Multilingualism in Utrecht
LUCIDE city report

LANGUAGES IN URBAN COMMUNITIES INTEGRATION AND DIVERSITY FOR EUROPE

LUCIDE

By Ivana Brasileiro, Jacomine Nortier, Judith Ridder

Language
Centre

Authors: Authors: Ivana Brasileiro, Jacomine Nortier, Judith Ridder

Utrecht University

Lifelong
Learning
Programme

Contents

Abstract

In this report we present a broad picture of multilingualism in the city of Utrecht in the Netherlands. The report is the result of a research conducted as part of the LUCIDE network (*Languages in Urban Communities: Integration and Diversity for Europe*). The LUCIDE network is formed by 13 European cities along with research teams from Ottawa and Melbourne. A more detailed description of the network will be presented in chapter 3. The main aims of the network are:

1. to build up a concrete picture of how communication occurs in multilingual settings across the EU and beyond;

2. to help institutions (local authorities, schools, hospitals) and local and national economies make better productive use of diversity as an economic resource and to strengthen social cohesion by fostering better communication and mutual understanding;

3. to understand better how the cultural richness of these new cities can strengthen the "diverse unity" of the 21st century.

The city of Utrecht is full of examples of manifestations of bilingualism. One of our main findings however is that the public's opinions on plurilingualism differ according to its type. Bilingualism in Dutch plus another European or Western language is considered something positive which enables communication with foreigners and adds to the city's character. Bilingualism in Turkish or Berber (large migrant languages) plus Dutch, on the other side, is considered an obstacle to integration.

In the course of this report we present data and examples of plurilingualism and multilingualism in Utrecht which help to define the city. In the final chapter we add some recommendations to improve the positive aspects and impact of multi/plurilingualism and to deal with their challenges in the best possible way.

1. Introduction

This report contains 6 sections. This brief introduction (section 1) is followed by a history of multilingualism in Utrecht reaching up to a contemporary perspective (section 2). In this section we present demo-linguistic data including official and unofficial data. At the end of section 2 we hope the reader will have an impression of what the city of Utrecht sounds like and why it sounds the way it does.

In section 3 we describe the LUCIDE network in more detail, providing definitions and assumptions used in our research. In subsection 3.1 we sketch up the methodology and describe the type of data collection, secondary and primary, respectively. In section 4 we present the results of the research conducted in Utrecht, divided according to sphere: educational, public, economic, private and urban.

In section 5 a synthesis of the results is presented, pulling together key findings and ideas. These are subsequently related to the network's key objectives in section 6.

2. Short history of language diversity in Utrecht

Before we proceed with information about Utrecht, we would like to familiarise the reader with the geography of the city. In figure 1 we provide a general map of the city subdivided by its neighbourhoods.
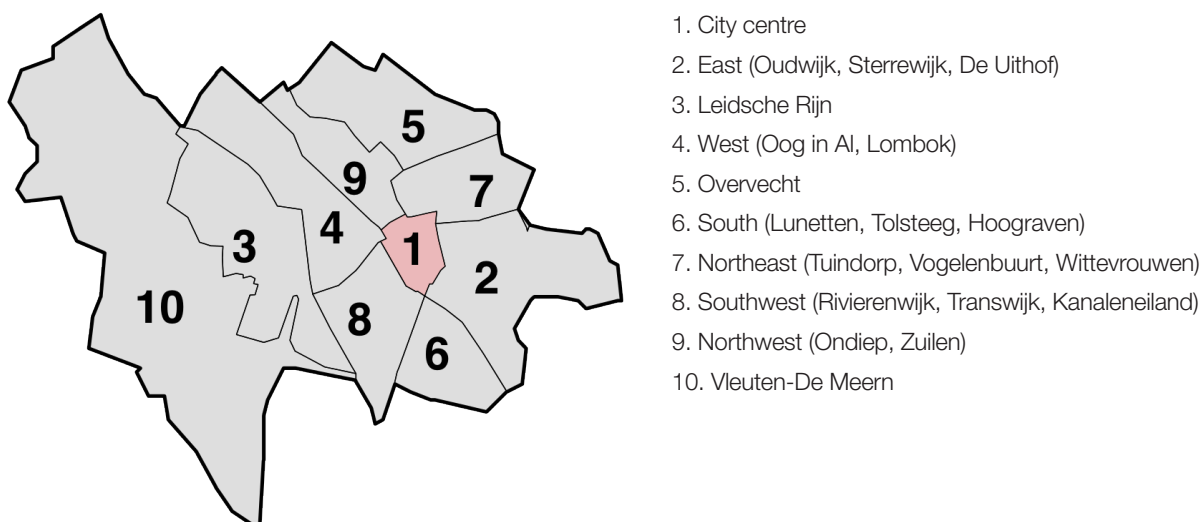

1. City centre
2. East (Oudwijk, Sterrewijk, De Uithof)
3. Leidsche Rijn
4. West (Oog in Al, Lombok)
5. Overvecht
6. South (Lunetten, Tolsteeg, Hoograven)
7. Northeast (Tuindorp, Vogelenbuurt, Wittevrouwen)
8. Southwest (Rivierenwijk, Transwijk, Kanaleneiland)
9. Northwest (Ondiep, Zuilen)
10. Vleuten-De Meern

Figure 1 – The city of Utrecht, subdivided in districts and some of its neighbourhoods (given between brackets)

Bron: © 2008, Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek / Topografische Dienst Kadaster [Attribution or CC-BY-SA-3.0 (http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0)], via Wikipedia Commons)

2.1 Statistical Information

By Dutch standards, Utrecht is a large city (322 000 inhabitants in 2013). The population is relatively young: One fifth of the inhabitants are under 18 (20%) and another 19% are between 18 and 27, which is higher than in other Dutch major cities. This high number of young people is related to the presence of the university and several 'hogescholen' (colleges of higher education) in Utrecht. In Utrecht, 45% of the population above age 16 is highly educated. There are approximately 64 000 students in Utrecht of whom 50% actually live in the city.

The number of non-native Dutch inhabitants in Utrecht (32.3%) is relatively low, compared to Amsterdam (50%), Rotterdam (48%) and Den Haag (48%). At the beginning of 2013, Utrecht had 103 917 inhabitants with a background other than Dutch. Almost 22% of them (69 961) were from non-Western origin. Many of them had a labour-migrant history. From the early seventies on, wives, children and other relatives joined their husbands and fathers in Utrecht who came as guest workers in the sixties and seventies and today people with a Moroccan background are the largest group of (former) migrants in the city (28 564 or 9%), followed by the Turks (13 718; 4%). As for the former Dutch colonies: three per cent (10 324; 3%) of the population have a Surinamese/Antillean background and about the same number have their roots in Indonesia. The size of the non-Western population has been rather constant in the past few years. Among the population with a Western background, the largest group are Germans (about 3 000 people or 1%, Website Utrecht Monitor, 2013).

In the Netherlands there are no censuses. There is no large-scale information available on languages spoken by Dutch citizens (cf Broeder and Extra, 1999). An immigration history is what comes closest to a linguistic history of the city.

2.2 Language diversity in Utrecht before 1960

Utrecht has its own city dialect. It is used by the indigenous population, which is a decreasing group nowadays. It is still very vivid, though, and mainly associated with lower social classes, contrary to the local Amsterdam dialect which is more widespread and has a higher status, both on the local and the national level (Scholtmeijer, 1999).

For the purpose of this report it is useful to make a distinction between prestigious and plebeian plurilingualism[1], based on the work by Jürgen Jaspers (2009). Prestigious plurilingualism refers to forms of plurilingualism among higher educated people who have two or more European languages in their repertoire, learned through formal instruction and often used in encounters with foreigners instead of compatriots. The mother tongue is the informal home language. Plebeian plurilingualism is mainly found among urban migrant communities. The languages other than Dutch are usually home languages, learned informally as mother tongues and economically less valued. The languages cannot always be used randomly and they often are functionally restricted.

If we consider the local urban dialect as a form of Dutch instead of a distinct language (which is the way it is felt by the speakers of the dialect), it is reasonable to say that before the 1960s, when large groups of unskilled migrant workers arrived in the city, prestigious plurilingualism was probably the most widespread form of plurilingualism in Utrecht.

With respect to the past, two important factors contributing to the linguistic landscape in the city should be mentioned here: as the centre of the Archbishopric, Utrecht was influential and attracted dignitaries from the Catholic world all over Europe until Catholicism was forbidden after the Reformation. Latin was used as a lingua franca in the church. Secondly, the university in Utrecht opened its doors in 1636 and has attracted students and scholars from elsewhere ever since and although we have not found any sources yet we can assume that there is a long tradition of plurilingualism among the higher educated citizens. The church and the university are examples of institutions that attracted highly educated people who can be associated with prestigious plurilingualism.

The largest group of migrants in the nineteenth century came from Germany. In modern Utrecht, however, German plays a modest role.

2.3 Diversity in Utrecht after 1960

The 1960s marked a turning point in the social and linguistic history of Utrecht. From then on, there was an increasing stream of foreign workers, contracted by companies who were in desperate need of a cheap labour force.

According to www.50jaargastarbeidersutrecht.nl ('50 years guest workers Utrecht'), where historical and other information about labour migration in the past fifty years can be found, the first Mediterranean guest workers (Greeks, Spaniards, Italians) arrived in 1960, as did Turkish guest workers followed by Moroccan guest workers. The first Yugoslavs arrived in 1969. Other sources, however, give other dates of first arrivals for several groups, but in general, all sources agree on the arrival of the first Turkish guest workers before the Moroccans. Traces of the history of migration are visible in the housing situation in Utrecht. The cheapest houses close to the city centre were left by the original native Utrecht inhabitants who moved to the newly built modern buildings in the outskirts with more space than the old houses near the city centre. Soon the old houses were taken by the first groups of guest workers and their families who were reunited with their husbands, sons and fathers, of whom the majority were Turkish. In the oldest and cheapest areas there are still relatively more people with a Turkish background than Moroccans, though the Moroccans outnumber the Turks in Utrecht now by far (Bovenkerk *et al*., 1985).

