as ethnographer, participant observer, content analyser, or oral history interviewer. Subjective experiences of informants constitute the most important data to be extracted, and for this reason much time is spent in building up rapport with informants. In quantitative studies, researchers commonly make use of specially designed questionnaires for small-scale or large-scale samples of informants. Census questions on ethnic self-classification are good examples of utilised methods in large-scale or even nationwide demographic studies (see Chapter 3 in

this Volume). In historical/comparative studies, acquired data are put into perspective from a longitudinal and/or crosscultural/crossnational point of view. In each of these different research methods, data validity and reliability are crucial issues.

Gleason (1983) has shown that the concept of identity has a recent history in the study of ethnicity and migration, and only emerged in the 1950s as an analytical concept. Following Barth (1969), ethnicity was investigated in terms of the social organisation of cultural difference along group boundaries. During the 1980s, the focus shifted towards the construction of ethnic identity. This shift was caused by the opposite processes of globalisation and localisation. Whereas national boundaries eroded, local background and origin became more important. Against the background of such dynamic processes, the concept of (ethnic) identity was increasingly conceived of as a dynamic rather than a fixed or stable phenomenon, with a focus on the variable and ever changing perceptions of different groups, both in terms of self-perceptions and other-perceptions.

Ethnic minority groups are faced with numerous tasks and challenges that affect their perception and development of ethnic identity. A distinction is commonly made between social and cultural factors (Verkuyten 1999). Compared to dominant majority groups, ethnic minority groups often suffer more from lower socio-economic status, less access to and participation in social institutions, and stronger experiences of social exclusion, prejudice, and discrimination. Cultural factors relate to different and/or conflicting norms and values between majority and minority groups.

The concept of identity is closely related to the concepts of ethnicity and nationalism, or ethnic identity and national identity (Banks 1996:121-160, Eriksen 1993). The concept of ethnic identity often refers to the identity of ethnic minority groups in a particular nation-state and emphasises the 'othering' in comparison with the majority of inhabitants of that nation-state. It should be mentioned, however, that all inhabitants of a nation-state belong to an ethnic group, although majority groups rarely identify themselves as such. In fact, the Greek word *ethnos* refers to *nation*. The awareness of ethnic identity amongst majority group members often increases in contexts where the ethnic identities of minority group members become more visible and manifest. Actually, it is impossible to speak of ethnic identity without reference to the ethnic identities of other minority or majority groups, or to national identity at large. The equalisation of ethnic identity and national identity is problematic in any society where different ethnic groups live together. The concepts of national and ethnic minorities refer most commonly to the co-existence of regional (indigenous) and immigrant (non-indigenous) minorities who often make use of indigenous and non-indigenous minority languages, respectively. The vitality of both types of minority languages can diminish through intergenerational

processes of language shift (cf. the status of Frisian in the Netherlands or the status of Dutch in Australia, respectively). However, even when such languages lose their communicative value, they often maintain an important symbolic value for minority groups. Whereas the majority language of a nation-state functions as a marker of external group boundaries, minority languages function as markers of internal group boundaries. Although the concepts of both nationality and ethnicity are based on group allegiances, the difference between them is primarily one of scale and size. For an extensive discussion of the concepts of nation, nationality, and nationalism, we refer to Anderson (1992) and Fishman (1973:1-38, 1989:105-175).

The concepts of ethnicity and ethnic identity may refer to objective and/or subjective properties of majority and minority groups in terms of a shared language, culture, religion, history, ancestry, or race. In all cases, reference is made to factual (objective) and/or perceived (subjective) group characteristics. The concepts of language and ethnicity are so closely related that language functions as a major component in most definitions of ethnicity. Fishman (1977) even considers language to be the most characteristic marker of ethnic identity. For some minority groups, however, language is to a higher degree a core value of their identity than it is for other groups (Smolicz 1980, 1992). After an extensive analysis of available definitions of ethnic identity, Edwards (1985:10) comes up with the following operationalisation:

Ethnic identity is allegiance to a group – large or small, socially dominant or subordinate – with which one has ancestral links. There is no necessity for a continuation, over generations, of the same socialisation or cultural patterns, but some sense of a group boundary must persist. This can be sustained by shared objective characteristics (language, religion, etc.), or by more subjective contributions to a sense of ‘groupness’, or by some combination of both. Symbolic or subjective attachments must relate, at however distant a remove, to an observably real past.

It is a remarkable phenomenon that the idea of ancestral links can survive in spite of many cultural changes and adaptations (Roosens 1989). People may remain loyal to their roots as a continuation from the past, even if their culture is mixed with other cultures. This holds in particular in a context of migration and minorisation. In such a context, people often look for their roots in order to distinguish themselves from other people, and thus to express distinctiveness.

Ethnic identity and ethnic identification are often taken to be the same, but should analytically be distinguished (Verkuyten 1999). Ethnic identification may be based on self-classification and/or other-classification. Both types of classi-

fications play a role in daily life in any multicultural society, and often lead to the inclusion or exclusion of particular groups. Verkuyten (1999:53-83) refers to the distinction between identification *as* and *with* a particular group. The former type of identification refers to distinctness between persons and positions in a society, the latter to allegiance to a particular group. Verkuyten refers to the former type as self-categorisation and to the latter one as self-identification. People categorise not only other people, but also themselves as belonging to a particular group. Self-categorisation is always context-dependent. Turkish people in Turkey, e.g., will categorise themselves differently from Turkish people abroad. Self-categorisation makes people conceive of themselves as group members rather than individuals. As a consequence, people with a similar self-categorisation will behave accordingly and will stress their distinctness from outsiders. Such self-perception may also lead to self-stereotyping.

Self-identification has stronger implications for people than self-categorisation. Self-identification implies emotional allegiance to a particular group, especially if people feel that their identity is threatened. The concept of self-identification is closely related to the concept of self-esteem. The self-esteem of people can be positively or negatively influenced by identification with a particular group. Empirical evidence shows that ethnic minority people have a stronger identification with their own group than ethnic majority people. Stronger self-identification often goes together with feelings of pride and satisfaction, referred to as ethnic self-esteem. Ethnic minorities often tend to stress the positive value of their ethnic background in order to avert negative stereotypes and discrimination. In addition, ethnic minorities often have a rich history, culture, and tradition, all of which may function as sources of a positive ethnic self-esteem.

## 2.2 Language and identity

It should be mentioned *a priori* that the literature on this theme is characterised more by value-loaded normative rhetorics than by non-passionate considerations. Edwards (1985) made an emphatic plea for the latter rather than the former approach. Questions of language and identity are extremely complex. One of the reasons for this is that they tend to be treated in different disciplines. Whereas the concept of identity is often discussed in social sciences without reference to language, the reverse happens in linguistics.

The construction and/or consolidation of nation-states has enforced the belief that a national language should correspond to each nation-state, and that this language should be regarded as a core value of national identity. The equalisation of



language and national identity, however, is based on a denial of the co-existence of majority and minority languages within the borders of any nation-state and has its roots in the German Romanticism at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century (Fishman 1973:39-85, 1989:105-175, 270-287, and Edwards 1985: 23-27 for historical overviews). The equalisation of German and Germany was a reaction to the rationalism of the Enlightenment and was also based on anti-French sentiments. The concept of nationalism emerged at the end of the 18th century; the concept of nationality only a century later. Romantic philosophers like Johan Gottfried Herder and Wilhelm von Humboldt laid the foundation for the emergence of a linguistic nationalism in Germany on the basis of which the German language and nation were conceived of as superior to the French ones. The French, however, were no less reluctant to express their conviction that the reverse was true. Although every nation-state is characterised by heterogeneity, including linguistic heterogeneity, nationalistic movements have always invoked this classical European discourse in their equalisation of language and nation. For a comparative study of attitudes towards language and national identity in France and Sweden we refer to Oakes (2001).

The USA has not remained immune to this nationalism either. The English-only movement, *US English*, was founded in 1983 out of a fear of the growing number of Hispanics on American soil (Fishman 1988, May 2001:202-224). This organisation resisted bilingual Spanish-English education from the beginning because such an approach would lead to 'identity confusion'. Similarly, attempts have been made to give the assignment of English as the official language of the USA a constitutional basis. This was done on the presupposition that the recognition of other languages (in particular Spanish) would undermine the foundations of the nation-state. This nationalism has its roots in a white, protestant, English-speaking elite (Edwards 1994:177-178).

The relationship between language and identity is not a static but a dynamic phenomenon. During the last decades of the 20th century, this relationship underwent strong transnational changes. Within the European context, these changes occurred in three different arenas (Oakes 2001):

- in the national arenas of the EU member-states: the traditional identity of these nation-states has been challenged by major demographic changes (in particular in urban areas) as a consequence of migration and minorisation;
- in the European arena: the concept of a European identity has emerged as a consequence of increasing cooperation and integration at the European level;
- in the global arena: our world has become smaller and more interactive as a consequence of the increasing availability of information and communication technology.

Major changes in each of these three arenas have led to the development of concepts such as a transnational citizenship and transnational multiple identities. Inhabitants of Europe no longer identify exclusively with singular nation-states, but give increasing evidence of multiple affiliations. At the EU level, the notion of a European identity was formally expressed for the first time in the *Declaration on European Identity* of December 1973 in Copenhagen. Numerous institutions and documents have propagated and promoted this idea ever since. The most concrete and tangible expression of this idea to date has been the introduction of a European currency in 2002. In discussing the concept of a European identity, Oakes (2001: 127-131) emphasises that the recognition of the concept of multiple transnational identities is a prerequisite rather than an obstacle for the acceptance of a European identity. The recognition of multiple transnational identities not only occurs among the traditional inhabitants of European nation-states but also among newcomers to Europe. Recent research carried out amongst the Turkish and Moroccan communities in Brussels led Phales & Swyngedouw (2002) to the following conclusions:

While Turks and Moroccans share with Belgians a social-contract type of citizenship in Belgium, they also adhere to a communal type of long-distance citizenship in Turkey and Morocco, which centres on a close linkage of national and religious attachments. We conclude that multiplicity is a key feature of minority perspectives on citizenship, which combine active participation in the national context of residence with enduring ethno-religious identification in the national context of origin.

Multiple transnational identities and affiliations will require new competences of European citizens in the 21st century. These include the ability to deal with increasing cultural diversity and heterogeneity (Van Londen & De Ruijter 1999). Multilingualism can be considered a core competence for such ability. In this context, processes of both convergence and divergence occur. In the European and global arena, English has increasingly assumed the role of *lingua franca* for international communication (Oakes 2001:131-136, 149-154). The rise of English has occurred to the cost of all other national languages of Europe, including French. At the same time, a growing number of newcomers to the national arenas of the EU member-states need competence in the languages of their source and target countries.

Europe has a rich diversity of languages. This fact is usually illustrated by reference to the national languages of the EU. However, many more languages are spoken by the inhabitants of Europe. Examples of such languages are Welsh and Basque, or Arabic and Turkish. These languages are usually referred to as 'minority

languages', even when in Europe as a whole there is no one majority language because all languages are spoken by a numerical minority. The languages referred to are representatives of regional minority (henceforward RM) and immigrant minority (henceforward IM) languages, respectively. These 'other' languages of Europe bring to mind the well-known *Linguistic Minorities Project* of the mid-1980s: *The Other Languages of England*. In that study, the following explanation was given of its title: "The other languages of England are all those languages apart from English that are ignored in public, official activities in England" (LMP 1985:xiv). Taken from our perspective, the 'other' languages of Europe are all those languages apart from the national languages that are largely ignored in public and official activities of the EU (Extra & Gorter 2001).

RM and IM languages have much in common, much more than is usually thought. On their sociolinguistic, educational, and political agendas, we find issues such as their actual spread, their domestic and public vitality, the processes and determinants of language maintenance *versus* language shift towards majority languages, the relationship between language, ethnicity, and identity, and the status of minority languages in schools, in particular in the compulsory stages of primary and secondary education. The origin of most RM languages as *minority* languages lies in the 19th century, when, during the processes of state-formation in Europe, they found themselves excluded from the state level, in particular from general education. RM languages did not become official languages of the nation-states that were then established. Centralising tendencies and the ideology of *one language - one state* have threatened the continued existence of RM languages. The greatest threat to RM languages, however, is lack of intergenerational transmission. When parents stop speaking the ancestral language with their children, it becomes almost impossible to reverse the ensuing language shift. Education can also be a major factor in the maintenance and promotion of a minority language. For most RM languages, some kind of educational provisions have been established in an attempt at reversing ongoing language shift. Only in the last few decades have some of these RM languages become relatively well protected in legal terms, as well as by affirmative educational policies and programmes, both at the level of various nation-states and at the level of the EU.

There have always been speakers of IM languages in Europe, but these languages have only recently emerged as community languages spoken on a wide scale in North-Western Europe, due to intensified processes of migration and minorisation. Turkish and Arabic are good examples of so-called 'non-European' languages that are spoken and learned by millions of inhabitants of the EU member-states. Although IM languages are often conceived of and transmitted as core values by IM language groups, they are much less protected than RM lan-

guages by affirmative action and legal measures in, e.g., education. In fact, the learning and certainly the teaching of IM languages are often seen by speakers of dominant languages and by policy makers as obstacles to integration. At the European level, guidelines and directives regarding IM languages are scant and outdated.

Despite the possibilities and challenges of comparing the status of RM and IM languages, amazingly few connections have been made in the sociolinguistic, educational, and political domains. In the *Linguistic Minorities Project*, which was restricted to England and did not cover all of Britain, an observation was made which still applies to the situation today: “The project has been struck by how little contact there still is between researchers and practitioners working in bilingual areas and school systems, even between England and Wales. Many of the newer minorities in England could benefit from the Welsh experience and expertise” (LMP 1985:12). In our opinion, little has improved over the past fifteen years, and contacts between researchers and policy makers working with different types of minority groups are still scarce. Publications which focus on both types of minority languages are rare; exceptions are the separate volumes on RM and IM languages by Alladina & Edwards (1991), and the integrated volume by Extra & Gorter (2001).

As yet, we lack a common referential framework for the languages under discussion. As all of these RM and IM languages are spoken by different language communities and not at state-wide level, it may seem logical to refer to them as community languages, thus contrasting them with the official languages of nation-states. However, the designation ‘community languages’ would lead to confusion at the surface level because this concept is already in use to refer to the official languages of the EU. In that sense the designation ‘community languages’ is occupied territory. From an inventory of the different terms in use, we learn that there are no standardised designations for these languages across nation-states. Table 2.1 gives a non-exhaustive overview of the nomenclature of our field of concern in terms of reference to the people, their languages, and the teaching of these languages. The concept of ‘lesser used languages’ has been adopted at the EU level; the European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages (EBLUL), established in Brussels and Dublin, speaks and acts on behalf of ‘the autochthonous regional and minority languages of the EU’. Table 2.1 shows that the utilised terminology varies not only across different nation-states, but also across different types of education. This becomes clear in particular in Part II, Chapters 7-12 of this Volume.

<p><i>Reference to the people</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• non-national residents</li> <li>• foreigners, étrangers, Ausländer</li> <li>• (im)migrants</li> <li>• new-comers, new Xmen (e.g., new Dutchmen)</li> <li>• co-citizens (instead of citizens)</li> <li>• ethnic/cultural/ethnocultural minorities</li> <li>• linguistic minorities</li> <li>• allochthones (e.g., in the Netherlands), allophones (e.g., in Canada)</li> <li>• non-English-speaking (NES) residents (in particular in the USA)</li> <li>• <i>anderstaligen</i> (Dutch: those who speak other languages)</li> <li>• coloured/black people, visible minorities (the latter in particular in Canada)</li> </ul>
<p><i>Reference to their languages</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• community languages (in Europe <i>versus</i> Australia)</li> <li>• ancestral/heritage languages (common concept in Canada)</li> <li>• national/historical/regional/indigenous minority languages <i>versus</i> non-territorial/non-regional/non-indigenous/non-European minority languages</li> <li>• autochthonous <i>versus</i> allochthonous minority languages</li> <li>• lesser used/less widely used/less widely taught languages (in EBLUL context)</li> <li>• stateless/diaspora languages (in particular used for Romani)</li> <li>• languages other than English (LOTE: common concept in Australia)</li> </ul>
<p><i>Reference to the teaching of these languages</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• instruction in own language (and culture)</li> <li>• mother tongue teaching (MTT)</li> <li>• home language instruction (HLI)</li> <li>• community language teaching (CLT)</li> <li>• regional minority language instruction (RMLI) <i>versus</i> immigrant minority language instruction (IMLI)</li> <li>• enseignement des langues et cultures d'origine (ELCO: in French/Spanish primary schools)</li> <li>• enseignement des langues vivantes (ELV: in French/Spanish secondary schools)</li> <li>• Muttersprachlicher Unterricht (MSU: in German primary schools)</li> <li>• Muttersprachlicher Ergänzungsunterricht (in German primary/secondary schools)</li> <li>• Herkunftssprachlicher Unterricht (in German primary/secondary schools)</li> </ul>

**Table 2.1** Nomenclature of the field

### 2.3 The European discourse on foreigners and integration

Imagine a European citizen who has never been abroad and travels to San Francisco for the first time, walks around downtown for a week, gets an impression of the Chinese community and food, happens to be invited for dinner by a Chinese family, and asks the host at the dinner table: “How many foreigners live in San Francisco?”, in this way referring to the many Asian, Latin, and other non-Anglo Americans (s)he has seen during that week. Two things might happen: if the guest’s English is poor, the Chinese host might ignore this European reference to ethnocultural diversity and go on with the conversation; if the guest’s English is good, however, the Chinese host might interrupt the dinner and charge his guest with discrimination.

In the European public discourse on IM groups, two major characteristics emerge (Extra & Verhoeven 1998): IM groups are often referred to as *foreigners* (*étrangers*, *Ausländer*) and as being in need of *integration*. First of all, it is common practice to refer to IM groups in terms of *non-national* residents and to their languages in terms of *non-territorial*, *non-regional*, *non-indigenous*, or *non-European* languages (see Table 2.1). The call for integration is in sharp contrast with the language of exclusion. This conceptual exclusion rather than inclusion in the European public discourse derives from a restrictive interpretation of the notions of citizenship and nationality. From a historical point of view, such notions are commonly shaped by a constitutional *ius sanguinis* (law of the blood), in terms of which nationality derives from parental origins, in contrast to *ius soli* (law of the ground), in terms of which nationality derives from the country of birth. When European emigrants left their continent in the past and colonised countries abroad, they legitimised their claim to citizenship by spelling out *ius soli* in the constitutions of these countries of settlement. Good examples of this strategy can be found in English-dominant immigration countries like the USA, Canada, Australia, and South Africa. In establishing the constitutions of these (sub-)continents, no consultation took place with native inhabitants, such as Indians, Inuit, Aboriginals, and Zulus, respectively. At home, however, Europeans predominantly upheld *ius sanguinis* in their constitutions and/or perceptions of nationality and citizenship, in spite of the growing numbers of newcomers who strive for equal status as citizens.

Smith & Blanc (1995) discuss different conceptions and definitions of citizenship within a number of European nation-states, in particular Great Britain, France, and Germany. They argue that, in the former two countries, citizenship is commonly defined on the basis of a mixture of territoriality and ethnicity, whereas in the latter country, citizenship is commonly defined directly on the basis of ethnicity. Nationality laws based strongly upon ethnicity are more restrictive of access to all

dimensions of citizenship than those with a greater territorial element. Along similar lines, Janoski & Glennie (1995) discuss different types of responses from nation-states to the issue of full citizenship for those who originate from abroad. Some nation-states make extensive efforts to naturalise immigrants and offer them full citizenship, whereas other nation-states are reluctant to do so and even place obstacles in their way. Janoski & Glennie (1995:21) argue that countries with a strong colonial past are much more inclined to offer naturalisation than countries without such tradition:

Weakened by emigration, a significant segment of society looks at immigrants as the final insult to national identity. Naturalisation means the disappearance of their nation and *ethnie*. Both national identity and group interest create resistance to granting citizenship to foreign immigrants. If successful in restricting incoming foreigners, many citizens, especially in the lower classes, will replace emigrants and get better wages through less competition. This social mobility creates more solidarity. The remaining citizens reduce the demand for legal and political rights, and favour the development of social and participation rights. Driven to its extreme, the avoidance of immigration can even lead to the persecution and forces emigration of religious and ethnic minorities.

The non-coloniser scenario of reluctance or closure applies to a number of European nation-states. In contrast, traditional settler nations such as Canada, the USA, and Australia have developed an inclusive conception of citizenship rights, and have become more open to immigrants from different ethnoracial, religious, or language backgrounds. Solomos (1995) points to the fact that rapid processes of demographic transformation have provided a fertile soil for extreme right-wing parties and movements to target ethnoracial minorities as ‘enemies within’ who are ultimately ‘outsiders’ or ‘foreigners’. One should add that reference to ‘foreigners’ is also often maintained in the European public discourse for those who have in fact acquired full citizenship of the nation-state in which they live.

A second major characteristic of the European public discourse on IM groups is the focus on *integration*. This notion is both popular and vague, and it may actually refer to a whole spectrum of underlying concepts that vary over space and time. Miles & Thränhardt (1995), Bauböck *et al.* (1996), and Kruyt & Niessen (1997) are good examples of comparative case studies on the notion of integration in a variety of European (Union) countries that have been faced with increasing immigration since the early 1970s. The extremes of the conceptual spectrum range from assimilation to multiculturalism. The concept of assimilation is based on the

premise that cultural differences between IM groups and established majority groups should and will disappear over time in a society which is proclaimed to be culturally homogeneous. On the other side of the spectrum, the concept of multiculturalism is based on the premise that such differences are an asset to a pluralist society, which actually promotes cultural diversity in terms of new resources and opportunities. While the concept of assimilation focuses on unilateral tasks of *newcomers*, the concept of multiculturalism focuses on multilateral tasks for all inhabitants in changing societies. In practice, established majority groups often make strong demands on IM groups to assimilate and are commonly very reluctant to promote or even accept the notion of cultural diversity as a determining characteristic of an increasingly multicultural environment.

It is interesting to compare the underlying assumptions of 'integration' in the European public discourse on IM groups at the national level with assumptions at the level of crossnational cooperation and legislation. In the latter context, European politicians are eager to stress the importance of a proper balance between the loss and the maintenance of 'national' norms and values. A prime concern in the public debate on such norms and values is cultural and linguistic diversity, mainly in terms of the national languages of the EU. National languages are often referred to as core values of cultural identity. Paradoxically, in the same public discourse, IM languages and cultures are commonly conceived of as sources of problems and deficits and as obstacles to integration, while national languages and cultures in an expanding EU are regarded as sources of enrichment and as prerequisites for integration.

The public discourse on the integration of IM groups in terms of assimilation *versus* multiculturalism can also be noticed in the domain of education. Due to a growing influx of IM pupils, schools are faced with the challenge of adapting their curricula to this trend. The pattern of modification may be inspired by a strong and unilateral emphasis on learning (in) the language of the majority of society, given the significance of this language for success in school and on the labour market, or by the awareness that the response to emerging multicultural school populations cannot be reduced to monolingual education programming (Gogolin 1994). In the former case, the focus is on learning (in) the national language as a second language only, in the latter case, on offering more languages in the school curriculum. In the domain of education in particular, there is a wide conceptual gap between the discourse on RM and IM languages, as is outlined in Chapter 4 of this Volume.



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### **3 Demographic perspectives**

As a consequence of increasing processes of international migration and minorisation, the composition of populations in industrialised countries is changing considerably. Due to these changes, more information is needed on the social, cultural, and economic structures of population groups, in particularly in emerging multicultural societies. In most European countries, there is no tradition of taking periodical censuses, and data on population groups are commonly based on nationality and/or birth-country criteria. In this chapter, we offer crossnational perspectives on these and other criteria, derived from census experiences abroad, and meant as an update and extension of Broeder & Extra (1998). For a discussion of the role of censuses in identifying population groups in a variety of multicultural nation-states, we also refer to Kertzer & Arel (2002). Alterman (1969) offers a fascinating account of the history of counting people from the earliest known records on Babylonian clay tables in 3800 BC until the USA census in 1970. Besides the methods of counting, Alterman discusses at length who has been counted, and how; who not, and why.

In Section 3.1, the European context is taken as point of departure. For various reasons, nationality statistics and birth-country statistics offer a limited picture of the actual composition of a multicultural society. We demonstrate the problems of these two types of criteria, and discuss the potential value of two complementary or alternative criteria, i.e., ethnicity and (home) language use. In Sections 3.2-3.5, a comprehensive analysis of census questions in a number of non-European English-dominant immigration countries is described: Australia, Canada, the USA, and the Republic of South Africa. In all of these countries, there is a longstanding and extensive experience of gathering nationwide census data on the multicultural composition of their populations. In each of these countries, English has become the language of status and power. At the same time, these countries are characterised by both indigenous and non-indigenous population groups that make use of other languages at home. Our focus is in particular on the operationalisation and the outcomes of census questions related to ethnicity and (home) language use. In addition, from a European perspective, the home language survey experiences of Great Britain and Sweden in educational contexts are reflected on in Section 3.6. Conclusions and discussion are offered in Section 3.7.

### **3.1 The European context**

As a consequence of socio-economically or politically determined processes of migration and minorisation, the traditional patterns of language variation across Western Europe have changed considerably over the past several decades (Extra & Verhoeven 1998, Extra & Gorter 2001). The first pattern of migration started in the 1960s and early 1970s, and it was mainly economically motivated. In the case of Mediterranean groups, migration initially involved contract workers who expected – and were expected – to stay for a limited period of time. As the period of their stay gradually became longer, this pattern of economic migration was followed by a second pattern of social migration as their families joined them. 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 to the country of origin. These demographic shifts over time were also accompanied by shifts of designation for the groups under consideration in terms of ‘migrant workers’, ‘immigrant families’, and ‘ethnic minorities’, respectively (see Chapter 2, Table 2.1).

As a result, many industrialised Western European countries have a growing number of immigrant minority (henceforward IM) populations which differ widely from the mainstream indigenous population. In spite of more stringent immigration policies in most European Union (henceforward EU) countries, the prognosis is that IM populations will continue to grow as a consequence of the increasing number of political refugees, the opening of the internal European borders, and political and economic developments in Central and Eastern Europe and in other regions of the world. It has been estimated that in the year 2000 more than one third of the population under the age of 35 in urbanised Western Europe had an IM background.

Within the various EU countries, four major IM groups can be distinguished: people from Mediterranean EU countries, from Mediterranean non-EU countries, from former colonial countries, and political refugees (Extra & Verhoeven 1993a, 1993b). Comparative information on population figures in EU member-states can be obtained from the Statistical Office of the EU in Luxembourg (EuroStat). An overall decrease of the indigenous population has been observed in all EU countries over the last decade; at the same time, there has been an increase in the IM figures. Although free movement of migrants between EU member-states is legally permitted, most IM groups in EU countries originate from non-EU countries. According to EuroStat (1996), in January 1993, the EU had a population of 368 million, 4.8% of whom (almost 18 million people) were not citizens of the country in which they lived. The increase in the non-national population since 1985

was mainly due to an influx of non-EU nationals, whose numbers rose from 9 to 12 million between 1985 and 1992. The largest numbers of IM groups have been observed in France, Germany, and Great Britain.

Reliable demographic information on IM groups in EU countries is difficult to obtain. For some groups or countries, no updated information is available or no such data have ever been collected. Moreover, official statistics only reflect IM groups with legal resident status. Another source of disparity is the different data collection systems being used, ranging from nationwide census data to more or less representative surveys. Most importantly, the most widely used criteria for IM status – nationality and/or country of birth – have become less valid over time because of an increasing trend toward naturalisation and births within the countries of residence. In addition, most residents from former colonies already have the nationality of their country of immigration.

There are large differences among EU countries as regards the size and composition of IM groups. Owing to labour market mechanisms, such groups are found mainly in the northern industrialised EU countries, whereas their presence in Mediterranean countries like Greece, Italy, Portugal, and Spain is lately increasing. Mediterranean groups immigrate mainly to France or Germany. Portuguese, Spanish, and Maghreb residents are concentrated in France, whereas Italian, Greek, former Yugoslavian, and Turkish residents can be found mainly in Germany. The largest IM groups in EU countries are Turkish and Maghreb residents; the latter originate from Morocco, Algeria, or Tunisia. Table 3.1 gives official comparative numbers showing the size of these groups in twelve EU countries in January 1994. At the time of writing, more recent comparative data were not available.

EU countries	Maghreb countries			Total	Turkey
	Morocco	Algeria	Tunisia	Maghreb	
Belgium	145,363	10,177	6,048	161,588	88,302
Denmark	3,180	368	404	3,952	34,658
Germany	82,803	23,082	28,060	133,945	1,918,395
Greece	333	180	314	827	3,066
Spain	61,303	3,259	378	6,940	301
France	572,652	614,207	206,336	1,393,195	197,712
Italy	77,180	3,177	35,318	115,675	3,656
Netherlands	164,567	905	2,415	167,887	202,618
Portugal	221	53	28	302	65
Finland	560	208	142	910	995
Sweden	1,533	599	1,152	3,284	23,649
Great Britain	3,000	2,000	2,000	7,000	41,000
Total	1,112,695	658,215	282,595	2,053,505	2,514,417

**Table 3.1** Official numbers of inhabitants of Maghreb and Turkish origin in twelve EU countries, January 1994, based on the nationality criterion (EuroStat 1997)

According to EuroStat (1997) and based on the conservative nationality criterion, in 1993, the largest Turkish and Maghreb communities could be found in Germany (almost 2 million) and France (almost 1.4 million), respectively. Within the EU, the Netherlands is in second place as the country of immigration for Turkish and Moroccan residents.

In most EU countries, only population data on nationality and/or birth country (of person and parents) are available. To illustrate this, Tables 3.2 and 3.3 give recent statistics of population groups in the Netherlands and Sweden, based on the birth-country criterion (of person and/or mother and/or father) *versus* the nationality criterion, as derived from their Central Bureaus of Statistics.

Groups	BC-PMF	Nationality	Absolute difference
Dutch	13,061,000	15,097,000	2,036,000
Turks	300,000	102,000	198,000
Moroccans	252,000	128,600	123,400
Surinamese	297,000	10,500	286,500
Antilleans	99,000	–	99,000
Italians	33,000	17,600	15,400
(former) Yugoslavs	63,000	22,300	40,700
Spaniards	30,000	16,800	13,200
Somalians	27,000	8,900	18,100
Chinese	28,000	7,500	20,500
Indonesians	407,000	8,400	398,600
Other groups	1,163,000	339,800	823,200
Total	15,760,000	15,760,000	–

**Table 3.2** Population of the Netherlands based on the combined birth-country criterion (BC-PMF) *versus* the nationality criterion on January 1, 1999 (CBS 2000)

Groups	Birth country	Nationality	Absolute difference
Finns	193,465	97,521	95,944
(former) Yugoslavs	73,274	20,741	52,533
Iraqis	55,696	36,221	19,475
Bosnians	52,198	19,728	32,470
Iranians	51,884	13,449	38,435
Norwegians	43,414	33,265	10,149
Poles	40,506	15,511	24,995
Danes	38,870	26,627	12,243
Germans	38,857	17,315	21,542
Turks	32,453	13,907	18,546
Chileans	27,153	9,896	17,257
Lebanese	20,228	2,961	17,327
Total	667,998	307,142	360,856

**Table 3.3** The twelve largest immigrant groups to Sweden based on the birth-country criterion *versus* the nationality criterion on January 1, 2002 (SBS 2002)

Tables 3.2 and 3.3 show strong criterion effects of birth country *versus* nationality (cf. the status of Turks in the Netherlands and Finns in Sweden, respectively). All IM groups are strongly underrepresented in nationality-based statistics. However, the combined birth-country criterion of person/mother/father does not solve the identification problem either. The use of this criterion leads to non-identification in at least the following cases:

- an increasing group of third and later generations (cf. Moluccan and Chinese communities in the Netherlands);
- different ethnolinguistic groups from the same country of origin (cf. Turks and Kurds from Turkey or Berbers and Arabs from Morocco);
- the same ethnocultural group from different countries of origin (cf. Chinese from China and from other Asian countries);
- ethnocultural groups without territorial status (cf. Roma).

From the data presented in Tables 3.2 and 3.3, it is clear that collecting reliable information about the actual number and spread of IM population groups in EU countries is not easy. Krüger-Potratz *et al.* (1998) discuss the problem of criteria from a historical perspective in the context of the German *Weimarer Republik*. As early as 1982, the *Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs* recognised the above-mentioned identification problems for inhabitants of Australia and proposed including questions on birth country (of person and parents), ethnic origin (based on self-categorisation in terms of to which ethnic group a person considers him/herself to belong), and home language use in their censuses. As yet, little experience has been gained in EU countries with periodical censuses, or, if such censuses have been held, with questions on ethnicity or (home) language use. Given the decreasing significance of nationality and birth-country criteria, collecting reliable information about the composition of IM groups in EU countries is one of the most challenging tasks facing demographers. In Table 3.4, the four criteria mentioned are discussed with regard to their major (dis)advantages (Extra & Gorter 2001:9).



Criterion	Advantages	Disadvantages
Nationality (NAT) (P/F/M)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• objective</li> <li>• relatively easy to establish</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• (intergenerational) erosion through naturalisation or double NAT</li> <li>• NAT not always indicative of ethnicity/identity</li> <li>• some (e.g., ex-colonial) groups have NAT of immigration country</li> </ul>
Birth country (BC) (P/F/M)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• objective</li> <li>• relatively easy to establish</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• intergenerational erosion through births in immigration country</li> <li>• BC not always indicative of ethnicity/identity</li> <li>• invariable/deterministic: does not take account of dynamics in society (in contrast with all other criteria)</li> </ul>
Self-categorisation (SC)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• touches the heart of the matter</li> <li>• emancipatory: SC takes account of person's own conception of ethnicity/identity</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• subjective by definition: also determined by the language/ethnicity of interviewer and by the spirit of times</li> <li>• multiple SC possible</li> <li>• historically charged, especially by World War II experiences</li> </ul>
Home language (HL)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• HL is most significant</li> <li>• criterion of ethnicity in communication processes</li> <li>• HL data are prerequisite for government policy in areas such as public information or education</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• complex criterion: who speaks what language to whom and when?</li> <li>• language is not always core value of ethnicity/identity</li> <li>• useless in one-person households</li> </ul>

**Table 3.4** Criteria for the definition and identification of population groups in a multicultural society (P/F/M = person/father/mother)

As Table 3.4 makes clear, there is no single royal road to solve the identification problem. Different criteria may complement and strengthen each other. Verweij (1997) made a short *tour d'horizon* in four EU countries (Belgium, Germany, France, Great Britain) and in the USA in order to investigate criteria utilised in the national population statistics of these countries. In Belgium, Germany, and France, such statistics have traditionally been based on the nationality criterion; only in Belgium has additional experience been gained with the combined birth-country criterion of persons, parents, and even grandparents. For various reasons, identification on the basis of the grandparents' birth country is problematic: four addi-

tional sources of evidence are needed (with multiple types of outcomes) and the chances of non-response are high. Verweij (1997) also discussed the experiences with the utilisation of ethnic self-categorisation in Great Britain and the USA, leaving the home language criterion out of consideration. Given the increasing identification problems associated with the combined birth-country criterion, Verweij, on the basis of Anglo-Saxon experiences, suggested including the self-categorisation criterion in future population statistics as the second-best middle- and long-term alternative in those cases where the combined birth-country criterion would not suffice. Moreover, he proposed carrying out small-scale experimental studies on the validity and social acceptance of the self-categorisation criterion, given its subjective and historically charged character (see Table 3.4), before introducing this criterion on a nationwide scale.

In the following sections, a comprehensive analysis of census questions in four non-European English-dominant immigration countries is made: in Australia, Canada, the USA, and the Republic of South Africa. In each of these countries, there is a longstanding and extensive experience of gathering nationwide census data on the multicultural composition of their population. Our focus is in particular on the operationalisation and outcomes of census questions related to ethnicity and (home) language use.

### 3.2 Australia

Every five years, the *Australian Bureau of Statistics* (ABS) undertakes a large statistical collection to measure the number and certain key characteristics of people in Australia. The census is obliged by the *Census and Statistics Act 1905*, in which it is stated that the “census shall be taken in the year 1911 and in every tenth year thereafter” (Trewin 2000:2). Following the 1961 census, Australia has had a census taken every five years. This practice became mandatory with the amendment to the *Census and Statistics Act* in 1977, stating that “the census shall be taken in the year 1981 and in every fifth year thereafter, and at such other times as are prescribed.” Australia’s 14th national Census of Population and Housing was held on 7 August 2001. In this latest census, there were minor changes to the questions, and in data acquisition and analysis, Internet technology was used. The census supplies a large-scale basis for the estimation of the population of each of the States, Territories, and Local Government Areas, primarily for electoral purposes and for the distribution of government funds. The census includes all people in Australia on census night; visitors to Australia are counted irrespective of their duration of stay. Only foreign diplomats and their families are excluded from the census.

Since the first national census in 1911, the content of censuses has changed. Questions on age, marital status, and religion were included in all the censuses, but some other questions were included or excluded depending on the relevance and importance of the questions at the time. The purpose and manner of including questions on language and ethnic background in Australian censuses is briefly discussed below. Afterwards, some relevant findings from the 1996 and, mainly, from the 2001 census are presented.

Each question asked in a nationwide population survey is costly, which is why questions to be included in the census are determined on the basis of the question's social relevance and the needs of the community. Before each census, the ABS consults widely with communities and users of census data about the topics that should be included (ABS 2000). In order to determine the background characteristics of the respondent, different questions have been asked in different contexts. Starting with the first census in 1911, the ABS has included a question on the *birth country* of the respondent. The birth country of parents was asked for the first time in 1921 and was not asked again until 1971. Since 1971, *birth country of parents* has become a very relevant question. In the same vein, a question on the respondent's citizenship has been asked since the first census in 1911. However, before 1976, the term *nationality* rather than citizenship was used. Since 1986, the respondent has been asked whether or not he/she is an Australian citizen. The respondent's ethnic origin was asked for the first time in 1986.

Taken from a longitudinal perspective, the questions asked on language use show interesting variation. The first question on language use asked whether the respondent could read and write (no particular language was mentioned). This question was asked first in 1921. The focus of the question on language use changed in the 1933 census. This time, the question included languages other than English (LOTE) as well. It was asked whether the respondent could read and write another language if unable to read and write English (Klarberg 1982). Until 1976, no other questions on language use were included in the censuses. The 1976 census asked for all languages that are regularly used by family members who are five years or older. In the 1981 census, the focus was on the ability to speak English. In terms of languages spoken at home, the exclusion of young children was dropped in the 1986 census and languages used by all family members were asked for. Since the 1986 census, two separate questions on language use were asked, i.e., question 15 in the 2001 census: *Does the person speak a language other than English at home?* and ability to speak English (question 16 in the 2001 census: *How well does the person speak English?*) were asked. The phrasing of the home language question was carefully chosen in that, instead of being asked about language proficiency or mother tongue, the respondent was asked to state the language he/she

regularly uses at home. In this way, an attempt was made to gather the most comprehensive information possible about potential sources and needs with respect to languages other than English, and to avoid individual variation with respect to the self-evaluation of language proficiency and the self-interpretation of home language. The respondent was not required to report on other family members' language use but his/her own language use. Moreover, the focus was on the language used in the domestic domain: home. On the basis of previous census results, the following languages were listed on the census form in a descending order after question 15:

*Does the person speak a language other than English at home?*

*No, English only > go to question 17*

*Yes, Italian*

*Yes, Greek*

*Yes, Cantonese*

*Yes, Mandarin*

*Yes, Arabic*

*Yes, Vietnamese*

*Yes, other ... please specify ...*

If more than one language other than English was used at home, respondents were asked to record only the one that was most commonly used. In the international discourse on languages, Mandarin and Cantonese are usually referred to as Chinese. However, due to the large numbers of speakers of these languages in Australia, a distinction was made between them. For question 16 on English language proficiency, respondents could mark one of four proficiency scales (*very well, well, not well, not at all*).

A question on ancestry or ethnic origin was asked for the first time in 1986 and was not asked again until 2001 because the response rate to this question was very low and the ABS could not obtain representative results from this question. However, as mentioned earlier, the ABS asks relevant organisations to make submissions about the questions to be asked in the census. The ABS assessment of the topic of ethnic origin was that the needs of most users were well met by the data available from other census indicators such as birth country, parents' birth country, citizenship, religion, and language use, and that an additional direct question on ethnic origin similar to the one used in 1986 was not justified, particularly in view of the high cost of processing the outcomes of the question. However, during the submission and consultation processes, it became obvious that some users wanted more comprehensive information on ethnic origin. Representatives of academic institutions, government departments, and ethnic community groups supported the inclusion of a question similar to the one asked in the 1986 census. On the basis of

an earlier unsuccessful trial in the 1986 census, the ABS wanted to test the question on ethnicity once more. Before every census, the ABS conducts a census test in a certain region. This time the census test was done in Melbourne in 1993.

In the 1986 census, the question was based on an ancestry approach (*What is each person's ancestry?*). However, at the request of the Australian Statistics Advisory Council, two different test questions based on a self-identification approach were used in the census test forms. In one of the test forms, the question on ancestry was phrased as follows: *Is the person's ancestry different from his/her country of birth?* In the other form, the phrasing was as follows: *Does the person identify with an ancestry different from his/her country?* In order to find out how well the ancestry questions would work, areas with a high proportion of persons born overseas were chosen for the pilot study. In the data analysis stage, in addition to various analyses, a telephone follow-up method was used to identify the problems associated with these questions. On the basis of tiresome and costly analyses, the test results indicated that census data on ancestry would be subject to serious problems of interpretation, validity, and stability. The telephone follow-up results confirmed previously accumulated evidence that ancestry is not a concept that is clearly understood and consistently interpreted. Based on this costly experience, the ABS recommended that no direct question on ancestry be included in the 1996 census. Yet, in the 2001 census, the question on ancestry was included again. The question was now phrased as follows: *What is the person's ancestry?* Seven preprinted options were provided on the census form. These were English, Irish, Italian, German, Greek, Chinese, and Australian. There was also an 'other' option, which needed to be specified. Respondents were given the option of including more than one ancestry if necessary. Respondents were also instructed to count their ancestry as far back as three generations, if known. According to the ABS, the motivation for including an ancestry question was to further the understanding of the origin of Australians. In Table 3.5, based on the latest 2001 census, the findings on ancestry, coupled with those on birth country and home language, are presented so that a comparative perspective of these three criteria can be obtained.

Group	Language spoken at home	Birth country		Ancestry
Chinese	401,357	China	142,780	556,554
Italian	353,605	Italy	218,718	800,256
Greek	263,717	Greece	116,431	375,703
Lebanese	209,372	Lebanon	71,349	162,239
Vietnamese	174,236	Vietnam	154,831	156,581
Spanish	93,593	pm	pm	pm
Tagalog/Filipino	78,878	Philippines	103,942	129,821
German	76,443	Germany	108,220	742,212
Macedonian	71,994	Macedonia	43,527	81,898
Croatian	69,851	Croatia	51,909	105,747
Polish	59,056	Poland	58,110	150,900
Turkish	50,693	Turkey	29,821	54,596
Serbian	49,203	Yugoslavia	55,365	97,315
Maltese	41,393	Malta	46,998	136,754
Dutch	40,188	Netherlands	83,324	268,754

**Table 3.5** Ancestry of some Australian groups, coupled with birth country and home language use, in the 2001 census

‘Chinese’ includes Cantonese, Mandarin, and other languages. Lebanese includes other Arabic speakers in language spoken at home. No ancestry or birth-country information was provided for the Spanish group, which might be due to the problem of distinguishing between ancestry and language/ethnic group. The same holds for Arabic. As is clear from Table 3.5, the combination of language spoken at home, birth country, and ancestry criteria shows the extent of language shift to the mainstream language. It is apparent that for some traditional immigrant groups such as Italians and Germans, the shift to English is much higher than for some recent groups. For instance, 800,256 people reported their ancestry as Italian but only 27% of these people were born in Italy and 44% of them reported that Italian was their home language. Even lower percentages are observed among the Dutch group; out of 268,754 people, 31% were born in the Netherlands but only 15% reported that Dutch was their home language. When we look at Greek and Turkish groups, the picture changes. Out of 375,703 Greeks, 31% reported that they were born in Greece but 70% reported speaking Greek as their home language. The percentages are even higher for the Turkish group: out of 54,596 people who identified their ancestry as Turkish, 55% reported Turkey as their country of birth,

but 93% reported speaking Turkish at home. In the Vietnamese group, the number of speakers of Vietnamese is much higher than the number of people who identified their ancestry as Vietnamese.

According to Clyne & Kipp (1997), in the 1996 census, more languages were mentioned than in any previous censuses in Australia. In 1996, 2.5 million people aged five years or over (15% of Australia's population in that age range) spoke a language other than English (LOTE) at home. Of these, 74% were people born overseas (first-generation Australians) and 22% were children of people born overseas (second-generation Australians). Less than 1% of the population could not speak English at all. In Table 3.6, the 15 most-spoken home languages are listed, as reported in the 1996 and 2001 censuses (rounded off in thousands).

Reported home languages	Number of speakers in 1996 census	Number of speakers in 2001 census	Change over time
Italian	367,300	353,600	- 13,700
Greek	259,000	263,700	+ 4,700
Cantonese	190,100	225,300	+ 35,200
Arabic	162,000	209,400	+ 47,400
Vietnamese	134,000	174,200	+ 40,200
German	96,700	76,400	- 20,300
Mandarin	87,300	139,300	+ 52,000
Spanish	86,900	93,600	+ 6,700
Macedonian	68,100	72,000	+ 3,900
Tagalog/Filipino	67,300	78,900	+ 11,600
Croatian	66,700	69,900	+ 3,200
Polish	61,000	59,100	- 1,900
Maltese	44,700	41,400	- 3,300
Turkish	42,200	50,700	+ 8,500
Dutch	40,200	40,200	-
All other	696,800	906,200	+ 209,400
Total	2,470,300	2,853,900	+ 383,600

**Table 3.6** Most spoken home languages in Australia (based on 1996 and 2001 censuses, rounded off in thousands)

In the 2001 census, some other languages like Hindi (47,900), Korean (39,500), and Indonesian (38,700) turned out to represent large groups. Australian indigenous languages were reported by 51,000 people. Cantonese- and Mandarin-speakers

were classified separately; people who specified another Chinese language (e.g., Hokkien) or simply wrote 'Chinese' were included in 'All other'.

The ranking of languages partly reflects the numbers of immigrants who have arrived from particular countries, and the number of children they have had in Australia. However, not all immigrants who speak a language other than English continue to use it at home throughout their lives. Some languages have been maintained in the home to a greater extent than others, and this contributes to their higher ranking among languages spoken in Australia. Taking the examples of Dutch and Turkish, the number of persons from a Dutch background was reported to be 87,900 (ABS 1997) but in the 1996 census, only 40,200 persons reported that they spoke Dutch at home. On the other hand, there were 32,100 Turkish-born immigrants but the number of persons who spoke Turkish at home was 42,200. The explanation for the difference is that most Turkish families continue to speak Turkish with their Australian-born children at home, i.e., Australian-born Turkish persons also speak Turkish at home.

Birth country	Associated language	First generation	Second generation
Netherlands	Dutch	62.9	95.9
Germany	German	48.9	91.1
Malta	Maltese	37.0	82.8
Philippines	Tagalog/Filipino	25.0	84.2
Spain	Spanish	22.7	63.6
Poland	Polish	20.1	77.6
Italy	Italian	14.8	57.4
Croatia	Croatian	13.9	41.7
South and Central America	Spanish	13.1	36.6
Hong Kong	Chinese languages	8.8	52.7
Greece	Greek	6.4	27.9
Turkey	Turkish	5.9	16.4
Lebanon	Arabic	5.6	21.7
China	Chinese languages	4.8	48.6
Taiwan	Chinese languages	3.4	29.3
Macedonia	Macedonian	3.1	14.7
Vietnam	Vietnamese	2.7	10.6

**Table 3.7** Shift to English in first- and second-generation Australians, by selected countries of origin (in %; ABS 1999)



When 'shift' figures are presented, the trend of language shift in different communities becomes more explicit. On the basis of the 1996 census results, the ABS calculated first- and second-generation language-use profiles. Language shift in the first generation was calculated as the percentage of persons born in a particular country who now speak only English at home. According to Clyne & Kipp (1997) the absence of a 'language first spoken' question necessitated the use of birth country as a surrogate indicator of language background. This clearly rendered the calculation of language shift figures for many countries impossible due to the diversity of languages spoken in the home country. In Table 3.7, the language shift patterns of various communities in Australia are presented according to the 1996 census outcomes. The highest shift to English occurred among the Dutch, the least shift among the Vietnamese. In the 1996 census, the ABS made a more detailed analysis compared to earlier censuses. For instance, some languages counted separately for the first time were Samoan (13,900), Assyrian (11,000), Punjabi (10,100), the Chinese language Hokkien (9,800), and Malay (9,700). An overview of language shift over the years among the first generation provides a better insight into the language behaviour of different communities. Table 3.8 provides details of language shift over the years.

Birth country	Shift in 1986	Shift in 1991	Shift in 1996
Austria	39.5	42.5	48.3
France	27.5	31.5	37.2
Germany	40.8	42.4	48.2
Greece	4.4	4.4	6.4
Hong Kong	–	8.4	9.0
Hungary	24.4	26.7	31.8
Italy	10.5	11.2	14.7
Lebanon	5.2	–	5.5
Malta	26.0	31.0	36.5
Netherlands	48.4	57.0	61.9
Poland	16.0	17.2	19.6
China	–	5.9	4.6
Spain	13.1	16.5	22.4
Taiwan	–	3.0	3.4
Turkey	4.2	3.8	5.8

**Table 3.8** Language shift (in %) in the first generation in 1986, 1991, 1996 (Clyne & Kipp 1997)

Out of the 25 leading languages in 1996, most of those spoken by the longer-established immigrant groups had recorded a decrease, since 1991, in the number of people who spoke the language at home. French showed the largest decrease (17%), followed by German (16%), Dutch (15%), Maltese (14%), and Hungarian (11%). Factors contributing to these decreases include the death rate among the ageing first generation, and language shift. In contrast, most of the largest proportional increases occurred in languages associated with more recent immigrants. The greatest increase occurred for Mandarin (65%), followed by Serbian (52%), Korean (50%), Hindi (47%), and Vietnamese (31%). Some of the less commonly spoken languages also showed large proportional increases in numbers of speakers. These include Tamil (53%), Singhalese (53%), and Thai (36%). Ongoing immigration from countries where these languages are spoken, and the birth of children to speakers in Australia, contribute to these increases.

Along with the above census findings, the ABS carried out detailed analyses of the census data. The information is made use of by different government departments and organisations. Findings on the languages spoken in Australia are important in many ways. People who lack English language skills face practical problems in education, employment, and access to community services. In order to overcome these problems, interpreter and translation services, and programmes of English instruction in schools and in other educational institutions are provided in regions where these are needed the most. Also, many people from non-English-speaking backgrounds wish to see the use of their home languages continue in Australia, for reasons of cultural continuity and identity (ABS 1999).

As documented above, in order to collect comprehensive information about the backgrounds of Australia's residents, the ABS constantly reviews and modifies its questions. In line with our objectives, we documented the scope and phrasing of questions on birth country, citizenship, languages spoken, and ancestry/ethnicity. In terms of the home language question, the phrasing in the 1996 census was person-directed and did not include any other persons in the respondent's home. Terms like mother tongue or first language were not used in order to overcome possible misunderstandings on the part of the respondents. In the latest 2001 census, questions on the birth country of the respondent and his parents, citizenship, religion, ancestry (instead of ethnicity), language(s) spoken at home and at the workplace, and proficiency in English were included. For a further discussion of factors that influence the intra/intergenerational processes of language shift in Australia, we refer to Clyne (2003, 1991, 1982), Clyne & Kipp (1997), Kipp *et al.* (1995), Ozolins (1993), and Romaine (1991).

### 3.3 Canada

In both purpose and manner, the method of conducting a census in Canada is very similar to that in Australia. However, with regard to our focus questions on language and ethnicity, there are significant differences between the Australian and Canadian censuses. In the Handbook of Canadian Census of Population (2001), the purpose of the census is defined as to provide a statistical portrait of the country and its people. In Canada, all levels of government use census data to make policy decisions about national, regional, and local socio-economic action programmes. Census information is also used to redistribute seats in the House of Commons and Provincial Legislative Assemblies, to determine equalisation payments and other federal-provincial transfer payments, and to design and assess particular programmes. Business, industry, associations, institutions, academia, and media depend on census data as a valuable decision-making tool. Census data are also used to plan important community services such as health care, education, transportation, day-care, fire and police protection, employment and training programmes, and housing.

A census is conducted in Canada every five years. The last census was held on May 15, 2001, some findings of which are presented here. Like in the Australian case, the census questions are subject to rigorous consultation, testing, review, and approval processes to make sure that every question responds to important information requirements that cannot be met through other means. In the Canadian census, there are two types of questionnaires, and not all respondents receive the same questionnaire. Four out of five households receive a short form while the fifth household receives a long form. The short form contains seven questions: the respondent's name, sex, age, marital and common-law status, family and household relationships, and mother tongue. The long form contains 52 additional questions, including questions on religion, birth country of the parents, and languages spoken at work. An adult in each household is asked to fill out the questionnaire and mail it back to Statistics Canada. In data collection, the Canadian Census Bureau opts for a sampling method because it is considered to be an effective collection method yielding high-quality data while reducing costs and response burden (Handbook of Canadian Census of Population 2001).

The first population study in Canada was conducted more than a century ago, in 1871. Over the years, there have been various questions about ethnicity and language; the first one was about ethnic origin. Before 1951, the phrasing was as follows: *To which ethnic or cultural group did you or your ancestor (on the male side) belong on coming to this continent?* In the instruction manual for the interviewer, it was said that nationality is not an indicator of ethnicity but the

language that was or is being spoken may be considered as such. In 1981, the principle that respondents could only mention one ethnic origin (namely, male descent) was abandoned; since then, respondents can indicate whether they consider themselves to be of mixed origin, which, in view of the number of mixed marriages, is quite conceivable. De Vries (1985) points out that the question on ethnic origin does not yield thoroughly reliable data. Questions that require respondents to report on their own ethnic origin tend to measure either self-categorisation or descent. Only if there is a strong correlation between the two, and if members of various ethnic groups do not marry outside their own group, does the question measure both components. Therefore, the above-mentioned question from the Canadian census is problematic in a number of respects. The Australian experience has proven that questions on ethnicity are not reliable and representative.

Apart from a question on ethnicity and/or ancestry, the Canadian census also contains a question on race. In the latest 2001 census, this question (19) was formulated as follows: *Is this person White / Chinese / South Asian / Black / Filipino / Latin American / Southern Asian / Arab / West Asian / Japanese / Korean / Other? Mark more than one or specify, if applicable.* This racial question in the Canadian census is highly disputed because of the lack of distinction between race and ethnicity. The USA census struggles with the same problem (Section 3.4)

In the 1901 census, two language items made their first appearance: a question about oral proficiency in Canada's two official languages, English and French, and a question about the respondent's mother tongue. Until 1961, the first question was phrased as follows: *Are you able to speak English, French or both well enough to carry on a conversation? (English only / French only / both / neither).* The second question, regarding the respondent's mother tongue, was phrased as follows until 1941: *What is the respondent's mother tongue?* The notion 'mother tongue' was defined as the language first learned in childhood and still spoken. From 1941 until 1971, the question concerned the language first spoken and still understood, and in 1981 the language first learned and still understood. In the last formulation, the possibility of a respondent not using his/her mother tongue is taken into account.

Due to Canada's officially 'bilingual' nature, questions targeting the bilingual competence of respondents were needed. Until 1971, respondents who had a bilingual upbringing had to make a choice between two mother tongues, since only one could be mentioned. The assumption was that the respondents' choice would be arbitrary. Research has shown, however, that the language with the highest prestige was chosen (De Vries 1985). Beginning in 1976, respondents had the option of naming two languages as their mother tongue, which increased the reliability of the data (De Vries & Vallee 1980). Since 1986, the results of multiple responses have been published as well. Another question in the Canadian census

was on language use in the domestic domain. In 1971, this question was included on the recommendation of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. However, the formulation *What language do you most often speak at home now?* was ambiguous, since both *you* and the French *vous* fail to make clear whether the question is being addressed to the respondent or to the entire household. In the 1981 census, adding *yourself* and *vous-même* rectified this ambiguity.

In order to obtain a social and cultural portrait of Canada's population, the census gathers information about country of birth, citizenship, ethnic origin, First Nations, and so-called 'visible' minorities. The question on the birth country of parents was reintroduced in the 2001 census, and the decennial question on religion was also included in the questionnaire. For the most part, these sociocultural questions are used to administer federal acts such as the Multiculturalism Act, the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, the Indian Act, the Employment Equity Act, the Immigration Act, and the Citizenship Act. Researchers and policy-makers use the data to monitor population shifts within Canada and to monitor the adaptation of immigrants to Canadian society. They can also investigate changes in the social and cultural characteristics of the population over the years and examine the relevance of policies and programmes relating to employment, training, immigration, education, health care, and so on.

The 1996 and the 2001 censuses did not differ greatly, but with respect to language questions, some changes were made. In the 1996 census, there were four questions on language use. Question 9 in the long form asked *Can this person speak English or French well enough to conduct a conversation?* Question 10: *What language(s), other than English or French, can this person speak well enough to conduct a conversation?* Question 11: *What language does this person speak most often at home?* And question 12: *What is the language that this person first learned at home in childhood and still understands? (If this person no longer understands the first language learned, indicate the second language learned.)* In the 2001 census, the long questionnaire contained questions on the first language learned in childhood, languages understood and spoken at home, as well as knowledge of so-called 'official' and 'non-official' languages in the various regions of Canada. However, the question on home language was changed and the following two questions were added: *What language does this person speak most often at home? Does this person speak any other languages on a regular basis at home?* New in the 2001 census was a two-part question on the language used at work. The first part asked for the language the respondent uses most often in his/her work: *In this job, what language did this person use most often?* The second part asked for any other languages used on a regular basis in the workplace: *Did this person use any other languages on a regular basis in this job?* The aim of this new question

was to provide insights into the vitality of official and non-official language communities across the country. The data, for example, provide information on the extent to which employees belonging to English or French minority language communities use their language knowledge in their workplaces.

As documented here, in comparison to Australia, very detailed questions on language use are asked in the Canadian context. Birth country, citizenship and ethnicity questions were used in both the 1996 and the 2001 censuses. However, in contrast to the 1996 census, in the 2001 census, the birth country of parents was asked for as well. This question had been asked for the last time in the 1971 census. The Census Bureau suggested that, along with information gathered from other questions such as those on country of birth, ethnic origin, visible minority, and religion, this question would contribute to the multicultural portrait of the population of Canada.

The data collected in 1996 show that the multilingual nature of Canada is growing as a result of increased immigration. In 1996, 4.7 million people reported a mother tongue other than English or French, a 15.1% increase since 1991. This increase was two and a half times larger than the overall growth rate of the Canadian population (5.7%). The total number of people reporting English as their mother tongue increased by 4.7%, while those reporting French increased by 2.3%. Between 1971 and 1996, the proportion of people with a mother tongue other than English or French (referred to as ‘allophones’) increased from 13% of the overall population to nearly 17%. ‘Mother tongue’ was defined as the first language a person learned at home in childhood and still understood at the time of the census. The growth in the proportion of allophones was the result of increases in both the number of immigrants, and the proportion of immigrants whose mother tongue was neither English nor French. This dual trend gained momentum in the 1980s. According to the most recent data from the 2001 census, Canadians reported speaking more than 100 languages other than English and French. Table 3.9 gives an overview of the major mother tongue groups (N > 120,000) in the 2001 Canadian census.

Group	Mother tongue speakers	Ethnic origin total responses*	Ethnic origin single responses
English	17,352,315	5,978,875**	1,479,520
French	6,703,325	4,668,410	1,060,755
Chinese total	853,745	1,094,700	936,210
Cantonese	322,315		
Mandarin	101,760		
Hakka	4,565		
Chinese	425,085		
Italian	469,485	1,270,370	726,275
German	438,080	2,742,765	705,595
Punjabi	271,220	47,160***	28,980
Spanish	245,495	213,100	66,545
Portuguese	213,815	357,690	252,835
Polish	208,375	817,085	260,415
Arabic	199,940	71,705 ****	47,600
Tagalog/Filipino	174,060	327,545	266,140
Ukrainian	148,085	1,071,060	326,200
Dutch	128,670	923,310	316,220
Vietnamese	122,055	151,410	119,120
Greek	120,360	215,105	143,780

Notes: \* Respondents who reported multiple ethnic origins are counted more than once in this column, as they are included in the multiple responses for each origin they reported. \*\* This only includes English ethnicity; other mother tongue speakers of English such as Scottish, Irish, North American or Australian are not included in this figure. \*\*\* This includes reports indicating Punjabi as ethnic origin; Pakistani (74,015) is listed separately. \*\*\*\* This only includes reports indicating Arab as ethnic origin; categories as Egyptian (41,310), Iraqi (19,245), Lebanese (143,630), Moroccan (21,355), and Syrian (22,065) are listed separately.

**Table 3.9** Major mother tongue groups in the 2001 Canadian census (Statistics Canada, Census of Population)

Persons whose mother tongue was English (*Anglophones*) accounted for 59.1% of Canada's population in 2001, and thus represented the majority of Canadians. Although their numbers rose, their share of the population slowly declined, down from 59.8% in the 1996 census. The same was true of *Francophones*, i.e., those who reported French as their mother tongue; represented 22.9% of the population in 2001, down from 23.5% in 1996. In 2001, *allophones* represented 18% of the

population, up from 16.6% in 1996. Almost 5,335,000 individuals, i.e., about one out of every six persons, reported having a mother tongue other than English or French. This meant an increase of 12.5% from the 1996 census, three times the growth rate of the population as a whole (4%). Language groups from Asia and the Middle East recorded the largest increases. Chinese consolidated its position as Canada's most common language spoken at home, after English and French. More than 850,000 people reported speaking Chinese as their mother tongue, up from 136,400 or 18.5% in 1996. They accounted for 2.9% of the total population of Canada, up from 2.6% five years earlier. Italian remained in fourth place, and German in fifth, although their numbers declined. Punjabi moved into sixth, and Spanish into seventh position. Table 3.10 shows the proportion of language shift towards English or French for the same mother tongue groups in the 2001 census as presented in Table 3.9, in decreasing order of shift.

Mother tongue	Shift (%)	Mother tongue	Shift (%)
Dutch	87.2	Tagalog/Filipino	36.2
Ukrainian	76.5	Arabic	30.9
German	71.2	Spanish	27.4
Italian	50.6	Punjabi	15.6
Polish	37.9	Chinese	15.5
Portuguese	36.8	Vietnamese	not available
Greek	36.2		

**Table 3.10** Language shift (in %) towards English and French in major mother tongue groups

The lowest language shift (15%) is observed among Chinese- and Punjabi-speakers. In contrast, 87% of the people with Dutch as their mother tongue were using English or French at home. Nationwide, the numbers of individuals reporting Italian, Ukrainian, German, Polish, and Dutch as mother tongue all declined in the 2001 census. Apart from data on mother tongue speakers, the census contains data on home language use. Table 3.11 gives an overview of the most frequently reported home languages ( $N > 30,000$ ) in the 2001 census.



Home language	N	Home language	N
English	25,246,220	Russian	157,455
French	9,178,100	Urdu/'Pakistani'	139,445
Italian	680,970	Farsi	111,705
German	635,520	Tamil	111,585
Spanish	610,575	Korean	91,610
Chinese	415,680	Hungarian	89,230
Cantonese	398,890	Gujarati	80,835
Punjabi	338,720	Creole	76,140
Arabic	290,280	Croatian	71,725
Portuguese	264,995	Japanese	65,030
Polish	249,695	Hebrew	63,675
Tagalog/Filipino	244,690	Roumanian	60,520
Hindi	227,295	Serbian	50,110
Mandarin	207,970	Yiddish	37,010
Ukrainian	200,525	Bengali	34,650
Vietnamese	165,645	Armenian	32,905
Greek	158,800	Turkish	32,520
Dutch	157,875	Somali	31,260

**Table 3.11** Most frequently reported home languages in the 2001 census

Table 3.11 confirms some of the patterns commented upon above. Whereas English and French are represented on top, interesting differences emerge between the rankings of other languages represented in Tables 3.9 and 3.10. Furthermore, the 2001 census findings show that Canada's increasing multilingualism is not confined to the domestic context but that the workplace is also important for multilingual practice. Considerable numbers of languages are used in various workplaces throughout Canada. By means of the census data, a detailed and comprehensive demolinguistic picture of the Canadian society can be obtained. Inquiries have yielded material with which to complement and compare census data, thus laying a solid foundation for language research and language policy (De Vries & Vallee 1980, Cummins & Danesi 1990).

The question on 'visible minorities' is another interesting characteristic of the Canadian census. Table 3.12 gives the relevant data.

Total visible minority population	3,983,845
Chinese	1,029,395
South Asian	917,075
Black	662,210
Filipino	308,575
Latin American	216,975
South-East Asian	198,880
Arab	194,680
West Asian	109,285
Korean	100,660
Japanese	73,315
Visible minority (other)	98,920
Multiple visible minorities	73,875
All others	25,655,185

**Table 3.12** Population by visible minority groups (2001 census; 20% sample data)

In the 2001 census, almost 4 million individuals identified themselves as visible minorities, accounting for 13.4% of the total population. Visible minorities were defined as persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour. This proportion increased steadily over the twenty years from 1981 to 2001. In 1981, 1.1 million people defining themselves as visible minorities accounted for 4.7% of the total population; by 1996, 3.2 million people accounted for 11.2%. The visible minority population grew much faster than the total population. Between 1996 and 2001, the total population increased by 4%, while the visible minority population rose by 25%, i.e., six times faster.

In the 2001 census question on ethnic ancestry, more than 200 different ethnic origins were reported (see Table 3.9). Ethnic origin, as defined in the census, refers to the ethnic or cultural group(s) to which an individual's ancestors belonged. The list of origins reported included ethnocultural groups associated with Canada's indigenous peoples, i.e., North American Indian, Métis, and Inuit, and groups associated with the founding of Canada, such as French, English, Scottish, and Irish. The list also reflected the history of immigration to Canada in the past 100 years, with groups such as German, Italian, Chinese, Ukrainian, Dutch, Polish, and so on. In addition, many people reported multiple ethnic ancestries as a result of increasing intermarriage among ethnic groups. As is clear from Table 3.9, there is not always a one-to-one correlation between ethnic origin and reported mother tongue. In the same vein, home language use numbers have no direct links with

mother tongue numbers. In the 2001 census, 469,485 people reported Italian as their mother tongue, while 680,970 people claimed that Italian was used as a home language in the domestic domain. Yet, 1,270,370 people reported Italian as their ethnic origin. These differences alone highlight the dynamic character of multi-lingual and multicultural societies. For a comprehensive discussion of the complex linkage between issues of language, ethnicity, and identity, we refer to Edwards (2001).

The concept of ethnic origin remains a highly problematic issue in population censuses. As discussed in the Australian context, the results obtained from ethnicity questions are not considered representative. Statistics Canada admits that the concept of ethnicity is fluid and is probably the most complex concept measured in the census. The respondents' understanding or views of ethnicity, the awareness of their family background, the number of generations in Canada, and the length of time since immigration affect the reporting of ethnicity from one census to another. Increasing intermarriage among various ethnic groups has led to an increase in the reporting of multiple origins, which has added to the complexity of the ethnic data. Interestingly, in the 2001 census, 'Canadian' was included as an option in the category of ethnic origin.

### **3.4 The United States of America**

Among the four countries presented in this chapter, the USA has the longest tradition of conducting nationwide censuses. Alterman (1969) and Anderson (1988) offer fascinating historical accounts of who has been counted in American censuses, and how and why. The USA has also a longstanding tradition regarding the identification of majority and minority groups. Burkey (1978) offers an in-depth historical perspective on the origins of dominant and dominated groups in the USA. The importance and utility of information about the language use of different population groups has been closely examined in numerous studies (e.g., Fishman 1989, Fishman *et al.* 1985, Veltman 1983).

Starting from 1790, the USA has held a national census every ten years. Before 1960, the tradition of data collection was the same as in Australia; officers from the Census Bureau delivered the questionnaires to households and later collected them in person. However, data collection is being done more and more in the Canadian fashion in that census forms are increasingly sent out and returned by mail. In rural areas, data collection is still done in the traditional way. As in the case of Canada, two types of census questionnaires are used in the USA: a short and a long form. One fifth of the nation fills in the long form, while 80% of the population receives

the short form. The characteristic of the USA census which distinguishes it from that of the other countries presented here is the detailed questions on ancestry, race, and ethnicity. The question on race has been asked since the first census of 1790 (Goldberg 1997). A citizenship question has been included since 1820. A question on country of birth has been asked since 1850, and one on languages spoken at home since 1890. A question on Hispanic origin has been asked since 1970, while a question on ancestry has been included since 1980.

Different from Australia, a census question on race is employed in the USA, Canada, and South Africa. The phrasing of the question in the USA census is as follows: *What is the person's race? (Mark one or more races to indicate what this person considers himself/herself to be.)* Multiple choices are listed under the question, i.e., *White / Black, African American, or Negro / American Indian or Alaska Native / Asian Indian / Chinese / Filipino / Japanese / Korean / Vietnamese / Native Hawaiian / Guamanian or Chamorro / Samoan / Other Pacific Islander / Other Asian.* The justification of including a question on race is reasoned as follows. In terms of federal uses, this question is needed to assess racial disparities in health and environmental risks. It is used under the Voting Rights Act to identify minority language groups that require voting materials in their own languages. It is used under the Civil Rights Act to assess fairness of employment practices. The race question also has a community impact in that it is necessary to the Community Reinvestment Act to help determine whether financial institutions meet the credit needs of minorities in low- and moderate-income areas. It is also needed under the Public Health Service Act as a key factor in identifying segments of the population who may not be receiving needed medical services, and it is required by states to meet legislative redistricting requirements by knowing the racial make-up of the voting-age population. It is further argued that the racial classifications used by the Census Bureau adhere to the October 1997 revised standards for the classification of federal data on race and ethnicity, issued by the Office of Management and Budget. These standards govern the categories used to collect and publish federal data on race and ethnicity.

Each answer provided by a respondent represents a self-classification according to the race or races with which the individual most closely identifies. This question includes both racial and national origin of sociocultural groups, and attempts to reflect the increasing racial and ethnic diversity of the population of the USA. The term 'African American' has been included to reflect the increased prevalence of the term in the past decade. After each census, the question on race was evaluated and revised if the formulation of the question was found to strongly influence the answers. In the 1990 census, the wording of the question on race yielded data that was insufficiently precise. In spite of these reliability and representativeness

problems, the tradition of including a question on race is still maintained in the USA census.

Another unique characteristic of the USA census is the inclusion of a specific question concerning one particular group: Hispanics. The question *Is this person Spanish / Hispanic / Latino?* has been asked since 1970. In the response category, the following choices are written: *No, not Spanish / Hispanic / Latino; Yes, Mexican, Mexican American, Chicano; Yes, Puerto Rican; Yes, Cuban; Yes, other Spanish / Hispanic / Latino.* The legal justification of including this question at the federal level is that it is essential to ensure enforcement of bilingual English-Spanish election rules under the Voting Rights Act. It is also used to meet guidelines mandated in the October 1997 revised standards for the classification of federal data on race and ethnicity. In terms of community impact, this question is used in identifying segments of the population who may not be getting needed medical services under the Public Health Service Act. It is also used for allotting funds to school districts for bilingual services under the Bilingual Education Act. Finally, it is needed under the Voting Rights Act to monitor the compliance of local jurisdictions by using counts of the voting-age population by national origin to ensure equality in voting. The answer given by the respondent to this question is based on self-categorisation.

Apart from the questions on race and Hispanic origin, a third question concerning the respondent's ancestry or ethnic origin has been asked since 1980. The question *What is this person's ancestry or ethnic origin?* asks for the ancestry/ethnicity of all persons, no matter how many generations have been in this country. Respondents are asked to indicate the name of one ethnic group. Individuals who think of themselves as being of more than one ethnic origin are allowed to indicate multiple ethnicity, e.g., German-Irish. This self-categorisation approach recognises that a strong ethnic identity is not limited to just first- and second-generation immigrants. The question is required to enforce provisions under the Civil Rights Act which prohibits discrimination based upon race, sex, religion, and national origin (Bureau of the Census 2000).

A combination of three questions elicits data to set and evaluate immigration policies and laws: country of birth (*Where was this person born?*), citizenship (*Is this person a citizen of the USA?*), and year of entry to the USA (*When did this person come to live in the USA?*). This series of questions is used to describe the population as native and foreign born. Country of birth has been asked since 1850 and is needed to provide information about what part of the population was born in the USA, Puerto Rico, the Island Areas, or a foreign country. Vital information on lifetime migration patterns also comes from the country of birth question. Information on citizenship is used to classify part of the population as foreign

individuals who were born in a foreign country but have at least one American parent. The question on citizenship does not attempt to determine the legal status of immigrants. Year of entry is needed to determine how long foreign-born persons have lived in the USA.

Questions on language use have been asked since 1890. Between 1940 and 1960, no questions on language were included in the censuses. There are three questions on language use. The first one is on languages other than English (*Does this person speak a language other than English at home?*); the second one identifies the specific language; and the third one is on English language proficiency (*How well does this person speak English?*). The Census Bureau has many federal and national impact reasons to include these questions but basically this series of questions is used to identify the populations who have difficulty communicating in English. The information derived on the basis of these questions can also be used under the Bilingual Education Program to allocate grants to school districts for children with limited English language proficiency.

The 1990 census data published by the Census Bureau in several separate reports show that almost a quarter of the nearly 20 million Americans who were born abroad immigrated between 1985 and 1990. The main countries of origin were Mexico (4.3 million) and the Philippines (913,000). Canada, Cuba, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, South Korea, Vietnam, and China each contributed at least 500,000 inhabitants. The states with the highest number of inhabitants of foreign extraction were California (33%), New York (14%), Florida (8%), Texas (8%), New Jersey (5%), and Illinois (5%). In 1990, almost 32 million people (14% of the American population of five years of age and older) indicated that they spoke a language other than English at home, as compared with 23 million (11%) ten years earlier. After English, Spanish was the language most frequently spoken at home (17.3 million), followed by French (1.7 million), German (1.5 million), Italian (1.3 million), and Chinese (1.2 million). Approximately 4.5 million people spoke an Asian or Pacific Islander language at home, and almost 332,000 people spoke a native North American language. Of the non-English-speaking population, 60% declared that they spoke English very well, and 20% that they did not speak English or spoke it badly. A relatively low command of the English language was reported mainly among Asian language groups.

The results of the 2000 census show that the USA is increasingly becoming a multicultural and multilingual country. On the basis of the outcomes of the 2000 census, the total population of the USA is about 281 million. The Census Bureau also presented its findings concerning citizenship, ancestry, ethnicity, race, Hispanic *versus* non-Hispanic persons, and languages spoken at home. The numbers and percentages for ethnicity, race, and Hispanics are intriguing as there are

inconsistencies, which in a way confirm the Australian Bureau of Statistics' experiences with the ethnicity question. Table 3.13 is based on the 2000 census findings on race.

Race	Number	Percentage
White	211,460,626	75.1
Black or African American	34,658,190	12.3
American Indian and Alaska Native	2,475,956	0.9
Asian	10,242,998	3.6
Native Hawaiian & Other Pacific Islander	398,835	0.1
Some other race	15,359,073	5.5
Two or more races	6,826,228	2.4
Total	281,421,906	99.9
Hispanic or Latino and race	Number	Percentage
Hispanic or Latino	35,305,818	12.5
Not Hispanic or Latino	246,116,088	87.5
White Alone	194,552,774	69.1

**Table 3.13** Racial characteristics, 2000 census

As is clear from Table 3.13, the numbers and percentages for race in the first and second parts of the table are inconsistent. In the first part, the percentage for 'whites' is 75.1% but in the second part it is 69.1%. On the other hand, for the category 'languages spoken at home', 209.8 million people (of five years and older) reported that they spoke only English at home, while 44.9 million (of whom 26.7 million were Spanish-speaking) indicated they spoke a language other than English at home. For a comprehensive discussion of the demographic issues surrounding minority languages in the USA, with a focus on Spanish in California, we refer to Macías (2001). Table 3.14 presents the 2000 census findings with respect to 'ancestry'.

Ancestry	Millions	Ancestry	Millions
German	46.4	Russian	2.9
Irish	33.2	Canadian French	2.2
English	28.2	West Indian	1.9
USA	19.6	Welsh	1.8
Italian	15.9	Hungarian	1.5
French	9.7	Sub-Saharan African	1.5
Polish	9.0	Danish	1.4
Scottish	5.4	Czech	1.3
Dutch	5.2	Portuguese	1.3
Scottish-Irish	5.2	Arab	1.2
Norwegian	4.5	Greek	1.1
Swedish	4.3		

**Table 3.14** Data on ancestry, 2000 census (in millions)

The figures for ancestry, race, and ethnicity from the 2000 USA census show the complicated nature of USA census findings. Even though the number of persons who reported that they spoke a language other than English at home was 44.9 million, the number of people who indicated American (or USA) as their ancestry was 19.6 million. There is an ongoing debate on the justification of the ‘racial’ classification in the USA census and on its distinctness from the ‘ethnic’ classification (Burkey 1978, Vermeulen 1999, Kertzer & Arel 2002). Many Americans get lost in the subtlety of identifying population groups in terms of race *versus* ethnicity, or tend to consider ethnic groups as subdivisions of races. It is, apparently, considered to be too early to abolish the whole system of racial classification, in spite of the fact that ‘races’ in the classic biological sense do not exist. No racial classification can be developed in such a way that biological variation is greater between than within racial categories. In the next section, we focus on census experiences in South Africa, where the racial question originates from a totally different historical context.

### 3.5 South Africa

The census experience of English-dominant immigration countries presented so far is very different from that in the South African context. South Africa presents a different picture due to its particular spectrum of indigenous and non-indigenous



languages and to its politically burdened history of apartheid. During the period of apartheid (1948-1994), English and Afrikaans were the only two languages with an officially recognised nationwide status, despite the wide variety of other languages learnt and spoken in South Africa. Apart from Afrikaans, English, and other languages of European origin, two major groups of languages should be mentioned:

- Bantu languages, in particular (isi)Zulu, (isi)Xhosa, (si)Swati, (isi)Ndebele, (se)Sotho, (se)Tswana, (xi)Tsonga, (tshi)Venda, and Sepedi;
- Indian languages, in particular Hindi, Gujarati, Tamil, Urdu, and Telegu.

While Bantu languages have their roots in Southern Africa, European and Indian languages originate from abroad, coming into South Africa since the 17th and 19th centuries, respectively. For a historical and sociolinguistic discussion of the spectrum of languages in South Africa, we refer to Webb (2002), Extra & Maartens (1998), and Mesthrie (1995).

The earliest interest in language spread in South Africa focused on Afrikaans. The first demolinguistic map of Afrikaans was published by Van Ginniken (1913) in his *Handboek der Nederlandsche Taal*. Van Ginniken distinguished between Western Afrikaans, spoken in the then Western Province, and North-Eastern Afrikaans, spoken in Transvaal, the (formerly Orange) Free State and the Middle and Eastern Cape to Natal. Van Ginniken's work on Afrikaans was followed up by such later studies as Coetzee (1958) on the geographical distribution of Afrikaans and English in South Africa. Coetzee concluded that in the 1930s the cities had become English-dominant, whereas the countryside had remained Afrikaans-dominant. Apart from Afrikaans and English, virtually no demolinguistic studies were undertaken on African or other languages in South Africa before 1950.

Van Warmeloo (1952) and Louw (1959) are among the first demolinguistic maps which show the distribution of languages spoken in South Africa. In the early 1980s, the more ambitious *Language Atlas of South Africa* programme was initiated, which meant to identify, illustrate, and discuss the distribution of all South African languages in a series of language maps. Du Preez (1987) gives an account of this research programme, derived from an international survey of the development and stance of demo- or geolinguistics at that time. In the changing South Africa of the 1990s, language planning became a primary area of debate on the national agenda of reform. In this context, reliable census data on (home) language use were referred to as prerequisite. Censuses were held in South Africa during the 20th century at intervals of ten years or less (recently: 1970, 1980, 1991, 1996, and 2001). Information based on the 1980 census data is provided by Grobler *et al.* (1990). The 1991 census data were documented by Luüs & Oberholzer (1994) and Krige *et al.* (1994). Van der Merwe & Van Niekerk (1994) provide comparative data on the 1980 and 1991 censuses in their *Language Atlas of South Africa*.

Both the 1980 and 1991 censuses were based on questionnaires, written in Afrikaans and English only, and delivered to the heads of households. Both censuses contained questions on race and language. In the 1991 census, the first question asked for 'population group' in terms of *White / Coloured / Asian / Black*. The second question was formulated as follows: *Indicate whether each person (in the household) can speak (communicate in), read and/or write the following languages: Afrikaans/English/Black Language/Other*. In addition, the following two questions were asked: *State which language each person most often speaks at home* and *If more than one language is usually spoken at home, state the other language which is spoken*. African languages should be specified in terms of the Bantu languages distinguished before.

It is internationally accepted that a census cannot be 100% accurate. The census figures available for South Africa, however, present researchers with a unique set of inadequacies due to a unique political history. The list of inadequacies will be summarized from commentary by Krige *et al.* (1994). In South African censuses up to and including the 1980 census, the process whereby adjustment for undercount was made, was completely lacking in transparency and no methodological information was made available. The published figures already incorporated the undercount adjustment. It is no surprise then that numerous allegations of political manipulation have been made, supported by examples of absurdities in the data. In the census reports, the unadjusted figures were provided together with the lists giving the recommended adjustment by race, gender, and age. No provision was made for the incorporation of district-related (urban/rural) differences.

After the 1991 census, validation and adjustment was coordinated by the BMR (*Bureau of Market Research*), UNISA (*University of South Africa*), and representatives from organisations such as the HSRC (*Human Sciences Research Council*) and the DBSA (*Development Bank of Southern Africa*). Unfortunately, the structural constraints inherent in the earlier censuses were apparent in the 1991 census as well:

- The census reports provide information only on what is called 'first home language' and no information is available on other languages that people can and may speak.
- The way in which questions were asked and the data were analysed, influenced the statistics in important ways. For example, the published data make no provision for the fact there may conceivably be Africans who have Afrikaans or English as their first language. If they do, the only available category in which to classify their home language is 'other'.
- Language data from the former so-called TBVC 'home lands' (Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, and the Ciskei) is unavailable and is simply either

represented by an estimate in the distribution figures available or ignored, as in the 1980 figures, because the speakers of these languages were statutorily citizens of 'foreign countries'.

- Finally, it should be kept in mind that years of rapid political and social change have passed since the 1991 census. Widespread urbanisation and the influx of illegal immigrants, primarily across the borders of South Africa, are factors to contend with on the language scene. In 1994, the territorial division of South Africa into four provinces, six homelands and the four independent TBVC states changed into a nine-province division – a fact to be kept in mind when considering pre-1994 language maps.

In May 1996, the Constitutional Assembly of the post-apartheid Republic of South Africa adopted a new Constitution, which in Clause 6 provides for no less than 11 official languages:

- The official languages of the Republic are Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, isiXhosa and isiZulu.
- Recognising the historically diminished use and status of the indigenous languages of our people, the state must take practical and positive measures to elevate the status and advance the use of these languages.
- The national government and provincial governments may use any particular official languages for the purposes of government, taking into account usage, practicality, expense, regional circumstances, and the balance of the needs and preferences of the population as a whole or in the province concerned; but the national government and each provincial government must use at least two official languages.
- Municipalities must take into account the language usage and preferences of their residents.
- The national government and provincial governments, by legislative and other measures, must regulate and monitor their use of official languages. All official languages must enjoy parity of esteem and must be treated equitably.
- A Pan South Africa Language Board, established by national legislation, must promote and rate conditions for the development and use of all official languages, the Khoi, Nama, and San languages, and also Sign language.
- The legislation must also promote and ensure respect for all languages commonly used by communities in South Africa, including German, Greek, Gujarati, Hindi, Portuguese, Tamil, Telegu, and Urdu, as well as

Arabic, Hebrew, Sanskrit, and other languages used for religious purposes in South Africa.

In the 1996 census, for the first time in South African history, the census forms were available in all eleven newly recognised official languages. A remarkable phenomenon in the post-apartheid censuses of 1996 and 2001 remains the maintenance of a census question on race rather than on ethnicity. Possible answers to the question *How would (the person) describe him-/herself?* related to *Black African, Coloured, Indian/Asian, and White*. No further specifications were given, nor was there room for other specifications. The two questions regarding language use were phrased as follows: *Which language does (the person) speak most often at home?*, and *Does (the person) speak more than one language at home?* The answer to the former question had to be specified in an open space (no explanation was given), while the answer to the latter question had to be specified as yes or no. If yes, *The language (the person) speaks next most often* was asked for.

In explaining the rationale and aim of the 1996 census, Lestrade-Jefferis (1998) remarks that “the development of process in South Africa is taking place against a backdrop of profound inequalities (...) The measurement of such inequalities has been difficult because of the fragmentation of data collection in past years”. Thus, the 1996 census represented an opportunity to establish important benchmarks for a number of demographic, social, and economic variables that are indispensable for development planning. Lestrade-Jefferis also argues that the 1996 census was the first *non-racial* nationwide census in South African history. It should be kept in mind, however, that a racial question was maintained in the census.

In 2001, South Africans were counted for the second time as citizens of a democracy. Over 83,000 enumerators and over 17,000 supervisors and fieldwork coordinators were employed to collect information on persons and households throughout the country, using a uniform methodology. Census night, or the night of the count, was 9-10 October 2001. In preparation, the country was divided into about 80,000 small pockets of land called enumeration areas (EAs). An enumerator was assigned to each EA to visit all the places within it where people were living. The information collected was processed at the census processing centre in Pretoria, employing about 1,000 people working in shifts for sixteen months to process the questionnaires. For the first time, scanning was used to capture the data on computer. The captured data were then edited and made accessible for analysis. In every census, there are bound to be some people or households who are missed, or some people who are counted twice. During November 2001, a post-enumeration survey (PES) was undertaken to determine the degree of undercount or overcount in the 2001 census. Major outcomes of the 2001 census have been published by

Statistics South Africa (SSA 2003) on the internet. The numbers and percentages presented in this report have been adjusted according to the PES findings. Based on the 2001 census outcomes, the population of South Africa was 44.8 million people. Table 3.15 gives an overview of the four distinguished population groups across each of the nine provinces.