Because companies in Utrecht continued relatively long to contract South-Europeans, the first Turks arrived relatively late, compared to other Dutch cities in industrial areas. As a consequence, when the national policy turned towards Morocco for cheap labour, Utrecht joined in, which accounts for the relatively large number of Moroccans in relation to Turks, as compared to other cities (Bovenkerk *et al*, 1985). From the seventies and eighties on, as the Moroccan community grew, they moved to the flat buildings that were left by the Dutch who chose to live in the new satellite cities

---

1   The same distinction applies to multilingualism.

(Maarssen, Nieuwegein). Nowadays, the population in areas with flat buildings that give room to relatively large families have a very high proportion of Moroccan descent (Overvecht and Kanaleneiland in particular).

2.4 Utrecht: Language diversity in the 21st century

In the website mentioned above it is striking to see the welcome information from six immigrant communities which is given in their own language with the exception of the Moroccans who welcome their readers in Dutch. (The other communities are Italian, Spanish, Turkish, Greek and Yugoslav). This is not exceptional, though, as will be explained in what follows.

Although the socio-economic situation and the migration history of the two largest former guest worker communities in the Netherlands (the Turks and the Moroccans) are comparable, their language situation is quite different. Within the Turkish community, Turkish has a high status and it is used alongside Dutch. Language shift into the direction of Dutch is in progress but relatively slowly compared to the Moroccan community, where ethnic pride and self-esteem is not expressed through language in the first place, but through other identifying beliefs and activities, such as a common religion (Islam). Second- and third-generation Moroccans hardly use their original languages Berber or Moroccan (dialectal) Arabic outside their homes, while language use among young people who have a Turkish background is often a mix of Dutch and Turkish (cf Dorleijn and Nortier, 2008; Nortier and Dorleijn, 2013). In Utrecht, this is not different from elsewhere in the Netherlands. The consequence is that the default language used among second and third generation Moroccans is Dutch, while a mix of Dutch and Turkish is used among the Turkish members of the second and third generations.

Until recently no large studies on linguistic diversity have been carried out in Utrecht. Smaller sample studies have been conducted, however, partly through internet-questionnaires and partly by face-to-face interviews and door-to-door visits (cf. Website diversity and integration, 2010). The outcomes are more or less in accordance with the impressionistic observations described above. Some of the results related to the languages used in Utrecht are:

- In 2009, 41% of the first generation non-Western population had difficulties speaking Dutch. This percentage is lower than in 2007 (46%).

- For second-generation non-Western inhabitants of the city, proficiency in Dutch is more or less the same as for native Utrechters.

- A large part of the non-Western population in Utrecht use Dutch with their relatives (64%), at work (67%) and with friends (75%). With their partner, they use Dutch less frequently: 45%.

- Members of the second-generation immigrants use more Dutch than their parents.

- People with a Turkish background use Turkish relatively often when they speak with other people. About 50% of them use Dutch, beside Turkish, with members of their family.

- In general, people with a Moroccan background use Berber (93%) or Arabic (86%) with their family members. 56% use Dutch (as well) when they speak with members of their family. (Unfortunately we found no figures about language use by Moroccans with people outside the family.)

- Inhabitants with a Turkish and Moroccan background from the second generation use less Turkish/Arabic/Berber with their family members than members of the first generation.

2.5 The sound of Utrecht: languages spoken in the city

To our knowledge no studies that focus on the sound of Utrecht have been carried out. Therefore, we asked people in our own network to tell us what languages they hear in Utrecht, what the city sounds like. The sketch below is based on personal impressions from 20 people living and/or working in Utrecht. Although they are short, personal and subjective impressions, there are some striking similarities in the observations, and together they give an indication of the linguistic sound of Utrecht. We owe the respondents much gratitude for their help.

Dutch

Almost all respondents hear a lot of Standard Dutch and the local urban variety *Utrechts*, although at least half of them mention a decline in the use of Utrechts in the past ten or so years.

Five people explicitly mention the use of *Brabants*, a dialect from the south of the country. Three people mention both *Brabants* and *Limburgs* (from even further south). The southern dialects share some characteristics, and people from other parts of the country sometimes are not able to distinguish between *Brabants* and *Limburgs*.

A few times other Dutch dialects are mentioned as well, and they are mentioned together: 'I hear Brabants, Zeeuws, Zuid-Hollands, Rotterdams, Twents, Gronings.' Flemish is also mentioned, but only once.

The use of Dutch with a foreign accent is mentioned several times: five people mention Dutch with a Moroccan accent. One respondent refers to it as Dutch with 'zzzz' and 'ssss', which is seen as characteristic. Another respondent mentions a 'vette Z' (fat Z) used by Moroccan girls. A Chinese respondent was struck by people who speak Dutch but do not look Dutch.

Foreign languages

Although Dutch and its varieties are the absolute number one languages, a lot of other languages are heard in Utrecht. Several people mention both Turkish and Arabic. One person mentions being unable to hear the difference between the two and it is our experience that except those who actually speak Turkish or Arabic/Berber, there are only few people who are aware of the differences between the two. As already mentioned above, among members of the Moroccan community Dutch is used more often than the native languages Berber and Moroccan Arabic, in particular among the younger generations. But beside Turkish, Moroccan languages do play a role in the sound of the city. The difference between the Moroccan languages Berber and Moroccan Arabic is mentioned only once.

People report that they hear languages they do not recognise 'so it must be something east-European', or 'an east-European language, maybe Polish or Romanian'. Someone else used to hear a lot of Polish in the supermarket but it seems to have disappeared now (from the supermarket). Another person mentions 'Eastern bloc languages' and Bulgarian.

Checkout assistants wearing headscarves are reported to speak Dutch without an accent and someone mentions that poor Dutch or 'Turkentaal' (Turks language), referring to a variety of Dutch with strong Turkish influences, is disappearing. Again, in practice these so-called Turkish influences may be Moroccan in reality as well.

Another foreign language that is often mentioned is English, both native (British and American) and accented, which means that it is used a lot as a lingua franca. ('Japanese people speaking English and Spaniards speaking a little bit of English'). Other languages that are mentioned are German, French, Frisian, Italian, Portuguese, Russian, Spanish, Chinese, Croatian, Somali, Japanese and Surinamese. A language that we hear sometimes but nobody mentioned is Papiamentu (spoken on the Antilles).

Parts of town

Some people make no distinction between parts of town and others explicitly make a distinction between the city centre and other areas, such as Kanaleneiland, Overvecht , Zuilen, Lunetten and Wilhelminapark. Kanaleneiland, Overvecht and Zuilen have large migrant populations so one would expect that migrant languages will be heard there (cf the map on page 6).

The city centre attracts many tourists and students which probably is one of the reasons why relatively many languages other than Dutch are heard there. The presence of Japanese tourists is particularly striking: one explanation might be that an annex of the Central Museum is completely dedicated to the work of Dick Bruna (the creator of 'Nijntje', or Miffy') who is extremely popular in Japan. Contrary to all other museums, the part of the Central Museum where the work on Nijntje is exhibited has explanatory texts in Japanese, beside Dutch and English.

Lunetten is socially diverse but ethnic diversity is less than in Overvecht, Kanaleneiland or Zuilen. Compared to those three parts of town there are many students in Lunetten, and many of them have a non-native Dutch background. In the supermarkets in Lunetten some people report to hear English and German. Others mention about Lunetten that Dutch is dominant but some Arabic/Turkish and English can be heard, too. Everyone agrees that there is more diversity in the city centre.

The so called 'Gooise r', which refers to a posh pronunciation of r, is heard in the richer areas such as Wilhelminapark but also, increasingly, among students and other young people.

Straattaal

Finally, some respondents specifically refer to 'Straattaal', street language, or youth language, a variety of Dutch with features from English and migrant languages such as Sranan and Arabic: they refer to '(…) this strange Dutch/Moroccan street language' or '(…) a nice mix of Dutch, Moroccan, Antillean and Surinamese words and expressions' (and the respondent's teenage children help him to understand it). Straattaal is also heard in public transport (mainly buses), and in Kanaleneiland. This does not mean that it is not used elsewhere: as we mentioned in the beginning, this was only an impression by a small group of people.

3. The LUCIDE network

The LUCIDE network (*Languages in Urban Communities: Integration and Diversity for Europe*) is composed of university and civic partners from thirteen European cities[2], along with research teams from Ottawa and Melbourne. The aims of our network are to depict how communication occurs in multilingual cities and to develop ideas about how to manage multilingual citizen communities. In LUCIDE's research activities, we are therefore interested in the real-life complexities faced by individuals in various spheres and aspects of city life. The five overarching topics we have set out to explore are:

1. *Good practice in the provision of language learning opportunities for immigrants:* How do immigrants learn the language of the host country and how are they helped to maintain their own languages? What happens in schools and also in adult education?

2. *Social inclusion:* How do cities support social inclusion through linguistic support in social services, health etc. and what kind of training is desirable in these areas? What happens about translation and interpreting?

3. *Neighbouring languages:* How do cities provide for communication and cultural exchange with "neighbouring languages"? What do we mean by neighbouring languages in a city context?

4. *Intercultural dialogue:* How do cities promote intercultural dialogue and understanding by celebrating community cultures in common spaces? What is the culture of a multilingual city?

5. *New patterns of migration:* Do particular challenges confront cities in countries that have traditionally been countries of emigration but are now receiving many immigrants? How do they respond to this changed perspective and what is the impact on civil society?

In defining what our network understands to be 'multilingualism', the distinction drawn by the work of the Council of Europe (Beacco, 2007) is helpful. We therefore employ the terms 'multilingualism' and 'plurilingualism' to distinguish between societal and individual multilingualism. Multilingualism refers to societal multilingualism: the co-existence of many languages, for the purposes of this study, within a city. Plurilingualism refers to an individual's repertoire of languages, or "the capacity of individuals to use more than one language in social communication whatever their command of those languages" (Beacco, 2007, p. 19).

Our approach to researching multilingualism and plurilingualism in our cities considers language in its communicative processes and practice rather than from a more static perspective (e.g. counting people/languages). These communicative processes and practices may be understood within a typology of language use:

• Symbolic/representational use of language (bottom-up, realities of everyday life – how we use language to send messages)

• Transactional/communicative (e.g. pragmatic use/unofficial acceptance of ML/PL by authorities on the ground, for communicative efficiency)

• Authoritative/directive (official, unidirectional, tends towards monolingualism)

This section outlines the research activities of the LUCIDE network conducted in Utrecht in 2012 and the first half of 2013. Below we describe the details of the research activities around data collection followed by our findings about multilingualism and plurilingualism in the city of Utrecht.

---

2   London, Osijek, Athens, Sofia, Dublin, Madrid, Hamburg, Utrecht, Rome, Limassol, Strasbourg, Oslo, Varna

3.1 Data collection

Our network is involved in *secondary data collection* and *primary data collection*. These two phases of data collection were designed to feed into the content development of our network: among other things, its seminars, workshops and city reports.

Secondary data collection

For the *secondary data collection* we conducted meta-surveys of recent secondary data on multilingualism and plurilingualism in Utrecht. The aim of this phase of our research was to help create a multiplicity of up-to-date narratives on the multilingual and plurilingual realities of the cities in our network, referring to data related to multilingual practices, processes and products in local contexts, and to develop original research questions for the next phase of primary research (see below for a more detailed explanation about our primary data). When surveying pre-existing data, we took a broad rather than a narrow approach when deciding what could be included in the first phase of our research. In this phase of our research activities, we focused on recent data, published in 2010 and onwards, or the most recent possible, in order to ensure that we created up-to-date and fresh narratives of languages in Utrecht, and to help formulate valid research questions for the primary data collection phase.

Reporting templates were deployed in order to simplify data recording and sharing. These templates captured concise information from data *on* and *about* multilingualism and plurilingualism, and examples of multilingualism and plurilingualism.

In collecting secondary data, we distinguished between:

i. Data *on/about* multilingualism and plurilingualism. For the city of Utrecht the following documents were consulted:

  a. Report of the Monitor diversity and integration in Utrecht 2010[3], by the municipality of Utrecht;

  b. *The Dutch city of Utrecht as a European Hotspot and Laboratory for Multilingualism*[4], by Borja Martinovic, Utrecht University Borja Martinovic, Utrecht University;

  c. List of language courses offered in Utrecht, to be found on the website of the city of Utrecht (Website Utrecht language courses, 2011)

  d. In the summer of 2013, Ruben Dieleman completed his inventory of multilingual practices in the city. (Dieleman, 2013).

ii. Manifestations/examples *of* multilingualism and plurilingualism. These visual examples can be found in printed images, TV, media, architecture, and urban design. The city of Utrecht is a very rich resource for this type of material. What we can present below is not more than a fraction of the multitude of examples and manifestation to be found:

  a. Culturele Zondagen[5]
  Culturele Zondagen (Cultural Sundays) is a series of monthly festivals and events (about 7 to 8 times per year). Local art institutions and venues work together to prepare a festival based on a theme, which is of specific relevance to the city of Utrecht. Each festival covers a broad spectrum of cultural and recreational events with programmes for a wide audience, programmed on one (Sun-)day. Many arts disciplines, including theatre, opera, music, dance, film, literature, visual arts, street culture and storytelling are represented in the festivals. Multicultural Utrecht is reflected in the programme. Examples of Culturele Zondagen themes in the past few years are 'Cross Culture', 'Vocaal Kabaal' (vocal noise), 'Utrecht danst' (Utrecht dances), 'Jong, Jonger, Jongst' (young, younger, youngest).

---

3   http://www.utrecht.nl/images/BCD/Bestuursinformatie/publicaties/2010/DiversiteitIntegratie2010.pdf
4   http://www.utrecht.nl/images/secretarie/internationaal/pdf/multilingualism utrecht.pdf
5   http://www.culturelezondagen.nl/english

b.   Full Color TV[6]
Television for a broad audience: during 20 minutes various topics are presented, on a weekly basis, ranging from interviews with non-Western top managers to Mexican recipes and from specials about Ramadan to Turkish shops.

c.   Flat in Kanaleneiland
A series of doorways in a flat building in the neighbourhood Kanaleneiland where the word 'welcome' is given in 7 different languages

d.   (Urban) photography
Pictures of the city where visual evidence of bilingualism can be found.

Secondary data was collected and shared via an online city survey. The data generated from this phase of the network's research activities was employed to generate overarching research questions for the primary data collection phase (semi-structured interviews), and to feed into the content development of LUCIDE's reports, seminars, workshops and city reports. This phase of secondary research yielded a considerable quantity of data which allowed us to generate a relevant set of research questions arising from the key areas identified in a content analysis of the recent studies and examples provided by city partners. We articulated the following research hypotheses, on language visibility (audibility), affordances and challenges:

Visibility

- We hypothesise that some languages are more visible than others in city life, and that this visibility/invisibility is meaningful (Which languages are most/least visible/invisible? Why? How do we figure out which languages are invisible?)

- We hypothesise that sometimes, when languages are visible, the visibility operates at a symbolic level. This symbolism is seen and understood by some, and largely ignored by others. Languages which are highly visible may not be the languages in which the various transactions and policies of city life are enacted.

Affordances at the level of governance/policy

- We hypothesise that when cities want to encourage multilingualism/plurilingualism, meaningful linguistic diversity (projects, examples of languages in use) will emerge (e.g. diversity of public library projects)

Challenges/obstacles

- We hypothesise that costs/inconvenience/lack of political will/prejudices can inhibit good communication between people in multilingual cities.

- We hypothesise that there is sometimes a mismatch between policy (as it is 'promised', and practice or daily reality), e.g. in health service interpretation provision

- We hypothesise that language is sometimes understood to represent cultural/economic capital; we also hypothesise that there may be contradictions in some cases (e.g. an indigenous language which is important culturally but may not seem to be important economically, or vice versa)

---

6   http://www.mtnl.nl/read/full-color-utrecht?submenu=13090

Primary data collection

In the second phase of our research, we sought to question city respondents about the reality of multi/plurilingualism in their city, about language policy/practice, visibility, affordances and challenges. A qualitative research design was deemed the most appropriate model, given the diversity of research sites, and the importance of gathering input from key stakeholders. A semi-standardised research design based on stakeholder interviewers was created to support primary data collection in each partner city. This phase involved the targeted questioning of selected individuals in the different spheres. Across the network, interviews were administered in a variety of modes: face-to-face, over the telephone/Skype, and via email. In the case of face-to-face and telephone interviews, these were recorded (audio only) and transcribed where possible.

In Utrecht the vast majority of the interviews were conducted through email. One interview was conducted in person and audio recorded.

The types of respondents in each sphere included, where possible, two types of individuals: (i) policy-maker/influencer, and (ii) policy-implementer/user-client-recipient. Sample templates of respondent types (role, place of work etc.) were provided from two cities, as guides for partners. Each city involved in this project has attempted to interview a similar type of respondent. The semi-standardised model did not specify a minimum or maximum sample size, but indicated a target of two respondents for each of the 5 spheres: public, educational, economic, private and urban. In practice, most respondents would qualify in multiple categories so that a questionnaire from one responses provided useful information about more than one facet of the city.

In the city of Utrecht questionnaires were returned by the following people:

	Police-maker / influencer	Policy-implementer/user
Public		Medical doctor in University hospital
Educational	Primary school director	Primary school teacher
Economic	• 2 coaches from Dutch unemployment agency • Director of Utrecht Centre for Entrepreneurship and Professor of Economics	
Private		• Documentary maker • 2 parents of bilingual children
Urban	Employee Dutch railway system	

We had difficulties finding respondents who were willing to answer our questionnaires. Hence the unbalanced respondents table we ended up with. This may be due to our way of working but it seems to be the case in Utrecht, and in the Netherlands in general, that multilingualism or plurilingualism are not 'hot topics'. People were only willing to pay attention to multilingualism or plurilingualism when there was nothing more urgent to do. It is broadly accepted that certain types of plurilingualism are a handicap, which keeps people from developing a good command of Dutch. Plurilingualism is only accepted, even encouraged, among people who speak Dutch as their first language. The aforementioned difference between plebeian and prestigious plurilingualism seems extremely relevant here. A multilingual society is hence preferably to be formed by prestigious plurilinguals.

In order to ensure some uniformity among the research conducted by the different cities, a template of interview questions was provided for each research team, to be adapted according to the local context and to the background of the interviewees. Interviewers were encouraged to try to ask for specific examples rather than general statements where possible, and to try to focus on comments and reflections related to respondents' own areas of expertise (health, education, arts, retail, etc.). We have to bear in mind, though, that a strict distinction between the spheres only exists in theory. Someone who represents one sphere knows other spheres as well. Among our interviewees one of the bilingual parents, for example, was a university teacher as well.

The core interview questions that were agreed upon by all LUCIDE partners included:

- Do you think that the issue of multilingualism is a sensitive matter in this city?

- We have noticed in our study of different examples of multilingualism that some languages are more visible than others in the city. In your area of work, are there are any particularly important or visible languages? Any neglected or less visible languages?