Province	Black African	Coloured	Indian/Asian	White	Total
Eastern Cape	87.5	7.4	0.3	4.7	100
Free State	88.0	3.1	0.1	8.8	100
Gauteng	73.8	3.8	2.5	19.9	100
KwaZulu-Natal	84.9	1.5	8.5	5.1	100
Limpopo	97.2	0.2	0.2	2.4	100
Mpumalanga	92.4	0.7	0.4	6.5	100
Northern Cape	35.7	51.6	0.3	12.4	100
North West	91.5	1.6	0.3	6.7	100
Western Cape	26.7	53.9	1.0	18.4	100
South Africa	79.0	8.9	2.5	9.6	100

**Table 3.15** Population by province and population group in % (source: SSA 2003)

In terms of racial profiles, black Africans accounted for 35.4 million or 79% of the total population, followed by whites, 4.3 million (9.6%), coloureds, 3.4 million (8.9%), and Indians, 1.1 million (2.5%). One in every five South Africans (21%) lived in KwaZulu-Natal, the province which had the largest population, with 9.4 million people. Gauteng had the next-largest population, with 8.8 million people (19.7%), followed by the Eastern Cape, with 6.4 million (14.4%). There were differences in the population group distribution in each of the nine provinces. Black Africans were the largest population group in every province except the Northern and Western Capes. In these two provinces, the coloured population group was in the majority, accounting for 51.6% of the population in the Northern Cape and 53.9% in the Western Cape. By contrast, 97.2% of the population of Limpopo and 92.4% of the people residing in Mpumalanga were black Africans. Compared with the other provinces, Gauteng (19.9%) and the Western Cape (18.4%) had the largest proportion of whites. Table 3.16 gives an overview of reported home languages by population group.

Home language	Black African	Coloured	Indian/Asian	White	Total
Afrikaans	235,282	3,173,972	19,266	2,536,906	5,983,426
English	183,631	756,067	1,045,845	1,687,661	3,673,203
(isi)Ndebele	703,906	1,882	3,522	2,511	711,821
(isi)Xhosa	7888,999	12,172	703	5,279	7,907,153
(isi)Zulu	10,659,309	11,397	2,406	4,193	10,677,305
Sepedi	4,204,358	2,706	289	1,627	4,208,980
(se)Sotho	3,544,304	8,566	250	2,065	3,555,186
(se)Tswana	3,657,796	16532	373	2,315	3,677,016
(si)Swati	1,191,015	2,360	255	801	1,194,430
(tshi)Venda	1,020,133	852	114	658	1,021,757
(xi)Tsonga	1,989,062	1,595	142	1,409	1,992,207
Other	120,369	6,406	42,302	48,216	217,293
Total	35,416,166	3,994,505	1,115,467	4,293,640	44,819,778

**Table 3.16** Reported home languages in South Africa, based on the 2001 census outcomes (source: SSA 2003)

According to the 2001 census outcomes, Zulu, Xhosa, and Afrikaans dominated the language scene. The home language speakers of the nine official African languages jointly constituted approximately two-thirds of the total population of the country. Oriental languages (in particular Tamil, Hindi, Telegu, Gujarati, Urdu, and Chinese) were used at home by only a small fraction of the population, as was the case with European immigrant languages (in particular, Dutch, French, German, Greek, Italian, and Portuguese).

Given our discussion on the census data, the description provided above might seem straightforward. However, as documented by Webb (2002), the sociolinguistic situation in South Africa is much more complex than is outlined here. Webb suggests that the terms *mother tongue*, *first language*, and *home language* might not serve the intended need. He further suggests that even though these three concepts are often used in Western societies, their utility is more complicated in traditional African societies. Instead of these terms, he proposes the concepts of *primary* and *non-primary languages* but admits that these also might construct an inaccurate sociolinguistic profile. Webb offers an excellent state-of-the-art description of the present and past language situation in South Africa, in which he also provides an account of the racial division and its roots in the society. He claims that the issue of race remains a sensitive matter, and that, in post-apartheid South

Africa, there is no longer any racial classification. Yet, Statistics South Africa still provides numbers and figures based on such classification.

Although there are no clear-cut boundaries in the distribution of languages in South Africa, most of them have a strong regional or local base throughout the country. There is no dialect continuum among the African languages. The separation between, e.g., Zulu and Sesotho (sa Leboa) is complete and not partial, in spite of the fact that Zulu has had a strong influence on Sesotho. Table 3.17 gives an overview of the three major home languages by province, according to the 2001 census outcomes.

Province	First home language	Second home language	Third home language
Eastern Cape (6,436,763)	Xhosa 5,369,672 (83.4%)	Afrikaans 600,057 (9.3%)	English 232,952 (3.6%)
Free State (2,706,775)	(se)Sotho 1,742,939 (64.4%)	Afrikaans 323,082 (11.9%)	(isi)Xhosa 246,192 (9.1%)
Gauteng (8,837,178)	(isi)Zulu 1,902,025 (21.5%)	Afrikaans 1,269,176 (14.4%)	(se)Sotho 1,159,589 (13.1%)
KwaZulu/Natal (9,426,017)	(isi)Zulu 7,624,284 (80.9%)	English 1,285,011 (13.6%)	(isi)Xhosa 219,826 (2.3%)
Limpopo (5,273,642)	Sepedi 2,750,175 (52.1%)	(xi)Tsonga 1,180,611 (22.4%)	(tshi)Venda 839,704 (15.9%)
Mpumalanga (3,122,990)	(si)Swazi 963,188 (30.8%)	(isi)Zulu 822,934 (26.4%)	(isi)Ndebele 377,688 (12.1%)
Northern Cape (822,727)	Afrikaans 559,189 (68.0%)	(se)Tswana 171,340 (20.8%)	(isi)Xhosa 51,228 (6.2%)
North West (3,669,349)	(se)Tswana 2,398,366 (65.4%)	Afrikaans 275,681 (7.5%)	(isi)Xhosa 214,461 (5.8%)
Western Cape (4,524,335)	Afrikaans 2,500,748 (55.3%)	(isi)Xhosa 1,073,951 (23.7%)	English 874,660 (19.3%)

**Table 3.17** Three major home languages by province in absolute and proportional figures (source: SSA 2003)

Table 3.17 shows that African languages have a primary status as home languages in 7 out of the 9 provinces, and that Afrikaans has this status in both the Western and Northern Cape. The second position is taken by Afrikaans in 4 provinces, by an African language in 4 provinces, and by English in 1 province. The third position is taken by an African language in 7 provinces, and by English in 2 provinces. All in all, African languages are represented 18 times in Table 3.17 whereas Afrikaans and English are represented 6 and 3 times, respectively, out of a total of

9 x 3 = 27 language references. These findings make again clear that African languages have a very strong home language status and that English has a much stronger status as *lingua franca* than as home language across South Africa.

### 3.6 Great Britain and Sweden

In contrast to the four non-European countries in which English is the dominant language discussed above, there is no tradition of collecting large-scale (home) language use data in the European context. There are, however, a few countries, in particular Great Britain and Sweden, which collect home language data among school children. In this section, we reflect on the experiences of these two countries.

Though Great Britain has been taking censuses since 1801 with an interval of 10 years, there have been no questions on home language use in the census forms. There were two questions on country of birth and ethnicity in the 2001 census, the last question having been included first in 1991. For a comprehensive discussion of considerations in including or excluding questions about ethnicity in the census, we refer to Sillitoe (1987) and Sillitoe & White (1992). The question on ethnicity was phrased in 2001 as *What is your ethnic background?* but the options given below the question (*White / Mixed / Asian / Black or Black British / Chinese / Other ethnic group*) suggest race rather than ethnicity. In explaining why such a question was necessary, the word ‘racial’ rather than ‘ethnic’ was used: “Responses to the question provide baseline figures against which the Government can monitor possible racial disadvantage and measure changes over time” ([www.statistics.gov.uk/census2001/pdfs/factsheet9.pdf](http://www.statistics.gov.uk/census2001/pdfs/factsheet9.pdf)). In the latest census of 2001, a language question was asked only in Wales on Welsh language skills: *Can you understand, speak, read, or write Welsh?* The respondents could mark all the relevant options but also a fifth option indicating no Welsh skills. In line with Welsh revitalisation efforts, the policy makers apparently wanted to know the outcome of their work. Similar questions were asked in Scotland on Scottish Gaelic. For the first time in the 2001 census, a question on religion was also asked. The question was voluntary and intended to complement the data obtained from the questions on ethnic group and country of birth.

#### **Home language surveys among school children in Great Britain**

Since 1990, all schools in Great Britain are expected to collect locally information about their pupils’ backgrounds, mainly on age, gender, ethnic origin, religious affiliation, and mother tongue. Local Educational Authorities (LEA) send the



collected data to the Department of Education and Science (henceforward DES). During the last decades, LEAs have periodically carried out home language surveys (henceforward HLS) among pupils. Nicholas (1988, 1992) gives a critical account of the main HLS among school children. Since 1981, the Inner London Education Authorities (ILEA) asked pupils which home languages, other than or in addition to English, are spoken at home. Even though these surveys provided a large amount of data on the diversity and distribution of home languages, Nicholas (1988) and Alladina (1993) criticised the one-sided emphasis on measuring pupils' comprehension of English. No information has been collected on proficiency in the home languages, in particular on reading and writing skills in these languages. Furthermore, little or no information has been collected on the need for the learning and teaching of these languages. Finally, in collecting the data, teachers' knowledge or assumptions were the main sources of information. It is not certain whether the collected information is derived from the pupils themselves.

In the early 1980s, by order of the DES and in cooperation with London University, a third HLS was carried out in five districts in London. This project, widely known as the *Linguistic Minorities Project* (LMP 1985), was one of the largest English HLS ever conducted. Many other LEAs took over the questionnaires and the methodology. The criticisms of earlier HLS were taken into consideration in the new surveys. For instance, in the LMP questionnaires, pupils were directly addressed as respondents. The LMP consisted of three sections:

- In the *School Language Survey*, the teacher asked each pupil the following screening question: *Do you yourself ever speak any language at home apart from English?* If the pupil provided a positive answer, then the following questions were asked: *What is the name of that language? Can you read that language? Can you write that language?* With these questions the intention was to obtain a global impression of the language diversity at school and an indication of home language proficiency.
- In the *Secondary Pupils Survey*, pupils themselves had to fill out the questionnaires. Detailed sociolinguistic information was gathered on whom speaks a certain language where and why.
- Finally, the *Adult Language Use Survey* was based on Fishman (1965) and others' earlier work. With the help of local bilingual interviewers, 156 questions (!) were directed at 2,500 adult informants. On the basis of these extended interviews, a detailed overview of language use in different domains, attitudes towards bilingualism, and processes of intergenerational language shift were depicted.

In the *Linguistic Minorities Project*, the language-use patterns of more than 216,000 pupils were accounted for. The number of pupils who used a language other than or next to English at home varied from 7% to 30% in the districts of London. The results of the project were discussed in detail in LMP (1985), including the implications of the findings with respect to policy and language education for ethnic minority children.

In 1985, the influential Swann report *Education for All* (DES 1985) pointed out the difficulty of drawing up an educational budget for provisions in the absence of nationally recognised educational statistics. In the period 1990-1995, all schools in England were expected to carry out an annual *Ethnic Monitoring Survey* and to send a survey of their total pupil population to the DES. Questions in the survey concerned ethnic origin, mother tongue, and religious affiliation. However, it was unclear how the ethnic origins of pupils should be interpreted. In the explanatory section for the schools, ethnic origin was considered to be a more or less objective feature of a pupil, although subjective self-categorisation by the pupil was also taken into consideration. In the official registration of pupils' mother tongues in the 1994/1995 school year (DFEE 1995:9), the following languages were distinguished: Bengali, Cantonese, Greek, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Punjabi, Portuguese, Spanish, Turkish, and Urdu. If more than 20 pupils in a school were categorised as *Other*, their mother tongues had to be mentioned explicitly. The identification of pupils on the basis of the language criterion also raised some questions. Through the questionnaire, information was obtained about a pupil's *mother tongue*, whereas the schools had actually been instructed to collect data about *the language or languages spoken in the home*. Moreover, no information was obtained about the intensity with which a specific language was used, nor about the persons with whom it was used.

The school obtained data on pupils' ethnicity by interviewing the parents on a voluntary basis. If the parents did not want to provide such information, the school was not entitled to make assumptions about ethnicity. The ethnicity data for those particular pupils would then be lacking, and they were listed as *unclassified*. How information was gathered depended on the local situation. The most important options were a mailed questionnaire for the parents, an interview of the parents by the headmaster, and a group interview between the headmaster and several parents, in which each parent was asked to fill out a questionnaire.

Because after a period of five years a great number of pupils were categorised as *unclassified* by the schools, the system of an annual *Ethnic Monitoring Survey* of education was thoroughly revised. In addition, the ethnicity data could no longer be linked to other educational indicators such as the level of achievement in the National Curriculum and the achievement of individual schools. As of the

1995/1996 school year, the separate *Ethnic Monitoring Survey* described above was abandoned. Since then, information about the educational needs and school achievements of ethnic minority pupils has been obtained from a combination of three sources of information: the annual school census, the four-yearly evaluation by the education inspectorate (OFSTED), and periodical *ad hoc* surveys.

The school census form, which is used to map the entire school population – 18th January of each year being the reference date –, is very extensive. The information that is specifically obtained about ethnic minority pupils is, however, minimal; in the 1996 school census, such information concerned the following:

- the total number of pupils that belong to an ethnic minority group;
- the identification (not the numbers) of the four largest ethnic minority groups;
- the total number of pupils for whom English is a second language.

In contrast to the *Ethnic Monitoring Survey*, no information was requested about the pupils' mother tongues, and the pupils' knowledge of English as a second language has clearly gained prominence. The categorisation into ethnic groups was carried over from the 1991 census. The schools were advised to collect the ethnicity data on the school census form chiefly from the parents.

The Ministry of Education is aware that the data they obtain provide only a rough sketch of the multicultural composition and the language needs of a school. Therefore, additional information is collected by the education inspectorate at least once every four years (OFSTED 1994). This concerns information about the number of pupils in each major ethnic group; the number of pupils for whom English is not their first language; and the four most important languages other than English spoken by pupils in the school. In doing this, the education inspectorate does obtain some information about languages, but this is information about their use in school, not at home. Baker & Eversley (2000) carried out an analysis of LEA home language data from the 1998/1999 school year relating to more than 850,000 primary school children in London, and were able to identify more than 350 different home languages. In their report, they not only offered a comprehensive description of these languages and their distribution in the different LEA districts in London, but also dealt with a number of methodological issues in analysing home language data.

### **Home language surveys among school children in Sweden**

Because of the education in languages other than Swedish in Swedish schools, there has been a longstanding tradition of collecting home language data in Sweden. On the basis of the pupils' records in schools, the Central Bureau of Statistics in Örebro/Stockholm used to publish the results derived from schools. Law forbids the use of personal codes for pupils in data collection forms. The

schools need to inform the pupils that after a check of the data provided on the questionnaires, they can be contacted for missing information.

In the past, the teachers serving in schools needed to give the following information for each pupil: (1) the language used at home (only one language per pupil could be given), (2) the need for and participation in home language programmes, (3) the need for and participation in Swedish as a second language programmes, and (4) a global assessment of Swedish comprehension in comparison with pupils who were native speakers of Swedish (in terms of *no comprehension at all / large difference / clear difference / small difference / no difference*).

The director of a school needed to provide information on the number of teaching hours necessary for Swedish as a second language lessons. Furthermore, for each home language, the following information needed to be specified: (1) the number of teaching hours necessary for instruction, (2) the required number of home language classes, and (3) the expected number of pupils in home language classes (a home language class was considered to be a class in which all pupils have a common language other than Swedish as a home language). The home language statistics in Sweden made up an important database for national and local decisions concerning educational policy, and they had direct implications for the organisation and funding of such classes. In recent years, however, there has been a decline in the collection of home language data from schools. For a discussion of the rise and fall of home language statistics in Sweden, we refer to Chapter 7.2 of this Volume.

### **3.7 Conclusions and discussion**

Various countries outside Europe have long immigration histories, and, for this reason, long histories of collecting census data on multicultural populations (Kertzer & Arel 2002). This is particularly true of non-European English-dominant immigration countries like Australia, Canada, South Africa, and the USA. In order to identify the multicultural composition of their populations, these four countries employ a variety of questions in their periodical censuses on nationality/citizenship, birth country, ethnicity, ancestry, race, languages spoken at home and/or at work, and religion. In Table 3.18, an overview of this array of questions is provided. For each country, the given census is taken as the norm.

Questions in the census	Australia 2001	Canada 2001	SA 2001	USA 2000	Coverage
1 Nationality of respondent	+	+	+	+	4
2 Birth country of respondent	+	+	+	+	4
3 Birth country of parents	+	+	-	-	2
4 Ethnicity	-	+	-	+	2
5 Ancestry	+	+	-	+	3
6 Race	-	+	+	+	3
7 Mother tongue	-	+	-	-	1
8 Language used at home	+	+	+	+	4
9 Language used at work	-	+	-	-	1
10 Proficiency in English	+	+	-	+	3
11 Religion	+	+	+	-	3
Total of dimensions	7	11	5	7	30

**Table 3.18** Overview of census questions in four multicultural countries

Both the types and numbers of questions are different for each country. Canada has a prime position with the greatest number of questions. Only three questions have been asked in all countries, whereas two questions have been asked in only one country. Four different questions have been asked about language. The operationalisation of questions also shows interesting differences, both between and within countries over time (see Clyne 1991 for a discussion of methodological problems in comparing the answers to differently phrased questions in Australian censuses from a longitudinal perspective).

Questions about ethnicity, ancestry and/or race have proven to be problematic in all of the countries under consideration. In some countries, ancestry and ethnicity have been conceived of as equivalent, cf. USA census question 10 in 2000: *What is this person's ancestry or ethnic origin?* Or, take Canadian census question 17 in 2001: *To which ethnic or cultural group(s) did this person's ancestors belong?* Australian census question 18 in 2001 only involved ancestry and not ethnicity, cf. *What is the person's ancestry?* with the following comments for respondents: *Consider and mark the ancestries with which you most closely identify. Count your ancestry as far as three generations, including grandparents and great-grandparents.* In as far as ethnicity and ancestry have been distinguished in census questions, the former concept related most commonly to present self-categorisation of the respondent and the latter to former generations. The ways in which respond-

ents themselves interpret both concepts, however, remain a problem that cannot be solved easily.

While, according to Table 3.18, 'ethnicity' has been mentioned in recent censuses of only two countries, four language-related questions have been asked in one to four countries. Only in Canada has the concept of 'mother tongue' been asked about (census question 7). It was defined for respondents as *the language first learnt at home in childhood and still understood*, while questions 8 and 9 were related to the language *most often* used at home/work. Table 3.18 shows the added value of language-related census questions for the definition and identification of multicultural populations, in particular the added value of the question on home language use compared with the value of questions on the more opaque concepts of mother tongue and ethnicity. Although the language-related census questions in the four countries under consideration differed in their precise formulation and commentary, the outcomes of these questions are generally regarded as cornerstones for educational policies with respect to the teaching of English as a first or second language and the teaching of languages other than English.

From this overview, it can be concluded that large-scale HLS are both feasible and meaningful, and that the interpretation of the resulting database is made easier by transparent and multiple questions on home language use. These conclusions are even more pertinent in the context of gathering data on multicultural *school* populations. European experiences in this domain have been gathered in particular in Great Britain and Sweden. In both countries, extensive municipal home language statistics have been collected through local educational authorities by asking school children questions about their oral and written skills in languages other than the mainstream language, and about their participation in and need for education in these languages.

An important similarity in the questions about home language use in these surveys is that the outcomes are based on reported rather than observed facts. Answers to questions on home language use may be coloured by the language of the questions themselves (which may or may not be the primary language of the respondent), by the ethnicity of the interviewer (which may or may not be the same as the ethnicity of the respondent), by the aimed at or perceived goals of the sampling (which may or may not be defined by national or local authorities), and by the spirit of the times (which may or may not be in favour of multiculturalism). These problems become even more evident in a school-related context in which pupils are respondents. Apart from the problems mentioned, the answers may be coloured by peer-group pressure and the answers may lead to interpretation problems in attempts to identify and classify languages on the basis of the answers given. For a discussion of these and other possible effects, we refer to Nicholas

(1988) and Alladina (1993). The problems referred to are inherent characteristics of large-scale data gathering through questionnaires about language-related behaviour and can only be compensated by small-scale data gathering through observing actual language behaviour. Such small-scale ethnographic research is not an alternative to large-scale language surveys, but a potentially valuable complement. For a discussion of (cor)relations between the reported and measured bilingualism of IM children in the Netherlands, we refer to Broeder & Extra (1998).

Throughout the EU, it is common practice to present data on regional minority groups on the basis of (home) language and/or ethnicity, and to present data on IM groups on the basis of nationality and/or country of birth. However, convergence between these criteria for the two groups appears over time, due to the increasing period of migration and minorisation of IM groups in EU countries. Due to their prolonged/permanent stay, there is strong erosion in the utilisation of nationality or birth-country statistics. Given the decreasing significance of nationality and birth-country criteria in the European context, the combined criteria of self-categorisation (ethnicity) and home language use are potentially promising alternatives for obtaining basic information on the increasingly multicultural composition of European nation-states. The added value of home language statistics is that they offer valuable insights into the distribution and vitality of home languages across different population groups and thus raise the awareness of multilingualism.

Empirically collected data on home language use also play a crucial role education. Such data will not only raise the awareness of multilingualism in multicultural schools; they are also indispensable tools for educational policies on the teaching of both the national majority language as a first or second language and the teaching of minority languages. A crossnational home language database would offer interesting comparative opportunities from each of these perspectives.

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## 4 Language rights perspectives

Language rights are rather variable phenomena, depending on the situational context, on the cultural perspective taken, and on other innumerable social, political, and extralinguistic factors. May (2001) provides case studies of our theme of concern, and makes a linkage between language and minority rights and such topics as nationalism, language loss, ethnicity, identity, and education. What is seen as a 'right' in one context is 'unthinkable' in another context. Human rights in general and language rights in particular are of paramount importance but without having unyielding institutions turning these rights into realities, the recognition of language rights on paper is pointless. Having examined numerous 'language rights' documents, we commonly witness a language of hegemony, in which dominant groups bestow some alms to some minority groups. When the socio-political sphere in a society changes, language rights also change. In times of economic hardship, the minorities' belts are tightened first: instruction or broadcasting in their languages needs to end. In order to overcome these ever-changing language rights, an overarching sense of human rights needs to be developed. A number of international and national institutions work towards this end. In this chapter, different approaches to language rights are presented. In order to show the remarkable variation in the understanding of language rights, various perspectives and actual conditions from such countries as Australia, Canada, India, the Russian Federation, South Africa, and the USA are briefly presented in Section 4.1. In Sections 4.2 and 4.3, a number of global and European documents concerning language rights and their limitations are discussed, respectively. In line with the aims of the *Multilingual Cities Project*, outlined in Part II of this Volume, the language rights issue in the European Union (henceforward EU) is discussed in greater detail. We refer in this chapter to 'language rights' rather than to 'linguistic rights', unless the latter occurs in quoted texts.

### 4.1 Multilingualism as social reality

In the 21st century, mankind is still preoccupied with securing basic human rights, one of which is language rights. Skutnabb-Kangas (1995:7) suggests that "there should be no need to debate the right to maintain and develop one's mother tongue. It is a self-evident, fundamental, basic linguistic human right." Yet, what is obvious

in one context is unimaginable in another context, especially in countries where language diversity is seen as the principal threat to social cohesion and national unity. In such a context, language minorities are conceived of as a problem for nation-states in achieving national cohesion and homogeneity. However, due to massive population shifts of people from different ethnolinguistic backgrounds, more and more countries are experiencing migration flows. Yesterday's emigrant-sending countries become the immigrant-receiving countries of tomorrow. In addition to popular Western European destinations, there are new urban attraction centres now, such as Madrid, Istanbul, or Athens. Turkey continues to send large numbers of emigrants each year to Western Europe but it also receives workforce migration from neighbouring countries such as Russia, Ukraine, or Moldova. The amount and type of migration has increased in all parts of the world and affects the local conditions and policies of all host countries. In addition to the traditional forms of labour migration, there are also new forms of population movements, such as overseas students and highly qualified professionals, who commonly offer their knowledge and expertise to transnational companies or universities. This new form of population movement is an essential component of the globalisation process and it results in increasing language diversity in the host societies. Like it or not, these new types of immigrants challenge traditional monolingual institutions.

Planned and unplanned migration has resulted in diversity and multilingualism in many industrialised societies. Yet, many other countries, such as Russia, India, or South Africa, have been multilingual for centuries. In some contexts, the degree of multilingualism has decreased due to colonisation. According to Macías (2001: 333), "the language diversity of the north American continent on the eve of contact with Europeans has been estimated at over 500 languages. The number of these languages, which survived until today, is less than half. At the same time, colonial languages – English, Spanish, and French have become dominant and hegemonic throughout this region." In the same vein, multilingualism in Russia was much more extended before the Russification movement of the communist revolution, when indigenous people were able to practice their languages and religions.

When people in Canada or South Africa talk about the intrinsic value of multilingualism or bilingualism, they mostly refer to 'high-status' languages. In most cases, policy makers do not consider indigenous minority languages or 'low-prestige' immigrant languages. In Canada, bilingualism has an added value if the languages spoken are English and French. An immigrant language plus French or English does not mean much. As documented in Chapter 3 of this Volume, in analysing the census data for language use, the focus of Canadian policy makers seems to be on the knowledge of official languages, i.e., English and French. In South Africa, the indigenous languages of the African people have an exceptionally

low status as a result of colonisation (Alexander 2002). In the same vein, soon after the October revolution, Russians implemented severe assimilation policies to replace languages which were formerly national languages with Russian. Under these severe assimilation policies, the use of native languages was confined to a few domains, thereby lowering their functional value and prestige. Russian forcefully replaced all other languages in schools (Yağmur & Kroon, forthcoming). In such contexts, diversity and multilingualism were seen as enemies of social cohesion and national unity. Yet, swimming against the current has its limits; with the end of the Apartheid era in South Africa, the constitution now “recognises citizen’s rights to linguistic security, to obtain access to rights, privileges, status and power of the common society, to receive respect for their linguistic identity, to perform their cultural practices in the language of their choice, and to study their languages and have them researched” (Webb 2002:157). However, as documented by Webb (2002), a simple acceptance of the principle of language rights is relatively meaningless, especially in a country like South Africa. The status relations and language use profile of people, in combination with the region and language use domains, need to be considered. As documented in Chapter 3 of this Volume, multilingualism is a characteristic of only the black and coloured population. According to the 2001 census outcomes, there are almost 4,300,000 white residents in South Africa but less than 21,000 of them (0.005%) reported speaking an African language (see Chapter 3, Table 3.16). IsiZulu has the largest number of white speakers (almost 3,500 people). By the same token, according to 1989 Russian census data, out of some 120 million Russians, only 726,450 (0.64%) people reported knowing another language of the former USSR (Leontiev 1995). These figures alone illustrate the limited extent of multilingualism among dominant group members.

In spite of negative former practices, both South Africa and the Russian Federation have taken serious policy measures to secure the language rights of individuals and groups. Given the extreme assimilation policies of Soviet Russia from the 1930s till the late 1980s, the recognition of language rights by the Supreme Soviet in October 1991 is remarkable. In the Declaration of Human Rights and Freedoms (cited in Leontiev 1995), it is stated that “every person is guaranteed the right to use the mother tongue, to have education through the medium of the mother tongue, and the protection and growth of the national culture.” According to Leontiev (1995:204), the Russian position “contrasts sharply with some recent documents of European origin which contain absolutely empty formulations like [everyone has the right of expression in any language].” Indeed, actions speak louder than words. Russian legislation has provided provisions for minority language teaching in different Republics, such as Altai and Bashkortostan, where all

ethnolinguistic groups are entitled to establish their own schools and to offer instruction in their own languages. All parents are encouraged to demand native language instruction for their children. In principle, all languages are equal before the law, and there has been a considerable increase in the number of native language educational institutions in Bashkortostan over the past five years (Graney 1999). The current practice shows that the Russians not only opted for eloquently phrased documents, but they also provided the conditions for implementation. Yet, most ethnic Russians, like Anglo-Americans or Anglo-Australians, remain monolingual.

Similar to the situation in South Africa, multilingualism is an inherent characteristic of India. Annamalai (1995) reports that there are about 200 recognised languages, many of which are used in education, administration, and the mass media. The language policy in India has been to teach a minimum of three languages in schools, which is known as the 'three language formula'. These three languages consist of Hindi and English (two official languages of the country) plus the official language of the state (which could be any language spoken in the given state). Pupils who complete ten years of secondary schooling will have learned at least three languages. According to Annamalai (1995:216-217),

Europe and India are comparable in their linguistic diversity, but they are different in their linguistic tradition. Europe, from the time of Renaissance, promoted monolingualism as part of nation-formation and many mother tongues were lost or marginalised. (...) The current concern for multilingualism in Europe is a consequence of labour migration from other countries and of promoting a common economic space. The promotion of multilingualism in schools through bilingual education conflicts with the national ethos of many European countries. In India, on the other hand, multilingualism is part of the national ethos and the current preference for English at the risk of marginalising the Indian languages is part of the exercise for economic development.

The Australian discourse on multilingualism and language rights is somewhat different from that in the cases mentioned above. Starting with a policy of assimilation, after World War II, Australians ultimately opted for fully-fledged multiculturalism. A Senate Committee looked at language issues in terms of rights and needs, and in terms of language as a resource for cultural diversity, trade, and diplomacy. The recommendations of the Senate Committee were developed into a *National Policy on Languages* (Lo Bianco 1987). For details of language policy in Australia, we refer to Chapter 5 of this Volume. Interestingly, the concept of

'rights' has different implications in Australia, and policy makers avoid the use of this term in policy documents. According to Ozolins (1993), Australia has resolutely avoided an explicit rights-based approach to language and multicultural policy, preferring instead a more diffuse policy process. This non-legislative approach has some drawbacks in that what is given by one political government might be taken back by another (usually, left-wing gives and right-wing takes away).

As has been demonstrated in this section, in various contexts, language rights take different forms with differing goals. In most cases, actual practice is far removed from beautifully phrased documents. In most cases also, it is the dominant groups who formulate language rights. The same hegemonic groups, again, decide whether to put policy documents into practice or not. In the next two sections, we document the most important legal, political, and official texts relevant to language rights from a global and European perspective. The most important agencies at the global level are the United Nations and UNESCO, and at the European level, the European Parliament and the Council of Europe. For a historical overview of language rights issues from the early 19th century on, we refer to Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson (1995a:71-110) and for overviews of global and European documents on language rights as human rights to Brownlie (1981), Ermacora *et al.* (1993), Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson (1995b:371-412), and De Varennes (1997, 2001). Here we only deal with a selection.

## 4.2 Global perspectives on language rights

There is a growing international awareness that, irrespective of the fundamental freedoms of the individual as expressed most noteworthy in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in December 1948, minority groups have rights that should be acknowledged and accommodated as well. As a result, the recognition and protection of minorities has become a significant issue in international law. At the UN World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna in June 1993, a Declaration was adopted which confirmed

the importance of the promotion and protection of the rights of persons belonging to minorities and the contribution of such promotion and protection to the political and social stability of the State in which such persons live.

It is important to note that diversity is recognised in this Declaration as a prerequisite and not as a threat to social cohesion. A complicated issue is the definition of ‘minority’ in legal documents. The concept has both quantitative and qualitative dimensions, based on dominated size and dominated status, respectively. Dominated status may refer to, e.g., physical, social, cultural, religious, linguistic, economic, or legal characteristics of minority groups. Attempts by the UN to reach an acceptable definition, however, have been largely unsuccessful (Capotorti 1979). The *UN International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* (1966) endures as the most significant international law provision on the protection of minorities. Article 27 of the covenant states

In those states in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with others of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, or to use their own language.

Article 27 of this Covenant does not contain a definition of minorities, nor does it make any provision for a body to designate them. Nevertheless, it refers to three prominent minority properties in terms of ethnicity, religion, and language, and it refers to ‘persons’, not to ‘nationals’.

While Article 27 of the 1966 UN Covenant takes a defensive perspective on minority rights (‘shall not be denied’), later UN documents give evidence of more affirmative action. Article 4 of the *UN Declaration of the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities*, adopted by the General Assembly in December 1992, contains certain modest obligations on states

to take measures to create favourable conditions to enable persons belonging to minorities to express their characteristics and to develop their culture, to provide them with adequate opportunities to learn their mother tongue or to have instruction in their mother tongue and to enable them to participate fully in the economic progress and development in their country.

Although adopted by the UN General Assembly, this document remains as yet a non-binding Declaration. In contrast to the protection offered to individuals in terms of international human rights (cf. the previously cited Article 27 of the 1966 UN Covenant and Article 4 of the 1992 UN Declaration), minority groups as such appear to be largely ignored.



*The Convention on the Rights of the Child*, adopted by the UN General Assembly in November 1989, contains a number of articles that are relevant in this context, in particular the following ones:

Article 29.1c

State Parties agree that the education of the child shall be directed to: The development of respect for the child's parents, his or her own cultural identity, language and values, for the national values of the country in which the child is living, the country from which he or she may originate, and civilisations different from his or her own.

Article 30

In those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities or persons of indigenous origin exist, a child belonging to such a minority or who is indigenous shall not be denied the right, in community with other members of his or her group, to enjoy his or her own culture, to profess and practise his or her own religion, or to use his or her own language.

Whereas Article 29.1c is focused on the development of respect in an educational context, Article 30 has a more general scope. In both Articles, however, children's language rights are clearly addressed.

In the last decade, UNESCO appears to be an important actor in campaigning for language rights. In this context, two initiatives should be mentioned. Led by UNESCO, a host of institutions and non-governmental organisations signed the *Universal Declaration on Linguistic Rights* in Barcelona, June 1996. This Declaration takes as its starting-point language groups instead of states and explicitly includes both regional and immigrant minority languages, in contrast to the *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages*, to be discussed in Section 4.3. Article 1.5 of the Barcelona Declaration says

This Declaration considers as a language group any group of persons sharing the same language which is established in the territorial space of another language community but which does not possess historical antecedents equivalent to those of that community. Examples of such groups are immigrants, refugees, deported persons and members of diasporas.

Articles 4 deals with the issue of integration and assimilation in the following way:

#### Article 4.1

This Declaration considers that persons who move to and settle in the territory of another language community have the right and the duty to maintain an attitude of integration towards this community. This term is understood to mean an additional socialisation of such persons in such a way that they may preserve their original cultural characteristics while sharing with the society in which they have settled sufficient references, values and forms of behaviour to enable them to function socially without greater difficulties than those experienced by members of the host community.

#### Article 4.2

This Declaration considers, on the other hand, that assimilation, a term which is understood to mean acculturation in the host society, in such a way that the original cultural characteristics are replaced by the references, values and forms of behaviour of the host society, must on no account be forced or induced and can only be the result of an entirely free decision.

Article 5 indirectly criticises the European Charter's focus on RM languages by stating

This Declaration is based on the principle that the rights of all language communities are equal and independent of their legal status as official, regional or minority languages. Terms such as regional or minority languages are not used in this Declaration because, though in certain cases the recognition of regional or minority languages can facilitate the exercise of certain rights, these and other modifiers are frequently used to restrict the rights of language communities.

In line with the European Charter, the Universal Declaration defines domains of language rights in terms of public administration and official bodies, education, proper names, media and new technologies, culture, and the socio-economic sphere.

An inclusive perspective is also taken in the UNESCO's *Universal Declaration of Cultural Diversity* (see [www.unesco.org/culture/pluralism/diversity](http://www.unesco.org/culture/pluralism/diversity) for the full text – last update on January 25, 2002), which does not make a distinction between RM and IM languages either. Articles 2 and 4 deal with cultural diversity in the following way:

#### Article 2 – From cultural diversity to cultural pluralism

In our increasingly diverse societies, it is essential to ensure harmonious interaction among people and groups with plural, varied and dynamic cultural identities as well as their willingness to live together. Policies for the inclusion and participation of all citizens are guarantees of social cohesion, the vitality of civil society and peace. Thus defined, cultural pluralism gives policy expression to the reality of cultural diversity. Indissociable from a democratic framework, cultural pluralism is conducive to cultural exchange and to the flourishing of creative capacities that sustain public life.

#### Article 4 – Human rights as guarantees of cultural diversity

The defence of cultural diversity is an ethical imperative, inseparable from respect for human dignity. It implies a commitment to human rights and fundamental freedoms, in particular the rights of persons belonging to minorities and those of indigenous peoples. No one may invoke cultural diversity to infringe upon human rights guaranteed by international law, nor to limit their scope.

There is a clear linkage between cultural diversity and human rights in this UNESCO Declaration, which is also apparent in other Articles. Moreover, the UNESCO Declaration has an appended Action Plan in which the member-states commit themselves to taking appropriate steps to disseminate the Declaration widely and to cooperating in achieving a whole set of objectives. Among these objectives are the following language-related ones:

#### Article 12.5

Safeguarding the linguistic heritage of humanity and giving support to expression, creation and dissemination in the greatest possible number of languages.

#### Article 12.6

Encouraging linguistic diversity – while respecting the mother tongue – at all levels of education, wherever possible, and fostering the learning of several languages from the youngest age.

Not all countries share the views that are expressed in the UNESCO's Universal Declaration. In reviewing the *MOST Journal on Multicultural Societies*, Wright (2001) details the reasons for this reluctance. In documenting the evolution of nation-state ideology, Wright shows that language minorities were regarded as a

problem for European nation-states in creating national cohesion and homogeneity, and warns that the strength of such anti-minority feeling in Europe should not be underestimated.

It is relevant at this point to refer to a recent United Nations initiative. The *United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights* has prepared an international convention on the protection of the rights of all migrant workers and members of their families ([www.unhchr.ch/html/menu3/b/m\\_mwctoc.htm](http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menu3/b/m_mwctoc.htm)). Although the concept of ‘migrant workers’ sounds rather outdated, given the fact that many of them and their children have become citizens of their countries of immigration, the right to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion are recognised. However, little mention is made of language rights. Article 16, paragraph 5 of the convention states that “migrant workers and members of their families who are arrested shall be informed at the time of arrest as far as possible in a language they understand of the reasons for their arrest and they shall be promptly informed in a language they understand of any charges against them.” In the same vein, Article 18 presents the rights of migrant workers and their families in case of a criminal charge against them. The right to understand and to be understood is bestowed upon migrants mainly in court cases against them. No other specific language rights are mentioned except in Article 45, paragraph 3, which says that “States of employment shall endeavour to facilitate for the children of migrant workers the teaching of their mother tongue and culture and, in this regard, States of origin shall collaborate whenever appropriate.” This article clearly shows the ambiguous position held by the States of employment. No group can claim any rights or privileges on the basis of this article. Governments are free to facilitate or not to facilitate mother tongue education. Paragraph 4 of Article 45 suggests that “States of employment may provide special schemes of education in the mother tongue of children of migrant workers, if necessary in collaboration with the States of origin.” On the one hand, immigrant-receiving countries complain that IM groups do not integrate into the mainstream societies, but on the other hand, they take measures to share the responsibility of mother tongue education with the countries of origin.

In United Nations and UNESCO documents, an all-inclusive perspective with respect to human rights and language rights is reflected. European documents, on the other hand, differ in their treatment of ‘minorities.’ This variation is documented in the following section.

### 4.3 European perspectives on language rights

At the European level, the *Treaty of Rome* (1958) confers equal status on all national languages of the EU member-states (with the exception of Irish and Luxembourgian) as working languages. On numerous occasions, the EU ministers of education have declared that the EU citizens' knowledge of languages should be promoted (Baetens Beardsmore 1993). Each EU member-state should promote pupils' proficiency in at least two 'foreign' languages, and at least one of these languages should be the official language of one of the EU states. Promoting knowledge of RM and/or IM languages has been left out of consideration in these ministerial statements. At the European level, many language minorities have nevertheless found in the institutions of the former European Communities (EC) and the present EU a new forum for formulating and defending their right to exist. Although the numbers of both RM and IM groups are often small within the borders of particular nation-states, these numbers are much more substantial at the European level.

The EC/EU institution that has shown the most affirmative action is the European Parliament. The European Parliament accepted various resolutions in 1981, 1987, and 1994, in which the protection and promotion of RM languages were recommended. The first resolution led to the foundation of the *European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages* in 1982. The Bureau now has member-state committees in almost all EU countries and it has recently acquired the status of *Non-Governmental Organisation* (NGO) at the levels of the European Council and the United Nations. Another result of the European Parliament resolutions is the foundation of the European *MERCATOR Network*, aimed at promoting research into the status and use of RM languages.

The Council of Europe, set up in 1949, is a much broader organisation than the EU, with 41 member-states. Its main role is to be "the guardian of democratic security founded on human rights, democracy and the rule of law." In November 1950, the Council of Europe adopted the *European Convention on Human Rights*, thereby reaffirming the fundamental freedoms proclaimed in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (see Section 4.2). Little reference in this European Convention is made to language rights, apart from the right to be informed of the reasons for arrest and of any charges made in a language understood (Article 5.2) and the right to have the free assistance of an interpreter if the language used in the court cannot be understood or spoken (Article 6.3). Similar provisions have been discussed in the previous UN context.

A recent bottom-up initiative by the Council of Europe's Council for Local and Regional Authorities resulted in the *European Charter for Regional or Minority*

*Languages*, which was opened for signature in November 1992 and came into force in March 1998 ([www.coe.int](http://www.coe.int)). At the end of 2003, it was ratified by 17 out of the 41 Council of Europe member-states. The Charter is aimed at the protection and the promotion of “the historical regional or minority languages of Europe.” Article 1a of the Charter states that the concept of ‘regional or minority languages’ refers to languages that are

- i traditionally used within a given territory of a State by nationals of that State who form a group numerically smaller than the rest of the State’s population; and
  - ii different from the official language(s) of that State;
- it does not include either dialects of the official language(s) of the State or the languages of migrants.

It should be noted that the concepts of ‘regional’ and ‘minority’ languages are not specified in the Charter and that (im)migrant languages are explicitly excluded from the Charter. States are free in their choice of which RM languages to include. Also, the degree of protection is not prescribed; thus, a state can choose loose or tight policies. The result is a rich variety of different provisions accepted by the various states. At the same time, the Charter implies some sort of European standard which most likely will gradually be further developed. Enforcement of the Charter is under the control of a committee of experts which every three years examines reports presented by the Parties. The Charter requires recognition, respect, maintenance, facilitation, and promotion of RM languages, in particular in the domains of education, judicial authorities, administrative and public services, media, cultural activities, and socio-economic life (Articles 8-13). Article 8 states a whole set of measures for all stages of education, from pre-school to adult education, which are cited here in full ((relevant) regional or minority language(s) abbreviated here as (R)RML):

- 1 With regard to education, the Parties undertake, within the territory in which such languages are used, according to the situation of each of these languages, and without prejudice to the teaching of the official language(s) of the State:
  - a i to make available pre-school education in the RRML; or
  - ii to make available a substantial part of pre-school education in the RRML; or

- iii to apply one of the measures provided for under i and ii above at least to those pupils whose families so request and whose number is considered sufficient; or
- iv if the public authorities have no direct competence in the field of pre-school education, to favour and/or encourage the application of the measures referred to under i to iii above;
- b
  - i to make available primary education in the RRML; or
  - ii to make available a substantial part of primary education in the RRML; or
  - iii to provide, within primary education, for the teaching of the RRML as an integral part of the curriculum; or
  - iv to apply one of the measures provided for under i to iii above at least to those pupils whose families so request and whose number is considered sufficient;
- c
  - i to make available secondary education in the RRML; or
  - ii to make available a substantial part of secondary education in the RRML; or
  - iii to provide, within secondary education, for the teaching of the RRML as an integral part of the curriculum; or
  - iv to apply one of the measures provided for under i to iii above at least to those pupils who, or where appropriate whose families, so wish in a number considered sufficient;
- d
  - i to make available technical and vocational education in the RRML; or
  - ii to make available a substantial part of technical and vocational education in the RRML; or
  - iii to provide, within technical and vocational education, for the teaching of the RRML as an integral part of the curriculum; or
  - iv to apply one of the measures provided for under i to iii above at least to those pupils who, or where appropriate whose families, so wish in a number considered sufficient;
- e
  - i to make available university and other higher education in RML; or
  - ii to provide facilities for the study of these languages as university and higher education subjects; or
  - iii if, by reason of the role of the State in relation to higher education institutions, sub-paragraphs i and ii cannot be applied, to encourage and/or allow the provision of university or other

- forms of higher education in RML or of facilities for the study of these languages as university or higher education subjects;
- f
    - i to arrange for the provision of adult and continuing education courses which are taught mainly or wholly in the RML; or
    - ii to offer such languages as subjects of adult and continuing education; or
    - iii if the public authorities have no direct competence in the field of adult education, to favour and/or encourage the offering of such languages as subjects of adult and continuing education;
  - g to make arrangements to ensure the teaching of the history and the culture which is reflected by the RML;
  - h to provide the basic and further training of the teachers required to implement those of paragraphs a to g by the Party;
  - i to set up a supervisory body or bodies responsible for monitoring the measures taken and progress achieved in establishing or developing the teaching of RML and for drawing up periodic reports of their findings, which will be made public.
- 2 With regard to education and in respect of territories other than those in which the RML are traditionally used, the Parties undertake, if the number of users of a RML justifies it, to allow, encourage or provide teaching in or of the RML at all the appropriate stages of education.

As a parallel activity to the *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages*, the Council of Europe opened the *Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities* for signature in February 1995. This treaty does not focus on language(s). It is more general in its aims and scope, and it has fewer specific provisions for protection and promotion of the minorities concerned. However, it also offers a European standard to which states must adhere. Although no definition of 'national minorities' is given in this framework, it is clear from the document that 'non-national' immigrant groups are again excluded from the considerations. Articles 5 and 6 of the Framework state the following:

#### Article 5

- 1 The Parties undertake to promote the conditions necessary for persons belonging to national minorities to maintain and develop their culture, and to preserve the essential elements of their identity, namely their religion, language, traditions and cultural heritage.
- 2 Without prejudice to measures taken in pursuance of their general integration policy, the Parties shall refrain from policies or practices



aimed at assimilation of persons belonging to national minorities against their will and shall protect these persons from any action aimed at such assimilation.

#### Article 6

- 1 The Parties shall encourage a spirit of tolerance and intercultural dialogue and take effective measures to promote mutual respect and understanding and co-operation among all persons living on their territory, irrespective of those persons' ethnic, cultural, linguistic or religious identity, in particular in the fields of education, culture and the media.
- 2 The Parties undertake to take appropriate measures to protect persons who may be subject to threats or acts of discrimination, hostility or violence as a result of their ethnic, cultural, linguistic or religious identity.

Ratification of this framework was more successful than in the case of the European Charter mentioned above. At the end of 2003, 35 out of the 42 Council of Europe member-states had ratified the framework. It is interesting to note that the Netherlands, which was among the first four states to sign the Charter, has not yet signed the Framework Convention. In the preparations for the ratification of the Framework Convention, the proposal to the Dutch Parliament was to include Frisians as well as IM groups as 'national minorities'; the latter, however, only included those groups that were formal target groups of the Netherlands' IM policy.

A final document of the Council of Europe that should be referred to in this context is *Recommendation 1383 on Linguistic Diversification*, adopted by the Council's Parliamentary Assembly in September 1998. Article 5 states that

there should (...) be more variety in modern language teaching in the Council of Europe member states: this should result in the acquisition not only of English but also of other European and world languages by all European citizens, in parallel with the mastery of their own national and, where appropriate, regional language.

In Article 8i, the Assembly also recommends that the Committee of Ministers invite member-states

to improve the creation of regional language plans, drawn up in collaboration with elected regional representatives and local authorities, with a view

to identifying existing linguistic potential and developing the teaching of the languages concerned, while taking account of the presence of non-native population groups, twinning arrangements, exchanges and the proximity of foreign countries.

While Article 5 is restricted to 'regional' languages, Article 8i recognises for the first time the relevance of 'non-native' groups in the context of language planning.

Another recent and important document on language rights is *The Oslo Recommendations Regarding the Linguistic Rights of National Minorities*, approved by the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) in Oslo, February 1998. The focus of this document is on "persons belonging to national/ethnic groups who constitute the numerical majority in one State but the numerical minority in another (usually neighbouring) State." The document was designed in the context of many tensions surrounding such groups in Central and Eastern Europe. Its *Explanatory Note* contains valuable sources of information on related documents in the domains of (proper) names, religion, community life, media, economic life, administrative authorities and public services, independent national institutions, judicial authorities and deprivation of liberty. In an earlier separate document, referred to as *The Hague Recommendations Regarding the Education Rights of National Minorities* and published in October 1996, the OSCE focuses on educational measures.

As shown in this section, most of the European documents are in agreement, and mostly the same principles appear in the Oslo Recommendations Regarding the Linguistic Rights of National Minorities and the The Hague Recommendations Regarding the Education Rights of National Minorities. As yet, specific documents on the language rights of IM groups in Europe hardly exist. The major document is the *Directive of the Council of the European Communities (now the EU) on the schooling of children of migrant workers*, published in Brussels, July 1977. Although this Directive has promoted the legitimisation of IM language instruction and occasionally also its legislation in some countries (Reid & Reich 1992, Fase 1994), the Directive was limited in its ambitions regarding minority language teaching and has become completely outdated.

On the basis of recommendations at an expert meeting on both RM and IM languages which was convened under the auspices of the European Cultural Foundation, established in Amsterdam, Extra & Gorter (2001) presented the *Declaration of Oegstgeest: Moving away from a monolingual habitus*. The Declaration proposes a set of measures to improve (home) language data-gathering methods and to stimulate action programmes in, e.g., education and research, thus improving the status of both RM and IM languages across Europe. The idea behind

the Declaration was to prepare an overarching document that would be useful for decision makers in the development of further policy, whether at the regional, national, or European level. The final text of the Declaration was unanimously adopted on 30 January 2000 in Oegstgeest (the Netherlands) and is presented as an Appendix in Extra & Gorter (2001). The Declaration has been distributed to many politicians and decision makers across Europe.

#### 4.4 Concluding remarks

As mentioned earlier, it is important to note that in many of the quoted documents the acceptance and recognition of cultural pluralism or diversity is conceived of as a prerequisite for, and not a threat to, social cohesion or integration. A plea for reconciling the concepts of diversity and cohesion has also been made by the Migration Policy Group (2000), in co-operation with the European Cultural Foundation, on the basis of a comprehensive survey and evaluation of available policy documents and new policy developments and orientations. The Migration Policy Group's report puts 'historic' and 'new' minorities in Europe in an overarching context. Both types of minorities significantly contributed and contribute to Europe's cultural, religious, linguistic, and ethnic diversity. European nation-states are reluctant to recognise and respect this diversity as part of their national, and increasingly European, identity. However, multicultural and multi-ethnic nation-states are a common phenomenon in Europe's distant and recent past. Abroad, diversity due to immigration and minorisation has become part of the national identity and heritage of English-dominant countries such as the USA, Canada, Australia, and South Africa.

European nation-states and agencies have decreed and published many documents on the protection of human rights in general, and language rights in particular. The overarching ideal of the EU is to operate on the basis of common rights, responsibilities, and universal values such as democracy, freedom of speech, reign of law, and respect for human rights. De Varennes (2001:1) points out that the rights of minorities are often thought of as constituting a distinct category of rights, different from traditional human rights. De Varennes' basic proposition is that people should not create different categories of 'language rights' or 'minority rights'. Such descriptive categories would only lead to further discrimination between people and groups. Some European declarations looked at the 'rights' issues from the all-inclusive angle of a basic human rights perspective. As stated earlier, terms such as regional or minority languages are not used in the *Barcelona Declaration on Linguistic Rights* because such terms allocate different types of

'rights' to different language communities and in most cases certain groups, in particular IM groups, are disadvantaged.

Most European legislations and charters concerning minority languages are exclusion-oriented. European countries are calling out for both unification and pluralism through EU policies but their discourse concerning IM groups is discriminatory in nature. The Council of Europe's *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* guarantees only the rights of RM groups. In addition to this double standard for minority rights, there are further inconsistencies in EU politics concerning minorities. For the admission of new states to the EU, such as Bulgaria or Turkey, the EU has imposed certain rules and conditions with regard to respecting minority rights. It is ironical that the Copenhagen principles have to be obeyed by the candidate states for admission but some of the member-states do not even implement these principles themselves. The loose and non-binding nature of these documents encourages member-states to follow their own policies. Most European documents contain very broad principles lacking concrete terms and conditions for implementation but the *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* contains such terms and conditions. In cases where the rules are bent, the *European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages* makes sure that the problems are rectified. The political power of RM groups and their associations enables them to claim their rights but much less influential IM groups remain without support.

Allocating special rights to one group of minorities and denying the same rights to other groups is hard to relate to the principle of equal human rights for everyone. Besides, most of the so-called 'migrants' in EU countries have taken up the citizenship of the countries in which they live, and in many cases they belong to second or third generation groups. German-Russian immigrants, most of whom cannot even speak German, immigrating from Russia to Germany, easily take up German citizenship on the basis of their blood-bond, but second or third generation Turkish immigrants, who are fluent in German, are denied such rights in Germany. Such exclusion-oriented policies are compatible with neither language rights nor human rights. The demographic development in the EU compels policy makers to reconsider their position concerning language rights. IM groups belong increasingly to a third or later generation of descendants, most of whom possess the citizenship of the countries in which they live. Against this background, there is a growing need for overarching human rights for every individual, irrespective of his/her ethnic, cultural, religious, or language background. For a similar inclusive approach to IM and RM language rights we refer to Grin (1995). In the next chapter, our focus is on education. As has become clear from the present chapter, educational systems cannot respond to minority needs unless societies at large are prepared to respond to those needs.

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## 5 Educational perspectives

Two types of strategies are commonly referred to as prerequisite for language maintenance, i.e., intergenerational transmission at home and language teaching at school. In this chapter, we present case studies of educational policies and practices with respect to immigrant minority (henceforward IM) languages in two widely different and distant contexts in Europe and abroad, i.e., North Rhine-Westphalia in Germany and Victoria State in Australia. In each of these federal states, interesting affirmative action programmes have been set up in this domain. As has been shown in Chapter 2 (Table 2.1), the international nomenclature for referring to this type of education is variable. In Section 5.1, we deal with *Muttersprachlicher Unterricht* (Mother Tongue Education, henceforward MSU) in North Rhine-Westphalia, and in Section 5.2 with the learning and teaching of *Languages Other Than English* (LOTE) in Victoria State.

### 5.1 Mother Tongue Education in North Rhine-Westphalia, Germany

There are large differences between different states in the Federal Republic of Germany concerning the educational policy and practice of teaching IM languages (Gogolin & Reich 2001, Hunger 2001). As an example of good practice, in this section, the situation in North Rhine-Westphalia (henceforward NRW) is described. It should be stressed that language policy in this domain is vulnerable to political changes in government. This holds for NRW and for other states, both in Germany and in Europe at large. For a description and analysis of the demographic development concerning migration and minorisation of IM groups in NRW, the report of the *Interministerielle Arbeitsgruppe Zuwanderung* (2000) is most relevant. This publication contains detailed information on the intake figures of IM children in education.

Against the background of internationalisation and globalisation of society, the development and promotion of multilingualism (*Förderung der Mehrsprachigkeit*) are taken as a point of departure in the state policy of NRW. Illner & Pfaff (2001) give a comprehensive overview of educational policies on this matter. The development of multilingualism at the primary school level is increasingly considered within a spectrum of the following four learning tasks:

- proficiency in German as L1 or L2 should give access to school success and social participation at large;
- MSU should value and promote the available diversity of languages in NRW;
- English should give access to international communication;
- *Begegnung mit Sprachen* ('Meeting with languages') should function as a window to other languages with which children come into contact.

Common principles for language teaching should be taken into account, such as building upon previous skills and knowledge, offering meaningful contexts for communication, and stimulating metalinguistic awareness across the boundaries of any particular language. All of these measures are meant to put language teaching in the increasing perspective of a multicultural and multilingual Germany and Europe.

In a meeting organised for Turkish teachers and community organisations in Düsseldorf on June 7, 2000, the then Minister of Education, Gabriele Behler, called upon Turkish parents to speak with their children in the language they speak best and also emphasised that speaking Turkish at home would not harm the development of their children. According to the Minister, parents should at the same time make efforts to

- send their children to interculturally oriented kindergartens where children can interact with their peers and also learn German;
- support the schools in teaching German as a second language;
- enrol their children in MSU classes;
- keep an eye on what their children learn at school;
- give equal chances for education to girls as boys;
- entrust public schools with religious education.

The Minister also emphasised that a good command of German and Turkish would be a permanent gain, both for the children and for society at large. For these reasons, the curriculum for MSU is shaped in the manner described above. Finally, Minister Behler appealed for a permanent dialogue between schools and parents so that children can be adequately prepared for a multicultural society.

According to recent NRW school statistics, more than 30% of children in this state grow up speaking two or more languages. They speak the languages of their parents in varying degrees and these languages are used in various media, such as newspapers, TV, radio, and so on. German is the mainstream language used with German-speaking people and in most of the media. The language competencies of IM children vary but the early experience with multilingual communication is a basic experience for most of them. Against this background, on 1 August 2000, a



new MSU policy and curriculum for all state schools of NRW were decreed. According to this policy, in order to meet the needs of multilingual children, schools must offer MSU as an elective course for grades 1 to 10. The new curriculum was developed by the NRW *Landesinstitut für Schule und Weiterbildung* (LSW, Soest). The LSW has a statewide task in promoting multilingualism in the NRW school system, derived from experiences abroad (LSW 2001). This educational policy is based on the following arguments (Ministerium für Schule und Weiterbildung 2000):

- MSU contributes to the maintenance and development of contacts and bonds with the country of origin;
- MSU is an expression of the public value attached to the linguistic and cultural heritage of IM children and their parents;
- children who have spoken and written competencies in their mother tongues will be ready and capable of learning better German;
- the promotion of multilingualism is important both from a cultural and an economic perspective.

On the basis of the above arguments, at the end of grade 6, children are expected to achieve the following educational objectives: a spoken and written language proficiency that is adequate for various contexts of language use, and a sensitivity to multilingualism and knowledge of other languages with an ambition to learn German and other languages that are important to the future of a multilingual and multicultural Europe. Children must learn to

- value cultural diversity;
- look at their cultural background from their own and from other people's perspectives;
- understand the behaviour of others to solve problems arising from cultural misunderstandings;
- develop strategies and techniques to handle concrete conflicts arising from different expectations, interests, and values;
- act on the basis of human rights against discrimination directed at minorities;
- in the case of Muslim children, learn about Islamic tradition and history, be able to function effectively in a dominantly Christian society, and acquire knowledge about a secular society with freedom of faith.

This ambitious curriculum is set for grades 1-6 and it is also valid for MSU in grades 7-10 of secondary schooling.

The target groups for MSU are pupils who have learned languages other than German as a first, second, or foreign language: as a first language before German,

as a second language next to or after German, or as a foreign language learned abroad. The languages to be offered in MSU are identified by the Ministry of Education and valid for the whole state of NRW. In the year 2000, the following 18 languages were offered: Albanian, Arabic, Bosnian, Farsi, Greek, Italian, Korean, Croatian, Kurmanji (Kurdish), Macedonian, Polish, Portuguese, Russian, Serbian, Slovenian, Spanish, Tamil, and Turkish. In the year 2003, 19 languages were offered. Schools can offer a maximum of 5 hours of MSU per week, provided that there are at least 15 primary school children or 18 secondary school children for a certain language group from one or more schools, that parents demand instruction for their children, and that there is a qualified teacher available. Admission to MSU classes is independent of the pupils' or parents' nationality. Even though participation in MSU classes is on a voluntary basis, participation is obligatory after approved parental application.

MSU is offered on a statewide basis and MSU classes are part of the school inspection system. Irrespective of their nationality, the teachers are in the service of the state, and they receive a salary that is earmarked statewide for MSU. Most of the teachers serve at more than one school, and one school usually acts as a base school for the teachers. In-service training of teachers and the development of learning materials are also covered by the state. These are the responsibility of the *Landesinstitut für Schule und Weiterbildung* (LSW) in Soest. The quality control of the learning materials and the approval for their use in schools are also part of the duties of the LSW. Turkish teachers are trained by and receive their qualifications from the Turkish Department at Essen University. The organisation of MSU in primary schools is the responsibility of *Schulämter*. In practice, in terms of cultural background, language proficiency, age, and grade, very heterogeneous groups make use of these MSU classes. These circumstances put high demands on the teachers, by whom the didactic principles of first, second, and foreign language teaching should be reconciled with each other. Intercultural experiences and management skills are used as a common basis for didactic principles. MSU teachers must be well informed of the characteristics of their pupils and, in cooperation with the class teachers, they should shape the curriculum of the whole school. Recently, efforts have been made to coordinate bilingual education (i.e., German plus MSU) during primary schooling on the basis of experiences in Berlin with the KOALA project (*Koordinierte Alphabetisierung im Anfangsunterricht*). These experiences have been adapted to NRW conditions. In 2003, about 40 primary schools in NRW participated in the KOALA project with coordinated efforts in teaching German/Turkish, German/Italian, and German/Arabic. For more information on the KOALA project, we refer to [www.raa.de](http://www.raa.de).

On a yearly basis, the Ministry of Education publishes statistics on IM pupils and MSU teachers on the basis of nationality criteria. In the 1998/1999 school year, around 366,000 IM pupils and 161,000 pupils from *Aussiedlerfamilien* received MSU in NRW; this was 13.0% and 5.7% of all pupils, respectively. Table 5.1 presents an overview of relevant figures for the 2001/2002 school year. It clearly shows the leading position of Turkish compared to all the other languages. For this reason, Turkish acts as a role model for the implementation of other languages in the context of MSU in NRW.

Language	Total number of classes	Total number of pupils	Total number of class hours	Total number of teachers
Albanian	137	1,689	501	15
Arabic	374	4,799	1,271	70
Bosnian	65	758	235	35
Greek	385	4,671	1,606	86
Italian	548	6,661	1,998	122
Croatian	140	1,588	612	54
Macedonian	17	239	58	14
Polish	59	884	207	14
Portuguese	193	2,574	811	38
Russian	189	2,785	606	27
Serbian	78	786	309	31
Slovenian	6	70	23	3
Spanish	218	3,154	850	55
Turkish	5,747	80,375	15,576	790
Other languages	147	2,119	580	47
Total	8,298	113,152	25,243	1,401

**Table 5.1** MSU figures in North Rhine-Westphalia in the 2001/2002 school year (source: Ministerium für Schule und Weiterbildung, Amtliche Schuldaten 2001/2002, Statistische Übersicht nr. 330, Düsseldorf 29-1-2002)

During the primary 2002/2003 school year, 1,377 MSU teachers were employed at the NRW state level. Due to general budget cuts, however, a reduction is foreseen to less than 900 MSU teacher positions. This reduction is meant to be temporary; MSU continues to be positively valued for its contribution to the maintenance and development of multilingualism.

Educational attainments obtained in MSU classes are periodically and systematically evaluated. Given the heterogeneous nature of the classes, pupils' achievements are not reported in the form of subject grades but verbalised in the form of expected future achievement. The following are the concrete guidelines for such reports:

- at the end of the first and second grades, the attainments are described in the form of a short text;
- in the third grade, pupils are given subject grades for each semester, provided that the pupils receive grades for other subjects as well;
- in grades four to six, pupils receive subject grades for each semester.

At the end of the sixth grade, the level of achievement attained in MSU is taken into consideration for the final level assessment of primary school pupils at large.

In 2003, language proficiency testing was introduced in NRW for all primary school entrants in grade 1. From the 2003/2004 school year onwards, a digital bilingual proficiency test is planned for all entrants on the basis of pilot experiences in primary schools in the municipality of Duisburg. This digital bilingual proficiency test consists of four parts with increasing levels of difficulty, and deals with such domains as receptive vocabulary, phonological awareness, and text comprehension. The test is the result of cooperation between the Dutch Central Institute for Test Development (CITO) and the NRW *Landesinstitut für Schule und Weiterbildung*. The handling of the digital test is made easy for children. It takes about one hour for each language, and the outcomes are available immediately. On the basis of the outcomes, a bilingual profile is constructed for each child, and recommendations are made for both MSU and the teaching of German. As yet, pilot experiences have been limited to measuring German/Turkish proficiency.

In secondary schools, MSU is offered as an elective course, possibly in place of a second or third foreign language. Pupils who attend MSU classes on a regular basis can complete a language test. The results obtained from such tests are reported in school reports, and in some cases these grades are taken as substitutes for traditional foreign language results. For Turkish and Greek, the Ministry of Education organises end-of-school exams. In the 1998/1999 school year, more than 9,000 pupils attended MSU classes instead of foreign language classes. Around 7,000 pupils completed final school examinations in 33 different languages. More than two thirds of the exams were done in Russian. For a discussion of spoken and written language proficiency requirements for end-of-school exams in secondary schools, we refer to Bebermeier *et al.* (1997).

The example of NRW is remarkable in many respects:

- MSU is part of a state-supported educational philosophy in favour of multilingualism and multiculturalism in a statewide and European context;
- MSU is offered in a broad spectrum of languages and for a broad spectrum of target groups, independent of the pupils' or parents' nationalities;
- languages are offered on demand, given a sufficient enrolment of pupils and the availability of qualified teachers;
- evaluation of achievement through MSU is carried out by measuring the bilingual proficiencies of children rather than proficiency in German only;
- parental interest and involvement in providing MSU for their children is stimulated;
- MSU is offered under the supervision and control of the regular school inspection system;
- MSU is provided by teachers who are appointed and paid by the state, not by source country agencies;
- teacher training and in-service training for MSU are taken seriously, and MSU teachers must fulfil the same requirements as any other teacher;
- learning materials are subject to quality control, and developed and/or published with state support.

All of these measures are meant to encourage a positive attitude towards language diversity, both in schools and in NRW at large. The involvement of parents in the schooling of their children is encouraged. Also, knowing that their languages and cultures are respected by the school system and by mainstream society, it is hoped that pupils will develop a higher self-esteem and respect for themselves and for others. In this way, intercultural communication and tolerance is promoted as well. Finally, the NRW example shows that, instead of taking a 'deficit' perspective, policy makers opted for multicultural and multilingual education. Rather than taking language diversity and heterogeneity as phenomena of crisis and burden, they are taken as normal and challenging. The latter perspective was taken even earlier and in a more outspoken way in our next case study.

## **5.2 Languages Other Than English in Victoria State, Australia**

MSU in North Rhine-Westphalia is an example of positive action in the EU. In order to present another example, a more distant context is chosen. Before presenting information on Victorian State, it is essential to present some background information on the development of multiculturalism and multilingual policies in the

Australian context so that readers can gain a deeper insight into the arguments of social cohesion *versus* cultural and linguistic pluralism. For an overview of Australia's policy on languages from the end of World War II until recent times, we refer to Clyne (1991) and Ozolins (1993). Acceptance of the idea and practice of multiculturalism and multilingualism is rather recent in Australian history. The 1950s and 1960s, especially, were years of fierce assimilationist policies. The Australian governments of that time wanted to create a country that would be culturally and linguistically homogenous, based on British heritage and traditions, and with English as the *only* subject and medium of instruction at school. The education sector played an important role in promoting the values and customs of the mainstream Anglo-Australian culture.

In the early 1970s, there were many inquiries and reports into assimilationist policies. The Karmel Report on Schooling in Australia (1973) indicated that assimilationist policies not only disadvantaged IM groups from different language backgrounds but that such policies were basically wasteful of the potential, talents, and resources IM groups could contribute to society. As a result of these reports, the policy of assimilation was gradually replaced by a policy of integration. The latter intended to enable people of all cultural backgrounds to participate equally in mainstream social, political, and economic institutions. *English as a Second Language* (ESL) programmes and special teacher-training programmes were set up to reach that goal.

It was only after the influential Galbally Report (1978) that the Australian government opted for fully-fledged multicultural policies in all walks of life. The Galbally Report saw schools as critical actors in the creation of a climate in which the concepts of multiculturalism and multilingualism could be understood and promoted. As a result, special programmes in *Languages Other Than English* (henceforward LOTE) for mother-tongue maintenance and development, for second language development, and for bilingual education were developed. Special plans for the recognition of multicultural perspectives across the school curriculum and the development of projects to encourage the participation of parents from non-English-speaking backgrounds in school life were developed. There were also special programmes to fight against prejudice, stereotyping, and racism.

These programmes had differing results in different states in Australia, but in general policy makers realised that as long as there were no serious programmes and legislation, multiculturalism would be difficult to achieve. Especially the multicultural State of Victoria implemented such programmes. In the view of the State of Victoria, an effective multicultural policy is a policy that promotes respect by all cultures for all cultures, one that allows Australians the freedom to maintain and celebrate their languages and cultures within a socially cohesive framework of

shared values, including respect for democratic processes and institutions, the rule of law, and acknowledgment that English is the nation's common language.

In multicultural Victoria, schools play an important role in the development of attitudes, values, and critical thinking with respect to these principles. The role of education in the implementation of a multicultural policy is to ensure that racism and prejudice do not develop to hinder individuals' participation, and that all pupils are assisted in developing the understandings and skills that will enable them to achieve their full potential, and to participate effectively and successfully in a multicultural society. These understandings and skills derive from education programmes and processes that accurately and positively reflect cultural pluralism, promote cultural inclusiveness, and help all pupils to develop

- proficiency in English;
- competency in a language other than English;
- in-depth knowledge of and awareness of their own and other cultures;
- an understanding of the multicultural nature of Australia's past and present history, and of the interdependence of cultures in the development of the nation;
- an awareness of the reality of the global village and national interdependence in the areas of trade, finance, labour, politics, and communications, and an awareness that the development of international understanding and cooperation is essential.

With this change of ideology and policy, educational institutions in Victoria State created a totally different system. Previously, only French, German, Italian, and, sometimes, Latin were offered as modern foreign languages in secondary schools. In primary schools, English was the only language used as the subject and medium of instruction. Facilities for LOTE were considered to be superfluous and threatening to social cohesion. However, in line with the developments described above, special programmes for LOTE and ESL were developed. In 1993, the Department of Education in Victoria established a Ministerial Advisory Council on LOTE (MACLOTE) and, in the same year, a LOTE Strategy Plan was published (MACLOTE 1993). According to this long-term plan, in the year 2000, all primary school pupils and at least 25% of all secondary school pupils should take part in LOTE classes. In 1994, the School Council made a number of suggestions concerning the implementation and organisation of LOTE (MACLOTE 1994). These suggestions resulted in the development of a *Curriculum and Standard Framework* (CSF). The CSF acted as base document for the development of attainment targets for spoken and written proficiency in different languages, and made a considerable contribution to curriculum development and the placement of pupils

in LOTE programmes. The multicultural education policy of Victoria not only targets IM pupils, but strives to reach out to all pupils with the following objectives:

- knowledge and consciousness of the multicultural character of the society, and knowledge and competence in intercultural communication;
- proficiency in English as a first or second language;
- proficiency in one or more languages other than English.

A more detailed description of the objectives of intercultural education, ESL, and LOTE according to the Department of Education (1997:12-14) is given in Appendix 2 to this Volume. Concerning LOTE, a differentiation is no longer made between the status of languages as home language, heritage language, or foreign language. Moreover, *priority languages* are specified that can be taught as LOTE for which statewide budgets are earmarked in order to develop curricula, learning materials, and teacher training programmes. In LOTE programmes, schools need to ensure that multicultural perspectives are included in the content of the provision, and the culture of the target language should be explored in depth both in the LOTE class and across other curriculum areas. LOTE programmes should deal with other cultures – as well as that of the LOTE being studied – in a culturally sensitive, non-stereotypical way. This is particularly important in bilingual programmes where other curriculum areas are taught in and through the LOTE.

The ultimate goal of achieving multiculturalism is realised in Victoria mostly because learning more than one language is not only the task of IM children but of all pupils in the state. Apart from English as a first or second language, all children learn at least one language other than English at school. Depending on demand, LOTE programmes are offered at government mainstream schools, at the *Victorian School of Languages* (VSL), or at after-hours ethnic schools. The VSL is a central government school in Melbourne with a record in LOTE teaching for over sixty years (see its website for up-to-date information). The school is committed to the provision of language programmes for pupils in grades 1-12 who do not have access to the study of those languages in their mainstream schools in all sectors. The school also caters for international students. Language programmes are delivered through face to face classes (in 24 metropolitan and 7 regional centres across the state) and through distance education.

In order to achieve the above objectives, the state does not limit multicultural school policy to language education only. The understanding and promotion of multiculturalism is taught in all subjects across the curriculum. In the near future, these objectives will be implemented across all domains of primary education. Accordingly, teacher-training institutions will be restructured along the given principles. The VSL offers high-quality in-service training for its teachers and



publishes series of training documents, some of which are available on the Internet. The Department of Education regularly provides detailed information on the number of pupils attending language classes both in mainstream schools and in the VSL. Table 5.2 presents figures for pupils attending LOTE classes in the school year of 2000.

Languages	Primary education			Secondary education			Total
	Mainstream schools	VSL	Subtotal	Mainstream schools	VSL	Subtotal	
Indonesian	85,394	4	85,398	27,959	287	28,246	113,644
Italian	77,914	22	77,936	22,223	257	22,480	100,416
Japanese	56,732	36	56,768	21,824	420	22,244	79,012
German	24,230	28	24,258	17,182	312	17,494	41,752
French	15,761	29	15,790	23,584	339	23,923	39,713
Chinese	7,669	836	8,505	3,615	1,072	4,687	13,192
Greek	2,696	422	3,118	1,042	272	1,314	4,432
Vietnamese	1,745	367	2,112	1,137	645	1,782	3,894
Spanish	1,779	100	1,879	800	333	1,133	3,012
Sign Language	2,444	–	2,444	192	–	192	2,636
Turkish	442	682	1,124	357	790	1,147	2,271
Arabic	397	141	538	698	220	918	1,456
Macedonian	209	170	379	541	265	806	1,185
Korean	298	23	321	421	19	440	761
Koorie lang.	447	–	447	9	–	9	456
Croatian	95	15	110	–	289	289	399
Serbian	–	75	75	–	283	283	358
Polish	–	126	126	–	192	192	318
Latin	–	–	–	222	37	259	259
Khmer	17	23	40	92	115	207	247
Singhalese	–	99	99	–	17	17	116
Farsi	–	39	39	–	76	76	115
Portuguese	–	31	31	–	61	61	92
Russian	–	3	3	–	88	88	91
Hindi	–	33	33	–	56	56	89

Languages	Primary education			Secondary education			Total
	Mainstream schools	VSL	Subtotal	Mainstream schools	VSL	Subtotal	
Norwegian	75	–	75	–	–	–	75
Albanian	–	21	21	–	11	11	32
Hungarian	–	14	14	–	6	6	20
Bengali	–	6	6	–	13	13	19
Bosnian	–	7	7	–	9	9	16
Dari	–	8	8	–	8	8	16
Hebrew	–	–	–	–	16	16	16
Slovenian	–	1	1	–	10	10	11
Dutch	–	–	–	–	10	10	10
Other languages	–	9	9	–	33	33	42
Total	278,344	3,370	281,714	121,898	6,561	128,459	410,173

**Table 5.2** Pupils attending LOTE classes in the year 2000 (Department of Education 2001:77)

In the year 2000, classes were offered in 41 languages in primary and/or secondary schools. The 6 most-chosen languages were Indonesian, Italian, Japanese, German, French, and Chinese. At 96% of all primary schools, LOTE facilities were offered (68% in 1994) and 87% of all primary school pupils took part in LOTE classes. All secondary schools (apart from 6) offered LOTE facilities in 2000. Table 5.3 presents the supply of language classes in various school types in the year 2000.

Educational institutions		N languages
Government primary schools	Mainstream schools	18
	Victorian School of Languages	30
	Distance education only	6
Government secondary schools	Mainstream schools	17
	Victorian School of Languages	37
	Distance education only	1
After-hours ethnic schools *		52

**Table 5.3** Language programmes in various educational institutions in 2000 (\* not included in Table 5.2)

The major conclusion that can be drawn from the two case studies presented in this chapter is the following. NRW has good practice for mother-tongue teaching in Germany but, compared to Victorian State in Australia, it still has a great distance to cover. In NRW, enrolment in classes is on a voluntary basis but, in Victoria State, learning a LOTE is compulsory for all children. Victoria State in Australia has taken firm steps towards achieving a multilingual environment where not only IM children but also Anglo-Australian children learn another language. In this way, learning more than one language has become an objective for all children.

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## **Part II**

### **Multilingual Cities Project: national and local perspectives**



## 6 Methodological considerations

GUUS EXTRA, KUTLAY YAĞMUR & TIM VAN DER AVOIRD

In this chapter, we deal with the rationale (6.1) and research goals (6.2) of the *Multilingual Cities Project* (henceforward MCP), with the design of the questionnaire used for carrying out large home language surveys (6.3), and with data collection (6.4) and data processing (6.5). In the next sections, our focus is on the methodology of measuring language distribution (6.6), specifying home language profiles (6.7), measuring language vitality (6.8), and comparing the status of immigrant minority languages at school (6.9). The final section (6.10) offers a brief introduction to the city-based Chapters 7-12. Local reports about the participating cities have been made available for *Göteborg* (Nygren-Junkin & Extra 2003), *Hamburg* (Fürstenau, Gogolin & Yağmur 2003), *The Hague* (Extra, Aarts, Van der Avoird, Broeder & Yağmur 2001), *Brussels* (Verlot, Delrue, Extra & Yağmur 2003), *Lyon* (Akinci, De Ruiter & Sanagustin 2003), and *Madrid* (Broeder & Mijares 2003).

### 6.1 Rationale

In the second part of this Volume, our focus is on the distribution and vitality of immigrant minority (henceforward IM) languages across different European nation-states. Most sociolinguistic minority studies have dealt with regional minority (henceforward RM) languages rather than IM languages. In the former domain, however, we are faced with much diversity in the quality of the data. In some European nation-states, fairly accurate data are available because a language question has been included several times in periodical censuses; in other cases, we only have rough estimates by insiders to the language group (usually language activists who want to boost the figures) or by outsiders (e.g., state officials who want to downplay the number of speakers). Extra & Gorter (2001) propose a typology for distinguishing between five categories of RM languages within the European Union (henceforward EU) and present estimates of their numbers of speakers (Gorter *et al.* 1990):

- unique RM languages, spoken in a particular part of only one EU member-state (e.g., Breton in France, Sorbian in Germany, or Galician in Spain);

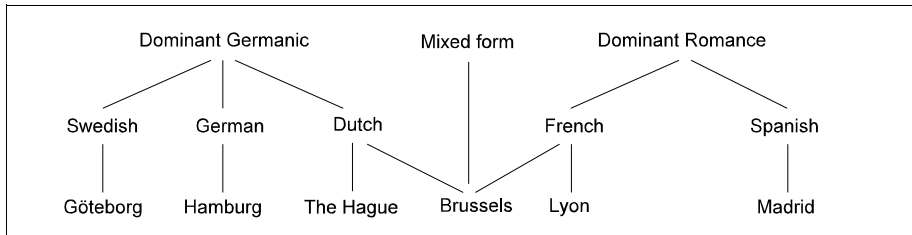
- cross-border RM languages, spoken in more than one nation-state (e.g., Basque in Spain and France, Saami in Sweden and Finland, or Limburgian in the Netherlands and Belgium);
- languages which are a minority language in one member-state, but the dominant official language in a neighbouring state (e.g., Albanian in Greece, Croatian and Slovenian in Austria, Danish in Germany, German in France and Belgium, or Swedish in Finland, and Finnish in Sweden);
- official EU state languages, but not official EU working languages (Luxembourgian, also spoken in France, and Irish, also spoken in Northern Ireland);
- non-territorial minority languages (in particular Romani and Yiddish).

Given the overwhelming focus on mainstream language acquisition by IM groups, there is much less evidence on the status and use of IM languages across Europe, as a result of processes of immigration and minorisation. In contrast to RM languages, IM languages have no established status in terms of period and area of residence. Obviously, typological differences between IM languages across EU member-states do exist, e.g., in terms of the status of IM languages as EU languages or non-EU languages (see Chapter 15, Table 15.2), or as languages of formerly colonised source countries. Taken from the latter perspective, Indian languages are prominent in the United Kingdom, Arabic languages in France, Congolese languages in Belgium, and Surinamese languages in the Netherlands. Most studies of IM languages in Europe have focused on a spectrum of IM languages at the level of one particular multilingual city (Baker & Eversley 2000), one particular nation-state (LMP 1985, Alladina & Edwards 1991, Extra & Verhoeven 1993a, Extra & De Ruiter 2001, Caubet *et al.* 2002, Extra *et al.* 2002,) or on one particular IM language at the national or European level (Tilmatine 1997 and Obdeijn & De Ruiter 1998 on Arabic in Europe, or Jørgensen 2003 on Turkish in Europe).

Few studies have taken both a crossnational and a crosslinguistic perspective on the status and use of IM languages in Europe (Jaspaert & Kroon 1991, Extra & Verhoeven 1993b, 1998, Fase *et al.* 1995, Ammerlaan *et al.* 2001). In this Volume, we present the rationale, methodology, and outcomes of the MCP, carried out as a multiple case study in six major multicultural cities in different EU member-states. The project was carried out under the auspices of the *European Cultural Foundation*, established in Amsterdam, and it was coordinated by a research team at *Babylon*, Centre for Studies of the Multicultural Society, at Tilburg University in the Netherlands, in cooperation with local universities and educational authorities in all participating cities.



The aims of the MCP were to gather, analyse, and compare multiple data on the status of IM languages at home and at school. In the participating cities, ranging from Northern to Southern Europe, Germanic and/or Romance languages have a dominant status in public life. Figure 6.1 gives an outline of the project.



**Figure 6.1** Outline of the *Multilingual Cities Project* (MCP)

The criteria for selecting a city to participate in this multinational study were primarily that it should be a major urban centre and have a great variety of IM groups, as well as a university-based research facility that would be able to handle the local data gathering, the secondary data analysis, and the final reporting of the local results. Given the increasing role of municipalities as educational authorities in all partner cities, the project was carried out in close cooperation between researchers at local universities and local educational authorities. In each partner city, this cooperation proved to be of essential value.

Derived from previously acquired knowledge in the Dutch context (Broeder & Extra 1995, 1998 and Extra *et al.* 2002), two crossnationally equivalent research instruments were agreed upon and utilised in each local context:

- a multidimensional model for carrying out large-scale home and school language surveys, operationalised in a specified set of 20 survey questions;
- a multidimensional model for describing, comparing, and evaluating the status of IM languages in primary and secondary schools, operationalised in a specified set of 9 parameters.

These models are discussed in Sections 6.3 and 6.9, respectively.

## 6.2 Research goals

Except in Scandinavian countries, there is no European tradition of collecting home language statistics on multicultural (school) population groups. In fact, collecting home language data in some countries is even in conflict with present language

legislation. This holds in particular for Belgium, where traditional language borders have been legalised in terms of Dutch and/or French.

Our method of carrying out home language surveys amongst primary school children in each of the six participating cities partly derives from experiences abroad with nationwide or at least large-scale population surveys in which commonly single questions on home language use were asked (see Chapter 3). In contrast to such questionnaires, our survey is based on multiple rather than single questions on home language and on crossnationally equivalent questions. In doing this, we aim at describing and comparing the multiple language profiles of major IM communities in each of the cities under consideration. For each language community, the language profile consists of five dimensions, based on the reported language repertoire (1), language proficiency (2), language choice (3), language dominance (4), and language preference (5). Based on this database, we construe a (pseudo)longitudinal profile and a language vitality index for each language community under consideration. In addition, a school language profile is specified on the basis of the data on children's participation in and need for learning these languages at school. Our ultimate goal is to put these data in both crosslinguistic and crossnational perspectives. Against the multidisciplinary background described in Part I of this Volume, the goals for collecting, analysing, and comparing multiple home language data on multicultural school populations derive from three different perspectives:

- taken from a *demographic* perspective, home language data play a crucial role in the definition and identification of multicultural school populations;
- taken from a *sociolinguistic* perspective, home language data offer relevant insights into both the distribution and the vitality of home languages across groups, and thus raise the public awareness of multilingualism;
- taken from an *educational* perspective, home language data are indispensable tools for educational planning and policies.

### 6.3 Design of the language survey questionnaire

The questionnaire for data collection was designed following a detailed study and evaluation of language-related questions in nationwide or large-scale population research in a variety of countries with a longer history of migration and minorisation processes, and was also derived from extensive empirical experiences gained in carrying out municipal home language surveys amongst pupils in both primary and secondary schools in the Netherlands (Broeder & Extra 1995, 1998 and Extra *et al.* 2002).

A number of conditions for the design of the questionnaire needed to be met. The first prerequisite was that the questionnaire should be appropriate for all children and should include a built-in screening question for distinguishing between children in whose homes only the mainstream language is used and children in whose homes one or more other languages next to or instead of this language are used. In the latter case, a home language profile has to be specified. As mentioned before, this language profile consists of five dimensions, based on the reported language repertoire, language proficiency, language choice, language dominance, and language preference.

The second prerequisite of the questionnaire was that it should be both short and powerful. It should be short in order to minimise the time needed by teachers and children to answer it during school hours, and it should be powerful in that it should have an appropriate and transparent set of questions which should be answered by all children individually, if needed – in particular with younger children – in cooperation with the teacher, after an explanation of the survey in class. The survey consisted of 20 questions which were made available to schools in a double-sided printed format. Appendix 1 gives the English version of the questionnaire.

The third prerequisite of the questionnaire was that the answers given by the children should be controlled, scanned, interpreted, and verified as automatically as possible, given the large size of the resulting database. In order to fulfil this demand, both hardware and software conditions had to be met.

Table 6.1 gives an outline of the questionnaire.

Questions	Focus
1-3	personal information (name, age, gender)
4-8	school information (city, district, name, type, grade)
9-11	birth country of the pupil, father and mother
12	selective screening question ( <i>Are any other languages than x ever used in your home? If yes, complete all the questions; if no, continue with questions 18-20</i> )
13-17	language repertoire, language proficiency, language choice, language dominance, and language preference
18-20	languages learnt at/outside school and languages demanded by pupils from school

**Table 6.1** Outline of the questionnaire

In compliance with privacy legislation in different nation-states, the resulting database contains language data at the levels of districts, schools, and grades only; no

data can be traced back to individuals. The answers to questions 9-12 make it possible to compare the status of birth country data and home language data as demographic criteria. The countries and languages explicitly mentioned in questions 9-12 are determined on the basis of recent municipal statistics about IM children at primary schools. Thus, the list of prespecified languages for, e.g., Hamburg is quite different from the one used in Lyon. The selective screening question (12) is aimed at a maximal scope from three different perspectives, i.e., by the passive construction *are used* instead of *do you use*, by the modal adverb *ever*, and by asking for *use* instead of one of the four language skills. The language profile, specified by questions 13-17, consists of the following dimensions:

- language repertoire: the number and types of (co-)occurring home languages next to or instead of the mainstream language;
- language proficiency: the extent to which the pupil can understand/speak/read/write the home language;
- language choice: the extent to which the home language is commonly spoken with the mother, father, younger and older brothers/sisters, and best friends;
- language dominance: the extent to which the home language is spoken best;
- language preference: the extent to which the home language is preferably spoken.

Taken together, the four dimensions of language proficiency, choice, dominance, and preference result in a language vitality index, the calculation of which is explained in Section 6.8. On the basis of questions 18-20, a school language profile is specified. This profile provides information about the available language instruction in and outside school, as well as the expressed need for instruction in a given language. The questionnaire was tested previously on many occasions in the Dutch context (Extra *et al.* 2002). The Dutch questionnaire was translated into equivalent versions in French, German, Spanish, and Swedish. These versions were tested in at least one primary school in each partner city. On the basis of the suggestions of local educational authorities and researchers, the phrasing and wording of the questionnaires were further adapted. It was ensured that the basic questions on language were the same in all questionnaires. All six cities had the same questions, but one additional question on ‘nationality’ was added to the German questionnaire. This question was not included in any of the other cities.

#### **6.4 Data collection**

The translated questionnaires were printed in multiple copies. Due to the requirements of automatic processing, it was essential that printed rather than photocopied

questionnaires be used. Uniformity, in both content and form, was important for convenience in data processing. Local educational authorities sent letters of permission to schools and/or parents asking that their children be allowed to participate in the survey. In each city, the printed questionnaires were distributed to school directors. Each school received a sufficient number of questionnaires. In some cities, school directors asked for the cooperation of classroom teachers to fill out the questionnaires together with pupils. In other cities, in particular in Hamburg and Brussels, students at educational departments took part in the data collection process. Both for classroom teachers and for data collection assistants, a manual in the local languages was prepared so that the interaction with the pupils would be smoother. In some cases, e.g., in Brussels, an intensive one-day workshop was held to train student assistants.

The completed questionnaires were delivered by the schools to the researchers at local universities. After checks of the total set of questionnaires per school had been made, all delivered questionnaires were sent to Tilburg University in the Netherlands for further processing. Table 6.2 gives an overview of the resulting database, derived from the reports of primary school children in the age range of 4-12 years (only in The Hague were data also collected at secondary schools). The total crossnational sample consists of more than 160,000 pupils.

City	Total of schools	Total of schools in the survey	Total of pupils in schools	Total of pupils in the survey	Age range of pupils
Brussels	117*	110*	11,500	10,300	6-12
Hamburg	231 public 17 catholic	218 public 14 catholic	54,900	46,000	6-11
Lyon	173**	42**	60,000	11,650	6-11
Madrid	708 public 411 catholic	133 public 21 catholic	202,000 99,000	30,000	5-12
The Hague	142 primary 30 secondary	109 primary 26 secondary	41,170 19,000	27,900 13,700	4-12 12-17
Göteborg	170	122	36,100	21,300	6-12

**Table 6.2** Overview of the MCP database (\* Dutch-medium schools only; \*\* *Réseau d'Education Prioritaire* only)

## 6.5 Data processing

Data processing was done centrally in Tilburg by *Babylon* researchers. Given the large size of the database, an automatic processing technique based on specially developed software and available hardware was developed and utilised. By means of this automatic processing technique, around 5,000 forms could be scanned each day. Because some questionnaire items were answered in handwriting by the pupils, additional verification of these items had to be done using character recognition software; in this way, around 4,000 forms could be processed each day. After scanning and verification was completed, the database for each city was analysed using the SPSS program. Four different phases were involved in data processing. Each of these four stages is described below.

### *Phase 1: Design, testing and printing of the questionnaires*

A special commercial software packet (*Teleform*) was used for all aspects of data processing such as scanning, verification, and exporting the data for storage and analysis. *Teleform*, in combination with an optical scanner, allows the user to design, read, and evaluate any kind of form. By means of this particular software, data can be processed with high speed and accuracy. After interpretation and verification of the scanned data, the software can automatically export the data to a specific database so that it can be analysed. The software has three components: the designer, the reader, and the verifier. The designer allows the user to create any combination of shapes, texts, drawings, and data entry fields. Commonly used data entry fields are supported, including alphabetic, numeric, and alphanumeric constrained print fields, comb-style print fields, choice fields, entry fields, and image zones. As the questionnaire was created, it had to be defined how the data in the fields would be evaluated and how the information would be stored in the database. Once the format is designed, it can be used over and over for processing.

For automatic processing of the data, the completed questionnaires had to be printed neatly and uniformly; stained, crooked, or invisible marks hinder data processing. The completed questionnaires needed to be legible and to comply fully with the original version, otherwise data processing would be impossible. The original version of the questionnaire was designed using *Word for Windows* and then adapted to be used by *Teleform* software. All the answer fields in the questionnaire were defined for accurate recognition by the *Reader*. There were two main types of answer categories (see Appendix 1). The relevant circles should be filled out using a dark pen so that the *Reader* could identify the answer categories. The questionnaire was designed in such a way that preprinted answer categories would cover about 95% of all answers given. There were also chains of boxes in which

hand-printed data could be entered. By means of its *Optical Character Recognition* (OCR) capability, the software can recognise and process hand-printed data. Therefore, answers that were not preprinted on the questionnaire could be written by hand; e.g., if the answer to the question which asks for the name of the country in which the child was born, was not one of the countries already preprinted on the questionnaire, then the country of birth could be written in the boxes provided. As the software can recognise hand-printed characters, all answers given (irrespective of their number) were stored in the database.

### *Phase 2: Scanning, interpretation, and verification of the data*

After the questionnaire had been printed, distributed to schools, filled out by the children, and returned, the filled out forms were made available for data processing. When the forms were fed through the scanner, the *Reader* automatically interpreted hand- and machine-printed text. If the form had no fields or characters that would need review when the form was interpreted, the data was sent directly to a predefined data file (see below). If the form had characters or answers that could not be interpreted, the field was marked for review and the form was held for verification.

As the *Reader* interpreted the data on returned forms, it identified those forms that had been incorrectly completed or incorrectly marked, and held them for manual review and correction. The process of confirming or correcting such forms is called ‘verification’ and is done using the *Verifier* software. By means of this software, each form’s image could be reviewed and corrected on the computer, without the need to view a printed copy. Errors in data entry fields were quickly and easily corrected. If a form was interpreted without the need of verification, the data was automatically processed and exported to a predefined SPSS data file without going through the *Verifier*. If one or more characters or answers on a form did not satisfy the *Reader*’s confidence test or if a field did not pass a validation test, the form’s image was automatically sent to the *Verifier*. Data accuracy on returned forms was enhanced by a number of important features, including hand-print recognition, optical character recognition, selective key form image zones, user-defined character recognition confidence thresholds, and basic script validations.

### *Phase 3: Coding, preparation and analysis of the data*

After verification took place, all answers were transmitted to a database. This database could be accessed by SPSS. Before the data could be prepared for analysis, a number of coding stages needed to be completed, in particular with respect to hand-written references to countries and languages. In Section 6.6, further information on the coding of languages is given.

Before the analyses could be implemented, the database needed to be prepared for the analyses. This preparation had three objectives:

- tracking down and correcting incomplete categories in the database; this mainly concerned a final check of the correctness and consistency of the database; three main types of control were involved: a visual check of the questionnaires, an evaluation done by means of verification software, and, finally, an automatised internal check by SPSS;
- making the database uniform; the answer categories concerning preset languages on the questionnaire and hand-printed languages needed to be standardised to make a consistent and uniform database available for analyses;
- optimising some answer categories by making them suitable for statistical analyses.

In order to carry out systematic analyses on the data set, a SPSS syntax file which was developed step-by-step was used in the preparation stage. In the analysis stage, another SPSS syntax file was used in order to achieve uniformity of the findings.

#### *Phase 4: Reporting of the results in the format of tables and figures*

The last stage of data processing was transmitting the outcomes of the analyses in a readable format. Given the fact that the research results should be presented in the same format in all six participating cities in the project, a crossnationally uniform format was set up. In presenting the results, *Excel Worksheets* and *Microsoft Graphics* within *Word for Windows* were used. Both the worksheets and the templates for figures within *Microsoft Graphics* were predefined. In this way, a uniform format for all the tables and figures could be achieved, which then need to be interpreted.

## **6.6 Measuring language distribution**

Apart from selecting one or more of the prespecified languages in each of the local surveys, pupils could also opt for self-references to other home languages by filling-out in hand-writing the boxes provided for this objective.

The resulting database consists of a huge variety of self-references (types) and their frequencies of mentioning (tokens). In most cases, the pupils referred to entities that could be (re)traced as existing languages. In this context, the regularly updated database of *The Ethnologue* ([www.sil.org/ethnologue](http://www.sil.org/ethnologue); Grimes 1996) on languages of the world proved to be very helpful. In cases of doubt or lacking information, other resources were used, such as Comrie *et al.* (2003), Campbell (2000), Dalby (1999/2000), Giacalone Ramat & Ramat (1998), and Crystal (1997).

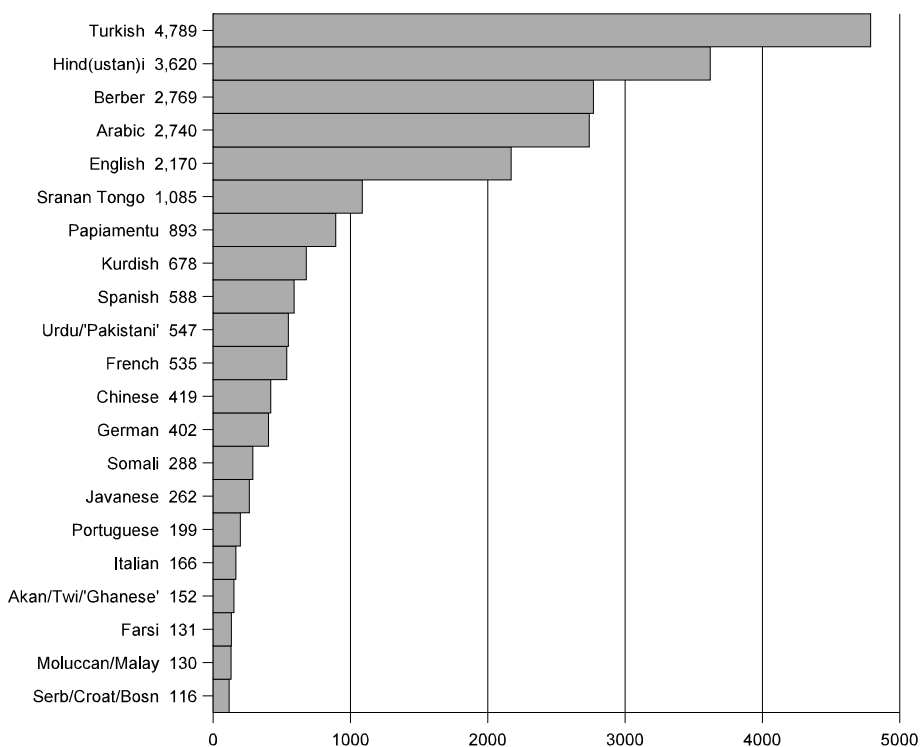


Apart from self-references to known and unknown languages, the pupils also made references to countries that could not reasonably be traced back to languages or to other/unknown categories. In general, however, the resolution level of the language question in the survey was very high, and relatively few types and/or tokens consisted of references that could not be traced back to languages. Table 6.3 gives a crossnational overview of the data under consideration.

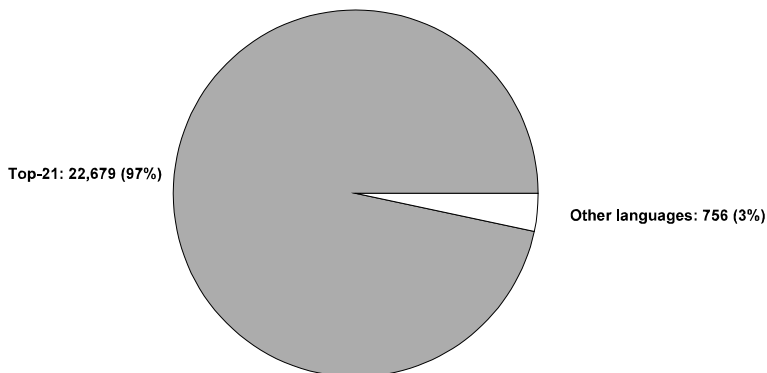
Municipality	Reference to languages		Reference to countries		Other/unknown references	
	Types	Tokens	Types	Tokens	Types	Tokens
Göteborg	75	7,598	8	40	10	20
Hamburg	90	16,639	12	229	10	92
The Hague	88	23,435	13	788	17	24
Brussels	54	12,737	9	186	7	11
Lyon	66	6,106	17	130	–	–
Madrid	56	2,619	x	x	x	x

**Table 6.3** References made by pupils in terms of types and tokens (x = not specified)

Based on the overview of types and tokens of (re)traced home languages, the distribution of these home languages was specified in a ranked order of decreasing frequency. A common phenomenon in all participating cities was that few languages (types) were referred to often (tokens), and that many languages (types) were referred to rarely (tokens). Therefore, the most frequently mentioned home languages represent a very high proportion of the total number of occurrences/tokens in all cities. For reasons of illustration, we present the outcomes for The Hague in Figures 6.2 and 6.3.



**Figure 6.2** Overview of the 21 most frequently mentioned home languages in The Hague, used instead of or next to Dutch (source: Extra *et al.* 2001:19)



**Figure 6.3** Proportion of the 21 most frequently mentioned home languages out of the total number of occurrences/tokens in The Hague (source: Extra *et al.* 2001:19)

## 6.7 Specifying home language profiles

In the next step, pseudolongitudinal home language profiles were specified for each of the most frequently reported language groups in each of the cities. The concept of language group was based on the pupils' answers to the question of whether, and if so, which other languages were used at home next to or instead of the mainstream language. On the basis of their answer patterns, pupils may belong to more than one language group. For each language group, four language dimensions were presented and commented upon (see Section 6.3) in a pseudolongitudinal perspective:

- language proficiency: the extent to which the pupil can understand/speak/read/write the home language;
- language choice: the extent to which the home language is commonly spoken with the mother, father, younger and older brothers/sisters, and best friends;
- language dominance: the extent to which the home language is spoken best;
- language preference: the extent to which the home language is preferably spoken.

For each language group, tabulated information was presented on the total number of pupils per age group, the countries of birth of the pupils and their parents, and the types and frequencies of co-occurring home languages. Tables 6.4-6.6 illustrate the presented information for the largest group of children, i.e., the Turkish language group in The Hague, the city with the widest age range of pupils (see Table 6.2; Extra *et al.* 2001:40-41).

Age group	4/5	6/7	8/9	10/11	12/13	14/15	16/17	Unknown	Total
N pupils	830	833	853	851	532	460	262	168	4,789

**Table 6.4** Total number of pupils with Turkish as home language next to or instead of Dutch

Birth country	Pupil		Mother		Father	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Netherlands	3,425	72%	248	5%	204	4%
Turkey	1,263	26%	4,323	90%	4,404	92%
Surinam	5	–	17	–	14	–
Germany	13	–	10	–	5	–
(former) Yugoslavia	4	–	11	–	9	–
Macedonia	5	–	9	–	9	–
Other countries	27	1%	51	1%	43	1%
Unknown	47	1%	120	3%	101	2%
Total	4,789	100%	4,789	100%	4,789	100%

**Table 6.5** Countries of birth of the pupils and their parents

Kurdish	488	Serbian/Croatian/Bosnian	16
English	100	Berber	15
Arabic	74	Zaza	15
German	45	Hind(ustan)i	10
French	26	19 other languages	64

**Table 6.6** Reported home languages co-occurring with Turkish next to or instead of Dutch

Table 6.4 shows that most children were in the age range of 4-11 years; Table 6.5 shows that most children were born in the Netherlands and that even more parents were born in Turkey, and Table 6.6 shows that the major co-occurring home language apart from Turkish was Kurdish (for 10% of the 4,789 children).

Figures 6.4-6.7 illustrate the pseudolongitudinal information presented in Extra *et al.* (2001) on each of the following reported language dimensions for the Turkish language group. Given the possible non-responses of pupils on particular language dimensions, all figures were commented upon in proportional values per dimension.

- *Language proficiency* (Figure 6.4): The reported oral skills of understanding/speaking are highly developed at the age of 4-5 years (96/93%) and remain so until 16-17 years (94/95%). The literacy skills of reading/writing show a fast and strong increase from 27/24% at the age of 6-7 years to 89/85% at the age of 16-17 years.
- *Language choice* (Figure 6.5): At home, most of the pupils commonly speak Turkish with their mothers (84-89%) and fathers (77-86%). Turkish is also commonly spoken at home with younger brothers/sisters (44-62%). A more

differentiated picture emerges in the use of Turkish at home with older brothers/sisters (33-58%) and with best friends (35-69%).

- *Language dominance* (Figure 6.6): Dominance in Turkish was reported for the youngest (4-7 years) and oldest pupils (14-17 years). At the interim ages of 8-13 years, the reported dominant language is Dutch. Balanced bilingualism in Turkish and Dutch was reported in an increasing pattern by 5-17% of the successive age groups.
- *Language preference* (Figure 6.7): The pattern of language preference is similar to the pattern of language dominance. The youngest pupils (4-5 years) reported speaking Turkish as their language of preference, the pupils of 8-13 years reported to prefer Dutch. The oldest pupils (14-17 years) show a converging pattern of preference for one of the two languages. Also in Figure 6.7 an increasing pattern of 6-24% of the successive age groups emerges for pupils who reported no preference for one particular language.

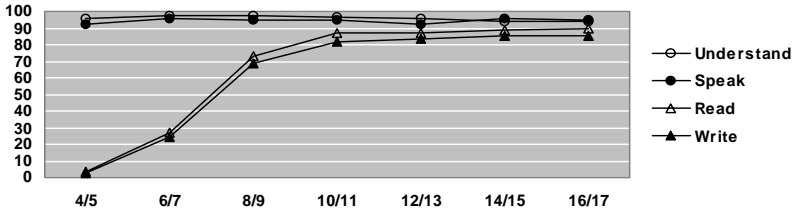


Figure 6.4 Language proficiency in Turkish

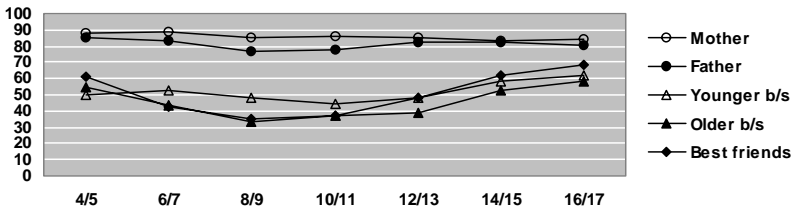


Figure 6.5 Language choice for Turkish

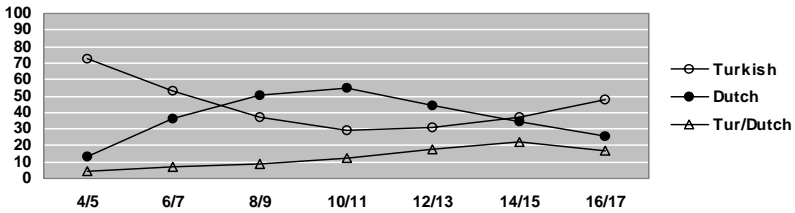


Figure 6.6 Language dominance of Turkish versus Dutch

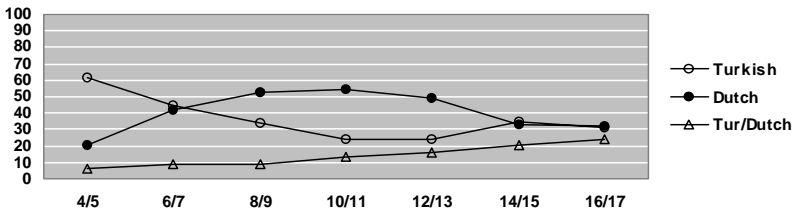


Figure 6.7 Language preference for Turkish versus Dutch

Information similar to that demonstrated in Tables 6.4-6.6 and Figures 6.4-6.7 for the Turkish language group in The Hague was made available for all major language groups in all participating cities, although in a smaller age range (see Table 6.2). In this way, the survey generated an unprecedented amount of information on multilingualism in these large multicultural cities across Europe.

## 6.8 Measuring language vitality

On the basis of the home language profiles of all major language groups, a crosslinguistic and pseudolongitudinal comparison was made of the four dimensions of language proficiency, language choice, language dominance, and language preference. For this analysis, these four dimensions have been operationalised, derived from the home language profiles specified in Section 6.7, as follows:

- language proficiency: the extent to which the home language under consideration is *understood*;
- language choice: the extent to which this language is commonly spoken at home *with the mother*;
- language dominance: the extent to which this home language is spoken *best*;
- language preference: the extent to which this home language is *preferably* spoken.

The operationalisation of the first and second dimensions (language proficiency and language choice) was aimed at a maximal scope for tracing language vitality. Language understanding is generally the least demanding of the four language skills involved, and the mother acts generally as the major gatekeeper for inter-generational language transmission (Clyne 2003).

The final aim was the construction of a language vitality index (LVI). Since the concept of ethnolinguistic vitality was introduced by Giles *et al.* (1977), the focus has been on its determinants rather than on its operationalisation. Determinants have been proposed in terms of lists of factors, clustered in status factors, demographic factors, and institutional support factors, for example, by Giles *et al.* (1977), or in additional factors such as cultural (dis)similarity, for example, by Appel & Muysken (1987:32-38). The proposed lists of factors suffer from various shortcomings that cannot be solved easily:

- the lists of factors are neither exhaustive nor mutually exclusive;
- different factors contribute in different ways to (lack of) vitality and may even neutralise each other;

- some of these factors are personal characteristics (e.g., age, sex, or educational level), whereas other factors are group characteristics (e.g., group size or group spread);
- moreover, a distinction has been proposed and found between the objective status of these factors and their subjective perception by minority and/or majority groups (Bourhis *et al.* 1981, Van der Avoird 2001).

In our study, we took a different approach by focusing on the operationalisation of language vitality rather than on its determinants. The operationalisation of language vitality was derived from the construction of language profiles, based on the self-reports of informants, *in casu* school pupils specified in Section 6.7, in order to carry out both crosslinguistic and crossnational analyses of large databases. In the following six chapters, the four above-mentioned language dimensions are compared as proportional scores, i.e., the mean proportion of pupils per language group that indicated a positive response to the relevant questions. The (decreasing) LVI in the final columns of the tables in question is, in turn, the mean value of these four proportional scores. This LVI is by definition an arbitrary index, in the sense that the *chosen* dimensions with the *chosen* operationalisations are *equally* weighted.

In this context, it should be mentioned that, from a conceptual point of view, the chosen dimensions are more closely related than in many other large-scale attempts to operationalise multiple human properties in terms of an index. An interesting case in point is the widely used *Human Development Index* (HDI), proposed by the United Nations in its annual UNDP reports. The HDI measures the overall achievements in a particular country in three basic dimensions of human development, i.e., life expectancy, educational achievement, and income per capita. For each of these dimensions, an index of multiple values is created. The ultimate HDI is based on the average of the three dimension indices. In this case also, the chosen dimensions with the chosen operationalisations are equally weighted (for details see UNDP 2002).

In Table 6.7, we illustrate the resulting LVI per language group in decreasing order of vitality, again for the earlier presented database of The Hague.



Language group	N pupils	Language proficiency	Language choice	Language dominance	Language preference	Language vitality
Turkish	4,789	96	86	56	50	72
Somali	288	92	88	57	53	72
Farsi	131	92	84	54	53	71
Chinese	419	94	82	52	48	68
Urdu/'Pakistani'	547	94	80	46	51	68
Berber	2,769	94	83	43	42	66
Serbian/Croat./Bosn.	116	84	62	43	52	62
Papiamentu	893	87	58	40	46	58
Akan/Twi/'Ghanese'	152	89	69	37	33	57
Arabic	2,740	89	60	38	42	57
Portuguese	199	82	58	28	41	53
Kurdish	678	85	58	31	31	51
Spanish	588	84	53	25	36	51
Hind(ustan)i	3,620	89	40	18	30	44
English	2,170	83	29	21	37	42
Moluccan/Malay	130	74	39	14	30	42
French	535	68	32	19	25	37
Italian	166	67	30	14	26	37
Sranan Tongo	1,085	82	28	15	34	37
German	402	77	24	14	20	35
Javanese	262	73	23	6	16	28

**Table 6.7** Language vitality index per language group, based on the mean value of four language dimensions (in %)

Turkish emerges as the most vital IM language. Its status is shared only by Somali and Farsi, in spite of the fact that Turkish has a longer intergenerational status as a language of immigration and minorisation in the Netherlands. Another remarkable outcome is the higher vitality of Berber compared to Arabic; both languages occur and/or co-occur as home languages of the Moroccan community in the Netherlands. A relatively low vitality emerges for those languages that have been in contact with Dutch abroad as a language of colonisation, in particular Hind(ustan)i (in Surinam), Moluccan Malay (in Indonesia), Sranan Tongo (in Surinam), and Javanese (in Indonesia). Papiamentu (spoken on the Netherlands Antilles) diverges, however, from this general colonial picture. Relatively low vitality indexes emerge for English, French, German, and Italian; the three former

languages in particular have a higher vitality at school than at home in the Netherlands, due to their status of obligatory or optional school subjects.

Correlations between all four language dimensions presented in Table 6.7 are presented in Table 6.8.

Spearman's Rho	Language proficiency	Language choice	Language dominance	Language preference
Language proficiency	1,000	–	–	–
Language choice	,867*	1,000	–	–
Language dominance	,865*	,951*	1,000	–
Language preference	,750*	,838*	,922*	1,000

**Table 6.8** Correlations between all four language dimensions presented in Table 6.7

All presented correlations are significant at the ,01level (\*). There is a high to very high correlation between the positions of the language groups in the various language dimensions in the list of language vitality indices presented in Table 6.7. A reliability analysis of the same data also shows a stable pattern. The four language dimensions under consideration in Table 6.8 across 21 language groups lead to an Alpha value of ,9195. Moreover, by leaving out one or more of these dimensions, the reliability score cannot be raised. Therefore, the highest reliability is reached when all dimensions are taken together, as is done in the LVI.

## 6.9 Comparing the status of community languages at school

To compare the status of community languages at school, two crossnationally equivalent research instruments were agreed upon and utilised in each local context:

- a multidimensional model for carrying out large-scale home and school language surveys, operationalised in a specified set of 20 survey questions (see Appendix 1);
- a multidimensional model for describing, comparing, and evaluating the status of IM languages in primary and secondary schools, operationalised in a specified set of 9 parameters.

The crossnational outcomes of the relevant data are presented and discussed in Chapter 14. In Table 6.9, we present the parameters used for our comparative study of community languages in primary and secondary schools in six European nation-states.

CLT parameters	Research questions for primary and secondary schools
1 Target groups	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• are target groups specified in terms of (which) countries of origin and/or (which) home languages/mother tongues?</li> <li>• is CLT also accessible for (<i>de iure</i>) and utilised (<i>de facto</i>) by indigenous pupils?</li> </ul>
2 Arguments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• are arguments given in terms of a struggle against (which) deficits?</li> <li>• are arguments given in terms of (which) multicultural policy?</li> </ul>
3 Objectives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• are objectives specified in terms of (which) language skills and/or metalinguistic skills?</li> </ul>
4 Evaluation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• does evaluation of the pupils' achieved skills take place, and if so, how and when?</li> <li>• do pupils get grades/report figures for achieved skills in their regular school reports?</li> </ul>
5 Enrolment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• is there a minimal enrolment requirement for CLT?</li> <li>• if so, is this figure determined per class, per school, or per municipality?</li> <li>• how high is this minimal enrolment figure?</li> </ul>
6 Curricular status	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• is CLT perceived as 'regular' education?</li> <li>• is CLT offered instead of other subjects and/or at extra curricular hours?</li> </ul>
7 Funding	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• for which target groups and/or languages is CLT funded by national, regional or local educational authorities?</li> <li>• for which target groups and/or languages is CLT funded by consulates/embassies of countries of origin?</li> </ul>
8 Teaching materials	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• do such materials originate from the country of residence and/or from countries of origin?</li> </ul>
9 Teacher qualifications	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• are such qualifications dependent on regulations in the country of residence and/or in countries of origin?</li> </ul>

**Table 6.9** Status parameters for community language teaching (CLT) in primary and secondary schools

The multidimensional model presented in Table 6.9 was adapted from an earlier crossnational study by Broeder & Extra (1998:107). In general, comparative crossnational references to experiences with CLT in the various EU member-states are rare (Reich 1991, 1994, Reid & Reich 1992, Fase 1994, Tilmatine 1997, Broeder & Extra 1998), or they focus on particular language groups (Tilmatine 1997, Obdeijn & De Ruiter 1998). With a view to the demographic development of

European nation-states into multicultural societies and the similarities in CLT issues, more crossnational comparative research would be desirable.

## 6.10 Outlook

Chapters 7-12 provide information on each of the participating municipalities in the MCP. Spread from Northern to Southern Europe, and therefore shifting from dominantly Germanic to dominantly Romance contexts, the cities focused upon are Göteborg, Hamburg, The Hague, Brussels, Lyon, and Madrid, respectively. Each of the following city-based chapters contains comparable information on the outcomes of the MCP with regard to the status of IM languages at home and at school. Each chapter also contains a local flavour which is relevant in a particular national and/or local context.

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## 7 Multilingualism in Göteborg

LILIAN NYGREN-JUNKIN

In this chapter, we first give some background information on the study to be presented (7.1). Next, we discuss the history of home language instruction (henceforward HLI) and home language statistics in Sweden, paying special attention to the status of the languages of the former Yugoslavia in Swedish schools (7.2). An overview of the Home Language Survey (henceforward HLS) amongst primary school children in Göteborg is presented in terms of data collection, basic sample characteristics, and the distribution and vitality of home languages other than Swedish (7.3). The status of HLI in Swedish schools is dealt with in Section 7.4, followed by conclusions and a discussion of the findings in Section 7.5.

### 7.1 Background information

In Sweden, the *Multilingual Cities Project* (henceforward MCP) took place at a time when languages in the school system were experiencing a number of negative developments. A steadily declining number of pupils in the public schools chose to study a foreign language other than English in the senior division of primary school and in high school. In addition, the number of languages taught in the context of mother tongue instruction, or HLI as it used to be called, was shrinking due to new and more stringent requirements for this kind of teaching to take place. This seemed to point to a future generation of Swedish-English bilinguals with only a limited number of individuals possessing skills in other languages, be they of European origin or from any other family of languages. In an era of increasing population mobility, intensified international contacts, and a growing global economy, such a development can hardly be seen as desirable. Therefore, an investigation was carried out in order to reveal the degree of multilingualism that actually existed among children in primary schools in Göteborg, with a view to enhancing and expanding this through the appropriate kinds of policies and programmes in schools at all levels of the educational system.

Sweden's long history of HLI through the public education system (Boyd 2001), together with recent cut-backs in public spending that severely affected the Swedish school system, particularly in the area of immigrant education, created an inter-

esting background for this multinational project. Would the Swedish model still emerge a leader in this field, or had other European countries not only caught up with it but even developed past it? What hidden language capital lay untapped and underdeveloped among the children in Göteborg's primary schools? How multilingual could the next generation be expected to become? Those were some of the questions that the MCP might be able to answer.

The project report (Nygren-Junkin & Extra 2003) offers a comprehensive overview of the multitude of languages used by school children from 6 to 12 years of age in Göteborg, Sweden's second-largest city with a population of just over half a million. Due to the city's character, being both an industrial centre and a major port, many of its inhabitants have an immigrant background. The children in Göteborg schools that were born to parents from countries other than Sweden thus make up a sizeable proportion of the school population as a whole (around 25% throughout the 1990s according to local statistics), and the participation of Göteborg schools in the project, therefore, ensured a great variety in the languages used by the pupils.

This chapter provides some information about the various multicultural and multilingual population groups in Göteborg and about statistical data that have been gathered over the years in Sweden on the use of home languages other than Swedish by children attending Swedish public schools. These and other statistics about various aspects of school children's choices, habits, and characteristics are part of a long tradition of collecting information about people living in Sweden that has been seen by the authorities as essential knowledge for the proper planning and implementation of the welfare state system for which Sweden has gained praise (as well as some criticism) around the world. Towards the end of this chapter (Section 7.4), we also present background information on the rise and fall of HLI in Sweden.

## **7.2 Home language instruction and home language statistics in Sweden**

In this section, HLI and home language statistics in Sweden are dealt with from a historical perspective. Special attention is given to the status of the languages of the former Yugoslavia in Swedish schools.

### **The history of HLI in Sweden**

The history of HLI in Sweden goes back longer than in most other countries in the western world. No other European nation has had government-funded HLI for children of immigrant background for as long as Sweden (Boyd 2001). The



Swedish inclusion of HLI in the public school curriculum was preceded by a vote in parliament in 1976 that approved this educational reform, the so-called *Hem-språksreform* (Home Language Reform).

This home language reform was a logical consequence of another resolution by the Swedish parliament regarding the core objectives of Sweden's immigration policy. The bill, which was voted on and passed in 1975, states three main goals for this immigration policy: the equality goal, the freedom of choice goal, and the cooperation goal. The first objective concerns the right to equality in terms of quality of life and the right to a standard of living comparable to that of the indigenous Swedish population. Herein lies also the right to instruction in one's first language, or mother tongue, through the publicly funded school system, just as native Swedish children receive Swedish language instruction as a compulsory part of their curriculum (Hyltenstam & Tuomela 1996), even though they are surrounded by this majority language almost everywhere they go in Sweden.

The second and third goals are perhaps even more obviously linked to the right to receive first language instruction, regardless of whether that language is the majority language or not. The freedom of choice objective refers to the immigrants' being able to choose to what extent they wish to integrate into Swedish society. In other words, they can decide for themselves whether they want to maintain and/or develop their heritage in terms of both language and culture or to adopt the mainstream culture. This choice is only possible if the language that carries the heritage culture is sufficiently developed among those who use this language as a minority/home language, be they first generation immigrants or people born in Sweden. The cooperation goal aims at mutual understanding and respect between immigrants and native Swedes, expressed in words such as tolerance and solidarity. The best way for newcomers to a culture to learn the new 'rules' is to have them explained in their first language, before they have had time and opportunity to develop sufficient skills in the majority language. Once one understands why another person behaves in an unfamiliar way, it is easier to show respect and tolerance for this behaviour and to see it as 'different' rather than 'strange'. For school-age immigrants to Sweden, the HLI teacher takes on the role of facilitator in this process (Nygren-Junkin 1997), and the provision of HLI can, therefore, be seen as an extension of the cooperation objective.

It is thus not surprising that the present Swedish curriculum guidelines for HLI include the dual objective of strengthening the bicultural identity of immigrant children and developing bilingual skills in the pupils (Lpo-94 1994). However, the circumstances under which HLI takes place do not always support a genuine desire by the school authorities at the local level to put these educational goals into practice. Unlike in the early days of HLI in Sweden, the final decisions about issues

in education are today made at the local level, including decisions on how to spend the education funds. As a result, money for HLI only becomes available if the local school authorities decide that they can 'afford it' (Skolverket 2002).

Consequently, what was once a generous and truly democratic component in the Swedish school system has now become a bonus that the pupils may benefit from if they use the right home language in the right place at the right time. In the past, the provision of HLI was required of the school, even if just a single family demanded it for a child. The resolution of 1975 did not single out large immigrant groups as the beneficiaries of this three-part policy. Today, however, a minimum of five pupils must be found for the instruction to take place. This is still not a large group, compared with similar criteria in other countries (Broeder & Extra 1998), but it does make it difficult for some of the smaller immigrant languages to be taught through HLI. The group can be made up of children from different schools in the same municipality, but since the school where the HLI is located may be further than walking distance from other schools in the district, and no school bus transportation is provided for this purpose, it is not easy for younger pupils to participate, unless they happen to attend the school where the HLI is offered.

An additional restriction on the realistic availability of HLI is the fact that the instruction today is no longer part of the regular school day but usually occurs after the classes in other subjects, at the end of the school day (Skolverket 2002). These late afternoons make for a very long day, and again the younger pupils are the ones who are most negatively affected by this. Older pupils may find that HLI late in the afternoon leaves them with less time for homework or that it conflicts with other interests, which they may well prioritise for social or performance reasons. Participation in HLI can indeed become counterproductive if it segregates the immigrant school population from the Swedish pupils, with the former developing their first language skills while the latter engage in various athletic, creative, or social activities after school. Thus, this change in scheduling became an added burden when the minimum number of pupils necessary to start an HLI group had to be found.

The source of these changes was the combination of two events that occurred in the autumn of 1990. On the one hand, the Office of the Auditor General in Sweden (*Riksrevisionsverket*) presented a report that severely criticised the way in which the compulsory school system spent government money on teaching immigrant pupils (*Invandrarundervisningen i grundskolan*, RRV 1990) and identified HLI as the main culprit in squandering the funds. On the other hand, the Swedish government simultaneously presented a 'financial crisis package' in which HLI was targeted as an area for intended cut-backs by the Treasury. When the budget proposal was introduced in January of 1991, a total reduction in funding of 50% for

HLL was foreseen by the government in its saving and belt-tightening suggestions to parliament (Hyltenstam & Tuomela 1996).

When, in late spring of 1991, the vote on the budget proposal finally took place in the Swedish parliament, the result was that reductions in funding public education were approved, but the targeting of HLL for these savings was rejected. Nonetheless, in the eyes of the local school authorities, the message was loud and clear: despite the decision by parliament not to specifically reduce HLL spending, they recalled the government's position in the budget proposal and the recommendations made by the Auditor General, neither of which carried any democratic authority (Hyltenstam & Tuomela 1996). As a result, when spending for the 1991/1992 school year is compared with that for 1990/1991, most municipalities had reduced their HLL funding by at least one third (*Svenska kommunförbundet* 1992). No recent efforts have been made by the authorities to restore, or at least increase, the levels of funding for HLL.

### **The history of home language statistics in Sweden**

With the introduction of the Home Language Reform in 1976/1977, it became mandatory for the schools to submit information about their immigrant pupils to the Department of Educational Statistics, which is a part of the Swedish Central Bureau of Statistics. This was seen as a necessary procedure for the national school authorities to accurately plan the organisation and funding of immigrant education in the public school system and to reliably forecast the need for HLL teachers as well as teachers of Swedish as a second language. Collecting and reporting these data on an annual basis became the responsibility of the school director, who would carry out this task in person or in cooperation with the immigrant children's teachers and, if necessary, their parents. The information provided for each child concerned the language(s) used at home (other than Swedish), the enrolment in or need for HLL, and whether or not the pupil received or needed instruction in Swedish as a second language. The required number of teaching hours per week for each home language and for Swedish as a second language was also to be reported to the municipal education authorities.

The first statistics on record date back to the early 1970s, when the National School Board presented statistical information about immigrant children in the compulsory school system (SÖ 1973). These figures reflected the situation in 1972, when there were just under 60,000 immigrant pupils aged 7 to 15 in Swedish schools. Among them, Finnish children accounted for around 50%, while the remaining groups were from other, mostly European, backgrounds. The former Yugoslavia was the country of origin of almost 10% of these pupils; pupils from Germany, Denmark, and Norway each accounted for between 5 and 9%; while

Italy, Greece, or Turkey was the birth country of 1 to 4% of the immigrant children (Viberg 1996).

The last year this set of annual statistics was reported by the Swedish Central Bureau of Statistics (SCB) was 1994. By this time, the number of immigrant pupils had doubled and made up over 12% of the population in the compulsory school system. They reported speaking 125 different languages as home languages, and more than 111,000 received HLI. Speakers of Finnish were still the largest group, but with just under 19,000 participating in HLI, they were not as dominant as they were in the early reports. The second most common language for HLI was now Arabic, while the languages of the former Yugoslavia (Serbian/Croatian/Bosnian) were in joint third position. As with Arabic, more than 11,000 pupils received HLI in one of these three languages. In 1994, Spanish was the fourth largest HLI language with between 9,000 and 10,000 pupils enrolled, and in fifth place was Farsi, with over 8,000 children participating in HLI. Of the other European countries of origin from the 1972 figures, only Turkey was still in the top-10. HLI in Turkish was received by close to 5,000 pupils on the list from 1994.

The reasons for the SCB to discontinue the annual reporting of home language statistics were both administrative and financial. In the light of the generally negative view of HLI that began to permeate the school system in the early 1990s, it is not difficult to see that these both time- and funds- consuming procedures were considered unsustainable by the local authorities. As indicated above, severe reductions in educational spending directly hit the HLI after the municipalities alone became responsible for where the allocated funds were to be used. With the change from the National School Board (*Skolöverstyrelsen*) to the National Agency for Education (*Skolverket*) in 1992, the increasingly decentralised Swedish school system no longer perceived collecting extensive national school statistics as relevant. As a result, the National Agency for Education took over the role of collecting statistical data on actual participation in HLI in schools across Sweden, but the figures no longer included information on the number of pupils who had the right to request this instruction or to be taught Swedish as a second language.

From these more limited statistics, it is clear that the participation in HLI steadily declined during the 1990s (Boyd & Huss 2001). The assumption, based on birth-country information about the children and their parents, is that the number of pupils who were eligible for HLI remained relatively constant at between 12% and 15% of the entire Swedish school population. In the compulsory school system, the participation in HLI went from 65% (1990/1991) to 52% (2000/2001), and in the optional secondary schools, from 42% (1990/1991) to 20% (2000/2001). In the also optional preschools in Sweden, the figures showed a dramatic change from 60% in 1990/1991 to 13% in 2000/2001. The steepest decline occurred in the early

half of the last decade, with only 20% of preschool children ‘of foreign background’ receiving HLI in 1994.

At the municipal level, especially in areas with a high proportion of immigrant populations, more comprehensive information about immigrant pupils in the public schools may still be gathered, and this is done to meet local needs in forecasting instructional requirements. In a city like Göteborg, these data have contributed to the redesigning of how HLI across the city is supplied with home language teachers. The residential patterns in Göteborg show that areas are either strongly dominated by a variety of immigrant groups or have scarcely any persons of immigrant background. Few areas present a mix of immigrants and indigenous Swedes. This uneven distribution of the immigrant population creates problems in securing fair access to HLI for immigrant pupils everywhere in this city, especially since the introduction of a minimum group size for the instruction to take place (Boyd & Huss 2001).

Instead of using the 21 city district school boards in Göteborg as the administrative unit for supplying home language teachers, certain districts have merged to form city regions that each operate with a pool of these ‘mother tongue teachers’, as they are now officially called, in order to secure as great a variety of languages as possible for HLI. This strategy is also a way to ensure that the teachers accumulate enough teaching hours for them to have HLI as their only or, at least, main source of income. It also alerts the local authorities to where HLI might be available in a small immigrant language within the city of Göteborg but outside the pupil’s school district. As long as the child remains within the municipality, district borders can be crossed in order to get a group of at least five pupils, the required minimum today for HLI to be provided.

### **The languages of the former Yugoslavia in Swedish schools**

Unlike most other school systems in Europe, the Swedish home language options include a choice between Serbian, Croatian, and Bosnian. In other countries, these are usually still treated as one language, Serbo-Croatian, as was the custom before the break-up of Yugoslavia as a nation. According to Terttu Rosengren, former coordinator of HLI in Göteborg (personal communication), the reasons for this division in the Swedish system are much the same as those that led the hostilities between the population groups that had been artificially kept together under the rule of General Tito. Even before his death in 1980, there were tensions in Sweden between teachers and parents in the Serbo-Croatian home language context, as well as between teachers who came from the different parts of Yugoslavia that have become independent countries.

In addition, there was consensus among the Swedish school authorities that the teaching materials from the Croatian part of Yugoslavia were more suitable for use in Swedish schools than those produced in Serbia. This view was not always shared by those teachers who were of Serbian origin. Thus, since there was no national guideline as to what actually constituted a fully-fledged home language, it was decided, first in Göteborg and later in other parts of Sweden where similar disagreements existed, that if there was a teacher available to teach Serbian and one to teach Croatian, and that was what the parents of the pupils wanted, the subject should be divided into two different languages.

The publication of a separate Swedish - Croatian (and vice versa) dictionary in the early 1980s was also an indication that the two groups no longer saw what they spoke as dialects of the same language. The Swedish - Serbo-Croatian and Serbo-Croatian - Swedish dictionaries eventually became obsolete as Serbian - Swedish (and *vice versa*) dictionaries were also published. This confirmed the divide between the two language groups, and the development of Serbian teaching materials by teachers living and working in Sweden made it possible to teach Serbian without having to use Croatian textbooks.

With the further developments and hostilities in the Balkans, resulting in the Bosnian population group emerging as yet another nationality seeking independence, refugees to Sweden from that war-torn region increasingly began to identify themselves as Bosnians and the language they spoke as Bosnian, not a local variety of Croatian. A process similar to the one that resulted in the Serbian/Croatian split now took place with regard to Bosnian. Materials were by and large developed locally in Sweden by the Bosnian teachers themselves and in cooperation with other members of the Bosnian community. Thus far, there seems to be a sufficient number of pupils for each of these three home languages to manage to exist alongside each other. The question is whether they would have managed to stay together as one language and have pupils to attend instruction.

### 7.3 Home language survey in Göteborg

In this section we focus on the HLS carried out in Göteborg primary schools. Attention is given to data collection procedures, basic sample characteristics, and the distribution and vitality of home languages other than Swedish.

#### Data collection

The first step in the data gathering process was to obtain permission from the local authorities to carry out the large-scale investigation in Göteborg, and to ensure that

enough schools were willing to participate in the survey for the collected data to be reliable. The relatively hierarchical process inherent in the way Swedish authorities deal with the issuing of permits for large-scale investigations set the stage for an up-hill battle in order to arrive at a sufficient number of participants. To ensure the highest possible degree of participation, a personal approach was adopted to convince the various authorities and administrators that they should allow this investigation.

Initially, the City Council of Göteborg had to approve the project. After being informed about the MCP in general and about potential educational planning benefits to Göteborg schools in particular, the council representatives decided in favour of letting the investigation go ahead. This decision paved the way for the next step in the process, that of getting permission from the city district school boards to do the survey.

Each school board chairperson of the 21 city districts in Göteborg was contacted first by mail and, as a follow-up, by telephone (which was necessary in all but two cases) and informed about the project. A similar letter was also sent to each director of the 34 independent schools in this city. The result was that all district boards except one decided to cooperate. Only six independent schools agreed to participate, but five of these were among the ten largest in Göteborg, so at least 25% of all pupils aged 6 to 12 attending independent school were represented in the data (see Table 7.1).

A letter describing the MCP was then sent to the director of every school, which was followed up by contact by phone and/or e-mail. If the director then decided in favour of participation, the investigator was usually called to a meeting with all or most of the affected teachers to inform them about the survey and provide detailed instructions about how the pupils should fill out this questionnaire. Concerned teachers of younger children were assured that they could request assistance from the university in helping their pupils fill out the forms. Occasionally, individual teachers chose not to participate, and in six cases, the director decided against participation by his/her school.

At this stage, the questionnaires were distributed. They were delivered in person by the investigator and left with the director or his/her assistant for distribution to the individual teachers. This was done to ensure that the forms actually arrived on time and in good condition at their proper destination and that nothing 'got lost in the mail'. In addition, it allowed for any last-minute questions about the survey that may have surfaced among the staff since the meeting. In some schools, this was also the time at which requests for assistance with the filling out of forms in the earlier grades were made. In all, ten schools requested this kind of help.

In the schools that did not need assistance, most pupils filled out the forms during class time with varying degrees of help from the teacher. Some younger classes had, however, been told by their teachers to take the forms home and have them filled out with the help of their parents. This was not in accordance with the instructions provided with the forms, but hopefully this way of getting the job done did not affect the outcome. The participating schools were instructed to either have the questionnaires ready to be collected on an agreed-upon date or to call the investigator when they were all done. Again, as with the distribution of the forms, the stacks of completed forms were, with two exceptions, personally collected by the researcher. Again, this was done in order to ensure that nothing went missing. Where the schools mailed the completed questionnaires, in one case, just over half the original number of forms were filled out and returned, while in the second case, barely a quarter of the forms distributed were completed and sent back. In retrospect, personally collecting the questionnaires, therefore, seems to have been worth the effort.

The final step in the data collecting process was to check and pack the completed forms for shipping to Tilburg for computer analysis. While the forms were being checked, several of them were found to be missing information that had to be added, for example, the name of the school and district. Some forms were simply missing too much information to be of any use and were, therefore, discarded. In all, close to 21,300 completed survey forms, representing almost 60% of all school children aged 6 to 12, were finally shipped from Göteborg to Tilburg.

### Basic sample characteristics

Table 7.1 gives an overview of the distribution of primary school children ranging in age from 5-12 years across school types in Göteborg at large and in the sample.

School types	Göteborg	Sample	Coverage
Public schools	32,387	19,629	61%
Independent schools	3,720	926	25%
Other	–	274*	–
Unknown	–	740	–
Total	36,107	21,295	59%

**Table 7.1** Distribution of primary school children across school types in the city and in the sample (\* here = 6-year-olds)



The figure for the public school children includes those who were instructed to mark 'other' to indicate that they were in the preschool year preceding grade 1, which is a compulsory year for all 6-year-olds in Sweden. Among those here reported as 'unknown', a possible interpretation is that these pupils attended an independent school but were not aware of this official classification. If this is indeed the case, the proportion of participating independent school pupils may be as high as 45%. Table 7.2 shows the distribution of pupils across age groups.

Age group	Frequency	Proportion
5	140	1%
6	2,003	9%
7	3,076	14%
8	3,053	14%
9	3,215	15%
10	3,373	16%
11	3,485	16%
12	2,391	11%
13	160	1%
Missing values	399	2%
Total	21,295	100%

**Table 7.2** Distribution of pupils across age groups

Most of the pupils were in grades 1-6 and 6-12 years old. Table 7.3 shows the distribution of the pupils and their parents across birth countries.

Birth country	Pupil		Mother		Father	
Sweden	18,981	89%	14,345	67%	13,787	65%
Iraq	315	1%	447	2%	534	3%
Bosnia	250	1%	404	2%	428	2%
Iran	122	1%	609	3%	731	3%
Somalia	117	1%	353	2%	354	2%
'Kurdistan'	91	–	132	1%	153	1%
Turkey	70	–	490	2%	525	2%
Germany	66	–	117	1%	120	1%
USA <sup>1</sup>	62	–	50	–	69	–

Birth country	Pupil		Mother		Father	
Yugoslavia	56	–	204	1%	248	1%
Russia	47	–	68	–	43	–
Afghanistan	44	–	47	–	48	–
Albania	44	–	104	–	108	1%
China	40	–	125	1%	127	1%
Poland	33	–	208	1%	112	1%
Syria	33	–	156	1%	127	1%
‘Kosovo’	32	–	71	–	71	–
Great Britain	30	–	69	–	117	1%
Lebanon	30	–	246	1%	283	1%
Thailand	30	–	85	–	19	–
Finland	28	–	428	2%	413	2%
Norway	28	–	151	1%	177	1%
Croatia	26	–	92	–	129	1%
Vietnam	23	–	128	1%	108	1%
Philippines	23	–	68	–	23	–
Belize	23	–	82	–	105	–
Brazil	21	–	35	–	16	–
India	21	–	76	–	73	–
Chile	20	–	128	1%	142	1%
Belgium	20	–	1	–	3	–
Colombia	19	–	16	–	9	–
Bolivia	18	–	20	–	30	–
France	17	–	17	–	27	–
Macedonia	16	–	114	1%	141	1%
Roumania	15	–	30	–	41	–
Eritrea	12	–	97	–	91	–
Netherlands	11	–	28	–	13	–
Other countries <sup>2</sup>	219	1%	752	4%	1,042	5%
Unknown	242	1%	702	3%	749	4%
Total	21,295	100%	21,295	100%	21,295	100%

**Table 7.3** Distribution of birth countries of pupils, mothers, and fathers

<sup>1</sup> USA: including ‘America’ (pupil 15, mother 23, father 17)

<sup>2</sup> N pupils per country < 10

Examination of the reported birth countries of the pupils and their parents shows a rich variation. Most of the pupils and, although to a lesser degree, most of the parents were born in Sweden. The 2% difference in proportion between the birth countries of the mothers (67%) and the fathers (65%) in the data can be explained by the fact that more Swedish women appear to have married/started families with non-Swedish men than the other way around. This is supported by the proportional discrepancies in the birth-country figures for Iraq and Great Britain, which both show higher numbers (by 1% each) for the fathers than for the mothers.

Among the children born in countries other than Sweden, the data show similar top-5 birth countries for mothers and fathers, but some differences occur in the top-5 birth countries of the pupils. The parents in this subset were born in Iran (number 1 for both male and female), Turkey (m)/Iraq (f), Iraq (m)/Turkey (f), Finland (m)/Bosnia (f), and Bosnia (m)/Finland (f). These countries have been the sources of much of the immigration to Sweden since the early 1980s, and even earlier in the case of Finland. The children, however, who were born abroad are fewer in number and show a slightly different subset of top-4 birth countries: Iraq, Bosnia, Iran, and Somalia.

Very few children in the survey reported being born in Finland (only 28), while in both parent groups, over 400 were born in that country. This shows a high number of second-generation Finnish children attending Göteborg schools, which is paralleled by reports on immigrant children in other larger cities in Sweden (Tuomela 2001). Turkey as a birth country is in only sixth place for the pupils, with 70 children indicating that nation as their place of birth, while the adult groups show around 500 Turkish-born parents in each. Again, a relatively large second-generation of Turkish immigrant children is reflected in these figures.

The parents born in Somalia, both fathers and mothers, rank sixth on the list. That this country is in fourth place among the reported birth countries of the children reflects the fact that Somali families are usually large with many children in comparison with other immigrant groups in Sweden. The same can be said for Kurdish families, and this is also what is indicated by the reports on where the pupils were born.

### **Distribution and vitality of home languages**

The first important outcome regarding the use of languages other than Swedish in the homes of Göteborg primary school children is presented in Table 7.4. The answers of the pupils to the survey questions on languages at home can be divided into the categories presented in Table 7.5.

Answer to the screening question in the language survey	Frequency	Proportion
Yes: another language next to or instead of Swedish is spoken at home	7,698	36%
No: only Swedish is spoken at home	13,597	64%
Total of the sample of pupils	21,295	100%

**Table 7.4** Total number of pupils in whose homes another language is used next to or instead of Swedish

Reference categories	N types	Percentage	N tokens	Percentage
1 References to languages	75	81%	7,598	99%
2 References to countries	8	8%	40	–
3 References to other/unknown categories	10	11%	20	–
Total	93	100%	7,658	100%

**Table 7.5** References made by pupils in terms of types and tokens

The types refer to the total number of different references, whereas the tokens refer to the total number of all references. Table 7.5 shows that the resolution level of the language questions is very high. Only few tokens consist of references that cannot be traced back to languages.

In Table 7.6, we present a ranking list of languages referred to by the pupils (including references to countries that can reasonably be traced back to languages). All in all, 75 different home languages could be traced amongst primary school children in Göteborg. The high status of English and its intrusion in the home is apparent from its number one position in Table 7.6. Similar findings have been reported by Extra *et al.* (2001) regarding the city of The Hague in the Netherlands. It is also clear that a small number of languages are frequently referred to and a large number of languages rather infrequently; 18 languages are referred to more than 100 times and nine languages are mentioned only once. Out of the top-18 languages mentioned, six languages have the status of national languages of European Union countries, seven other languages originate from other European countries, and five languages originate from other continents.

Nr	Language	Frequency	Nr	Language	Frequency
1	English	1,276	41	Japanese	15
2	Arabic	871	42	Wolof/'Singhalese'	14
3	Kurdish	567	43	Estonian	13
4	Turkish	454	44	Czech	13
5	Bosnian	437	45	Armenian	11
6	Spanish	402	46	Sorani	11
7	Finnish	378	47	Azerbaijani/Azeri	9
8	Somali	369	48	Bahasa/Indonesian	9
9	Chinese	219	49	Mandinka/Manding(o)	9
10	Albanian/Tosk	212	50	Bulgarian	8
11	Serbian	191	51	Korean	8
12	Polish	184	52	Malay	8
13	German	179	53	Bengali	7
14	Croatian	167	54	Sign language	7
15	French	141	55	Akan/Twi/'Ghanese'	5
16	Macedonian	139	56	Gujarati	5
17	Norwegian	122	57	Slovenian	5
18	Portuguese	111	58	Slovakian	5
19	Russian	90	59	Swahili	5
20	Tigrigna/'Eritrean'	72	60	Berber	4
21	Vietnamese	72	61	Irish	4
22	Danish	70	62	Lithuanian	4
23	Turoyo/'Syrian'	70	63	Khmer/Cambodian	3
24	Greek	64	64	Afrikaans	2
25	Romani/Sinte	62	65	Lao	2
26	Thai	61	66	Nepali	2
27	Italian	56	67	Bambili	1
28	Hungarian	48	68	Bisaya	1
29	Tagalog/Filipino	44	69	Catalan	1
30	Dari/Pashtu/'Afghan'	36	70	Luo	1
31	Icelandic	34	71	Moldavian	1
32	Roumanian	33	72	Quechua	1
33	Urdu/'Pakistani'	31	73	Telugu	1
34	Hindi	26	74	Uigur	1
35	Turkmen(ian)	24	75	Zaza	1

Nr	Language	Frequency	Nr	Language	Frequency
36	Dutch	21			
37	Punjabi	19			
38	Hebrew/Ivrit	17			
39	Amharic/‘Ethiopian’	16			
40	Farsi	16			
Total tokens					7,598

**Table 7.6** Ranking list of references made to languages

Language group	Total pupils	Language proficiency	Language choice	Language dominance	Language preference	LVI
Somali	369	96	95	64	67	81
Bosnian	437	95	87	42	56	70
Kurdish	567	93	86	51	46	69
Tigrigna/‘Eritrean’	72	93	84	44	52	68
Turkish	454	92	82	45	46	66
Chinese	219	93	82	42	48	66
Arabic	871	90	75	38	46	62
Albanian	212	88	82	32	44	62
Macedonian	139	95	77	29	46	62
Russian	90	89	73	33	50	61
Portuguese	111	92	71	29	48	60
Serbian	191	92	70	28	44	59
Polish	184	92	76	23	45	59
Croatian	167	89	53	18	47	52
Spanish	402	85	55	23	46	52
Norwegian	122	88	27	23	42	45
Finnish	378	74	45	20	34	43
English	1,276	68	30	21	39	40
German	179	72	36	15	25	37
French	141	52	27	10	30	30

**Table 7.7** Language vitality per language group and language dimension (in %, LVI in cumulative %)

Table 7.7 gives a crosslinguistic overview of the language vitality per language group and per language dimension, as presented in Chapter 6 (Sections 6.7 and 6.8). The cumulative language vitality index (LVI) per language group is presented in decreasing order.

Table 7.7 shows that the highest and lowest language vitality indices in the last column derive from relatively very high and very low scores for the four considered language dimensions. Among the languages in the top-10, only speakers of Chinese and Macedonian occur in the top-10 of the list of children born in Sweden, indicating a strong language vitality also in second-generation immigrants from these backgrounds. It does not come as a surprise that the lowest language vitality indices were found for Norwegian, Finnish, English, German, and French.

#### **7.4 Home language instruction in primary and secondary schools**

In this section, we focus on the following nine parameters for HLI at both primary and secondary schools: target groups, arguments, objectives, evaluation, enrolment, curricular status, funding, teaching materials, and teacher qualifications.

##### **(1) Target groups**

In Sweden as a whole, whether in a large city like Göteborg, in a medium-sized town, or in a smaller municipality, any child of immigrant and/or minority background is, at least officially, eligible to receive HLI. The child may be a first-, second- or third-generation immigrant to Sweden, but as long as s/he has already developed some proficiency in the language, which should be actively used in the home on a daily basis, the child is entitled to HLI. No beginner-level teaching is thus available within the perimeters of HLI in Swedish schools. However, the availability of this kind of instruction is not limited to recently arrived or particularly large immigrant groups, nor is it restricted to a certain level of socio-economic status. Adopted children, who have developed proficiency in a mother tongue other than Swedish, are also entitled to receive instruction in this other language.

One difficulty arises when two (or even three) languages other than Swedish are used regularly in the child's home. Unless one of these languages is recognised as one of the five official so-called 'historical' minority languages in Sweden (Saami, Finnish, Meänkieli, Yiddish, and Romani), the family has to give one home language priority over the other(s) when requesting HLI for the child within the public education system (Boyd 2001). With the change in official terminology from 'home language' to 'mother tongue' that was implemented in 1997 (Tuomela 2001), one

may have expected an emphasis on the language spoken by the mother in making such a choice. Judging by information gathered by student teachers in Göteborg during the spring of 2002 as part of their practical assignments (personal communication), this choice is governed by perceived status or usefulness in the eyes of the parents. Another deciding factor is simply availability in practical terms, which is dependent on the number of pupils enrolled to receive instruction in a given language, as is discussed below (5).

Teacher availability can also be a practical constraint in deciding who receives HLI. Among recently arrived immigrant groups with few well-educated adults, it may prove impossible to find a speaker of their language that would be able to function in the role of teacher. For required teacher qualifications, see (9). An additional problem arises when an x-speaking parent does not approve of the variety of x used by the teacher of this language. The family may then decide to choose another home language for instruction through the public school system, if two or more languages other than Swedish are used in the home, or may simply refrain from having the child participate in HLI at all.

The target group for HLI has shrunk as a result of the changes made to the national curriculum guidelines in 1994 (Lpo-94 1994). This document introduced not only a minimum group size requirement but also placed more stringent demands on the pupil's proficiency in the home language, soon to be renamed 'mother tongue' by the school authorities (Boyd 2001). This name change in itself clearly indicates a relatively high level of expected language skills, at least orally, in the child.

At the secondary school level, the target group is made up of, on the one hand, those who have attended HLI at the primary level and who wish to continue. On the other hand, the home language can be chosen as a new additional language, provided the pupil has already developed the prerequisite 'mother tongue skills' in the home language.

## **(2) Argumentation**

The rationale for requiring that schools offer HLI for immigrant children within the framework of the public school system, in 1976 when the 'Home Language Reform' document was presented by the government, and in 1977 when the Swedish parliament voted on and approved it, had its roots in the notions of equal opportunity and social justice that underpinned much of Swedish policy and government practice in that era. Also, since the 1960s, early HLI programmes had been offered by school boards in certain municipalities in Sweden that opted to provide this kind of instruction, usually because of a high proportion of immigrants in the population.



Immigration to Sweden occurred at various stages since World War II. Wartime and post-war refugees in the 1940s gave way to labour immigration in the 1950s and 1960s to meet the demands of the rapid industrial expansion that took place in this country which had been spared the ravages of warfare. These hired workers were primarily men from Finland and the countries in the North-Eastern Mediterranean basin, who mostly moved to the industrial areas in and around the three largest cities, Stockholm, Göteborg, and Malmö. Some eventually returned home, but many settled in their new homeland and either brought family members from the source country or married locally and started their own families in Sweden. In the 1970s, however, conflicts in more far-flung parts of the globe resulted in refugees coming to Sweden from South and Central America, Africa, the Middle East, and South-East Asia. These newcomers replaced the labour immigration, which had been officially stopped by government decree in 1967.

In 1975, the Swedish government decided to change its immigrant policy from one of assimilation to a more integration-oriented approach (Tuomela 2001). This was in large part a reaction to the increasing numbers of visible minorities among the latest refugees/immigrants to Sweden, and with it a realisation that traditional assimilation into the Swedish mainstream was virtually impossible for these newcomers (Nygren-Junkin 1997). They were now allowed and encouraged to retain and develop their first languages in addition to learning Swedish as a second language. Bilingualism became the desired outcome (Boyd 2001). The implementation of this policy shift primarily rested with the education authorities, and the public school system thus became obliged, from 1977, to provide HLI to any pupil whose parents demanded it and who chose to participate. In addition, it was required that these children should also be taught Swedish as a second language and not be subjected to 'Swedish submersion' by being placed in all-Swedish classes in too many subjects too soon.

The home language reform of 1977 also included Swedish secondary schools. It was argued that pupils with a first language other than Swedish could benefit more from studying their first language in high school rather than adding another foreign language to their curriculum.

### **(3) Objectives**

In the most recent curriculum guidelines (Lpo-94 1994), the acquisition of bilingual skills through HLI is supplemented with the added objective of developing a strong bicultural identity and dual cultural competence. This is different from the earlier national guidelines (Lgr -80) where the focus was on setting objectives for language development in (potentially bilingual) immigrant school children. Here, the purpose of giving the pupil HLI was to further the child's emotional, linguistic, and intel-

lectual development. However, the goal to be attained is only defined as 'active bilingualism' in both the earlier and the later curriculum documents, for primary as well as secondary schools, without any explanation of what this means in terms of performance and ability.

An objective suggested by Swedish scholars in the field of bilingualism is that the pupil reach spoken and written skill levels in both the mother tongue and in Swedish that enable her/him to use both languages in any context in which s/he desires to do so (Hyltenstam 1986, Tingbjörn 1986). A secondary school pupil should, thus, upon graduating from high school with a pass grade in the home language, be able to attend post-secondary education at a college or university where that language is used as the medium of instruction. Although this definition is imprecise and does not identify any particular levels of performance, it does provide a broad functional objective with an individually determined target level, which narrows the field from the sweeping strokes of the national curriculum guidelines.

#### **(4) Evaluation**

In general, formal evaluation of pupils' performance and progress is not a high priority in the Swedish public education system. Instead, informal evaluation meetings are held regularly, as a rule once per term, during which the form teacher meets individually with the parent(s) of each pupil. During these talks, the teacher informs the parents about the child's situation at school, both academically and socially. The emphasis is on the positive aspects of the child's accomplishments, and possible problems are dealt with from a constructive point of view, looking for ways to improve the *status quo* rather than to discipline the pupil for transgressions.

In grade 8, the children receive their first report cards with marks for each subject, and this can be a rude awakening for some pupils (personal communication). Those who have participated in HLI get a mark in this subject as well, and unless there has been other informal contact between the parents and the home language teachers, this may be the first indication the parents get about how well their children are doing in this subject. At present, there is little contact between home language teachers and other teaching staff (see 6 for further details), so it may be difficult for the form teacher to receive information about a pupil's progress as assessed by the home language teacher before meeting with the child's parent(s) for the informal evaluation talk.

In grade 9 and throughout secondary school, Swedish schools provide formally reported annual evaluations of the pupils' progress in all subjects, including the home language. Nationwide written examinations are held in grade 9 and in the last year of secondary school, the results of which are one factor in the evaluation of the

children, together with class participation and other assessment instruments used by individual teachers. When applying to secondary and post-secondary education, the home language mark is counted as a 'regular' subject mark, but not as one of the core subjects, i.e., Swedish (as a first or second language), English, and Mathematics, in which a graduate must have at least a pass grade to be admitted to the next level in the education system.

### **(5) Enrolment**

During the first 15 years after the home language reform in Sweden (1977-1992), no minimum enrolment was required for a child to be entitled to receive HLI. A group could literally be made up of just one pupil and the teacher. Prior to the reform, HLI could be provided by schools that chose to offer it, and the recommended group size was then at least five pupils. In 1991/1992, the Swedish school authorities returned to this model by suggesting a minimal group size of four participants and then, in 1994, by stating that a minimum of five children must be enrolled for HLI to be provided by the public school system (Lpo-94 1994). These pupils do not all have to attend the same grade or even the same school for their regular classes, and some may thus have to go to a different location for HLI in order for the group to reach the required size. The net result of this is that HLI is no longer available for many smaller immigrant groups through the public education system in Sweden.

At the secondary school level, a group size of five is still a required minimum for instruction to take place. These pupils must usually, for practical geographical reasons, attend the same high school, but they do not have to define the home language subject in the same way. For some in the group, it can be classified as a language choice – replacing another (foreign) language – while for others, it may be an additional subject in their individual high school programmes.

### **(6) Curricular status**

Two aspects of curricular status, the time allotted per week and the time of day when the classes are offered, have both been changed as a result of the cost-reducing revisions to the home language reform that were implemented in 1992. The new curriculum guidelines of 1994 also affected the teaching of home languages in Swedish schools. With few exceptions, these changes have not resulted in improvements (Jonsson Lilja 1999).

The amount of time allotted to HLI in the early days of optional provision of this instruction, i.e., before 1977, was limited to 80 minutes per week. This limitation was officially removed with the home language reform of 1977, when schools became obliged to offer this kind of instruction, and the guiding principle became

the needs of the individual pupils. However, most schools continued to limit the availability of HLI to the original 80 minutes, and nobody seems to have questioned this practice (Municio 1987). One reason for this could be that HLI at this time replaced other subjects during the pupils' school day, and too many substituted hours would have led to the pupils' missing too much learning in other subjects.

The average time given to HLI today still seems to be those 2 x 40 minutes a week, although other models became available since 1994. These alternatives include just one as well as up to three 40-minute class periods of HLI per week at different stages in the compulsory school system, starting in grade 3 and continuing through grade 9. However, the pupil can only continue until a total of between 320 and 470 (depending on the instructional model) such class periods have been accumulated over a maximum of seven school years, i.e., each school year from grade 3 up to and including grade 9. According to a recent report by the National Agency for Education entitled *Flera språk - fler möjligheter* (Skolverket 2002), which covers many aspects of HLI in Sweden at present, it is not uncommon for local schools to decide not to implement the time restrictions stated in the curriculum guidelines.

With the curriculum guidelines of 1994 (Lpo-94 1994), HLI is no longer to replace other scheduled class activities. The pupils now have more individual flexibility in designing their study programmes, at least in theory, and the home language can be one of these options that either the school can choose to include in its regular curriculum or the individual pupil can select as one of her/his courses. Otherwise, HLI is to be done outside regular school hours. This seems to have become the reality for most children receiving HLI (Boyd 2001). Just one year after the introduction of these new rules, 65% of all municipalities reported that they had opted to schedule HLI after the end of the school day and that they had ensured that the minimum group size of 5 was implemented (Hyltenstam & Tuomela 1996). It appears that an even greater percentage of Sweden's municipalities follow those guidelines today, based on reports from local schools to the National Agency for Education (Skolverket 2002).

The move to place HLI outside regular school hours, and often outside the pupil's local school, has had devastating effects on the working situation for home language teachers (Jonsson Lilja 1999). Unlike the situation before 1994, there is no longer a forum for contact between these teachers and other teaching staff, as the home language teachers arrive at the school after everybody else has left. They are thus no longer informed by the 'regular' teachers about what the children are working on in other subjects, thereby making it difficult to dovetail the content of HLI with what the pupils are taught in Swedish. These circumstances are at odds

with the objectives in the curriculum guidelines concerning the development of ‘active bilingualism’.

In secondary schools, the changes have been less striking. If there is enough interest to create a group of at least five pupils, and there is a teacher available, a home language can usually be studied in lieu of a second or third foreign language. English, the first foreign language, is compulsory in the Swedish school system. Over the three years of secondary school, a maximum of 190 class periods devoted to HLI can be accumulated.

A better curricular status is given to HLI in some of the so-called independent schools that have been a permitted alternative to the public schools in Sweden since 1994. The defining feature of certain independent schools is their language profile – others may have an artistic, athletic, or religious profile – and this may include a greater emphasis on instruction in one or more of Sweden’s many immigrant languages. It can mean that greater amounts of time are spent in teaching some of these languages, or that other school subjects are taught using a language other than Swedish as the medium of instruction, thus limiting the options.

## **(7) Funding**

All funding for HLI in public education comes from the government and cannot be supplemented with funds from any other source. The national treasury distributes education funds to the municipal authorities with recommendations about how this money should be spent in both primary and secondary schools. Since 1994, however, none of these funds are earmarked specifically for HLI. In practice, this means that a school board can decide to use money, whose recommended use is to pay for HLI, to replace broken windows, or to spend it on some other school need/activity which is seen as being more important. School administrators and local authorities tend not to consider HLI a high priority (Skolverket 2002).

The funding for the independent schools in Sweden also comes from the public purse and is not to be supplemented with any infusions of funds from other sources. This form of schooling is thus intended to be free of charge for the families who choose to have their children attend this type of school. There have been reports in the media about independent schools requesting extra contributions from the parents of their pupils, but these schools have without exception been reprimanded by the school authorities. The same is true for organisations wishing to sponsor a particular independent school, therefore, an immigrant association in Göteborg cannot financially sponsor an independent school which provides instruction in a certain language or subject that the organisation in question would like to support. The amount of money an independent school receives from the government is determined by the number of pupils registered at the school.

Swedish school children have to choose one type of school or the other. It is, therefore, not possible, for example, to attend a regular public school and to supplement one's education with some courses offered at an independent school, such as instruction in a certain home language that one's public school does not provide.

### **(8) Teaching materials**

Finding appropriate teaching materials for HLI has been a considerable challenge since these programmes were started. It was soon discovered that it was inappropriate to import materials from where the languages were taught as majority languages. Not only was the content often culturally unsuitable for teaching in the Swedish school system, but the language level, especially for the older pupils was also too sophisticated for a child growing up in a different social and linguistic context (Jacobsen 1981).

In the late 1970s, in connection with the teacher training programme for HLI that existed at that time, some teaching materials were developed in the then predominant immigrant languages (see (9) below). The Swedish National School Board (*Skolöverstyrelsen*) launched a campaign in the 1980s to encourage creative home language teachers to participate in producing teaching materials for themselves and their colleagues, but this effort was discontinued. Some of these and other more recently written materials for languages with a limited literary tradition can be found through the Swedish Central Bureau of Statistics and the national school authorities. Thus, books are available which were written with both a language teaching emphasis and the aim of informing pupils about the culture and heritage of speakers of that language. These books were intended for pupils with home languages such as Romani, Somali, Assyrian/Syrian, and Kurdish (both Kurmanji and Sorani). A 'mother tongue web site' is also being developed by the National Agency for Education to assist home language teachers in finding materials and in making contact with colleagues (Skolverket 2002). These materials are intended as resources for teachers at both the primary and secondary levels of the school system.

Generally speaking, considering the great heterogeneity of the children in a group of home language pupils (or high school students) being taught by the same teacher in the same room at the same time, the creation of teaching materials seems an almost impossible task except on an ad hoc basis. Informal sharing among teachers can take place, provided they get a chance to meet, but home language teachers often operate in isolation from one another. There are few fora where they can meet, such as conferences or professional development days specifically intended for home language teachers. With recent cut-backs in Sweden in schools

in general and immigrant education in particular, it is likely that the difficulties in finding proper HLI materials at all levels of the Swedish school system will persist.

### **(9) Teacher qualifications**

At the time of implementation of the home language reform in 1977, a new teacher training programme was also established at major colleges of education in Sweden, the home language teacher programme. It was two years long and was initially available in seven immigrant languages: Arabic, Danish, Finnish, Greek, Serbo-Croatian (still considered one language at that time), Spanish, and Turkish. A few years later, Farsi was added. However, in relation to the need for trained teachers in these languages, the appeal of the programme was limited. There was also criticism of the programme as being too focused on language skills training and lacking in cultural content (Jacobsen 1981). The pupils enrolled in the programme are reported to have complained about both a shortage of time and a lack of depth, the result of the wide spectrum of teaching situations and age groups these teachers were to face in the classroom. Consequently, the majority of home language teachers did not and do not have this training.

Instead, there is a mixture of practices in place to secure teachers for various home languages. Most working today are still employed after many of their colleagues lost their jobs in connection with the reduced funding of the programmes in the early 1990s. Though they may lack formal qualifications, they have several years of experience. Among them are academics with teacher training from their home countries or some other higher education or pedagogical training. Others were simply willing to do the job when a teacher was needed and proved able to do it satisfactorily, although without formal qualifications (Skolverket 2002). The latter strategy can still be used if a teacher for one of the newer home languages is needed. The individual school (board) directors today have a great deal of liberty to recruit as they see fit, since the Swedish school system is very decentralised. This is also true for secondary schools in Sweden.

The most recent national teacher education programme, which was approved and implemented in 2001, includes on its list of subjects 'home language' as an option for one of the two subjects in which a teacher should specialise (Boyd 2001). However, with the high level of uncertainty about the future of HLI in Sweden, and with the often appalling working conditions in which these teachers have to teach, it is hardly surprising that not enough candidates selected this subject as one of their specialisations to get a class started at any of the colleges of education in Sweden.

The recently published report from the Swedish National Agency for Education (Skolverket 2002) calls for improvements to the present situation for home lan-

guage teachers in Sweden and emphasises the need for professional training and development. This document also mentions the need for clearer home language guidelines in terms of not only content and methods but also objectives and funding. These are all factors that ultimately affect the circumstances of home language teachers and determine the kinds of qualifications that are necessary, or at least desirable, to accomplish the goal of helping immigrant minority (henceforward IM) children in Sweden develop into 'active bilinguals' and well-educated adults.

## 7.5 Conclusions and discussion

The picture multilingualism among primary school children in Göteborg that emerges from the presented language survey data is in many aspects similar to what might have been expected, based on previous records and recent statistics on immigration to Sweden. However, there are also interesting unexpected findings among the results in relation to the distribution and vitality of home languages.

The number of pupils reporting the use of another language than Swedish at home offers the first surprise. It was considerably higher than the figures based on participation in HLLI, with the proportion of other language users representing more than one third (36%) of the participating children. The national percentage is usually estimated at between 12% and 15%. The number of identified known languages used by these school children was 75. However, taking into account the use of other words instead of proper language names, such as the name of a country where the language is spoken, the data contain a total of 93 different references. The top-20 most frequently mentioned home languages accounted for 87% of the 75 identified known languages referred to. Out of the top-25 world languages, 11 languages were represented in the top-20 home languages referred to in Göteborg.

One surprising finding is the disproportionately large number of pupils, almost 1,300, who reported the use of English at home. However, considering the fact that only around 500 of these children had parents who were not born in Sweden, a different situation emerges. As the Dutch MCP researchers found in The Hague (Extra *et al.* 2001), the high status of English and its tendency to permeate the language of popular culture and international events lead many parents to use at least some English at home with their children as soon as they start learning this language at school. In Swedish schools, English is a compulsory subject that is usually taught from grade 2 or 3 onwards (Boyd 2001, Boyd & Huss 2001). In the MCP data, it is pupils aged from 8 to 11 that mostly reported the use of English at



home, so this ‘homework booster effect’ could provide a reasonable explanation for this otherwise unexpected outcome.

Another finding that could not have been predicted from previous data is the reported result of the Farsi-speaking pupils. Only 16 children answered that Farsi (or Persian) was used at home, while as many as 122 respondents in the survey named Iran as their birth country. In addition, more than 600 mothers and 700 fathers were reportedly born in Iran. These numbers require further investigation to identify the underlying factors. Is there a (second) generation of Iranian immigrants to Sweden that have already experienced language loss? Have these parents chosen to use the majority language at home instead of the family members’ first language? Were the children unwilling to indicate that they spoke Farsi at home, and if so, why? As recently as the mid-1990s, Farsi was still one of the most common languages to be taught as part of mother tongue instruction.

A less unexpected finding concerns the other frequently reported languages used in the children’s homes. Relatively recently arrived refugee groups to Sweden account for the high numbers using Arabic, Kurdish, Bosnian, and Somali, while children belonging to large older immigration groups reported the use of Turkish, Spanish, and Finnish at home. There are probably some more established immigrants to Sweden among the Arabic-speaking families, just as the relatively high number of Chinese speakers is likely to include both older settlers and newer arrivals. It is, however, interesting to note that only 11% of the children surveyed reported being born outside Sweden, while the percentages for the parents were in the mid-30s. It thus seems more likely that a match exists between the birth country of the parents and the language(s) used at home by a child than between the birth country of the child him/herself and the language he/she uses at home. Interestingly, however, 33% of the children born abroad reported the use of only Swedish at home. One wonders to what extent this high proportion reflects a well-meaning, but often misguided, effort by immigrant parents to use the majority language with their children instead of helping them develop bilingual skills by using a language other than Swedish at home.

In addition to multiple data on language distribution, this study offers multiple data on language vitality. A cumulative language vitality index was developed for the 20 most frequently mentioned home languages on the basis of four analysed language dimensions, i.e., language proficiency, language choice, language dominance, and language preference. For each of these four language dimensions, pseudolongitudinal language profiles were developed for all children in the top-20 language groups. The highest values of language vitality emerge for Somali and Bosnian, the lowest for German and French.

When we compare the degree to which the school children in the survey benefited from language instruction in school, it becomes clear that there is a significant relationship between reported literacy (reading and writing skills) and language instruction for all of the 20 most frequently reported home languages. Most children clearly need to participate in language instruction for the development of literacy skills. Just using these languages at home does not make active bilinguals of IM pupils.

Other interesting results of the survey are in the areas of language needs as perceived by the pupils in the survey. In Sweden, the traditional school languages other than English have long been German and French, with some schools also offering Spanish, Russian, or Italian at the high school level. These languages, although still in relatively high demand, are facing serious competition from languages that seem to indicate a greater global awareness among the children than among the decision-making adults. The participating pupils indicate an interest in learning the non-European world languages Chinese and Arabic as well as more locally important languages such as Greek and Finnish, which have long been sizeable immigrant languages in Sweden but have only been available in schools as HLI, limiting access to instruction to those who already use the language at home. The language most in demand was Spanish, which has the advantage of being both a large home language among immigrants to Sweden and a traditional, although not high-ranking, school subject as a foreign language option in certain schools.

The implications for schools in Göteborg are that the reported lack of interest among pupils in learning a foreign language may have more to do with the languages that are offered than with the children's willingness to study a language other than English. Another call for action may be found in the fact that all languages with high language vitality are languages of recent immigrant and refugee groups, except for Chinese and Macedonian. What these two groups have done in terms of language maintenance efforts could serve as a useful source of information to the schools, and others, about what needs to be done among immigrant minorities to prevent language loss in Swedish-born generations. In today's world we need, as the Swedish curriculum guidelines state, individuals who are both bicultural and bilingual, and what we can least afford is language loss in potentially bilingual children just because we did not try hard enough to prevent it from happening.

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## 8 Multilingualism in Hamburg

SABINE BÜHLER-OTTEN & SARA FÜRSTENAU

In the period following the Second World War, Germany became the second largest country of destination for immigrants, after the USA. In 1999, there were approximately 7.4 million people with foreign passports living in Germany, which was about one tenth of the total population (Motte *et al.* 1999). Large cities in particular are affected by immigration, which is demonstrated among other things by a pronounced cultural and linguistic diversity. In Hamburg, the Home Language Survey (henceforward HLS) of primary schools has provided new insights into the linguistic diversity among school children brought about by migration. The first part of this chapter deals with migration movements and how immigrant groups contribute to the linguistic and cultural pluralisation of the city (8.1). The following section gives an overview of the HLS in Hamburg (8.2). In the third section, by using background information and the results of the HLS of the Russian and Polish language groups, the special status of so-called *Aussiedler* (out-settlers) from Eastern European states is dealt with. These people have been granted German citizenship on the basis of their German ancestry (8.3). The status of home languages at schools in Hamburg is dealt with in Section 8.4. Section 8.5 contains a short overview of the future prospects of *Muttersprachlicher Unterricht* (henceforward MSU) in Hamburg and a summary and discussion of the most important results of the HLS in Hamburg.

### 8.1 Multicultural and multilingual trends in the city

The situation in Hamburg is indicative of the inadequacy of the survey methods which were usually employed to identify minority groups in Germany until now. Official statistics simply recorded the criterion of nationality. All members of minority groups who held a German passport were, therefore, excluded from statistical surveys. This means that the group with the legal status of *Spätaussiedler* (recent out-settlers) and immigrants who were German nationals because of naturalisation, as well as the children of exogamous marriages, were included in the category of German. Until recently, only *ius sanguinis* was valid as the principle of nationality law in Germany. Since the year 2000, it has been complemented by

a legal element determined by place of residence. Under certain conditions, as of January 2000, all children born in Germany can be granted German citizenship alongside that of their parents. However, they must choose between their two passports when they become adults, and only have the right to dual nationality until they are 23 years old.

In accordance with an agreement reached with the Federal Statistics Office in 2001, the names of children who are granted German citizenship because they were born in Germany and the names of their parents are recorded. This database, however, is insufficient for ascertaining the proportions of the population who have an indigenous or immigrant background, and the proportion of home language use other than German. Indications that traditional German statistics considerably underestimate the number of immigrants, especially the number of children and adolescents with an immigrant background, were given, e.g., by the Program for International Student Assessment (*Deutsches PISA-Konsortium* 2002). PISA took a representative sample of all 15-year-old school children living in Germany. On the basis of their countries of birth, 11.2% of these young people were immigrants. When information on where their parents were born and what language was spoken in the family was included, the proportion of immigrants increased considerably: they formed 26.6% of the sample (*Deutsches PISA-Konsortium* 2002:190). This differentiation alone shows how little meaning reference to ‘foreigners’ has in the context of education and upbringing.

According to the official figures of 2001, about 20% of school children in Hamburg did not have a German passport. Hamburg has the highest proportion of foreigners in Germany. A survey among all ninth grade school children in Hamburg, combining the birth country of parents and home language use, showed that 28.4% of the children used a language other than German (Lehmann *et al.* 2001). According to the outcomes of the present survey, this proportion is in fact approximately 35% in Hamburg primary schools.

Table 8.1 gives an overview of non-German nationalities in Hamburg. 1,726,363 people lived in Hamburg in December 2001, of whom 15.1% had foreign passports. Various types of immigration can be distinguished in the Federal Republic of Germany (Bade & Oltmer 1999). The largest proportion of people with foreign passports are those who came to Germany as part of the labour recruitment from 1955-1973. These are the former ‘guest workers’ and their families, whose children were for the most part born in Germany. At the time of economic growth from 1955 onwards, the Federal Republic of Germany made bilateral recruitment agreements on ‘guest workers’ with the following eight countries: Greece, Italy, (former) Yugoslavia, Morocco, Portugal, Spain, Tunisia, and Turkey.