- The co-existence of multiple languages in a city brings with it some challenges and choices for local government and companies, for example in terms of policy decisions. Do you agree with the way that this city approaches the issue of multilingualism? Can you give an example of a recent approach that you agree or disagree with?

- There seem to be two main ways of handling language barriers when we encounter a language we don't understand, by either using human translation/interpretation, or with language technology (in the past, dictionaries, and nowadays, with online translation for instance). In your area of expertise, how are translation/interpretation handled? Do you think it is handled well and appropriately?

- Have you recently witnessed difficulties experienced by an individual or group because of a lack of proficiency in Dutch?

- Is there any one language you think deserves a boost in use or in visibility in this city?

- Sometimes, languages are used symbolically, but there isn't really any in-depth provision for the speakers of that language. Do you have any experience with this type of symbolic, 'on the surface' language use in your area of work/expertise?

- If you could change one thing about languages in your city …

Context and background questions were developed, to be selected and adapted as necessary by research partners. These included:

- What is your role/position, and what type of work do you do? / What kind of agency/institution do you work for?

- How would you identify your ethnic origin?

- Do you consider yourself to be monolingual/bilingual/plurilingual?

- Which languages do you speak or interact with in (a) your personal and (b) work life?

- Would you say that you are a keen language learner?

- If you have learned other languages, what has been the most significant language learning experience for you?

3.2 Operationalizing Multilingualism: defining key spheres

Five key spheres were delineated in order to provide for comprehensive and systematic exploration of how languages are encountered, used and learned in city life. These spheres included the public sphere, economic life, the private lives of citizens, and urban spaces or the 'cityscape'. It was decided to examine education as an individual sphere, given the focus of our network on language learning, although often it falls within the public remit. Below, we define each sphere, and outline the type of data collected by (the LUCIDE) partners.

a. The **public** sphere includes:

- Local government/municipality/city council

- Public services (health, transport, tourism)

- Media (television, newspapers, digital media)

- Civic events and festivals paid from public funds

Types of data collected in this sphere included census reports, population, language and employment statistics, provision of public services, translation/interpretation services, and public broadcasting. A noteworthy example from Strasbourg is a new project within the city's public transportation company to provide its brochures and flyers in three languages (French, German, English), and to move towards including three additional languages (Spanish, Italian, Chinese) no later than 2015.

b. The **educational sphere** includes:

- The public school system (from day nursery to adult education)

- Vocational education

- Lifelong learning

- Non-governmental organisations (NGOs) involved in formal or informal education

- Independent/private schools (including bilingual schools)

- Complementary education ('Saturday' schools, language academies)

- Cultural organisations/societies/associations

Types of data collected in this sphere included data on L1s (mother tongues) or home languages of students, students' place of birth/nationality/ethnicity, languages of education in the 'official' school sector, languages of education in the private school sector (e.g. international schools)/complementary schools, national curriculum information. One noteworthy example from London includes a school's decision to replace previously translated leaflets sent home to parents with the provision of interpreters who visit the school in question instead.

c. The **economic sphere** includes:

- Large local/national companies and multinationals

- Industries and manufacturing

- Service providers (professional services)

- Financial transactions

Types of data collected in this sphere included information from chambers of commerce and employers' associations, labour market studies, on official/unofficial languages in companies, languages in training and in internal & external communications. A noteworthy example of a facilitative policy in the economic sphere is found in the city of Hamburg, where a decision of the city's Senate in 2006 set the objective of providing 20% of new apprenticeships in the city's public administration to individuals from a migrant background within five years.

d. The **private sphere** includes:

- Activities related to family, friends and social networks

- Local or city-wide activities (such as festivals) that are not initiated by the public sphere (although they may receive public funding) but organised instead by local community groups

- Services that are offered by local communities (including volunteer activities)

- Local support networks

- Religious activities and organisations/structures

Types of data in this sphere included examples of privately organised festivals, religious activities, networks of migrant groups, support groups, clubs, meeting points, meet-up groups, sports, and other cultural activities (theatre, music, etc.). A noteworthy example of a meet-up group is the 'Language Cafe Utrecht[7]', which provides students in Utrecht the opportunity to practise languages as well as discover other cultures in a relaxed group setting, in cafés and other venues in the city, at no cost to members.

e. **Urban spaces** encompass all publically visible and audible aspects of a city, and include:

- Public signage (shops, offices, public buildings, street signs)

- Advertising (billboards, leaflets, in public transport etc.)

- Graffiti and unofficial street art

- Monuments, art, sculptures (public art)

- Instructions on vending machines, noticeboards, other publically visible interfaces

- Announcements delivered via loudspeaker/other types of 'audio' announcements

Types of data collected in this sphere included studies of the city's linguistic landscape and visual culture, official signposting at airports, train stations, in public transport, digital media, and advertising languages. One noteworthy example comes from Madrid, where a respondent points out the lack of visibility of Portuguese in the city, described as a 'neglected' language despite the number of speakers present.

---

7   http://languagecafeutrecht.blogspot.co.uk/

4. Multilingualism and Plurilingualism in the city of Utrecht

The results presented in this section are divided per sphere. As we previously point out, however, it is not always possible to create a strict line between them; neither do respondents from one sphere restrict themselves to commenting strictly on topics related to the spheres to which they have been assigned. For this reason we allow ourselves to extrapolate the borders of the spheres whenever we find that it will improve thematic coherence.

4.1 Multilingualism and plurilingualism in education

Adult education

Section 2 has already shown the wide language diversity in Utrecht. This diversity can also be found the educational system, especially in adult education. Foreign languages (English, French, Arabic, etc.) can of course be studied at Utrecht University, but foreign language courses are also available at other institutes, like the 'Volksuniversiteit Utrecht' (institute offering courses covering languages arts, culture, cooking, crafts etc.) and language institute Babel (offers courses English, Spanish, French, Portuguese, Italian, Swedish, Arabic, Russian, Japanese and Chinese). Both Babel and the Volksuniversiteit also offer courses Dutch for speaekrs of foreign languages. Some languages are taught in regular schools (below), usually on a mandatory basis. The city has published an overview of other language courses that are offered in Utrecht (Website Utrecht language courses 2011).

Secondary education

The educational system in the Netherlands is different from other European countries since pupils have to choose between different levels at the beginning of secondary school. More can be found on the website Dutch Educational System (2013). The language diversity found in secondary schools (age 12-16/18) is less wide than in adult education. The government has a policy on what languages a school is allowed to offer.[8] English is mandatory in every secondary school type and level. Depending on their school type (VMBO, HAVO and VWO, i.e. from pre-vocational up to pre-academic level), students have to take one or more other foreign languages. The number of foreign languages students at the highest levels (HAVO and VWO) have to take is two. Usually these are French and German, but schools are allowed to replace one of these languages by Spanish, Russian, Italian, Arabic or Turkish. In practice only very few schools offer this possibility. VWO students (pre-academic level) with a traditional gymnasium profile ('Grammar school') have to make a choice between Latin and ancient Greek. VMBO (pre-vocational level) students have to take one more foreign languages besides English. This is also usually French or German, but schools are allowed to replace them by Spanish, Arabic or Turkish. Only in the northern province of Fryslân, Frisian can be chosen as an additional language.

In 2003 there was commotion around a VMBO-school in Utrecht, Gerardus Majella MAVO (Nortier, 2009). The board wanted to introduce Turkish as a mandatory language for all first-year students. After their first year, Turkish would become an optional choice. Even though the minister of education did not oppose this decision, the House of Representatives and many of the students' parents strongly protested. Therefore, this plan has never been put to action.

In contrast to the resistance to 'migrant language courses' as Turkish, bilingual education in 'European' languages (almost exclusively English) is gaining in popularity in so called bilingual schools. In this type of education half of the curriculum is taught in English (for instance Geography, Mathematics and Arts). There is one secondary school in Utrecht that offers bilingual education, St. Gregorius College. However, the number of bilingual schools is rapidly growing.

Primary education

The language situation in the elementary schools in Utrecht is even less diverse than in the secondary schools. Dutch is the language of instruction and there is a strong focus on Dutch language skills. English is a mandatory subject in the last two years of primary school.[9] Schools are free to add non-compulsory subjects (like language courses such

---

8   See http://www.rijksoverheid.nl/onderwerpen/voortgezet-onderwijs/vraag-en-antwoord/welke-vreemde-talen-krijg-ik-in-de-onderbouw-van-het-voortgezet-onderwijs.html
9   See http://www.rijksoverheid.nl/onderwerpen/basisonderwijs/vraag-en-antwoord/welke-vakken-krijgt-mijn-kind-op-de-basisschool.html

as French) to the curriculum though they are not allowed to exceed a fixed limited number of hours per week. This language diversity is still in a developing stage. The European Platform Internationalising Education is working hard to encourage this development: they promote so called 'early foreign language education' on a broader scale by urging primary schools to provide extra hours of language lessons (in English, but Spanish, French or German are possible, too) to their pupils, starting from the first year of primary school (age four/five).[10] Popular programs are Early Bird and Early Birdie. (Website Earlybird, 2013). Over the last couple of years, the number of schools that offer this early foreign language education had expanded exponentially, as can be seen in the figure below (figure 2).
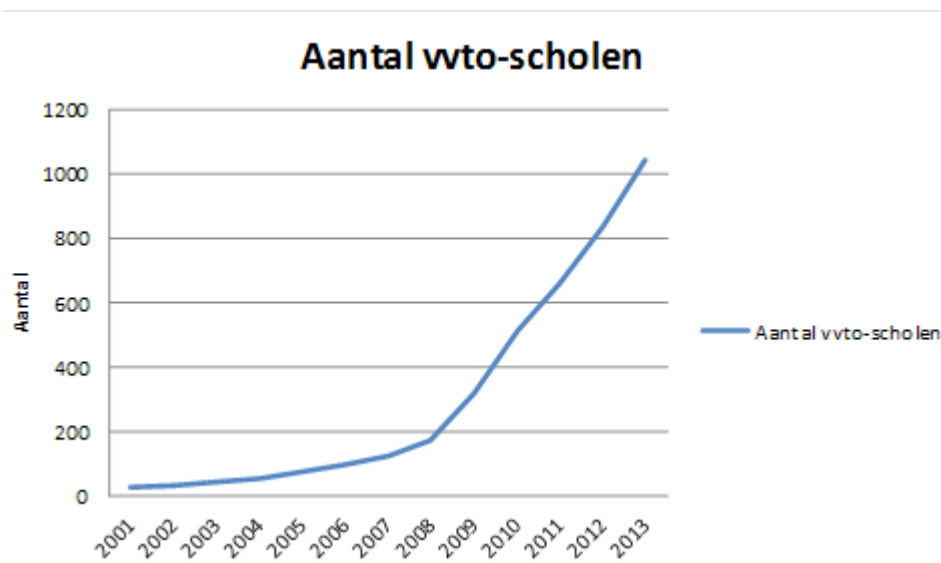

Figure 2. Number of primary schools in the Netherlands that offer early foreign language education.[11]

In the city of Utrecht there are now nine elementary schools providing early foreign language education: six schools provide extra English lessons, one school provides English or Spanish, one school provides English, Spanish or French, and one school offers French only. It is clear that the European Platform Internationalising Education only focuses on European languages and does not pay any attention to migrant or minority languages.

Up until august 2004 there was OALT (Education in Minority Living Languages) (Nortier, 2009). This type of education was meant for children who speak a minority language other than Dutch at home. The largest groups that received this education were children with a Moroccan and Turkish background. In the first four years of primary education these children would receive home language education during 5 hours per week, with a maximum of 2,5 hours within school hours. The ultimate purpose was to facilitate the learning of Dutch. In the second half of primary school home language teaching would contribute to 'cultural enrichment'.

In the 1970's the OALT's predecessor Education in Home Language and Culture (OETC) was mainly established in order to prepare children of guest workers (mainly from Turkey and Morocco) for their return to their homeland. In the nineteen eighties it became clear that most of the guest workers would stay in the Netherlands so the original purpose of OETC became redundant. In 1998 OETC was replaced with OALT, in which there was more attention for language and only little room for culture. As the background and numbers of immigrant groups differed strongly per municipality, the organisation moved from the national level (OETC) to the municipal level (OALT). OALT was cancelled a few years later (in 2004) mainly because of its moderate success and the supposed waste of money which was not tolerated in the political climate at that time. There were various reasons for this lack of success, but they can all be inferred from a lack of organization on a local and national scale and a lack of prestige. After the termination of OALT, there are no

---

schools left where the children's mother tongue is used to support the learning of Dutch. The only example we know of was the Lukasschool in Utrecht where until recently Moroccan and Turkish children up to the age of eight would have a few hours per week in their home language, in order to facilitate the learning of Dutch. Some other schools sometimes offer immigrant children extra language lessons in their mother tongue. Languages lessons of minority languages with low societal prestige are now usually taught outside school: for example in community centres or mosques. Figure 2 above has already demonstrated that the situation for high-prestige foreign languages, like English, is strikingly different: the number of schools offering education in these languages is increasing exponentially.

The use of minority languages like Arabic, Berber and Turkish within the school domain is rejected by many schools, because it is considered to be a serious threat for the successful acquisition of Dutch. This was also a conclusion from the interviews that were conducted with three respondents working in different elementary schools. All of them state that their school's policy is that only Dutch is allowed (apart from English during the English language lessons). For parents with a migration background who are not sufficiently proficient in Dutch, this can be very problematic. One interviewee who works in a so called 'black school' (a school with mostly children from an immigrant background, in Utrecht often from Morocco) says that even though speaking Arabic is forbidden by school policy, at parent-teacher nights two colleagues who speak Arabic are present to help translate. Furthermore, they sometimes ask their pupils' older siblings to accompany them as translators. When there is a very important announcement in the school's newsletter, they would also translate it into Arabic.

Another interviewee who is a member of the board of Protestant schools[12] in Utrecht states that the schools associated with this board recently decided that parents should always be addressed in Dutch by teachers. They have so called 'parent supporters', who are (usually) Turkish or Moroccan and who help to translate information when parents do not speak Dutch.

Last but not least, it is noteworthy that all the interviewees say that someone who is bilingual in Dutch/English will be approached differently as compared to someone who is a Dutch/Turkish or Dutch/Moroccan bilingual. All respondents state that the latter type is seen as a burden with little to none advantages, whereas the first is seen as something positive.

Again, the distinction between prestigious and plebeian bilingualism that was made above seems to reflect the reality in Utrecht.

'Good practice'

In Utrecht some initiatives have been taken to help people who want to learn a language: either a foreign language or Dutch. In section 3.1 one of these initiatives has already been brought up: the 'Cultural Sundays', which, although not directly related to language learning, celebrates the multiculturalism of the city. An example of an initiative that helps children with a language deficit in Dutch (both monolingual and multilingual children) is the 'VoorleesExpress' ('Reading Express')[13]. De VoorleesExpress is an initiative by SodaProducties, who specialise in social innovations. They are active in about 60 cities all over the country. It is a project in which a volunteer visits families with children who suffer from a language deficit (ages 2-8). In practice, these are children whose home language is an ethnic minority language. The volunteer visits the families on a regular basis during a period of 20 weeks. Reading to children not only stimulates the children's fantasy, it also enhances their linguistic sensitiveness and it enlarges their vocabulary. Scheele (2010) has shown that primary school children who are used to being read at home have a larger Dutch vocabulary than children who are never read any books, even if the reading takes place in another language than Dutch.

Another example of a good practice is the Utrechtse Onderwijs Agenda (UOA, Utrecht Education Agenda), that helps children in Utrecht to develop their talents and make sure that they get the opportunity to do so. One aspect focuses on

---

12   In the Netherlands there is a strong tradition to divide schools according to their signature or identity, such as Protestant, Catholic or Public. In practice, Catholicism is not practiced in every Catholic school, etc. Nowadays there are Islamic schools as well. The system is called 'verzuiling' (pillarization). The schools have the same status but differ in their world view. There is only a negligible number of non-governmental supported schools in Utrecht. Private schools are almost non-existent. More information can be found at Website Dutch School System.

13   See: http://www.voorleesexpress.nl/

bringing larger groups of pupils (with a different social and cultural background) in contact with one another. Because of social differences, the schools parents choose for their children, and sometimes also the policy of schools, a lot of children grow up in a homogeneous socio-cultural environment (segregation). Also, in some districts of Utrecht this segregation is very significant (for example Kanaleneiland, with its large Moroccan population). Children growing up in these areas have little contact with children from other social or cultural backgrounds. They gain insufficient knowledge about the differences that exist in our society and the necessity and skills to overcome these differences. Socio-cultural differences are also strongly correlated with developmental opportunities for students. Utrecht has many segregated schools, partly due to the previous mentioned district structure, although people are free to send their children to the school of their choice (contrary to, e.g., the UK). This segregation in schools can be seen at two dimensions: underprivileged versus privileged students based on their social background, and the ethnic-cultural background of the students. The UOA wants to create an equal and balanced distribution of students over the schools. They plan to support the segregated schools by actively helping them to look for possible solutions to reverse this segregation. Fundamental tenets are diversity in approach and methods that have proven to be effective elsewhere. There have been some very successful initiatives in Utrecht where groups of Dutch parents sent their children to so called 'black schools' in order to reverse the spiral. In the neighbourhood Hoograven, for instance, a group of parents gathered and spread flyers in the neighbourhood incentivizing parents to send their children to one of the neighbourhood schools, instead of to a so-called 'white school' elsewhere. The director of the local Catholic school has observed that the number of non-migrant children has increased ever since.

4.2 Multilingualism and plurilingualism in the public sphere

In 2007 the municipality of Utrecht formulated an ambitious long-term plan aiming at exploiting the large diversity present in the city. The basic assumption behind this plan was that diversity in Utrecht was given, a fact, and that this diversity should be used to the advantage of the city. *For diversity teaches us to see things from different point of views*, which summarises the first page of the plan. The main goals of the plan were:

i.   development of talents and qualities;

ii.   create colourful organizations;

iii.   connect Utrechters with each other and with the city.

As a concrete result of this long-term plan, the city of Utrecht published 'Diversity and Integration', a document where minorities, including migrants were followed statistically during 4 years. The most striking finding was that at the end of the four year period (2010) the number of the non-western migrants which felt discriminated in Utrecht had considerably decreased. Points of concern were mentioned as well, such as the fact that many Utrechters with a Turkish background felt increasingly unaccepted; another concern is the negative attitude and intolerance towards homosexuality among non-western migrants. Although it is not completely clear which steps should be taken in order to solve these problems, the mere existence of this study can be considered a positive move towards accepting and celebrating the diversity existent in the city (see Website Monitor Diversity and Integration)

In our questionnaires it became evident that the policy of Utrecht municipality concerning multilingualism is not widely known. When asked about their opinion on the city's policy, our respondents mentioned that they were unaware of it. This is understandable when one realises that the city does not have an explicit policy with respect to multilingualism/plurilingualism. Multilingualism-related matters are fragmented and belong to different departments, such as *youth*, *education*, *internationalization/globalization* or *culture*. There is no such thing as a '(sub-) department of linguistic or multilingual matters'.

Fortunately, not all good practices go unnoticed. In the health sector, for instance, one of our interviewees pointed out that the municipal health service (GG & GD Utrecht) employs workers who are trained in providing information in the native language to people who are new to the Netherlands and unfamiliar with the Dutch health care system (*Voorlichters Eigen Taal en Cultuur*). According to our informant this is a good initiative, which makes health care more accessible and maybe even more effective.