Nationality	Population	Nationality	Population
Turkey	62,860	Denmark & Faeroe Islands	2,023
(former) Yugoslavia	22,926	Pakistan	1,943
Poland	19,839	India	1,935
Afghanistan	15,661	Philippines	1,850
Iran	11,153	Japan	1,704
Portugal	10,293	Egypt	1,559
Greece	8,152	Thailand	1,546
Italy	7,013	Indonesia	1,503
Russian Federation	6,676	Sweden	1,374
Ghana	5,592	Switzerland	1,323
Great Britain & North. Ireland	5,086	Kazakhstan	1,293
Croatia	4,827	Brazil	1,291
France	4,514	Tunisia	1,251
USA	4,154	Roumania	1,152
Austria	4,133	Vietnam	1,135
Bosnia-Herzegovina	3,914	Finland	1,053
Spain	3,706	Nigeria	1,043
Macedonia	3,145	Ireland	553
China	2,788	Belgium	450
Ukraine	2,542	Luxembourg	97
Netherlands	2,297	Other nationalities	31,417
Total			268,766

**Table 8.1** Foreign population in Hamburg on 31-12-2001 according to selected nationalities (source: Melderegister - Statistisches Landesamt Hamburg 2002:1)

The originally planned labour recruitment for a limited period became permanent immigration. The end of recruitment in 1973 actually increased the influx from the recruitment countries, because it triggered a higher influx of workers' families. The new minorities from then on influenced social and linguistic life in Germany. Only later did the so-called *neue Migration* (new migration) begin: the influx of refugees, asylum seekers, and illegal immigrants. In recent times, this migration has increased in importance and led to people coming to Germany from all over the world. One consequence is the pronounced linguistic diversity in the immigrant society. The so-called *Spätaussiedler* add to this diversity. The situation of these people, who are given a German passport if they can prove their German ancestry, is examined

more closely in Section 8.3. The German language is seen as an important factor in identifying *Aussiedler* of German ancestry, and the recognition of *Aussiedler* status in fact depended for years on passing a German language examination. The influx of *Aussiedler*, however, has led to the great vitality of Polish and Russian in Germany – which is clearly shown by the results of the HLS in Hamburg, reported in Section 8.2.

During the 1999/2000 school year, public schools in Hamburg were attended by 161,803 pupils; of those, 33,215 pupils had non-German nationality. The rate of foreign pupils had increased substantially in the previous twenty years, i.e., from 9.1% in 1980 to 20.5% in the 1999/2000 school year. Among the pupils originating from former recruitment states and from EU member states, Turkish pupils represented the largest group. Their number increased slightly but steadily from 11,095 pupils in the 1980/1981 school year to 13,429 in the 1999/2000 school year. The second-largest group were pupils from (former) Yugoslavia; due to recent political events, their number rose from 1,899 in 1980 to 5,137 in 1995, and then decreased to 3,729 in the 1999/2000 school year. The number of pupils from other recruitment states declined throughout the period mentioned above. The number of Greek pupils decreased from 1,074 to 728, the number of Italian pupils from 634 to 360, the number of Portuguese pupils from 954 to 655, and the number of Spanish pupils from 379 to 126. No figures were available on the number of pupils from Morocco and Tunisia in 1980. About 70 Moroccan pupils attended school in Hamburg in the 1995/1996 school year, and their number remained stable in the 1999/2000 school year, while the number of Tunisian pupils decreased from 423 to 313 during this period. On the other hand, the number of pupils from countries other than the recruitment states increased continuously between 1980 and 1999, i.e., from 3,374 in the 1980/1981 school year to 13,817 in the 1999/2000 school year.

## 8.2 Home language survey in Hamburg

The HLS in Hamburg was conducted in primary schools among 6-11 year old children. Table 8.2 gives an overview of the participation of Hamburg primary schools in the survey.



School types	Total of schools	Participation in the survey	Coverage
Public schools	230	218	95%
Catholic schools	17	14	82%
Protestant schools	2	–	–
Rudolf Steiner schools	6	–	–
Total	255	232	91%

**Table 8.2** Participation of Hamburg primary schools in the survey

The coverage of schools in the HLS was substantial. A total of 46,190 primary school children took part in the survey. The children were fairly evenly distributed over grades.

The information on the countries in which the children themselves or their parents were born shows a broad spectrum. The overwhelming majority of children (86.7%) was born in Hamburg. The rest of the children reported a total of 133 states as birth countries; 2% of the children gave no information as to their country of birth. A larger number of children gave no information on their mother's (6%) or father's (7%) birth country. Table 8.3 gives an overview of the reported birth countries of children, mothers, and fathers.

Birth country	Pupils		Mother		Father	
Germany	40,067	87%	29,162	63%	27,878	60%
Russia	1,174	3%	1,330	3%	1,262	3%
Afghanistan	817	2%	1,337	3%	1,439	3%
Turkey	742	2%	4,289	9%	4,663	10%
Poland	270	1%	1,962	4%	1,692	4%
(former) Yugosl.	229	1%	526	1%	582	1%
Kazakhstan	227	–	238	1%	222	–
India	223	–	584	1%	743	2%
Portugal	102	–	296	1%	287	1%
Albania	86	–	185	–	208	–
Bosnia	79	–	180	–	183	–
Pakistan	62	–	209	–	264	1%
Greece	62	–	196	–	300	1%
Ghana	55	–	384	1%	435	1%
Italy	52	–	147	–	236	1%

Birth country	Pupils		Mother		Father	
Armenia	50	–	61	–	68	–
USA	43	–	49	–	79	–
Great Britain	42	–	89	–	140	–
Ukraine	41	–	43	–	37	–
Kosovo	40	–	66	–	71	–
France	33	–	74	–	69	–
Croatia	31	–	109	–	111	–
China	29	–	77	–	73	–
Spain	28	–	86	–	121	–
Ecuador	24	–	27	–	15	–
Denmark	22	–	45	–	38	–
Macedonia	21	–	112	–	121	–
Brazil	20	–	60	–	35	–
Austria	20	–	64	–	70	–
Thailand	20	–	62	–	25	–
Switzerland	18	–	22	–	21	–
Lebanon	17	–	55	–	79	–
Morocco	16	–	46	–	55	–
Other countries	378	1%	1,245	3%	1,469	3%
Unkown	1,050	2%	2,773	6%	3,099	7%
Total	46,190	100%	46,190	100%	46,190	100%

**Table 8.3** Distribution by birth country of children, mothers, and fathers

A comparison of birth countries and home languages (Tables 8.3 and 8.4) shows that the home language criterion is more meaningful for the recording of migration-determined heterogeneity among school children; 4,997 children reported Turkish as their home language, but only 742 of those were born in Turkey. In some language groups, the proportion of children born in the country of origin was markedly higher. Thus, half of the Farsi-, Dari-, and Pashtu-speaking children reported that they were not born in Germany. The group of Russian-speaking children most conspicuously differed from all the others; only 17% of the children reported that they were born in Germany.

The migration histories of two groups of immigrants are outlined here, i.e., the Afghani and the Portuguese. Hamburg has the largest Portuguese and Afghani communities in Germany. In Section 8.4, the focus is on the Polish and Russian

*Aussiedler*. In the Dari/Pashtu/‘Afghan’ language group, 44% of the children said they were born in Germany, and 47% gave Afghanistan as their birth country. This information can be related to the history of immigration from Afghanistan to Germany. Afghan business people and university students have been coming to Germany since the 1950s. Later, there were repeated refugee movements following the Russian invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 and after the coming to power of the Mujaheddin in 1992 and the Taliban in 1996. The results of the survey indicate that a large part of the families from Afghanistan came to Hamburg as part of the more recent refugee movement.

Of the Portuguese-speaking children, 67% were born in Germany, and 23% in Portugal. This proportion is associated with the wave of migration subsequent to the labour recruitment by Germany. The greater part of the migrants of Portuguese origin came to Germany after the recruitment agreement with Portugal in 1964. The fact that in 2001 almost a quarter of the Portuguese-speaking primary school children reported that they were born in Portugal indicates that migration between Germany and Portugal still occurs. Since 1992, migration back and forth between Portugal and other European countries has a new legal basis in the context of the European Union, and mutual movements between Portugal and Hamburg have increased since then. The given examples show that the vitality of home languages can, among other things, be traced back to continuing movements back and forth between regions of origin and destination.

Approximately 35% of the 46,190 school children in the HLS reported that they spoke at least one other language at home apart from or instead of German. Table 8.4 gives an overview of the distribution of the 89 languages so far identified. Turkish is in the lead (4,997 references), followed by Polish (1,742) and Russian (1,686). In the case of Russian, the discrepancy with the ranking according to nationality can be explained by the status of *Spätaussiedler* from Russian-speaking countries who have German nationality. The children’s reports on English and French seem questionable. It must be assumed that many children put a cross beside them in the questionnaire because of their status as foreign languages taught at school and not because they used them as home languages. Certain individual results also support this assumption. In comparison to other language groups, for instance, relatively few children said they understood English or French (answers to questions on language skills) or used them in communicating with their mothers (answers to questions on language choice). Among children of African or southern Asian origin, it is possible that English or French were mentioned as home languages alongside others because of their status as colonial languages (e.g., in the Akan/Twi/‘Ghanese’ language group).

Nr	Language	Frequency	Nr	Language	Frequency
1	Turkish	4,997	46	Catalan	9
2	Polish	1,742	47	Tigrigna/‘Eritrean’	8
3	Russian	1,686	48	Latvian	7
4	English	1,097	49	Turoyo/Aramaic	7
5	Dari/Pashtu/‘Afghan’	976	50	Amharic/‘Ethiopian’	6
6	Farsi	925	51	Hebrew/Ivrit	6
7	Serbian/Croatian/Bosnian	586	52	Wolof/‘Singhalese’	5
8	Arabic	490	53	Zaza	5
9	Spanish	457	54	Kazakh	4
10	Albanian	417	55	Slovakian	4
11	Portuguese	388	56	Sri Lankan	4
12	Greek	307	57	Georgian	3
13	Akan/Twi/‘Ghanese’	301	58	Hausa	3
14	French	242	59	Lao	3
15	Urdu/‘Pakistani’	240	60	Lingala	3
16	Romani/Sinte	239	61	Schweizerdeutsch	3
17	Kurdish	208	62	Togo	3
18	Italian	202	63	Afrikaans	2
19	Vietnamese	159	64	Estonian	2
20	Chinese	126	65	Ewe	2
21	Armenian	93	66	Ibo	2
22	Thai	58	67	Icelandic	2
23	Tagalog/Filipino	54	68	Laz	2
24	Danish	47	69	Mina	2
25	Aramaic/‘Syrian’	44	70	Mongolian	2
26	Roumanian	42	71	Uzbek	2
27	Dutch	39	72	Slovenian	2
28	Macedonian	34	73	Swahili	2
29	Hindi	33	74	Abkhazian	1
30	Japanese	33	75	Balinese	1
31	Hungarian	32	76	Berber	1
32	Czech	28	77	Bete	1
33	Korean	26	78	Bundu	1
34	Swedish	26	79	Fula	1
35	Bahasa/Indonesian	25	80	Yiddish	1

Nr	Language	Frequency	Nr	Language	Frequency
36	Bulgarian	17	81	Cape Verdean	1
37	Lithuanian	15	82	Kandahari	1
38	Finnish	13	83	Krio	1
39	Maltese	11	84	Scottish	1
40	Malay	11	85	Sindhi	1
41	Norwegian	11	86	Temein	1
42	Ukrainian	11	87	Circassian	1
43	Chechen	11	88	Turkmenian	1
44	Azeri/Azerbaijani	9	89	Yoruba	1
45	Bengali	9			
Total of tokens					16,638

**Table 8.4** Ranking list of references made to languages

In total, 93% of the children reported that they used one of the 20 most frequently mentioned languages at home. This distributional fact is significant, especially with regard to the consideration of home languages for (school) language policy. By providing MSU for the top-20 language groups, a large majority of the school children who are brought up bilingually could be allowed to develop skills in their mother tongues.

Table 8.5 gives an overview of the language vitality indices (LVI) as well as of figures for the four dimensions used to calculate them (see also Chapter 6). Details of language skills (understanding), language choice (when talking to the mother), language dominance, and language preference are listed for the top-20 language groups. According to the LVI, Romani/Sinte is the most vital home language among Hamburg primary school children, followed by Urdu/‘Pakistani’ and Dari/Pashtu/‘Afghan’. Many children who reported speaking one of these languages said that they spoke it best, that they preferred to speak it, and that they used it when talking to their mothers. These answers indicate a high level of identification with the home language. The importance of the individual language groups and any ranking among languages obviously depend on the setting of relevant factors. If, in describing language skills, we concentrated on the information for reading and writing (instead of the information for understanding as in the LVI), the ranking in the language skills dimension would change; leading positions would then be taken by Portuguese, Turkish, and Greek. The vitality indices also depend on the values for language dominance and language preference. These values should be understood against the background that the questionnaire provoked clear decisions for

one language in the domains of language dominance and preference. For calculation of the indices, this means that those languages whose speakers have an unambiguous language dominance and preference tend to be ranked higher. It should be taken into consideration that balanced bilingual or multilingual children, if in doubt, are probably as likely to say that they speak German best or preferably. This does not necessarily mean, however, that they are less happy or good at speaking their home languages. It follows from this consideration that low values for home languages in the language dominance and preference dimensions do not inevitably contradict the vitality of the languages.

Language group	Total pupils	Language proficiency	Language choice	Language dominance	Language preference	LVI
Romani/Sinte	239	96	81	57	48	71
Urdu/‘Pakistani’	240	95	79	47	45	67
Dari/Pashtu/‘Afghan’	976	94	83	43	45	66
Turkish	4,997	97	76	41	44	65
Albanian	417	95	79	39	40	63
Farsi	925	94	75	41	42	63
Chinese	126	94	69	38	43	61
Greek	307	89	59	41	51	60
Portuguese	388	93	63	33	48	59
Russian	1,686	95	72	32	37	59
Arabic	490	92	62	30	44	57
Polish	1,742	90	70	28	38	57
Serbian/Croat./Bosn.	586	92	64	30	39	56
Vietnamese	159	94	77	24	29	56
Akan/Twi/‘Ghanese’	301	93	69	27	34	56
Italian	202	87	51	22	50	53
Kurdish	208	86	63	27	29	51
Spanish	457	88	51	22	40	50
French	242	66	26	12	30	34
English	1,097	67	22	10	28	32

**Table 8.5** Language vitality per language group and language dimension (in %, LVI in cumulative %)

### 8.3 Focus on Polish and Russian in Hamburg: the case of *Aussiedler*

Polish and Russian were the second and third home languages most frequently reported by Hamburg primary school pupils. This result indicates that children from *Spätaussiedler* families form a significant proportion of pupils at Hamburg primary schools. In this section, we first give an overview of the situation of *Aussiedler* in Germany and of the available support facilities for them at schools in Hamburg. We then present the Polish and Russian language profiles of the HLS in Hamburg.

Ethnic Germans from Eastern European countries and the former Soviet Union have been taken in by the Federal Republic of Germany since the early 1950s: in the immediate post-war years as expellees; since the founding of the Federal Republic as *Aussiedler*; and since the revised version of the Federal Refugee Law came into force in 1993, as *Spätaussiedler*. People were already fleeing to Germany before the end of the Second World War from Middle, Eastern, and Southern European areas on the basis of their German ancestry. By the beginning of the 1950s, almost 12 million ethnic Germans, some involuntarily, had left the socialist countries in Eastern Europe where they had been living. The term *Aussiedler* was subsequently used to describe those who from then on acknowledged their German ancestry and left for Germany on their own initiative. *Spätaussiedler* today form the second-largest group of immigrants in Germany, after the labour migrants from the recruitment countries. Most came to Germany following the political breakdown of the Eastern Bloc. At that time, the influx of *Aussiedler* to Germany represented the greatest remigration movement of a national minority in the context of European migration (Bade & Oltmer 1999). The movement reached its peak in 1989 and 1990, when 377,055 and 397,073 *Aussiedler*, respectively, came to Germany. Between 1950 and 1999, almost 4 million *Aussiedler* arrived, approximately 60% of them after 1990 (ibid.: 28). Of the *Aussiedler* who came to Germany between 1988 and 1998, almost two thirds (1.6 million) originated from the former Soviet Union and 26% (approx. 600,000) from Poland (ibid.: 21). Since the 1990s, the previous foremost countries of origin, Poland and Roumania, diminished in importance, while the Soviet Union and its successor states became the foremost countries of origin. Since 1993, in fact, over 90% of the *Aussiedler* originate from the former Soviet Union (Dietz 1999:154).

Compared to other immigrants, the *Aussiedler* can be seen as a privileged group in Germany. On the basis of the German Constitution (Article 116, Section 1), *Aussiedler* are German citizens. This fundamental regulation was formulated in the *Bundesvertriebenen- und Flüchtlingsgesetz* (Federal Expellee and Refugee Law). The Federal Government reacted to the large increase in *Aussiedler* numbers at the end of the 1980s with the *Aussiedleraufnahmegesetz* (*Aussiedler* Reception Law).

Further changes were made with the *Kriegsfolgenbereinigungsgesetz* (Law on the Resolution of the Consequences of War), which came into force in 1993. Because of their German nationality, *Aussiedler* have a secure legal status, and there are special integration programs for them, including German language courses. These programs have been reduced over the years, and the length of the language courses has been shortened from one year to six months. Since 1996, recognition of the *Aussiedler* status was made dependent on, among other things, the results of a German language examination. In principle, anybody who makes an application as *Spätaussiedler* must undergo a language test. Members of the applicant's family need not take the language test, unless they themselves are to be recognised as *Spätaussiedler*. There has been a change in the language qualifications required of *Aussiedler*. The pioneering migrants, many of whom had been looking to Germany for years and had made the effort of getting an exit permit, mostly knew German. In the course of the mass movements of the 1990s, however, the *Aussiedler* arrived with less and less knowledge of German. Increasing chain migration led to Russian-speaking enclaves in certain areas in Germany. The proportion of binational German/Russian families, by whom more Russian was spoken than German, also rose (Dietz 1999). In the late 1990s, Russian was the most important language among young *Aussiedler*, while they brought less and less knowledge of German with them. A survey by the *Osteuropa-Institut* in Munich reflects the language qualifications of young people from *Aussiedler* families: out of 253 interviewees, only 8% said they spoke only German in the family, 46.4% spoke both German and Russian, and 45.6% only Russian (ibid.: 159).

The support facilities available for the children of *Aussiedler* in public schools in Hamburg are basically in conformity with those of migrant children in terms of organisation, scope, and description. On the basis of their age, first and second grade children are placed directly in regular classes. At an age corresponding to grade 3, they attend reception classes (*Auffangsklassen*) and then preparatory classes (*Vorbereitungsklassen*). Here, they are prepared for a period of up to one and a half years before they receive instruction in regular classes. When they enter regular classes, the schools receive additional funding for the teaching of German. Instead of participating in foreign language instruction as scheduled in the timetable, *Aussiedler* children can follow Russian and Polish courses. The courses are offered both centrally and locally.

### **The status of Polish in the HLS**

According to statistics of the Department of Education and Sports, only 658 children at Hamburg public primary schools spoke Polish as a home language in the year 2001, but 1,742 children reported Polish as their home language in the



HLS. The results of the survey can be explained by the involvement of Catholic primary schools. The Polish Catholic community in Hamburg is an important meeting place for Polish families, and a significant proportion of children from these families go to Catholic primary schools.

In total, 85.1% of the children whose home language was Polish, said they were born in Germany. In contrast, according to the children, most of their parents were born in Poland (89.9% of mothers and 78.6% of fathers). Since the survey was conducted among 6- to 11-year-olds, this result conforms to the expectations: the influx of *Aussiedler* from Poland was at its height between 1988 and 1990. The children from the Polish language group gave the following answers to questions on language skills, language choice, language dominance, and language preference.

Polish language skills	6/7	8/9	10/11
Understanding	94	95	98
Speaking	90	90	92
Reading	30	42	58
Writing	24	31	40

**Table 8.6** Polish language skills by age group (in %) (N = 1,742)

Over 90% of the children reported understanding and speaking Polish. They claimed that their reading and writing skills improved as they got older. Measured by reading skills, the Polish language group held seventh place in the ranking of the 20 largest language groups in Hamburg; 294 Polish-speaking children said they took part in home language instruction (henceforward HLI) (i.e., 16.9% of all children who mentioned Polish as home language). It can be assumed that a large part of these children took advantage of the afternoon instruction offered by the Polish Catholic mission. Under the auspices of the Department of Education and Sports, there were central primary level Polish afternoon courses at six locations. At secondary school levels I and II, Polish was offered at two locations in the place of one foreign language.

A majority of children said they commonly used Polish when talking to their parents, and they did so more frequently with their mothers than with their fathers. A clear minority mentioned Polish as the most frequently used language when talking to their siblings. According to the answers, Polish was used more frequently with younger siblings than with older ones. A clear minority of the children reported speaking Polish when talking to their best friends.

Use of Polish	6/7	8/9	10/11
With mother	67	70	72
With father	55	55	63
With younger siblings	17	19	18
With older siblings	16	18	13
With best friends	16	15	16

**Table 8.7** Language choice by age group (in %) (N = 1,742)

Language	Language dominance			Language preference		
	6/7	8/9	10/11	6/7	8/9	10/11
Polish	21	14	13	28	28	24
German	65	70	70	56	56	57
Polish and German	9	11	14	9	11	16

**Table 8.8** Language dominance and language preference by age group (in %) (N = 1,742)

According to their own estimates, a clear majority of children in the Polish language group spoke German best. The older the pupils, the greater the number that estimated that there was no dominance of one of the two languages. According to their own estimates a majority of children in the Polish language group preferred to speak German. Again, the older the pupils, the greater the number that estimated that they had no preference for one of the two languages.

### The status of Russian in the HLS

In the HLS, 1,686 children reported Russian as their home language. A majority of these children (62%) named Russia, 12.7% named Kazakhstan, and 2.2% named the Ukraine as their birth countries. Only 17.3% of the Russian-speaking children reported that they were born in Germany. According to the children's self-reports, most of their parents were born in Russia (69.3% of mothers and 65.7% of fathers) and in Kazakhstan (over 10%). The answers to the question on birth countries indicate that a considerable proportion of the families of children in the Russian language group only came to Hamburg as *Spätaussiedler* during the previous ten years. The children gave the following answers to questions on language skills, language choice, language dominance, and language preference.

Russian language skills	6/7	8/9	10/11
Understanding	94	94	96
Speaking	90	90	93
Reading	22	37	44
Writing	19	32	36

**Table 8.9** Russian language skills by age group (in %) (N = 1,686)

Over 90% of the children reported understanding and speaking Russian. They claimed that their reading and writing skills improved as they got older. Measured by reading skills, the Russian language group held tenth place in the ranking of the 20 largest language groups in Hamburg. 144 Russian-speaking children said they took part in HLI; this was only 8.5% of all children who mentioned Russian as home language. At this point, the results of the survey raise some questions. For primary school children, the opportunities for learning Russian under the supervision of the Department of Education and Sports are restricted in Hamburg. Russian was offered at only one Hamburg primary school and, according to the statistics, for only 16 children. It is, thus, unclear to what instruction most of the children referred to when reporting that they attended Russian classes. At secondary school levels I and II, Russian was offered at eight locations in the place of one foreign language or as additional instruction.

A majority of the children reported that they commonly used Russian when talking to their parents, and they did so more frequently with their mothers than with their fathers. A clear minority named Russian as the most frequently used language when talking to their younger siblings. Yet, Russian was used more frequently with older siblings than with younger ones. A small minority of the children reported that they commonly used Russian when talking to their best friends.

Use of Russian	6/7	8/9	10/11
With mother	68	72	75
With father	63	61	67
With younger siblings	19	18	19
With older siblings	19	21	25
With best friends	21	18	21

**Table 8.10** Language choice by age group (in %) (N = 1,686)

Language	Language dominance			Language preference		
	6/7	8/9	10/11	6/7	8/9	10/11
Russian	25	23	26	29	27	22
German	65	64	61	56	56	59
Polish and German	5	8	9	9	10	14

**Table 8.11** Language dominance and language preference by age group (in %) (N = 1,686)

A large majority of children in the Russian language group reported that they spoke German best. Even though the proportion was very low, the older the pupils, the greater the number that reported that there was no dominance of one of the two languages. Preference for German was reported by an increasing 56-59%, and preference for Russian was reported by a decreasing 29-22% of all age groups. No preference was reported by an increasing 9-14% of all children.

In sum, language-related information in the Polish and Russian language groups was consistent with the information given by children in most of the other language groups in Hamburg. The home languages were understood and spoken by a great majority of the children, but less than half of the children reported that they were able to write the languages. Within families, languages other than German play an important role in communication. German gains more significance as children get older and it is the dominant language in contacts outside the family. Most of the children reported that they spoke German best and preferably. The results for Polish and Russian correspond largely to the findings of the available *Aussiedler* research. The information reported by the children indicates high vitality for Polish and Russian in these language groups. It is well known that, in spite of identification with their German extraction, this is increasingly the case in *Aussiedler* families. Most studies of the circumstances of *Aussiedler*, however, target the situation of adolescents and young adults (Bade & Oltmer 1999). An increasing threat to social integration in Germany has been observed specifically in the adolescent *Aussiedler* group, which is attributed to, e.g., low educational participation, unfavourable living conditions, and low proficiency in German (Dietz 1999). In the survey by the *Osteuropa-Institut* in Munich, more than half of the adolescents reported that their circle of friends was made up predominantly of *Aussiedler* (ibid.: 171). The answers given by the 6- to 11-year-old Polish- and Russian-speaking children in Hamburg may be an indication that a withdrawal tendency is less widespread among younger children: the overwhelming majority use German with their best friends.

## 8.4 *Muttersprachlicher Unterricht* in primary and secondary schools

Corresponding to Germany's federal structure, the organisational forms of *Muttersprachlicher Unterricht* (henceforward MSU) differ among the federal states. Of the eleven Western German states, five are responsible for MSU (Bavaria, Hesse, Lower Saxony, North Rhine-Westphalia, Rhineland-Palatinate), and six leave it to the consulates of some countries of origin. Of the five Eastern German states, three have not developed MSU themselves, neither have they established MSU through the consulates so far. Saxony approves of both methods; Brandenburg enables MSU to be given under the supervision of the schools' inspectorate and places facilities at the schools' disposal (cf. Palt *et al.* 1998:95ff). In this section, we discuss the status of MSU at primary and secondary schools in Hamburg along nine different parameters.

### (1) Target groups

More than 30% of the roughly 162,000 pupils attending public schools in Hamburg have an immigrant background. Over 33,000 pupils hold foreign passports (20%). In addition, there are children from ethnic German emigrant families, naturalised Germans, and children from endogamous marriages. For these target groups, MSU is integrated into the regular curriculum under the responsibility of the Local Education Authority, and the following languages are taught: Albanian, Bosnian, Dari, Farsi, Greek, Italian, Croatian, Kurdish, Polish, Portuguese, Romani/Sinte, Russian, and Turkish. MSU is also provided outside regular lessons in the following languages: Albanian, Aramaic, Armenian, Dari, Farsi, Kurdish, Pashtu, Twi, and Urdu/'Pakistani'. Albanian, Italian, Polish, and Portuguese are taught because in 1997 the governments of these countries applied to have their languages taught under the responsibility of the Local Education Authority. As far as the other languages are concerned, the application came either from the schools themselves or from the language groups. Besides these two organisational forms, additional MSU is provided by the Consulates of some countries of origin, and takes place outside regular school instruction, in the following languages: Arabic, Greek, Croatian, Polish, Portuguese, Serbian, and Spanish.

### (2) Arguments

The Guidelines for Aliens Policy in Hamburg, accepted in the Senate on 11 February, 1976, provide the legal basis for improving foreign pupils' position. The concept of further development of school education in the Aliens Policy lays down the basis for the establishment of national language classes and national bilingual readiness classes for grades 7-9, complementary to the already existing

readiness classes. It also provides the basis for German remedial teaching, preliminary groups, and homework assistance. Home languages were accepted as secondary language at secondary schools and high schools. Additionally, these two types of school were to offer courses in the home languages, provided that there was a sufficient number of participants. For this purpose, teachers from the states of origin – predominantly from Turkey – would take up teaching positions in Hamburg. In these guidelines, it is also stated that the consulates should take responsibility for MSU. The accumulated experience and knowledge over the years led to a new set of guidelines and recommendations for the education and instruction of foreign children and youngsters that came into effect in 1986. The objective was to allow foreign children and youngsters educational opportunities equal to those of Germans and to integrate them into the German school system and society as soon as possible. At the same time, they should be enabled to maintain and develop their own national and cultural identities. Since MSU included Islamic religious education for Turkish pupils, teachers from the states of origin, mostly from Turkey, were appointed. An individual offer of MSU classes subsequently ensued from this in Hamburg. Most teachers hired later on were mother-tongue speakers who obtained their diplomas in their countries of origin. Since the 1990s, the number of bilingual teachers who graduated in the Federal Republic of Germany has increased constantly.

The measures taken in the Hamburg State Education Law (*Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg* 1997) had two aims. On the one hand, the children of migrants were to be integrated into the German educational system; on the other hand, their school and vocational reintegration in their countries of origin were to be left open (*Rückkehroption*). Given the fact that for many migrant families the temporary stay initially planned turned into a permanent one, the support of return competence (*Rückkehrfähigkeit*) became secondary to the objective of social and school integration. The changes taking place in a globalising world, along with the greater importance attached to multilingual skills in the course of European integration and the internationalisation of employees, led to a new conceptualisation of MSU, in which multilingualism became the ultimate goal. As a result of the growing global network, the acquisition of intercultural competence became more and more important to all members of society. It was against this background that the Hamburg State Education Law, which came into effect in August 1997, determined the advancement of bilingualism as an essential part of education: “While respecting their ethnic and cultural identity, developing bilingualism for children whose first language is not German, and enabling them to participate actively in instruction and school activities is the basic goal” (Art. 3, par. 3). The guiding idea was the explicit acknowledgement of bilingualism and multilingualism as individual and

social capital, respectively. Hence, while still operating within the framework of predominantly monolingual education, schools were committed to supporting bilingualism and multilingualism. Since June 2003, however, the new Hamburg State Education Law no longer regards bilingual development as a goal; mastery of German is seen as being of the utmost importance for all children and youngsters, and for their vocational integration. Given the variable conditions from school to school and the variable pupil needs, there is no standardised concept for the promotion of bilingualism in schools. Rather, schools are expected to work out individual concepts that adjust promotional measures to pupil needs and school objectives.

### **(3) Objectives**

MSU starts with pupils' individual language abilities, and aims at systematically developing those. Pupils gain competences in all four language skills and in language awareness. By promotion of their language awareness and language reflection in class, pupils acquire a metalinguistic competence, which enables them to reflect on the characteristics of their mother tongues and to compare these with German. MSU is also in harmony with the principles of intercultural education that is embodied in the Hamburg State Education Law. It is basically designed to help children and youngsters who are brought up bilingually to develop an awareness of their situation, and an intercultural capacity to act.

Foreign pupils who have late entry into a state school during secondary level I or at the beginning of secondary level II can demonstrate their skills and knowledge of their mother tongues in a language proficiency examination as of 2003/2004. Until now, they had neither sufficient knowledge to take part in foreign language classes, nor the opportunity to be taught in their home languages. Depending on the decision of the certifying conference, the grade for the home language examination will then substitute for the grade for the first or second foreign language in the pertinent semi-annual or annual report.

Based on a language portfolio developed in North Rhine-Westphalia, a similar portfolio was developed for lower secondary schools in Hamburg. A European Language Portfolio is currently being developed, and was accredited by the Council of Europe at the end of the 2002/2003 school year. The language portfolio accompanies and documents a pupil's language profile from the beginning of primary school until secondary school, and also covers school and non-school language acquisition as intercultural experiences. The portfolio aims at heightening the awareness of multilingualism both as an opportunity and a capacity. It promotes individual language acquisition and helps pupils to assess and describe their know-

ledge of languages, and to rate this on nationally and internationally comparable levels of competence.

#### (4) Evaluation

As yet, educational achievements in the domain of MSU have no official status in primary schooling. However, plans have been worked out to upgrade this status. The assessment and marking of MSU will be based on new guidelines and a new curricular framework for primary and lower secondary schools, to be issued by the Local Education Authority, from the 2003/2004 school year onwards (see *Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg, Behörde für Bildung und Sport, Amt für Schule* 2002).

With the aim of increasing the efficiency of school promotional measures, the Local Educational Authority (*Behörde für Schule, Jugend und Berufsbildung*) commissioned four surveys: the longitudinal survey LAU (Lehmann *et al.* 2002) of bilingual primary schools, the Hamburg survey of the development of bilingualism among Turkish-German primary school children, and an overview of national and international research into bilingual children (Reich *et al.* 2002). The results have constituted the basis for both in-service teacher training and language promotion at schools. Here, information is given on the last two surveys mentioned above.

The language development of Turkish-German children who started primary school in Hamburg in August 1999 will be documented throughout primary school within the framework of a research project led by the Department of Intercultural Education at the University of Koblenz-Landau. The first survey provides information about the children's state of language at the time of their starting school (Reich 2000). It was implemented at seven primary schools shortly before the children's first day at school. The survey aimed at registering the language performance of the children in both Turkish and German. The method chosen was based on free speech tests. A picture that was to be described by the children and a picture sequence, which in addition to the description also required the verbalisation of connections and the sequencing of events, served as stimuli. To ensure comparability, the same pictures were applied to both the Turkish and the German free speech tests. In addition, the families' language use and attitudes, and the children's other language contacts were recorded using parental questionnaires in Turkish.

The central finding was that the children's bilingualism developed to extremely varying degrees. There were children who showed developmental deficits in both languages, and there were others whose performance was clearly further developed in one language. The majority showed approximately the same language competence; however, there were noticeable differences concerning the acquired level of competence. The Department of Intercultural Education at the University of Koblenz-Landau has developed recommendations on the basis of these findings that



are being tested in class. At the beginning of grade 2, the survey continued with speech tests in Turkish and German, and at mid-term, writing tests were conducted in German and Turkish. The survey of language proficiency will continue throughout the children's primary education in order to document the participating pupils' language development. The following step will be to simplify the survey instruments developed within the framework of this project, so that they can be employed at all primary schools in Hamburg. The inclusion of other languages is planned as well.

In order to gain an overview of the findings of national and international research in the field of bilingual acquisition, the Local Education Authority commissioned a team of scientists with expertise in the field (Reich *et al.* 2002). With regard to the effectiveness of pertinent school programs, the researchers summarised the following views. A haphazard approach to second language acquisition, i.e., the quasi-natural effect of speech contacts, leads to negative results. Similarly, isolated remedial teaching in the second language, when not combined with the other subjects, does not have any effect. Careful and systematic support in acquiring the target language is necessary. A time-wise adequate systematic didactic integration of the home language both as a subject and a medium in class adds to school success, whereas isolated MSU does not generally have a positive effect on school achievement in other subjects. As distinct from previous studies, recent research has come to the conclusion that bilingualism has a comparatively positive effect on cognitive development, and especially promotes linguistic awareness and metalinguistic competence. It can be assumed that individual dispositions have an effect on language acquisition, which emerges not only in the predominantly steady development of language performance, but also in the fact that bilingual people use both languages equally, depending on the context, or use compensatory strategies. Especially families, social environment (in particular, contacts with locals), and schools are of great importance for the development of the second language. The degree of attachment to the culture of origin, however, does not seem to be a vital factor for target language acquisition; only in families with a strong orientation toward a return to the country of origin were impediments observed. As far as written language acquisition is concerned, family writing standards are of pivotal importance. Accordingly, different approaches to written language are primarily due to sociocultural factors, and not to bilingualism as such. Against the background of these research results, school promotional measures in Hamburg are presently undergoing revision.

### **(5) Enrolment**

There are no recent official figures for MSU enrolment in Hamburg primary schools. Requests are increasingly made, however, to collect and publish such figures.

### **(6) Curricular status**

At present, new formulations regarding basic curricular elements for German as a second language and MSU within the framework of new educational planning for primary and lower secondary schools are being developed. The respective conceptual frameworks aim at a coordinated language promotion that besides a systematic supplementation of German classes for bilingual pupils also projects an interlocking of both remedial measures and MSU with subject instruction. Parallel to this, guidelines are being developed which put the principles of promotional measures in concrete terms and illustrate them by instructional examples.

MSU is organised in three different ways in Hamburg. Additional MSU, provided by the Consulates of some countries of origin, takes place outside regular school instruction. MSU under the responsibility of the Local Education Authority is provided at about 50 schools and is integrated into the regular curriculum. Furthermore, there are about 20 other schools in which MSU is provided outside the regular time-table for children from a variety of schools. The teachers have permanent contracts. The following languages are taught: Albanian, Bosnian, Dari, Farsi, Greek, Italian, Croatian, Kurdish, Polish, Portuguese, Romani/Sinte, Russian, and Turkish. MSU is also provided outside regular lessons, but taught by teachers who are paid at an hourly rate. This is the case with the following languages: Albanian, Aramaic, Armenian, Dari, Farsi, Kurdish, Pashtu, Twi, and Urdu/‘Pakistani’.

MSU is designed as complementary instruction and participation is voluntary. It is given primarily in primary schools, but applied more and more in the lower secondary sector too, i.e., both as a supplementary course and as a second or third elective language. Presently, Russian, Polish, Farsi, and Turkish are offered in place of a compulsory foreign language. In these courses, performance results are relevant to school reports and advancement to following grades. The marking and assessment of MSU will be based on new guidelines to be issued by the Local Education Authority from the 2003/2004 school year onwards (see *Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg, Behörde für Bildung und Sport, Amt für Schule* 2002).

Provided that a minimum of ten pupils have registered and a qualified teacher is available, MSU can be offered and comprises 3-5 hours of instruction per week. If the minimum number of participants is reached, tuition is integrated into regular instruction. Should this precondition not be fulfilled, then pupils attending different

schools, or different types of school, are offered courses at central school locations. MSU first became part of the primary and special school curriculum in the 1999/2000 school year. Since August 1999, primary schools are required to develop organisational and creational concepts for such instruction.

A special form of MSU is conducted at bilingual primary schools (see *Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg, Behörde für Schule, Jugend und Berufsbildung* 2000). Here, pupils are instructed both in German and in their respective partner languages from the very beginning. The first bilingual school in Hamburg – a German-Italian primary school – was opened in August 1999. Its first grade started as an educational experiment. A German-Portuguese primary school followed in the 2000/2001 school year, and in the same school year, two German-Spanish primary schools were also set up, each starting with a first grade. In the years to come, further bilingual primary schools will be established in cooperation with the respective foreign Ministries of Education and the local Department of Education, depending on demand.

### **(7) Funding**

Regarding the schooling of foreign pupils and ethnic German emigrant pupils, the staffing quota for public schools in Hamburg in the 1999/2000 school year consisted of 605 positions, including 382 positions for intensive and remedial German instruction, a further 126 positions for preparatory programs for pupils coming from abroad without any knowledge of German, and 60 positions for MSU services and social services. The remaining positions were allocated to support German pupils instructed among a high number of foreigners (28 positions), to complementary studies for the teachers of pupils speaking different home languages (5 positions), and to homework assistance (4 positions). Since the 1985/1986 school year, the requirements of intensive and remedial German instruction for foreign pupils and ethnic German emigrants have depended on the duration of their school attendance in Germany. Pupils who have German nationality (children of endogamous marriages or naturalised parents) and who are being brought up bilingually are not included. Furthermore, public schools receive an annual average of € 185,000 for teaching materials and for establishing transit and preparatory classes. The Local Education Authority places classrooms, free of charge, at the consulates' disposal for the giving of supplementary instruction, and it also grants an annual subsidy. Teachers from the various countries of origin who have fixed-term contracts for 5-7 years with the consulates give supplementary MSU.

### **(8) Teaching materials**

Teachers can choose instructional materials according to their own preferences. There is no official external judgement or evaluation of these materials. Materials concerning specific themes (e.g., bilingual literacy) are developed within the framework of training programs at the Institute for In-service Teacher Training (*Institut für Lehrerfortbildung*).

### **(9) Teacher qualifications**

The University of Hamburg offers different training options, hereby focusing on the support of pupils who are brought up bilingually. The major ones are outlined below.

*In-service training for the teachers of pupils speaking different home languages* (Departments of Education, Linguistics, Oriental Studies). The University of Hamburg has been offering this additional training since the early 1980s. Thirty places per semester are available for this training. Prerequisite for admission is the first of the two Civil and Public Service Examinations required for the teaching profession. The training is designed to take three semesters. Five teaching positions are provided per school year to enable in-service teachers in Hamburg to participate in the additional training. Teachers are exempted from half of their teaching obligations during their participation in the course of study. So far, about 200 teachers have accomplished this advanced training. Since 1996, student teachers have also been given the opportunity to attend the didactic seminars of the additional teacher training within the framework of their individually set main areas (optional areas).

*Major study of Intercultural Literature and German as a foreign/second language* (Departments of Linguistics and Education). Students who have taken German as a subject can opt for this main area as an examination subject. The subject area is the teaching of the German language, literature, and culture in a dominantly German environment under the condition of bilingualism. The acquisition of competence in a migrant language is obligatory.

*Major study of Intercultural Education* (Department of Education). Students aiming at a teaching profession are free to focus on Intercultural Education, regardless of the subjects chosen. This holds for the fields of primary school education, for certain subject didactics (political science, history), and for German as a discipline.

*Teaching profession of Turkish* (Departments of Oriental Studies and Education). There are seven places per year available at the Department of Oriental Studies. Depending on students' previous language knowledge, the discipline requires 32-40 lecture hours per week. The Department of Education offers courses

on the didactics of teaching Turkish in the context of migration every three semesters.

In the 1999/2000 school year, a promotional measure was initiated at the *Institut für Lehrerfortbildung* (Institute for In-service Teacher Training) that does not view the teaching of German as a second language solely as compensatory remedial instruction, but as a principle for all subjects and spheres of activity. The programme aims at schools which, within the framework of their educational activities, focus on German as a second language and want to develop concepts for educating pupils who are brought up bilingually. In the 2000/2001 school year, the in-service training programme was extended to remedial and preschool classes. Parallel to this, training services have been developed for MSU teachers. Based on the objective of coordinating MSU with regular instruction in the methodical and didactic areas, the in-service training covers linguistics and subject didactics.

## 8.5 Conclusions and discussion

The aforementioned MSU services will continue to be available in Hamburg. Two German-Turkish primary schools will probably be set up as bilingual schools. The emphasis in the area of MSU is on the training of teaching staff with regard to the new guidelines for the evaluation of achievements in this domain and the implementation of framework plans for MSU in primary schools and secondary schools at level I. The promotion of bilingualism (*Förderung der Zweisprachigkeit*) in conformity with Article 3 of the Hamburg Schools Law no longer applies in its draft version. Great emphasis is placed on the development of a standardised instrument for the analysis of the status and development of language in 5- to 6-year-old children. Whenever children (also) speak a language other than German with their families, this language will be included. Blanket deployment of this instrument is planned.

On the whole, the results of the HLS among children at Hamburg primary schools broadly confirm the picture of linguistic and cultural diversity which the experts participating in the field study had already expected on the basis of population statistics, school statistics, and small-scale case studies. It was confirmed that the home language criterion is especially meaningful for describing linguistic and cultural heterogeneity among school children. While, according to the latest statistics on immigration in Hamburg an average of 23% of children do not have a German passport, 35% of the children in the present study reported that they used another language at home apart from or instead of German. For more than one third of the children in Hamburg primary schools, therefore, multilingualism is a fact of

life and an educational premise. Trends are confirmed here which have also been ascertained in other studies (Lehmann *et al.* 2002, *Deutsches PISA-Konsortium* 2001).

The results of the HLS presented here extend the available knowledge of the significance of multilingualism due to migration by providing deeper insights into the home language practices of primary school children. In certain areas and for some language groups, the survey also led to surprising outcomes. The most important results of the HLS in Hamburg are presented below (for a detailed discussion, see Fürstenu *et al.* 2003).

The comparative evaluation of the four dimensions of language skills, language dominance, language preference, and language choice in the 20 most frequently named language groups showed that both home languages and German are and remain important in the language practices of primary school children from immigrant families – often even when their parents were born in Germany. It is an important conclusion that German and other languages used at home should not be seen as being in a competitive relationship. The information obtained on the various dimensions shows rather that languages are used according to specific contexts and that maintaining the home language is in no way detrimental to the knowledge of German. A large proportion of the children who expressed a strong identification with their home languages said they spoke German best. The results of the HLS thus contradict the assumption that linguistic minorities seal themselves off or isolate themselves linguistically if they continue to maintain the languages they brought with them. The results of the study contain indications that social and linguistic integration in the country of destination seems to succeed particularly when immigrant minority groups invest in maintaining their mother tongues and when the children have access to appropriate mainstream instruction.

The results offer new perspectives on the status of home languages in smaller language groups. Thus, according to the criteria applied, Romani/Sinte has a particularly high vitality score. In the Chinese language group, there are indications of investment in the maintenance of Chinese about which little has been known hitherto: half of the children in this group reported that they had literacy skills; almost 40% said they attended classes.

According to the results, English is the fourth most common of the languages used at home apart from German. This result is surprising, since it cannot be explained merely by immigration. It seems plausible, however, that many children mentioned English because of its predominant status as an international language and foreign school language. Their answers may thus indicate a language practice at home in which English features not as a family language, but as an international *lingua franca*. English is the most important language in popular culture, and the

children hear it in the media. English or quasi-English terms dominate the world of mobile telephones and computer games; they are familiar as product descriptions (*cola light, walkman, Bahncard*). It is thus likely that the children were thinking of 'English in German' when they reported that the language was spoken at home. What is more, English is the obligatory foreign school language from the third grade in Hamburg, and it is, therefore, conceivable that many children use it at home with their parents and siblings from time to time.

The special status of English is not the only factor that ensures that children from monolingual German families are confronted daily with linguistic heterogeneity. The children's answers to the question concerning which languages they would like to learn show that great importance is attached not only to English (and other foreign school languages) but also to the languages of immigrants. A particularly large number of children said they would like to learn Turkish, and these were children from families where Turkish is *not* the home language. Russian, Greek, Polish, and Portuguese were also popular. From these results, we may suppose that the children see the home languages of immigrants as communicative means in their milieu. Other available research results confirm this. In a research project carried out in Hamburg among adolescents, it was empirically shown that Turkish is so important for communication that it is also used by adolescents of non-Turkish ancestry. Turkish thus has a 'hidden prestige' for adolescents (Auer & Dirim 2000). The results of the HLS serve as indicators that the 'hidden prestige' of Turkish (and other immigrant languages) also operates among primary school children.

The fact that linguistic heterogeneity in a society characterised by migration influences the lives of all children, and not just those from immigrant families, is relevant for the formulation of the curriculum at primary schools. The interest of the children in various languages, which shows itself in the results of the study, is a good basis for explicit consideration of linguistic diversity. The list of 90 home languages reported by the children makes it clear that not only the children, but probably also most teachers could learn more about language diversity and the concrete multilingual situation in school classes if the home languages of all children were taken note of.

The results of the HLS also provide a good foundation for the further planning of MSU in Hamburg. Alongside the information obtained on the distribution of the individual languages, one finding is especially helpful. In spite of the wide diversity of languages, it is possible to guarantee most of the bilingual children at Hamburg primary schools access to MSU through a manageable range of the 20 most frequently used languages. That MSU is beneficial for the bilingual development and educational success of children is undisputed. Indices obtained which confirm

this finding are also contained in the study presented here. Children who take part in MSU have a higher estimation of their literacy skills in their home languages. This implies that mother-tongue instruction in Hamburg is already being used successfully, but above all, that it should be developed further.

The information obtained on the interest in MSU shows not only that this demand comes from the educational perspective, but that the children themselves want to be taught languages other than German at primary school. According to the survey, at least every third primary school child in Hamburg also speaks a language other than German from birth, and the results show that these children use several languages on a daily basis. It is the responsibility of educational policy makers and the task of schools to build on existing language skills and to make the development of 'elaborated multilingualism' (Fürstenau 2003) possible and useful, both at the level of individuals and at the level of society at large.

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## 9 Multilingualism in The Hague

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In the context of the *Multilingual Cities Project* (MCP), the municipality of The Hague was chosen as the target city in the Netherlands, because this city belongs, together with Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Utrecht, to the four largest and most multicultural cities of this country, and because good working relations between the municipality of The Hague and Tilburg University had already been established in the past. A comprehensive overview of the research carried out in The Hague, including the goals, methods, and outcomes of a home language survey (henceforward HLS) amongst primary and secondary school pupils and a needs analysis survey amongst parents of primary school pupils, is presented by Extra *et al.* (2001a).

Demographic trends for immigrant minority (henceforward IM) children in The Hague are presented and discussed on the basis of available municipal statistics in Section 9.1. In Section 9.2, the outcomes of the HLS carried out in The Hague are discussed. Section 9.3 offers comparative perspectives on home language instruction (henceforward HLI) in Dutch primary and secondary schools. In Section 9.4, the outcomes of a survey carried out amongst parents of IM primary school children are presented; the survey focused on the parents' needs for HLI for their children. Section 9.5 contains conclusions and discussion on the basis of the data presented in this chapter.

### 9.1 Demographic trends

Longitudinal demographic information on IM children in the primary and secondary schools of the municipality of The Hague can be derived from extensive monitoring reports on education, culture, and welfare (referred to as *Onderwijs, Cultuur & Welzijn* or OCW in Dutch) that are made available on a yearly basis by the municipal OCW Department. In order to identify IM children, the so-called 'combined' birth-country criterion is utilised nationwide in all municipal statistics. Children who were born abroad *and* children who have at least one parent who was born abroad belong to this category. In the Netherlands, such children are referred to as *allochtoon* (in contrast to those who are *autochtoon*). Table 9.1 gives an over-

view of all regular and special primary school children in the 2001/2002 school year, in greater The Hague, i.e., with the inclusion of 1,908 children due to the enlargement of the city's borders in January, 2001.

Group	Total	Percentage	Change compared to 2000/2001
Total population	41,771	100.0	+ 4.7%
<i>Autochtoon</i>	22,040	52.8	+ 7.1%
<i>Allochtoon</i>	19,731	47.2	+ 2.2%
Surinamese	5,135	12.3	+ 0.5%
Turkish	5,056	12.1	+ 3.6%
Moroccan	3,935	9.4	+ 1.3%
Other	3,120	7.5	- 0.5%
Antillean/Aruban	1,124	2.7	+ 6.1%
Refugees	583	1.4	+ 21.2%
Tunisian	185	0.4	- 7.0%
Portuguese	141	0.3	- 1.0%
(former) Yugoslavian	139	0.3	+ 5.0%
Italian	133	0.3	+ 23.0%
Spanish	101	0.2	+ 24.0%
Cape Verdean	44	0.1	- 28.0%
Greek	28	0.1	+ 27.0%
Moluccan	5	0.0	+ 67.0%

**Table 9.1** *Autochtoon* and *allochtoon* primary school children in The Hague, 2001/2002 school year (source: OCW Monitor 2002:18)

Nearly half of all primary school children in The Hague belonged in 2001/2002 to the category of *allochtoon*, and their proportion shows a steady increase over time. Surinamese and Antillean/Aruban children, on the one hand, and Moluccan children, on the other, originate from the former Dutch colonies, referred to at that time as the West and East Indian territories, respectively. The largest groups of *allochtoon* children ( $N > 1,000$ ) were Surinamese, Turkish, Moroccan, and Antillean/Aruban children. The largest increase ( $N > 20\%$ ), compared to the former school year, emerged for Moluccan, Greek, Spanish, Italian, and refugee children; the strongest decrease (-28%) for Cape Verdean children. The large category of 'other' children was not specified; it is unclear what children are meant by this category.

Information on the number of IM pupils in the city's secondary schools is presented in the same OCW Monitor (2002). Table 9.2 gives the relevant data.

Group	Total	Percentage	Change compared to 2000/2001
Total population	20,640	100.0	+ 0.4%
<i>Autochtoon</i>	15,198	73.6	- 0.5%
<i>Allochtoon</i>	5,442	26.4	+ 3.1%
Turkish	1,981	9.6	+ 6.7%
Moroccan	1,668	8.1	- 1.5%
Other	1,146	5.6	+ 4.6%
Surinamese/Antillean/Aruban	467	2.3	+ 2.0%
Southern European	160	0.8	+ 3.8%
Gypsies/Caravan dwellers	14	0.1	- 12.5%
Moluccan	7	0.0	+ 5.0%

**Table 9.2** *Autochtoon* and *allochtoon* secondary school pupils in The Hague, 2001/2002 school year (source: OCW Monitor 2002:23)

Compared to the former school year, there was an increase in 2001/2002 in the number of *allochtoon* pupils and a decrease in the number of *autochtoon* pupils. More than a quarter of the total secondary school population stemmed from abroad. It is unclear why Surinamese/Antillean/Aruban pupils and gypsies/caravan dwellers were grouped together. Again, the large category of 'other' pupils was not specified. The OCW Monitor (2002) gave two reasons for the discrepancy between the proportions of *allochtoon* pupils in primary schools (47.2%) and in secondary schools (26.4%):

- after four years of education (mostly primary schooling) in the Netherlands, Surinamese and Antillean/Aruban children are no longer included in the category of *allochtoon*;
- *allochtoon* children more often attend lower vocational secondary schools (VMBO) than *autochtoon* children, and lower secondary schooling lasts fewer years than higher secondary schooling like HAVO (5 years) and VWO (6 years).

As can be seen from Tables 9.1 and 9.2, consistency is lacking in the definition and identification of IM children at school, in spite of the use of the combined birth-country criterion.

## 9.2 Home language survey in The Hague

A comprehensive report of the goals, method, and outcomes of the HLS in the municipality of The Hague is presented by Extra *et al.* (2001a). Here, we report the main findings. Table 9.3 gives a specification of the databases for primary and secondary schools, which were established in early 1999 and late 1997, respectively.

School types	Total	Sample	Proportion
Primary education: schools	142	109	77%
locations	158	123	78%
pupils	41,170	27,900	68%
Secondary education: schools	30	26	87%
locations	51	43	84%
pupils	± 19,000	13,703	72%

**Table 9.3** Overview of the database in The Hague

The coverage of participating schools/locations and pupils was substantial. All in all, 135 schools and 41,600 pupils in the age range of 4-17 years participated in the survey. Table 9.4 gives an overview of the distribution of pupils across age groups.

Age	Primary schools		Age	Secondary schools	
4	3,120	11.1%	10	5	0.0%
5	3,386	12.1%	11	12	0.1%
6	3,284	11.7%	12	1,224	8.9%
7	3,261	11.7%	13	2,405	17.6%
8	3,422	12.3%	14	2,614	19.1%
9	3,453	12.4%	15	2,535	18.5%
10	3,205	11.5%	16	2,194	16.0%
11	3,200	11.5%	17	1,351	9.9%
12	951	3.4%	18	466	3.4%
13	120	0.4%	19 and older	122	0.9%
Missing	498	1.8%	Missing	785	5.7%
Total	27,900	100.0%	Total	13,703	100.0%

**Table 9.4** Distribution of pupils across age groups

The pupils were rather evenly distributed across ages in the primary schools. Most pupils aged 12 and 13 years attended secondary school but some (3.8%) still attended primary school. In the secondary schools, most of the pupils were distributed evenly across the ages of 13-16 years. Older pupils were decreasingly represented, as most types of secondary schooling have no fifth and/or sixth grades. Table 9.5 shows the birth countries of the primary school children and their parents.

Birth country	Pupil		Mother		Father	
Netherlands	23,695	85%	12,587	45%	12,377	44%
Turkey	851	3%	3,483	12%	3,645	13%
Surinam	578	2%	3,756	13%	3,537	13%
Morocco	535	2%	2,776	10%	2,872	10%
Antilles/Aruba	340	1%	684	2%	695	2%
Iraq	126	–	140	1%	156	1%
Somalia	125	–	216	1%	199	1%
Pakistan	91	–	328	1%	391	1%
Afghanistan	59	–	68	–	74	–
Germany	55	–	146	1%	85	–
Great Britain	47	–	90	–	94	–
Iran	44	–	57	–	69	–
China/Hong K.	40	–	201	1%	197	1%
Colombia	40	–	104	–	45	–
USA	36	–	38	–	36	–
India	36	–	82	–	109	–
Belgium	35	–	58	–	27	–
France	35	–	64	–	52	–
Ghana	35	–	187	1%	167	1%
Indonesia	29	–	245	1%	273	1%
Tunisia	23	–	92	–	119	–
Spain	21	–	57	–	45	–
Egypt	21	–	55	–	169	1%
Dominican Rep.	20	–	57	–	42	–
Other countries	398	1%	963	3%	829	3%
Unknown	585	2%	1,366	5%	1,596	6%
Total	27,900	100%	27,900	100%	27,900	100%

**Table 9.5** Distribution of birth countries of primary school children, mothers and fathers

The spectrum of birth countries shows rich variation. Most children, however, were born in the Netherlands (85%). To a lesser degree, this also holds for their mothers (45%) and fathers (44%) almost equally. The four largest groups of children born abroad originate from Turkey, Surinam, Morocco, and the Antilles/Aruba (see also Section 9.2). The proportion of parents born in the first three countries is higher than the proportion of children born in these countries. Table 9.6 gives similar data for the sample of secondary school pupils.

Birth country	Pupil		Mother		Father	
Netherlands	10,966	80%	7,446	55%	7,560	56%
Morocco	569	4%	1,173	9%	1,148	8%
Turkey	497	4%	1,127	8%	1,098	8%
Surinam	467	3%	1,717	13%	1,728	13%
Antilles/Aruba	141	1%	215	2%	199	1%
Somalia	65	–	63	–	64	–
Pakistan	59	–	170	1%	147	1%
China/Hong K.	57	–	156	1%	157	1%
Indonesia	51	–	324	2%	357	3%
Iran	48	–	50	–	54	–
Afghanistan	47	–	48	–	48	–
Iraq	37	–	48	–	45	–
Colombia	36	–	24	–	40	–
Great Britain	32	–	61	–	50	–
Germany	30	–	58	–	65	–
Ghana	29	–	33	–	35	–
India	26	–	58	–	40	–
Portugal	21	–	44	–	38	–
Belgium	20	–	17	–	32	–
Philippines	18	–	15	–	29	–
USA	17	–	18	–	16	–
Bosnia	16	–	17	–	13	–
Zaire	16	–	17	–	20	–
Other countries	397	3%	602	2%	602	2%
Unknown	74	1%	217	1%	133	–
Total	13,703	100%	13,703	100%	13,703	100%

**Table 9.6** Distribution of birth countries of secondary school pupils, mothers and fathers



Similar trends emerge in Table 9.6, compared to Table 9.5. However, in Table 9.6 it is clear that the percentage of secondary school pupils born in the Netherlands is lower than that of the primary school population born in this country. At the same time, the percentage of parents of secondary school pupils born in the Netherlands is higher than the percentage of parents of primary school children born in this country. Most of the primary and secondary school pupils were born in the same countries abroad.

The self-reports of pupils in response to the question on home language use can be divided into different categories, i.e., references to languages and/or countries, and other or unknown references. Table 9.7 gives an outline of these categories in terms of the total number of types and tokens per category.

Reference categories	N types	%	N tokens	%
1 References to languages or languages/countries	88	74%	23,435	97%
2 References to countries only	13	11%	788	3%
3 Other/unknown references	17	14%	24	0%
Total	118	100%	24,247	100%

**Table 9.7** References made by pupils in terms of types and tokens

The types refer to the total number of different references, whereas the tokens refer to the total number of all references. Table 9.7 shows that the resolution of the language question is very high. Most of the references were made to languages or languages/countries (88). Nevertheless, 11% of the pupils referred to the names of the countries (13) where they or their parents came from as their home languages (e.g., ‘Belgian’ or ‘Moroccan’). In the same vein, some pupils made references to unknown types (14%). In any case, relatively few tokens (3%) consisted of references that could not be traced back to languages. Given the age span of our research sample, the proportion of self-references to countries and unknown references can be considered low. Most of the pupils were conscious of the languages spoken at home. Some of the key findings were the following:

- 49% of all primary school pupils reported that one or more other languages were used in their homes apart from or instead of Dutch;
- the same holds for 42% of all secondary school pupils;
- 88 home languages other than Dutch could be traced in the total population of 41,600 pupils;

- the 21 most frequently reported languages ( $N > 100$ ) accounted for 96% of the total number of references to other home languages than Dutch, while 18 languages were referred to by one pupil only.

Table 9.8 shows the languages or languages/countries referred to in decreasing order of frequency.

Nr	Language	Frequency	Nr	Language	Frequency
1	Turkish	4,798	46	Amharic	9
2	Hind(ustan)i	3,620	47	Bulgarian	9
3	Berber	2,769	48	Maltese	9
4	Arabic	2,740	49	Czech	9
5	English	2,170	50	Norwegian	8
6	Sranan Tongo	1,085	51	Swahili	8
7	Papiamentu	893	52	Swedish	8
8	Kurdish	678	53	Bengali	6
9	Spanish	588	54	Catalan	6
10	Urdu/'Pakistani'	547	55	Finnish	6
11	French	535	56	Azeri	5
12	Chinese	419	57	Gujarati	5
13	German	402	58	Irish	4
14	Somali	288	59	Georgian	3
15	Javanese	262	60	Guyanese (Creole)	3
16	Portuguese	199	61	Korean	3
17	Italian	166	62	Latvian	3
18	Akan/Twi/'Ghanese'	152	63	Luxemburgian	3
19	Farsi	131	64	Icelandic	2
20	Moluccan/Malay	130	65	Krio	2
21	Serbian/Croatian/Bosnian	116	66	Morisyen (Mauritius)	2
22	Dari/Pashtu/'Afghan'	83	67	Ukrainian	2
23	Punjabi	60	68	Scottish	2
24	Bahasa/Indonesian	55	69	Turoyo/'Syrian'	2
25	Russian	53	70	Wolof/'Singhalese'	2
26	Polish	42	71	Balinese	1
27	Tagalog/Filipino	30	72	Bulu (Cameroon)	1
28	Hebrew	27	73	Dinka	1
29	Greek	26	74	Hutu	1
30	Cape Verdean	21	75	Ivatan	1

Nr	Language	Frequency	Nr	Language	Frequency
31	Thai	21	76	Khmer/Cambodian	1
32	Vietnamese	21	77	Laz	1
33	Afrikaans	19	78	Lithuanian	1
34	Armenian	17	79	Malenike/Malinke	1
35	Lingala	17	80	Mina	1
36	Danish	16	81	Mongolian	1
37	Hungarian	16	82	Nepalese	1
38	Zaza	15	83	Slovakian	1
39	Albanian	12	84	Sulawesi	1
40	Macedonian	12	85	Czech	1
41	Romani/Sinte	12	86	Tshiluba	1
42	Roumanian	12	87	Welsh	1
43	Tigrigna/'Eritrean'	11	88	Zulu	1
44	Japanese	10			
45	Tamil	10			
Total tokens					23,435

**Table 9.8** Ranking list of references made to languages

It is remarkable that some pupils reported birth countries in the place of home languages, even in cases where the questionnaire had provided language references, such as

- 'Moroccan' instead of Arabic or Berber;
- 'Surinamese' instead of Hind(ustan)i or Sranan Tongo.

Considering the effects of metalinguistic awareness, it is interesting to see whether older pupils referred less frequently than younger children to country names instead of home language names. Our assumption was that older children would be more conscious of the language(s) spoken at home and thus would give more accurate responses. In order to demonstrate our findings regarding the effect of age on answer categories, Table 9.9 shows the results for 'Moroccan' *versus* Arabic and Berber.

Age	Total	Moroccan		Arabic		Berber	
4/5	763	25	3%	420	55%	318	42%
6/7	852	29	3%	477	56%	346	41%
8/9	933	22	2%	447	48%	464	50%
10/11	1,015	21	2%	469	46%	525	52%
12/13	635	8	1%	277	44%	350	55%
14/15	718	8	1%	326	45%	384	54%
16/17	464	2	–	206	44%	256	55%
Total	5,380	115		2,622		2,643	

**Table 9.9** Age-specific self-references to ‘Moroccan’, Arabic and Berber

As is clear from Table 9.9, irrespective of the age group, most of the pupils gave either Arabic or Berber as their home languages; self-reference to ‘Moroccan’ was rather low. The 4- to 7-year-olds referred more to Arabic than to Berber, but 8- to 17-year-olds referred more to Berber than to Arabic. The proportion of references to ‘Moroccan’ dropped from 3.3% (4-to 7-year-olds) to 0.4% (16- to 17-year-olds), as the children got older. It should be pointed out that self-reference to ‘Moroccan’ as a home language is much more common in the Netherlands than in Morocco. In Morocco, a stronger metalinguistic awareness of the diversity of Moroccan languages exists and not only Arabic and Berber are commonly specified but particular varieties of Arabic and Berber are also mentioned (Boumans 2001).

Table 9.10 gives a crosslinguistic overview of the language vitality per language group and per language dimension, as specified in Chapter 6.8. The cumulative language vitality index (LVI) per language group is presented in decreasing order. Turkish emerged as the most vital language. Its status was matched only by Somali and Farsi, in spite of the fact that Turkish has a longer intergenerational status as a language of immigration and minorisation in the Netherlands. Another remarkable finding was the higher vitality of Berber compared to Arabic; both languages occur and/or co-occur as home languages of the Moroccan community in the Netherlands. A relatively low vitality was found for those languages that have been in contact with Dutch abroad as a language of colonisation, in particular Hind(ustan)i (in Surinam), Moluccan Malay (in Indonesia), Sranan Tongo (in Surinam), and Javanese (in Indonesia). Papiamentu (spoken on the Netherlands Antilles) diverged, however, from this general colonial picture. Relatively low vitality indexes emerged for English, French, German, and Italian; in particular, the three former languages have a higher vitality at school than at home in the Netherlands, due to their status of obligatory or optional school subjects.

Language group	Total pupils	Language proficiency	Language choice	Language dominance	Language preference	LVI
Turkish	4,789	96	86	56	50	72
Somali	288	92	88	57	53	72
Farsi	131	92	84	54	53	71
Chinese	419	94	82	52	48	68
Urdu/'Pakistani'	547	94	80	46	51	68
Berber	2,769	94	83	43	42	66
Serb./Croat./Bosn.	116	84	62	43	52	62
Papiamentu	893	87	58	40	46	58
Arabic	2,740	89	60	38	42	57
Akan/Twi/'Ghanese'	152	89	69	37	33	57
Portuguese	199	82	58	28	41	53
Kurdish	678	85	58	31	31	51
Spanish	588	84	53	25	36	51
Hind(ustan)i	3,620	89	40	18	30	44
English	2,170	83	29	21	37	42
Moluccan/Malay	130	74	39	14	30	42
French	535	68	32	19	25	37
Italian	166	67	30	14	26	37
Sranan Tongo	1,085	82	28	15	34	37
German	402	77	24	14	20	35
Javanese	262	73	23	6	16	28

**Table 9.10** Language vitality per language group and language dimension (in %, LVI in cumulative %)

### 9.3 OALT and ONST in primary and secondary schools

In this section, a descriptive analysis of instruction in IM languages in Dutch primary and secondary schools is presented. Since 1998, such instruction in primary schools has been labelled OALT (*Onderwijs in Allochtone Levende Talen* = education in non-indigenous living languages). OALT was made possible in primary schools from 1974-2004 under the previous acronym OETC (*Onderwijs in Eigen Taal en Cultuur* = education in own language and culture), later on renamed as OET (without the C). In secondary schools, the teaching of IM languages as optional subjects does not have a long history. Here, the teaching of

languages which do not belong to the traditional foreign language teaching curriculum (English, German, and French), is referred to as ONST (*Onderwijs in Nieuwe Schooltalen* = education in new school languages). In this chapter, the acronyms OALT and ONST are used to refer to these two types of education, respectively.

It should be noted that, in the spirit of recent times in the Netherlands, the first Balkenende cabinet already proposed abolishing OALT in primary schools, in spite of its recent legislation in 1998, because OALT was held to be “in contradiction with the policy of integration of immigrant children” and all efforts should be focused on Dutch only. This conception of monolingualism for multicultural schools has been taken over by the second Balkenende cabinet, installed in May 2003, and has not met with substantial resistance in the newly elected parliament, nor in Dutch society at large. The Ministry of Education announced the abolition of OALT at the start of the 2004/2005 primary school year and the dismissal of more than 1,400 OALT teachers. The affirmative budget for promoting ONST in secondary schools is also cut, although ONST will remain a legal option in the future. Against this background, our descriptive analysis in this section should be regarded as a report of the status of OALT in 2003/2004. In terms of nine different parameters, specified in Chapter 6.9, we focus on national conditions, if relevant supplemented by information on local conditions in the municipality of The Hague. For an extensive overview of the history and status of OALT and ONST in the Netherlands, we refer to Extra *et al.* (2002).

### **(1) Target groups**

As stated in the OALT law (1998), the target group for OALT consisted of primary school children who speak a language other than Dutch at home. In principle, OALT could be offered to all potential target groups, dependent on parental interest and, more importantly, municipal budget constraints.

For ONST, according to legislation, all secondary school pupils are eligible, regardless of their ethnolinguistic background. In practice, the most commonly offered languages for ONST are Turkish and Arabic, and these languages are opted for most commonly by Turkish and Moroccan pupils, respectively. Native Dutch-speaking pupils rarely participate in these lessons, and no precise data on this distinction are available. In contrast, Spanish is commonly offered, if at all, to pupils from different (mostly non-Spanish) backgrounds, and native Dutch-speaking pupils often participate in these lessons.

## (2) Arguments

Table 9.11 gives an outline of the goals and status of OALT in different stages of primary schooling, according to the OALT law (1998).

Stage	Grades 1-4	Grades 1-8
Goals	Auxiliary: in support of learning Dutch	Intrinsic: enlargement of home language skills
Status	Part of curriculum	At extra-curricular hours

**Table 9.11** Stages, goals, and status of OALT, according to OALT legislation (1998)

OALT has been ambivalent in its rationale as a distinction was made between auxiliary and intrinsic goals. The first type of goal derived from a compensatory perspective, and for this reason was situated within the curriculum. The second type of goal derived from an acknowledgement of the value of multilingualism in a multicultural society, but in spite of this rhetoric was situated at extra-curricular hours. The pressure in favour of auxiliary goals was top-down, and such goals were commonly supported by national and local educational authorities, and by school boards and school directors (Turkenburg 2002). The pressure in favour of intrinsic goals was bottom-up, and such goals were commonly supported by minority organisations and parents. OALT teachers were confronted with the dilemma that they were often in favour of intrinsic goals, but had a better labour contract position at schools in the context of auxiliary goals. Given the obvious differences in status between auxiliary and intrinsic OALT goals, most of the allocated municipal funding went to auxiliary OALT, and for this type of OALT, teacher qualifications were also strict in terms of skills in Dutch (as a second language), not in terms of skills in the children's home languages (see also 9 below). Moreover, it should be mentioned that there is an increasing variation in the degree of minority and majority language proficiency between and within different groups of IM children; this makes a distinction between auxiliary and intrinsic OALT goals for different target groups highly problematic.

Arguments for offering ONST in secondary schools are based on promoting skills in languages other than Dutch and in this way promoting cultural pluralism. In contrast to OALT at primary schools, there is no deficit perspective on ONST, and ONST is commonly part of the regular school curriculum.

### (3) Objectives

There have never been clearly specified objectives for OALT, neither with respect to auxiliary goals nor with respect to intrinsic goals. In spite of a strong educational tradition in the Netherlands of specifying the skills and knowledge to be achieved at the end of primary schooling for a wide variety of subjects (including Dutch and Frisian), such skills and knowledge have never been established for, e.g., Turkish.

The basic objectives of ONST are similar to those of modern foreign languages like English, French, and German. There are well-specified objectives for Turkish and Arabic in terms of speaking, listening, reading, and writing skills to be achieved by the end of secondary school, in all cases differentiated for lower and higher levels of secondary schooling.

### (4) Evaluation

Given the lack of objectives (see 3) for OALT, progress in language skills as a result of OALT has never been measured. On their reports, primary school children are given grades for 'language'. In practice, this concept refers to Dutch. No report figures have been given for home language skills as a result of OALT.

ONST achievements are evaluated through both local school exams and centrally developed and implemented national exams. The outcomes are reported on school reports and diplomas. Nationwide standardised exams are prepared by the Central Institute for Test Development (CITO) for Turkish, Arabic, and Spanish at vocational level (VMBO) and at higher levels (HAVO and VWO) of secondary schooling. For Russian and Italian, there are national exams at the levels of HAVO and VWO only. There are no national exams for such languages as Portuguese, Greek, Chinese, Hindi, or Papiamentu, although one or more of these languages are taught at some secondary schools. Hindi is tested by means of a nationwide examination developed by the *Hindi Parishad* Netherlands Foundation, but this examination is not officially recognised.

### (5) Enrolment

There have been no minimal enrolment requirements for OALT. It was offered on parental request, but municipalities decided for which languages classes were offered, depending on the available budget. OALT has neither been compulsory nor a right. No nationwide data on OET(C)/OALT enrolment have been gathered and published since 1993.

The most recent data on OET/OALT enrolment in primary school hours in The Hague stem from 1997/1998, and those on enrolment outside school hours from 2002/2003. Table 9.12 gives an overview of enrolment figures in The Hague.



OET/OALT enrolment	Pupils	Schools/locations
Within school hours (1997/1998)		
Turkish	3.500	43
Arabic	2.900	41
Outside school hours (2002/2003)		
Chinese (mostly Cantonese)	424	3
Hindi (but see below)	269	7
Urdu/'Pakistani'	116	4
Spanish	34	1
Portuguese	60	1

**Table 9.12** OET/OALT enrolment in The Hague within and outside school hours (sources: Gemeente Den Haag, 1999; ASEVO, 2002)

Outside school hours, classes were originally set up in The Hague by different community organisations, but from January 2001, these classes have been offered by the ASEVO (*Algemene Stichting Educatie, Vorming en Ontwikkelingswerk* = General Foundation for Education, Formation, and Development). When these enrolment figures are compared with the outcomes of the HLS amongst primary school pupils in The Hague (cf. Extra *et al.* 2001a), it becomes clear that a large part of pupils with a Chinese background followed Chinese lessons. Less than half of the pupils with a Hind(ustan)i background received instruction in Hindi outside school hours, but other pupils attended special Hindi schools with instruction in Hindi during school hours. The proportion of pupils with an Urdu/'Pakistani' background is relatively small, but increased in 2002 by 66%.

Secondary schools only receive funding for ONST if at least four pupils enrol and if at least two hours of instruction in a particular language are offered per week. Nationwide enrolment and examination figures are made available yearly by the Ministry of Education. Table 9.13 gives a longitudinal and nationwide overview of the number of exam candidates for ONST in lower secondary schools (LSS = VMBO/VBO/MAVO) and higher secondary schools (HSS = HAVO/VWO), according to Broekhof & Hoogbergen (2001).

Languages		1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
Arabic:	LSS	97	96	78	87	88	89
	HSS	–	–	–	–	3	9
Russian:	LSS	–	–	–	–	–	–
	HSS	62	22	32	23	25	83
Spanish:	LSS	172	74	69	83	111	645
	HSS	191	214	131	259	188	1,051
Turkish:	LSS	177	107	152	217	311	299
	HSS	–	–	–	–	14	10

**Table 9.13** Longitudinal overview of exam candidates for ONST in lower and higher types of secondary schooling (source: Broekhof & Hoogbergen 2001)

As Table 9.13 shows, Arabic and Turkish were taught mainly at lower secondary schools, and had only recently emerged at higher secondary schools. Russian was represented in higher secondary education only, and Spanish was taught widely in both types of secondary schooling.

In the municipality of The Hague, ONST was offered for the following languages in all school types but at few schools for 2-3 hours per week, in the period 2000/2002: Turkish (280 pupils at 3 schools), Arabic (120 pupils at 3 schools), Spanish (50 pupils at 2 schools), and Hindi (20 pupils at 1 school). Most pupils in Turkish, Arabic, and Hindi classes came from homes where Turkish, Arabic or Berber, and Hind(ustan)i were spoken, respectively. In contrast, most pupils in Spanish classes were native speakers of Dutch. For a detailed analysis of ONST in the municipality of The Hague, we refer to Aarts (2002).

## (6) Curricular status

OALT was offered at curricular or extra-curricular hours, depending on whether its goals were auxiliary or intrinsic (see Table 9.3). Most OALT was offered for grade 1-4 children with auxiliary goals and at curricular hours. This priority was a direct effect of municipal budget allocation (see 7). In the municipality of The Hague, Turkish and Arabic were taught with auxiliary goals in grades 1-4, and with intrinsic goals in grades 5-8. All other languages were taught with intrinsic goals only as extra-curricular options.

In secondary schools, ONST is part of the regular school curriculum as an optional subject. Arabic, Spanish, and Turkish may be chosen instead of French or German, in both vocational and higher-level schools. The same applies to Russian and Italian in higher-level schools, but not in vocational schools. Languages like

Chinese, Greek, Hindi, Papiamentu, and Portuguese do not have an official curriculum status.

### (7) Funding

Funding for OALT has been allocated by the Ministry of Education to municipalities on the basis of their numbers of *allochtoon* pupils (see Section 9.1). In turn, municipalities were free to allocate the money to particular languages and particular OALT goals. Moreover, they were free to supplement the nationally allocated OALT funding with their own municipal budget resources. The municipality of The Hague allocated 60% of the state funding to auxiliary OALT and 40% to intrinsic OALT. The city also allocated municipal funding to enlarge the number of languages offered and to take over responsibility for the Chinese, Hindi, Portuguese, Spanish, and Urdu/'Pakistani' lessons from community organisations. These languages were offered by an independent local foundation (ASEVO).

Funding for ONST is directly allocated by the Ministry of Education to schools which apply for the funding and which satisfy the enrolment conditions. In 1987, a provision was added to the law on Secondary Education (Article 12) stating that schools with pupils from non-Dutch-speaking backgrounds can receive additional funding for ONST if at least four pupils attend lessons in a given language for at least two hours per week (see also 5). In practice, almost all funds go to the teaching of Arabic and Turkish. Languages like Chinese, Hindi, or Papiamentu are excluded from the allocated facilities. Additional state funding is only available during the first two years of offering a new school language. Afterwards, schools need to cover the costs from their regular school budget. Secondary schools can make use of a special regulation for IM pupils. This provision enables these pupils to receive additional instruction in Dutch as a second language and in their home languages. Secondary schools that are willing to begin classes in new school languages, can also do so by using this provision. Secondary schools in The Hague make use of both these funding provisions to offer Turkish and Arabic.

### (8) Teaching materials

As documented in Extra *et al.* (2001b), many OALT teaching materials have been developed in the Netherlands for EU languages like Spanish and Portuguese. For non-EU languages, the availability of teaching materials was strikingly less. In many classes, materials originated from the source countries, such as India, Pakistan, or China for the teaching of Hindi, Urdu/'Pakistani', and Chinese, respectively. Turkish and Moluccan/Malay can be considered exceptions, as substantial teaching materials for these languages have been made available, mostly

developed in the Netherlands. In general, there have been more OALT materials for the lower grades than for the upper grades of primary schooling.

At the level of secondary schooling, the Ministry of Education has given support for the development of ONST materials since the 1990s. As a result, there are various well-established teaching materials for Turkish and Arabic. Ministerial support has recently been given to the development of ONST materials for Chinese, Hindi, Italian, and Spanish. For other languages, materials often originate from abroad.

### **(9) Teacher qualifications**

At the level of primary schooling, the earlier-mentioned distinction between auxiliary and intrinsic OALT goals had remarkable consequences for teacher qualifications (see Table 9.3). For auxiliary OALT, the focus was on skills in Dutch as a second language. Numerous in-service programmes were set up to improve the teachers' skills in L2 Dutch. This is in sharp contrast with the requirements in terms of the children's home language skills. Such skills have never been specified for either intrinsic or auxiliary OALT, nor have any training programmes been set up in this domain. Until recently, policy aimed at recruiting new OALT teachers who received their training in the Netherlands. A special OALT teacher training programme has been set up at the Higher Education School in Breda.

A Dutch certificate of adequate teaching qualification is needed to teach at secondary schools in the Netherlands. For a number of languages, teaching diplomas are issued from educational institutions. In the Dutch educational system, there are two types of teaching qualifications for secondary schools, referred to as 'first-' and 'second-degree' qualifications. A teacher who possesses a first-degree teaching qualification can teach all classes in all school types. A teacher who has a second-degree teaching qualification can teach all classes except the highest grades in higher-level education (HAVO and VWO). There is a second-grade teacher training programme for Arabic at the Higher Education School in Amsterdam, and for Turkish at the Higher Education School in Rotterdam. Faculties of Arts at universities can also issue first-degree teaching qualifications. For new school languages like Hindi, Chinese, or Papiamentu, there are still no educational programmes available for issuing an appropriate teaching qualification.

## **9.4 Parental needs for language instruction in primary schools**

As a result of stipulations in the OALT law (1998) and of the outcomes of the HLS at primary school outlined in Section 9.3, local educational authorities in the muni-

cipality of The Hague wanted to find out more about parental needs for OALT, provided either at school during or outside school hours, or by organisations other than schools outside school hours. For this reason, a needs survey was carried out among the parents of children belonging to the following language groups: Turkish, Hind(ustan)i, Berber, Arabic, Sranan Tongo, Papiamentu, Kurdish, Spanish, Urdu/‘Pakistani’, Chinese, Somali, Javanese, Portuguese, Italian, and Akan/Twi/‘Ghanese’. As can be seen from Table 9.8, these 15 languages belong to the top-18 home languages other than Dutch in The Hague. English, French, and German are part of this top-18 list as well. Since these languages are taught as modern foreign languages in secondary schools, the local educational authorities did not want these languages to be included in the needs analysis survey. For an extensive overview of the method and outcomes of the parental needs survey carried out in 2000, we refer to Van der Avoird *et al.* (2000) and Extra *et al.* (2001a).

### Method

The primary schools that took part in the HLS in The Hague were also approached for the parental needs survey. In co-operation with the municipality of The Hague, we developed a survey instrument for data collection. A pilot version of the questionnaire was first written in Dutch. One hundred copies of the questionnaire were then printed for piloting in Dutch as a second language classes for adults at a regional education centre (*Regional Onderwijs Centrum – ROC*). The teachers of three different Dutch classes distributed the questionnaires among their students, and asked them to read carefully through the questionnaire and to underline or encircle the words or phrases that they did not understand. Around 70 questionnaires were returned by the ROC. After a thorough examination of the comments made by the respondents, the phrasing and style of the questionnaire were adapted. The possibility that there could be parents whose command of Dutch would not be sufficient enough to complete the questionnaire made the piloting of the questionnaire necessary. The questionnaire was then translated into Arabic and Turkish versions, because these are the languages of the two largest IM groups in the Netherlands. It was decided to translate the questionnaire also into Somali because members of this group had arrived in the Netherlands recently and most of the Somali parents might not have enough proficiency in Dutch. In addition, an English version was opted for because of its *lingua franca* value in the international context.

In a brief introduction to the questionnaire, the purpose of the survey was explained to parents. It was clearly stated that the municipality of The Hague *might* organise language classes on the basis of the outcomes of this survey. It was also indicated that only if enough parents wanted the provision of instruction in a

particular language for their children, could these lessons be organised. Depending on demand and in accordance with legislation, these lessons could be organised either outside or during school hours, or by organisations other than the school (such as community organisations, educational centres, and so on). In the instructions, it was also made clear that one questionnaire should be filled out for each child.

In order to make the questionnaire understandable and to keep it as simple as possible, three basic questions were asked. In the first question, parents or guardians were asked to indicate whether they wanted their child to take classes in one of the 15 languages mentioned earlier, and if so, in which one. In the second question, it was asked in which grade (1-8) the child was. In the third question, parents were asked how they would want these classes to be organised, with the following options:

- at school, during school hours (yes or no);
- at school, outside school hours (yes or no);
- by an organisation other than the school, outside school hours (yes or no).

According to OALT legislation (1998), children in grades 1-4 could receive instruction in a given language at school during school hours; however, children in grades 5-8 could only receive instruction outside school hours. In spite of this clear differentiation in legislation, we wanted to ask parents about their own preferences regarding time and place of instruction so that parental wishes could be taken into consideration. It is known that parents in some communities are reluctant to have their child participate if instruction is offered by an organisation other than the school (e.g., Turkish parents), whereas parents in other communities prefer language instruction to be offered by an outside organisation (e.g., Chinese parents). The third question was asked, in order to take that factor into consideration.

The questionnaires were printed in five languages (Arabic, Dutch, English, Somali, and Turkish) and sent out to the schools. The directors and teachers in the schools made sure that each child took home one questionnaire in the most suitable language. The questionnaires had to be filled out by a parent or guardian, and then to be brought back to school. The completed questionnaires were collected by the classroom teachers and submitted to the school directors. The school directors mailed the questionnaires to Tilburg University for data processing and data analysis.

The questionnaires (in 5 languages) were adapted for automatic data processing using the *Teleform* software. The questionnaires were processed with the help of a scanner and stored in a database (see also Chapter 6.5). Having carried out data evaluation and verification, data were analysed using *SPSS*. A total of 6,500 returned questionnaires were processed.

## Results

Table 9.14 gives an overview of the total number of primary school children who reported using one of the 15 languages under consideration as a home language and the total number of parents who requested instruction for their children in one or more of these languages. It should be noted that the reported home language data are a subset of the total database presented in Table 9.14 (Extra *et al.* 2001a:20).

	Home language reported by children	Educational needs reported by parents
Arabic	1,941	1,969
Turkish	3,666	1,895
Hind(ustan)i	2,339	1,015
Spanish	381	732
Urdu/‘Pakistani’	390	257
Berber	1,830	223
Italian	120	193
Kurdish	399	186
Papiamentu	682	141
Sranan Tongo	514	131
Somali	224	127
Chinese	245	108
Portuguese	127	74
Akan/Twi	134	62
Javanese	111	33
Total	13,121	7,146

**Table 9.14** Reported home languages and educational needs

When we examine the results closely, some interesting outcomes emerge. First of all, the response rate of the parents was clearly lower (7,146) than that of the children (13,121). Different explanations for this phenomenon are possible. Some parents may not have received the questionnaire, which was indirectly given to them by the teachers through the children. Other parents may have received the questionnaire, but may not have filled it out for some reason. The comparability of the data presented in the two columns of Table 9.14 is also reduced by the lack of a one-to-one relation between children and parents. Having said that, we nevertheless consider the following findings relevant:

- *Arabic*, *Turkish*, and *Hind(ustan)i* belong to the top-3 in both columns. Arabic was mentioned even more often by parents than by children. Arabic may also have been mentioned by parents who speak Berber, Somali, Turkish, or Urdu/'Pakistani', and who may prefer Arabic due to its status as the language of the *Koran*.
- The low parental need for instruction of *Berber* compared to its status as a home language supports this hypothesis. On the other hand, the parental reference to Berber is remarkable, given its relatively low status as a language of education in Morocco and the Netherlands, and given its lack of codification and standardisation.
- *Spanish* and *Italian* were referred to much more often by parents than by children. It appears that these two languages are preferred not as home languages but as modern foreign languages. Moreover, Spanish and Italian were relatively often mentioned by parents in addition to another language (see Table 9.15 for such dual references).
- The relatively low parental need for *Papiamentu*, *Sranan Tongo*, and *Javanese* may be an effect of the high and previously exclusive colonial status of Dutch in Antillean and Surinamese primary schools, respectively. This status may affect the attitudes of Antillean and Surinamese parents towards bilingual education for their children in the Netherlands.
- *Hind(ustan)i*, mostly spoken by former Surinamese parents, departs from this colonial stereotyping. Hindi plays an important role in the Hindustani community in the Netherlands, due to its symbolic value in Hinduism and in affiliations with India (cf. Van der Avoird 2001). The symbolic value of Hindi for Hindus in the Netherlands calls to mind the symbolic value of Arabic for Muslims in the Netherlands, also in those cases where the communicative value of these two languages as home languages is relatively low.