Translation in health service, however, is not always ideal. Patients who do not speak Dutch or English sufficiently are frequently asked to bring a relative or friend who can translate for them. If this is not possible or the topics discussed are too personal, a professional translator is consulted, mostly via telephone. Overall this works well, but it is also risky as friends or relatives are not trained as translators and tend to give summarised translations when the exact translation is preferred or even needed.

Staff members of the Dutch unemployment agency point out that the city of Utrecht provides different brochures in multiple languages. The policy of the agency is that all conversations take place in Dutch. If necessary, the client can bring along an interpreter. According to our respondent, the policy aims to prevent misunderstandings, since they usually concern important rights and duties. The agency itself does not provide a translating service. It is positive that many employees have a multilingual minority background themselves. In individual cases where language barriers threatens communication, these employees can be of (informal) help. When this is not possible, clients are advised to reschedule their appointment and bring an interpreter.

Our respondents representing the private sphere point out that the city of Utrecht's *interest* in multilingualism/plurilingualism is noticeable and refreshing. Examples of this interest are the blog http://multilengua.blogspot.nl/ about multilingualism kept by the city (somewhat ironically the blog is mostly available mostly in Dutch only), and the regular presence of council members in events related to multilingualism, such as our own LUCIDE's first workshop. The city of Utrecht is also actively approaching civil partners in order to formulate the city's policy on multilingualism in a better way. In the beginning of 2013, for instance, students of Utrecht University were invited to share their ideas and knowledge on multilingualism and language policy with people working for the city. Moreover the city put up an internship project to analyse their own policy on multilingualism, including advices for improvement.

'Good practice'

The so-called *Buurtflat* (or neighbourhood flat) project is an initiative from the Utrecht municipality to approach non-western migrants (door to door or through designating a space with this goal in neighbourhood flats) and invite them to, among other things, take Dutch language courses. Although Dutch language courses are obligatory for migrants who arrived recently, this is not the case for a large group of migrants who end up becoming invisible. The project is aimed at this group, typically migrants from before 2007 who have acquired the Dutch nationality and are not proficient in Dutch. A recent evaluation of the project revealed that 70% of the door to door approaches has led to a positive result, such as registration to a language course. In this respect it is worth to mention that a new word has entered Dutch: someone who arrived recently is a *nieuwkomer* (newcomer, an established word), and persons who arrived earlier but face somewhat the same problems as newcomers are now called *oudkomers* (old comers.)

Another good practice which we encountered in our survey is the fact that the official city website presents a list of all languages courses offered in Utrecht. The list contains both courses in Dutch as a second language but also foreign language courses. We interpret the availability of such information as a way to encourage multilingualism among the inhabitants of the city, including native speakers of Dutch.

4.3 Multilingualism and plurilingualism in economic life

A recent survey among Utrechters reveals that only 5% of the inhabitants of the city consider themselves to be monolingual. As pointed out by the author, even when plurilingualism is defined in the strictest sense, this percentage is extremely low (Martinovic 2011). The most common languages spoken by Utrechters other than Dutch are the European languages taught at school: English, German and French. This research also shows that the number of languages spoken increases as a function of the level of education. Plurilingualism is also supposed to have a positive effect on one's salary. These positive effects, however, only apply when Dutch is one of the languages spoken, and when it is spoken fluently.

In 2010 Marloes Egmond carried out a study on multilingualism among small and medium-sized businesses in Utrecht. She distributed a questionnaire among them and the following conclusions can be drawn, based on the reactions of 156 respondents (Egmond, 2010): For internal communication, the main language used is Dutch (89%). In 35% of the companies another language is used as a second language, usually English (80%) but German and French are also used in some companies, and Italian, Arabic, Berber and Turkish to a much lesser degree. For communication with costumers and deliverers, 58% use other languages beside Dutch. The majority of those 58% is English (93%) followed by German (58%, sometimes besides English) and French (25%, also in combination with English). Other languages used in external communication are Spanish, Italian, Turkish, Berber and Arabic. 67% of the companies are multilingual, in the sense that they use more than one language for internal and/or external communication. 43% use three languages, 18% use four and 8% even five or more languages for in- and/or external communication.

Utrecht Internationa(a)l? is a joint publication by the Utrecht Economic Board and the Chamber of Commerce which describes the situation in the economic sphere in the city from the perspective of internationalisation and globalisation. In the final chapter a to-do list is given (van den Bremer, 2013). Among the 28 recommendations some are specifically related to multi- and plurilingualism, such as the suggestion to offer English courses to bus drivers, taxi drivers and other 'ambassadors of the city'.

Martinovic (2011) writes that citizens who do not speak Dutch will experience difficulties in finding their place in the job market. The Dutch unemployment agency in Utrecht points out that many of their clients remain jobless due to their language deficits in Dutch. When unemployment is high, this group falls far behind other groups.

A low proficiency in Dutch is disadvantageous for people at all educational levels. Even university students who do not speak Dutch have a hard time finding internships. When selecting interns, international companies who use English as their main language of communication will prefer Dutch speakers above speakers who are unable to use Dutch. International companies based in Utrecht mention that although the company itself officially uses English as their main means of communication this is not necessarily the case with all individual clients they deal with, and despite the official policy, the language of communication among staff members is often Dutch.

What holds for interns, applies in the professional job market as well. Erik Stam, director of the Utrecht Center for Entrepreneurship[14] emphasises how difficult it can be to get a job for people who do not speak Dutch. This is the case even for highly educated personnel applying for jobs in large companies. Those companies, although they often present themselves as international, are less so in practice. It often is the case that their staff is required to speak some Dutch even if basic. Stam greatly compliments the few companies who chose their employees based primarily on their professional qualification and wish more companies would do the same.

Universities, schools and most (international) companies use English as a lingua franca for communication purposes. This includes internal communication with non-Dutch speaking staff, but also external communication (e.g. a website in English). Texts are often translated by proficient speakers of English, but not necessarily native speakers or professional translators. Two possible reasons for this are (1) professional translators are more expensive than what these institutions are willing to spend and (2) staff is proficient enough to ensure clear communication. Although this may lead to the loss of nuances and fine-tuning and to less elegant language use, it seems to compensate for the extra costs of professional translation.

The use of English as a lingua franca, however, is not always flawless. One of our respondents mentioned an anecdote which nearly led to a major misunderstanding.

> "…in my job I deal with European law and therefore also with a lot of foreign co-workers. Once a German co-worker accidentally sent an e-mail in German to an international group of co-workers, and that e-mail was translated with the help of Google Translate by an English colleague. But by that the content of the e-mail was turned into exactly the opposite of the original German version! Using these translation programs can bring along (large) risks and therefore I would always advise to make use of a professional translator."

---

14   http://www.utrechtce.nl/

4.4.   Multilingualism and plurilingualism in the private sphere

Probably the richest manifestations of multi- and plurilingualism can be found in the private sphere. They are, however, difficult to trace as they tend to reach a smaller network than larger initiatives from the public sector; moreover they are more difficult to maintain as they are usually bound to people instead of organizations.

One example of a private initiative is the website www.growingupbilingual.org. The site is a collaboration between three individuals persons (trained linguists and mothers of bilingual children) and Utrecht University. It provides support and information for all those concerned with or interested in bilingual children and their upbringing and education, aimed especially, but not exclusively, at parents or parents-to-be of bilingual children. Moreover, information is presented about other private initiatives fostering bilingualism such as a list of parent groups in Utrecht, private enterprises such as the ING Playground[15], a small parent group (part of Utrecht University) meeting weekly; or the Mother-Baby groups in Overvecht[16], a Turkish and Moroccan spoken support group for mothers and their babies (3-18 months) in the Utrecht area Overvecht, both for informational and social purposes.

The same linguists who are responsible for the website organise occasional workshops for interested parents groups. Usually the workshops take place in one of the Utrecht University buildings and they are mostly attended by highly educated parents (or parents-to-be) from Utrecht and surroundings. Parents attending the workshop often report receiving mixed advice by health and social services concerning their multilingual households. Some are advised to start speaking Dutch with their children whereas others mention being encouraged to use (the) other language(s).

Another website that should be mentioned here is BIMU (Bilingualism and Multilingualism in Utrecht, Website BIMU). On this site, activities organised at the Faculty of Humanities in the field of bi- and /multilingualism are announced and there is a large and regularly updated collection of links to popular articles and websites on (the advantages of) multilingualism.

Yet another private initiative is *Language Café Utrecht*, initiated by students from Utrecht University. The Language Café offers students and other interested people the opportunity to practise languages in the relaxed environment of a café in the city centre. It is intended for both international students who want to learn Dutch, and for Dutch students who want to learn or practise another language. Since the formula is very successful, there are plans to establish Language Cafés at more locations scattered all over the city, not just in the centre.

Most (non-Dutch) language learning activities are also left to private initiative, such as language schools or private teachers. As mentioned earlier, however, the city of Utrecht tries to take a mediation position by facilitating communication between language learners and private initiatives by publishing information about them on the official city website.

Private initiatives are also visible to cover the gaps that are left in the public sphere. For example, when the government decided to end the OALT programme on Education in Minority Living Languages in 2004 (see section 3.3 in this report), formal education of mother language was taken over by private enterprises, such as mosques, community centres and private schools.

4.5 Multilingualism and plurilingualism in urban spaces

Utrecht is, in the words of the municipality administration, a *multilingual hotspot*, where individuals speak more languages than anywhere else in Europe. This refers in the first place to the fact that individual plurilingualism is widespread, and not necessarily to a high number of languages being used in the city. Nevertheless the *cityscape* is very much dominated by Dutch. Public signs (tourism, transport, and safety) are predominantly in Dutch. Below we will discuss a few examples and illustrations.