Though parents were instructed to choose only one language from the list of 15 languages given in the questionnaire, it was found that a considerable number of parents expressed a need for instruction in languages other than Dutch for their children in dual rather than single references. Table 9.15 gives an overview of the 5 languages most often referred to in combination with one of the 14 other languages.



Language	Spanish	Italian	Arabic	Turkish	Chinese
Arabic	55	18	–	24	6
Turkish	36	12	24	–	5
Hund(ustan)i	41	9	10	2	3
Spanish	–	72	55	36	5
Urdu/‘Pakistani’	4	2	38	5	–
Berber	5	2	145	1	2
Italian	72	–	18	12	4
Kurdish	3	1	17	53	1
Papiamentu	33	10	5	6	1
Sranan Tongo	18	10	9	2	4
Somali	6	5	24	2	–
Chinese	5	4	6	5	–
Portuguese	17	14	1	1	2
Akan/Twi	7	1	3	–	1
Javanese	5	2	3	1	2
Total	307	162	358	150	36

**Table 9.15** Dual references to languages by parents

Table 9.15 shows that 55 parents expressed a need for instruction in Arabic plus Spanish, 18 parents for instruction in Arabic plus Italian, and so on. The combinations most often referred to were Berber plus Arabic (145), Italian plus Spanish (72), Arabic plus Spanish (55), and Kurdish plus Turkish (53). These outcomes do not come as a surprise given the co-existence of most of these languages in the parents’ source countries. This holds in particular for Arabic plus Berber and Arabic plus Spanish in Morocco, and for Turkish plus Kurdish in Turkey. Dual references were also the result of interethnic marriages, leading to more than one language being spoken at home. This may hold in particular for Italian and Spanish, both being Romance languages. Multilingualism, brought to the Netherlands from plurilingual countries and/or families, is clear bottom-up evidence of an increasingly multicultural and multilingual society.

The final question in the needs survey was whether parents would prefer OALT to be organised at school during or outside school hours, or by an organisation other than the school outside school hours. The outcomes of the survey show a consistent pattern in parental preferences. Within all 15 language groups, most parents were in favour of OALT at school within schooltime and the least number

of parents were in favour of OALT being organised by out-of-school organisations. This pattern of parental preferences emerged for OALT in both the lower (1-4) and higher (5-8) grades. Only for Chinese in the lower grades were most parents in favour of OALT at outside school hours. The consistency in parental preferences across language groups and across grades is in sharp contrast with the complex and ambivalent OALT legislation outlined in Table 9.11.

## 9.5 Conclusions and discussion

The distinction between *autochtoon* and *allochtoon*, referring to the indigenous Dutch and to those who come from abroad, respectively, is widely accepted in Dutch public discourse, both in the mass media and in social, educational, and political institutions. This acceptance goes together with a limited awareness of the idiosyncratic character of the distinction. The concepts of *autochtoon* and *allochtoon* are not common from an international perspective. In spite of the conceptual ‘othering’ of *allochtoon* people in public discourse, they are in the process of becoming majorities in the larger cities of the Netherlands. This holds in particular for younger generations.

The demographic distinction between *autochtoon* and *allochtoon* is based on birth country, or more precisely, on the combined birth-country criterium. A person is referred to as *allochtoon*, if he/she was born abroad *and/or* if at least one of his/her parents was born abroad. Moreover, a distinction is commonly made between ‘Western’ and ‘non-Western’ *allochtoon*, which makes things even more complicated and disputable. In Section 9.1 we discussed the intricacies of the demographic statistics utilised by the municipality of The Hague. In spite of these intricacies, it is clear that The Hague is becoming an increasingly multicultural city. Section 9.2 gave an overview of the major outcomes of the HLS, carried out in The Hague amongst more than 40,000 primary school children and almost 20,000 secondary school pupils. Some of the key findings were the following:

- 49% of all primary school pupils reported that one or more other languages were used in their homes apart from or instead of Dutch;
- the same holds for 42% of all secondary school pupils;
- 88 home languages other than Dutch could be traced in the total population of 41,600 pupils;
- the 21 most frequently reported languages ( $N > 100$ ) accounted for 96% of the total number of references to home languages other than Dutch, while 18 languages were referred to by one pupil only.

When we took a closer look at the 21 home languages other than Dutch most frequently reported, Turkish emerged as the most vital language. Its status was matched only by Somali and Farsi, in spite of the fact that Turkish has a longer intergenerational status as a language of immigration and minorisation in the Netherlands. From the data presented across the language groups, it can be concluded that Turkish functions to a relatively strong degree as a core value of the Turkish community in The Hague and in a wider national context (Extra *et al.* 2002).

Instruction in IM languages in Dutch primary and secondary schools has been referred to as *Onderwijs in Allochtone Levende Talen* (OALT) and *Onderwijs in Nieuwe Schooltalen* (ONST), respectively. Learning more than one language (*in casu* Dutch) is a widely accepted practice in secondary schools but much less common in primary schools, apart from English in the two highest grades of primary schooling. Due to this monolingual *habitus* (cf. Gogolin 1994), OALT had a lower educational status in primary schools than ONST has in secondary schools. In the latter, however, ONST has to compete with the established educational status of German and French.

Section 9.3 offered comparative perspectives on the status of OALT (until 2004) and ONST along the nine dimensions also discussed in earlier chapters. The *target groups* for ONST in secondary schools are more broadly defined than were the target groups for OALT in primary schools. Whereas, for example, Turkish could only be learnt at primary schools when this language is spoken at home, there is no such restriction for the learning of Turkish in secondary schools. In practice, however, many more pupils attended OALT lessons in primary schools than attend ONST lessons in secondary schools. The *arguments* for OALT were ambivalent in their focus on auxiliary *versus* intrinsic goals. In practice, compensatory arguments in terms of support for learning Dutch became the major rationale for OALT. The arguments for ONST are less ambivalent, at least at the rhetorical level, and concern the promotion of multilingualism and cultural pluralism. *Objectives* of OALT in terms of language skills or meta-skills to be reached by the end of primary schooling have never been spelled out, due to the compensatory arguments for OALT. In contrast with this, the objectives of ONST in secondary schooling have been clearly specified, and are even considered role models for evaluating skills in high-prestige languages as English, French, or German. End-of-school *exams* have been centrally developed and implemented for Arabic, Italian, Russian, Spanish, and Turkish. In the same vein, minimal *enrolment* requirements were not specified for OALT, while they are clearly and rather generously specified for ONST (i.e., 4 pupils should take part for at least 2 hours per week). Related to the ambivalent arguments for and goals of OALT was the ambivalent *curriculum status* of OALT;

auxiliary goals were handled during school hours, intrinsic goals outside school hours in primary schooling. In secondary schools, ONST has always been part of the regular school curriculum. *Funding* for OALT came indirectly from the ministerial budget through municipal allocation, and it was up to the municipality to decide what type of OALT support to provide for what type and number of languages. Funding for ONST goes directly from the ministerial budget to secondary schools, if enrolment requirements are met. *Teaching materials* for OALT originated from the Netherlands and, if not available, from abroad; for ONST, materials are mostly developed in the Netherlands. *Teaching qualifications* for OALT related to skills in Dutch, and for ONST, relate to skills in, e.g., Turkish or Arabic. Other educational qualifications for ONST are more clearly specified, more demanding, and more institutionalised in teacher training programmes than in the case of OALT. In sum, it can be concluded that, along all nine dimensions reported here, the status of OALT in primary schools was lower than the status of ONST in secondary schools, although the actual enrolment figures for OALT were much higher than those for ONST.

Section 9.4 presented the outcomes of an OALT needs survey in The Hague amongst 6,500 parents belonging to 15 different language groups. As such, the needs survey amongst parents had the same unprecedented scope in the Netherlands as had the HLS amongst pupils discussed above. More than twenty years ago, Lewis (1981:262) pointed out that

any policy for language, especially in the system of education, has to take account of the attitudes of those likely to be affected. In the long run, no policy will succeed which does not do one of three things: conform to the expressed attitudes of those involved; persuade those who express negative attitudes about the rightness of the policy; or seek to remove the causes of the disagreement. In any case, knowledge about attitudes is fundamental to the formulation of a policy as well as to success in its implementation.

This statement is as valid today as it was in 1981. The OALT needs survey carried out amongst parents in The Hague clearly shows that the demand for OALT is much larger and more widespread than has been the actual OALT offer. Moreover, the survey shows that parents are more consistent in their curricular preferences than the OALT legislation. Within all 15 language groups, most parents were in favour of OALT organised by primary schools during school hours, and certainly not in favour of OALT organised by out-of-school organisations outside school hours. The recent governmental decision to remove OALT from primary schools and to return to a Dutch-only policy is in strong contrast with these outcomes.

Although many parents from abroad who are living in the Netherlands speak a language at home other than Dutch and have a positive attitude towards OALT for their children, it is a common conception amongst many Dutch people that such parents should give up both. Where this widespread attitude stems from is an intriguing question. A mirrorlike answer to this question may be sought in the attitude of Dutch emigrants abroad towards their own language. Successive census data in Australia and Canada have shown that the Dutch in each of these countries are on top of the home language shift towards English (see Chapter 3 in this Volume, Tables 3.7, 3.8 and 3.10). A similar attitude was found towards instruction in Dutch for their children. This is illustrated by data on enrolment in Languages Other Than English (LOTE) in Melbourne/Victoria, presented in Chapter 5, Table 5.2, of this Volume. Although the Dutch belong to a substantial IM community in Melbourne, enrolment figures for instruction in Dutch are lower than for any other LOTE. At least in the context of these dominantly English-speaking countries of immigration, the language of origin is apparently not regarded by many Dutch people as a core value of their cultural identity (cf. Clyne 1991; Smolicz 1980, 1992).

It is not an unfounded claim that the observed attitude of Dutch people abroad towards transmitting their language of origin at home or at school is mirrored in the attitude of Dutch people at home towards the languages of IM groups in the Netherlands.

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## 10 Multilingualism in Brussels

MARC VERLOT & KAAT DELRUE<sup>1</sup>

In common with most cities in Europe, following the arrival of different immigrant groups over the last four decades, Brussels has been confronted with the emergence of ‘new’ languages. As the seat of the European Union (henceforward EU), NATO, and several multinationals, Brussels seems the ideal place for the recognition of these ‘new’ languages as a means to build a fair multicultural society. However, leading agents in Belgian society have largely ignored or even refused to acknowledge the existence of these languages. In order to get a better understanding of the relations ‘on the ground’, we present and discuss in this chapter the outcomes of a survey of home languages in Brussels’ Dutch-speaking schools.

Secondly, we draw attention to the question of how the emergence of these ‘new’ languages relates to existing political and cultural relationships in multicultural societies. The theoretical point we want to develop is that taking into account the complexities and ambiguities of the local context means dispensing with the common misconception of any kind of linear universal language evolution and universal linguistic minority rights. The Brussels case highlights the need for a culturally more sensitive and comprehensive approach, demonstrating the unpredictable nature of language evolution, with surprising results regarding which languages flourish and which waver in this particular multicultural urban context. In this case, the question of applying minority rights is not politically neutral; the granting of minority status to new languages is read as a bolster to the Flemish case in the context of the ongoing dispute with the French-speaking majority. Although particular because of its linguistic and political complexity, Brussels is by no means exceptional. It confronts us with the divergent realities all major cities have to deal with in a context of increasing globalisation and cultural differentiation.

Section 10.1 consists of a depiction of the peculiarities of the Brussels context. It is pointed out how the Flemish- and French-speaking inhabitants of the city have constructed a system of checks and balances to coexist peacefully, notwithstanding their linguistic and cultural antagonisms. In that context, we address how the

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<sup>1</sup> We would like to thank Caroline Oliver for her critical comments on an earlier version of this chapter.

Flemish utilised the education system as a means of securing their own status within the city, in particular attracting minorities to Flemish schools to boost their own political and cultural presence in the largely French-speaking environment. In Section 10.2, we explore how these Dutch-speaking schools have evolved, in particular with regard to the presence and status of ‘emerging’ new languages. Drawing on survey data, we highlight the different processes of language globalisation, maintenance, and erosion. In Section 10.3, we take a closer look at how the Flemish deal with these emergent languages in relation to the status of Dutch at Flemish schools in Brussels. Finally, in Section 10.4, we address the need for a more situational approach to minority rights in the context of globalisation and multiculturalisation, and suggest some ways to reformulate educational policies in that vein.

Although it may seem confusing, in this chapter, we use the terms Flemish and Dutch-speaking as distinct terms. Dutch-speaking refers to the language spoken, while Flemish refers to the cultural identity of a group that shares a language (a regional variant of Dutch) and a common history. As such, not all Dutch-speakers are considered Flemish. Finally, we use the term Flanders to refer to the territory of the Flemish in Belgium.

### **10.1 The politicisation of language in Brussels**

In order to understand the position of emergent ‘new’ languages, it is necessary to explore the particular context of Brussels and its history of language politicisation. Even in mundane daily life in Brussels, constant attention is paid to the various considerations of language choice and usage. Citizens of Brussels must constantly decide which national language (French or Dutch) they will use for such simple tasks as buying bread, drinking coffee in one of the many cafes, or simply saying hello to their neighbours. The choice, however, is not without effect; it is considered fundamental in determining one’s association and affiliation with the Flemish- or with the French-speaking majority. This almost obsessive attention to language and the associated identity choice is also reflected at the official level in the overregulated use of the national languages by official institutions. In this section, we illustrate the Brussels context, highlighting the underlying cultural and political tensions that underpin the official compromise between French and Flemish in the public sphere. Finally, we focus on how the Flemish minority has tried to survive in a largely French-speaking environment, as the backdrop to which we need to understand the status and position of emergent ‘new’ languages.



### **Cultural and linguistic differentiation in Brussels**

Like many cities in North-Western Europe, by the end of the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s Brussels had become a multicultural city. From the end of the 1950s the influx of Italian, Spanish, and Greek guest-labour immigrants changed the face of what some saw as a provincial copy of Paris. By the mid-1960s, these immigrants were followed by even larger numbers of Turkish and Moroccan guest-labourers. Mainly single men, the expectation that they would return to their countries of origin was ill founded. As Weiner points out in reference to Martin's international review of guest worker policies, "there is nothing more permanent than temporary workers" (Weiner 1999:7, Martin 1999:76-80). Rather, following the closure of the EU (then EEC) borders in 1974 to low-skilled immigrants, the vast majority of guest-workers stayed in Belgium and were joined by their wives and children, settling in the less attractive centre and south-eastern part of the city.

In the same period, Brussels became the seat of the European Commission and the North Atlantic Treaty Alliance (NATO). The somewhat sleepy and dusty capital of Belgium of the past was now often compared with Washington D.C., largely because of the growing international administrative and political function of the city (Shore 2000, Baeten 2001). The embassies, representations, lobby-bureaux, and semi-official study-centres changed the physical appearance of the city drastically. Concurrently, the number of high-ranking officials and businessmen rose considerably, followed by even higher numbers of interpreters, secretarial staff, and advisors from different parts of Europe and beyond. With their arrival, there was an increase of the number of restaurants, shops, sporting facilities, and cafes, changing the image of Brussels into one of a daring city that wants to appeal to the well-versed, multilingual, and highly educated European. The *Washingtonisation* of Brussels, however, also had down sides. In the weekends, for example, when the Eurocrats and expats try to relax after a long work week, prices double on the flea-market in the popular Marollen neighbourhood. If their presence has such an impact on the price of a second-hand plate or coffee table, this is all the more true for basic goods and services. The prices for renting or buying houses, apartments, and villas have risen sharply over the last 10 years. Consequently, some parts of the city and its green belt are no longer within the reach of average inhabitants of Brussels.

All these changes have drastically altered the physical, human, and socio-linguistic appearance of the city. Today, Brussels counts over 1 million inhabitants, many of different cultural and linguistic origin. Almost 30% of its population does not hold Belgian citizenship, which makes it one of the most multicultural cities in Europe (De Schutter 2001). This diversity is heightened by the fact that Brussels

is a city of migrants. Janssens (2001a:17) points out that half of Brussels' adults were born outside the city-region. However, it is perhaps more interesting to note that, for a capital city, the largest group is the born and bred inhabitants of Brussels. Many of their parents originate from the Dutch-speaking Flemish region or the French-speaking Wallonian region. The second-largest group is the citizens of other EU member-states, including the Eurocrats and the descendants of the guest-labourers from within the EU who have kept their original nationalities. The same holds for the group of immigrants from Morocco or Turkey, although an increasing number has acquired Belgian citizenship. They form the most important group of non-EU citizens, followed by a much smaller group of Black Africans who have an affinity with Belgium because of its colonial past (Congo, Rwanda, Burundi), and most of whom entered the country as asylum seekers. Finally, there is the hard-to-calculate but not-to-be-neglected number of people from Central and Eastern Europe (especially Poland) who hold temporary visas and mostly work in the shadow economy (Siewiera 1994). Table 10.1 gives an overview of the most important groups of foreign inhabitants according to nationality in Brussels in 1999.

Nationality	Number	Proportion of Brussels' population (in %)
1 Morocco	63,809	6.7
2 France	33,362	3.5
3 Italy	29,223	3.1
4 Spain	22,003	3.1
5 Turkey	18,678	2.0
6 Portugal	15,852	1.7
7 Greece	9,814	1.0

**Table 10.1** Foreign inhabitants in the Brussels Region in 1999 (Janssens 2001a:18)

In short, Brussels holds a special position among Belgian cities. Not popular among Belgians (only 10% of Belgians live in the capital), it houses one third of all non-Belgians and 40% of all people from outside the EU on Belgian territory. In other words, Brussels is a multicultural city with an outspoken multilingual character (Janssens 2001a).

### **A system of checks and balances**

The above picture portrays Brussels as similar to most capitals in Europe, which have been confronted with the development of business districts, the influx of immigrants, globalisation, and gentrification. What sets Brussels apart is the way

Belgians have dealt with cultural and linguistic diversity. In general, policy makers have largely ignored this diversity as they concentrated on easing the tensions between the Dutch-speaking Flemish minority and the French-speaking majority in the city-region.

In Belgium, the Flemish are demographically stronger (6/10) and economically more prosperous than the French-speakers (4/10), who are confronted with economic decline. Although the Flemish hold a strong position in Belgium, they are extremely sensitive to anything that might be associated with the former rule by the French-speakers, a period perceived as oppressive and humiliating. The antagonisms between the two majority groups can be traced back to the 19th century, when romanticist Flemish individuals fought for the recognition of their language and culture against the reigning French-speaking nobility and bourgeoisie. The ongoing struggle led to the drawing of a language border in 1961, dividing the country into an officially Dutch-speaking part in the North, called Flanders, and a French-speaking part in the South, called Wallonia (Witte *et al.* 1995). The principle of *one region - one language* is strongly rooted in the romanticist nationalist thought historically propagated by the Flemish cultural elite (Witte & Van Velthoven 1998; see also Chapter 2 in this Volume).

As a result, only some municipalities on the language border and Brussels were recognised as officially bilingual. In these areas, public services are supposed to be delivered in the two official languages. In a particular mixture of a liberal free-choice principle and the imposed romanticist nationalist model of the Flemish, people in these areas are supposed to choose between the two languages. That choice forms the basis of their official classification as Dutch- or French-speaking. In the same vein, they can send their children to Dutch-medium or French-medium schools. Although historically a Flemish city, Brussels is nowadays a dominantly French-speaking city, with approximately 20% Dutch-speakers.

### **A majority in the country, a minority in the city**

In return for guaranteed power sharing in the Brussels city-region, Flemish politicians agreed to govern the country on a fifty-fifty basis with the French-speakers. Despite their demographically weaker position in Brussels, the Flemish elite chose the capital as the centre of the Flemish Community. The choice of Brussels was important for a number of reasons. Not only does it mark a symbolic claim on the capital, but also the location of Brussels is strategically important as a gateway to the international community. There is an underlying fear among the Flemish elite that, without Brussels, Flanders would be marginalised and isolated from the rest of Europe and the world. This fear has been heightened due to the increasing success of the extreme right and xenophobic *Vlaams Blok* (Flemish

Block), a political party which promotes an inward-looking and ultra-nationalist stance. The *Vlaams Blok* has succeeded in gathering an average of 15% of Flemish votes, running up to 33% in Antwerp, its major base. In an attempt to cast away the image of a nationalist *parvenu* region, all democratic parties agreed to keep the *Vlaams Blok* away from power at all levels of governance.

Hoping to remove the breeding ground for separatism, Flemish mainstream politicians strive to strengthen the autonomy of Flanders within a Belgian federal framework. At the same time, they fend off claims for investment by the French-speakers who wish to revitalise the declining Wallonian economy. French-speaking politicians, for their part, strive to consolidate their majority in Brussels, thus hoping to force the Flemish into a lesser position so that the financial and social needs of the French-speakers can be addressed with less resistance.

Clearly, Brussels is the arena in which both symbolic and real struggles for power between the two majorities take place. In this battle, cultural provisions take a central place. Recently, for example, politicians of the two Communities entered a public bidding war to buy a renovated cinema in the centre of the city in order to turn it into a Flemish- or a French-speaking cultural centre. Of relevance to this discussion is the fact that the 'new' minorities are caught up in such fights, their opinions and choices in relation to services such as childcare centres, community centres, and schools dictating an adherence to either the Flemish or the French side. As such, the 'new' minorities have become the target of the two majorities in their efforts to strengthen their respective positions.

One of the major ways to engage in this cultural battle is education. Schools in Brussels are divided along language-lines and parents can choose to send their children to a Dutch-medium or a French-medium school. On both sides, it was expected that socialisation in 'their' language would secure adherence to the French-speaking or Flemish side. This was especially the case for the Flemish, who hoped that schools would take away the odium of them as a culturally inferior group in contrast with the internationally more appreciated French culture. In the early 1970s, the Flemish policy elite decided to invest in a network of pre-school facilities and this raised the number of Dutch-speaking schools considerably. As the number of Dutch home-language speakers steadily declined, policy-makers were forced to revise their strategy. In the 1980s they no longer focused solely on the recuperation of children in mixed French-Dutch families (who were being 'lost' to French schools), but instead redirected their attention to attracting the children of immigrant minority (henceforward IM) groups. By opening Flemish schools to these new minorities, the Flemish hoped to tip the balance and defy through force of number the claim of French hegemony.

The campaigns to attract IM children to Flemish schools have been very successful. Over the last 20 years, the number of pupils in early childhood education and primary schools doubled. Although only 10% of the inhabitants of Brussels speak Dutch as their sole mother tongue (Janssens 2001a:34), Flemish schools on average attract almost 17% of the total school-attending population. The strategic use of schools for the purposes of politics has clearly been effective. Janssens (2001b:51) reports that Dutch is spoken more and more by non-mother-tongue speakers, especially by members of IM groups. However, the opening up of Flemish schools to non-Dutch mother-tongue speakers had some unexpected effects. Together with the IM children, a surprising number of Belgian French-speaking pupils were also attracted. The distribution of the different groups is shown in Table 10.2.

Type of family	Homogeneous Dutch	Mixed Dutch-French	Homogeneous French	Other languages
Nursery school				
1979/1980	71.9	17.8	5.8	4.5
2000/2001	14.2	23.4	34.9	27.5
Primary school				
1980/1981	85.1	10.5	2.4	2.0
2000/2001	22.1	29.4	27.0	21.6
Secondary school				
1991/1992	76.5	17.2	3.7	2.6
2000/2001	55.8	24.0	11.3	8.9

**Table 10.2** Changes of home language use in Dutch nursery, primary, and secondary schools in Brussels (in %; source: VGC)

The result of the opening up of Flemish schools has been so successful that it has in some ways undermined the policy-makers' own intentions to strengthen the Flemish presence in the city. The majority of pupils (non-Flemish mother-tongue speakers) in Flemish primary schools in Brussels do not speak Dutch at home. This unexpected development has triggered different reactions. In some schools, programs have been set up to accommodate the languages and cultural identities of IM children. However, there has been a strong defensive reaction in the majority of schools to protect their Flemish identity.

In focusing on the defence of the Flemish character in the framework of French-Flemish antagonisms, policy-makers neglected the developments 'on the ground'.

People adhere less to institutionalised linguistic divisions than politicians presume, with a greater degree of blurring and multiple usage than envisaged by politicians. This can clearly be seen in the case of the French-speaking families referred to previously, who send their children to Dutch-medium schools. Recent official figures also point out that 15% of Flemish parents send their children to French-medium schools. Janssens (2001a:75) comes to similar conclusions in terms of voting behaviour. Here again, Flemish- as well as French-speakers increasingly cross the political and cultural boundaries and sometimes explicitly refuse to identify with the institutionally bounded identities. An increasing divide is apparent between the linguistically segregated institutional landscape and the multifarious ways in which people actually deal with linguistic and cultural diversity. While interesting in itself, this focus (governed by a fixation on the longstanding rivalry) has a number of practical effects, not least of which a number of blind spots in knowledge. A concern with education as the sphere for a cultural war between the two majorities has resulted in a lack of awareness of the increasing use of other languages at home and in schools. Pursuing information on which languages are used, what proportion of pupils speak them, or how vital these languages are, one is left floundering. With the results of a language survey of all Dutch-medium schools in Brussels, we aim to fill this gap. The outcomes of this survey are presented in the next section.

## 10.2 Home language survey in Brussels

To explore the multifaceted realities of multilingual Brussels, a survey was carried out to map the use of 'new' languages. In this section, the objectives and main results of the survey are presented. We consider in more detail the evolution of three languages as exemplary of wider socio-cultural developments. For an extensive report of the home language survey in Brussels, we refer to Verlot *et al.* (2003).

### General description and outcomes of the survey

The aim of the survey was to get as broad a picture as possible of the status of IM languages used by primary school pupils at home. Initially, the objective was to include all primary schools in the Brussels Region. The political and cultural divide between the Flemish- and the French-speakers proved too deep, however, to allow Flemish researchers into French-speaking schools. After several attempts, we had to accept that the survey would be limited to the Dutch-speaking Flemish schools (which make up 16% of the total school population). The number of participating

schools, on the other hand, was extremely high. In total, 10,294 pupils were reached, which was 90% of the total population of Dutch primary schools in Brussels. Table 10.3 gives the overall figures.

Primary education	Total	Sample	Proportion
Schools	110	103	94%
Locations	117	110	94%
Pupils	11,439	10,294	90%

**Table 10.3** The research population

The sample revealed that the pupils had very diverse origins. Asked for their countries of birth, the pupils documented over 30 countries. However, most pupils (90%) were born in Belgium. More than half of the mothers (56%) and nearly two thirds of the fathers (62%) were born in Belgium as well.

Table 10.4 gives the overall figures and reveals that most IM pupils belong to the second generation. Only those from Afghanistan and Ecuador had entered the country recently. As such, the birth-country criterion does not reflect the actual diversity of the population. A more relevant criterion is the diversity of languages used at home. Pupils were asked what languages were used at home next to or instead of Dutch (being the official school language). They reported a total of 54 different home languages. More surprising, however, was that over 82% of the pupils reported the use of other language(s) next to or instead of Dutch at home.

Table 10.5 gives the distribution of the different languages.

Birth country	Pupil		Mother		Father	
Belgium	9,285	90%	5,710	56%	6,388	62%
Morocco	188	2%	1,607	16%	1,187	12%
Netherlands	90	1%	143	1%	153	2%
Turkey	85	1%	531	5%	456	4%
Italy	41	–	274	3%	204	2%
France	36	–	149	1%	132	1%
Kosovo	29	–	48	1%	45	–
Congo	27	–	190	2%	157	2%
Spain	26	–	128	1%	131	1%
Armenia	26	–	31	–	33	–
Panama	19	–	22	–	20	–
Greece	16	–	67	1%	34	–
Germany	14	–	36	–	50	1%
Afghanistan	13	–	13	–	13	–
Albany	13	–	53	1%	38	–
Colombia	12	–	17	–	20	–
Philippines	12	–	11	–	21	–
Pakistan	11	–	36	–	29	–
Poland	11	–	15	–	27	–
USA	11	–	21	–	15	–
Ecuador	9	–	8	–	10	–
Great Britain	6	–	21	–	16	–
Vietnam	6	–	10	–	15	–
Rwanda	6	–	7	–	12	–
Mongolia	6	–	8	–	5	–
Portugal	5	–	33	–	35	–
Africa	5	–	31	–	26	–
Croatia	5	–	10	–	9	–
Macedonia	5	–	13	–	11	–
Thailand	5	–	1	–	9	–
Other countries *	106	1%	399	4%	345	3%
Unknown	165	2%	653	6%	648	6%
Total	10,294	100%	10,294	100%	10,294	100%

**Table 10.4** Distribution of birth countries of the pupils and their parents (\* N pupils < 5)



Nr	Language	Frequency	Nr	Language	Frequency
1	French	7,720	31	Aramean/Assyrian	6
2	Arabic	1,714	32	Thai	5
3	English	719	33	Slovakian	5
4	Turkish	656	34	Turoyo/'Syrian'	4
5	Spanish	413	35	Bulgarian	3
6	Italian	397	36	Catalan	3
7	Berber	239	37	Akan/Twi/'Ghanese'	3
8	German	133	38	Swedish	3
9	Albanian	116	39	Khmer/Cambodian	2
10	Greek	85	40	Danish	2
11	Portuguese	80	41	Esperanto	2
12	Armenian	57	42	Frisian	2
13	Russian	42	43	Hind(ustan)i	2
14	Polish	38	44	Icelandic	2
15	Urdu/'Pakistani'	37	45	Lithuanian	2
16	Swahili	35	46	Czech	2
17	Serbian/Croatian/Bosnian	34	47	Macedonian	2
18	Chinese	23	48	Wolof/'Singhalese'	2
19	Lingala	15	49	Japanese	1
20	Vietnamese	15	50	Korean	1
21	Tagalog/Filipino	14	51	Latvian	1
22	Kurdish	13	52	Norwegian	1
23	Afrikaans	12	53	Uzbek	1
24	Hungarian	12	54	Tshiluba	1
25	Roumanian	11			
26	Dari/Pashtu/'Afghan'	10			
27	Bahasa/Indonesian	9			
28	Romani/Sinte	9			
29	Farsi	9			
30	Hebrew/Ivrit	9			
Total of tokens					12,737

**Table 10.5** Ranking list of references made to languages

The most frequently mentioned home language was French. Here, we are confronted with a particular problem. It is extremely difficult to distinguish technically between pupils whose mother tongue is French and the pupils from IM families who use French as one of the home languages. A subset of pupils on the basis of the criterion 'birth country' (of the pupil/mother/father = Belgium) and the criterion 'other language' (= only French) is not sufficient to separate non-indigenous from indigenous French-speaking pupils. Even the term 'indigenous' is dubious, as is demonstrated in the survey by the many Moroccan children of the third generation in whose homes only French was used.

### **The evolution of new languages**

The proliferation of languages in Brussels schools and public life is far from unique. Most European cities are confronted with similar developments, as the other chapters testify. Below, we take a closer look at some of these developments. In our study, we relate the evolution of the emergent languages to wider social and cultural processes like globalisation, identity maintenance, and identity loss by using a Language Vitality Index (LVI). The index is based on the mean value of the presented scores for four language dimensions: language proficiency, language choice, language dominance, and language preference (see Chapter 6).

Table 10.6 gives a crosslinguistic overview of the language vitality per language group and per language dimension. The resulting cumulative LVI per language group is presented in decreasing order. Turkish emerged as the language with the highest vitality, closely followed by French, Armenian, and Urdu/'Pakistani'. The highest vitality of Turkish came as a surprise, given the longer history of immigration of Turkish in Belgium than Armenian and Urdu/'Pakistani', and given the high status of French as one of the national languages of Belgium. Relatively low language vitality scores were obtained by German and English; for most of the pupils, these languages have a higher status at school than at home. An interesting case is Polish; Poles have a recent history of immigration in Belgium, but the language shows low vitality. In considering the figures presented, one should keep in mind that we are dealing with very different numbers as regards language groups. French is the largest language spoken, Turkish and English are relatively large language groups, and Polish is a small language group in Dutch-medium schools. For all four languages, the number of pupils who reported having a good language proficiency was high, but for the other dimensions, the mean values decreased. Only for English was the reported language preference higher than the reported language choice and language dominance. All other languages scored low on preference. Below, we take a closer look at the status of these 'new' languages in Belgium and the processes they reflect.

Language group	Total pupils	Language proficiency	Language choice	Language dominance	Language preference	LVI
Turkish	659	97	81	62	52	73
French	7,720	96	72	61	55	71
Armenian	57	94	85	60	45	71
Urdu/'Pakistani'	37	96	87	51	49	71
Russian	42	89	70	42	58	65
Albanese	116	93	71	46	46	64
Spanish	413	85	81	30	50	62
Greek	85	96	49	40	50	59
Polish	38	79	57	45	40	55
Arabic	1,714	91	54	28	36	52
Italian	397	86	33	29	46	49
Portuguese	80	81	43	25	39	47
Berber	239	84	48	21	29	46
German	133	82	31	12	31	39
English	719	77	22	15	39	38

**Table 10.6** Language vitality per language group and language dimension (in %, LVI in cumulative %)

### Globalisation and the McDonaldisation of English

An unexpected outcome of the survey was that a large number of pupils (719) reported the use of English at home next to or instead of Dutch. As most of those pupils were born in Belgium (87%), as was a significant proportion of their parents (66% of the mothers and 59% of the fathers), we could not trace those pupils in order to identify who they were and why they reported using English instead of French or Dutch. Although a large number of pupils reported having high proficiency in and preference for English, the vitality index score was quite low. Examining the profiles more carefully, we noticed two inconsistencies. The first concerns actual language skills. Overall, pupils reported being quite good in English, but not as good as the pupils who spoke French or Turkish. The reported oral skills (understanding/speaking) in English were generally high: 71-83% of the pupils reported that they understood English and 56-75% reported that they spoke it. However, what is striking is that the number of older pupils skilled in English was lower than the number of younger pupils. The percentage of pupils with literacy skills in English (reading/writing) was 54/35% for 10- to 11-year-olds but fell

to 35/26% for 12- to 13-year-olds. In other words, the older pupils, the fewer reported that their literacy skills in English were good.

The second inconsistency relates to the actual use of English. Given their reported language choice, the pupils seemed to use English rarely in interaction with others. Of the 719 pupils, only 17-28% reported using English with their mothers and 16-27% with their fathers. With younger brothers and sisters the use of English was even more rare: 0-9%. With older brothers and sisters, usage was a little higher (10-26%) as was also the case for interaction with best friends (0-18%). In conclusion, pupils reported having knowledge of English, but they hardly used it in interaction. Combined with the fact that the number of older skilled pupils was lower than the number of younger ones, this led us to conclude that in fact most of these pupils could not be considered (active) English-speakers.

The reason for this distortion in the figures seems to be of a cultural nature. From the survey, it becomes clear that many pupils who reported the use of English did not use it at home, nor was it their mother tongue. The reported use of English can be explained by the status of English as a *lingua franca* in a globalising world, used ubiquitously in business, media, and popular culture (Mamadouh *et al.* 2000). English is the language of all 'great' things in life: music, TV, mobiles, computers, the internet, and ... of course, McDonald's. In other words, English is 'cool'. Children 'want' to identify with English-speakers because they want to be part of those things they consider to be 'cool', despite the fact that they actually use other languages at home.

### **Language survival: the case of Turkish**

Our inquiry into the use of Turkish reveals a different picture. Turkish, being a language brought to Belgium through migration, is potentially subject to the pressures of language erosion and efforts at maintenance. While, in general, it is accepted that low-status languages erode over time (Glenn & De Jong 1996), some languages seem to survive when they have a strong symbolic meaning for the speakers concerned. This is clearly the case with Turkish in Brussels. It shows an extremely high vitality, as high as that of recent immigrant languages such as Urdu/'Pakistani' and Armenian, notwithstanding the fact that most Turkish-speakers arrived in Belgium in the 1960s and 1970s. Although the majority of their parents were born in Turkey (63% of the mothers, 72% of the fathers), most of the pupils belonging to the Turkish language group in the survey were born and educated in Belgium (84%). The survey shows that, apart from Turkish, 61% of the pupils spoke also French at home; only 4% also spoke English, 3% Arabic, and 2% Kurdish. Most of the pupils used Turkish in interaction with their mothers (78-88%) and also with their fathers (78-90%). With younger brothers and sisters,

they used Turkish less (51-73%); with older brothers and sisters, this number was even lower (46-52%), and a similar pattern was found for the interaction with best friends.

Although there seemed to be a declining use of Turkish with peers, the number of pupils who reported being fluent in Turkish was high. 98% of the 6-year-olds and 96% of the 7-year-olds said they understood and spoke Turkish and the percentage rose to 100% and 98% for the 12- to 13-year-olds. The number of pupils with literacy skills was low in the youngest age group (6-7), and increased from 44% to 92% for reading skills and from 33% to 88% for writing skills for 12- to 13-year-olds. The high percentages indicate a general mastery of Turkish, which might also indicate that many pupils followed Turkish courses at or after school.

The importance of Turkish at home was central in the ethnographic study of Turkish young women in Belgium by Timmerman (1999). She found that 'Turkishness' is strongly related to the Turkish language. In other words, the Turkish language is a core ethnic marker of the Turkish identity, as expressed in the saying *Ne mutlu Türküm diyene* ('How fortunate is the person who can say, I am Turkish'). Timmerman's insights complement the survey findings of Phalet *et al.* (1999), who describe the way adults of Turkish origin in Brussels perceive their identity in relation to the mainstream society. Overall, Turkish adults choose to combine cultural maintenance with cultural contact. The highly developed awareness of the Turkish identity and the central place of Turkish seem to go hand in hand with an open orientation towards Belgian society.

### **Language erosion: the case of Polish**

The Polish example gives a completely contrasting picture. Although Polish immigration only started at the beginning of the 1980s, with a peak just after the fall of the Berlin Wall, two thirds of the pupils and one third of their parents have been born in Belgium. Polish families are also multilingual: 68% of the pupils reported the use of French at home in addition to Polish, while 21% reported the use of English, 8% Spanish, 5% German, 5% Italian, and 5% Turkish. Importantly, this tendency towards bi- or multilingualism results in a loss of Polish as the home language. Pupils' language skills in Polish decrease as they get older. 78% of the youngest group reported speaking Polish very well, whereas of the 10- to 11-year-olds, only 56% reported the same. Also, the ability to write in Polish was found to diminish as pupils grow older: only 11% of the 10- to 11-year-olds reported an ability to write in Polish.

The same pattern was repeated when language choice was taken into consideration: the choice of Polish as the basis for interaction with the mother decreased to 44% as pupils got older. The use of Polish in interaction with the father was even

lower (11-33%); 10- to 11-year-olds reported never using Polish in interaction with their best friends. Rather, it was found that, as they grow older, the pupils' preference for Dutch increased. At the same time, Polish was found to fade in a context characterised by the prevalence of other dominant languages.

This development was rather unexpected. Polish is a fairly recent IM language in Belgium, and as such, one would expect a higher degree of language vitality. Moreover, Polish immigration is also unstable as most immigrants have no legal residence and must return to Poland to renew their visas every six months. In these circumstances, one would expect that Polish immigrants would maintain their language as a means of reintegration in Poland. What is more, there are plenty of social possibilities to maintain the language. In her study of undocumented Polish immigrants in Brussels, Siewiera (1994) points out that there is an elaborate network of supportive organisations. The Polish consulate as well as the Catholic Church organise various social, cultural and leisure activities in Polish on a regular basis and these are well attended, making the Polish presence visible in Brussels. The Belgian authorities do not seem overly concerned with the high numbers of illegal immigrants. This is largely because of the probability of Poland joining the EU in 2006. Overall, Siewiera's study confirms the image in the literature of a well-marked and pronounced national Polish identity and the central role that is given to the Polish language as the main marker of 'Polishness' by migrants.

In trying to explain this inconsistency, the question arises how far these structural considerations impinge on the daily reality of the undocumented Polish immigrants in Brussels. In particular, the fact that the Brussels police do not systematically pursue them as a group does not necessarily take away the individual's feelings of insecurity and vulnerability. Thus, to protect themselves, they need to be able to 'blend in', while learning the mainstream languages is necessary in order to respond to the labour market on which they depend. Further explanation lies in the cultural characteristics of Polish society, a quintessential 'gentile society' with a large popular class of farmers and industrial labourers, a very small middle class, and a proportionally large upper class of impoverished nobility (Orla-Bukowska, forthcoming). For the Polish, French culture and in extension 'Europeaness' is generally seen as the marker of civilisation and is collectively pursued. Brussels, the political centre of the EU with French as its vernacular language, provides a context in which the vulnerable undocumented Polish migrant actively strives for assimilation through language use.

### **Brussels, a new Babylon?**

In conclusion, two notable observations are made as a result of our study. First, to construct adequate policy, there needs to be a fundamental recognition of the

diversity and growth of other languages. Generally, there *is* awareness amongst decision-makers that a capital city like Brussels, with an increasing number of (more or less settling) migrants, is becoming a multilingual space. Nevertheless, only when confronted with the actual numbers (more than 50 languages spoken by people from more than 30 countries) is there a realisation of the magnitude of this process. This is often cited as a reason to retreat into reactive monocultural policies, stating that it would be impossible to take all these 'new' languages into account. Yet, the survey proves this to be an ill-founded argument. Out of the 54 languages spoken by respondents to the survey, only 14 were spoken by more than 35 people and only 8 by more than 100 people. Apart from the insights this offers for future policy development in terms of multilingualism, the results of the survey indicate that the differences in status and evolution between these languages are as diverse as the languages spoken. As such, the term 'multilingual city' glosses over the very different manners of evolution of these languages in the same space and at the same time.

Second, most language evolutions fly in the face of common sense and socio-linguistic assumptions about language evolution in general. English, the global language, is desired, but hardly fluently spoken or written. Turkish, in contrast, is a vibrant language, despite the fact that most of the migrants settled in Belgium more than 30 years ago and the Turkish community has a low social status. Polish, on the other hand, would be expected to be a much-used language, not least because Polish immigration is fairly recent. Furthermore, with Poland joining the EU, the status of Polish as a 'European' language, in contrast to Turkish, supports this presumption. However, the survey reveals a rapid loss of Polish as a home language. In all the aforementioned cases, the context, circumstances, and cultural significance prove indispensable to understanding the evolution of any specific language. At the same time, when context and meaning change, the evolution of languages will probably change too.

The unpredictability of language evolution and significance is illustrated by one apt example highlighting the shifting place and meaning of Aramean in Brussels (Ghesquière 2000). Aramean is a language spoken by Christian Turks living on the eastern border of Turkey. Pursued by the Turkish-speaking Turks as well as by the Kurdish Turks, groups of Arameans migrated to Brussels in the second half of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s. Before migration, religion was the main identity marker for the Aramean. Once they had migrated to Belgium, the Arameans wished to assert a specific identity, but found it increasingly difficult to rely on religion as a distinct ethnic marker due to the widespread usage of Christian symbols in Belgium. In this process, a rapid shift materialised in which language

superseded religion as the main ethnic marker, despite the fact that there were strong regional and sociolinguistic differences within the Aramean language.

What this example and the survey outcomes at large show is that speaking of Brussels as a multilingual city blurs very different developments which occur at the same time and in the same place. The overwhelming Western orientation to the principles of one language, one culture, one nation (the so-called monolingual *habitus*, Gogolin 1994) has for a long time resulted in the approach to language evolution as an abstract process, which neglects specific elements of the context in which language evolution occurs. The ‘thingification’ of language has reduced place, time, and meaning to mere ‘local’ variables of a universal evolution. The results of the survey reveal that such an abstract approach is inadequate. Coming to grips with the evolution of languages in Brussels implies gaining a better understanding of what is happening to the people who use those languages ‘on the ground’. We need to consider context if we are to say anything meaningful about language evolution.

### 10.3 Home language instruction in primary schools

A contextual approach to minority languages does not entail focusing solely on IM groups in isolation from the majority population, as was too often implicitly presumed in previous studies. Rather, attention needs to be paid to the often neglected outlook of the majorities and the different relationships between majorities and minorities (Verlot 2001:13). In this section, we look more closely at how the Flemish policy elite in Brussels has dealt with the presence of a growing number of non-Dutch-speaking pupils in Flemish schools. As mentioned in the Introduction, their reaction has been defensive and even hostile, especially towards French-speaking Belgian pupils. This attitude is strongly related to the minority status of the Flemish, who fear multilingualism as a threat to the survival of the Flemish language (i.e., Dutch) and political power in Brussels. This defensive monolingual orientation puts teachers in a difficult position as they are expected to force Dutch upon pupils, while on the other hand, they have to take children’s needs as the starting-point for learning in the classroom. There has, however, been a growing awareness amongst Flemish policy-makers that the monolingual orientation of the school curriculum is unjust to the pupils and that it puts teachers in an untenable position. Programs have been set up to take the home languages of IM children into account. We deal with these programs in more detail below.

From a historical point of view, the Flemish policy elite has been the watchdog of the Belgian language laws. These laws stipulate that education can only be given



in the official language of the region, thereby rendering bilingual or multilingual instruction illegal. Nevertheless, the Flemish policy elite reacted positively and proactively to the EU Directive of 1977 and set up pilot projects to provide home language instruction (henceforward HLI) for IM children at school (for an explanation of this paradox, see Verlot 2001). In 1976, a limited number of Flemish schools started experimenting with integrated HLI in the regular school curriculum. From 1982, all schools could take part in the project. Most of the participating schools opted for the minimal model in which 2-4 hours of HLI was offered. Brussels played a major role in the development of an alternative model of home language integration. In 1981, the bicultural education project was implemented, using the home languages of IM pupils as part-time languages of instruction. Originally, 50% of all teaching in early education was given in one of the IM languages. This percentage gradually dropped until it reached 10% by the end of primary school. At its height, the project included 12 schools offering instruction in Arabic, Aramean, Italian, Spanish, and Turkish (Byram & Leman 1990).

Legally however, the home language project remained problematic. To overcome the inconsistency between law and practice, the Flemish government exploited a loophole in the language legislation in which a teacher is allowed three years to prove his competence in Dutch. Policy-makers deduced analogically that it should be possible that – with approval of government – teachers teach for three years in another language than Dutch. Not surprisingly, as Verstegen (1997-1998:3) pointed out, this hypercreative use of legislation is illegal. That consideration has not stopped the Flemish government, as it has sole authority to control and enforce the application of the language laws in Dutch-medium schools. The fact that they were on shaky legal grounds made it impossible, however, to turn the temporary project into a more regular provision. As a consequence, the number of cooperating schools dropped considerably over time and HLI became increasingly marginal. Still alive in primary education, there are almost no secondary schools left that offer HLI. Below, we describe the *status quo* and future development of HLI in terms of nine parameters.

### (1) Target groups

Initially, HLI focused solely on the children of immigrant labourers. In 1991, the target group was widened to all non-indigenous minorities. As a result, other languages like Aramean and Hebrew were provided, on top of the already existing instruction in Arabic, Greek, Italian, Spanish, and Turkish. The broad description of the target group enabled discussion on who was allowed HLI to be avoided. The Flemish government was preoccupied with preventing French-speaking Belgians from using HLI to reintroduce French as the first language in Flemish schools,

hence the emphasis on *non-indigenous* minorities. The target languages, however, were a topic of debate. Following the advice of the Commission on the Education of Migrants (*Commissie Onderwijs Migranten*), the government decided in 1991 to reserve HLI for official languages only. Consequently, it excluded dialects like Moroccan-Arabic and non-standardised languages like Berber and Kurdish. The underlying reasoning was that official languages were thought to have more chance of survival because of their higher status.

Recently, the debate on target groups reopened, following a series of articles edited by Leman (1999). A number of authors, of whom Snytsers (1999) is the most influential, argue the case for HLI as a means to strengthen the ethnic identity of IM children. Others, such as Delrue & Hillewaere (1999), suggest the opening up of HLI to all pupils, not just the IM children who speak the languages at home. The last option entails a paradigm shift in which HLI is reformulated as the teaching of 'new' languages and is no longer solely oriented towards the speakers of these languages as home languages. The debate started in Brussels, as this is the most multilingual region in Belgium. The continuing presence of the bicultural project for 25 years makes this discussion more tangible. Dutch- as well as French-speaking parents increasingly ask that their children be allowed to take part in HLI classes. It should be added that these requests only arise in schools that offer Italian and Spanish and rarely in schools that offer non-European languages. Following this discussion, academics like Van De Craen (2001) publicly asked that Dutch-medium schools in Brussels become multilingual.

## (2) Argumentation

Until 1991, HLI was offered for very different reasons. In an attempt to clarify the options, the (Flemish) Commission on the Education of Migrants drew up a document in 1990 in which it identified seven functions of HLI. These functions included HLI as a vehicle directed towards the acquisition of Dutch, attaining general learning targets, facilitating the reception of children who do not speak Dutch, developing ethnic identities, furthering communication within ethnic groups, contributing to the culturally specific attributions of meaning and interpretations of a multicultural world, and, finally, developing the linguistic competence of IM children. In 1991, the general reform of educational provisions for IM children led to a reformulation of the overall policy objectives. Two major objectives were set out: the prevention of educational failure and the enhancement of integration as a means of building the multicultural society. HLI, according to this agenda, was perceived as a means of enhancing integration. The new policy towards HLI was elaborated in an internal document of the Department of Education (1993, Verlot 2001:142), clearly stating that the home languages of IM

children are a valid means of communication – in schools as well as elsewhere. Despite the official reformulation, most schools adhere to the view that HLI should be used as a means of facilitating the acquisition of Dutch and thereby preventing school failure.

Recently, Leman (1999), Van de Craen (2001), Verlot *et al.* (2003), and others launched a challenge to the monolingual orientation of Dutch schools in Brussels. Their arguments for multilingual schools are similar, referring to the growing impact of globalisation, the demands of an increasingly European labour market, and the realities of the multicultural society. Differences between the arguments lie mainly in the way these reasons are weighted and the strategic choices that follow. For example, Van De Craen (2001) limits multilingual education to the national languages of EU member-states because of a belief in the importance of the European labour market, whereas Verlot *et al.* (2003) explicitly include the languages of non-EU minorities as target languages in growing recognition of the multicultural future of societies.

### (3) Objectives

As mentioned before, the general objective of HLI was that IM pupils should be given the means to develop their specific cultural identities through the use of their home languages. Schools were given two options to choose from. In early childhood and primary education, schools could choose either the minimal model, in which HLI comprised 2 to 4 hours of the weekly curriculum, or the bicultural model, in which up to 50% of the curriculum was comprised of HLI. Secondary schools also had two possibilities. They could simply offer their pupils language lessons or they could offer instruction in subjects (geography, history, etc.) in one of the home languages. Exploring these two options, it becomes clear that, in practice, the apparently opposite objectives of either developing ethnic identities through HLI or using HLI to enhance school success is not as clear-cut as it seems. Offering subject instruction in another language, in fact, combines the two objectives. In the daily practice of teaching, both objectives can hardly be separated. HLI remains marginal as it lacks official status and there are no official goals to be reached by pupils.

Meanwhile, the question was raised as to whether, in the face of growing globalisation, it is still salient to pursue HLI as a means of strengthening the cultural identities of IM pupils. Within minority communities, there is a continuing process of diversification, which fundamentally questions the notion of people possessing one culturally specific identity. Similar processes within the majority population result in urban youngsters adopting features of minorities (Leman 1987, Back 1995). The consequence is that youngsters from different ethnic backgrounds often

have more in common with each other than with older generations from the same backgrounds. Following this trend, Delrue & Hillewaere (1999) argue that schools should make HLI more interculturally oriented and no longer linked to the maintenance of the language and culture of one specific minority.

#### **(4) Evaluation**

The evaluation of HLI remains problematic. Due to the language laws, pupils are only tested for their knowledge of Dutch, French, and the other recognised foreign languages in secondary education. As a consequence, HLI should not be mentioned in pupils' reports. In practice, however, some schools have a policy of inserting an extra leaf in the reports, thus enabling pupils and parents to judge pupils' progress.

Turning to the evaluation of HLI in general, Glenn's comparison of minority language policies in 12 OECD countries (Glenn & De Jong 1996) documented how scientific and policy discussion and evaluation are based less on an objective weighing of different arguments than on subjective personal conviction. This transpires also in the different evaluation reports of the EU pilot-projects of minority languages, which were disguised pleas for multilingualism that neglected an assessment of pupils' results. Only for the assessments in primary education of the bicultural project (Byram & Leman 1990) and for parts of the evaluation of the pilot-project in secondary education (Teunissen 1996) was a coherent methodology used. The project leaders themselves commissioned and even edited the evaluations. The only independent evaluation reports were those by Verlot (1990) and Sierens (1994), but even these studies were based on secondary data and contain no conclusions on pupils' results. They focused on the structural conditions of HLI and were critical of the way government implemented HLI, leaving schools to their own devices without any serious support or financing. Clearly, there is a serious deficit of valid evaluation studies in this area.

#### **(5) Enrolment**

Until 1991, HLI was largely left in the hands of head teachers. When, in 1991, a new general policy on the education of IM pupils was introduced, the government introduced a minimal threshold of pupils for HLI, with the mandate that there must be at least 20 pupils to justify the provision of instruction. Using minimal enrolment as a means of centralising and strengthening the potential success of the project meant that further dispersion of home language classes over schools was discouraged. At the same time, policy makers were aware of the fact that, for some groups, like Spanish and Greek pupils, these numbers were simply not attainable, and exemptions were allowed. The introduction of the threshold did, however, lead to the introduction of a system of registration, allowing for the first time a partial

indication of the numbers of schools and participants. HLI, however, remained a service offered by the school and by no means a right of the parents.

The low status of the home language project resulted in a diminishing number of schools willing to offer HLI. In 1998/1999, only 47 schools offered HLI, of which only four were secondary schools. Table 10.7 shows the numbers of schools involved per language group; the figures are only partially reliable as registration is voluntary.

	1992/1993		1993/1994		1994/1995		1995/1996		1996/1997		1997/1998		1998/1999	
	PE	SE	PE	SE	PE	SE	PE	SE	PE	SE	PE	SE	PE	SE
Armenian	1	–	1	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Greek	4	–	4	–	4	–	1	–	1	–	1	–	1	–
Hebrew	–	–	–	–	2	–	2	–	3	–	1	–	2	–
Italian	18	4	15	1	14	?	5	1	10	1	8	1	4	1
Arabic	20	5	14	?	15	?	6	1	9	1	9	1	8	1
Spanish	2	–	1	–	1	–	1	–	1	–	3	–	3	–
Turkish	45	8	40	5	41	?	29	3	33	3	31	3	25	2

**Table 10.7** Schools offering HLI per language group (PE = primary education; SE = secondary education) (source: Ministry of the Flemish Community, Department of Education 1998, Verlot 2001:144)

## (6) Curricular status

Although some schools have been offering home languages in the curriculum since 1976, the status of HLI is low due to its paradoxical lack of legal recognition. HLI is a provision that is still outside the law and is only possible because the government has willingly bent existing language laws to the extreme. The lack of official recognition of HLI has several negative consequences, especially in terms of the quality of teaching. In 1997, the education minister, questioned in the Flemish parliament by the extreme right-wing *Vlaams Blok*, had to admit that school reports using another language next to Dutch are illegal. Only an explanatory note in another language in a separate document added to the school report is admitted.

## (7) Funding

The extra-legal status of home language provision prevents the government from allocating public funds to HLI. Schools are, therefore, dependent on teachers sent from and paid by the countries of origin, which has important consequences in terms of the curriculum, teaching quality, and co-operation between regular teachers and minority language teachers. The only exception is the bicultural

project in Brussels through which the government, albeit indirectly through an NGO, finances a limited number of home language teachers. In addition, the local authority of Gent has funded four home language instructors since 1978 to sustain schools with high numbers of IM children.

On the basis of the European directive of 1977, the countries of origin of former migrants within the EU (such as Italy, Spain, Greece, and Portugal) receive EU funding to send teachers to Belgium for HLI. During the Belgian presidency of the EU in 1993, the Flemish Department of Education suggested a redirecting of this funding to the schools that organised HLI. This change of funding would also create a precedent for the government to fund non-EU HLI. The proposition was never seriously put on the agenda because civil servants from the French-speaking Ministry of Education did not want HLI to become a statutory provision as long as it excluded French-speaking Belgians in Flemish schools.

### **(8) Teaching materials**

The dependence of schools regarding HLI also extends to the development, editing, and distribution of teaching materials. Home language teachers mostly use manuals and curricula which are prescribed by the Ministries of Education in the countries of origin. In the European pilot-projects in the 1980s, mixed development groups were established in which Flemish and foreign teachers developed curricula and manuals together. However, these products remained unofficial and were not recognised by the different authorities. Civil servants from the Flemish Department of Education were well aware of the fact that there was a problem of complementarity between the general curriculum and the different home language curricula. Furthermore, there was some mistrust of countries like Turkey and Morocco that were suspected of using HLI for purposes of political propaganda and control. From 1990, therefore, the Flemish government tried to overcome the curriculum gap via bilateral agreements with the countries of origin. Working groups were set up in the Flemish Educational Council (*Vlaamse Onderwijsraad*) to develop a global curriculum and different sub-curricula for the different languages. Although these curricula were completed in 1999, there is a strong tradition of pedagogical freedom in Belgium, and it remains unclear in how far these curricula are actually used in schools. An action research project was set up in 1994 to develop several models of good practice. The research report suggested different ways to enhance school practices (Delrue *et al.* 1997, Delrue & Ramaut 1998). Due to the lack of a consistent policy, the report was not distributed, nor were its recommendations implemented.

### (9) Teacher qualifications

Teacher qualifications are still determined by the various countries of origin. In most countries, teachers are selected using a national exam, while in other countries, the procedure is unclear. Teachers are often replaced after a period of five to seven years. To enhance collaboration in schools, the Flemish government has insisted since 1991 that home language teachers have a basic knowledge of Dutch before arriving in Belgium. In the early 1990s summer courses were organised in the countries of origin and follow-up courses were provided *in situ*. Due to a lack of sustained follow-up, these initiatives have died out.

## 10.4 Conclusions and discussion

The different challenges and dilemmas that spring from the context of language teaching in Brussels urge a more thorough reflection on the topic of minority rights, especially with regard to the use of IM languages in schools. The importance of recognising minority rights has been on the international agenda since the 1960s. The debate resulted in the institution of the right to speak and teach one's own language by means of different international agreements (De Varennes 1997; see Chapter 4 for an overview). This pluralistic stance gave way to the EU's insistence that new member-states ensure regional minorities are not discriminated against and can develop their languages in schools and public life (see, for example, the position of the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe since 1991). The cultural pluralistic approach to regional minority (henceforward RM) languages, however, strongly contrasts with the assimilationist policies within the EU, where most member-states hardly allow IM groups any rights to use their languages beyond the private spheres of their homes (Glenn & De Jong 1996). A growing number of academics and social activists plead for the enlargement of regional minorities to immigrant minorities as a means of constructing a fairer multicultural society (see the Declaration of Oegstgeest in Extra & Gorter 2001).

We believe that IM groups are entitled to the same rights as so-called 'regional' minorities, including the right to teach and to be taught in their home languages. However, as is clear from the situation in Brussels, a linear extension of minority rights to IM groups ignores differences in status and position between regional minorities and IM groups, and the many difficulties these differences bring about. We propose that the notion of minority rights and its application to IM groups should be fundamentally rethought. Below, we look at the underlying assumptions of minority rights in general, make some suggestions for an alternative approach, and discuss how IM languages can be taught in schools.

The concept of RM rights relies on the basic assumption that minorities are groups that have a certain culture and language in common that has developed over a long time span in a given territory. Although many anthropologists like Boas, Benedict, and White have actively helped to create the concept of an essential and bounded culture, the natural link between place and culture has been critically reviewed in the last two decades. Several leading authors like Hannerz (1992) pointed out that depicting cultures as rooted in certain territories ignores the fact that most societies, even the most remote ones, have at one time or another been influenced by 'others'. This has resulted in a view of culture as less essential and constructed as a result of a mixture of internal and external influences. More recently, it was recognised that cultural groups are much less fixed than was earlier presumed, and migration is not exceptional but often the norm (Rapport & Dawson 1998). The consequence is that the idea of an autonomous cultural development of a given 'people' or 'culture' is nothing more than a fiction, constructed by Western scholars to keep the 'other' in place (Appadurai 1988). Following these critical insights, the idea of cultural development has been thoroughly revised, stressing the fluidity and contingency of cultural identities over time and place. If this statement holds for so-called 'settled' groups, it is the more true for IM groups. The conclusion then is that the fundamental assumptions underpinning the idea of minorities' rights are flawed. The way minority rights have been conceptualised enhances the idea of a natural, autonomous, and territorially bounded development of culture. In the same vein, it is thought that, in order to protect the development of minorities' cultures they have to be separated from the majority. Such an approach sets minorities apart from mainstream society and imprisons them in a fixed cultural framework.

Apart from its epistemological shortcomings, the concept of minority rights ignores the fact that members of minority groups actually live in cities that are culturally very diverse. Seeking a *modus vivendi* in multicultural cities, policy makers often implicitly refer to the popular Ottoman *millet* model as a blueprint for managing cultural diversity. In that model, ethnic groups are supposed to 'naturally' form cultural 'communities' with their own services like shops, places of worship, and schools. These 'communities' are supposed to develop their identities along the lines of their 'inherent' cultural logic. Although having a very different appreciation, this model is supported by what Turner (1993) calls difference multiculturalism as well as 19th century romantic nationalism. Crossing cultural and linguistic boundaries is seen accordingly as choosing to celebrate the richness of diversity, at worst as a form of cultural degeneration that produces 'hybrids' in a cultural no man's land. In both conceptions, cultures of ethnic groups are supposed



to occupy different and separate spaces where each group can live according to its culture.

This segregationist model is not only flawed, it is also no longer relevant as IM groups are not territorially bound, nor do they limit their participation to a limited number of spheres of life. On the contrary, members of IM groups interact daily in all spheres of life with cultural and linguistic others. Even in Brussels, where antagonisms between Dutch- and French-speaking Belgians continued for so long that cultural competition came to form the institutional basis of society, people cross the cultural border daily and do so increasingly (Janssens 2001a). In relation to minorities, the challenge is no longer solely to guarantee that cultural minorities can maintain their identities and languages, but to provide these groups with the means of participating on an equal footing in culturally diverse contexts. These means are not developed in a cultural vacuum, but in daily interaction, where majority members as well as minority members of society require the cultural competencies to deal with diversity. As such, we believe that minority rights should be reformulated to enable all members of minority groups to interact in daily life with all inhabitants of the multicultural city, and to simultaneously secure the cultural development of minority groups in a multicultural context.

Using a non-fixed and non-territorialised approach to culture and minorities implies that we take a more interactive approach to minority rights. The first thing we need to do is to take into account the context in which minority rights are applied, because “local concerns continue to shape how universal categories of rights are implemented, resisted and transformed” (Cowan *et al.* 2001:1). Looking at local concerns is the more necessary because universal perspectives, as Wilson (1997:8) points out, “provide little or no framework for studying rights ‘on the ground’.” Universal conceptions of human rights, including minority rights, have been very absolute in their application, ignoring the complexity of existing social relationships. Wilson, an ethnographer of human rights, is extremely sharp when he states that “practical reason is swept away by a formalistic analysis of a priori synthetic principles, and human actions are continually related to absolute maxims and ‘natural’ law” (ibidem). Keeping this criticism in mind, we argue that the concept of minority rights remains valid but that it needs to be limited in order to formulate the principle orientations. As to application, we need a more situational outlook, whereby the context and concerns of the majority are taken into account. In other words, minority rights should not simply juxtapose or transpose the existing cultural arrangements set by the majorities, but complement these (with the exception of those rulings that discriminate against IM groups). Such fine-tuning of minority rights implies a thorough understanding of local sensitivities and complexities and the ways in which people deal with cultural diversity in daily life.

The need to develop cultural interaction in respect of minority language rights implies the need for minorities to acquire a thorough understanding of the majority language(s) as well as to assert the right to learn their home languages. This two-track concept is not new. It was applied in the European directive of 1977 on language teaching for IM children. The European Commission, however, decided for political reasons to no longer enforce the directive in member-states and, consequently, it became superfluous. The fundamental ideas behind the directive remain valid. Reformulated in terms of contemporary multicultural societies, all schools should, in our view, provide a multilingual curriculum, geared to members of the so-called majority, as well as to cultural minorities. To keep instruction effective and manageable, schools can limit the number of minority languages taught to one or a few per school as long as the most-spoken minority languages are provided over a number of schools in the immediate region. In the context of double majorities in cultural competition, like in Brussels, schools should not strive to become culturally neutral, an impossibility anyway. Rather, they should choose one of the majority languages as the vernacular language while creating space in the curriculum for the other majority language and a minority language, which may function as the subject and/or medium of instruction.

These propositions might seem utopian or idealistic, but as the case of Brussels shows, they are closer to reality than policy makers dare to assume. Their realisation, however, depends entirely on the willingness to see and engage with the 'new' realities in European cities. Academics need to reconsider existing concepts and practices, especially those concerning cultural rights. Cowan *et al.* (2001:1) make a plea for "a forum in which theoretical explorations of rights, citizenship and related concepts can engage with empirical, contextual studies of rights processes." We consider it necessary to add to this forum the concepts and practices of managing diversity and their relatedness to minority rights. Only by doing this can European cities become more than a reflection of the old colonial world, in which the 'other' was kept apart and in his/her cultural/linguistic place, or stripped of his/her cultural identity and language.

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## 11 Multilingualism in Lyon

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In this chapter, we present the outcomes of the *Multilingual Cities Project* (MCP) on the home language use and practices of primary school children in Lyon and its environs. For an extensive overview, we refer to Akinci *et al.* (2004). Section 11.1 deals with the status of immigrant minority (henceforward IM) groups and their languages in France. In Section 11.2, information is given on the teaching of languages other than French and on French language policy, with relevant statistics on home language instruction (henceforward HLI). In Section 11.3, the findings of the home language survey (henceforward HLS) amongst primary school children in Lyon are presented. In Section 11.4, nine parameters that are relevant to HLI at primary and secondary schools in France are presented. Section 11.5 contains conclusions and a discussion of the outcomes of this study.

### 11.1 Immigrant minority groups and their languages in France

In spite of increasingly strict immigration policies in most European Union (henceforward EU) countries, the numbers of IM populations continue to increase, due in particular to the rising numbers of political refugees, the freedom of movement of people inside the borders of the EU, and political and economic developments in Central and East Europe. It has been estimated that, in the year 2000, at least one third of the population aged less than 35 years in the urban zones of Western Europe had an IM background (Extra & Gorter 2001).

For various reasons, it is difficult to obtain reliable demographic information on IM groups in EU countries. For some groups and communities, no recent information is available. In addition, official statistics only reflect the presence of IM groups which have a legal status. Another element of disparity relates to the diversity of the systems of data collection. At the same time, as there is a steady growth in the number of naturalisations and as new IM children are born in EU countries, the criteria mostly used for statistics, i.e., nationality and country of birth, become more and more unreliable. Finally, it should not be forgotten, in particular in the case of France, that the majority of migrants from the former colonies already had the nationality of the host country, i.e., France, before their migration.

Complementary or alternative criteria for the identification of IM groups have been used in non-European countries with a longer history of immigration. In English-dominant immigration countries, such as the USA, Canada, and Australia, the question of identification was established in terms of self-categorisation and home language use (Broeder & Extra 1998).

In France, French nationality is acquired by ancestry, right of blood, birth, 'right of soil', or acquisition. The right of blood implies that any child is French, who has at least one French parent. By birth, any child who is born in France is French if at least one of its parents was born in France. In the last case, it is necessary to add the following requirements. Any child born in France before January 1, 1994, of a parent born in a former French territory overseas before its acquisition of independence, is fully French. This also holds for a child born in France after January 1, 1963, of a parent born in Algeria before July 3, 1962.

French nationality can be obtained in four different ways. First, important here because of its relevance to the pupils who participated in our survey, is the acquisition of French nationality on the basis of birth and residence in France. A French law of March 16, 1998, states that any person born in France of foreign parents acquires French nationality if, on this date, he/she resided in France and if his/her usual residence had been in France for a continuous or discontinuous period of at least five years since he/she reached the age of eleven years. The acquisition of French nationality can also be obtained by naturalisation. One of the conditions of naturalisation is to have had a residence permit in France during the five years that precede the application. Double nationality is in theory impossible for French nationals.

It is necessary to explain the French definition of the concepts of foreigner and immigrant: "Any person who does not have French nationality is foreign. An immigrant is a person born abroad but who lives in France. A foreigner is not necessarily an immigrant, and an immigrant is not inevitably a foreigner." Table 11.1 presents a historical overview of the numbers of foreigners living in France, based on their countries of origin during the period 1930-1990. Over time, a (strong) increase can be seen in the numbers of people originating from Maghreb countries, Portugal, Africa, Asia, and Turkey. At the same time, a (strong) decrease is visible in the numbers of people originating from European countries such as Italy, Spain, Germany, and Poland. After 1994, there was a significant fall in the entries of foreigners, related to the legal changes in 1993 which regulate the conditions for entry of foreigners to France (Obin & Obin-Coulon 1999). Table 11.2 presents the numbers of foreigners in France according to the most recent censuses, those of 1990 and 1999.

Countries or regions	1931	1954	1968	1975	1982	1990
Maghreb countries	3.2	12.9	23.6	32.3	38.8	38.7
Portugal	1.8	1.1	11.3	22.0	20.7	18.1
Italy	29.8	28.7	21.8	13.4	9.2	7.0
Africa	0.7	0.1	1.2	2.3	4.2	6.7
Asia	1.9	2.0	1.4	1.5	4.5	6.3
Spain	13.0	16.4	23.2	14.5	8.8	6.0
Turkey	1.3	0.3	0.3	1.5	3.3	5.5
USA	1.2	2.8	1.1	1.2	1.4	2.0
Belgium	9.3	6.1	2.5	1.6	1.4	1.6
Germany	2.6	3.0	1.7	1.3	1.2	1.5
Poland	18.7	15.2	5.0	2.7	1.7	1.3
Overseas islands	1.2	0.8	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1

**Table 11.1** Foreigners in France according to their countries of origin in the period 1930-1990 (in %) (source: INSEE 1994)

Nationality	1990		1999	
	N	%	N	%
Total population	56,651,955		58,520,688	
Total foreigners	3,598,602	100.0	3,263,186	100.0
Total nationalities from Europe	1,459,113	40.6	1,334,412	40.9
of which: EU (15)	1,321,529	36.7	1,195,498	36.6
Germans (ex - FRG)	52,723	1.5	78,381	2.4
Belgians	56,129	1.6	66,666	2.0
Spaniards	216,047	6.0	161,762	5.0
Italians	252,759	7.0	201,670	6.2
Poles	47,127	1.3	33,758	1.0
Portuguese	649,714	18.1	553,663	17.0
(former) Yugoslavs	52,453	1.5	50,543	1.5
Other European nationalities (except ex-USSR)	132,161	3.7	187,969	5.8
Ex-USSR	4,661	0.1	17,249	0.5
Total nationalities from Africa	1,633,142	45.4	1,419,758	43.5
Algerians	614,207	17.1	477,482	14.6
Moroccans	572,652	15.9	504,096	15.4

Nationality	1990		1999	
	N	%	N	%
Tunisians	206,336	5.7	154,356	4.7
Other nationalities from Africa	239,947	6.7	283,824	8.7
Total nationalities from America	72,758	2.0	81,293	2.5
Total nationalities from Asia	424,668	11.8	407,450	12.5
Turks	197,712	5.5	208,049	6.4
Other nationalities	226,950	6.3	199,401	6.1
Nationalities from Oceania and not specified	2,260	0.1	3,024	0.1

**Table 11.2** Foreigners in France according to the censuses of 1990 and 1999 (source: INSEE)

The differences between the statistics for foreigners and immigrants are obvious if the total numbers of immigrants in Table 11.3 are taken into account.

Country of birth	N	Country of birth	N
Algeria	575,740	Poland	98,566
Portugal	570,243	Belgium	93,395
Morocco	251,059	(former) Yugoslavia	75,144
Italy	380,798	Great Britain	74,683
Spain	316,544	Vietnam	72,318
Tunisia	201,700	Senegal	53,859
Turkey	175,987	Kampuchea	50,526
Germany	125,227		

**Table 11.3** Distribution of immigrants in 1999, based on country of birth (source: INSEE)

In 1999, there were approximately 3,260,000 foreigners in France, of whom 510,000 were born in France and 2,750,000 abroad. In addition, 4,310,000 people were qualified as immigrants; 1,560,000 of these were born abroad but had French nationality by acquisition and 2,750,000 were born abroad (these are the same 2,750,000 as in the first group). Members of the last group can thus be labelled as both immigrants and foreigners.

Berthoz-Proux (1973) and Gardin (1976) provide highly relevant historical studies on the use of IM languages in France. Heredia-Deprez (1976) complemented this earlier work. Berthoz-Proux (1973) observed an increasing discrepancy



between school success in the French school system and proficiency in the mother tongue: pupils who were so-called 'integrated' into the French school system acknowledged that they were unable to interact in their mother tongues. In similar cases, Heredia-Deprez (1976) affirmed that many children of Arabic origin did not speak in their mother tongue with their parents. Reporting on an investigation carried out in the Paris area, Heredia-Deprez stated that Spanish children had more success in the French school system and interacted better in their mother tongue than Arabic-speaking children. She explained this variation by the status of the languages involved: a standardised language written in Latin characters was considered more effective and prestigious. In many other comparative studies of the relationship between dominated mother tongues and dominant mainstream languages, it was concluded that those children who speak French with their peer group and the home language with their parents may reach a high level of bilingualism. From a language survey among 300 children, carried out in the Paris area by Deprez (1994), the following conclusions can be derived:

- French has penetrated the domestic domain of IM children; yet, three quarters of the children in the sample stated that they still understood and spoke the languages of their parents;
- the home language of the parents is relatively dominant in intergenerational family communication in the case of Arabic-, Kabyle-Berber-, and Portuguese-speaking children;
- immigrant mothers, and especially mothers from the Maghreb countries, use their mother tongues more with their children than immigrant fathers.

In the same study, Deprez (1994) showed that, out of 532 bilingual children in the final grade of primary school in Paris, more than 70 different home languages could be identified.

The 'Family investigation' census on language practices in French, carried out at the same time as the national census in 1999, included 380,000 people selected independently of their ethnic or national origins in areas like Flanders, Brittany, and Corsica in order to gather data on the regional languages of France. To the question in which languages, dialects, or *patois* their fathers and their mothers usually spoke to them before they were 5 years old, 26% of the adults remembered a language other than French. Six times out of ten, these languages were transmitted at the same time as French; in 50% of the cases, these languages were regional languages, and in the other half of the cases, they were IM languages like Arabic. In this investigation, nearly 400 languages other than French were identified (Héran *et al.* 2002). However, if the intergenerational transmission of languages is taken into account, a retreat of almost all regional and foreign or IM languages can be observed from one generation to the next. In this study, 20% of the adults said that

they sometimes spoke with close friends in languages other than French; 2,725,000 people mentioned English, which is much more than the 938,000 people who mentioned Arabic.

Other research projects carried out in Grenoble (Dabène *et al.* 1988, Merabti 1991, LIDIL 1990) provide more detailed insight into how majority and minority languages were used by Spanish- and Arabic-speaking people. Merabti (1991) distinguished three categories, i.e., active bilinguals, semi-active ones, and inactive ones. In Grenoble, second-generation Algerian immigrants most commonly spoke French and/or a mix of Arabic and French with their family members as well as with neighbours. They rarely used Arabic only in communication with family members.

## 11.2 The teaching of languages other than French

The teaching of languages other than French in French primary education is carried out in two forms. The first form is called *Education de Langue et Culture d'Origine* (ELCO), and is given by a teacher who is sent to France for a period of 4-5 years by the country of origin. The second form is the so-called early language teaching (*Enseignement precoce des langues* or ELT) and is carried out under the supervision of the French educational authorities. These two types of language teaching co-exist at the national level.

### ELCO

Like in most other Western European countries, immigration to France started on a temporary basis, and eventually became permanent. As a result of French legislation allowing family repatriation, many of the immigrant workers' spouses and children came to France as well. This reunion of families led to the necessity to school these children. In the early 1970s, the children were given the opportunity to learn their languages and cultures of origin, which happened also at the request of the countries of origin. To establish such classes, bilateral agreements were concluded between France and, in chronological order, Portugal (1973), Italy (1974), Tunisia (1974), Morocco (1975), Spain (1975), Yugoslavia (1977), Turkey (1978), and Algeria (1982). Table 11.4 gives the total number of pupils participating in ELCO during the 1999/2000 school year. The table is split up into numbers of pupils in primary and secondary education, according to data provided by educational authorities in France and the respective source countries.

Country	Primary education		Secondary education	
	French data	SC data	French data	SC data
Algeria	8,600	11,700	–	–
Spain	1,327	1,327	–	–
Morocco	27,279	31,596	3,665	3,359
Portugal	10,625	10,625	–	–
Tunisia	5,457	11,120*	739	*
Turkey	12,883	12,883	3,665	–

**Table 11.4** Distribution of pupils following ELCO in 1999/2000, based on source-country and French data (\* not split up for primary and secondary education) (source: Relevement des Conclusions 2000)

Table 11.4 shows inconsistencies between French and source-country data for pupils from Algeria and Morocco; in both cases, the latter present higher numbers for primary education. Moreover, instruction in Arabic and Turkish in secondary schools was only provided by source countries in the cases of Morocco, Tunisia, and Turkey. It is interesting to compare these numbers from a longitudinal perspective (Masthoff 1998:45-46). Table 11.5 shows that the total number of ELCO participants in primary schools strongly decreased over time.

Country	1984/1985	1990/1991	1997/1998	1999/2000	2000/2001
Algeria	36,345	12,000	9,421	8,600	7,948
Morocco	10,427	28,000	28,451	27,279	23,514
Tunisia	8,471	9,100	5,831	5,457	5,110
Spain	8,364	3,200	1,366	1,327	1,072
Italy	14,398	12,700	10,173	11,322	8,102
Portugal	41,419	22,000	10,105	10,625	9,371
Turkey	14,783	16,500	13,934	12,883	11,464
(former) Yugosl.	3,325	1,650	188	–	30
Total	137,532	105,150	79,469	77,493	66,611

**Table 11.5** Distribution of pupils following ELCO in primary education in France (Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale 2001a)

### Foreign languages at primary schools

In Bulletin 89-065 of March 6, 1989, the Ministry of National Education announced the setting up of a controlled experiment on the teaching of foreign languages at primary schools at the national level. This provision was in principle limited to the last year of primary schooling (second year of *Cours Moyenne*; CM2). The appendix to the mentioned bulletin, under the title *Teaching objectives and priorities*, starts with the negative statement that the early teaching of non-mother tongue languages cannot be a top priority in the early education of bilingual children. The text continues as follows: teaching over two school years (CM1 and CM2) with a weekly schedule of maximally three hours has other goals than linguistic, psychological, and cultural goals, and the goal of learning and practising a language. This early teaching should serve the later learning of a foreign language. At the same time, it should contribute to general learning in primary school, i.e., promote school success. Such teaching should allow children to enrich their capacities in hearing and articulation; to become aware of the differences between a foreign language and the mother tongue; and to be able to handle basic structures and use a simple vocabulary. The purpose should also be to create and develop in children a taste for a foreign language, which should be perceived as another means of communication and expression, and to open the minds of children to the realities of a foreign world that children should learn to like and know better.

An Official Bulletin of 7 January 1999 with respect to the 1999/2000 school year announced the extension of foreign language teaching (henceforward FLT) to all five levels of primary schooling (Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale 2001b). Below, we present the numbers of pupils in primary education per language group (Table 11.6) and grade (Table 11.7) for the 1998/1999 school year. Only 0.3% of the total number of pupils received instruction in Arabic, 0.2% in Portuguese, and 3.3% in Spanish. The majority of the pupils took English lessons, i.e., 1,086,509 pupils (75.4%). During the 1994/1995 school year, the proportion of primary school pupils learning a foreign language was 10.2% in the public sector and 11.9% in the private sector (CNFP 2000). In general, a considerable increase in participation can be observed between the 1994/1995 and 1998/1999 school years.

Language	Public primary education		Private primary education	
	Total	%	Total	%
German	262,735	18.2	33,315	8.5
English	1,086,509	75.4	346,500	88.4
Arabic	4,042	0.3	66	–
Spanish	48,196	3.3	4,721	1.2
Italian	26,941	1.9	971	0.2
Portuguese	3,461	0.2	112	–
Other languages	9,315	0.6	6,206	1.6
Total	1,441,380	100.0	391,891	100.0

**Table 11.6** Distribution of pupils in public and private primary education per language group in 1998/1999 (source: CNFP 2000:160)

Grade	Public primary education		Private primary education	
	Total	%	Total	%
Pre-elementary year	21,026	1.0	23,953	8.0
1st year (CP)	30,721	4.6	21,385	19.8
2nd year (CE1)	274,451	39.9	71,175	63.6
3rd year (CE2)	288,607	44.1	77,471	68.7
4th year (CM1)	337,275	51.9	92,016	79.3
5th year (CM2)	486,950	74.9	105,148	86.3
Other	2,350	4.3	643	14.1
Total	1,441,380		391,891	
Total % learning a foreign language	26.4		44.7	

**Table 11.7** Distribution of pupils in public and private primary education per grade in 1998/1999 (source: CNFP 2000:160)

With respect to the teaching of regional languages, Marty (2002) presents the following figures for the 2000/2001 school year.

Language	Number of pupils
Occitan	71,912
Corsican	27,875
Breton	20,697
Basque	8,969
Catalan	8,907
Alsatian	7,453
Dialects of La Moselle Dept.	5,823

**Table 11.8** Distribution of pupils participating in the learning of regional minority languages in the 2000/2001 school year (source: Marty 2002)

When Tables 11.6 and 11.8 are compared, the primacy of English as a foreign language becomes clear, followed by German. Apart from these languages, only Occitan, Spanish, Corsican, Italian, and Breton were represented by more than 20,000 pupils.

### Language teaching in secondary schools

In the 2000/2001 school year, more than 99% of pupils in France and in the overseas departments (DOM; *Departements d'Outre Mer*) learned one foreign language, which is compulsory in France in almost all forms of secondary education. Slightly over 75% of the pupils learned a second foreign language (see Table 11.9). Non-European languages like Arabic, Turkish, and Chinese were learned by only 0.2% of the total number of pupils as first foreign languages and by 0.86% as second foreign languages.

Language	As first foreign language	As second foreign language
German	491,519	520,652
English	4,913,086	331,839
Spanish	42,412	1,841,690
Italian	–	163,257
Other languages	12,679	24,713
Total	5,459,696	2,882,151

**Table 11.9** Distribution of pupils (except pupils in EREA or Regional Centres of Adapted Teaching) learning a first and a second foreign language in 2000/2001 in secondary education (Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale 2001c:117)

In France, it is also possible to take an exam in an elective language without having had formal instruction at school in this language. Today, there are more than 30 such examination programmes, which are primarily in the languages of former colonies of France, such as Peulh, spoken in West Africa; Kampuchea, spoken in Cambodia; dialectal Arabic, spoken in North Africa and the Middle East; and Berber, spoken in North Africa. In the 1998/1999 school year, more than 12,000 pupils took such exams. Among the languages chosen, dialectal Arabic holds a prime position with 75% of the candidates.

### 11.3 Home language survey in Lyon

The HLS in Lyon was carried out with the collaboration of the School Inspection Department of Lyon. Around 60,000 questionnaires were sent to primary schools in Lyon and its surroundings. Unfortunately, out of 173 schools, only 42 cooperated and returned 11,647 completed questionnaires. This constituted a low number compared to the objective laid down at the beginning of the project. Two reasons for this outcome can be mentioned. On the one hand, the investigation took place at a time when the directors of primary schools were on strike and, therefore, refused to open mail from the School Inspection. On the other hand, due to a lack of financial means, there was an insufficient number of research-assistants for a more extensive realisation of the survey. To put the results of the Lyon survey into perspective, Table 11.10 gives the distribution of population groups in the Rhône area, of which Lyon is the capital.

Population groups		National	Rhône
French		52,903,200	1,259,832
Foreigners		4,323,008	170,676
European Union countries	Spanish	213,518	7,939
	Italian	303,543	12,625
	Portuguese	778,256	22,647
Maghreb countries	Algerian	777,332	59,313
	Moroccan	663,731	10,512
	Tunisian	224,096	20,696
Turkey		262,652	11,556

**Table 11.10** Distribution of population groups in France and in the Rhône area (INSEE 1999)

According to Table 11.10, the proportion of the foreign population in the Rhône area in 1999 was 13.5%, whereas at the national level this was 3.14%. The Rhône area has, thus, a relatively high percentage of inhabitants coming from abroad. Among the IM communities listed in the department, two groups are most prominent, i.e., people from Maghreb countries and from Portugal.

Concerning the distribution of pupils across age groups, Table 11.11 shows that most pupils who participated in the survey were aged between 6 and 11 years.

Age group	Total	Proportion
4 and 5	62	–
6	1,634	14%
7	1,735	15%
8	2,074	18%
9	2,483	21%
10	2,562	22%
11	666	6%
12 and 13	71	–
Unknown	370	3%
Total	11,647	100%

**Table 11.11** Distribution of pupils across age groups in the survey

Birth country	Pupil		Mother		Father	
France	10,184	87%	6,148	53%	5,490	47%
Algeria	355	3%	1,511	13%	1,629	13%
Tunisia	107	1%	595	5%	684	6%
Turkey	92	1%	399	3%	414	4%
Morocco	83	–	408	4%	423	4%
Bahamas	39	–	49	–	40	–
Portugal	39	–	236	2%	260	2%
Spain	26	–	91	1%	124	1%
Eq. Guinea	22	–	65	1%	93	1%
(former) Yugosl.	22	–	38	–	40	–
Albania	20	–	29	–	36	–
Cameroon	19	–	47	–	37	–
Iraq	18	–	20	–	21	–



Birth country	Pupil		Mother		Father	
St. Vincent	18	–	96	1%	83	1%
Senegal	17	–	74	1%	81	1%
Cambodia	15	–	108	1%	107	1%
Guinea	14	–	36	–	40	–
Kosovo	14	–	16	–	17	–
Somali	14	–	19	–	18	–
Vietnam	14	–	76	1%	81	1%
Italy	13	–	105	1%	140	1%
Brazil	12	–	8	–	5	–
Comoros	11	–	43	–	38	–
Other	186	2%	516	4%	590	5%
Unknown	293	3%	914	8%	1,156	10%
Total	11,647	100%	11,647	100%	11,647	100%

**Table 11.12** Distribution of pupils and their parents across birth countries

As Table 11.12 shows, most pupils were born in France (87%). These percentages were much lower for their parents: 47% of the fathers and 53% of the mothers were born in France. In descending order, the other most important birth countries of pupils were Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco, and Turkey. It should be noted that a number of pupils did not mention the country of birth of their parents. Especially the very young children did not know the answers to these questions. Among the 11,647 pupils who filled out the questionnaire, 53.5% reported that one or more languages other than or next to French were used at home. In Table 11.13, a list of the 66 reported home languages is presented in descending order.

Nr	Language	Frequency	Nr	Language	Frequency
1	Arabic	2,914	36	Sango	6
2	Turkish	480	37	Akan/Twi/‘Ghanese’	5
3	English	435	38	Romani/Sinte	5
4	Spanish	365	39	Soninke	5
5	Portuguese	273	40	Thai	5

Nr	Language	Frequency	Nr	Language	Frequency
6	Creole	268	41	Rwanda	4
7	Italian	265	42	Turoyo	4
8	Berber	149	43	Hungarian	3
9	Cambodian	118	44	Polish	3
10	German	94	45	Czech	2
11	Vietnamese	93	46	Douala	2
12	Albanian	65	47	Ewe	2
13	Somali	53	48	Fulani/Peulh	2
14	Laotian	51	49	Macedonian	2
15	Comorian	48	50	Mina	2
16	Armenian	41	51	Roumanian	2
17	Kurdish	41	52	Tahitian	2
18	Chinese	38	53	Azeri	1
19	Wolof/'Singhalese'	36	54	Bangui	1
20	Serbian/Croatian/Bosnian	27	55	Bulgarian	1
21	Malagasy	20	56	Chaldean	1
22	Lingala	16	57	Danish	1
23	Maori	16	58	Georgian	1
24	Bambara	15	59	I(g)bo	1
25	Bulu	15	60	Saami	1
26	Tamil	14	61	Sardinian	1
27	Afrikaans	13	62	Swahili	1
28	Dari/Pashtu/'Afghan'	12	63	Swedish	1
29	Russian/Belorussian	12	64	Tshiluba	1
30	Ivrit	11	65	Urdu	1
31	Farsi	8	66	Yoruba	1
32	Greek	8			
33	Japanese	8			
34	Malay	8			
35	Hmong	6			
Total of tokens					6,106

**Table 11.13** Ranking list of references made to languages

Only 14 languages were reported by more than 50 pupils, while 22 languages were reported by only one or two pupils. The top-19 languages, which are discussed in more detail below, were mentioned by 93.5% of the participating pupils. Table 11.14 contains references to countries or areas of a country (like Kosovo and Corsica) of which only four could be identified as languages.

Reference to country/region	Language	N
1 Congolese	Unknown	35
2 Guinean	Guyanien/Guyanien Creole	27
3 Kosovar	Albanian	11
4 Gabonais	Unknown	10
5 Indian	Unknown	10
6 Mayotte	Comore	8
7 Béninois	Unknown	5
8 Togo	Unknown	5
9 Côte d'Ivoire	Unknown	4
10 Moroccan	Unknown	4
11 Malian	Unknown	3
12 Reunion	Creole	2
13 Caledonian	Unknown	1
14 Corsica	Corse	1
15 Canadian	Unknown	1
16 Nigerian	Unknown	1
17 Tchadian	Unknown	1
18 Sierra Leone	Unknown	1
Total tokens		130

**Table 11.14** Ranked references to countries and regions with their possible derivations

A surprising outcome is the large number of pupils who referred to the use of English at home. When the birth countries of these pupils are examined, it appears that 87% of them were born in France, as were 60% of their mothers and 57% of their fathers. According to the list of other languages used at home in addition to English, 70 pupils mentioned Arabic, 64 Spanish, 44 Italian, and 27 German. These families may consist partly of couples of different origins. English was reported frequently as a home language in other cities too (see other chapters in this Volume).

In the list of languages most often mentioned, we find two languages whose use in France could be attributed to recent immigration, i.e., Arabic and Turkish, with 46.5% and 7.5% of the total number of pupils, respectively. In fourth and fifth positions are two languages whose use results from earlier immigration, i.e., Spanish and Portuguese. These two languages, formerly labelled as immigrant languages, currently enjoy a higher status in French FLT, in particular since Spain and Portugal became part of the EU. The status of Italian, which occupies the seventh position in the list of languages, was improved in a similar way.

It is remarkable to find Creole in the sixth position among the listed languages. The term 'Creole' is a common denominator for a variety of spoken Creole languages. It is essential to distinguish between French, English, and Portuguese Creoles. When we look at the birth countries of the pupils who mentioned this language, we note that 79% of them were born in France. The countries of birth of their parents provide more information on the various Creoles spoken by these pupils, i.e., Equatorial Guinea (Portuguese-based Creole), Saint Vincent and the Bahamas (English-based Creole), and the Island of Reunion (French-based Creole).

Lastly, in the list of the languages mentioned by at least 100 pupils, we find Berber in eighth position and Cambodian in ninth position. Lyon, like Nice, also accommodates a large Vietnamese community.

Our analyses also provided a language vitality index for the top-19 languages mentioned by the pupils. For information on how we calculated this language vitality index (henceforward LVI), we refer to Chapter 6 in this Volume. Table 11.15 presents the vitality indices for the top-19 languages in descending order. In Lyon, Turkish was found to be the most vital language, followed by Cambodian, Vietnamese, and Armenian. German and Somali were the languages with the lowest indices. According to assumptions on ethnolinguistic vitality, mother tongues which have a high ethnolinguistic vitality tend to be maintained, whereas those which have a weak vitality tend to be replaced by the mainstream language of the particular country. In certain studies, however, it was established that the larger the typological difference between languages in contact is, the more the minority language is maintained (Kipp *et al.* 1995). Based on this last finding, one could argue that Turkish, Cambodian, Vietnamese, and Armenian are languages that have more chances of intergenerational survival than languages that show a closer resemblance to French. Concerning the high vitality of Turkish in this survey, an important factor may be the strong sense of solidarity among Turkish immigrants in France (Tribalat 1998), which enables them to practice their language in everyday life without having true contact with speakers of French (Akinci & Yağmur 2003).

Language group	Total pupils	Language proficiency	Language choice	Language dominance	Language preference	LVI
Turkish	480	95	82	38	47	65
Cambodian	118	92	69	20	42	56
Vietnamese	93	84	66	18	43	53
Armenian	41	77	51	42	43	53
Arabic	2,914	84	45	22	55	52
Laotian	51	90	46	20	46	50
Creole	268	87	35	24	53	50
Portuguese	273	86	30	19	58	48
Albanian	65	62	51	34	37	46
Berber	149	76	40	19	41	44
Comorian	48	82	30	14	33	40
Kurdish	41	65	32	26	25	37
Spanish	365	66	16	11	46	35
Wolof	36	65	24	8	37	33
Italian	265	61	14	10	47	33
Chinese	38	65	18	10	32	31
English	435	61	18	7	35	30
German	94	41	13	5	27	22
Somali	53	21	16	11	15	16

**Table 11.15** LVI per language group and language dimension (in %, LVI in cumulative %)

## 11.4 Home language instruction in primary and secondary schools

In this section, we focus on nine parameters of HLI at primary schools. Where relevant, reference is made to language teaching in secondary schools as well.

### (1) Target groups

As mentioned earlier, there is a distinction between HLI and ETL. In secondary education, one speaks of FLT. From a legal perspective, all children between 6 and 16 years old living in France have the right and the obligation to go to school. HLI is offered to IM children originating from source countries like Morocco, Tunisia, and Turkey. The languages currently offered in this programme are standard Arabic, Portuguese, Spanish, and Turkish. In accordance with the bilateral agreements between France and the countries of origin, HLI is offered only to children

originating from these countries. Children who do not have these nationalities or who do not originate from these countries have no access to HLI. For participation in HLI, it is necessary that the child has developed some proficiency in the home language. The reason for this is that HLI begins when the child is in the second grade of primary school. To establish HLI classes in any public school, a minimum of 12 participating pupils is required. Another factor that plays a role is the availability of teachers, as their weekly teaching times are limited. These classes, which cannot be more than three hours per week, are given in the periods after regular classes, on Wednesday afternoons or Saturdays, or early in the morning. Recently, ETL was introduced in all primary schools after the third grade. The dominant foreign language chosen by the children is English in 97% of cases.

FLT is offered to pupils from the first grade of secondary school on and continues to the end of secondary school. FLT is obligatory for pupils in secondary education. Pupils commonly continue to take lessons in the foreign languages that they had already chosen in primary school. For children who have recently come to France, there are special classes, named CLIN (*Classes d'initiation*) in primary schools and CLAD (*Classes d'adaptation*) in secondary schools. In these classes, intensive French instruction is provided so that recently arrived pupils can be placed in the grade appropriate to their age in the shortest possible time.

## (2) Arguments

The history of minority language teaching in France and the motivation to provide it is interesting. The beginnings of minority language teaching date back to the early 1950s when regional language teaching (henceforward RLT) achieved a form of recognition, having earlier been marginally tolerated. However, it was only in 1982 that the French government started to organise RLT on a voluntary basis. In 1996/1997, nearly 100,000 pupils received RLT in primary schools. In the same school year, 155,000 pupils received RLT in secondary schools (Poignant 1998).

Regional languages are defined as the languages of culture of the Republic other than French. The qualification 'regional' differentiates them from the so-called 'foreign living languages' which are not 'territorialised' languages. These are languages used by foreigners (see Section 11.1) or French citizens of foreign origin. RLT has a longer history and tradition than the teaching of IM languages. It was only at the beginning of the 1970s that the Ministry of National Education showed serious concern about languages and cultures of foreign origin in France (LIDIL 1990). Until then, only migrant associations and consulates of various countries occupied themselves with these issues. The interest of the French government in the languages and cultures of IM groups led not only to the establishment of CLIN and CLAD classes (see above) but also to the installation of classes for HLI, which are

the responsibility of the countries of origin but controlled by the French educational authorities.

Originally, the arguments for HLI were that it would help foreign pupils integrate into the French educational system, while enabling them to maintain bonds with the languages and cultures of their countries of origin in preparation for a possible return to these countries. As it was recognised in France that the return of immigrants and their families is a myth, the present arguments for HLI focus on overcoming the possible marginalisation of new-coming children, and to a lesser extent second or third generation children, while at the same time enabling them to acquire the basics of their languages and cultures of origin.

### **(3) Objectives**

Objectives have been spelled out only for the teaching of regional languages, both at the level of primary and secondary education. No such objectives have ever been formulated for the teaching of IM languages.

### **(4) Evaluation**

In the French school system, the formal evaluation of pupils begins in the first grade of primary school. Every trimester, parents are informed about their child's performance and progress. Through these reports, teachers inform parents about the child's position at school, both academically, with grades for each subject, and socially. At the beginning of the third grade, all pupils take part in a nationwide written examination in French and mathematics. A similar evaluation takes place in the first year of secondary education. IM children who have participated in HLI receive a mark for HLI on their report every trimester. This evaluation, however, plays no role for later studies, and French teachers usually do not ask HLI teachers about their evaluation. This is due to the fact that there is little contact, and in some schools no contact at all, between HLI teachers and the French teaching staff. In this respect, there is a clear watershed in the French school system: the HLI teacher is always a foreigner, and, therefore, he or she is rarely invited to school staff meetings or pedagogic programmes.

In some secondary schools, where a French teacher does FLT, the HLI marks obtained are included in the report as a 'regular' subject and are as important as the marks for other core subjects. In the last year of secondary school (grade 9), pupils conclude their studies with an examination in all subjects. The first foreign language is evaluated in this examination as well. Actually, the marks given by the foreign language teachers in secondary schools have the same status as those given in primary school, that is, they have no consequences for admission to the next level in the educational system.

### **(5) Enrolment**

The minimum enrolment rate in HLI classes in France as agreed between France and a number of source countries is 12 (see above). This causes a real problem for the teaching of those languages for which speakers are scarce in certain areas. In those cases, the minimum condition of 12 pupils cannot be met. On the other hand, the required number of 12 children can easily be reached in most areas by placing children from different grades and/or schools in one HLI class.

The languages taught in the second degree are offered in the form of one optional hour for all pupils. Moreover, a three hours option is offered to pupils in the 3rd and 4th degree. In secondary school classes 1 and 2, pupils can choose these languages as obligatory or optional lessons. There are no minimum enrolment requirements, and the existence of a foreign language class depends on such factors as teacher availability and demand from pupils.

### **(6) Curricular status**

Since the bilateral agreements were made, no changes have occurred for HLI classes. In all cases, instruction is given for a maximum of three hours per week. However, this is most commonly one and a half hours because of the limited availability of teachers. HLI is usually offered outside school hours in the same school building, in the majority of cases in the late afternoon, between 16:30 and 18:00, on Wednesday afternoons and on Saturdays. HLI may also be offered during school hours, which is referred to as 'integrated courses'. This is rarely done, however, because it often results in children missing regular classes. The disadvantage of classes outside school hours is that both teachers and pupils are isolated. There is no communication with 'regular' teachers about what the children are working on in HLI, which confirms that HLI is an isolated activity that does not belong to the core programme. Integrated courses offer the double advantage of close cooperation between HLI teachers and regular teachers in the schools, and the participation of a greater number of pupils. Unfortunately, classes outside school hours are most common all over France.

In secondary schools, it is becoming more and more accepted that IM languages such as Arabic or Turkish can be chosen as a second or third foreign language. It is interesting to note that the former French minister for National Education proposed the creation of a new language-teaching system in primary education whereby the languages taught in HLI would be given the same status as the languages in ELT. At the present time, pupils follow, starting from the first year of secondary schooling, lessons in a foreign language. They can choose among the twelve following languages: English, German, modern Arabic, Chinese, Spanish, modern Hebrew, Italian, Japanese, Dutch, Polish, Portuguese, and Russian. In the



third year of secondary schooling, pupils can choose a second language as obligatory or optional. To these twelve languages, Turkish and regional languages are added.

### **(7) Funding**

The countries of origin finance HLI, that is, the teachers' salaries, the renting of classrooms, and all relevant costs. ELT is organised and financed completely by the French state.

### **(8) Teaching materials**

Originally, nearly all teaching materials for HLI originated from the source countries. These materials soon proved inappropriate as they were intended for use in the teaching of these languages as mainstream languages and, of course, the contents did not at all reflect the cultural experiences of the children in the new country, France. This led, though only minimally, to the development of new teaching materials in France. According to official rhetorics, HLI teachers are invited to practice an open intercultural pedagogy, to take an active part in the various cultures of the pupils, and, if necessary, to play the role of intercultural mediator in case of difficulties in communication between parents/teachers and pupils/teachers. Each country defines its HLI programme on the basis of various bilateral principles. For example, the Moroccan programme aims at giving the children "through Arabic language teaching and Islamic education [...] the possibility of reading and writing the Arabic language", whereas the Tunisian programme aims at encouraging the child "to express himself/herself with ease in functional Arabic." Nevertheless, the organisation of HLI raises a number of issues which have consequences for the whole school community:

- all HLI programmes are prepared without taking into consideration the 'regular' programme of French schools and without dialogue with French teachers;
- HLI privileges the mainstream language of the country of origin without taking into account other home language varieties or linguistic practices specific to immigrant families;
- at the cultural level, the contents of the lessons commonly refer to the country of origin and, therefore, ignore the cultural transformations which individuals and whole social groups undergo in a context of migration;
- though considerable efforts may be made, HLI teachers, often not French-speaking foreigners, hardly cooperate with the local teaching staff.

### (9) Teacher qualifications

HLI teachers are full-time teachers in primary and secondary education, who have been trained in their countries of origin. Often, they are sent to in France for four or five years, or even seven years in the case of Algerians. As a result of a ministerial circular of 1983, HLI teacher qualifications are the responsibility of both a French Academy inspector and an inspector from the country of origin.

## 11.5 Conclusions and discussion

The multilingual character of primary schools in Lyon is a well-known phenomenon, but in our sociolinguistic investigation we documented the extent of multilingualism in Lyon in much more detail. On several dimensions, our results are similar to those of earlier studies of language practices of immigrant families in France (Akinci 1996, 2003, Billiez 1990, Deprez 1994, Leconte 1998, Véronique 1998). Our study revealed, in addition, new data on the distribution, classification, and vitality of the languages spoken at homes by IM pupils.

It is important to note that many children from Arabic, Chinese, Creole, Turkish, and Vietnamese backgrounds want to learn their home languages. All of these languages, with the exception of Chinese, show high vitality, and they are also the languages of recent immigrants. Therefore, it is especially these languages that should appear in the ELT at primary school. When reinforced at school, ELT could oppose the loss of the languages of IM pupils born and growing up in France. With the ongoing integration of the EU, we are in need of individuals with bicultural as well as bilingual competences. Based on a study of the teaching of French and Arabic to primary school children of Maghreb origin in Grenoble, Billiez (1990:45) concluded that the simultaneous teaching of two languages constitutes an enrichment for the child, at least when a number of institutional and administrative prerequisites are met. In such a way, a true pedagogy of bilingualism would be promoted instead of the simple addition of a few erratic language teaching hours.

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## 12 Multilingualism in Madrid

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Since the 1990s, Spain has become a host country for immigrants, and Spanish schools have received an increasing number of pupils of foreign origin, in particular from non-European countries. The presence and increase in the number of these new pupils has created new issues in the educational debate and has contributed to the implementation of distinct measures by schools in order to facilitate their integration into the school system.

This chapter focuses on the Community of Madrid, and includes both the metropolitan and extra-metropolitan zones. Various perspectives are offered on the languages used at home and at school by Madrid children from 6 to 12 years of age. Section 12.1 contains an overview of educational policy and data in Spain and in Madrid with respect to immigrant minority (henceforward IM) children. In Section 12.2, the aims and outcomes of a language survey among school children in Madrid are presented (see Broeder & Mijares 2003 for a detailed description). The goals and methods of the study are explained and the distribution of home languages among the school children is shown. A crosslinguistic comparison was made for the eight most frequently reported home languages, which focused on language proficiency, choice, dominance, and preference. These four variables were combined to calculate a language vitality index (henceforward LVI) for each of the eight languages. Section 12.3 deals with the teaching of IM languages at school. In this section, the focus is on Moroccan and Portuguese ELCO (*Enseñanza de Lengua y Cultura de Origin*). Section 12.4 contains conclusions and discussion.

### 12.1 Immigrant minority children in Spain and Madrid

In accordance with the law on the rights and liberties of foreigners in Spain and their social integration, all foreign minors under the age of 18 years have both the right and duty of education under the same conditions as Spanish pupils; a right which includes access to free compulsory education, to the corresponding academic degrees, and to the public system of scholarships and aids (Statutory Law 8/2000). The law does not establish any difference between those who reside legally in Spain and those who do not; the state has to guarantee education for all minors of

nationalities different from the Spanish nationality, irrespective of the legal status of their parents.

Chapter V of the Law on Special Education (LOGSE) is dedicated to pupils with special educational needs. Schools must have the necessary means to allow these pupils to reach similar objectives as other pupils, with compensatory policies against inequalities in educational provisions. The law specifies that the policies of compensatory education should oppose the inequalities caused by social, economic, cultural, geographic, ethnic, or other factors (Art. 63,2). The law also allows the adaptation of educational centres to the specific needs of pupils (Art. 65,3) and it allows independent communities with educational competences to develop specific programmes in relation to this matter (Art. 67,1).

In addition, the law prescribes the implementation of measures for a balanced distribution of pupils with special educational needs, for transport services, and for school dining rooms. New formulas should allow special attention to be given to individual pupils or small groups in order to facilitate the fulfilment of specific objectives. These formulas are operationalised in the organisation of compensatory classes, different from mainstream classes, with special teachers to reinforce the basic subjects of the Spanish language and mathematics. Children who do not understand Spanish well enough as the mainstream language of the school or who have other educational problems participate in these classes. These children leave the mainstream group for a determined number of hours per week, which varies according to educational centres.

Table 12.1 shows a significant increase in foreign pupils from 1992-2002, visible in the given percentages of foreign pupils per 1,000 registered pupils.

School year	Foreign pupils	Foreign pupils (in %)
1992/1993	46,111	5.4
1993/1994	50,076	6.3
1994/1995	53,213	6.8
1995/1996	57,406	7.5
1996/1997	62,707	8.3
1997/1998	72,363	9.9
1998/1999	80,687	11.0
1999/2000	107,301	14.5
2000/2001	141,434	19.5
2001/2002	201,518	28.7

**Table 12.1** Foreign pupils in Spanish compulsory education (% per 1,000 pupils)

Until 1999/2000, European countries, in particular EU countries, were the major source of origin of foreign pupils. During the 2000/2001 school year, however, most foreign pupils came from Hispano-American countries. In Table 12.2, the increase in the number of foreign pupils by continent is shown from 1992-2002.

School year	Europe	Africa	Hispano-America
1992/1993	19,965	8,211	11,860
1993/1994	21,554	10,568	11,489
1994/1995	22,965	11,559	11,996
1995/1996	19,897	14,628	12,060
1996/1997	23,987	17,076	14,122
1997/1998	25,891	21,458	16,467
1998/1999	28,091	24,280	19,394
1999/2000	36,253	31,899	27,798
2000/2001	40,605	37,460	43,772
2001/2002	50,918	48,239	85,560

**Table 12.2** Foreign pupils by continent

In the 2000/2001 school year, IM children from Africa represented 28% (37,460) of the total number of foreign pupils, while pupils from European countries represented 30.3% (40,605). Pupils from Hispano-America represented 32.7% (43,772) of the total number of foreign pupils in that school year, and their number almost doubled in 2001/2002. The number of pupils from Africa also shows a spectacular increase; their number in 2001/2002 was close to the number of pupils from Europe. Actually, the proportion of European pupils decreased from 1992-2002.

As far as the countries of origin are concerned, Moroccan pupils were most numerous and their number increased significantly during the last years, in correspondence with the general guidelines for Moroccan migration to Spain. Pupils originating from two EU countries followed Moroccan pupils (25,199) in the year 1999/2000, i.e., Germany (6,827) and Great Britain (6,486).

In Table 12.3, the increase in the numbers of pupils from the five largest source countries is presented, with the exception of Portugal. Since Portugal has migration guidelines similar to those of non-European countries and since Spain offers a programme of education in the Portuguese Language and Culture, pupils of Portuguese nationality are not included in this table.

School year	Morocco	Ecuador	Colombia	Great Britain	Argentina
1992/1993	6,286	–	–	3,798	4,058
1994/1995	8,576	–	925	3,972	2,972
1996/1997	13,003	475	1,337	3,900	2,874
1998/1999	19,236	1,426	2,510	4,972	3,063
2000/2001	x	x	x	x	x
2001/2002	38,233	26,722	23,540	8,130	7,415

**Table 12.3** Foreign pupils by specific countries (x = unknown)

Table 12.3 shows that the number of Moroccan pupils increased from 6,286 in 1992/1993 to 38,233 in 2001/2002. Moroccan pupils formed the most numerous group. The most significant growth was registered for Colombian and Ecuadorian pupils. Table 12.4 presents longitudinal data on the top-15 of nationalities.

Nationality	1995/1996		2001/2002		Increase (in %)
	Total	%	Total	%	
Moroccan	10,881	20.3	38,233	18.9	251
Ecuadorian	338	0.6	26,722	13.2	8
Colombian	1,058	1.9	23,540	11.6	2
USA	3,231	6.0	8,130	4.0	151
Argentinian	2,732	5.1	7,415	3.6	171
German	3,362	6.3	6,969	3.4	107
Dominican	1,507	2.8	6,126	3.0	306
Roumanian	241	0.4	5,388	2.6	2
Peruvian	2,171	4.0	5,356	2.6	146
Chinese	1,191	2.2	5,003	2.4	320
French	2,778	5.2	4,299	2.1	54
Venezuelan	1,179	2.2	3,842	1.9	225
Brazilian	747	1.3	2,978	1.4	298
Bulgarian	194	0.3	2,975	1.4	1
Italian	1,073	2.0	2,802	1.3	161
Other	20,679	38.7	51,740	25.6	150
Total	53,362	100.0	201,518	100.0	277

**Table 12.4** Top-15 of foreign pupils in Spain between 1995 and 2001



In the 2001/2002 school year, the top-15 of foreign pupils represented 71% of the total number of foreign pupils. It should be emphasised that of these 15 nationalities, eight are Hispano-American, and seven of these (except Brazil) refer to countries where Spanish is the official language. In addition, five European countries are represented in this list.

In Madrid, a resolution of 4 September 2000 of the Main Directorate of Educational Promotion regulates the educational facilities of educational centres provided with the public funds of the Community of Madrid. This new law, which no longer refers to pupils with special educational needs, but to pupils requiring educational compensation, specifies the activities to be carried out in the educational centres, ranging from the provision of a support teacher in mainstream classes to the establishment of special classes consisting exclusively of pupils requiring educational compensation. Table 12.5 shows the increase in the total number of foreign pupils in compulsory education in the Community of Madrid.

School year	Foreign pupils
1992/1993	10,028
1993/1994	11,421
1994/1995	12,907
1995/1996	14,113
1996/1997	15,831
1997/1998	18,812
1998/1999	22,370
1999/2000	30,518
2000/2001	38,391

**Table 12.5** Foreign pupils in the Community of Madrid

In the 2000/2001 school year, Madrid was the community with the most foreign pupils in Spain, i.e., 28.7% (38,391) of the total number of pupils. Catalonia had the second-largest number of foreign pupils with 17.5% (23,493). Table 12.6 shows the most represented nationalities in the schools of the Community of Madrid during the 1999/2000 and 2000/2001 school years.

Nationality	1999/2000		2000/2001		Change (in %)
	Total	%	Total	%	
Moroccan	5,542	19.4	6,472	16.8	16.7
Ecuadorian	2,335	8.1	5,395	14.0	131.0
Colombian	1,932	6.7	4,149	10.8	114.7
Dominican	2,023	7.0	2,620	6.8	29.5
Peruvian	2,095	7.3	2,605	6.7	24.3
Roumanian	773	2.7	1,262	3.2	63.2
Polish	983	3.4	1,177	3.0	19.7
Chinese	997	3.4	1,105	2.8	10.8
Portuguese	686	2.4	841	2.1	22.5
French	935	3.2	834	2.1	-10.8
Argentinian	731	2.5	812	2.1	11.0
Eq. Guinea	630	2.2	733	1.9	16.3
Philippine	574	2.0	701	1.8	22.1
Other	8,257	28.9	9,685	25.2	17.2
Total	28,793	100.0	38,391	100.0	34.7

**Table 12.6** Foreign pupils in the Community of Madrid (1999/2000 and 2000/2001)

An increase can be observed for all nationalities, except French pupils. Most foreign pupils in Madrid originate from Morocco. A comparison of Tables 12.5 and 12.6 shows that, in Madrid, Moroccans were still the most numerous and that pupils of European nationalities had relatively less weight than in the rest of Spain. However, if we take into account the relative increase in the number of foreign pupils, we see that, although the number of Moroccan pupils continued to be high, pupils of other nationalities showed a greater increase.

The number of Ecuadorian pupils, already very high, especially in Madrid, increased even more during the last years. According to data of the Municipal Register of Inhabitants, in January 2002, in the capital Madrid only, i.e., excluding the metropolitan and extra-metropolitan zones, there were 92,690 Ecuadorians, and 18,616 Moroccans. Colombian pupils have also shown a significant increase. As in the case of Ecuadorians, this increase corresponds to the growth of immigrants from Colombia in Madrid, whose number was 38,710 in January 2002, according to the data of the same Register and in the same area. In fact, during the 2002/2003 school year the numbers of Ecuadorian and Colombian pupils were superior to the number of Moroccan pupils in the schools of Madrid.

## 12.2 Home language survey in Madrid

The home language survey in Madrid was carried out in the 2001/2002 school year with the support of the Ministry of Education (see Broeder & Mijares 2003 for detailed information). The research sample consisted of 24,429 primary school children ranging in age from 4-13 years. Included in the sample were schools with a relatively high proportion of foreign children, spread across the various districts of Madrid and across two different school types. Table 12.7 gives an overview of the distribution of primary school children ranging in age from 4-13 years across school types in Madrid at large and in the sample.

School types	Madrid	Sample	Coverage
Public schools	201,848	21,206	11%
Subsidised private schools	98,798	3,120	3%
Unknown	–	103	–
Total	300,646	24,429	8%

**Table 12.7** Distribution of primary school children across school types in the city and in the sample

Table 12.8 shows the distribution of pupils across grades and age groups. Most of the children were in grades 1-6 and ranging in age from 6-12 years.

Grade	Frequency	Proportion	Age group	Frequency	Proportion
1	3,584	15%	6	2,498	10%
2	3,937	16%	7	3,743	15%
3	4,104	17%	8	3,901	16%
4	4,196	17%	9	3,981	16%
5	3,995	16%	10	4,013	16%
6	4,475	18%	11	4,127	17%
7	5	–	12	1,794	7%
8	20	–	13	237	1%
Unknown	113	1%	Unknown	135	1%
Total	24,429	100%	Total	24,429	100%

**Table 12.8** Distribution of pupils across grades and age groups

Examination of the reported countries of origin of the pupils shows a rich variation. Almost 100 different countries were mentioned as birth countries: 8 countries more than 100 times, 15 countries more than 50 times, and 29 countries more than 10 times. Table 12.9 shows the distribution of the pupils and their parents across the 20 most frequently mentioned countries.

Birth country	Pupil		Mother		Father	
Spain	20,279	83%	18,687	77%	18,586	76%
Ecuador	1,182	5%	1,171	5%	1,183	5%
Colombia	650	3%	670	3%	698	3%
Morocco	493	2%	835	4%	806	4%
Dominican Rep.	317	1%	350	2%	420	2%
Scotland	223	1%	327	1%	336	2%
Roumania	121	1%	133	1%	130	1%
China/Hong K.	115	1%	212	1%	203	1%
Argentina	70	–	132	1%	122	1%
Guinea	67	–	107	–	121	1%
Poland	64	–	93	–	101	1%
Cuba	55	–	72	–	75	–
Brazil	54	–	63	–	85	–
Portugal	53	–	156	1%	206	1%
Bolivia	52	–	60	–	60	–
Venezuela	44	–	35	–	43	–
Philippines	43	–	142	1%	164	1%
France	41	–	124	1%	136	–
Bulgaria	36	–	37	–	36	–
Chile	34	–	55	–	55	–
Total	24,329	100%	23,991	100%	24,070	100%

**Table 12.9** Distribution of birth countries of pupils, mothers and fathers

Most pupils (83%) were born in Spain. Although to a lesser degree, most parents were also born in Spain, i.e., 77% of the mothers and 76% of the fathers. The rankings of the birth countries of the children and their parents are highly comparable. Nevertheless, a proportionally higher number of parents not born in Spain originated from the following countries: Morocco, China/Hong Kong, Portugal, Venezuela, and the Philippines. The number of children and parents from

countries in which Spanish is the official language was remarkably high. There were 1,182 children from Ecuador, 650 children from Colombia, 317 children from the Dominican Republic, 70 children from Argentina, 52 children from Bolivia, 44 children from Venezuela, and 34 children from Chile. The 2,349 children from these seven Spanish-speaking countries in Latin America constituted 10% of the total research sample.

From the total sample of 24,329 children, 2,370 children (10%) indicated that another language was used at home in addition to or instead of Spanish. Table 12.10 contains an inventory of the home languages mentioned and the number of times that a particular language was reported by a child (including references to countries that can reasonably be traced back to languages). 'Chinese' was used as a cover term for Cantonese, Haka, Taiwanese, and Mandarin. In the survey, 56 different languages could be traced as home languages used in addition to or instead of Spanish. A small number of languages was frequently referred to and a large number of languages rather infrequently; 8 languages were referred to more than 100 times, and 12 languages only once. Out of the 8 most frequently mentioned home languages ( $N > 100$ ), 5 languages have the status of national languages of European countries, and 3 languages originate from other continents.

The top-8 of reported home languages provided the basis for the analyses presented. For all eight language groups, a cumulative LVI was constructed on the basis of four analysed language dimensions (language proficiency, language choice, language dominance, and language preference; see Chapter 6 in this Volume for further details). Table 12.11 gives a crosslinguistic overview of the LVI of each language group on the basis of these four language dimensions (in %).

Nr	Language	Frequency	Nr	Language	Frequency
1	Arabic	783	31	Cape Verdean	4
2	English	405	32	Hindi	4
3	Portuguese	227	33	Jamaican	4
4	Chinese	216	34	Bengali	3
5	French	174	35	Greek	3
6	Roumanian	125	36	Turkish	3
7	Tagalog/Filipino	109	37	Urdu	3
8	Polish	106	38	Danish	2
9	German	47	39	Gorani	2
10	Italian	47	40	Lucano	2
11	Berber	46	41	Norwegian	2
12	Russian	42	42	Quechua	2
13	Bulgarian	37	43	Romani/Sinte	2
14	Galician	33	44	Turoyo	2
15	Catalan	24	45	Armenian	1
16	Creole/Pidgin	22	46	Aymara	1
17	Bubi	20	47	Bulu	1
18	Farsi	17	48	Czech	1
19	Dutch	13	49	Finnish	1
20	Guyanese	12	50	Georgian	1
21	Lingala	11	51	Lithuanian	1
22	Korean	9	52	Malinka	1
23	Ukrainian	7	53	Moldavian	1
24	Serbian/Croatian/Bosnian	7	54	Swahili	1
25	Hungarian	6	55	Swedish	1
26	Ilocano	6	56	Tshiluba	1
27	Kurdish	5			
28	Slovakian	5			
29	Albanese	4			
30	Basque	4			
Total of tokens					2,619

**Table 12.10** Ranking list of references made to languages

Language group	Total pupils	Language proficiency	Language choice	Language dominance	Language preference	LVI
Chinese	216	53	51	37	28	43
Roumanian	125	55	52	33	21	40
Arabic	783	53	49	29	30	40
Polish	106	55	49	24	27	39
Portuguese	227	51	36	19	30	34
Tagalog/Filipino	109	52	34	10	19	29
English	405	35	18	9	20	21
French	174	36	22	8	20	21

**Table 12.11** Language vitality per language group and language dimension (in %, LVI in cumulative %)

The highest values for language vitality emerged for Chinese, Roumanian, and Arabic. It did not come as a surprise that the lowest LVI's were found for English and French. These two languages have a higher status in the context of education and use abroad than in the context of the children's homes.

### 12.3 Moroccan and Portuguese ELCO in primary and secondary schools

Intercultural education has become the new framework for managing the increasing presence of IM pupils in schools, and the European Union (henceforward EU) has recommended the application of intercultural educational principles in schools. One of these principles is the introduction of education in the languages and cultures of origin (ELCO) of IM children (European Commission 1995). As a result of these recommendations and the cultural cooperation agreements signed so far with the governments of Portugal and Morocco, in Spain, two programmes exist which were designed to develop education in Portuguese and Arabic, targeting especially IM children from these countries. At the moment, the lessons within this framework are offered mainly in public primary schools, while they are hardly known in private schools with a state subsidy and in secondary education.

In addition to the lessons organised within the framework of the cultural co-operation agreements with Portugal and Morocco, other ELCO programmes are managed mainly by non-governmental organisations. Some organisations acting as ELCO providers receive subsidies from educational authorities in order to organise classes, usually in public centres and outside school hours. In the case of education in Arabic, the classes offered by the Association of Moroccan Immigrant Workers

in Spain (ATIME) and by the *Federación Andalucía Acoge* are significant, although other private initiatives have similar aims (Damen & Franzé 1998). In this section, we discuss the programmes of Moroccan and Portuguese ELCO within the framework of the agreements signed by the Moroccan and Portuguese governments.

### **Moroccan ELCO**

As a result of the Cultural Co-operation Agreement between Spain and Morocco, signed in 1980, the Spanish-Moroccan Mixed Commission of Cultural and Educational Co-operation, which met in 1992, defined, among other things, the lines of collaboration on ELCO. In July 1994, a second meeting took place involving groups of Spanish-Moroccan experts, during which the curriculum to be developed in Spanish schools with respect to the Arabic language and Moroccan culture was determined. As specified in the document produced during this meeting, the EU proposal of applying the model of intercultural education was supported in the case of ELCO. The programme was officially initiated in Spain in the 1994/1995 school year, although a number of experimental classes had been carried out already in some educational centres of the Community of Madrid in previous years (Ministry of Education and Science 1994). For details on Moroccan ELCO, we refer to Franzé & Mijares (1999) and Lopez & Mijares (2001a/b).

#### **(1) Target groups**

The children of Moroccan origin attending public primary schools and compulsory secondary schools are aged between 6 and 16 years. Although ELCO is a programme managed by the Moroccan government and directed towards children of Moroccan origin, classes are open to all children who wish to learn Arabic, irrespective of their nationality. Although the authorities responsible for the programme have not taken into account the nationalities of the pupils attending these classes, it was explained to us by the inspector of the programme at the Moroccan Embassy that most of the children are Moroccan. There are some Spanish children and children from other Arab countries, though these form a minority.

#### **(2) Arguments**

The educational foundations of the programme are in accordance with the intercultural philosophy of introducing to the culture and the language of IM children to allow for better education and integration. As specified in legislation, ELCO allows for a number of factors to be taken into account, i.e., to build on previous learning experiences, to improve self-esteem, and to avoid ethnic prejudice or negative attitudes.



### **(3) Objectives**

The objectives of the programme are specified in linguistic, cultural, and intercultural terms. The linguistic objective, to acquire oral and written skills in Arabic, should enable children to relate to their fellow Moroccan citizens. The cultural objective, to acquire knowledge of the salient characteristics of Moroccan society and the Arab and European worlds, should facilitate the adjustment of the children to the culture of the host country as well as contribute to their school success. The intercultural objective, to learn about their cultural identity and their language while incorporating other values, should allow a harmonious integration of Moroccan children in the host society.

### **(4) Evaluation**

According to bilateral Moroccan-Spanish agreements, one of the tasks of the mixed commission in charge of ELCO development is the evaluation of the results. Nevertheless, up to now, it is unclear whether such evaluation has taken place. In an interview, the Moroccan Inspector of ELCO in Spain commented that the only available evaluation instruments are individual examinations, that is, when the teachers examine the children's knowledge of Arabic. These examinations should confirm whether the children attending these classes learn Arabic and satisfy the objectives specified in the programme. However, there is no joint form of evaluation, which would allow insights into, e.g., the children's appreciation of these classes, their degree of proficiency in Arabic, the degree of satisfaction of the parents, or the degree of implementation and integration of a programme with these characteristics in educational centres. Individual evaluations made by teachers are not available and thus cannot be consulted. No evaluation of ELCO has been carried out by the Spanish Ministry of Education either. In the annual reports published by the Ministry on the state of the educational system, mention is made only of the number of pupils who benefit from the programme, without any further analysis or comment.

### **(5) Enrolment**

Although the minimum enrolment of pupils in ELCO is not specified in any document, it is said that the programme may operate in any school with a 'sufficient' number of pupils of Moroccan origin. According to the data available – provided by the Moroccan Embassy in Spain – the schools in which Arabic classes were offered during 2001/2002 varied significantly in their numbers of pupils, ranging from 3 pupils in a school of primary education in the Community of Madrid to 123 pupils in schools of primary education in the province of Cáceres.

Table 12.12 gives a nationwide overview of Moroccan ELCO in primary education in 2001/2002.

Consular office	City	N schools	N pupils	N teachers
Madrid	Madrid	20	319	7
	Cáceres	1	123	1
Barcelona	Barcelona	6	127	2
	Gerona	4	125	2
	Tarragona	2	53	1
Burgos	Burgos	3	32	1
	Guipúzcoa	1	28	–
	Vizcaya	1	17	1
Algeciras	Málaga	2	35	1
Islas Canarias	Las Palmas	5	170	1
	Tenerife	2	59	1
Total		47	1,088	18

**Table 12.12** Moroccan ELCO in primary education (2001/2002)

According to these data, a total of 47 educational centres, comprising schools of primary education, associations, the Embassy, and the Consulate, offered classes attended by 1,088 pupils and taught by 18 Moroccan teachers. In some cases, the teachers had to carry out their tasks in several schools at the same time. Compared to the total number of Moroccan pupils in primary schools, the number of Moroccan pupils participating in ELCO programmes was limited.

### (6) Curricular status

The programme can be carried out according to two models of implementation that are not conceived of as alternatives, but as responding to different contexts. Modality A is the model in which classes in the Arabic language and Moroccan culture are provided outside the school curriculum. In this modality, the programme consists of two weekly sessions of one hour or 1.5 hours, so that teachers can offer such classes at more than one school. The activities are referred to in the Annual General Programme as well as the Educational Project of the educational centres. In modality B, the teaching of the Arabic language and the Moroccan culture is integrated into the school curriculum. In this case, the Moroccan teacher fulfils a school work load equivalent to that of a Spanish teacher. The programme must be

approved by the Service of Technical Inspection of Education and can be incorporated in the Annual General Programme of the school. In this modality, the Moroccan teacher, in cooperation with the body of teachers of compensatory education and with the tutorial teachers, takes care of the integration of the Moroccan pupils. As is specified in the main document on the programme, the objective is to ensure that modality B is carried out in all schools. In neither case does the evaluation of the programme involve developing academic profiles of the pupils. This shows that ELCO has an extracurricular status and its status in the school curriculum is that of an optional subject with curricular value. Table 12.13 gives an overview of the above-mentioned distribution of modalities A and B across the 11 provinces of Spain in 2001/2002.

Provinces	Modality A	Modality B	Total of schools
Madrid	2	18	20
Cáceres	–	1	1
Barcelona	6	–	6
Gerona	4	–	4
Tarragona	2	–	2
Burgos	3	–	3
Guipúzcoa	1	–	–
Vizcaya	–	1	1
Málaga	2	–	–
Las Palmas	4	1	5
Tenerife	2	–	2
Total	26	21	44

**Table 12.13** Modalities of Moroccan ELCO in primary education (2001/2002)

In 2001/2002, the ELCO programme was especially part of the school curriculum in the province of Madrid. In other provinces, extra-curricular modality A prevailed. As specified by the principles of the programme, the development of ELCO is thought to include the passage from modality A to modality B. Up to now, this has not been the case in most of the educational centres. The case of Barcelona is revealing; in spite of being the city with the highest number of Moroccan children in Spain, there is no incorporation of ELCO in the schools at all. According to data provided by the Ministry of Education on the 2001/2002 school year, 11,974 pupils in Catalonia had Moroccan nationality, as opposed to 8,581 pupils in Madrid. Nevertheless, more than twice as many pupils in Madrid received

ELCO in that year. In Barcelona, with the exception of one school, all classes were given by associations and not in schools. This situation prevents the programme from being developed in a school context.

In compulsory secondary education, ELCO programmes are much less represented than in primary education. Table 12.14 gives a nationwide overview for 2001/2002.

Consular office	City	N schools	N pupils	N teachers
Madrid	Madrid	1	22	1
	Cáceres	1	87	1
Barcelona	Barcelona	1	27	1
	Gerona	1	25	1
Islas Canarias	Las Palmas	2	37	1
Total		6	198	5

**Table 12.14** Moroccan ELCO in secondary education (2001/2002)

These classes were taught by five teachers, all of whom also taught ELCO in primary schools. Two secondary schools offered classes in Arabic within the school curriculum according to modality B, while four schools operated within the limits of modality A, outside the school curriculum. Only in Madrid and Cáceres were ELCO classes given according to modality B, within the school curriculum; in Barcelona, Gerona, and Las Palmas, classes were offered outside the school curriculum. By comparing the number of pupils who received ELCO classes in both primary and secondary education with the total number of Moroccan pupils registered in Spain, we were able to judge the scope of the programme. In the 2001/2002 school year, there were 38,233 pupils of Moroccan nationality, of whom 1,286 attended classes in Arabic, i.e., only 3.3% of the pupils.

### (7) Funding

The Moroccan government is in charge of the recruitment of teachers, all of whom are Moroccan nationals, their remuneration, and the elaboration of teaching materials to be used in ELCO classes. The Spanish government is responsible for facilitating the implementation of the programme in schools with a sufficient number of Moroccan pupils, as well as for the annual organisation of training sessions for new teachers and for those who have already gained some experience in Spanish schools. The teacher training programme is generally developed in Rabat and organised by the Ministry of Moroccan National Education and the

Council of Education of the Spanish Embassy in Morocco, in cooperation with experts of the Spanish Ministry of Education.

### **(8) Teaching materials**

Two reading and writing books as well as an Atlas of Morocco were developed by the Moroccan Ministry of National Education, especially for the ELCO programme in Europe. At the moment, these are the only teaching materials available, and the corresponding instruction levels are not specified. In addition to these materials, the writing of a new instruction book for the Moroccan teachers of the ELCO programme in Spain is underway in Morocco.

### **(9) Teacher qualifications**

Moroccan teachers must fulfil the following requirements: a good knowledge of Spanish, which should facilitate their incorporation in the schools; a diploma equivalent to that of Spanish teachers, which should qualify them for the work; a minimum of 5 years experience in education; and knowledge of the educational systems in both countries. In addition to these requirements, knowledge of the languages of origin of Moroccan pupils in the schools is also considered an asset. Although the degree of teacher involvement in the school depends on whether the teacher is present or not during school time, the principles of ELCO include the requirement that the Moroccan teachers, besides teaching the Arabic language and Moroccan culture, carry out other tasks in the schools. Some of these tasks are closely related to intercultural communication. The tasks include the development of projects to help other teachers take into account the presence of the Moroccan culture in the school, to facilitate contact between Moroccan families and the school, to facilitate Moroccan families' access to social services, and to assist Spanish teachers in developing an understanding of cultural habits or traditions that can affect school behaviour. Other tasks involve the organisation of follow-up activities and the support of all Moroccan children in the school and include, when necessary, collaboration with the tutors of these pupils or their personal presence in activities aimed at the learning of Spanish.

### **Portuguese ELCO**

Since the 1987/1988 school year, the programme of Portuguese ELCO has been implemented in Spain within the framework of the Co-operation Agreement on Educational Matters between Spain and Portugal.

### **(1) Target groups**

The programme for education in the Portuguese language and culture has greater numbers of participating pupils than the ELCO programme for Moroccan children, although less children of Portuguese origin are schooled in Spain. It was explained to us by the Inspector of the ELCO programme in the Moroccan Embassy in Spain that, while most children served by the Portuguese ELCO do not have Portuguese nationality, Moroccan ELCO deals almost exclusively with Moroccan pupils. The programme for Portuguese ELCO has been developed in two complementary domains. On the one hand, it targets the group of children schooled in public and subsidised private schools of infant education, primary education, and compulsory secondary education. On the other hand, it is directed to the specific needs of Portuguese (-speaking) pupils.

### **(2) Arguments**

The Portuguese programme operates in Spain as a response to the directives and recommendations of the EU in relation to the education of children of working migrants. This programme is concerned with mainstream education in the host country and with education in the language and culture of the country of origin. These recommendations were reiterated in *Directive 77/486* of the Council of the European Communities (1977), and were later complemented by the European Commission's report on the education of the children of migrants in the EU (1995). They are based on the principles of intercultural education. This form of education enhances the recognition and support of the right of minority groups to maintain and express their own languages and cultures. An objective of intercultural education is to enable all pupils to learn about and to appreciate the different cultures existing in the school.

### **(3) Objectives**

Based on the intercultural education model, the programme's objectives are aimed at the knowledge and positive evaluation of different cultures, at the construction of an individual cultural identity, and at the development of collective coexistence. The principles of the programme mention four specific objectives: (a) to promote the integration of Portuguese (-speaking) pupils in the Spanish educational system; (b) to maintain and develop the linguistic and cultural self-references of the pupils of Portuguese origin, and to present these references to other pupils and the educational community in general; (c) to promote respect and esteem for cultural differences with the aim of producing free and responsible citizens who are willing to participate in a multicultural society; and (d) to collaborate with the aim of improving the integration of Portuguese (-speaking) pupils in their local commun-

ities. These objectives reflect the bilingual character of the educational programme; the learning of Portuguese concerns not only language as a subject of study, but also language as an instrument for the learning of other subjects within the curriculum.

#### **(4) Evaluation**

According to the programme's principles, among the responsibilities of the Portuguese teaching staff is the evaluation of the pupils' knowledge of Portuguese. According to the established bilateral agreements between Portugal and Spain, the Education Office of the Portuguese Embassy in Spain participates in the annual follow-up plan of the programme. To our knowledge, no evaluative study has been carried out by any of the organisations involved.

#### **(5) Enrolment**

Although a minimum number of pupils necessary for ELCO is not specified in any document, the principles of the programme stipulate that the programme should be developed in schools of infant and primary education with a significant number of Portuguese (-speaking) pupils. It can also be implemented in institutes of compulsory secondary education, with an experimental character, giving Portuguese (-speaking) pupils the opportunity to follow the programme after primary education. Although the number of pupils of Portuguese nationality is not high in the Spanish educational system, the total number of pupils attending classes in the Portuguese language and culture is very high.

Table 12.15 gives the relevant data for 2001/2002. Unlike Moroccan ELCO, most pupils who attend classes in Portuguese within the framework of ELCO do not have Portuguese nationality. Of the total number of pupils who attended classes in 2000/2001, 68% had Spanish nationality, and only 22% were Portuguese nationals.

The programme for secondary education in the Portuguese language and culture has an experimental character, as the number of pupils who receive this type of education is much lower than the number of those attending primary schools. As is mentioned in the principles of the programme, the Portuguese Educational Administration sends Portuguese teaching staff to the schools. In 2000/2001, a total of 488 pupils attended classes in Portuguese in 31 secondary schools in 9 Spanish cities. These classes were taught by 27 teachers. Table 12.16 gives the relevant data.

Consular office	City	N schools	N pupils	N teachers
Barcelona	Zaragoza	3	149	2
Bilbao	Burgos	5	264	4
	Cantabria	1	9	1
	Guipúzcoa	1	79	1
	Navarra	4	259	3
	Vizcaya	1	184	1
Madrid	Badajoz	11	1,855	9
	Cáceres	6	604	3
	León	38	1,562	19
	Madrid	7	900	5
	Oviedo	11	253	5
	Salamanca	10	686	4
Vigo	Orense	9	559	8
Total		107	7,363	65

**Table 12.15** Portuguese ELCO in primary education (2000/2001)

Consular office	City	N schools	N pupils	N teachers
Barcelona	Zaragoza	1	14	1
Bilbao	Burgos	2	18	2
	Guipúzcoa	1	20	1
	Navarra	1	19	1
Madrid	Badajoz	4	162	4
	León	11	172	10
	Madrid	4	14	3
	Oviedo	2	22	2
	Salamanca	5	47	3
Total		31	488	27

**Table 12.16** Portuguese ELCO in secondary education (2000/2001)

Although Spanish pupils remain in the majority, the numerical difference between these and Portuguese (-speaking) pupils is not as great as in the case of primary education. Of the 488 pupils in 2000/2001, 36% had Portuguese nationality, which



was slightly more than in primary education. Taking into account the fact that the number of Portuguese (-speaking) pupils in Spanish schools has not varied much during the last years, we conclude that, unlike Moroccan pupils, almost half of the Portuguese (-speaking) pupils benefit annually from the programme. On the other hand, and again unlike the case of Moroccan ELCO, Portuguese ELCO is offered to a majority of non-Portuguese (-speaking) pupils.

### **(6) Curricular status**

The classes in Portuguese ELCO at the infant and primary education levels can be carried out through two modalities of intervention: integrated and parallel classes. In the integrated classes, the Portuguese teacher and the tutor develop joint forms of teaching activities in the same classroom. The teachers start by using the same didactic programme, combining it with the objectives, contents, methodology, and evaluation criteria designed for Portuguese ELCO. Each teacher uses his language and relevant didactic materials. The Portuguese teacher preferably takes care of the Portuguese (-speaking) pupils. In the parallel classes, the didactic activities are carried out at the same time, but in two different groups. In this modality, the programme is implemented in a joint form involving both the teachers/tutors and the Portuguese teachers. This model presupposes a separation between the pupils who participate in the programme and those who do not. In both modalities, the areas of the curriculum especially designed for implementation of the programme include verbal communication and social skills in infant education and Spanish language and social skills in primary education.

In compulsory secondary education, the objective of ELCO is the continuation of the learning process for those pupils who have participated at the previous levels of the programme. At this stage, the organisation of instruction in a second foreign language within the time allowed for an optional subject is envisaged, and this is often done by Spanish teachers.

### **(7) Funding**

The teachers of Portuguese ELCO form an integral part of the network of Portuguese education abroad and depend on the Education Office of the Portuguese Embassy in Spain. The schools in which the programme is carried out receive additional financial support for the expenses of teaching activities as well as for the necessary teaching materials.

### **(8) Teaching materials**

The materials used for Portuguese ELCO were developed by the General Sub-division of Special Education and Attention to Diversity of the Spanish Ministry

of Education, in cooperation with the Portuguese Embassy in Spain, and with the Project Bureau/CED in the Netherlands. The materials consist of several text books for the first cycle of primary education.

### **(9) Teaching qualifications**

In the principles of the programme, it is not specified what qualifications Portuguese ELCO teachers should have. It is only stated that, in order to be included in the category of teachers, they must fulfil the same workload as the Spanish teaching staff, with a two-hour reduction that must be dedicated to the coordination of the programme. Moreover, it is stated that in no circumstances should the Portuguese ELCO teacher have tutorial or coordinating tasks.

## **12.4 Conclusions and discussion**

The home language survey carried out in Madrid amongst 24,329 primary school children showed that many IM children/parents originate from countries where the mainstream language (*in casu* Spanish) is similar to the mainstream language of the country of immigration (*in casu* Spanish). As a result, the outcomes of the study in Madrid are different from those in all other cities in the *Multilingual Cities Project* (Chapters 7-11 of this Volume). The home language survey did, however, uncover 56 reported home languages other than Spanish amongst primary school children. The only two languages that are taught at school in the context of ELCO are Arabic and Portuguese, targeted at Moroccan and Portuguese (-speaking) children, respectively. Most participants in Arabic ELCO have Moroccan nationality, whereas most participants in Portuguese ELCO have Spanish nationality. Portuguese is also taught on a wider scale than Arabic. In the 2000/2001 school year, Portuguese was taught at 107 primary schools by 65 teachers to 7,363 children, whereas Arabic was taught at 47 primary schools by 18 teachers to 1,088 children. Another difference is the method of implementation. There is a possibility to instruct pupils in Portuguese plus Spanish in the same classroom, whereas such a possibility does not exist for Arabic plus Spanish. As yet, no empirical data are available on the status of Moroccan Arabic or Berber in Spanish schools, and mismatches between the home language (Moroccan Arabic or Berber) and the school language (modern standard Arabic) have not been taken into account. In general, the awareness of these issues is low, amongst both teachers and educational authorities.

The guidelines of the EU with respect to the education of IM children focus on the possibility for these children to reach active bilingualism as a high priority objective (European Commission 1995). Recent studies on intercultural education

have demonstrated that the inclusion in the curriculum of the mother tongue of IM children helps them to perceive that their knowledge is recognised and supported. This in turn facilitates better integration in the school environment (Lopez & Mijares 2001b). In addition, the value of multilingualism in an increasingly multicultural society should not be forgotten. The more languages pupils know, the better their opportunities will be later on the job market.

The key issue is to determine which languages should be taught next to Spanish in the schools. Although we do not have the ultimate answer to this question, one thing is sure. An ample number of minority languages already forms part of our multicultural capital and cannot be discarded by educational authorities in establishing the curricula at different school levels. The programmes of ELCO in Spain are managed and financed completely by the governments of the countries of origin without any real involvement on the part of Spanish educational authorities. When these programmes were implemented in the 1970s, their main objective was that the pupils would acquire a good knowledge of the languages of their parents, which would enable them to integrate better should they return to their countries of origin. Nowadays, this situation has completely changed and IM groups are becoming an increasing part of Spanish society. The languages of IM children are also increasingly becoming part of the Spanish school world. Given these facts, the Spanish government should assume, like the governments of other European countries, the management of an educational programme adapted to this new context.

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## **Part III**

### **Multilingual Cities Project: crossnational and crosslinguistic perspectives**

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### 13 Crossnational perspectives on language groups

In Part II of this Volume, we presented data collected in the home language surveys (henceforward HLS) in each of the six participating municipalities in the *Multilingual Cities Project*. The local language surveys amongst primary school children have delivered a wealth of hidden evidence on the distribution and vitality of non-national languages at home. Apart from Madrid, late-comer amongst our focal cities in respect of immigration, the proportion of primary school children in whose homes other languages were used next to or instead of the mainstream language ranged per city between one third and more than a half. The total number of traced other languages ranged per city between 50 and 90; the common pattern was that few languages were referred to often by the children and that many languages were referred to only a few times.

The outcomes of the local surveys were aggregated in one crossnational HLS database. In this chapter, we give a crossnational outline of the language profiles of 20 languages used in these six cities. Table 13.01 gives an overview of the representation and ranking of the top-20 languages reported by children in *each* of these cities.

City codes	Gö	Ha	tH	Br	Ly	Ma	Coverage
N references > x	70	100	60	15	25	10	N cities
Arabic	2	8	3	2	1	1	6
Chinese	9	20	12	18	18	4	6
English	1	4	5	3	3	2	6
Portuguese	16	11	16	11	5	3	6
French	13	14	11	1	–	5	5
German	12	–	14	8	10	10	5
Italian	–	18	17	6	7	9	5
Spanish	6	9	10	5	4	–	5
Turkish	5	1	1	4	2	–	5

City codes	Gö	Ha	tH	Br	Ly	Ma	Coverage
N references > x	70	100	60	15	25	10	N cities
Albanian	10	10	–	9	12	–	4
Berber	–	–	4	7	8	11	4
Kurdish	4	17	8	–	17	–	4
Polish	11	2	–	14	–	8	4
Russian	17	3	–	13	–	12	4
Serbian/Croat./Bosn.	3	7	–	17	20	–	4
Vietnamese	19	19	–	20	11	–	4
Farsi	–	6	19	–	–	18	3
Somali	8	–	13	–	13	–	3
Urdu/‘Pakistani’	–	15	9	15	–	–	3
Akan/Twi/‘Ghanese’	–	13	15	–	–	–	2
Armenian	–	–	–	12	16	–	2
Creole	–	–	–	–	6	16	2
Greek	–	12	–	10	–	–	2
Bubi	–	–	–	–	–	17	1
Bulgarian	–	–	–	–	–	13	1
Catalan	–	–	–	–	–	15	1
Comorian	–	–	–	–	15	–	1
Danish	20	–	–	–	–	–	1
Dari/Pashtu/‘Afghan’	–	5	–	–	–	–	1
Dutch	–	–	–	–	–	19	1
Finnish	7	–	–	–	–	–	1
Galician	–	–	–	–	–	14	1
Guyanese	–	–	–	–	–	20	1
Hind(ustan)i	–	–	2	–	–	–	1
Javanese	–	–	18	–	–	–	1
Khmer/Cambodian	–	–	–	–	9	–	1
Lao	–	–	–	–	14	–	1
Lingala	–	–	–	19	–	–	1
Macedonian	14	–	–	–	–	–	1
Moluccan/Malay	–	–	20	–	–	–	1
Norwegian	15	–	–	–	–	–	1
Papiamentu	–	–	6	–	–	–	1



City codes	Gö	Ha	tH	Br	Ly	Ma	Coverage
N references > x	70	100	60	15	25	10	N cities
Romani/Sinte	–	16	–	–	–	–	1
Roumanian	–	–	–	–	–	6	1
Sranan Tongo	–	–	7	–	–	–	1
Swahili	–	–	–	16	–	–	1
Tagalog/Filipino	–	–	–	–	–	7	1
Tigrigna/‘Eritrean’	18	–	–	–	–	–	1
Wolof/‘Singhalese’	–	–	–	–	19	–	1
Unique references	5	2	5	2	4	8	–

**Table 13.01** Representation and ranking of top-20 languages per city

Table 13.01 shows that Madrid had the largest number of unique references in the local top-20 of languages, and Hamburg and Brussels had the least. In this sense, Hamburg and Brussel are the most ‘prototypical’ cities in terms of reported language diversity. Out of the 49 languages reported, 19 languages are represented in 3-6 cities and 30 languages in only 1-2 cities. Unique references in the top-20 per city were made to the following languages:

- Göteborg: Danish, Finnish, Macedonian, Norwegian, Tigrigna/‘Eritrean’;
- Hamburg: Dari/Pashtu/‘Afghan’, Romani/Sinte;
- The Hague: Hind(ustan)i, Javanese, Moluccan/Malay, Papiamentu, Sranan Tongo;
- Brussels: Lingala, Swahili;
- Lyon: Comorian, Khmer/Cambodian, Lao, Wolof/‘Singhalese’;
- Madrid: Bubi, Bulgarian, Catalan, Dutch, Galician, Guyanese, Roumanian, Tagalog/Filipino.

Most of these languages are languages of neighbouring countries, languages of former colonies, or regional languages.

Two criteria were used to select 20 languages from this list of 49 languages for crossnational analyses: each language should be represented in Table 13.01 by at least 3 cities, and each city should be represented in the crossnational HLS database by at least 30 pupils in the age range of 6-11 years. Our focus on this age range was motivated by comparability considerations: this range is represented in the local HLS databases of all participating cities. Table 13.02 gives an overview of the pupils in this age range per reported language and per city. Out of these 20 languages, 10 languages are of European origin and 10 languages stem from abroad.

Reported languages	Gö	Ha	tH	Br	Ly	Ma	Coverage
English	1,039	1,077	950	676	426	359	6
Arabic	768	464	1,391	1,608	2,789	662	6
Portuguese	88	360	88	77	259	202	6
Italian	51	192	92	361	255	43	6
Turkish	385	4,948	2,535	606	468	1	5
Spanish	328	431	288	389	353	–	5
German	148	–	156	119	91	45	5
French	118	17	185	7,327	–	157	5
Chinese	184	7	180	22	37	160	4
Kurdish	468	197	273	11	36	4	4
Albanian	186	410	5	107	62	3	4
Polish	163	1,729	16	33	3	100	4
Russian	70	1,652	14	32	11	37	4
Berber	4	–	1,334	214	145	37	4
Serb./Croat./Bosn.	795	460	46	29	26	6	3
Vietnamese	55	153	14	14	91	–	3
Somali	315	–	135	–	49	–	3
Urdu/‘Pakistani’	27	238	294	32	1	3	3
Armenian	8	82	5	47	41	1	3
Romani/Sinte	51	219	6	8	3	1	2

**Table 13.02** Overview of the numbers of pupils (6-11 years) per reported language and city

Table 13.02 shows that 8 languages were mentioned by at least 30 pupils in 5-6 cities, and that 11 languages were mentioned by at least 30 pupils in 3-4 cities. Romani/Sinte was mentioned in only two cities. Romani/Sinte was included in the crossnational analyses because of its special status in our list of 20 languages as a language without territorial status. Table 13.02 also shows that a number of languages are common in some cities, and rare in other cities. This holds in particular for Turkish, which is common in Hamburg and The Hague but rare in Madrid; Chinese, common in Göteborg and The Hague but rare in Hamburg; Kurdish, common in Göteborg but rare in Madrid; Polish and Russian, common in Hamburg but rare in Lyon; and Berber, common in The Hague but rare in Hamburg. Such contrasts originate from different migration flows across Europe. In this sense, Madrid emerges in Table 13.02 again as the least ‘prototypical’ city in terms of

reported language diversity, due to the fact that Spain has only recently turned from a country of emigration to a country of immigration. Two languages have an exceptional status: English ‘invaded’ the local HLS’s as a language of international prestige, as mentioned repeatedly in the local reports in Part II of this Volume, and Romani/Sinte is solidly represented in Hamburg and Göteborg only.

In the next 20 sections, we present language profiles for the 20 language groups referred to in Table 13.02. The concept of *language group* is based on the pupils’ answers to the HLS question of which, if any, other languages are used at home next to or instead of the mainstream language. On the basis of their answer patterns, pupils may belong to more than one language group. For each language group, the *language profile* is based on standardised and interpreted information in four figures and one table. The pseudolongitudinal figures refer to four calculated *language dimensions*: reported language proficiency, language choice, language dominance, and language preference; the tables refer to a calculated *language vitality index* per age group and per generation. For a discussion of the operationalisation of language dimensions and language vitality, we refer to Chapter 6.7-6.8. For each language group, the presented table on language vitality specifies the numbers of children per age group and per generation on the basis of which language vitality indices are calculated. In all cases, three age groups and three generations are distinguished. The age groups consist of children aged 6/7, 8/9, and 10/11 years old. The three generations are operationalised as follows:

- G1: pupil + father + mother born abroad;
- G2: pupil born in country of residence, father *and/or* mother born abroad;
- G3: pupil + father + mother born in country of residence.

On the basis of this categorisation, intergenerational shift is globally estimated. As becomes clear in the next 20 sections, the total population of age groups is always larger than the total population of generations. This discrepancy is the result of a predictably larger number of missing values (i.e., non-responses) for generation than for age. In the former case, references have to be made to the countries of birth of the pupil, the father, and the mother; in the latter case, reference has to be made only to the age of the pupil. Language vitality indices for generation are calculated only if at least 5 children are represented in a particular generation. Given the possible non-responses of children to any of the questions represented in figures and tables, all figures and tables are presented and interpreted in proportional values. For all 20 language groups, we present calculated information on other languages reported as home languages next to or instead of the mainstream language. The 20 language groups are treated in alphabetical order. For a typological description of the languages concerned, we refer to Appendix 3.

### 13.1 Albanian language group

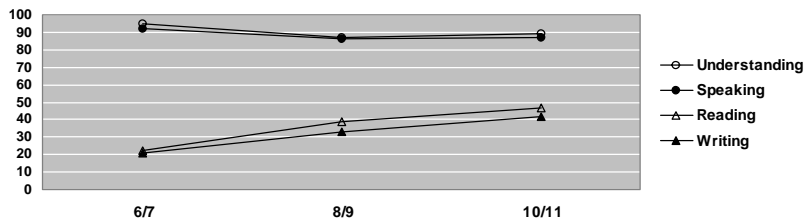


Figure 13.1a Language proficiency in Albanian

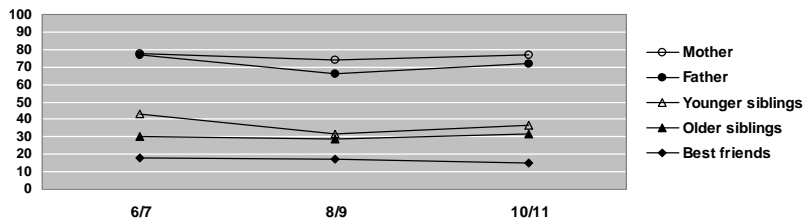


Figure 13.1b Language choice for Albanian

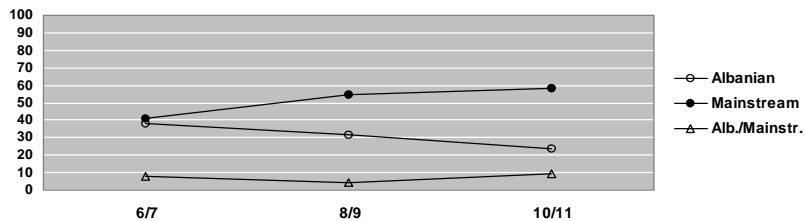


Figure 13.1c Language dominance of Albanian and/or mainstream language

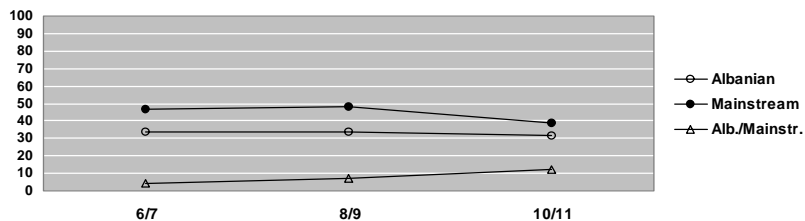


Figure 13.1d Language preference for Albanian and/or mainstream language

Cities	Age groups							
	Population				Vitality			
	6/7	8/9	10/11	Total	6/7	8/9	10/11	Mean
Göteborg	40	79	67	186	70	57	63	63
Hamburg	128	181	101	410	66	62	61	63
Brussels	49	35	23	107	58	69	60	62
Lyon	20	24	18	62	58	34	47	46
Total / Mean	237	319	209	765	63	56	58	59

Cities	Generations							
	Population				Vitality			
	G1	G2	G3	Total	G1	G2	G3	Mean
Göteborg	62	107	5	174	69	61	5	45
Hamburg	150	199	13	362	68	61	50	60
Brussels	26	54	9	89	73	60	47	60
Lyon	25	21	4	50	77	21	–	–
Total / Mean	263	381	31	675	72	51	34	55

**Table 13.1** Numbers of pupils and LVI per age group and generation

*Language proficiency* (Fig. 13.1a). For all age groups, reported understanding and speaking skills in Albanian are quite high (86-95%). Reading (22-47%) and writing (21-42%) skills are much lower, but there is a gradual increase as children get older.

*Language choice* (Fig. 13.1b). At home, 74-78% of the children reported commonly speaking Albanian with their mothers, 66-77% with their fathers, 32-43% with their younger siblings, 29-32% with their older siblings, and 15-18% with their best friends.

*Language dominance* (Fig. 13.1c). The reported dominance of Albanian declines as children get older (from 38% when they are 6/7 to 24% when they are 10/11 years old), whereas the reported dominance of the mainstream language increases as they get older (from 41% to 58%). Balanced bilingualism was reported to be low for all age groups (4-9%).

*Language preference* (Fig. 13.1d). Similar to language dominance, the reported preference for Albanian decreases as children get older (from 34% when they are 6/7 to 32% when they are 10/11 years old). Children decreasingly reported pref-

erence for the mainstream language with increasing age (from 47% to 39%). No preference was reported by an increasing 4-12% of all children.

*Language vitality across age groups and generations* (Table 13.1). Albanian is spoken in the houses of 765 children across the age groups in 4 cities. Most Albanian-speaking pupils were traced in Hamburg, followed by Göteborg. As expected, first-generation children born abroad reported the highest language vitality (72%), followed by second- and third-generation children (51% and 34%, respectively). There is a strong intergenerational drop in the vitality of Albanian in Göteborg, although the number of informants was low.

*Languages other than Albanian.* Next to Albanian, a number of other languages were reported as home languages by some children. French (80), Arabic (30), English (20), Turkish (17), and Serbian/Croatian/Bosnian (13) were the major home languages reported.

### 13.2 Arabic language group

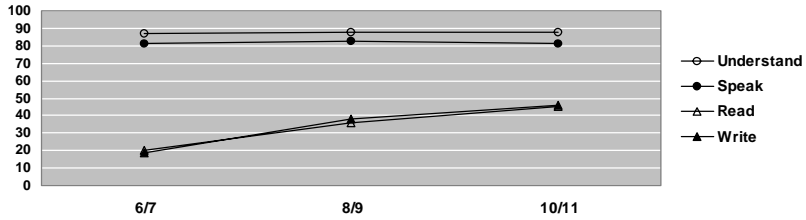


Figure 13.2a Language proficiency in Arabic

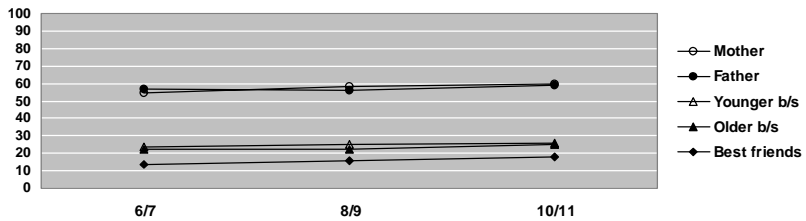


Figure 13.2b Language choice for Arabic

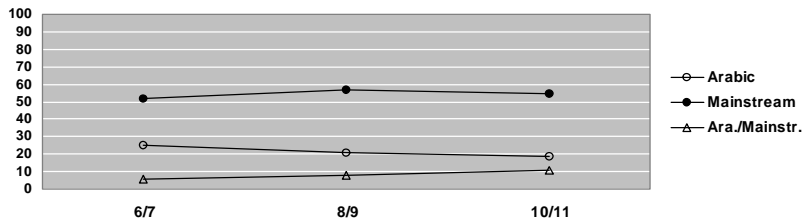


Figure 13.2c Language dominance of Arabic and/or mainstream language

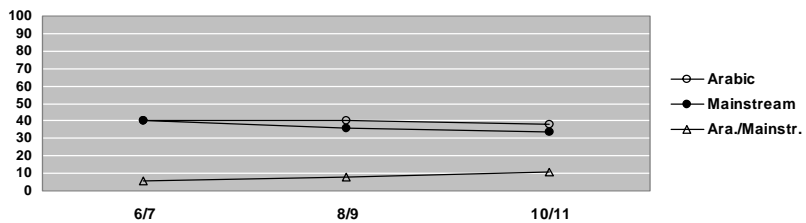


Figure 13.2d Language preference for Arabic and/or mainstream language

Cities	Age groups							
	Population				Vitality			
	6/7	8/9	10/11	Total	6/7	8/9	10/11	Mean
Göteborg	220	273	275	768	66	60	62	63
Hamburg	133	213	118	464	57	59	56	57
The Hague	477	447	467	1,391	64	54	49	56
Brussels	646	564	398	1,608	53	52	52	52
Lyon	784	1,120	885	2,789	44	54	57	52
Madrid	210	197	255	662	67	69	72	69
Total / Mean	2,470	2,814	2,398	7,682	59	58	58	58

Cities	Generations							
	Population				Vitality			
	G1	G2	G3	Total	G1	G2	G3	Mean
Göteborg	170	529	8	707	65	62	22	50
Hamburg	79	263	21	363	59	57	54	57
The Hague	271	992	28	1,291	61	55	27	48
Brussels	146	1,155	150	1,451	59	52	48	53
Lyon	436	1,885	219	2,540	64	53	37	51
Madrid	352	280	18	650	76	64	24	55
Total / Mean	1,454	5,104	444	7,002	64	57	35	52

**Table 13.2** Numbers of pupils and LVI per age group and generation

*Language proficiency* (Fig. 13.2a). For all age groups, reported understanding (87-88%) and speaking skills (81-88%) in Arabic are much higher than reading (20-45%) and writing skills (19-46%), but there is a gradual increase in the latter as children get older.

*Language choice* (Fig. 13.2b). At home, 55-60% of the children reported commonly speaking Arabic with their mothers, 57-59% with their fathers, 24-26% with their younger siblings, 22-25% with their older siblings, and 14-18% with their best friends.

*Language dominance* (Fig.13.2c). The reported dominance of Arabic gradually declines as children get older (from 25% when they are 6/7 to 19% when they are 10/11 years old), whereas the reported dominance of the mainstream language increases as they get older (from 52% to 55%). Balanced bilingualism was reported by an increasing 6-11% of all children.



*Language preference* (Fig. 13.2d). Similar to language dominance, the reported preference for Arabic gradually decreases as children get older (from 40% when they are 6/7 to 38% when they are 10/11 years old). Interestingly, children decreasingly reported preference for the mainstream language with increasing age (from 40% to 34%). No preference was reported by an increasing 6-11% of all children.

*Language vitality across age groups and generations* (Table 13.2). Arabic is spoken in the homes of 7,682 children across the age groups in 6 cities. Most Arabic-speaking pupils were traced in Lyon, followed by Brussels and The Hague. There are also large numbers of Arabic-speaking children in Göteborg, Hamburg, and Madrid. Arabic is the only immigrant language that is well represented in all 6 cities. As expected, first-generation children born abroad reported the highest language vitality, followed by second- and third-generation children. There is a strong intergenerational drop in the vitality of Arabic in most cities, except in Hamburg. Being a recent language of immigration in Madrid, Arabic has the highest vitality (69%) for all age groups here.

*Languages other than Arabic*. Next to Arabic, a number of other languages were reported as home languages by some children. French (1,532), Berber (605), English (229), Turkish (96), Spanish (90), and Kurdish (63) were the major home languages reported.

### 13.3 Armenian language group

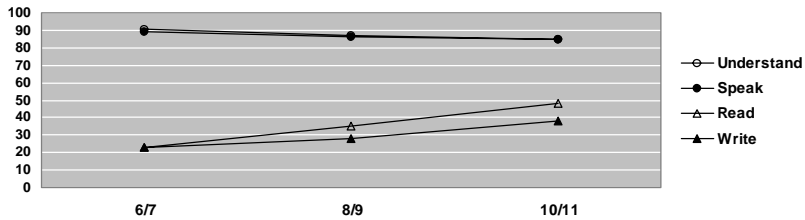


Figure 13.3a Language proficiency in Armenian

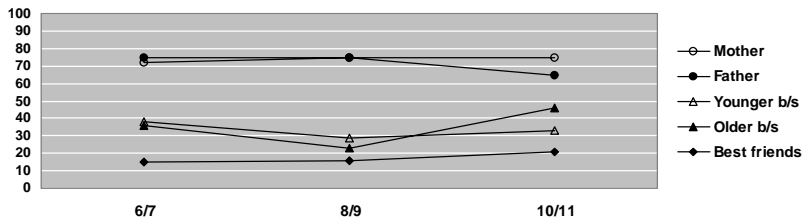


Figure 13.3b Language choice for Armenian

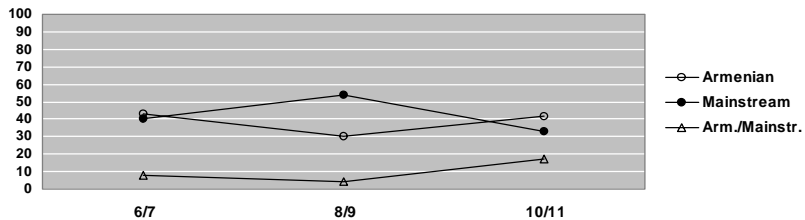


Figure 13.3c Language dominance of Armenian and/or mainstream language

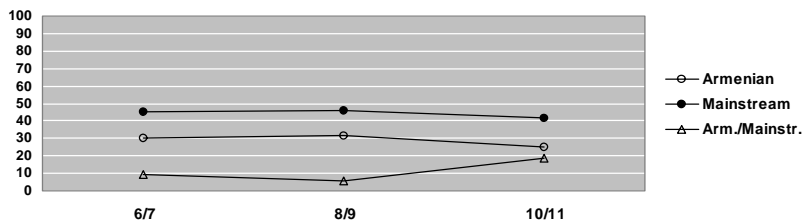


Figure 13.3d Language preference for Armenian and/or mainstream language

Cities	Age groups							
	Population				Vitality			
	6/7	8/9	10/11	Total	6/7	8/9	10/11	Mean
Hamburg	24	37	21	82	63	58	70	64
Brussels	18	16	13	47	63	73	77	71
Lyon	11	16	14	41	66	45	48	53
Total / Mean	53	69	48	170	64	59	65	63

Cities	Generations							
	Population				Vitality			
	G1	G2	G3	Total	G1	G2	G3	Mean
Hamburg	40	33	3	76	67	56	–	–
Brussels	17	23	2	42	75	66	–	–
Lyon	18	9	8	35	64	44	31	46
Total / Mean	75	65	13	153	69	55	–	–

**Table 13.3** Numbers of pupils and LVI per age group and generation

*Language proficiency* (Fig. 13.3a). For all age groups, reported understanding (91-85%) and speaking skills (89-85%) in Armenian are much higher than reading (23-48%) and writing skills (23-38%), but there is a gradual increase in the latter as children get older.

*Language choice* (Fig. 13.3b). At home, 72-75% of the children reported commonly speaking Armenian with their mothers, 75-65% with their fathers, 38-33% with their younger siblings, 36-46% with their older siblings, and 15-21% with their best friends.

*Language dominance* (Fig. 13.3c). The reported dominance of Armenian declines slightly as children get older (from 43% when they are 6/7 to 34% when they are 8/9 years old, and to 42% when they are 10/11 years old). Intriguingly, the reported dominance of the mainstream language also drops as they get older (from 40% to 33%). Balanced bilingualism was reported by an increasing 8-17% of all children.

*Language preference* (Fig. 13.3d). Similar to language dominance, the reported preference for Armenian decreases slightly as children get older (from 30% when they are 6/7 to 25% when they are 10/11 years old). Children reported a stable preference for the mainstream language (from 45% to 42%). No preference was reported by an increasing 9-19% of all children.

*Language vitality across age groups and generations* (Table 13.3). Armenian is spoken in the homes of 170 children across the age groups in 3 cities. Most Armenian-speaking pupils were traced in Hamburg, followed by Brussels and Lyon. Armenian is used by a small language group represented in only 3 cities. In terms of intergenerational differences, first-generation children born abroad reported the highest language vitality (69%), followed by second-generation children (55%). Armenian has the highest language vitality in Brussels (71%) for all age groups, and the average vitality of Armenian for all cities in the given age groups is 63%.

*Languages other than Armenian.* Next to Armenian, a number of other languages were reported as home languages by some children. French (28), Russian (18), Arabic (9), Turkish (7), and German (6) were the major home languages reported.

### 13.4 Berber language group

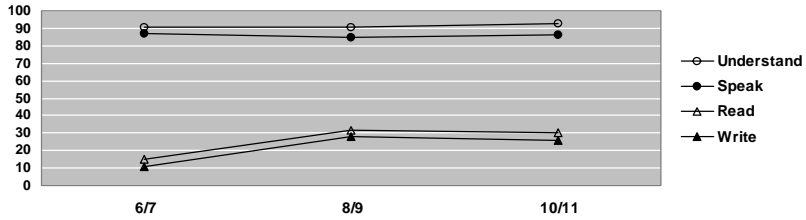


Figure 13.4a Language proficiency in Berber

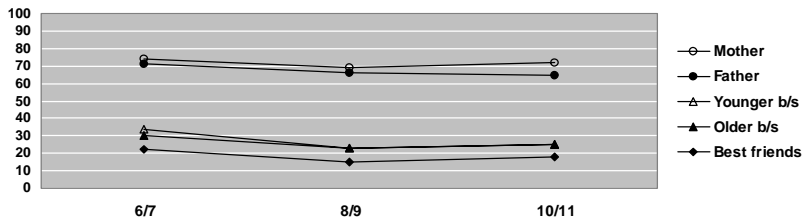


Figure 13.4b Language choice for Berber

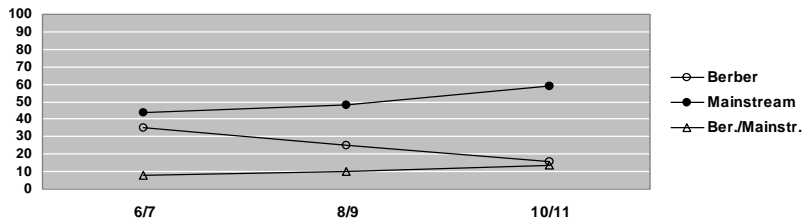


Figure 13.4c Language dominance of Berber and/or mainstream language

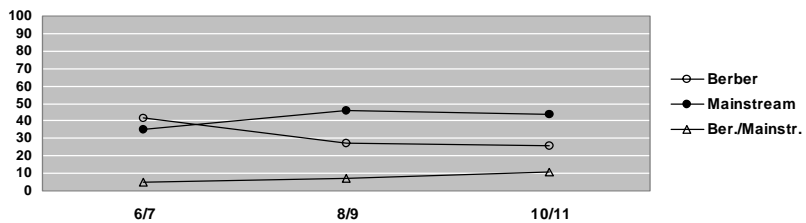


Figure 13.4d Language preference for Berber and/or mainstream language

Cities	Age groups							
	Population				Vitality			
	6/7	8/9	10/11	Total	6/7	8/9	10/11	Mean
The Hague	346	464	524	1,334	68	61	61	63
Brussels	38	102	74	214	45	46	47	46
Lyon	33	46	66	145	36	49	47	44
Madrid	8	11	18	37	56	59	49	55
Total / Mean	425	623	682	1,730	51	54	51	52

Cities	Generations							
	Population				Vitality			
	G1	G2	G3	Total	G1	G2	G3	Mean
The Hague	249	1,018	12	1,279	69	62	50	60
Brussels	20	177	5	202	53	45	50	49
Lyon	31	93	14	138	59	44	36	46
Madrid	29	7	1	37	55	50	–	–
Total / Mean	329	1,295	32	1,656	59	50	45	51

**Table 13.4** Numbers of pupils and LVI per age group and generation

*Language proficiency* (Fig. 13.4a). For all age groups, reported understanding (91-93%) and speaking skills (87-86%) in Berber are much higher than reading (15-30%) and writing skills (11-26%), but there is some increase in the latter as children get older. It should be noted that Berber is a non-codified language without a tradition of literacy.

*Language choice* (Fig. 13.4b). At home, 74-72% of the children reported commonly speaking Berber with their mothers, 71-65% with their fathers, 34-25% with their younger siblings, 30-25% with their older siblings, and 22-18% with their best friends.

*Language dominance* (Fig. 13.4c). The reported dominance of Berber declines considerably as children get older (from 35% when they are 6/7 to 25% when they are 8/9 years old, and to 16% when they are 10/11 years old). The reported dominance of the mainstream language increases as they get older (from 44% to 59%). Balanced bilingualism was reported by an increasing 8-14% of all children.

*Language preference* (Fig. 13.4d). Similar to language dominance, the reported preference for Berber decreases as children get older (from 42% when they are 6/7 to 26% when they are 10/11 years old). Yet, children reported an increasing pref-

erence for the mainstream language with increasing age (from 35% to 44%). No preference was reported by an increasing 5-11% of all children.

*Language vitality across age groups and generations* (Table 13.4). Berber is spoken in the homes of 1,730 children across the age groups in 4 cities. Most Berber-speaking pupils were traced in The Hague, followed by Brussels, Lyon, and Madrid. Berber is used by a considerably large language group represented in 4 cities. In terms of intergenerational differences, first-generation children born abroad reported the highest language vitality (59%), followed by second-generation children (50%). For the third generation, there is a slight drop in the vitality of Berber in The Hague (50%) and Brussels (50%), and a greater drop in Lyon (36%). Berber has the highest vitality (and number of speakers) in The Hague (63%) for all age groups, and the average vitality of Berber for all cities in the given age groups is 52%.