---

15   http://ing-utrecht.squarespace.com/parent-and-child-group
16   http://www.cumuluswelzijn.nl/BabysPeuters/Voorouders/Moederbabygroep.aspx

Tourist Information

Utrecht receives hundreds of thousands of tourists per year who stay at least one night. It is striking that public signs give very little information in English, as shown on the example below where we see a small part of the Dom Church with its famous Dom Tower, and a public sign pointing to the local museums and other sites of touristic interest. Note that all names and directions are given in Dutch only, except for the Aboriginal Art Museum, which does not have a Dutch name. Generally speaking, however, tourists seem to find their way in Utrecht considering the high number of English speaking inhabitants in the city who are willing to give directions.

Public Transport

Tourists and non-Dutch speaking residents of Utrecht may find it difficult to use public transport around the city as this information is often given in Dutch only. In Utrecht Central Station all signs are given in Dutch only, except for information about international trains. Figure 4 below shows Utrecht Central Station and illustrates this point. Recently, though, we have witnessed, information being announced in both Dutch and English in a local train. Although the English used was a bit clumsy and unprofessional, it was a nice gesture from the conductor towards the non-Dutch speaking commuters and occasional users of this train. Usually information on the train is only given in English (besides Dutch) in international trains or trains to Schiphol Airport.

Figure 3 – Tourist street signs at Utrecht. (© Jacomine Nortier)

Figure 4 – Utrecht Central Station (© Jan Lankveld)

Safety-related Information and Traffic

During a recent renovation, the neighbourhood *Kanaleneiland* (known for its high number of Moroccan inhabitants) was struck by asbestos. A large part of the neighbourhood had to be evacuated. Warnings and announcements were given in Dutch. In figure 5 another warning is given, only in Dutch: from 29 January onwards the Nieuwegracht will be closed for traffic.

Multilingualism in Utrecht's cityscape

Despite these monolingual examples, there are also many signs of multilingualism and multilingual signs to be found in Utrecht's 'cityscape'. So for instance, although public signs pointing at the museums are usually in Dutch only, most museums will offer information in at least two languages (guess…). Miffy's house, part of the Central Museum, even uses Japanese, because of its popularity among Japanee tourists, illustrated in figure 6.

Figure 5 – Dutch sign at Domplein, Utrecht (© Jacomine Nortier).

Figure 6 (left) – Entrance to Miffy's house, part of Utrecht Centraal Museum (© Jacomine Nortier)

Figure 7 (above)– Turkish bakery in Lombok (© Eveline Doeleman)

Multilingualism other than Dutch/English – which is common- is also often found on the display windows of local shops. This is often the case for small shops with a non-Dutch background, as the one shown in figure 7 below. The picture shows a (Turkish) bakery window, featuring three languages: Dutch, Turkish and Arabic. Throughout the city we find many such examples, in many different languages, such as Italian, French, Chinese, and of course English.

In the Jacob Catsstraat , named after the Dutch poet Jacob Cats, we find fragments of his poems spread over a couple of walls in about 10 languages. Figure 8 below shows a part of one of these walls including fragments in Dutch, German, Spanish and Arabic.

Figure 8 – Multilingual wall at Jacob Catsstraat (© Ivana Brasileiro)

(Multi)Cultural Events

The streets of Utrecht are scenarios of many (multi-)cultural activities throughout the year. Examples of such festivals are the Cultural Sundays (*Culturele Zondagen*, see section 3.1 above), *Festival aan de Werf* (Festival on the Wharf[17]), the many neighbourhood festivities, Student's introduction days (UITdagen), Netherlands Film Festival, Latin American film festival etc. The events attract a mixed audience with the neighbourhood activities being the most multicultural ones. Figures (9, 10 and 11) below give an impression of what the city looks like during these festivals.

Figure 9 (right) – Cultural Sunday (© Jan Lankveld)

Figure 10 (below) – Festival aan de Werf (© Jan Lankveld)

Figure 11 (bottom right) – Neighbourhood festivities (© Jan Lankveld)

Most respondents in our questionnaire acknowledged the use of and need for English in the city landscape. One of our respondents specifically mentioned that English is the most visible foreign language in the city. Other respondents however pointed to the need for an "internationalisation" of the city "by providing more English subtitles throughout the city, for instance on street signs or boards or in restaurants."

---

17   In other Dutch cities the quays on the sides of the city canals are usually on street level but only in Utrecht they are at a lower level, they are called Werven (wharfs).

5. Analysis of key themes and discussion

In the previous sections several aspects of multilingualism in Utrecht have been presented from several perspectives. It was not our ambition and, moreover, it is even impossible to give a complete picture of the linguistic landscape of the city. However, we think that even in our restricted presentation, there are some recurrent themes that seem to play a role in the way plurilingualism and multilingualism are treated, celebrated or neglected in Utrecht. We will discuss these issues in more detail in the following section.

One of the most striking key issues found in our results is related to the difference between plebeian versus prestigious multilingualism.

5.1 Prestigious and plebeian multilingualism

Throughout our study the concepts of plebeian and prestigious multilingualism seem to be useful tools to describe and explain the use of and attitude towards languages in Utrecht. Against this background we will summarise our findings in this section.

The concepts of prestigious and plebeian multilingualism, based on Jaspers (2009), have been briefly introduced in section 2.2 above. The following quote from Jaspers and Verschueren (2011) illustrates the pressure from prestigious multilingualism further:

> "(…) the present more benign view on multilingualism obviously hides the fact that not all forms of multilingualism are thought equally valuable or marketable (…). Likewise, the promotion of bi- or multilingualism in most western nation-states is usually shaped by a persistent monolingual view on language acquisition, literacy and codification: based on the argument that it is in the pupils' interest to keep languages separate during language learning and teaching, to adhere to strict form-function relationships and avoid mixing, and to speak standard rather than vernacular varieties, language teaching programmes are designed to produce forms of 'parallel' or 'standard monolingualism', 'sequential' and 'separate bilingualism' or 'bilingualism with diglossia´. (…) And naturally, keeping languages separate helps preserve the idea of monolingual national spaces, unaffected by migration, diaspora and displacement. Not least, for all their attention to (elite forms of) multilingualism and despite EU-calls for preserving minority group languages, education in most western nation states largely remains a monolingual, i.e., majority language affair, where the use of and skills in ethnic minority languages gets frowned upon, is actively discouraged or simply ignored." (p. 1158)

Utrecht does not seem to be an exception to the practices and common sense opinions sketched in the quotation, but there are initiatives in each individual sphere to break through this tradition.

Below we will summarise the main tendencies in the presentation above of primary and secondary data from the five spheres in Utrecht with the help of the concepts of plebeian and prestigious multilingualism.

Examples from Utrecht

Prestigious multilingualism is a form of multilingualism among more highly educated people. They have learned their languages through formal instruction. Their native tongue is usually accepted and valued as a school subject. Plebeian multilingualism, on the other hand, is mainly found among unskilled or lower educated citizens who learned their languages in daily life, outside school, from relatives, peers or (other) people in their neighbourhood. Usually their home language is not broadly accepted as a subject in school.

In Utrecht we see this distinction, for example, between tourists or students and other people who came for academic reasons, and the migrants and their descendants who arrived as foreign workers. Tourists, foreign students and academics speak English as their native language, or as a language learned later in life through formal education. English is a subject that is taught in school while the languages of the foreign workers and their descendants, mainly (but of course not exclusively) Turkish, Arabic and Berber, are languages learned at home without educational support. Only in some secondary schools, Turkish and Arabic are subjects pupils can choose.

Prestigious multilingualism is seen as an excellent way to profit from communication with foreigners, while plebeian multilingualism is felt to be an in-group phenomenon that forms an obstacle to successful integration.

According to Jaspers (2009) and Jaspers and Verschueren (2011), the ultimate goal for people acquiring prestigious languages is to be able to use each language in all possible situations as if it were their only language. With respect to plebeian multilingualism it is commonly accepted that languages cannot replace each other. There is a functional distinction between the languages.

In our data we found many examples of the distinction described. As early as in primary school, English is taught and considered to be a useful basis for further development, as we showed in the section of the educational sphere above. At the same time, migrant children are discouraged to use their home language since it would hinder the acquisition of Dutch. The quote by Jaspers and Verschueren above describes exactly this attitude. Another example comes from the public sphere, where (road) signs are given in Dutch, and sometimes in English, but never in the migrant languages associated with plebeian multilingualism.

Another example from the educational sphere can be found in the history of mother tongue teaching (OALT) that we sketched in section 4.1. One of the reasons why this type of education had to stop was that the languages at stake had low prestige without any support from outside the community. We can even go further and conclude that, obviously, languages with low prestige are not considered appropriate for academic purposes.

The welcome signs in *Kanaleneiland* that were described in 2.4 were rejected by local Utrecht politicians since the use of the community languages would encourage people to continue speaking them. The criticism was directed at the low prestige migrant languages. Again an example of how these languages are classified as plebeian.

The outcomes of the study that was reported on the Website diversity and integration (2011) in 2.4 show that among the respondents, the non-Western languages are restricted to home and informal domains, while prestigious languages are used elsewhere.

Successful attempts to give minority languages more functions than just home languages are the *Culturele Zondagen*, Full color TV and other cultural initiatives. These initiatives are tokens, however, and until now they have not led to any structural changes in the attitude and behaviour towards minority languages.

In 2007 the municipality took the initiative to show and encourage that diversity should be used to the advantage of the city. In this sense Utrecht is original, inspirational and exemplary. It seems, however, that the impact has been very restricted as only a small minority of our respondents was aware of this initiative.

5.2 The role of Dutch

A recurrent theme in our city report is the use of Dutch. Most language-related initiatives from the city are concerned with teaching Dutch to immigrants. Moreover bilingualism is only taken as an (economic) advantage when Dutch is one of the languages involved.