*Languages other than Berber.* Next to Berber, a number of other languages were reported as home languages by some children. Arabic (604), French (209), English (34), Turkish (13), and Spanish (11) were the major languages reported. Also, 10 children reported that 'Moroccan' was used at home next to Berber, by which they might mean Moroccan Arabic.

### 13.5 Chinese language group

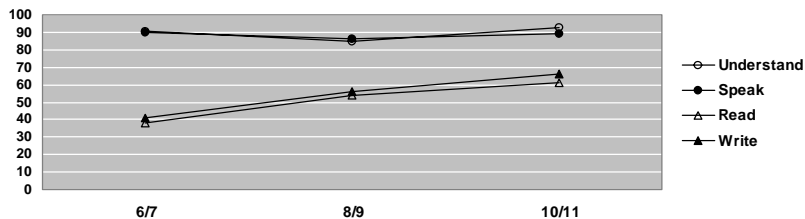


Figure 13.5a Language proficiency in Chinese

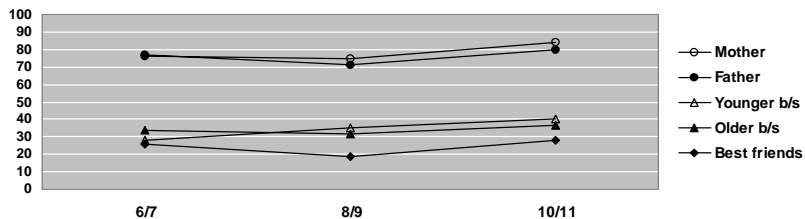


Figure 13.5b Language choice for Chinese

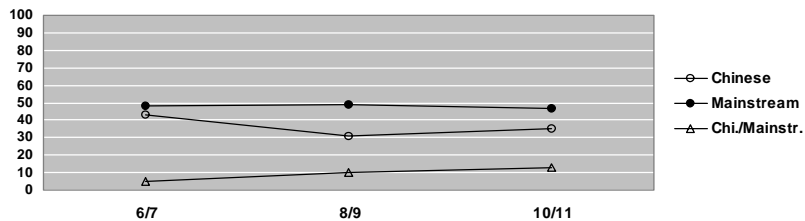


Figure 13.5c Language dominance of Chinese and/or mainstream language

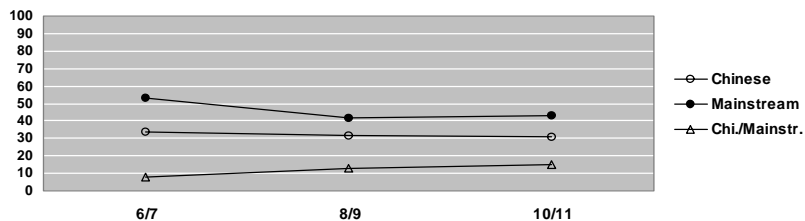


Figure 13.5d Language preference for Chinese and/or mainstream language



Cities	Age groups							
	Population				Vitality			
	6/7	8/9	10/11	Total	6/7	8/9	10/11	Mean
Göteborg	45	60	79	184	68	63	68	66
The Hague	52	69	59	180	64	61	63	63
Lyon	9	20	8	37	22	41	31	31
Madrid	37	57	66	160	69	66	78	71
Total / Mean	143	206	212	561	56	58	60	58

Cities	Generations							
	Population				Vitality			
	G1	G2	G3	Total	G1	G2	G3	Mean
Göteborg	20	151	4	175	70	67	–	–
The Hague	22	139	5	166	64	63	25	51
Lyon	1	21	4	26	–	39	–	–
Madrid	74	76	6	156	82	66	13	54
Total / Mean	117	387	19	523	72	59	–	–

**Table 13.5** Numbers of pupils and LVI per age group and generation

*Language proficiency* (Fig. 13.5a). For all age groups, reported understanding (91-93%) and speaking skills (90-89%) in Chinese are much higher than reading (38-61%) and writing skills (41-66%), but there is a gradual increase in the latter as children get older.

*Language choice* (Fig. 13.5b). At home, 76-84% of the children reported commonly speaking Chinese with their mothers, 77-80% with their fathers, 28-40% with their younger siblings, 34-37% with their older siblings, and 26-28% with their best friends.

*Language dominance* (Fig. 13.5c). The reported dominance of Chinese declines as children get older (from 43% when they are 6/7 to 31% when they are 8/9 years old, and to 35% when they are 10/11 years old). Yet, the reported dominance of the mainstream language remains even across age groups (48%, 49%, and 47%, respectively). Balanced bilingualism was reported by an increasing 5-13% of all children.

*Language preference* (Fig. 13.5d). The reported preference for Chinese decreases as children get older (from 34% when they are 6/7 to 31% when they are 10/11 years old). In the same vein, a declining preference for the mainstream language

with increasing age was reported by children (from 53% to 43%). No preference was reported by an increasing 8-15% of all children.

*Language vitality across age groups and generations* (Table 13.5). Chinese is spoken in the homes of 561 children across the age groups in 4 cities. Most Chinese-speaking pupils were traced in Göteborg and The Hague, followed by Madrid and Lyon. In terms of intergenerational differences, first-generation children born abroad reported the highest language vitality (72%), followed by second-generation children (59%). For the third generation, there is a strong drop in the vitality of Chinese in The Hague and Madrid. Chinese has the highest vitality in Madrid (71%) for all age groups, and the average vitality of Chinese for all cities in the given age groups is 58%.

*Languages other than Chinese.* Next to Chinese, a number of other languages were reported as home languages by some children. English (38), Arabic (12), Italian (11), German (11), and Vietnamese (10) were the major languages reported. French, Spanish, and Turkish were also reported by some children.

### 13.6 English language group

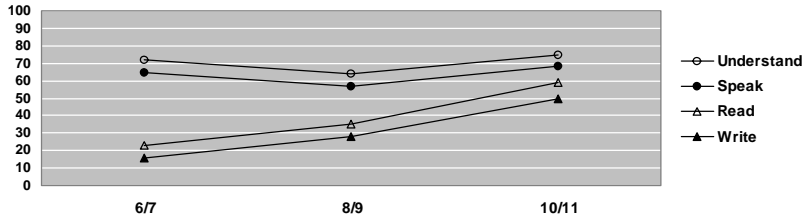


Figure 13.6a Language proficiency in English

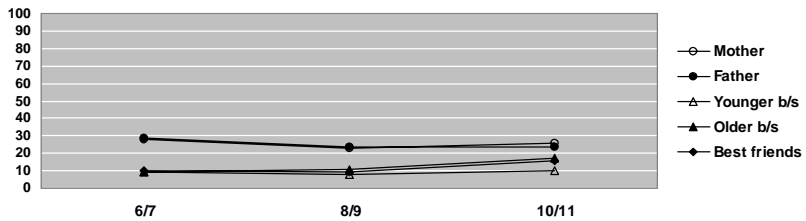


Figure 13.6b Language choice for English

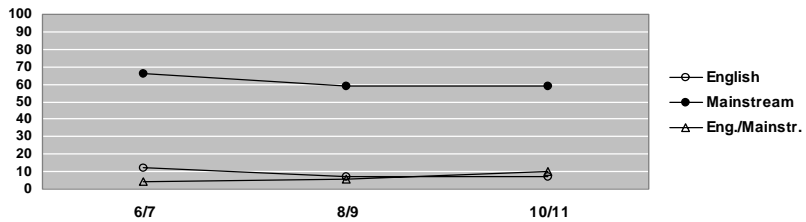


Figure 13.6c Language dominance of English and/or mainstream language

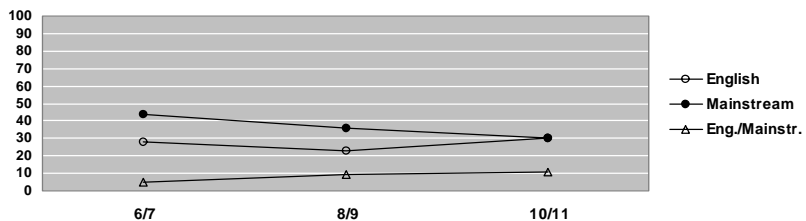


Figure 13.6d Language preference for English and/or mainstream language

Cities	Age groups							
	Population				Vitality			
	6/7	8/9	10/11	Total	6/7	8/9	10/11	Mean
Göteborg	242	348	449	1,039	40	31	42	38
Hamburg	263	574	240	1,077	35	29	31	32
The Hague	234	327	389	950	38	41	44	41
Brussels	101	248	327	676	40	34	41	38
Lyon	84	190	152	426	24	29	37	30
Madrid	44	147	168	359	47	35	36	39
Total / Mean	968	1,834	1,725	4,527	37	33	39	36

Cities	Generations							
	Population				Vitality			
	G1	G2	G3	Total	G1	G2	G3	Mean
Göteborg	134	388	432	954	49	44	29	41
Hamburg	138	444	341	923	33	36	20	30
The Hague	197	439	211	847	51	42	33	42
Brussels	63	247	318	628	52	41	32	42
Lyon	31	119	197	347	29	26	31	29
Madrid	100	78	168	346	44	58	24	42
Total / Mean	663	1,715	1,667	4,045	43	41	28	38

**Table 13.6** Numbers of pupils and LVI per age group and generation

*Language proficiency* (Fig. 13.6a). For all age groups, reported understanding (72-75%) and speaking skills (65-68%) in English are higher than reading (23-59%) and writing skills (16-50%), but there is a gradual convergence as children get older.

*Language choice* (Fig. 13.6b). At home, 28-26% of the children reported commonly speaking English with their mothers, 29-24% with their fathers, 9-10% with their younger siblings, 9-17% with their older siblings, and 10-16% with their best friends.

*Language dominance* (Fig. 13.6c). Unlike the findings for other language groups, the reported dominance of English is very low among all age groups (12% to 7%), whereas the reported dominance of the mainstream language is much higher across all age groups (66%, 59%, and 59%, respectively). Balanced bilingualism was reported by an increasing 4-10% of all children.

*Language preference* (Fig. 13.6d). The reported preference for English fluctuates between 23% and 30% across the age groups. A declining preference for the mainstream language with increasing age was reported by children (from 44% to 30%). No preference was reported by an increasing 5-11% of all children.

*Language vitality across age groups and generations* (Table 13.6). English is spoken in the homes of 4,527 children across the age groups in 6 cities. Most English-speaking pupils were traced in Hamburg, Göteborg, and The Hague. There are no large differences between the generations. Yet, first-generation children born abroad reported the highest language vitality (43%), followed by second-generation children (41%). For the third generation, there is a considerable but even drop in the vitality of English in all cities. English has the highest vitality in The Hague (41%) for all age groups, and it has an average vitality of 36% for all cities in the given age groups.

*Languages other than English.* Next to English, a number of other languages were reported as home languages by some children. French (702), Spanish (230), Arabic (229), German (187), and Italian (151) were the major languages reported. Akan/Twi/‘Ghanese’, Turkish, and Hind(ustan)i were also reported by a number of children. Use of English apparently indicates a multi-ethnic background. Its international status also plays a major role in the reporting of English as their home language by children.

### 13.7 French language group

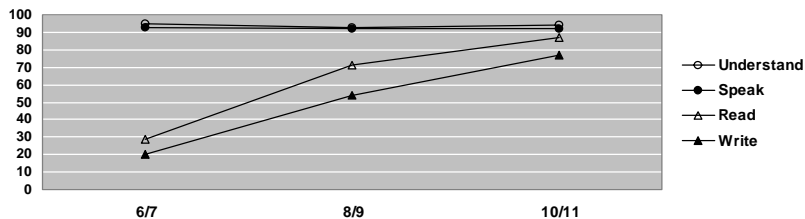


Figure 13.7a Language proficiency in French

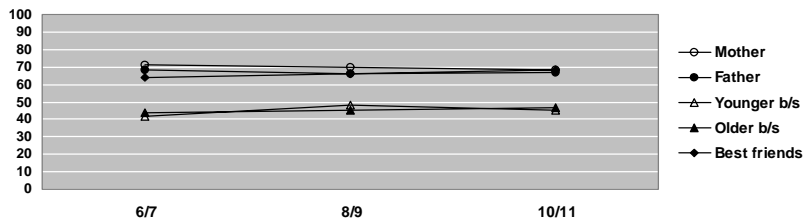


Figure 13.7b Language choice for French

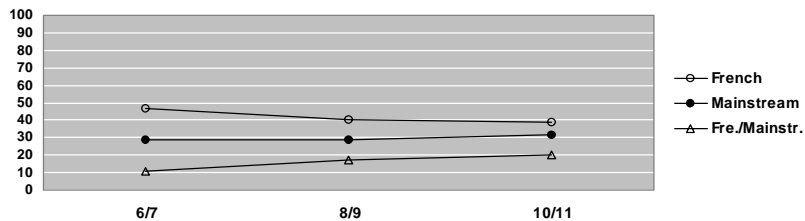


Figure 13.7c Language dominance of French and/or mainstream language

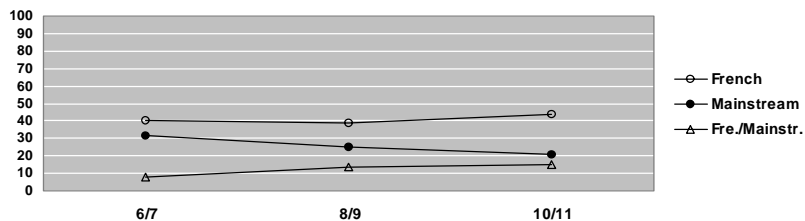


Figure 13.7d Language preference for French and/or mainstream language

Cities	Age groups							
	Population				Vitality			
	6/7	8/9	10/11	Total	6/7	8/9	10/11	Mean
Göteborg	18	44	56	118	35	23	32	30
The Hague	46	67	72	185	42	35	29	35
Brussels	2,642	2,456	2,229	7,327	69	71	73	71
Madrid	25	57	75	157	40	31	40	37
Total / Mean	2,731	2,624	2,432	7,787	47	40	44	55

Cities	Generations							
	Population				Vitality			
	G1	G2	G3	Total	G1	G2	G3	Mean
Göteborg	22	43	44	109	57	34	11	34
The Hague	45	92	33	170	51	35	14	33
Brussels	393	2,968	3,296	6,657	60	69	74	68
Madrid	56	55	43	154	50	34	20	35
Total / Mean	516	3,158	3,416	7,090	55	43	30	43

**Table 13.7** Numbers of pupils and LVI per age group and generation

*Language proficiency* (Fig. 13.7a). For all age groups, reported understanding (95-94%) and speaking skills (93-92%) in French are noticeably higher than reading (29-87%) and writing skills (20-77%), but there is a gradual increase in the latter as children get older. The fact that many children in Brussels reported French as their home language plays a significant role in these high figures for reading and writing skills.

*Language choice* (Fig. 13.7b). At home, 71-68% of the children reported commonly speaking French with their mothers, 68-67% with their fathers, 42-45% with their younger siblings, 44-47% with their older siblings, and 64-68% with their best friends.

*Language dominance* (Fig. 13.7c). The reported dominance of French slightly declines as children get older (from 47% when they are 6/7 to 39% when they are 8/9 years old, and to 35% when they are 10/11 years old). The reported dominance of the other\* language remains almost even across the age groups (48%, 49%, and

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\* In the case of Brussels, Dutch is the 'other' language rather than the 'mainstream' language.

47%, respectively). Balanced bilingualism was reported by an increasing 5-13% of all children.

*Language preference* (Fig. 13.7d). The reported preference for French fluctuates as children get older (from 47% when they are 6/7 to 39% when they are 8/9 years old, and to 44% when they are 10/11 years old). A decreasing preference for the other\* language was reported by children with increasing age (from 32% to 21%). No preference was reported by an increasing 11-20% of all children.

*Language vitality across age groups and generations* (Table 13.7). French is spoken in the homes of 7,787 children across the age groups in 4 cities. Most French-speaking pupils were, obviously, traced in Brussels (7,327), followed by The Hague, Göteborg, and Madrid. In terms of intergenerational differences, there is a gradual drop in the vitality of French in 3 cities, namely, The Hague, Göteborg, and Madrid. As expected, there is an increase in Brussels, where the third generation has the highest language vitality (74%). French has the highest vitality in Brussels (71%) for all age groups, and the average vitality of French for all cities in the given age groups is 55%.

*Languages other than French*. Next to French, a number of other languages were reported as home languages by some children. Arabic (1,531), English (699), Turkish (381), Italian (353), and Spanish (349) were the major languages reported. Berber and German were also reported by a number of children.



### 13.8 German language group

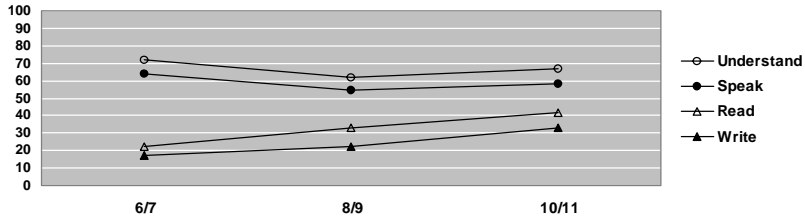


Figure 13.8a Language proficiency in German

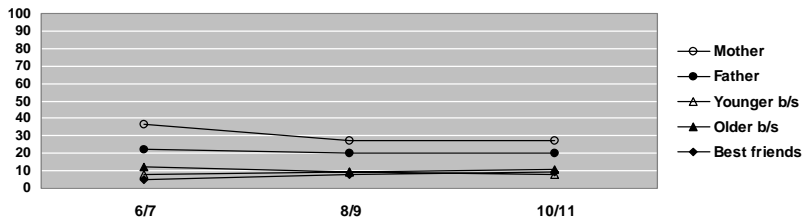


Figure 13.8b Language choice for German

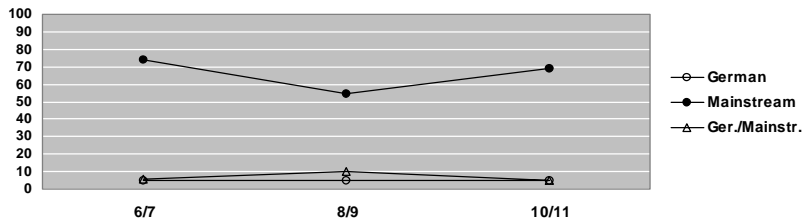


Figure 13.8c Language dominance of German and/or mainstream language

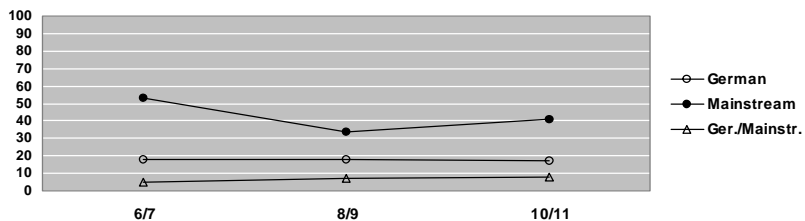


Figure 13.8d Language preference for German and/or mainstream language

Cities	Age groups							
	Population				Vitality			
	6/7	8/9	10/11	Total	6/7	8/9	10/11	Mean
Göteborg	26	52	70	148	38	38	35	37
The Hague	30	63	63	156	31	33	33	32
Brussels	24	44	51	119	45	34	39	39
Lyon	15	29	47	91	23	21	21	22
Madrid	11	18	16	45	39	31	31	34
Total / Mean	106	206	247	559	35	31	32	33

Cities	Generations							
	Population				Vitality			
	G1	G2	G3	Total	G1	G2	G3	Mean
Göteborg	30	56	52	138	58	39	23	40
The Hague	34	77	35	146	36	40	16	31
Brussels	12	54	44	110	52	43	29	41
Lyon	2	18	47	67	–	11	19	–
Madrid	12	21	12	45	25	42	25	31
Total / Mean	90	226	190	506	43	35	22	33

**Table 13.8** Numbers of pupils and LVI per age group and generation

*Language proficiency* (Fig. 13.8a). For all age groups, reported understanding (72-67%) and speaking skills (64-58%) in German are much higher than reading (22-42%) and writing skills (17-33%), but there is a gradual increase in the latter as children get older.

*Language choice* (Fig. 13.8b). At home, 37-27% of the children reported commonly speaking German with their mothers, 22-20% with their fathers, 8-9% with their younger siblings, 11-12% with their older siblings, and 5-9% with their best friends.

*Language dominance* (Fig. 13.8c). The reported dominance of German is very low (5% for all age groups), whereas the reported dominance of the mainstream language remains high across all age groups (74%, 55%, and 69%, respectively). Balanced bilingualism was reported by a small and even proportion of children across the age groups (6-5%).

*Language preference* (Fig. 13.8d). The reported preference for German remains low, even as children get older (18% when they are 6/7 and 8/9 years old, and 17%

when they are 10/11 years old). A declining preference for the mainstream language with increasing age was reported by children (from 53% to 41%). No preference was reported by an increasing 5-8% of all children.

*Language vitality across age groups and generations* (Table 13.8). German is spoken in the homes of 559 children across the age groups in 5 cities. Most German-speaking pupils were traced in The Hague and Göteborg, followed by Brussels, Lyon, and Madrid. In terms of intergenerational differences, first-generation children born abroad reported the highest language vitality (43%), followed by second-generation children (35%). For the third generation, there is a further drop in the vitality of German in all cities (the average vitality is 22%). German has the highest vitality in Brussels (39%) for all age groups, and the average vitality of German for all cities in the given age groups is 33%.

*Languages other than German.* Next to German, a number of other languages were reported as home languages by some children. English (187), French (124), Italian (36), and Arabic (31) were the major languages reported. Turkish and Spanish were also reported by a number of children.

### 13.9 Italian language group

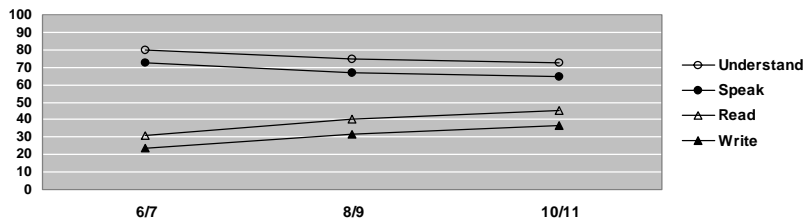


Figure 13.9a Language proficiency in Italian

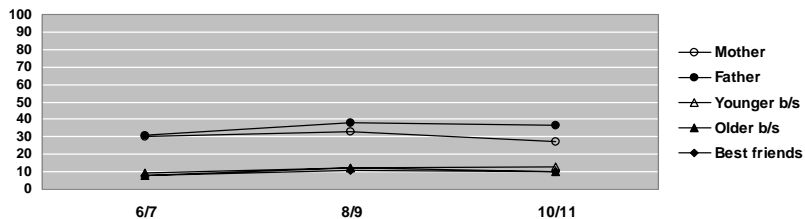


Figure 13.9b Language choice for Italian

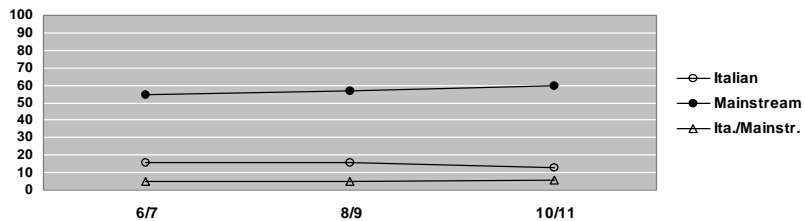


Figure 13.9c Language dominance of Italian and/or mainstream language

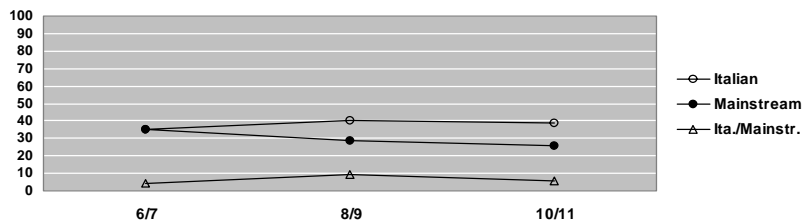


Figure 13.9d Language preference for Italian and/or mainstream language

Cities	Age groups							
	Population				Vitality			
	6/7	8/9	10/11	Total	6/7	8/9	10/11	Mean
Göteborg	8	21	22	51	44	40	32	39
Hamburg	55	105	32	192	51	54	48	51
The Hague	24	32	36	92	31	22	30	28
Brussels	99	148	114	361	46	53	46	48
Lyon	35	123	97	255	26	34	40	33
Madrid	5	13	25	43	35	38	36	36
Total / Mean	226	442	326	994	39	40	39	39

Cities	Generations							
	Population				Vitality			
	G1	G2	G3	Total	G1	G2	G3	Mean
Göteborg	5	27	16	48	50	44	20	38
Hamburg	24	130	18	172	67	54	29	50
The Hague	20	48	15	83	31	30	18	26
Brussels	29	226	82	337	55	55	35	48
Lyon	12	106	115	233	54	34	33	40
Madrid	20	10	13	43	36	38	37	37
Total / Mean	110	547	259	916	49	43	29	40

**Table 13.9** Numbers of pupils and LVI per age group and generation

*Language proficiency* (Fig. 13.9a). For all age groups, reported understanding (80-73%) and speaking skills (73-65%) in Italian are noticeably higher than reading (31-45%) and writing skills (24-37%), but there is a gradual increase in the latter as children get older.

*Language choice* (Fig. 13.9b). At home, 30-27% of the children reported commonly speaking Italian with their mothers, 31-37% with their fathers, 9-13% with their younger siblings, 8-10% with their older siblings, and 8-10% with their best friends.

*Language dominance* (Fig. 13.9c). The reported dominance of Italian declines slightly as children get older (from 16% when they are 6/7 to 13% when they are 10/11 years old), whereas the reported dominance of the mainstream language shows a slight increase across the age groups (from 55% to 57%, and 60%, respectively). Balanced bilingualism was reported by a small number of children (5-6%).

*Language preference* (Fig. 13.9d). The reported preference for Italian increases slightly as children get older (from 35% when they are 6/7 to 39% when they are 10/11 years old). A decreasing preference for the mainstream language with increasing age was reported by children (from 35% to 26%). No preference was reported by a small proportion of the children (11-20%).

*Language vitality across age groups and generations* (Table 13.9). Italian is spoken in the homes of 994 children across the age groups in 6 cities. Most Italian-speaking pupils were traced in Brussels (361) and Lyon, followed by Hamburg, The Hague, Göteborg, and Madrid. In terms of intergenerational differences in language vitality, there is a gradual but steady drop in all cities. Italian has the highest vitality in Hamburg (51%), followed by Brussels (48%) for all age groups, and the average vitality of Italian for all cities in the given age groups is 39%. The fact that Italian is an old immigrant language in some of these cities is reflected in the decreasing vitality indicators.

*Languages other than Italian.* Next to Italian, a number of other languages were reported as home languages by some children. French (353), English (151), Spanish (81), Arabic (55), and German (36) were the major languages reported. Portuguese and Turkish were also reported by a number of children.

### 13.10 Kurdish language group

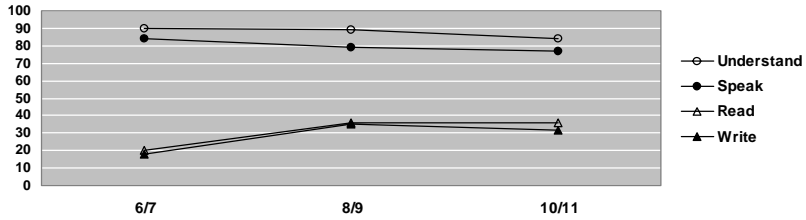


Figure 13.10a Language proficiency in Kurdish

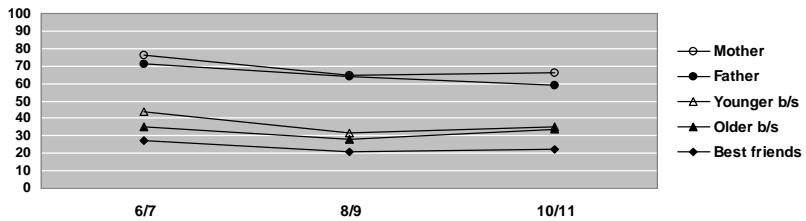


Figure 13.10b Language choice for Kurdish

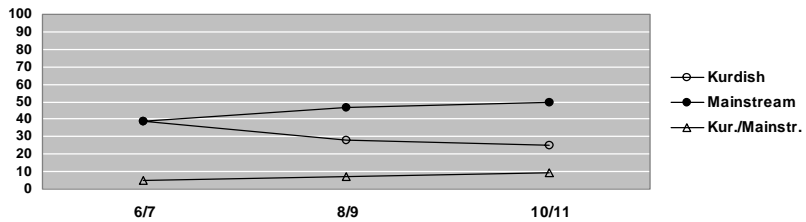


Figure 13.10c Language dominance of Kurdish and/or mainstream language

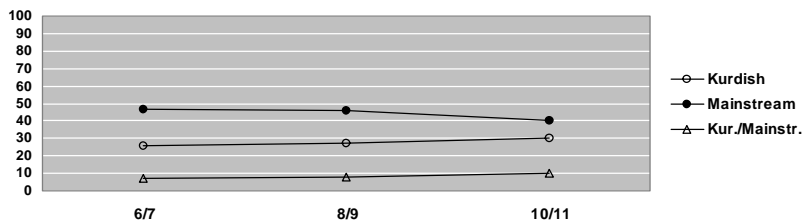


Figure 13.10d Language preference for Kurdish and/or mainstream language

Cities	Age groups							
	Population				Vitality			
	6/7	8/9	10/11	Total	6/7	8/9	10/11	Mean
Göteborg	131	165	172	468	71	67	68	69
Hamburg	35	98	64	197	55	48	50	51
The Hague	69	79	125	273	46	45	47	46
Lyon	4	11	21	36	44	27	40	37
Total / Mean	239	353	382	974	54	47	51	51

Cities	Generations							
	Population				Vitality			
	G1	G2	G3	Total	G1	G2	G3	Mean
Göteborg	250	189	–	439	74	63	–	–
Hamburg	66	100	5	171	58	41	40	46
The Hague	126	126	4	256	56	36	–	–
Lyon	7	22	5	34	57	33	25	38
Total / Mean	449	437	14	900	61	43	33	–

**Table 13.10** Numbers of pupils and LVI per age group and generation

*Language proficiency* (Fig. 13.10a). For all age groups, reported understanding (90-84%) and speaking skills (84-77%) in Kurdish are much higher than reading (20-36%) and writing skills (18-32%), but there is some increase in the latter as children get older. The fact that there are different uncodified dialects of Kurdish has an effect on the relatively low reading and writing skills reported.

*Language choice* (Fig. 13.10b). At home, 76-66% of the children reported commonly speaking Kurdish with their mothers, 71-59% with their fathers, 44-35% with their younger siblings, 35-34% with their older siblings, and 27-22% with their best friends. As children get older, there is a drop in the use of Kurdish for communication with all interlocutors.

*Language dominance* (Fig. 13.10c). The reported dominance of Kurdish declines as children get older (from 39% when they are 6/7 to 28% when they are 8/9 years old, and to 25% when they are 10/11 years old). Dominance of the mainstream language was reported increasingly across the age groups (39%, 47%, and 50%, respectively). A slight increase in balanced bilingualism was reported across the age groups (5-9%).



*Language preference* (Fig. 13.10d). The reported preference for Kurdish increases slightly as children get older (from 26% when they are 6/7 to 30% when they are 10/11 years old). A slightly declining preference for the mainstream language with increasing age was reported by children (from 47% to 40%). No preference was reported by an increasing 7-10% of all children. The rates for preference seem to contradict the reported language choice and dominance, which may be due to the status of Kurdish as a second or third home language.

*Language vitality across age groups and generations* (Table 13.10). Kurdish is spoken in the homes of 974 children across the age groups in 4 cities. Most Kurdish-speaking pupils were traced in Göteborg and The Hague, followed by Hamburg and Lyon. In terms of intergenerational differences, first-generation children born abroad reported the highest language vitality (61%), followed by second-generation children (43%). For the third generation, there is a further drop in the vitality of Kurdish in Lyon (25%). Kurdish has the highest vitality in Göteborg (69%) for all age groups. The average vitality of Kurdish for all cities in the given age groups is 51%. The fact that Kurdish enjoys considerable institutional support in Sweden is reflected in its vitality in Göteborg.

*Languages other than Kurdish*. Next to Kurdish, a number of other languages were reported as home languages by some children. Turkish (366), Arabic (61), English (24), and Spanish (8) were the major languages reported. German and Russian were also reported by a number of children. Turkish and Arabic seem to be the second-most used home languages of Kurdish children. The fact that most Kurdish children originate from Turkey makes Turkish another home language for this group.

### 13.11 Polish language group

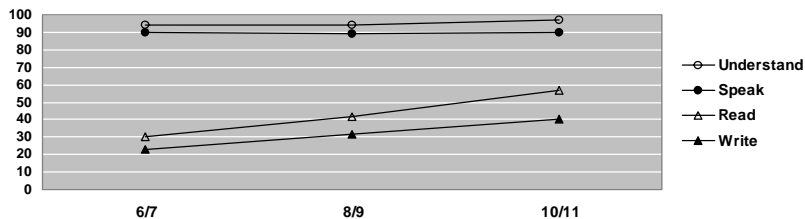


Figure 13.11a Language proficiency in Polish

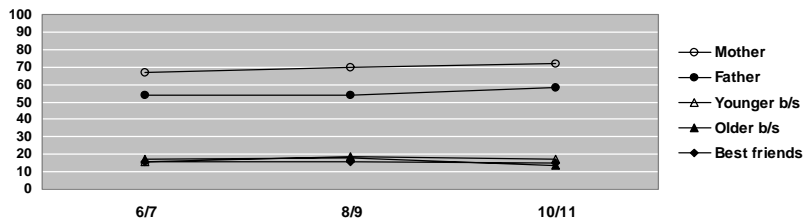


Figure 13.11b Language choice for Polish

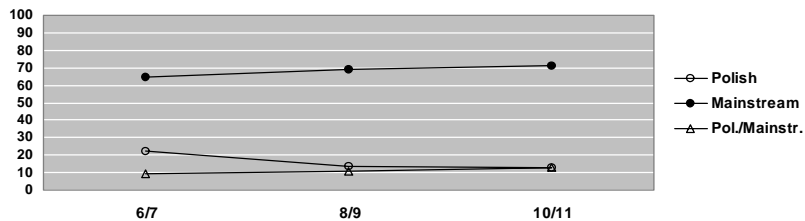


Figure 13.11c Language dominance of Polish and/or mainstream language

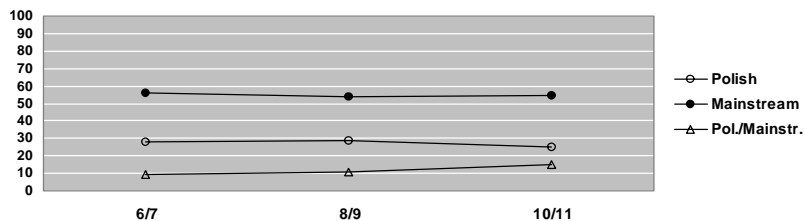


Figure 13.11d Language preference for Polish and/or mainstream language

Cities	Age groups							
	Population				Vitality			
	6/7	8/9	10/11	Total	6/7	8/9	10/11	Mean
Göteborg	49	50	64	163	54	60	57	57
Hamburg	423	890	416	1,729	57	57	59	58
Brussels	9	15	9	33	61	60	44	55
Total / Mean	481	955	489	1,925	57	59	53	57

Cities	Generations							
	Population				Vitality			
	G1	G2	G3	Total	G1	G2	G3	Mean
Göteborg	19	129	5	153	63	57	35	52
Hamburg	232	1,362	61	1,655	67	57	48	57
Brussels	9	12	8	29	89	63	9	54
Total / Mean	260	1,503	74	1,837	73	59	31	54

**Table 13.11** Numbers of pupils and LVI per age group and generation

*Language proficiency* (Fig. 13.11a). For all age groups, reported understanding (94-97%) and speaking skills (89-90%) in Polish are much higher than reading (30-57%) and writing skills (23-40%), but there is a gradual increase in the latter as children get older.

*Language choice* (Fig. 13.11b). At home, 67-72% of the children reported commonly speaking Polish with their mothers, 54-58% with their fathers, 16-19% with their younger siblings, 14-18% with their older siblings, and 15-16% with their best friends.

*Language dominance* (Fig. 13.11c). The reported dominance of Polish declines as children get older (from 22% when they are 6/7 to 14% when they are 8/9 years old, and to 13% when they are 10/11 years old). Dominance of the mainstream language was reported increasingly across the age groups (65%, 69%, and 71%, respectively). A slight increase in balanced bilingualism was also reported across the age groups (9-13%).

*Language preference* (Fig. 13.11d). The reported preference for Polish shows similar patterns across the age groups (from 28% when they are 6/7 to 29% when they are 8/9 years old, and to 25% when they are 10/11 years old). In contrast, a higher but somewhat declining preference for the mainstream language was

reported across the age groups (from 56% to 54%). No preference was reported by an increasing 9-15% of all children.

*Language vitality across age groups and generations* (Table 13.11). Polish is spoken in the homes of 1,925 children across the age groups in 3 cities. The great majority of Polish-speaking pupils was traced in Hamburg, followed by Göteborg and Brussels. In terms of intergenerational differences, first-generation children born abroad reported the highest language vitality (73%), followed by second-generation children (59%). For the third generation, there is a some drop in the vitality of Polish in Göteborg and Hamburg but the decrease in Brussels is the greatest (although there were few informants). Polish has the highest vitality (and concentration) in Hamburg (58%) for all age groups, and the average vitality of Polish for all cities in the given age groups is 57%. The differences among the age groups are not great, but the variation between the generations is considerable.

*Languages other than Polish.* Next to Polish, a number of other languages were reported as home languages by some children. English (39), French (24), Turkish (11), Russian (11), Arabic (8), Spanish (8), and Farsi (7) were the major languages reported. Italian and Greek were also reported by some children.

### 13.12 Portuguese language group

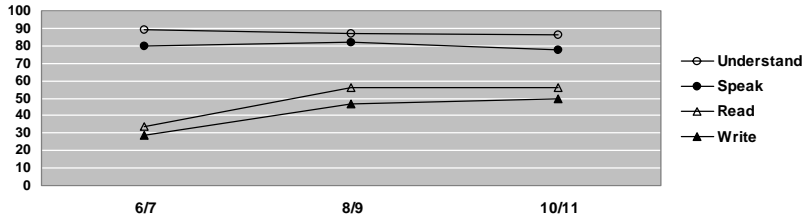


Figure 13.12a Language proficiency in Portuguese

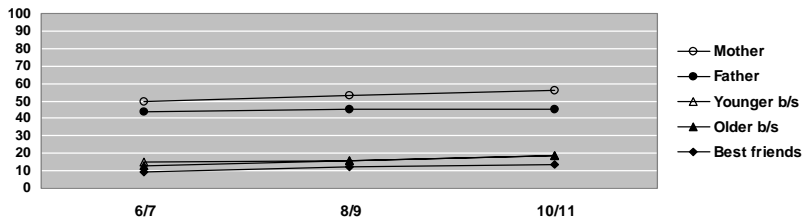


Figure 13.12b Language choice for Portuguese

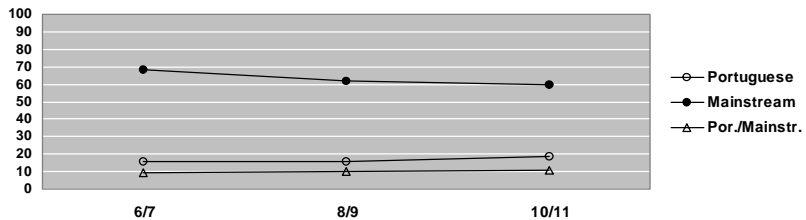


Figure 13.12c Language dominance of Portuguese and/or mainstream language

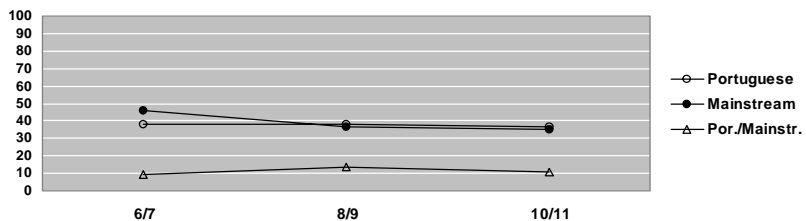


Figure 13.12d Language preference for Portuguese and/or mainstream language

Cities	Age groups							
	Population				Vitality			
	6/7	8/9	10/11	Total	6/7	8/9	10/11	Mean
Göteborg	23	29	36	88	52	59	65	59
Hamburg	95	191	74	360	55	54	67	59
The Hague	27	31	30	88	55	46	46	49
Brussels	20	31	26	77	51	48	42	47
Lyon	69	118	72	259	44	52	49	48
Madrid	28	86	88	202	65	63	53	60
Total / Mean	262	486	326	1,074	54	54	54	54

Cities	Generations							
	Population				Vitality			
	G1	G2	G3	Total	G1	G2	G3	Mean
Göteborg	10	69	2	81	65	60	–	–
Hamburg	104	213	13	330	69	52	40	54
The Hague	22	57	6	85	49	50	29	43
Brussels	13	48	11	72	60	48	20	43
Lyon	38	174	28	240	69	47	35	50
Madrid	81	98	17	196	68	54	41	54
Total / Mean	268	659	77	1,004	63	52	33	49

**Table 13.12** Numbers of pupils and LVI per age group and generation

*Language proficiency* (Fig. 13.12a). For all age groups, reported understanding (86-89%) and speaking skills (78-82%) in Portuguese are much higher than reading (34-56%) and writing skills (29-50%), but there is a gradual increase in the latter as children get older.

*Language choice* (Fig. 13.12b). At home, 50-56% of the children reported commonly speaking Portuguese with their mothers, 44-45% with their fathers, 15-19% with their younger siblings, 13-19% with their older siblings, and 9-14% with their best friends. As children get older, there is a slight increase in the use of Portuguese.

*Language dominance* (Fig. 13.12c). The reported dominance of Portuguese increases slightly from 16-19% as children get older, but remains noticeably low. Dominance in the mainstream language was reported decreasingly across the age

groups (68-60%). A slight increase in balanced bilingualism was reported across the age groups (9-11%).

*Language preference* (Fig. 13.12d). The reported preference for Portuguese remains even across the age groups (37/38%). A higher but somewhat declining preference for the mainstream language was reported across the age groups (from 46% to 35%). No preference was reported by 9-11% of the children.

*Language vitality across age groups and generations* (Table 13.12). Portuguese is spoken in the homes of 1,074 children across the age groups in 6 cities. The great majority of Portuguese-speaking pupils was traced in Hamburg, Lyon, and Madrid. First-generation children born abroad reported the highest language vitality (63%), followed by second-generation children (52%). For the third generation, there is a further drop in the vitality of Portuguese in all cities, but the decrease in Brussels and The Hague is the greatest (43%). Portuguese has the highest language vitality in Madrid (60%) for all age groups. This is not surprising, as Portuguese and Spanish are linguistically close languages, and Portugal and Spain are neighbouring countries.

*Languages other than Portuguese*. Next to Portuguese, French (94), English (57), Spanish (54), Italian (25), Arabic (12), and Turkish (12) were the major home languages reported.

### 13.13 Romani/Sinte language group

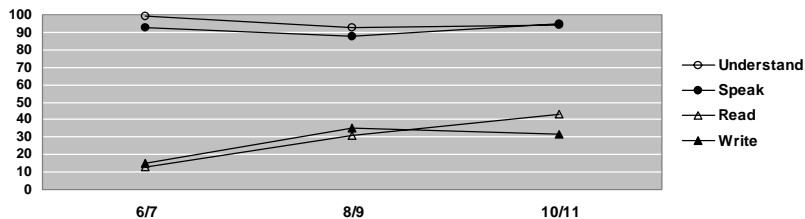


Figure 13.13a Language proficiency in Romani/Sinte

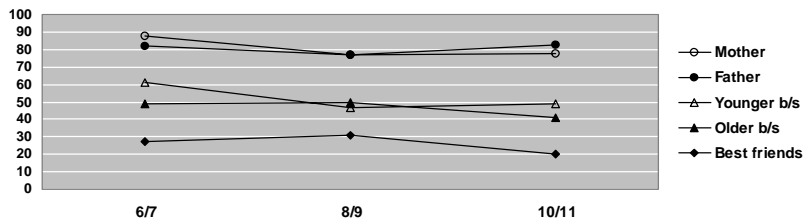


Figure 13.13b Language choice for Romani/Sinte

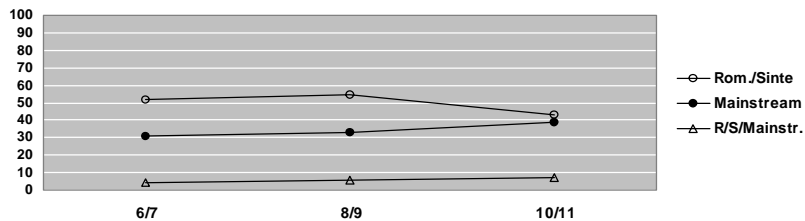


Figure 13.13c Language dominance of Romani/Sinte and/or mainstream language

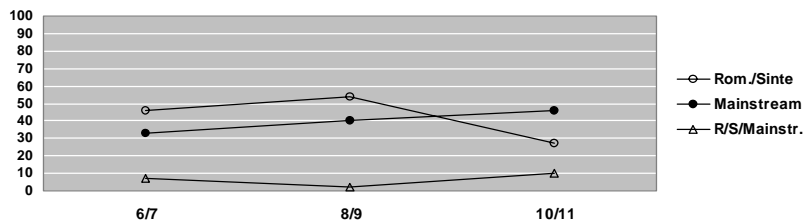


Figure 13.13d Language preference for Romani/Sinte and/or mainstream language



Cities	Age groups							
	Population				Vitality			
	6/7	8/9	10/11	Total	6/7	8/9	10/11	Mean
Göteborg	12	19	20	51	77	70	61	69
Hamburg	55	102	62	219	74	72	66	71
Total / Mean	67	121	82	270	76	71	64	70

Cities	Generations							
	Population				Vitality			
	G1	G2	G3	Total	G1	G2	G3	Mean
Göteborg	29	11	6	46	75	61	63	66
Hamburg	53	84	48	185	76	70	67	71
Total / Mean	82	95	54	231	76	66	65	69

**Table 13.13** Numbers of pupils and LVI per age group and generation

*Language proficiency* (Fig. 13.13a). For all age groups, reported understanding (94-99%) and speaking skills (88-95%) in Romani/Sinte are much higher than reading (13-43%) and writing skills (15-35%), but there is a gradual increase in the latter as children get older. The gap between reported oral and written skills, however, remains strong.

*Language choice* (Fig. 13.13b). At home, 77-88% of the children reported commonly speaking Romani/Sinte with their mothers, 77-83% with their fathers, 47-61% with their younger siblings, 41-50% with their older siblings, and 20-31% with their best friends.

*Language dominance* (Fig. 13.13c). The reported dominance of Romani/Sinte declines slightly as children get older (from 52% when they are 6/7 to 55% when they are 8/9 years old, and to 43% when they are 10/11 years old). Dominance of the mainstream language was reported increasingly across the age groups (31%, 33%, and 39%, respectively). A slight increase in balanced bilingualism was reported across the age groups (4-7%).

*Language preference* (Fig. 13.13d). The reported preference for Romani/Sinte shows a decrease across the age groups (from 46% when children are 6/7 to 54% when they are 8/9 years old, and to 27% when they are 10/11 years old). A steady increase in preference for the mainstream language was reported by children (from 33% to 46%). No preference was reported by an increasing 7-10% of all children.

*Language vitality across age groups and generations* (Table 13.13). Romani/Sinte is spoken in the homes of 270 children across the age groups in 2 cities. Most Romani/Sinte-speaking pupils were traced in Hamburg. In terms of inter-generational differences, unlike in the other language groups, in this language group, there are very few intergenerational differences in both cities. Still, first-generation children born abroad reported the highest language vitality (76%), followed by second-generation children (66%). For the third generation, there is only a slight drop in the vitality of Romani/Sinte, to 65%. Romani/Sinte has a slightly higher vitality in Hamburg (71%) for all age groups, and the average vitality of Romani/Sinte for the 2 cities in the given age groups is 70%. The differences among the language vitality indices are significant neither between the generations nor between the age groups, which makes this language group different from all other language groups.

*Languages other than Romani/Sinte.* Next to Romani/Sinte, a number of other languages were reported as home languages by some children. Serbian/Croatian/Bosnian (27), Russian (11), Turkish (7), and English (5) were the major languages reported.

### 13.14 Russian language group

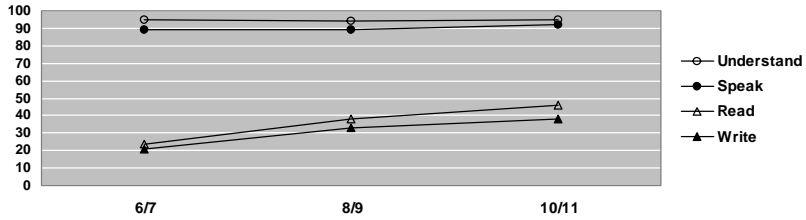


Figure 13.14a Language proficiency in Russian

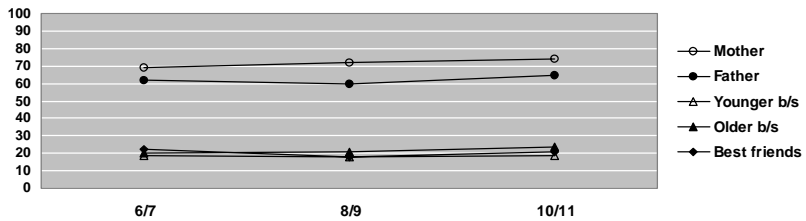


Figure 13.14b Language choice for Russian

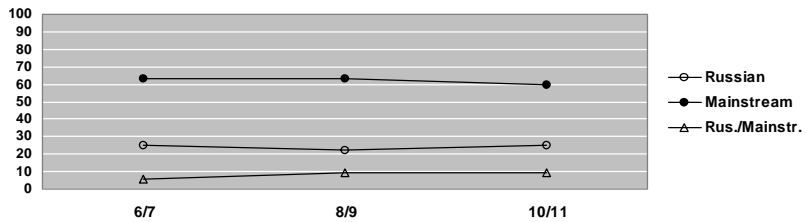


Figure 13.14c Language dominance of Russian and/or mainstream language

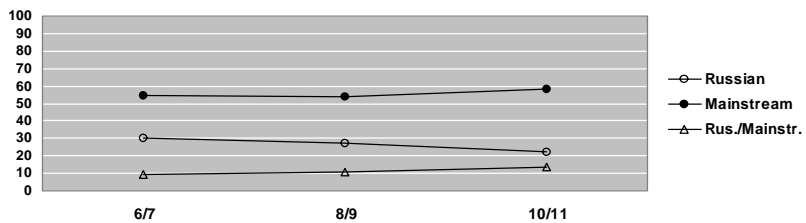


Figure 13.14d Language preference for Russian and/or mainstream language

Cities	Age groups							
	Population				Vitality			
	6/7	8/9	10/11	Total	6/7	8/9	10/11	Mean
Göteborg	16	33	21	70	72	64	49	62
Hamburg	403	716	533	1,652	57	58	61	59
Brussels	8	17	7	32	69	65	61	65
Madrid	10	13	14	37	65	46	55	55
Total / Mean	437	779	575	1,791	66	58	57	60

Cities	Generations							
	Population				Vitality			
	G1	G2	G3	Total	G1	G2	G3	Mean
Göteborg	37	26	3	66	66	63	–	–
Hamburg	1,232	221	38	1,491	62	43	46	50
Brussels	23	3	3	29	68	–	–	–
Madrid	24	2	4	30	59	–	–	–
Total / Mean	1,316	252	48	1,616	64	–	–	–

**Table 13.14** Numbers of pupils and LVI per age group and generation

*Language proficiency* (Fig. 13.14a). For all age groups, reported understanding (94-95%) and speaking skills (89-92%) in Russian are much higher than reading (24-46%) and writing skills (21-38%), but there is a gradual increase in the latter as children get older. The use of a different alphabet in Russian than in the host societies might have a damping effect on the reported reading and writing skills in Russian.

*Language choice* (Fig. 13.14b). At home, 69-74% of the children reported commonly speaking Russian with their mothers, 60-65% with their fathers, 18-19% with their younger siblings, 20-24% with their older siblings, and 18-22% with their best friends. As children get older, there is a slight increase in the use of Russian for communication with the given interlocutors.

*Language dominance* (Fig. 13.14c). The reported dominance of Russian varies between 20-25% across the age groups. Dominance of the mainstream language was also reported rather evenly across the age groups (63%, 63%, and 60%, respectively). A slight increase in balanced bilingualism was reported across age groups (6-9%).

*Language preference* (Fig. 13.14d). The reported preference for Russian decreases as children get older (from 30% when they are 6/7 to 22% when they are 10/11 years old). A slightly increasing preference for the mainstream language with increasing age was reported by children (from 54% to 58%). No preference was reported by an increasing 9-14% of all children.

*Language vitality across age groups and generations* (Table 13.14). Russian is spoken in the homes of 1,791 children across the age groups in 4 cities. A great majority of Russian-speaking pupils was traced in Hamburg, followed at a large distance by Göteborg, Madrid, and Brussels. In terms of intergenerational differences, first-generation children born abroad reported the highest language vitality in Brussels (68%). For the second/third generation in Hamburg, there is a drop in language vitality. Russian has the highest vitality in Brussels (65%) for all age groups, and the average vitality of Russian for all cities in the given age groups is 60%.

*Languages other than Russian.* Next to Russian, a number of other languages were reported as home languages by some children. English (54), French (22), Armenian (17), Turkish (16), Farsi (14), and Polish (11) were the major languages reported. German and Arabic were also reported by some children.

### 13.15 Serbian/Croatian/Bosnian language group

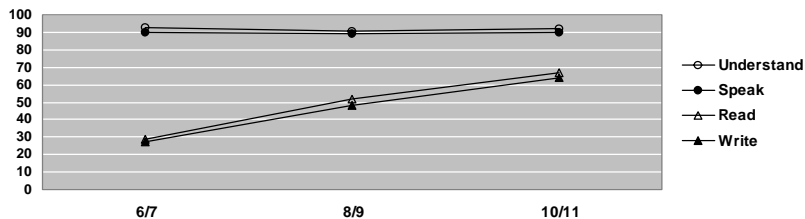


Figure 13.15a Language proficiency in Serbian/Croatian/Bosnian

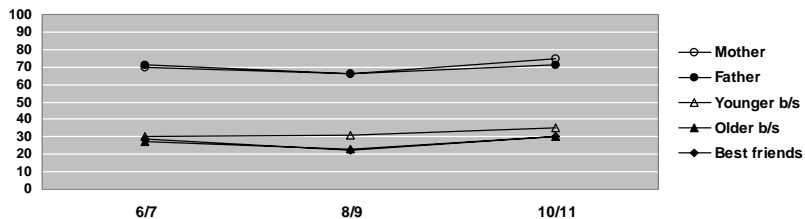


Figure 13.15b Language choice for Serbian/Croatian/Bosnian

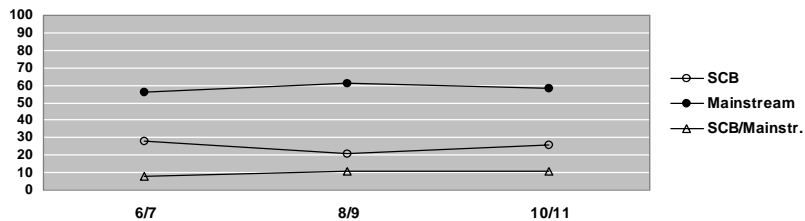


Figure 13.15c Language dominance of Serbian/Croatian/Bosnian and/or mainstream language

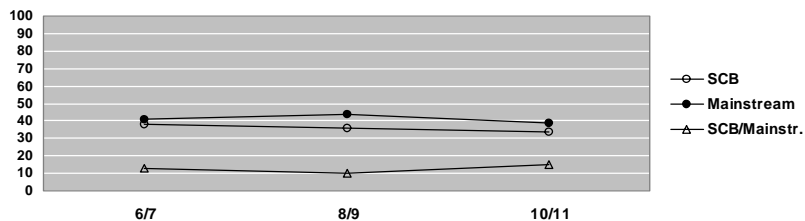


Figure 13.15d Language preference for Serbian/Croatian/Bosnian and/or mainstream language

Cities	Age groups							
	Population				Vitality			
	6/7	8/9	10/11	Total	6/7	8/9	10/11	Mean
Göteborg	216	215	255	686	66	64	67	66
Hamburg	113	219	130	462	56	53	57	55
The Hague	18	22	10	50	65	58	70	64
Brussels	12	22	17	51	56	64	66	62
Lyon	9	13	14	36	58	50	36	48
Total / Mean	368	491	426	1,285	60	58	59	59

Cities	Generations							
	Population				Vitality			
	G1	G2	G3	Total	G1	G2	G3	Mean
Göteborg	256	372	21	649	74	62	40	59
Hamburg	134	261	21	416	62	53	42	52
The Hague	21	22	2	45	80	50	–	–
Brussels	23	25	–	48	74	53	–	–
Lyon	18	12	3	33	63	33	–	–
Total / Mean	452	692	47	1,191	71	50	–	–

**Table 13.15** Numbers of pupils and LVI per age group and generation

*Language proficiency* (Fig. 13.15a). For all age groups, reported understanding (91-93%) and speaking skills (89-90%) in S/C/B are much higher than reading (29-67%) and writing skills (27-64%), but there is a gradual increase in the latter as children get older.

*Language choice* (Fig. 13.15b). At home, 66-75% of the children reported commonly speaking S/C/B with their mothers, 66-71% with their fathers, 30-35% with their younger siblings, 23-30% with their older siblings, and 22-30% with their best friends. As children get older, there is a slight increase in the use of S/C/B for communication with most given interlocutors.

*Language dominance* (Fig. 13.15c). The reported dominance of S/C/B shows only slight variation across the age groups (28%, 21%, and 26%, respectively). The same holds for the reported dominance of the mainstream language across the age groups (56%, 61%, and 58%, respectively). A slight increase in balanced bilingualism was reported across the age groups (8-11%).

*Language preference* (Fig. 13.15d). The reported preference for S/C/B decreases slightly as children get older (from 38% when they are 6/7 to 34% when they are 10/11 years old). Like dominance, the reported preference for the mainstream language shows only slight variation across the age groups (from 39% to 44%). No preference was reported by an increasing 10-15% of all children.

*Language vitality across age groups and generations* (Table 13.15). S/C/B is spoken in the homes of 1,285 children across the age groups in 5 cities. A great majority of the S/C/B-speaking pupils was traced in Göteborg and Hamburg, followed by Brussels, The Hague, and Lyon. In terms of intergenerational differences, first-generation children born abroad reported the highest language vitality (71%), followed by second-generation children (50%). A further drop in language vitality for third generation children was observed in Göteborg and Hamburg. S/C/B has the highest vitality in Göteborg (66%) for all age groups, and the average vitality of S/C/B for all five cities in the given age groups is 59%.

*Languages other than S/C/B*. Next to S/C/B, a number of other languages were reported as home languages by some children. English (43), French (33), Romani/Sinte (27), Albanian (17), Turkish (16), and Macedonian (15) were the major languages reported.



### 13.16 Somali language group

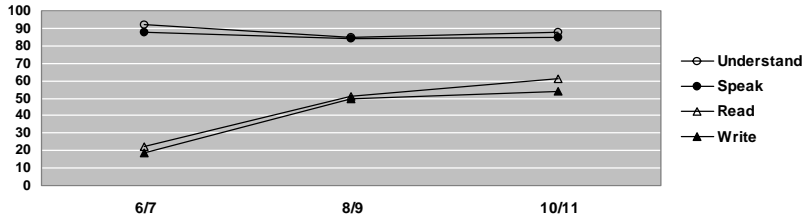


Figure 13.16a Language proficiency in Somali

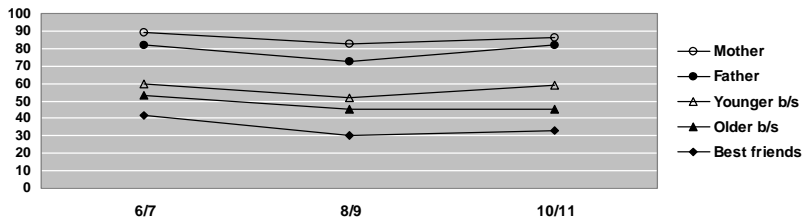


Figure 13.16b Language choice for Somali

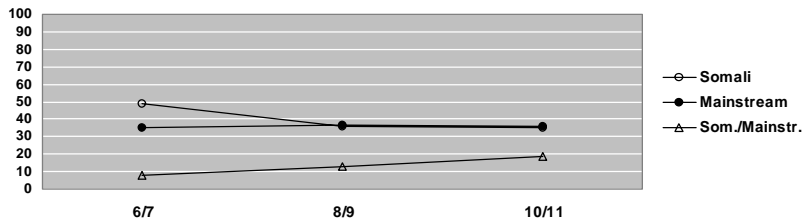


Figure 13.16c Language dominance of Somali and/or mainstream language

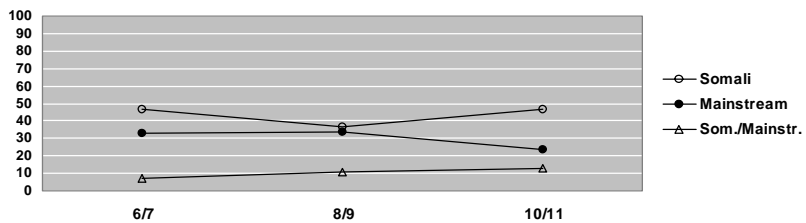


Figure 13.16d Language preference for Somali and/or mainstream language

Cities	Age groups							
	Population				Vitality			
	6/7	8/9	10/11	Total	6/7	8/9	10/11	Mean
Göteborg	150	102	63	315	79	77	80	79
The Hague	53	41	41	135	71	66	74	70
Lyon	16	24	9	49	23	18	6	16
Total / Mean	219	167	113	499	58	54	53	55

Cities	Generations							
	Population				Vitality			
	G1	G2	G3	Total	G1	G2	G3	Mean
Göteborg	76	215	1	292	83	78	–	–
The Hague	91	30	2	123	73	63	–	–
Lyon	10	21	18	49	55	10	6	24
Total / Mean	177	266	21	464	70	50	–	–

**Table 13.16** Numbers of pupils and LVI per age group and generation

*Language proficiency* (Fig. 13.16a). For all age groups, reported understanding (85-92%) and speaking skills (84-88%) in Somali are much higher than reading (22-61%) and writing skills (19-54%), but there is a gradual increase in the latter as children get older.

*Language choice* (Fig. 13.16b). At home, 83-89% of the children reported commonly speaking Somali with their mothers, 73-82% with their fathers, 52-60% with their younger siblings, 45-53% with their older siblings, and 30-42% with their best friends.

*Language dominance* (Fig. 13.16c). The reported dominance of Somali declines as children get older (49%, 36%, and 35%, respectively). The reported dominance of the mainstream language remains almost even across the age groups (35%, 37%, and 36%, respectively). A considerable increase in balanced bilingualism was reported across the age groups (8-19%).

*Language preference* (Fig. 13.16d). The reported preference for Somali is uneven across the age groups (47%, 37%, and 47%, respectively). The reported preference for the mainstream language decreases across the age groups (33%, 34%, and 24%, respectively). No preference was reported by an increasing 7-13% of all children.

*Language vitality across age groups and generations* (Table 13.16). Somali is spoken in the homes of 499 children across the age groups in 3 cities. A great

majority of the Somali-speaking pupils was traced in Göteborg, followed by The Hague and Lyon. In terms of intergenerational differences, first-generation children born abroad reported the highest language vitality (70%), followed by second-generation children (50%). For the third generation, there is a further drop in the vitality of Somali in Lyon (6%). Somali has the highest vitality in Göteborg (79%) and a very low one in Lyon (16%) for all age groups.

*Languages other than Somali.* Next to Somali, a number of other languages were reported as home languages by some children. Arabic (38), English (36), Italian (8) Portuguese (6), and Turkish (5) were the major languages reported.

### 13.17 Spanish language group

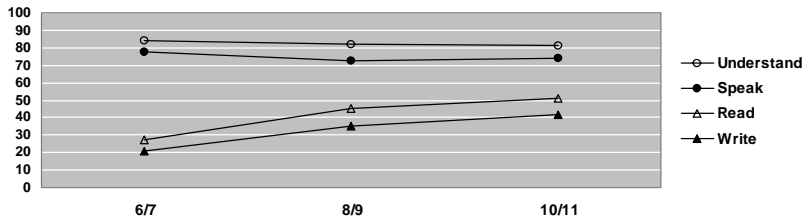


Figure 13.17a Language proficiency in Spanish

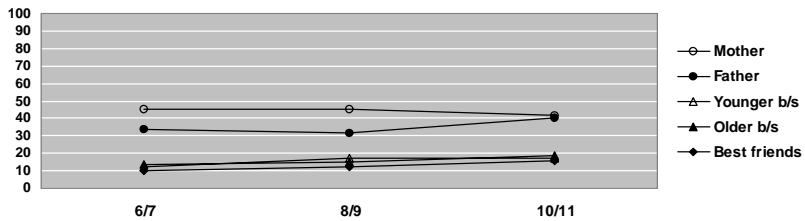


Figure 13.17b Language choice for Spanish

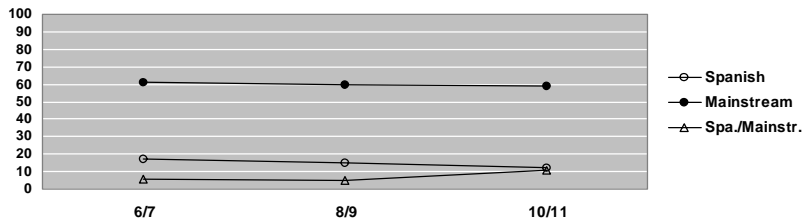


Figure 13.17c Language dominance of Spanish and/or mainstream language

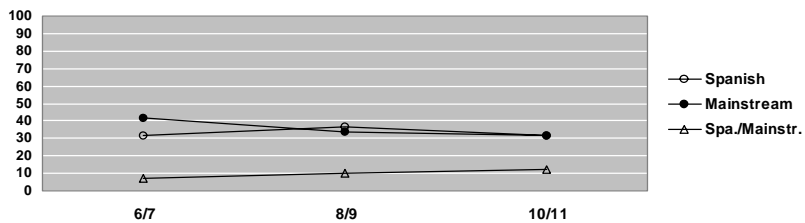


Figure 13.17d Language preference for Spanish and/or mainstream language

Cities	Age groups							
	Population				Vitality			
	6/7	8/9	10/11	Total	6/7	8/9	10/11	Mean
Göteborg	96	102	130	328	53	51	53	52
Hamburg	127	204	100	431	51	49	49	50
The Hague	85	103	100	288	46	53	47	49
Brussels	102	151	136	389	51	56	49	52
Lyon	68	145	140	353	32	34	39	35
Total / Mean	478	705	606	1,789	47	49	47	48

Cities	Generations							
	Population				Vitality			
	G1	G2	G3	Total	G1	G2	G3	Mean
Göteborg	33	222	37	292	62	57	20	46
Hamburg	79	216	65	360	67	48	28	48
The Hague	88	136	22	246	61	47	26	45
Brussels	57	229	75	361	72	49	42	54
Lyon	23	154	134	311	54	35	32	40
Total / Mean	280	957	333	1,570	63	47	30	47

**Table 13.17** Numbers of pupils and LVI per age group and generation

*Language proficiency* (Fig. 13.17a). For all age groups, reported understanding (81-84%) and speaking skills (73-78%) in Spanish are much higher than reading (27-51%) and writing skills (21-42%), but there is a gradual increase in the latter as children get older.

*Language choice* (Fig. 13.17b). At home, 42-45% of the children reported commonly speaking Spanish with their mothers, 32-40% with their fathers, 12-17% with their younger siblings, 14-19% with their older siblings, and 10-16% with their best friends. Across all age groups, the use of Spanish for communication remains low.

*Language dominance* (Fig. 13.17c). The reported dominance of Spanish remains low and even across all age groups (17%, 15%, and 12%, respectively). In contrast, the reported dominance of the mainstream language remains high and even across all age groups (61%, 60%, and 59%, respectively). A slight increase in balanced bilingualism was reported across the age groups (6-11%).

*Language preference* (Fig. 13.17d). The reported preference for Spanish remains low and even across the age groups (32%, 37%, and 32%, respectively). Intriguingly, a decreasing preference for the mainstream language was reported across the age groups (42%, 34%, and 32%, respectively). No preference was reported by an increasing 7-12% of all children.

*Language vitality across age groups and generations* (Table 13.17). Spanish is spoken in the homes of 1,789 children across the age groups in 5 cities. A great majority of the Spanish-speaking pupils was traced in Hamburg and Brussels, followed by Lyon, Göteborg, and The Hague. In terms of intergenerational differences, first-generation children born abroad reported the highest language vitality (63%), followed by second-generation children (47%). For the third generation, there is a considerable drop in the vitality of Spanish in 3 out of the 5 cities (the average vitality is 30%). Spanish has the highest vitality in Göteborg and Brussels (52%) for all age groups, and the average vitality of Spanish for all cities in the given age groups is 48%. Spanish has the lowest vitality across age groups and across generations in Lyon, although Spanish is spoken in a neighbouring country.

*Languages other than Spanish.* Next to Spanish, a number of other languages were reported as home languages by some children. French (352), English (229), Arabic (98), Italian (79), Portuguese (43), and Papiamentu (39) were the major languages reported. German and Turkish were also reported by a number of children.

### 13.18 Turkish language group

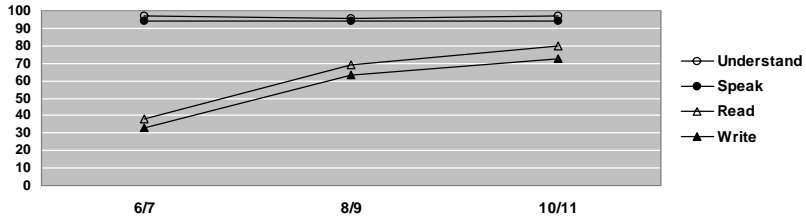


Figure 13.18a Language proficiency in Turkish

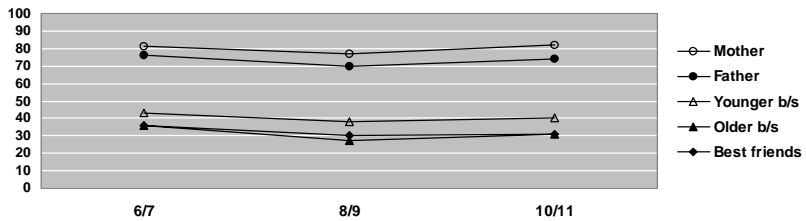


Figure 13.18b Language choice for Turkish

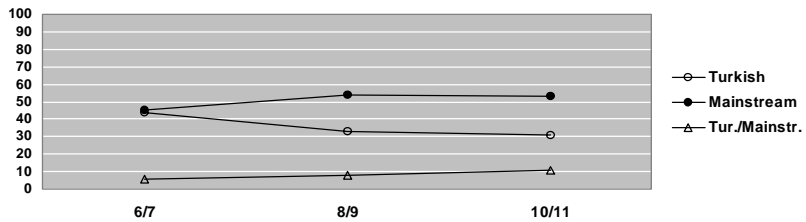


Figure 13.18c Language dominance of Turkish and/or mainstream language

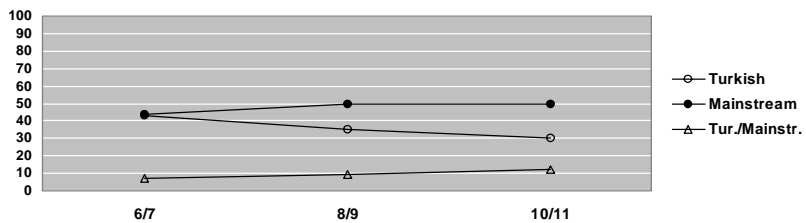


Figure 13.18d Language preference for Turkish and/or mainstream language

Cities	Age groups							
	Population				Vitality			
	6/7	8/9	10/11	Total	6/7	8/9	10/11	Mean
Göteborg	124	115	146	385	69	67	66	67
Hamburg	1,384	2,381	1,183	4,948	66	62	65	64
The Hague	833	853	849	2,535	75	68	65	69
Brussels	225	213	168	606	73	75	71	73
Lyon	146	176	146	468	65	63	68	65
Total / Mean	2,712	3,738	2,492	8,942	70	67	67	68

Cities	Generations							
	Population				Vitality			
	G1	G2	G3	Total	G1	G2	G3	Mean
Göteborg	51	308	10	369	67	68	43	59
Hamburg	627	3,676	205	4,508	69	64	49	61
The Hague	539	1,842	46	2,427	73	68	62	68
Brussels	75	417	42	534	74	74	70	73
Lyon	78	308	24	410	70	64	65	66
Total / Mean	1,370	6,551	327	8,248	71	68	58	65

**Table 13.18** Numbers of pupils and LVI per age group and generation

*Language proficiency* (Fig. 13.18a). For all age groups, reported understanding (96-97%) and speaking skills (94%) in Turkish are higher than reading (38-80%) and writing skills (33-73%), but the differences narrow as children get older.

*Language choice* (Fig. 13.18b). At home, 77-82% of the children reported commonly speaking Turkish with their mothers, 70-76% with their fathers, 38-43% with their younger siblings, 27-36% with their older siblings, and 30-36% with their best friends.

*Language dominance* (Fig. 13.18c). The reported dominance of Turkish decreases as children get older (44%, 33%, and 31%, respectively). The reported dominance of the mainstream language increases across the age groups (45%, 54%, and 53%, respectively). A slight increase in balanced bilingualism was reported across the age groups (6-11%).

*Language preference* (Fig. 13.18d). Similar to dominance, the reported preference for Turkish decreases as children get older (43%, 35%, and 30%, respectively). In a complementary pattern, an increasing preference for the mainstream language was



reported across the age groups (44%, 50%, and 50%, respectively). No preference was reported by an increasing 7-12% of all children.

*Language vitality across age groups and generations* (Table 13.18). The Turkish language group is the largest group in the overall research population (apart from Madrid). Turkish is spoken in the homes of 8,942 children across the age groups in 5 cities. A great majority of the Turkish-speaking pupils was traced in Hamburg and The Hague, followed by Brussels, Lyon, and Göteborg. In terms of inter-generational differences, first-generation children born abroad reported the highest language vitality (71%), followed by second-generation children (68%). Unlike in most other language groups, in the Turkish language group, there is only a minor drop in the language vitality among third-generation children in all cities (58%). In Brussels, there is almost no difference between the 3 generations. Turkish has the highest vitality in Brussels (73%) for all age groups, and the average vitality of Turkish for all cities in the given age groups is 68%.

*Languages other than Turkish.* Next to Turkish, a number of other languages were reported as home languages by some children. French (381), Kurdish (375), English (133), Arabic (96), German (29), Albanian (17), and Spanish (17) were the major languages reported. Serbian/Croatian/Bosnian and Russian were also reported by a number of children.

### 13.19 Urdu/‘Pakistani’ language group

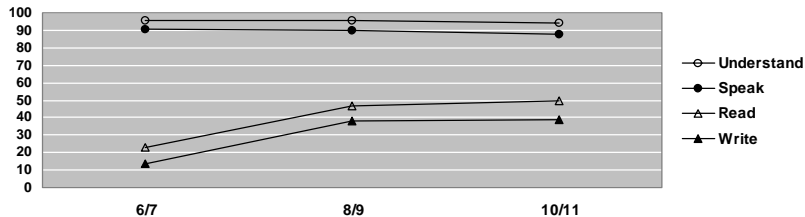


Figure 13.19a Language proficiency in Urdu/‘Pakistani’

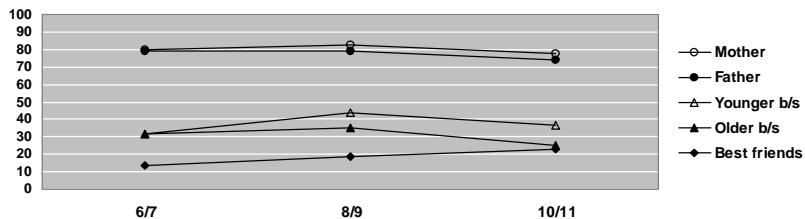


Figure 13.19b Language choice for Urdu/‘Pakistani’

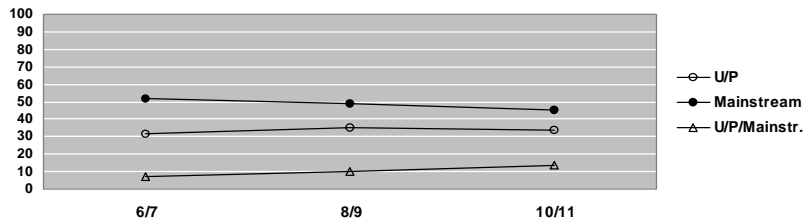


Figure 13.19c Language dominance of Urdu/‘Pakistani’ and/or mainstream language

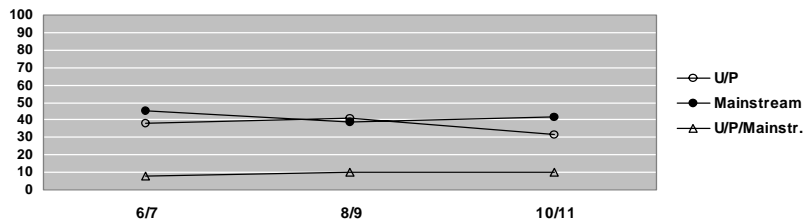


Figure 13.19d Language preference for Urdu/‘Pakistani’ and/or mainstream language

Cities	Age groups							
	Population				Vitality			
	6/7	8/9	10/11	Total	6/7	8/9	10/11	Mean
Hamburg	62	107	69	238	65	68	68	67
The Hague	91	98	105	294	66	70	62	66
Brussels	9	12	11	32	64	71	77	71
Total / Mean	162	217	185	564	65	70	69	68

Cities	Generations							
	Population				Vitality			
	G1	G2	G3	Total	G1	G2	G3	Mean
Hamburg	60	153	6	219	65	68	63	65
The Hague	64	214	5	283	75	63	75	71
Brussels	12	17	3	32	69	71	–	–
Total / Mean	136	384	14	534	70	67	–	–

**Table 13.19** Numbers of pupils and LVI per age group and generation

*Language proficiency* (Fig. 13.19a). For all age groups, reported understanding (94-96%) and speaking skills (88-91%) in Urdu/‘Pakistani’ are much higher than reading (23-50%) and writing skills (14-39%), but the differences become smaller as children get older.

*Language choice* (Fig. 13.19b). At home, 78-83% of the children reported commonly speaking Urdu/‘Pakistani’ with their mothers, 74-79% with their fathers, 32-44% with their younger siblings, 25-35% with their older siblings, and 14-23% with their best friends. Across the age groups, children mostly use Urdu/‘Pakistani’ in communication with their parents, which contributes to language maintenance.

*Language dominance* (Fig. 13.19c). The reported dominance of Urdu/‘Pakistani’ remains even across the age groups (32%, 35%, and 34%, respectively). The reported dominance of the mainstream language slightly drops (52%, 49%, and 45%, respectively). A slight increase in balanced bilingualism was reported across the age groups (7-14%).

*Language preference* (Fig. 13.19d). The reported preference for Urdu/‘Pakistani’ decreases slightly as children get older (38%, 41%, and 32%, respectively). An even preference for the mainstream language was reported across the age groups (45%, 39%, and 42%, respectively). No preference was reported by 8-10% of all children.

*Language vitality across age groups and generations* (Table 13.19). Urdu/‘Pakistani’ is spoken in the homes of 564 children across the age groups in 3 cities. A great majority of the Urdu/‘Pakistani’-speaking pupils was traced in The Hague and Hamburg. There were no large differences in language vitality between the generations, although there were few informants in the third generation. Urdu/‘Pakistani’ has the highest vitality in Brussels (71%) for all age groups. The average vitality of Urdu/‘Pakistani’ for all cities in the given age groups is 68%. *Languages other than Urdu/‘Pakistani’*. Next to Urdu/‘Pakistani’, a number of other languages were reported as home languages by some children. English (50), Hind(ustan)i (24), French (20), Sikh (12), Turkish (7), and Arabic (6) were the major languages reported.

### 13.20 Vietnamese language group

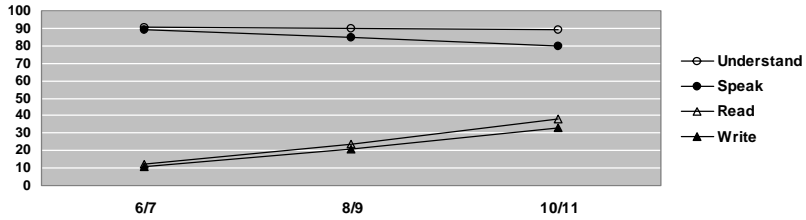


Figure 13.20a Language proficiency in Vietnamese

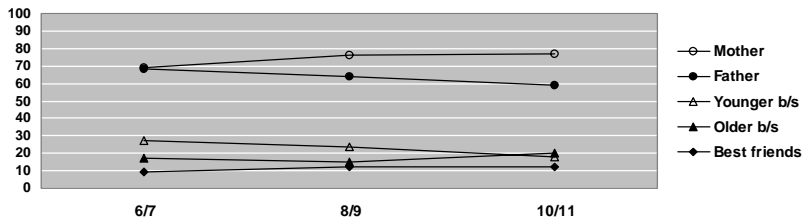


Figure 13.20b Language choice for Vietnamese

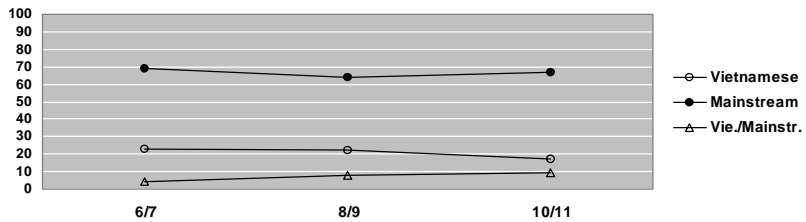


Figure 13.20c Language dominance of Vietnamese and/or mainstream language

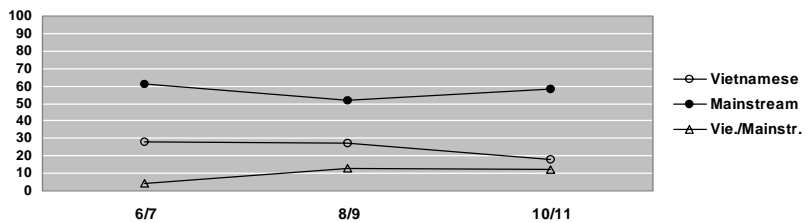


Figure 13.20d Language preference for Vietnamese and/or mainstream language

Cities	Age groups							
	Population				Vitality			
	6/7	8/9	10/11	Total	6/7	8/9	10/11	Mean
Göteborg	15	27	13	55	65	64	69	66
Hamburg	47	78	28	153	52	58	57	56
Lyon	28	38	25	91	54	57	47	53
Total / Mean	90	143	66	299	57	60	58	58

Cities	Generations							
	Population				Vitality			
	G1	G2	G3	Total	G1	G2	G3	Mean
Göteborg	8	40	–	48	72	62	–	–
Hamburg	14	120	5	139	61	56	50	56
Lyon	10	69	4	83	48	54	–	–
Total / Mean	32	229	9	270	60	57	–	–

**Table 13.20** Numbers of pupils and LVI per age group and generation

*Language proficiency* (Fig. 13.20a). For all age groups, reported understanding (89-91%) and speaking skills (80-89%) in Vietnamese are higher than reading (12-38%) and writing skills (11-33%), but the differences become smaller as children get older.

*Language choice* (Fig. 13.20b). At home, 69-77% of the children reported commonly speaking Vietnamese with their mothers, 59-68% with their fathers, 18-27% with their younger siblings, 15-20% with their older siblings, and 9-12% with their best friends.

*Language dominance* (Fig. 13.20c). The reported dominance of Vietnamese decreases slightly across the age groups (23%, 22%, and 17%, respectively). The reported dominance of the mainstream language remains almost even (69%, 64%, and 67%, respectively). A slight increase in balanced bilingualism was reported across the age groups (4-9%).

*Language preference* (Fig. 13.20d). The reported preference for Vietnamese decreases as children get older (28%, 27%, and 18%, respectively). An uneven preference for the mainstream language was reported by children across the age groups (61%, 52%, and 58%, respectively). No preference was reported by an increasing 4-12% of children in the 3 age groups.

*Language vitality across age groups and generations* (Table 13.20). Vietnamese is spoken in the homes of 299 children across the age groups in 3 cities. A great majority of the Vietnamese-speaking pupils was traced in Hamburg, followed by Lyon and Göteborg. First-generation children born abroad reported the highest language vitality (60%), followed by second-generation children (57%). There is only a minor drop in the language vitality of third-generation children in Hamburg (50%). Vietnamese has the highest vitality in Göteborg, where no third generation is present. The average vitality of Vietnamese for all cities in the given age groups is 58%.

*Languages other than Vietnamese.* Next to Vietnamese, a number of other languages were reported as home languages by only some children. Chinese (9) was the major language reported.





## 14 Crosslinguistic perspectives on language groups

In this chapter, we offer crosslinguistic perspectives on the same 20 language groups for which language profiles were specified in Chapter 13 from a cross-national point of view. Our focus is on the same age groups (6/7, 8/9, 9/10) and generations (G1, G2, G3) as are presented in Chapter 13.

In Section 14.1, we present an overview of the crosslinguistic database under consideration in terms of age groups and generations. Here, we also present data on the representation of particular language/age groups in particular cities. In Section 14.2 we present crosslinguistic perspectives on the four dimensions of language proficiency, language choice, language dominance, and language preference. For this analysis, these four language dimensions were operationalised in correspondence with our measurement of language vitality described in Chapter 6.8:

- language proficiency: the extent to which the home language under consideration is *understood*;
- language choice: the extent to which this language is commonly spoken at home *with the mother*;
- language dominance: the extent to which this home language is spoken *best*;
- language preference: the extent to which this home language is *preferably* spoken.

In Section 14.3, we present crosslinguistic perspectives on language vitality, derived from the four language dimensions outlined above. In this section, our focus is on the language vitality across different age groups, and on the distribution and language vitality across different generations.

### 14.1 Overview of the crosslinguistic database

In Table 14.1, we give an overview of the crosslinguistic database under consideration, in terms of age groups (6/7 + 8/9 + 10/11 years) and generations (G1 + G2 + G3). The 20 language groups are presented in a ranked (i.e., decreasing) order of age groups. The last two columns show which cities have the strongest representation (in %) of the language groups under consideration in terms of age groups.

Language groups	Age groups	Generations	Strongest representation of age groups	
			City	Proportion
Turkish	8,942	8,248	Hamburg	55%
French	7,787	7,090	Brussels	94%
Arabic	7,682	7,002	Lyon	36%
English	4,527	4,045	Hamburg	24%
Polish	1,925	1,837	Hamburg	90%
Russian	1,791	1,616	Hamburg	92%
Spanish	1,789	1,570	Hamburg	24%
Berber	1,730	1,656	The Hague	77%
Serbian/Croatian/Bosn.	1,285	1,191	Göteborg	53%
Portuguese	1,074	1,004	Hamburg	34%
Italian	994	916	Brussels	36%
Kurdish	974	900	Göteborg	48%
Albanian	765	675	Hamburg	54%
Urdu/'Pakistani'	564	534	The Hague	52%
Chinese	561	523	Göteborg	33%
German	559	506	The Hague	28%
Somali	499	464	Göteborg	63%
Vietnamese	299	270	Hamburg	51%
Romani/Sinte	270	231	Hamburg	81%
Armenian	170	153	Hamburg	48%

**Table 14.1** Distribution of language groups across age groups, generations, and cities

Within the total database, 4 language groups were represented by more than 4,000 pupils, 6 language groups by 1,000-2,000 pupils, and 10 language groups by 170-1,000 pupils. The differences in size between the databases with regard to age groups and generations derive from the predicted effect of having more missing values for generation than for age (see also the Introduction to Chapter 13). With respect to the representation of language groups in different cities, it should be kept in mind that there was considerable variation in the databases per city (see Table 6.2 in Chapter 6). Within our total database, however, many language groups were most strongly represented in Hamburg and least strongly in Madrid (see also Chapter 13, Table 13.01), although the proportions of representation of language groups varied considerably. It does not come as a surprise that French was most

strongly represented in Brussels, next to or instead of Dutch. The same holds for the strong representation of Polish, Russian, and Romani/Sinte in Hamburg, for the strong representation of Somali, Serbian/Croatian/Bosnian, and Kurdish in Göteborg, and for Berber in The Hague. Göteborg and Sweden have accepted many refugees, and The Hague and the Netherlands have received many Moroccans originating from Berber-speaking areas.

In Table 14.2, we give a comparative overview of the municipal distribution of two pairs of languages which are often in competition in their source countries, i.e., Turkish and Kurdish in Turkey, and Arabic and Berber in Northern African countries (in particular, Morocco).

Cities	Turkish	Kurdish	Arabic	Berber
Göteborg	385	468	768	*
Hamburg	4,948	197	464	*
The Hague	2,535	273	1,391	1,334
Brussels	606	*	1,608	214
Lyon	468	36	2,789	145
Madrid	*	*	662	37
Total	8,942	974	7,682	1,730

**Table 14.2** Distribution of four language groups per city (\* less than 30 pupils)

Only in Göteborg was Kurdish more strongly represented than Turkish, and only in The Hague were Berber and Arabic represented in balance. In our database, Kurdish was almost non-existent in Brussels and Madrid. The same holds for Berber in Göteborg and Hamburg.

## 14.2 Crosslinguistic perspectives on language dimensions

In Table 14.3, we present a crosslinguistic and pseudolongitudinal overview of the first language dimension, i.e., the extent to which children reported that they could understand the language under consideration. The data presented are proportional scores.

Language group	6/7 years	8/9 years	10/11 years	Average
Turkish	97	96	97	97
Urdu/'Pakistani'	96	96	94	95
Romani/Sinte	99	93	94	95
Polish	94	94	97	95
Russian	95	94	95	95
French	95	93	94	94
Serbian/Croatian/Bosnian	93	91	92	92
Berber	91	91	93	92
Albanian	95	87	89	90
Vietnamese	91	90	89	90
Chinese	91	85	93	90
Somali	92	85	88	88
Kurdish	90	89	84	88
Armenian	91	87	85	88
Arabic	87	88	88	88
Portuguese	89	87	86	87
Spanish	84	82	81	82
Italian	80	75	73	76
English	72	64	75	70
German	72	62	67	67

**Table 14.3** Proficiency in language understanding, per language group and age group (in %)

On average, all languages were understood well to very well, with Turkish in the top position, and English and German in the lowest positions. As was shown in Chapter 13, the latter two languages were less used in daily interaction at home, but they had a relatively high international status and/or school status. When the average scores of the youngest and oldest age groups were compared, 13 language groups showed the highest scores for the former and 5 language groups for the latter. The largest intervals between the scores emerged for Romani/Sinte (-5), Albanian (-6), Kurdish (-6), Armenian (-6), Italian (-7), and German (-5).

Table 14.4 contains a crosslinguistic and pseudolongitudinal overview of the second language dimension, i.e., the extent to which children reported that they commonly spoke the language under consideration with their mothers.

Language group	6/7 years	8/9 years	10/11 years	Average
Somali	89	83	86	86
Romani/Sinte	88	77	78	81
Urdu/'Pakistani'	80	83	78	80
Turkish	81	77	82	80
Chinese	76	75	84	78
Albanian	78	74	77	76
Vietnamese	69	76	77	74
Armenian	72	75	75	74
Berber	74	69	72	72
Russian	69	72	74	72
Serbian/Croatian/Bosnian	70	66	75	70
Polish	67	70	72	70
French	71	70	68	70
Kurdish	76	65	66	69
Arabic	55	58	60	58
Portuguese	50	53	56	53
Spanish	45	45	42	44
German	37	27	27	30
Italian	30	33	27	30
English	28	23	26	26

**Table 14.4** Language choice in interaction with the mother, per language group and age group (in %)

The patterns of language choice presented in Table 14.4 are much more differentiated than the patterns of language understanding presented in Table 14.3. On average, Somali emerged in the top position, and again German and English (plus Italian) obtained the lowest positions. Also, the intervals between the scores of the youngest and oldest age groups showed much greater variation in Table 14.4 than in Table 14.3; 11 language groups showed the highest scores for the former and 9 language groups for the latter. The largest intervals between the scores emerged for Romani/Sinte (-10), Chinese (+8), Vietnamese (+8), Kurdish (-10), and German (-10).

In Table 14.5, we present a crosslinguistic and pseudolongitudinal overview of the third language dimension, i.e., the extent to which children reported that the

language under consideration was spoken better than the mainstream language or as good as the mainstream language.

Language group	6/7 years	8/9 years	10/11 years	Average
Romani/Sinte	52	55	43	50
French	47	40	39	42
Somali	49	36	35	40
Armenian	43	30	42	38
Chinese	43	31	35	36
Turkish	44	33	31	36
Urdu/'Pakistani'	32	35	34	34
Albanian	38	32	24	31
Kurdish	39	28	25	31
Berber	35	25	16	25
Serbian/Croatian/Bosnian	28	21	26	25
Russian	25	22	25	24
Arabic	25	21	19	22
Vietnamese	23	22	17	21
Portuguese	16	16	19	17
Polish	22	14	13	16
Italian	16	16	13	15
Spanish	17	15	12	15
English	12	7	7	9
German	5	5	5	5

**Table 14.5** Language dominance per language group and age group (in %)

The scores in Table 14.5 are much lower than the scores in Tables 14.3 and 14.4. On average, Romani/Sinte obtained the top position, whereas English and German were again in the lowest positions. The intervals between the scores of the youngest and oldest age groups showed even a greater variation in Table 14.5 than in Table 14.4; 16 language groups showed the highest scores for the former and only 2 language groups for the latter. The largest intervals between the scores emerged for Somali (-14), Turkish (-13), Albanian (-14), Kurdish (-14), and Berber (-19).

Table 14.6 contains a crosslinguistic and pseudolongitudinal overview of the fourth language dimension, i.e., the extent to which the children reported that they preferred to speak the language under consideration.

Language group	6/7 years	8/9 years	10/11 years	Average
Somali	47	37	47	44
Romani/Sinte	46	54	27	42
French	40	39	44	41
Arabic	40	40	38	39
Italian	35	40	39	38
Portuguese	38	38	37	38
Urdu/‘Pakistani’	38	41	32	37
Serbian/Croatian/Bosnian	38	36	34	36
Turkish	43	35	30	36
Spanish	32	37	32	34
Albanian	34	34	32	33
Chinese	34	32	31	32
Berber	42	27	26	32
Armenian	30	32	25	29
Kurdish	26	27	30	28
Polish	28	29	25	27
English	28	23	30	27
Russian	30	27	22	26
Vietnamese	28	27	18	24
German	18	18	17	18

**Table 14.6** Language preference per language group and age group (in %)

On average, again Somali obtained the top position (see also Table 14.4) and German (not English) the bottom position. Again, there was a great variation between the scores of the youngest and oldest age groups; 14 language groups showed the highest scores for the former and only 4 language groups for the latter. The largest intervals between the scores emerged for Romani/Sinte (-19), Turkish (-13), and Berber (-16).

In Table 14.7 we compare the reported patterns for language preference and language dominance. We selected those children who reported different languages for the survey questions on language preference and language dominance.

Language group	Total pupils	Prefers mainstream language, dominant in home language		Prefers home language, dominant in mainstream language		Total mismatches	
Portuguese	1,074	123	11%	372	35%	495	46%
Turkish	8,942	1,850	21%	2,000	22%	3,850	43%
Chinese	561	125	22%	114	20%	239	43%
Urdu/'Pakistani'	564	106	19%	134	24%	240	43%
Serbian/Croat./Bosn.	709	97	14%	203	29%	300	42%
Russian	1,791	312	17%	412	23%	724	40%
French	7,787	1,452	19%	1,690	22%	3,142	40%
Armenian	170	40	24%	28	16%	68	40%
Somali	499	88	18%	111	22%	199	40%
Vietnamese	299	50	17%	69	23%	119	40%
Polish	1,925	240	12%	521	27%	761	40%
Arabic	7,682	823	11%	2,199	29%	3,022	39%
Romani/Sinte	270	57	21%	47	17%	104	39%
Albanian	765	119	16%	156	20%	275	36%
Spanish	1,789	131	7%	506	28%	637	36%
Berber	1,730	256	15%	351	20%	607	35%
Italian	994	50	5%	288	29%	338	34%
Kurdish	974	154	16%	169	17%	323	33%
English	4,527	246	5%	1,239	27%	1,485	33%
German	559	28	5%	113	20%	141	25%

**Table 14.7** The language dominance *versus* the preference of pupils for whom dominance was different from preference

The total number and proportion of mismatches in Table 14.7 show that there were many children in all 20 language groups for whom the preferred language was not the dominant language, with Portuguese in the top position and German in the bottom position. Most mismatches in all 20 language groups resulted from dominance in the mainstream language and preference for the home language; the reverse occurred only for Chinese, Armenian, and Romani/Sinte. The strongest mismatches between the proportional scores for preferred and dominant languages emerged for Portuguese (24), Arabic (18), Spanish (21), Italian (24), and English (22).



### 14.3 Crosslinguistic perspectives on language vitality

In this section, we describe the construction of a cumulative language vitality index (LVI) for all 20 language groups on the basis of the four analysed language dimensions described in Section 14.1, i.e., the obtained proportional scores for language proficiency (understanding), language choice (with mother), language dominance, and language preference. The LVI was based on the mean value of the obtained scores for each of the four language dimensions referred to (see Chapter 6.8 for further details). Table 14.8 gives a crosslinguistic and pseudo-longitudinal overview of the LVI per language group and age group.

Language group	6/7 years	8/9 years	10/11 years	Average
Romani/Sinte	76	71	64	70
Urdu/'Pakistani'	65	70	69	68
Turkish	70	67	67	68
Armenian	64	59	65	63
Russian	66	58	57	60
Serbian/Croatian/Bosnian	60	58	59	59
Albanian	63	56	58	59
Vietnamese	57	60	58	58
Chinese	56	58	60	58
Arabic	59	58	58	58
Polish	57	59	53	56
Somali	58	54	53	55
Portuguese	54	54	54	54
Berber	51	54	51	52
Kurdish	54	47	51	51
Spanish	47	49	47	48
French	47	40	44	44
Italian	39	40	39	39
English	37	33	39	36
German	35	31	32	33

**Table 14.8** Language vitality per language group and age group (in %, LVI in cumulative %)

Considering the data presented in Section 14.2, it is not surprising that Romani/Sinte was found to have the highest language vitality, and that English and German

ended up in bottom position. When the average scores of the youngest and oldest age groups were compared, 11 language groups showed the highest scores for the former and 5 language groups for the latter. The largest interval between the scores emerged for Romani/Sinte. Strong maintenance of language vitality across the youngest and oldest age groups, with intervals of  $-1/0/+1$  only, emerged for 8 out of the 20 language groups.

A different crosslinguistic and pseudolongitudinal perspective is offered in Table 14.9, in terms of generations.

Language group	Total pupils	Intergenerational distribution			Intergenerational language vitality		
		G1	G2	G3	G1	G2	G3
Albanian	675	39	56	5	72	51	34
Arabic	7,002	21	73	6	64	57	35
Armenian	153	49	42	9	69	55	–
Berber	1,656	20	78	2	59	50	45
Chinese	523	22	74	4	72	59	–
English	4,045	16	42	41	43	41	28
French	7,090	7	45	48	55	43	30
German	506	18	45	38	43	35	22
Italian	916	12	60	28	49	43	29
Kurdish	900	50	49	2	61	43	33
Polish	1,837	14	82	4	73	59	31
Portuguese	1,004	27	66	8	63	52	33
Romani/Sinte	231	35	41	23	76	66	65
Russian	1,616	81	16	3	64	–	–
Serbian/Croat./Bosn.	1,191	38	58	4	71	50	–
Somali	464	38	58	5	70	50	–
Spanish	1,570	18	61	21	63	47	30
Turkish	8,248	17	79	4	71	68	58
Urdu/‘Pakistani’	534	25	72	3	70	67	–
Vietnamese	270	12	85	3	60	57	–

**Table 14.9** Intergenerational distribution (in %) and intergenerational language vitality (LVI in cumulative %) per language group

As was outlined in the Introduction to Chapter 13, the three generations under consideration were operationalised as follows:

- G1: pupil + father + mother born abroad;
- G2: pupil born in the country of residence, father and/or mother born abroad;
- G3: pupil + father + mother born in the country of residence.

Included in the analysis were data on all children in the three generations. As described in Chapter 13, language vitality indices based on generation were calculated only if at least 5 children were represented in a particular generation.

Table 14.9 makes clear that there were strong differences between language groups in the distribution of pupils across different generations. In most language groups, second-generation pupils were best represented and third-generation pupils least. Remarkable exceptions to this rule were Armenian and in particular Russian, with mainly first-generation pupils. Third-generation pupils were relatively well represented (> 20%) for English, French, German, Italian, Romani/Sinte, and Spanish. As mentioned in Section 14.2, some of these languages had a higher status abroad than at home.

As expected, Table 14.9 shows a stronger decrease of language vitality across generations than Table 14.8 shows across age groups. All language groups showed a more or less decreasing language vitality across generations. The strongest intergenerational shift between G1 and G3 emerged for Polish (42%), Albanian (38%), Spanish (33%), and Portuguese (30%), whereas the strongest intergenerational maintenance of language vitality occurred for Romani/Sinte and Turkish.

The top position for language vitality of Romani/Sinte across age groups in Table 14.8, and its relatively strong maintenance across generations in Table 14.9, were also observed in earlier and similar research in the Netherlands (Broeder & Extra 1998:70). The high vitality of Romani/Sinte was also confirmed by other studies on this language community (Acton & Mundy 1999, Kyuchukov 2002). One reason why language vitality is a core value for the Roma across Europe is the absence of source country references as alternative markers of identity – in contrast to almost all other language groups presented in Tables 14.8 and 14.9.

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## 15 Crossnational perspectives on community language teaching

In this chapter, we present the major outcomes of a comparative study on the teaching of the languages of immigrant minority (IM) groups in the six European Union (henceforward EU) cities and countries discussed in Part II of this Volume. Being aware of crossnational differences in denotation (see Chapter 2, Table 2.1), we use the notion of *community language teaching* (henceforward CLT) when referring to this type of education in these countries. Our rationale for using the concept of CLT rather than the concepts of *mother tongue teaching* or *home language instruction* is the inclusion of a broad spectrum of potential target groups. First of all, the status of an IM language as a ‘native’ or ‘home’ language can change through intergenerational processes of language shift. Moreover, in secondary education, both minority and majority pupils are often *de jure* (although seldom *de facto*) admitted to CLT (in the Netherlands, e.g., Turkish is a secondary school subject referred to as ‘Turkish’ rather than ‘home language instruction’; compare also the concepts of *Enseignement des Langues et Cultures d’Origine* and *Enseignement des Langues Vivantes* in French primary and secondary schools, respectively).

In Section 15.1, we focus on the status of CLT in primary and secondary schools in all participating cities and countries. Section 15.2 contains reported data on CLT participation and needs, derived from the language survey amongst primary school children carried out in all six cities.

### 15.1 Community language teaching in primary and secondary education

In all countries involved in this study, there has been an increase in the number of IM pupils who speak a language at home other than or in addition to the dominant school language in primary and secondary education. Schools have responded to this home-school language mismatch by paying more attention to the learning and teaching of the mainstream language as a second language. A great deal of energy and money is being spent on developing curricula, teaching materials, and teacher training for second-language education. CLT stands in stark contrast to this, as it is much more susceptible to an ideological debate about its legitimacy. While there is consensus about the necessity of investing in second-language education for IM

pupils, there is a lack of support for CLT. IM languages are commonly considered sources of problems and deficiencies, and they are rarely seen as sources of knowledge and enrichment. Policy makers, local educational authorities, headmasters, and teachers of 'regular' subjects often have reservations or negative attitudes towards CLT. On the other hand, parents of IM pupils, CLT teachers, and IM organisations often make a case for including IM languages in the school curriculum. These differences in top-down and bottom-up attitudes were found in all the cities and countries investigated.

From a historical point of view, most of the countries described in Part II of this Volume show a similar chronological development in their argumentation in favour of CLT. CLT was generally introduced into primary education with a view to family remigration. This objective was also clearly expressed in *Directive 77/486* of the European Community, on 25 July 1977. The Directive focused on the education of the children of 'migrant workers' with the aim 'principally to facilitate their possible reintegration into the Member State of origin'. As is clear from this formulation, the Directive excluded all IM children originating from non-EU countries, although these children formed the large part of IM children in European primary schools. At that time, Sweden was not a member of the European Community, and CLT policies for IM children in Sweden were not directed towards remigration but modelled according to bilingual education policies for the large minority of Finnish-speaking children in Sweden (see Chapter 7).

During the 1970s, the above argumentation for CLT was increasingly abandoned. Demographic developments showed no substantial signs of families re-migrating to their source countries. Instead, a process of family reunion and minorisation came about in the target countries. This development resulted in a conceptual shift, and CLT became primarily aimed at combatting disadvantages. CLT had to bridge the gap between the home and the school environment, and to encourage school achievement in 'regular' subjects. Because such an approach tended to underestimate the importance of cultural dimensions, a number of countries began to emphasise the intrinsic importance of CLT from a cultural, legal, or economic perspective:

- from a cultural perspective, CLT can contribute to maintaining and advancing a pluriform society;
- from a legal perspective, CLT can meet the internationally recognised right to language development and language maintenance, in correspondence with the fact that many IM groups consider their own language as a core value of their cultural identity (see also Chapter 4);
- from an economic perspective, CLT can lead to an important pool of profitable knowledge in societies which are increasingly internationally oriented.

The historical development of arguments for CLT in terms of remigration, combatting deficiencies, and multicultural policy is particularly evident in Germany (see Chapter 5.1 on North Rhine-Westphalia and Chapter 8 on Hamburg). In most other countries in our study, cultural policy is tied in with the mainstream language to such an extent that CLT is tolerated only in the margins. Cultural motives have played a rather important role in Sweden. It should, however, be noted that multicultural arguments for CLT have not led to an educational policy in which the status of IM languages has been substantially advanced in any of the countries involved in our study.

Based on the information presented in Part II of this Volume we give a cross-national overview of the nine parameters of CLT in primary and secondary education that were taken into account in Chapters 7-12. As mentioned in Chapter 9, CLT for primary school children came to an abrupt end in the Netherlands in 2004, and the information presented is therefore in retrospect.

### **(1) Target groups**

The target groups for CLT in primary schools are commonly IM children, defined as such in a narrow or broad sense. Narrow definitions commonly relate to the range of languages taught and/or to children's proficiency in these languages. The most restrictive set of languages is taught in Spain, i.e., Arabic and Portuguese only, for Moroccan and Portuguese (-speaking) children, respectively. A wide range of languages is taught in Sweden and Germany. The Netherlands, Belgium, and France take an intermediate position. Sweden and France demand from the target groups an active use of the languages at home and a basic proficiency in these languages. Special target groups in Sweden are adopted children; in Germany, ethnic German children from abroad; and in France, speakers of recognised regional minority (henceforward RM) languages. Sweden has the most explicit policy for access to CLT in terms of 'home language' (nowadays, back to 'mother tongue') instead of socio-economic status. The target groups for CLT in secondary schools are commonly those who participated in CLT in primary schools. *De iure*, all pupils are allowed to CLT in the Netherlands, independent of ethno-linguistic background; *de facto*, most commonly, a subset of IM pupils takes part. CLT for secondary school pupils is almost non-existent in Belgium, and limited to Arabic and Portuguese in a few secondary schools in Spain.

### **(2) Arguments**

The arguments for CLT are formulated in terms of a struggle against deficits and/or in terms of multicultural policy. Whereas the former type of argument predominates in primary education, the latter type predominates in secondary education. The

vague concept of 'integration' utilised in all countries under discussion may relate to any of these arguments. Deficit arguments may be phrased in terms of bridging the home/school gap, promoting mainstream language learning, promoting school success in other ('regular') subjects, preventing educational failure, or overcoming marginalisation. Multicultural arguments may be phrased in terms of promoting cultural identity and self-esteem, promoting cultural pluralism, promoting multilingualism in a multicultural and globalising society, and avoiding ethnic prejudice. Whereas in the Netherlands and Belgium deficit arguments dominate(d), multicultural arguments tend to play a greater role in the other countries. Deficit arguments for CLT are almost absent in secondary schools, and multicultural arguments are commonly favoured in all countries.

### **(3) Objectives**

The objectives of CLT in primary schools are rarely specified in terms of language skills to be acquired. 'Active bilingualism' has been a common objective in Sweden, whereas in Germany and Spain, reference is made to the development of oral and written language skills, language awareness, and (inter)cultural skills. In none of these cases have more particular specifications been introduced. In contrast, the objectives of CLT in secondary schools are commonly specified in terms of oral and written skills to be reached at intermediate stages and/or at the end of secondary schooling.

### **(4) Evaluation**

The evaluation of achievement through CLT may take place informally and/or formally. Informal evaluation takes place by means of subjective oral and/or written teachers' impressions or comments, meant for parents at regular intervals, e.g., once per semester or year. Formal evaluation takes place using more or less objective language proficiency measurement and language proficiency report figures, e.g., once per semester or year. Informal evaluation may occur in lower grades of primary schooling, formal evaluation in higher grades (e.g., in Sweden). In most countries, however, no report figures are provided throughout the primary school curriculum, and report figures for 'language' commonly refer implicitly to proficiency in the mainstream language. If report figures are given (e.g., in France), such figures commonly do not have the same status as report figures for other subjects. The measurement of bilingual proficiency is promoted in pilot experiments in Germany (see Chapter 5.1 on North Rhine-Westphalia and Chapter 8.4 on Hamburg). The evaluation of achievement through CLT in secondary schools takes place formally through assessment instruments and examinations. Here, report



figures may have a regular or peripheral status. The former holds in particular for Sweden, Germany, and the Netherlands.

### **(5) Minimal enrolment**

Minimal enrolment requirements for CLT may be specified at the level of the class, the school, or even the municipality at large. The latter is common practice only in Sweden, and the minimal enrolment requirement for children from different classes/schools in Sweden is five. Secondary schools in Sweden may also opt for CLT if at least five pupils enrol; four pupils are required in the Netherlands. All other countries are more reluctant, with minimal requirements for primary school pupils ranging between 10-20 (Germany, Belgium, France), or without any specification (the Netherlands and Spain). In the latter case, enrolment restrictions are commonly based on budget constraints.

### **(6) Curricular status**

In all countries, CLT at primary schools takes place on a voluntary and optional basis, provided at the request of parents. Instruction may take place within or outside regular school hours. The latter is most common in Sweden, Belgium, and France. Germany, the Netherlands (until 2004), and Spain allow(ed) for two models of instruction, either within or outside regular school hours, depending on the type of language (in Germany), the type of goal (auxiliary or intrinsic in the Netherlands), and the type of organisation (in integrated or parallel classes in Spain). The number of CLT hours varies between 1-5 hours per week. If CLT takes place at secondary schools, it is considered a regular and optional subject within school hours in all countries under consideration.

### **(7) Funding**

The funding of CLT may depend on national, regional, or local educational authorities in the country/municipality of residence and/or on the consulates/embassies of the countries of origin. In the latter case, consulates or embassies commonly recruit and provide the teachers, and they are also responsible for teacher (in-service) training. Funding through the country and/or municipality of residence takes/took place in Sweden and the Netherlands. Funding through the consulates/embassies of the countries of origin takes place in Belgium and Spain. A mixed type of funding occurs in Germany and in France. In Germany, the source of funding is dependent on particular languages or organisational models for CLT. In France, source countries fund CLT in primary schools, whereas the French ministry of education funds CLT in secondary schools.

**(8) Teaching materials**

Teaching materials for CLT may originate from the countries of origin or of residence of the pupils. Funding from ministries, municipalities, and/or publishing houses occurs in Sweden, Germany, and the Netherlands, although limited resources are available. Source country funding for CLT occurs in Belgium and Spain. In France, source countries fund teaching materials in primary schools, whereas the French ministry of education funds teaching materials in secondary schools.

**(9) Teacher qualifications**

Teacher qualifications for CLT may depend on educational authorities in the countries of residence or of origin. National or statewide (in-service) teacher training programmes for CLT at primary and/or secondary schools exist in Sweden, Germany, and the Netherlands, although the appeal of these programmes is limited, given the many uncertainties about CLT job perspectives. In Belgium and Spain, teacher qualifications depend on educational authorities in the countries of origin. France has a mixed system of responsibilities: source countries are responsible for teacher qualifications in primary schools, whereas the French ministry of education is responsible for teacher qualifications in secondary schools.

In Table 15.1 we give a crossnational summary of the outcomes for the nine parameters of CLT in primary and secondary education discussed above. On the one hand, Table 15.1 makes clear that there are remarkable crossnational differences in the status of CLT. On the other hand, there are also considerable differences between primary and secondary education in the status of CLT. A comparison of all nine parameters makes clear that CLT has gained a higher status in secondary schools than in primary schools. In primary education, CLT is generally not part of the 'regular' or 'national' curriculum, and, therefore, becomes a negotiable entity in a complex and often opaque interplay between a variety of actors. Another remarkable difference is that, in some countries (in particular France, Belgium, Spain, and some German federal states), CLT is funded by the consulates or embassies of the countries of origin. In these cases, the national government does not interfere in the organisation of CLT, or in the requirements for, and the selection and employment of teachers. A paradoxical consequence of this phenomenon is that the earmarking of CLT budgets is often safeguarded by the above-mentioned consulates or embassies. National, regional, or local governments often fail to earmark budgets, so that funds meant for CLT may be appropriated for other educational purposes.

CLT parameters	Primary education	Secondary education
1 Target groups	IM children in a broad <i>vs.</i> narrow definition in terms of <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>the spectrum of languages taught (Sp &lt; N B F &lt; G Sw)</li> <li>language use and language proficiency (Sw F &lt; G N B Sp)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><i>de iure</i>: mostly IM pupils, sometimes all pupils (in particular N)</li> <li><i>de facto</i>: IM pupils in a broad <i>vs.</i> narrow sense (see left) (limited participation, in particular B Sp)</li> </ul>
2 Arguments	mostly in terms of a struggle against deficits, rarely in terms of multicultural policy (N B <i>vs.</i> other countries)	mostly in terms of multicultural policy, rarely in terms of deficits (all countries)
3 Objectives	rarely specified in terms of (meta-) linguistic and (inter)cultural skills (Sw G Sp <i>vs.</i> N B F)	specified in terms of oral and written skills to be reached at interim and final stages (all countries)
4 Evaluation	mostly informal/subjective through teacher, rarely formal/objective through measurement and school report figures (Sw G F <i>vs.</i> B N Sp)	formal/objective assessment plus school report figures (Sw G N <i>vs.</i> B F Sp)
5 Minimal enrolment	specified at the level of classes, schools, or municipalities (Sw <i>vs.</i> G B F <i>vs.</i> N Sp)	specified at the level of classes, schools, or municipalities (Sw N <i>vs.</i> other countries)
6 Curricular status	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>voluntary and optional</li> <li>within <i>vs.</i> outside regular school hours (G N Sp <i>vs.</i> S B F)</li> <li>1-5 hours per week</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>voluntary and optional</li> <li>within regular school hours</li> <li>one/more lessons per week (all countries)</li> </ul>
7 Funding	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>by national, regional or local educational authorities</li> <li>by consulates/embassies of countries of origin (Sw N <i>vs.</i> B Sp, mixed G F)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>by national, regional or local educational authorities</li> <li>by consulates/embassies of countries of origin (Sw N F <i>vs.</i> B Sp, mixed G)</li> </ul>
8 Teaching materials	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>from countries of residence</li> <li>from countries of origin (Sw G N <i>vs.</i> B F Sp)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>from countries of residence</li> <li>from countries of origin (Sw G N F <i>vs.</i> B Sp)</li> </ul>
9 Teacher qualifications	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>from countries of residence</li> <li>from countries of origin (Sw G N <i>vs.</i> B F Sp)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>from countries of residence</li> <li>from countries of origin (Sw G N F <i>vs.</i> B Sp)</li> </ul>

**Table 15.1** Status of CLT in European primary and secondary education, according to nine parameters in six countries (Sw / G / N / B / F / Sp = Sweden / Germany / Netherlands until 2004 / Belgium / France / Spain)

Categories	1	2	3	4	5	6
English	+		+			
French		+	+			
German		+	+			
Danish			+			
Dutch			+			
Swedish			+			
Finnish			+		+	
Portuguese			+		+	
Spanish			+		+	
Italian			+		+	
Greek			+		+	
Basque				+		
Frisian				+		
Gaelic				+		
...						
Arabic					+	
Turkish					+	
...						
Berber						+
Kurdish						+
...						
<p>1: Often compulsory subject.</p> <p>2: Often optional subject as 'second foreign language' (outside France and Germany).</p> <p>3: National languages of EU countries, often supported by positive action programmes at the EU level.</p> <p>4: Regional minority languages, often supported by positive action programmes in the region and/or at the EU level.</p> <p>5: Immigrant minority languages, often offered to immigrant minority pupils only.</p> <p>6: Rarely offered non-standardised immigrant minority languages.</p>						

**Table 15.2** Hierarchy of languages in secondary education, in descending order of status (categories 1-6)

The higher status of CLT in secondary education is largely due to the fact that instruction in one or more languages other than the national standard language is a traditional and regular component of the (optional) school curriculum, whereas

primary education is mainly determined by a monolingual *habitus* (Gogolin 1994). Within secondary education, however, CLT must compete with 'foreign' languages that have a higher status or a longer tradition. The hierarchy of languages in secondary education is schematically represented in Table 15.2 in six categories in descending order of status. The overlap between categories 3 and 5 has remarkable consequences for the upgraded status of Southern European languages as IM languages in North-Western Europe. With regard to category 6, it should be noted that some countries provide instruction and/or exams in non-standard language varieties. In France, for instance, pupils can take part in examinations for several varieties of Arabic and Berber (Tilmatine 1997); Sweden offers Kurdish as an alternative to Turkish. From mid-2004 on, category 3 has been expanded with the inclusion of the national languages of ten new EU countries. This leads to the paradoxical situation that the national languages of, e.g., the three Baltic States are supported by more positive action in multilingual Europe than IM languages like Turkish, spoken by many more people across Europe.

CLT may be part of a largely centralised or decentralised educational policy. In the Netherlands, national responsibilities and educational funds are gradually being transferred to the municipal level, and even to individual schools. In France, government policy is strongly centrally controlled. Germany has devolved most governmental responsibilities to the federal states, with all their differences. Sweden grants far-reaching autonomy to municipal councils in dealing with educational tasks and funding. In general, comparative crossnational references to experiences with CLT in the various EU member-states are rare (Reich 1991, 1994, Reid & Reich 1992, Fase 1994, Tilmatine 1997, Broeder & Extra 1998), or they focus on particular language groups (Tilmatine 1997, Obdeijn & De Ruiter 1998). With a view to the demographic development of European nation-states into multicultural societies, and the similarities in CLT issues, more comparative crossnational research would be highly desirable.

## 15.2 Community language teaching: participation and need

The local language surveys carried out in the *Multilingual Cities Project* (MCP) also provided data on the reported CLT participation at and outside school, and on the reported need for CLT (see Appendix 1). In each of the six cities investigated, the obtained data on the need for CLT exceed the obtained data on participation in CLT, and to a large extent for many languages. CLT needs were expressed both by pupils in whose homes a language next to or instead of the mainstream language

of society was spoken and by pupils in whose homes this mainstream language was the only language spoken.

In order to give an impression of the differences between the reported need for CLT and participation in CLT, we present the outcomes for primary school pupils in The Hague as a case study. Table 15.3 gives an overview of the relevant data for the 20 most reported home languages amongst all 27,900 pupils who participated in the survey (see Chapter 9, Table 9.3).

Nr	Language	CLT need at school *		CLT participation at school **		CLT participation outside school **	
1	French	4,733	17%	766	6%	218	6%
2	English	4,212	15%	7,313	58%	321	8%
3	Spanish	3,737	14%	193	2%	200	5%
4	German	3,267	12%	256	2%	66	2%
5	Italian	2,146	8%	115	1%	47	1%
6	Chinese	1,286	5%	88	1%	137	4%
7	Arabic	1,219	4%	1,470	12%	1,413	36%
8	Turkish	1,168	4%	1,614	13%	715	18%
9	Hind(ustan)i	1,104	4%	463	4%	248	6%
10	Portuguese	834	3%	31	–	38	1%
11	Papiamentu	681	2%	38	–	57	1%
12	Berber	538	2%	188	1%	259	7%
13	Sranan Tongo	474	2%	24	–	27	1%
14	Javanese	363	1%	13	–	–	–
15	Vietnamese	308	1%	14	–	–	–
16	Urdu/'Pakistani'	290	1%	17	–	116	3%
17	Kurdish	284	1%	16	–	17	–
18	Moluccan/Malay	277	1%	11	–	–	–
19	Somali	271	1%	16	–	24	1%
20	Greek	142	1%	–	–	–	–
Total		27,334	100%	12,646	100%	3,903	100%

**Table 15.3** Reported need for CLT and participation in CLT amongst 27,900 primary school pupils in The Hague (\* need > 100; \*\* participation > 10) (source: Extra *et al.* 2001:95)

For 17 out of the 20 languages, reported needs exceed reported participation, with the exception of English, Arabic, and Turkish. Some languages were learnt by more pupils at school than outside school, whereas the reverse was reported for other languages. Table 15.4 gives a subset overview of the relevant data for those pupils in whose homes another language was spoken next to or instead of Dutch.

Nr	Language	CLT need at school *	CLT participation at school **	CLT participation outside school **
1	French	2,473	267	79
2	English	2,045	3,570	120
3	Spanish	1,673	97	65
4	German	1,521	138	36
5	Italian	953	58	31
6	Arabic	899	1,251	1,338
7	Hind(ustan)i	851	421	227
8	Turkish	829	1,560	693
9	Chinese	605	55	122
10	Papiamentu	432	28	51
11	Berber	402	180	248
12	Portuguese	368	17	30
13	Sranan Tongo	335	19	24
14	Urdu/'Pakistani'	229	17	141
15	Javanese	217	–	–
16	Kurdish	197	12	15
17	Somali	174	13	21
18	Vietnamese	150	–	–
19	Moluccan/Malay	140	–	–

**Table 15.4** Reported need for CLT and participation in CLT amongst those primary school pupils in The Hague in whose homes another language was spoken next to or instead of Dutch (\* need > 100; \*\* participation > 10) (source: Extra *et al.* 2001:96)

Similar patterns to those observed in Table 15.3 can be seen in Table 15.4. For 16 out of the 19 languages, reported needs exceed reported participation, again with the exception of English, Arabic, and Turkish. Both Table 15.3 and Table 15.4 illustrate a large discrepancy for many languages between reported needs and reported participation. Similar findings emerge in all other cities in the MCP.

Another way of relating participation to need is to investigate whether participation in CLT meets any particular needs in the pupils. A common argument against CLT is that children do not need it at school; it is seen as something the parents can take care of. Tables 15.5 and 15.6 give a comparative overview of the reported reading and writing proficiencies of children who did and children who did not participate in CLT. As in Chapters 13 and 14, the databases presented include all children in the age range of 6-11 years in 20 language groups across all six cities.

Language group	All pupils in the language group			Pupils who received instruction			Pupils who did not receive instruction		
	N	RP	%	N	RP	%	N	RP	%
Turkish	8,942	5,595	63	2,625	2,009	77	6,317	3586	57
French	7,787	4,775	61	5,089	3,964	78	2,698	811	30
Arabic	7,682	2,585	34	3,304	1,686	51	4,378	899	21
English	4,527	1,889	42	1,933	1,106	57	2,594	783	30
Polish	1,925	824	43	322	255	79	1,603	569	35
Russian	1,791	669	37	162	136	84	1,629	533	33
Spanish	1,789	746	42	409	255	62	1,380	491	36
Berber	1,730	462	27	314	146	46	1,416	316	22
Portuguese	1,074	544	51	369	278	75	705	266	38
Italian	994	396	40	252	140	56	742	256	35
Kurdish	974	314	32	234	148	63	740	166	22
Albanian	765	276	36	126	87	69	639	189	30
Serb/Croat/Bosn.	709	315	44	158	134	85	551	181	33
Urdu/'Pakistani'	564	233	41	148	92	62	416	141	34
Chinese	561	296	53	271	210	77	290	86	30
German	559	196	35	141	63	45	418	133	32
Somali	499	204	41	205	104	51	294	100	34
Vietnamese	299	71	24	41	17	41	258	54	21
Romani/Sinte	270	81	30	10	6	60	260	75	29
Armenian	170	59	35	29	18	62	141	41	29

**Table 15.5** Reported reading proficiency and (non-)participation in CLT (RP = reading proficiency)



Language group	All pupils in the language group			Pupils who received instruction			Pupils who did not receive instruction		
	N	WP	%	N	WP	%	N	WP	%
Turkish	8,942	5,068	57	2,625	1,929	73	6,317	3,139	50
French	7,787	3,847	49	5,089	3,257	64	2,698	590	22
Arabic	7,682	2,664	35	3,304	1,748	53	4,378	916	21
English	4,527	1,526	34	1,933	970	50	2,594	556	21
Polish	1,925	611	32	322	229	71	1,603	382	24
Russian	1,791	565	32	162	128	79	1,629	437	27
Spanish	1,789	602	34	409	230	56	1,380	372	27
Berber	1,730	403	23	314	129	41	1,416	274	19
Portuguese	1,074	467	43	369	258	70	705	209	30
Italian	994	316	32	252	121	48	742	195	26
Kurdish	974	290	30	234	148	63	740	142	19
Albanian	765	243	32	126	81	64	639	162	25
Serb/Croat/Bosn.	709	279	39	158	130	82	551	149	27
Urdu/'Pakistani'	564	178	32	148	75	51	416	103	25
Chinese	561	313	56	271	200	74	290	113	39
German	559	145	26	141	29	42	418	86	21
Somali	499	186	37	205	104	51	294	82	28
Vietnamese	299	62	21	41	17	41	258	45	17
Romani/Sinte	270	78	29	10	4	40	260	74	28
Armenian	170	49	29	29	17	59	141	32	23

**Table 15.6** Reported writing proficiency and (non-)participation in CLT (WP = writing proficiency)

When we compare the degree to which the children in the survey have benefited from receiving language instruction, the outcomes are striking. Both the reported reading proficiency and the reported writing proficiency profit strongly from language instruction. The differences are significant for both forms of literacy skills and for all of the 20 language groups. These outcomes clearly demonstrate that children need language instruction in order to acquire literacy skills. In particular in this domain, learning at home cannot compensate for lack of learning at school.

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## 16 Conclusions and discussion

In this final chapter, we look back on the goals and outcomes of this study (Section 16.1) and we offer suggestions for dealing with multilingualism at school (Section 16.2).

### 16.1 In retrospect

The focus of this study was on the increase of urban multilingualism in Europe as a consequence of processes of migration and minorisation. Both multidisciplinary and crossnational perspectives were offered on two major domains in which the transmission of immigrant minority (henceforward IM) languages may occur, i.e., the home and the school. Part I of this Volume dealt with multidisciplinary perspectives on our theme.

Chapter 2 offered *phenomenological* perspectives. This chapter dealt with the semantics of our field of concern and with a number of central notions in this field. The focus was on the concepts of ethnic identity and ethnic identification, the relationship between language and identity, and the notions of ‘foreigners’ and ‘integration’ in the European discourse on IM groups. It was shown that we lack a common referential framework for the languages and their speakers under discussion. Across Europe, however, the plea for ‘integration’ of newcomers goes together with a language of exclusion. Newcomers are commonly referred to as ‘foreigners’ even if they possess citizenship of the particular European nation-state of residence. Moreover, their languages are often referred to as non-territorial, non-regional, non-indigenous, or non-European, whereas the notion of ‘community languages’ is occupied by the national languages of European Union (henceforward EU) states.

Chapter 3 offered *demographic* perspectives. As a consequence of increasing processes of international migration and minorisation, the composition of populations in industrialised countries is changing considerably. As a result of these changes, more information is needed on the composition of population groups, in particular in emerging multicultural societies. In most European countries, there is no tradition of taking periodical censuses, and data on population groups are commonly based on nationality or birth-country criteria. In this chapter, we offered crossnational perspectives on these and other criteria, derived from census experiences abroad. The European context was taken as the point of departure. For

various reasons, nationality statistics and birth-country statistics offer a limited picture of the actual composition of a multicultural society. We demonstrated the problems of these two criteria, and discussed the potential value of two complementary or alternative criteria, i.e., ethnicity and (home) language use. A comprehensive analysis was made of census questions in a number of non-European English-dominant immigration countries: Australia, Canada, the USA, and the Republic of South Africa. In all of these countries, there is a longstanding and extensive experience of gathering nationwide census data on the multicultural composition of their populations. In each of these countries, English has become the language of status and power. At the same time, these countries are characterised by both indigenous and non-indigenous population groups that use other languages at home. Our focus was in particular on the operationalisation and outcomes of census questions related to ethnicity and (home) language use. In addition, from a European perspective, the home language survey experiences of Great Britain and Sweden in educational contexts were reflected on. From the overview presented in Chapter 3, it was concluded that home language use is a meaningful complementary or alternative criterion for tracing multicultural population groups, and that large-scale home language surveys at schools are both feasible and meaningful. It was also concluded that the interpretation of the resulting home language database would be made easier by transparent and multiple questions on home language use. The added value of home language statistics is that they raise the awareness of multilingualism in multicultural contexts, and that they are indispensable tools for educational policies on language teaching.

In Chapter 4, *language rights* perspectives were described. Language rights are variable phenomena, depending on the situational context, on the cultural perspective taken, and on other innumerable social, political, and extralinguistic factors. What is seen as a right in one context is unthinkable in another context. Human rights in general and language rights in particular are of paramount importance, but without unyielding institutions to turn these rights into realities, the recognition of language rights on paper is pointless. Having examined numerous language rights documents, we witnessed a language of hegemony, in which dominant groups bestow some alms to some minority groups. When the socio-political sphere in a society changes, language rights also change. In times of economic hardship, the minorities' belts are tightened first: instruction in their languages at school and broadcasting in their languages need to end. In order to overcome these ever-changing language rights, an overarching sense of human rights needs to be developed. A number of international and national institutions work towards this end. In order to show the variation in the understanding of language rights, various perspectives and actual conditions in some countries were briefly presented first.

In addition, a number of global and European documents concerning language rights and their limitations were discussed. Most European legislations and charters concerning minority languages are exclusion-oriented and focus on regional minority (henceforward RM) groups instead of both regional and IM groups. The *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* guarantees only the rights of RM groups. Against the background of increasing migration and minorisation across Europe, it was concluded that there is a growing need for overarching language rights for all inhabitants of European nation-states, and that educational systems cannot respond to minority needs unless societies at large are prepared to respond to those needs.

Chapter 5 offered *educational* perspectives. Two strategies are commonly referred to as prerequisite for language maintenance, i.e., intergenerational transmission at home and language teaching at school. In this chapter, we presented case studies of educational policies and practices with respect to IM languages in two widely different and distant contexts in Europe and abroad, i.e., North Rhine-Westphalia (NRW) in Germany and Victoria State in Australia. In each of these federal states, interesting affirmative action programmes have been set up in this domain. We focused on *Muttersprachlicher Unterricht* (Mother Tongue Education) in NRW, and on the learning and teaching of *Languages Other Than English* (LOTE) in Victoria State. NRW has good practice for mother-tongue teaching in Germany but, compared with Victoria State in Australia, it still has a great distance to cover. In NRW, enrolment in classes is on a voluntary basis but, in Victoria State, learning a LOTE is compulsory for all children. Victoria State in Australia has taken firm steps towards achieving a multilingual environment where not only IM children but also Anglo-Australian children learn another language. In this way, learning more than one language has become an objective for all children in a multicultural society.

Parts II and III of this Volume dealt with sociolinguistic and educational perspectives on the status of IM languages at home and at school in six major multicultural cities in different EU countries, in the context of the *Multilingual Cities Project* (MCP). The MCP was carried out as a multiple case study under the auspices of the *European Cultural Foundation*, established in Amsterdam. It was coordinated by a research team at *Babylon*, Centre for Studies of the Multicultural Society, at Tilburg University in the Netherlands, in cooperation with local universities and educational authorities in all participating cities. The aims of the MCP were to gather, analyse, and compare multiple data on the status of IM languages at home and at school. In the participating cities, ranging from Northern to Southern Europe, Germanic or Romance languages, have a dominant status in public life.

The criteria for selecting a city to participate in this multinational study were primarily that it should be a major urban centre and have a great variety of IM groups, as well as a university-based research facility that would be able to handle the local data gathering, the secondary data analysis, and the final reporting of the local results. Given the increasing role of municipalities as educational authorities in all partner cities, the project was carried out in close cooperation between researchers at local universities and local educational authorities. In each partner city, this cooperation proved to be of essential value. Carrying out such a large-scale crossnational study proved to be not only feasible, but also rewarding. In the end, the MCP created a substantial crossnational database, both in terms of the distribution and vitality of IM languages at home and in terms of the status of these languages at school.

Part II of this Volume offered national and local perspectives on the MCP. Chapter 6 dealt with the rationale and research goals of the MCP, with the design of the questionnaire used for carrying out large home language surveys, with data collection and data processing, and with the methodology of measuring language distribution, specifying home language profiles, measuring language vitality, and comparing the status of IM languages at school. Local reports about the participating cities were made available for *Göteborg* (Nygren-Junkin & Extra 2003), *Hamburg* (Fürstenau, Gogolin & Yağmur 2003), *The Hague* (Extra, Aarts, Van der Avoird, Broeder & Yağmur 2001), *Brussels* (Verlot, Delrue, Extra & Yağmur 2003), *Lyon* (Akinci, De Ruiter & Sanagustin 2004), and *Madrid* (Broeder & Mijares 2003).

Chapters 7-12 focused on each of the six cities in the order mentioned above. In all chapters, background information on demographic, multicultural, and multilingual trends in the city and country under consideration was given, with mention of local and/or national peculiarities and flavours. In addition, in all chapters, attention was paid to the outcomes of the local home language survey and to the status of home language instruction (henceforward HLI) in primary and secondary schools according to a similar set of parameters in terms of target groups, arguments, objectives, evaluation, enrolment, curricular status, funding, teaching materials, and teacher qualifications.

Part III of this Volume offered crossnational and crosslinguistic perspectives on the MCP. Chapter 13 gave a crossnational outline of the top-20 languages reported by children in the age range of 6-11 years across the participating cities/countries. Pseudolongitudinal home language profiles were specified for the most frequently reported language groups in each of the cities. The concept of language group was based on the pupils' answers to the question of whether and, if so, which other languages were used at home next to or instead of the mainstream language. For

each language group, four language dimensions were presented and commented upon in a pseudolongitudinal perspective:

- language proficiency: the extent to which the pupil can understand/speak/read/write the home language;
- language choice: the extent to which the home language is commonly spoken with the mother, father, younger and older brothers/sisters, and best friends;
- language dominance: the extent to which the home language is spoken best;
- language preference: the extent to which the home language is preferably spoken.

For each of the 20 language groups, graphic diagrams were provided for each of these four language dimensions reported on by children in three successive age groups. Tabulated information was provided on the number of pupils and the language vitality per age group (6/7, 8/9, and 10/11 years old) and per generation (first, second, and third, depending on the countries of birth of parents and children). The concept of language vitality was operationalised and calculated on the basis of the following specifications of the four language dimensions under consideration:

- language proficiency: the extent to which the home language under consideration is *understood*;
- language choice: the extent to which this language is commonly spoken at home *with the mother*;
- language dominance: the extent to which this home language is spoken *best*;
- language preference: the extent to which this home language is *preferably* spoken.

In Chapter 14, we offered crosslinguistic perspectives on the same 20 language groups for which language profiles were specified in Chapter 13 from a cross-national point of view. Our focus was on the same age groups and generations as were presented in Chapter 13. First, we gave an overview of the crosslinguistic database under consideration and the representation of particular language groups in particular cities. Next, we presented crosslinguistic perspectives on the four language dimensions specified above. We also presented crosslinguistic perspectives on language vitality across different age groups and generations.

Romani/Sinte was found to have the highest language vitality across age groups, and English and German the lowest. The bottom position of English was explained by the fact that this language has a higher status as *lingua franca* than as language at home. The top position for language vitality of Romani/Sinte was also observed in earlier and similar research amongst children in the Netherlands, and confirmed by various other studies of this particular language community. One obvious reason why language vitality is a core value for the Roma across Europe is the absence of

source country references as alternative markers of identity – in contrast to almost all other language groups under consideration. When the average scores of the youngest (6/7) and oldest (9/10) age groups were compared, eleven language groups showed the highest score for the former and five language groups showed the highest score for the latter. Strong maintenance of language vitality across the youngest and oldest age groups emerged for eight out of the twenty language groups. Strong differences between language groups emerged in the distribution of pupils across different generations. In most language groups, second-generation pupils were the best represented and third-generation pupils the least well represented. In conformity with expectations, the obtained data showed a stronger decrease of language vitality across generations than across age groups. The strongest intergenerational shift between first- and third-generation pupils emerged for Polish, whereas the strongest intergenerational maintenance of language vitality occurred for Romani/Sinte and Turkish.

In Chapter 15, we presented the major outcomes of a comparative study on the teaching of the languages of IM groups in the six EU cities and countries discussed in Part II of this Volume. Being aware of crossnational differences in denotation, we used the concept of *community language teaching* (CLT) when referring to this type of education. Our rationale for using the concept of CLT rather than the concepts of *mother tongue teaching* or *home language instruction* was the inclusion of a broad spectrum of potential target groups. First of all, the status of an IM language as a ‘native’ or ‘home’ language can change through intergenerational processes of language shift. Moreover, in secondary education, both minority and majority pupils are often *de jure* (although seldom *de facto*) admitted to CLT (in the Netherlands, e.g., Turkish is a secondary school subject referred to as ‘Turkish’ rather than ‘home language instruction’; compare also the concepts of *Enseignement des Langues et Cultures d’Origine* and *Enseignement des Langues Vivantes* in French primary and secondary schools, respectively). We focused on the status of CLT in primary and secondary schools in all participating cities and countries. We also presented reported data on CLT participation and needs, derived from the language survey amongst primary school children carried out in all six cities.

Considerable differences between primary and secondary education in the status of CLT were found. A comparison of all parameters under discussion made clear that CLT has gained a higher status in secondary schools than in primary schools. In primary education, CLT is generally not part of the ‘regular’ or ‘national’ curriculum, and, therefore, has become a negotiable entity in a complex and often opaque interplay between a variety of actors. Another remarkable difference is that, in some countries, CLT is funded by the consulates or embassies of the countries of origin. In these cases, the national government does not interfere in the organ-



isation of CLT, or in the requirements for, and the selection and employment of, teachers. A paradoxical consequence is that the earmarking of CLT budgets is often safeguarded by the above-mentioned consulates or embassies. National, regional, or local governments often fail to earmark budgets, so that funds meant for CLT may be appropriated for other educational purposes.

The higher status of CLT in secondary education is largely due to the fact that instruction in one or more languages other than the national standard language is a traditional and regular component of the (optional) school curriculum, whereas primary education is mainly determined by a monolingual *habitus* (Gogolin 1994). *Within* secondary education, however, CLT must compete with ‘foreign’ languages that have a higher status or a longer tradition.

Against the multidisciplinary background described in Part I of this Volume, the goals for collecting, analysing, and comparing multiple home language data on multicultural school populations, expressed in Chapter 6.2, derived from three different perspectives:

- taken from a *demographic* perspective, home language data play a crucial role in the definition and identification of multicultural school populations;
- taken from a *sociolinguistic* perspective, home language data offer relevant insights into both the distribution and the vitality of home languages across groups, and thus raise the public awareness of multilingualism;
- taken from an *educational* perspective, home language data are indispensable tools for educational planning and policies.

The outcomes of the local language surveys carried out in six major multicultural cities across Europe strongly support each of these perspectives. Taken from an intergenerational perspective, home language is a more useful criterion for the definition and identification of multicultural school populations than the criteria of nationality or birth country that are widely used across Europe. The outcomes of Chapter 14 have made clear that there are strong differences between language groups in the participating cities in the distribution of pupils across different generations. As mentioned before, in most language groups, second-generation pupils are the best represented and third-generation pupils the least represented. In all cities, however, the number of third-generation pupils is increasing.

The local language surveys amongst primary school children have delivered a wealth of hidden evidence on the distribution and vitality of IM languages at home. Apart from Madrid, late-comer amongst our focal cities in respect of immigration, the proportion of primary school children in whose homes other languages were used next to or instead of the mainstream language ranged per city between one third and more than a half. The total number of traced other languages ranged per

city between 50 and 90; the common pattern was that few languages were referred to often by the children and that many languages were referred to only a few times. The findings show that making use of more than one language is a way of life for an increasing number of children across Europe. The presented data make clear that mainstream and non-mainstream languages should not be conceived of in terms of competition. Rather, the data show that these languages are used as alternatives, dependent on such factors as type of context or interlocutor. The data make also clear that the use of other languages at home does not occur at the cost of competence in the mainstream language. Many children who addressed their parents in another language reported to be dominant in the mainstream language.

Amongst the major 20 languages in the participating cities presented in Chapter 13, 10 languages are of European origin and 10 languages stem from abroad. These findings clearly show that the traditional concept of language diversity in Europe should be reconsidered and extended. The outcomes of the local language surveys also demonstrate the high status of English amongst primary school children across Europe. Its intrusion in the children's homes is apparent from the position of English in the top-5 of non-national languages referred to by the children in all participating cities. This outcome cannot be explained as an effect of migration and minorisation only. The children's reference to English also derives from the status of English as the international language of power and prestige. English has become the dominant *lingua franca* for intercultural communication across Europe, and has invaded the terminology of all of the national languages under consideration. Children have access to English through a variety of media. Moreover, English is commonly taught in particular grades at primary schools. As Verlot & Delrue stated in Chapter 10,

The reported use of English can be explained by the status of English as a lingua franca in a globalising world, used ubiquitously in business, media, and popular culture. English is the language of all 'great' things in life: music, TV, mobiles, computers, the internet, and ... of course, McDonald's. In other words, English is 'cool'. Children 'want' to identify with English-speakers because they want to be part of those things they consider to be 'cool', despite the fact that they actually use other languages at home.

In addition, children in all participating cities expressed a desire to learn a variety of languages that are not taught at school. The outcomes of the local language surveys also show that children who took part in instruction in particular languages at school reported higher levels of literacy in these languages than children who did not take part in such instruction. As was made clear in Chapter 15.2, both the

reported reading proficiency and the reported writing proficiency profited strongly from language instruction. The differences between participants and non-participants in language instruction were significant for both forms of literacy skills and for all of the 20 language groups reported on in Chapter 13. In this domain in particular, the added value of language instruction for language maintenance and development is clear.

Owing to the monolingual *habitus* of primary schooling across Europe, there is an increasing mismatch between language practices at home and at school. The findings on multilingualism at home and those on language needs and language instruction reported by the children in this study should be taken into account by both national and local educational authorities in all types of language policy.

## 16.2 Dealing with multilingualism at school

In Europe, language policy has largely been considered a domain which should be developed within the national boundaries of the different EU nation-states. Proposals for an overarching EU language policy were laboriously achieved and are non-committal in character (Coulmas 1991). The most important declarations, recommendations, or directives on language policy, each of which carries a different charge in the EU jargon, concern the recognition of the status of (in the order mentioned):

- national EU languages;
- ‘indigenous’ or regional minority (RM) languages;
- ‘non-territorial’ or immigrant minority (IM) languages.

On numerous occasions, the EU ministers of education declared that the EU citizens’ knowledge of languages should be promoted (Baetens Beardsmore 1993). Each EU member-state should promote pupils’ proficiency in at least two ‘foreign’ languages, and at least one of these languages should be the official language of an EU state. Promoting knowledge of RM and/or IM languages was left out of consideration in these ministerial statements. The European Parliament, however, accepted various resolutions which recommended the protection and promotion of RM languages and which led to the foundation of the *European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages* in 1982. Another result of the European Parliament resolutions was the foundation of the European MERCATOR Network, aimed at promoting research into the status and use of RM languages. In March 1998, the *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* came into operation. The Charter is aimed at the protection and promotion of RM languages, and it functions as an

international instrument for the comparison of legal measures and other facilities of the EU member-states in this policy domain.

As yet, no such initiatives have been taken in the policy domain of IM languages. It is remarkable that the teaching of RM languages is generally advocated for reasons of cultural diversity as a matter of course, whereas this is rarely a major argument in favour of teaching IM languages. The 1977 guideline of the Council of European Communities on education for IM children (*Directive 77/486*, dated 25 July, 1977) is now outdated. It needs to be put in a new and increasingly multicultural context; it needs to be extended to pupils originating from non-EU countries; and it needs to be given greater binding force in the EU member-states.

There is a great need for educational policies in Europe that take new realities of multilingualism into account. Processes of internationalisation and globalisation have brought European nation-states to the world, but they have also brought the world to European nation-states. This bipolar pattern of change has led to both convergence and divergence of multilingualism across Europe. On the one hand, English is on the rise as the *lingua franca* for international communication across the borders of European nation-states at the cost of all other national languages of Europe, including French. In spite of many objections against the hegemony of English (Phillipson 2003), this process of convergence will be enhanced by the extension of the EU in an eastward direction. Within the borders of European nation-states, however, there is an increasing divergence of home languages due to large-scale processes of migration and intergenerational minorisation.

The call for differentiation of the monolingual *habitus* of primary schools across Europe originates not only *bottom-up* from IM parents or organisations, but also *top-down* from supra-national institutions which emphasise the increasing need for European citizens with a transnational and multicultural affinity and identity. Multilingual competencies are considered prerequisites for such an affinity and identity (see Chapter 2 in this Volume). Both the European Commission and the Council of Europe have published many policy documents in which language diversity is cherished as a key element of the multicultural identity of Europe – now and in the future. This language diversity is considered to be a prerequisite rather than an obstacle for a united European space in which all citizens are equal (not the same) and enjoy equal rights (Council of Europe 2000). The maintenance of language diversity and the promotion of language learning and multilingualism are seen as essential elements for the improvement of communication and for the reduction of intercultural misunderstanding.

The European Commission (1995) opted in a so-called *Whitebook* for trilingualism as a policy goal for all European citizens. Apart from the ‘mother tongue’, each citizen should learn at least two ‘community languages’. In fact, the

concept of ‘mother tongue’ referred to the national languages of particular nation-states and ignored the fact that mother tongue and national language do not coincide for many inhabitants of Europe. At the same time, the concept of ‘community languages’ referred to the national languages of two other EU member-states. In later European Commission documents, reference was made to one foreign language with high international prestige (English was deliberately not referred to) and one so-called ‘neighbouring language’. The latter concept related always to neighbouring countries, never to next-door neighbours.

In cooperation with the Council of Europe and with the support of UNESCO, the year 2001 was proclaimed by the European Commission (2001a) as the ‘European Year of Languages’ with the following three aims:

- to increase awareness of Europe’s linguistic heritage and openness to different languages and cultures as a source of mutual enrichment to be protected and promoted in European societies;
- to motivate European citizens to develop plurilingualism, that is, to achieve a degree of communicative ability in a number of languages, including those less widely used and taught, for improved mutual understanding, closer co-operation, and active participation in European democratic processes;
- to encourage and support lifelong language learning for personal development and so that all European citizens can acquire the language competences necessary to respond to economic, social, and cultural changes in society.

The Council of Europe developed projects for the European Year of Languages which covered 47 states and also engaged with UNESCO in order to spread involvement to as wide a range of countries as possible. The EU formally agreed to support the European Year of Languages in July 2000. The European Commission (2001b) also set a number of objectives for the Year which were similar to, if somewhat more detailed than, those of the Council of Europe. These were:

- to raise awareness of the richness of linguistic and cultural diversity within the EU and the value in terms of civilisation and culture embodied therein, acknowledging the principle that all languages must be recognised to have equal cultural value and dignity;
- to encourage multiculturalism.

In a follow-up to the European Year of Languages, the heads of state and government of all EU member-states gathered in March 2002 in Barcelona and called upon the European Commission to take further action to promote multilingualism across Europe, in particular by the learning and teaching of at least two foreign

languages from a very young age (Nikolov & Curtain 2000). On 14 February 2002, the Education Council invited Member States to take concrete steps to promote linguistic diversity and language learning, and invited the European Commission to draw up proposals in these fields. In preparing an Action Plan, the European Commission undertook a wide public consultation involving other European institutions, relevant national ministries, a wide range of organisations representing civil society, and the general public. The consultation document was made available on-line in all EU languages. Over 300 substantive responses to the consultation were received. The final Action Plan 2004-2006, published by the European Commission (2003) contains a number of remarkable passages which are quoted at length here:

Within a very short time, the European Union will undergo its most significant enlargement to date. The new Union will be home to 450 million Europeans from diverse ethnic, cultural and linguistic backgrounds. It will be more important than ever that citizens have the skills necessary to understand and communicate with their neighbours. Building a common home in which to live, work and trade together means acquiring the skills to communicate with one another effectively and to understand one another better. Learning and speaking other languages encourage us to become more open to others, their cultures and outlooks.

(...)

It is a priority for Member States to ensure that language learning in kindergarten and primary school is effective, for it is here that key attitudes towards other languages and cultures are formed, and the foundations for later language learning are laid. The European Council in Barcelona called for “further action ... to improve the mastery of basic skills, in particular by teaching at least two foreign languages from a very early age.” In implementing this commitment, most Member States will be called upon to make significant additional investments.

The advantages of the early learning of languages – which include better skills in one’s mother tongue – only accrue where teachers are trained specifically to teach languages to very young children, where class sizes are small enough for language learning to be effective, where appropriate training materials are available, and where enough curriculum time is devoted to languages. Initiatives to make language learning available to an ever-younger group of pupils must be supported by appropriate resources, including resources for teacher training.

Early learners become aware of their own cultural values and influences and appreciate other cultures, becoming more open towards and interested in others. This benefit is limited if all pupils learn the same language: a range of languages should be available to early learners. Parents and teaching staff need better information about the benefits of this early start, and about the criteria that should inform the choice of children's first foreign language.

(...)

Promoting linguistic diversity means actively encouraging the teaching and learning of the widest possible range of languages in our schools, universities, adult education centres and enterprises. Taken as a whole, the range on offer should include the smaller European languages as well as all the larger ones, regional, minority and migrant languages as well as those with 'national' status, and the languages of our major trading partners throughout the world. The imminent enlargement of the European Union will bring with it a wealth of languages from several language families; it requires a special effort to ensure that the languages of the new Member States become more widely learned in other countries. *Member States* have considerable scope to take a lead in promoting the teaching and learning of a wider range of languages than at present.

The pleas made in this European Action Plan may lead to an inclusive approach in which IM languages are no longer denied access to Europe's celebration of language diversity. In particular, the plea for the learning of three languages by all EU citizens, the plea for an early start to such learning experiences, and the plea for offering a wide range of languages to choose from, open the door to such an inclusive approach. Although this may sound paradoxical, such an approach can also be advanced by accepting the role of English as *lingua franca* for intercultural communication across Europe.

Earlier in this section, we referred to processes of internationalisation and globalisation, and to their impact on the divergence and convergence of multilingualism across European nation-states. Against this background, the following principles are suggested for the enhancement of multilingualism at the primary school level:

- 1 In the primary school curriculum, three languages are introduced for all children:
  - the standard language of the particular nation-state as a major school subject and the major language of communication for the teaching of other school subjects;
  - English as *lingua franca* for international communication;
  - an additional third language chosen from a variable and varied set of priority languages at the national, regional, and/or local levels of the multicultural society.
- 2 The teaching of these languages is part of the regular school curriculum and subject to educational inspection.
- 3 Regular primary school reports provide, formally or informally, information on the children's proficiency in each of these languages.
- 4 National working programmes are established for the priority languages referred to under (1) in order to develop curricula, teaching methods, and teacher training programmes.
- 5 Part of these priority languages may be taught at specialised language schools.

This set of principles is aimed at reconciling *bottom-up* and *top-down* pleas in Europe for multilingualism, and is inspired by large-scale and enduring experiences with the learning and teaching of English (as L1 or L2) and one Language Other Than English (LOTE) for all children in Victoria State, Australia (see Chapter 5.2 and Appendix 2 in this Volume). Derived from an overarching conceptual and longitudinal framework, *priority languages* could be specified in terms of both RM and IM languages for the development of curricula, teaching methods, and teacher training programmes. Moreover, the increasing internationalisation of pupil populations in European schools requires that a language policy be introduced for *all* school children in which the traditional dichotomy between foreign language instruction for indigenous majority pupils and HLI for IM pupils is put aside. Given the experiences abroad (e.g., the Victorian School of Languages in Melbourne, Australia), *language schools* can become centres of expertise where a variety of languages is taught, if the number of children requesting instruction in these languages is low and/or spread over many schools. In line with the proposed principles for primary schooling, similar ideas could be worked out for secondary



schools where learning more than one language is already an established practice. The above-mentioned principles would recognise multilingualism in an increasingly multicultural environment as an asset for all children and for society at large. The EU, the Council of Europe, and UNESCO could function as leading transnational agencies in promoting such concepts. The UNESCO *Universal Declaration of Cultural Diversity* (see Chapter 4.2) is in line with the views expressed here, in particular in its plea to encourage linguistic diversity, to respect the mother tongue at all levels of education, and to foster the learning of several languages from the youngest age. For further inspiration on the concepts proposed, we refer to *Multilingualism for All* (Skutnabb-Kangas 1995) and *The Other Languages of Europe* (Extra & Gorter 2001).

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## **Appendices**



## Appendix 1

### English version of the language survey questionnaire

#### *Anchorage points*

Software and processing of the filled-out questionnaires are discussed in Chapter 6.5. The bottom-line texts on the first and second page of the questionnaire function as anchorage points for database recognition before the process of data scanning can start.

#### *Questions 9/10/11*

- C 1 = country of residence (*in casu* Sweden, Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, France or Spain);
- C 2-20 = alphabetical list of countries most frequently represented in a particular city (*in casu* Göteborg, Hamburg, The Hague, Brussels, Lyon or Madrid, respectively), derived from local municipal statistics.

#### *Questions 12/13*

- xxx = mainstream language of country of residence (*in casu* Swedish, German, Dutch, French or Spanish, respectively).

#### *Questions 13-20*

- L 1 = mainstream language of country of residence;
- L 2-20 = alphabetical list of languages most frequently represented in a particular city, derived from assumptions on countries 2-20.









## Appendix 2

### Multicultural policy for schools in Victoria State, Australia

#### 1 Intercultural education

Schools need to ensure that:

- all staff have the opportunity to attend professional development programs targeted at incorporating multicultural perspectives across the curriculum;
- intercultural studies take a whole-school approach, with all staff members being responsible and with regular reports on the area provided to school council;
- the studies include the cultures present in the school population and present a balance of Aboriginal, European – including Anglo-Celtic – Asian, Middle Eastern, African, South American and Pacific Islander cultures;
- the materials used are well-researched and academically interesting and challenging, and are flexible enough to potentially embrace all cultures;
- where units dealing with topics such as ‘racism’ or ‘stereotyping’ are used, they are discussed as part of a well-planned program incorporating other aspects of the curriculum and delivered, or at least acknowledged as significant, by all staff.

#### 2 ESL-provision for students from language backgrounds other than English

Schools need to ensure that ESL provision:

- emphasises ‘second language’ rather than ‘English’, thereby removing the ‘remedial’ taint that can affect ESL programs and the deficit label sometimes applied to the students;
- acknowledges the first-language skills and cultural experiences of the students as assets, and values them as a sound basis for the teaching and learning of English;
- helps ESL learners access the mainstream curriculum and achieve the educational goals of all students;
- ensures that multicultural perspectives are included in the content;
- is combined wherever possible with continuing concept development in their first language for young students with little or no English, to enable them to develop conceptually with their peers;
- is designed to provide for the needs of all students from language backgrounds other than English – Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students, Auslan signers, recent arrivals, less recent arrivals and those students born in Australia to parents from language backgrounds other than English. The ESL needs of

this latter group may in some instances overlap, but should not be confused with those of students requiring remedial assistance. The varying needs of groups of ESL learners may not be easily identified but strategies need to be put in place to ensure that they are.

### **3 LOTE-provision for all students**

Schools need to ensure that:

- multicultural perspectives are included in the content of the provision;
- the culture of the target language is explored in depth – both in the LOTE classes and across other curriculum areas;
- all languages represented in the Victorian community are valued and that the perceived emphasis on so-called languages of economic importance is seen as part of Victoria's balanced policy on languages, and in the context of remedying a long-term under-provision of Asian languages in Victorian schools;
- LOTE programs deal with other cultures – as well as that of the LOTE being studied – accurately, analytically and in a culturally sensitive, non-stereotypical way. This is particularly important in bilingual programs where other curriculum areas are taught in and through the LOTE.

## Appendix 3

### Language descriptions

We present a short typological description of the 20 languages that have been discussed in Part III of this Volume. For each language, information is given about the estimated number of speakers, the geographical distribution, and the typological classification (up to maximally four levels of specification). In addition, some relevant facts about each language are presented. Most of the information is derived from the current database of *The Ethnologue* ([www.sil.org/ethnologue](http://www.sil.org/ethnologue); see also Grimes 1996). For other resources we refer to Dalby (1999/2000), Campbell (2000), Giacalone Ramat & Ramat (1998), and Crystal (1997) (see references in Chapter 6).

#### 1 **Albanian/Tosk**

- Population: 2,900,000 in Albania (1989). 3,202,000 in Albania including Gheg (1989), 98% of the population (1989). Population total all countries 3,000,000 for Tosk, 5,000,000 for all Albanian (1999).
- Region: Mainly south Albania to the Shkumbi River. Also spoken in Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Egypt, Germany, Greece, Italy, Macedonia, Romania, Slovenia, Sweden, Turkey (Europe), Ukraine, USA, Yugoslavia.
- Classification: Indo-European, Albanian, Tosk.
- Comments: National language. Reported to be inherently unintelligible with Gheg Albanian and partially intelligible with Arvanitika Albanian of Greece. Not intelligible with Arbëreshë of Italy. Tosk has been the basis of the official Standard Albanian since 1952. It is used in schools.

#### 2 **Arabic**

- Population: No estimate available.
- Region: Middle East, North Africa, other Muslim countries. Also spoken in more than 20 other countries including Algeria, Bahrain, Chad, Comoros Islands, Egypt, Eritrea, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Oman, Palestinian West Bank and Gaza, Qatar, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tanzania, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, Yemen.

Classification: Afro-Asiatic, Semitic, Central, Arabic.

Comments: Used for education, official purposes, written materials, and formal speeches. Classical Arabic is used for religion and ceremonial purposes, having archaic vocabulary. Modern Standard Arabic is a modernized variety of Classical Arabic. In most Arab countries only the well educated have adequate proficiency in Standard Arabic, while over 100,500,000 do not. Not a mother tongue, but taught in schools.

### 3 **Armenian**

Population: 3,197,000 in Armenia. 91% of the ethnic group in the former USSR spoke it as mother tongue (1979 census). Population total all countries 6,000,000 (1999).

Region: Throughout the country. Also spoken in 29 other countries including Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Canada, Cyprus, Egypt, Estonia, France, Georgia, Greece, Honduras, Hungary, India, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Lebanon, Syria, Turkey.

Classification: Indo-European, Armenian.

Comments: National language. All dialects in all countries are usually reported to be mutually intelligible. Russian second language of about 30% of Armenians in Armenia. Eastern Armenian (Ashkharik) spoken in Armenia, Turkey, Iran. Armenian script.

### 4 **Berber**

Cover term for different Berber languages, in particular Tarifit, Tashelhit, and Tamazight in Morocco.

Population: Estimated at 5,700,000 in Morocco.

*Tarifit*: 1,500,000 in Morocco, worldwide 2,000,000.

*Tashelhit*: 2,300,000 in Morocco, worldwide 3,000,000.

*Tamazight*: 1,900,000 in Morocco, worldwide 3,000,000.

Region: Tarifit in Rif mountains, Tashelhit in Atlas mountains and in Algeria, Tamazight in Central Atlas and in Algeria. Also in migration context of Europe.

Classification: Afro-Asiatic, Berber, North.

Comments: Berber varieties are non-codified, also in terms of chosen or preferred script. Mutual intelligibility of different Berber varieties is limited. On the countryside most men are bilingual

speakers of Berber and Arabic, whereas many women are monolingual speakers of Berber. No reliable empirical data available on spread of Berber or degree of mono/bilingualism.

## 5 Chinese

Cover term for different languages of China, such as Mandarin, Wu, Cantonese, Hakka or Min Nan.

Population: *Mandarin*: 867,200,000 in mainland China (1999), 70% of the population, including 8,600,000 to 20,000,000 Hui (Muslims). Population total all countries 874,000,000 first language speakers, 1,052,000,000 including second language speakers (1999).

*Wu*: 77,175,000, 7.5% of the population (1984).

*Cantonese*: 46,000,000, 4.5% of the population, 5,200,000 in Hongkong, 750,000 in Malaysia, 180,000,000 in Indonesia. Worldwide 66,000,000.

*Hakka*: 25,725,000 in mainland China, 2.5% of the population (1984), 2,000,000 in Taiwan, 1,000,000 in Malaysia, 640,000 in Indonesia. Worldwide 33,000,000 (1999).

*Min Nan*: 25,000,000 in mainland China, 2,000,000 in Taiwan, 1,000,000 in Malaysia, 640,000 in Indonesia. Worldwide 34,000,000.

Region: Mandarin spoken all over China, Wu especially along the Changjiang River, Cantonese in the Canton area, Hakka in Guangdong. Also spoken in Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Mauritius, Mongolia, Philippines, Asian Russia, Singapore, Taiwan, Thailand, United Kingdom, USA, Vietnam.

Classification: Sino-Tibetan, Chinese.

Comments: Mandarin is the official language of China and taught in all schools in China and Taiwan. Written Chinese is based on the Beijing dialect, but has been heavily influenced by other varieties of Northern Mandarin. Putonghua is the official form taught in schools. Putonghua is inherently intelligible with the Beijing dialect, and other Mandarin varieties in the Northeast. Mandarin varieties in the Lower Plateau in Shaanxi are not readily intelligible with Putonghua. Mandarin varieties of Guilin and Kunming are inherently unintelligible to speakers of Putonghua. Taipei Mandarin and Beijing Mandarin are fully

inherently intelligible to each other's speakers. The Hui are non-Turkic, non-Mongolian Muslims who speak Mandarin as first language. Hui is a separate official nationality.

## 6 **English**

**Population:** 55,000,000 first language speakers in the United Kingdom (1984 estimate). Population total all countries 341,000,000 first language speakers (1999), 508,000,000 including second language speakers (1999).

**Region:** Also spoken in more than 100 other countries including Australia, Belize, Canada, India, Ireland, Jamaica, Malaysia, Malta, New Zealand, Singapore, South Africa, USA.

**Classification:** Indo-European, Germanic, West, English.

**Comments:** Official language of e.g., Great Britain, USA, and Canada. One of the major world languages.

## 7 **French**

**Population:** 51,000,000 first language speakers in France. Population total all countries 77,000,000 first language speakers (1999), 128,000,000 including second language speakers (1999).

**Region:** Also spoken in more than 50 other countries including Algeria, Andorra, Belgium, Burkina Fasso, Burundi, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Djibouti, French Guiana, French Polynesia, Gabon, Guadeloupe, Guinea, Haiti, Lebanon, Luxemburg, Madagascar, Mali, Martinique, Mauritius, Monaco, Morocco, Niger, Rwanda, Senegal, Seychelles, Switzerland, Togo, Tunisia.

**Classification:** Indo-European, Italic, Romance, Gallo-Romance.

**Comments:** Official language in e.g., France, Canada, and Switzerland. Often used as second language or lingua franca in former French colonies.

## 8 **German**

**Population:** 75,300,000 in Germany (1990). Population total all countries 100,000,000 first language speakers (1999); 128,000,000 including second language speakers (1999).

**Region:** Also spoken in about 40 other countries including Austria, Belgium, Czech Republic, Denmark, Hungary, Italy,

Kazakhstan, Liechtenstein, Luxemburg, Paraguay, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Switzerland.

Classification: Indo-European, Germanic, West, High German.

Comments: Official language in Germany, Austria, and Liechtenstein. Standard German is one High German variety, which developed from the chancery of Saxony, gaining acceptance as the written standard in the 16th and 17th centuries. High German refers to dialects and languages in the upper Rhine region.

## 9 **Italian**

Population: 55,000,000 mother tongue speakers in Italy, some of whom are native bilinguals of Italian and regional varieties, and some of whom may use Italian as second language. Population total all countries 62,000,000.

Region: Also spoken in about 30 other countries including Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Brazil, Canada, Croatia, Egypt, Eritrea, France, Germany, Israel, Libya, Liechtenstein, Luxemburg, Paraguay, Philippines, Puerto Rico, San Marino, Slovenia, Switzerland.

Classification: Indo-European, Italic, Romance, Italo-Western.

Comments: Standard Italian is the national language of Italy. Regional varieties coexist with the standard language; some are inherently unintelligible to speakers of other varieties unless they have learned them. Aquilano, Molisano, and Pugliese are very different from the other Italian 'dialects'. Piemontese and Sicilian are distinct enough to be separate languages. Venetian and Lombard are also very different. Neapolitan is reported to be unintelligible to speakers of Standard Italian. Northern varieties are closer to French and Occitan than to standard or southern varieties. Most Italians use varieties along a continuum from standard to regional to local according to what is appropriate. Possibly nearly half the population do not use Standard Italian as mother tongue. Only 2.5% of Italy's population could speak standard Italian when it became a unified nation in 1861.

**10 Kurdish**

**Population:** 2,785,500 in Iraq, 18% of population including all Kurds in Iraq, most of whom speak Kurdish (1986). Population total all countries 6,036,000. All Kurd speakers in all countries: 11,000,000 (1999).

**Region:** Also spoken in Iran, Syria, Turkey, USA.

**Classification:** Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Iranian, Western.

**Comments:** Kurdish has an official status in Kurdistan (Iraq). Arabic script used in Iraq, Iran, and Syria. Roman script used in Turkey.

**11 Polish**

**Population:** 36,554,000 in Poland, 98% of the population (1986). Population total all countries 44,000,000 (1999).

**Region:** Also spoken in Australia, Austria, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Canada, Czech Republic, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Hungary, Israel, Kazakhstan, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Russia (Europe), Slovakia, Ukraine, UAE, USA.

**Classification:** Indo-European, Slavic, West, Lechitic.

**Comments:** National language. Roman script.

**12 Portuguese**

**Population:** 10,000,000 in Portugal. Population total all countries 176,000,000 first language speakers, 191,000,000 including second language speakers (1999).

**Region:** Iberia, Azores, Madeira. Also spoken in more than 30 other countries including Andorra, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Cape Verde Islands, China, Congo, France, Germany, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, India, Indonesia, Jamaica, Luxembourg, Malawi, Mozambique, Eastern Timor.

**Classification:** Indo-European, Italic, Romance, Ibero-Romance.

**Comments:** National language of Portugal and Brazil. Standard Portuguese of Portugal is based on Southern or Estremenho dialect (Lisbon and Coimbra). Literacy rate in second language: 83% to 84%.

**13 Romani/Sinte**

**Population:** 31,000 in (former) Yugoslavia including 30,000 Serbian, 1,000 Manouche. Population total all countries 200,000 (1980 UBS).



- Region:** Kosovo. Also spoken in Austria, Croatia, Czech Republic, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Kazakhstan, Netherlands, Poland, Slovenia, Switzerland.
- Classification:** Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Indo-Aryan, Central zone.
- Comments:** Croatian, Slovenian, and Serbian Romani speakers understand each other. Those varieties may be quite distinct from the German varieties. Sinte is characterized by German influence. 'Romanes' is the self-name of the ethnic group.

#### 14 **Russian**

- Population:** 153,655,000 in Russia and the other the republics of the former USSR. Population total all countries 167,000,000 first language speakers; 277,000,000 including second language users (1999).
- Region:** Also spoken in about 30 other countries including Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Bulgaria, Canada, China, Czech Republic, Estonia, Finland, Georgia, Germany, Greece, India, Israel, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Mongolia, USA.
- Classification:** Indo-European, Slavic, East.
- Comments:** National language of Russia and lingua franca between different ethnic groups in almost all republics of the former USSR.

#### 15 **Serbian/Croatian/Bosnian**

- Population:** Worldwide 21,000,000.
- Region:** Spoken in present Yugoslavia, Croatia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Also spoken in more than 20 other countries including Albania, Australia, Austria, Bulgaria, Canada, Croatia, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Macedonia, Romania, Russia (Europe), Slovakia, Slovenia, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey (Europe).
- Classification:** Indo-European, Slavic, South, Western.

##### **Bosnian**

- Population:** 4,000,000.
- Region:** Bosnia-Herzegovina.
- Comments:** Roman script.

**Croatian**

Population: 4,800,000.

Region: Croatia.

Comments: Roman script. The variety of Croatian spoken in Austria (Burgenland) differs extensively from that spoken in Croatia and mutual intelligibility is difficult.

**Serbian**

Population: Primarily spoken in present Yugoslavia.

Region: Serbia, Kosovo, and Montenegro.

Comments: Cyrillic script. National language of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro).

16 **Somali**

Population: 5,400,000 to 6,700,000 in Somalia (1991). Population total all countries 9,472,000 to 10,770,000.

Region: Also spoken in Djibouti, Ethiopia, Finland, Italy, Kenya, Oman, Saudi Arabia, Sweden, UAE, United Kingdom, Yemen.

Classification: Afro-Asiatic, Cushitic, East, Somali.

Comments: National language. The language of most of the people of the country. Literacy rate in second language: 25% in cities, 10% rural. The government adopted the Roman script in 1972. The Osmanian script is no longer used. Northern Somali is the basis for Standard Somali. It is readily intelligible to speakers of Benaadir Somali, but difficult or unintelligible to Maay and Digil speakers, except for those who have learned it through mass communications, urbanization, and internal movement.

17 **Spanish**

Population: 28,173,600 in Spain, 72.8% of the population (1986). Population total all countries 322,200,000 to 358,000,000 first language users, 417,000,000 including second language users (1999).

Region: Central and southern Spain and the Canary Islands. Also spoken in more than 40 other countries including Andorra, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Belize, Bolivia, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, France, Gibraltar, Guatemala,

Honduras, Mexico, Morocco, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Puerto Rico, Uruguay, USA, Venezuela.

Classification: Indo-European, Italic, Romance, Ibero-Romance.

Comments: National language of Spain and many countries in Central and South America. 89% lexical similarity with Portuguese, 85% with Catalan, 82% with Italian, 76% with Sardinian, 75% with French, 74% with Rhetoromance, 71% with Roumanian. Most mother tongue speakers of other languages in Spain use Spanish as second language.

### 18 **Turkish**

Population: 46,278,000 in Turkey, 90% of the population (1987). Population total all countries 61,000,000 (1999).

Region: Spoken throughout Turkey as first or second language. Also spoken in about 35 other countries including Australia, Austria, Azerbaijan, Belgium, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Canada, Cyprus, Denmark, El Salvador, Finland, France, Georgia, Germany, Greece, Honduras, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Macedonia, Romania, Uzbekistan.

Classification: Altaic, Turkic, Southern, Turkish.

Comments: National language. Roman script used since 1923.

### 19 **Urdu/Pakistani**

Population: 10,719,000 mother tongue speakers in Pakistan (1993), 75.7% of the population. Population total all countries 60,290,000 or more. Including second language speakers: 104,000,000 (1999).

Region: Also spoken in Afghanistan, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Botswana, Fiji, Germany, Guyana, India, Malawi, Mauritius, Nepal, Norway, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Thailand, UAE, United Kingdom, Zambia.

Classification: Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Indo-Aryan, Central zone.

Comments: National language. Arabic script in Nastaliq style with several extra characters used. Intelligible with Hindi, but has formal vocabulary borrowed from Arabic and Persian. The second or third language of most Pakistanis for whom it is not the mother tongue.

**20 Vietnamese**

Population: 65,051,000 in Vietnam, 86.7% of the population (1993).  
Population total all countries 68,000,000 (1999).

Region: Also spoken in Australia, Cambodia, Canada, China, Côte d'Ivoire, Finland, Franca, Germany, Laos, Martinique, Netherlands, New Caledonia, Norway, Philippines, Senegal, Thailand, United Kingdom, USA, Vanuatu.

Classification: Austro-Asiatic, Mon-Khmer, Viet-Muong, Vietnamese.

Comments: National language. Literacy rate in second language: 80%.  
Roman script.

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