The relevance of Dutch has been shown in each of our previously defined spheres. For instance, we find that language learning facilities are mainly restricted to the teaching of Dutch and sometimes English. In the economic life we were confronted with the fact that citizens who are not fluent in Dutch are severely disadvantaged in the labour market, regardless of their level of education.

The home language of a country is also a symbol of national identity. Dutch certainly has this function and the Dutch people greatly value that image. The sensitivity of this matter was clearly illustrated in 2007 when Princess (now Queen) Maxima overtly stated that there is no such thing as 'the Dutch identity'[18]. This led to strong feelings and nation-wide discussions about the Dutch identity and what it means for the Dutch.

---

18   http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zt0pHmZuDz0 (English translation provided).

What natives should realise, however, is that multilingualism does not threaten the national language. In a way, multilingualism might even reinforce the position of the national language, because it creates a need for a lingua franca. However, in this matter English is seen as a serious threat (see below).

We –and everybody else- consider it essential that there are enough opportunities for migrants to learn Dutch. This is especially necessary in minority contexts since they tend to be more socially isolated. We want to point out, however, that encouraging the acquisition of Dutch should not be linked to discouraging the home/mother/minority language. We will return to this issue in the final section of this report.

5.3 English as a lingua franca

English plays a crucial role in plurilingualism and multilingualism in the city of Utrecht. This is perhaps a consequence of the prestige matter discussed above. English is used as a lingua franca among international students, in communication involving non-Dutch speaking employees within companies, in communication with tourists, etc. There seems to be a general tendency that whenever the target group is unspecified, English is used as a second language, and the minority languages are only used when the group is specifically addressed. However, this is not typical for Utrecht, though Utrecht is the place where we have observed the tendency.

In official, touristic and visible expressions of multilingualism, English plays the most important role. Minority languages are only used when specific groups are addressed or in minority matters.

In the educational sphere we saw that Dutch and English are the languages that are associated with- and used - in school while the children's home languages function only outside school and are not associated with learning and achievement.

The visibility of English was noticed by many of our respondents. Many respondents, however, also stressed that English should be used on an even larger scale to allow for international communication.

Finally we emphasise that the importance of English is recognised in the economic sphere. After Dutch it is – in general – the most desired language in a company.

5.4 Integration and assimilation

Throughout our interviews we noticed that the term *integration* is used by many participants in the debate on multilingualism and diversity. But it is not specified what is meant by it. In some cases it seems that *assimilation* is meant instead of integration, for example when it is stated that the use and development of minority languages is an obstacle for successful integration.

In our opinion, integration does not simply mean that an immigrant learns to fit into the majority society. In order to differentiate between integration and assimilation, minority and majority communities have to ask themselves two questions. For the minority group these questions are:

1.   Do we want to become part of the majority community?

2.   Do we want to keep and value the language and culture that we brought with us?

When both questions can be answered with a yes, the minority group has an integrative orientation. If they want to become members of the majority community without keeping their original language and culture, their orientation is assimilative. In the opposite case, when they do not want to become part of the majority society and want to continue to use and to cherish their own language and culture, their orientation is segregative.

The majority group on the other hand has to ask themselves the following two questions:

1.   Do we want and accept these people as new members of our community?

2. Do we allow them or even stimulate them to keep their own language and culture?

When both questions are answered with a yes, the orientation of the majority group is integrative, and when both minority and majority group have answered yes to all four questions, we could say that there is true integration.

On the other hand, when the majority group wants the minority group to become members of their society without their original language and culture, they want them to assimilate, which would go well together with the possible wish of the minority group to assimilate.

When we look at integration this way, it is clear that in the example above, where 'integration is hindered by the use of minority home languages', so often heard on the streets in Utrecht, in fact something else is meant: not integration, but assimilation is hindered.

6. Conclusion and recommendations

In this report we have presented a snapshot of how multilingualism occurs in the city of Utrecht. Multilingualism and plurilingualism in Utrecht are clearly audible and visible throughout the city. We pointed out the crucial role of a lingua franca (English) and the marginal role played by minority languages.

Many of the challenges Utrecht faces are not specific to Utrecht: some are recurring themes all over the Netherlands; some can be found elsewhere in the EU and some beyond. The main recommendations sketched in this section are therefore possibly applicable to other (EU) cities as well.

Second Languages through formal education

The European Union promotes knowledge of languages. The ultimate goal is a Europe where all citizens are able to use at least two other languages in addition to their mother tongue. One obvious way of achieving this goal is through formal instruction.

In the previous section we have already emphasised the importance of English. The major role and high visibility of English have been recognised by all our respondents, in all spheres. Moreover, English enjoys an informal status as the second/best spoken language of the country and it adds to what the city's population sees as its international character. This combination of factors makes it fairly easy (and desirable) to give English such a prominent place in the school curriculum. Although other European/prestigious languages such as German, French or Spanish have a relatively high status, they cannot compete with English.

If we had the power to do so, we would encourage schools to make better use of the home languages within the school curriculum. Although the minority languages Turkish and Arabic are allowed as subjects in secondary schools, the use of this possibility is not optimal and usually almost invisible when compared to the position of more prestigious languages. We know that this is not an uncontroversial issue (cf. the case of the Gerardus Majella MAVO discussed in section 4.1 above) but we also believe that there are many reasons for giving minority languages a more prominent place in the school curriculum. It is advantageous for the children's cognitive development. We overheard a little boy complaining that he had to learn English, but was not allowed to use his native language (Berber)!

In primary education, OALT (mother tongue teaching) has disappeared as we already illustrated above. However, this does not necessarily mean that no attention at all should be paid to heritage languages. The experiment at the Lukasschool in Utrecht showed that young children until the age of seven or eight can profit from the use of their home languages. If it is impossible to reintroduce heritage language teaching, there must be other ways to profit from the linguistic capital children bring to school, and to strengthen the position of these languages. This will, as a consequence, have a positive effect on the children's self-esteem and confidence. We think that participation of parents might contribute to a positive attitude towards heritage languages and instead of focussing on what some parents lack, such as high literacy, other skills should be explored, such as storytelling or singing. A good example comes from 'De Taaltuin', a primary school in the city of Schiedam (near Rotterdam). In this school parents are strongly involved: they are informed about language development and how they can stimulate this at home. Special attention is paid to Dutch as a second language and at the same time teachers and parents are aware of the positive effect on children's identity of home language maintenance. Parents realise how important it is for their children to have a positive attitude towards their home languages. This school in Schiedam has significant higher scores on cognitive tests than other schools with a comparable population (Arslan, 2012).

Although schools are proud of teaching multilingualism (cf. the great number of languages taught at Dutch schools and the popularity of bilingual Dutch/English schools), they still ignore the rich stock of multilingualism there already is. There seems to be a conflict between "official" (prestigious) second/foreign languages and the (lower prestige) languages already available in the city (or in the country, when seen on a larger scale).

An obvious reason for this is the selective (poor) recognition of linguistic expertise. However, there are many teachers from a minority background in Utrecht and there are sufficient opportunities and material to practise with the students. Moreover, we believe that getting the majority group acquainted with the minority culture and language would lead to an

increased acceptance and tolerance towards these groups. Language teachers, after all, teach more than a language. They teach culture, attitudes, and ideologies. Finally we believe that the teaching of minority languages through formal instruction will increase the status of these languages within both the minority and the majority communities (see also the discussion about plebeian vs. prestigious plurilingualism in section 5.1). This is a crucial issue when one takes into account the EU policy on linguistic equality.

When it comes to recommendations, most of our attention was directed towards education. With respect to other spheres we may briefly add some more recommendations based on this City Report:

- Raise the status of what we called plebeian multilingualism above. Then we would all profit from multilingualism more than it is the case now. An example of how this can be achieved is to organise a city campaign to show the people in the city that multilingualism is something good, something advantageous, and something to be proud of. This can be done with the help of local radio and television, and other forms of multimedia.

- As we mentioned above in 4.3, Marloes Egmond wrote a report about her research on multilingualism among small and medium-sized businesses and companies in Utrecht (Egmond, 2010). One of her recommendations is to organise a city forum on multilingualism in the economic sphere in which representatives of, e.g., the city and the Chamber of Commerce should be involved. Its main goal would be to exchange good practices.

- From van den Bremer (2013), mentioned in 4.3, we copy the recommendation that the 'ambassadors of the city' (bus drivers, taxi drivers) should be offered English language courses.

- Provide tourist information in several languages. We should realise that Utrecht is mentioned as the city of Miffy in all Japanese tour guides. In multilingual communication with tourists, Japanese should take a prominent position, and not only in the Central Museum.

- Another possibility is to develop apps in a diversity of languages about special locations in the city, and not only for tourists but also for locals.

- Have menus translated into a broad range of languages (not only into English).

Multilingual boost

One of the questions in our questionnaire was whether there are, according to our respondents, specific languages in Utrecht which deserve a boost. Regarding the main result sketched in section 5.1 – the difference between prestigious and plebeian multilingualism – we suggest that multilingualism and plurilingualism themselves should be stimulated. We find it crucial that a change of the common sense (opinion), which is also shared by policy makers and policy implementers, will change in such a way that ultimately, Turkish-Dutch bilingualism is felt to be as valuable as Dutch-English bilingualism.

The city of Utrecht seems to be rich in small initiatives that celebrate multi/plurilingualism. Their structural impact, however, is limited as we found that most of our respondents were unaware of them. One possible way to achieve a higher impact from these initiatives would be more cooperation with smaller parties from different spheres and a more effective dissemination. Moreover, the city could work as a mediator or facilitator bringing different parties together. The previously mentioned example of bringing together language learners with language teachers is a good practice which could be extended.

In many of the European cities involved in this project it was found that neighbourhood libraries and schools are valuable partners in reaching a significant group. They have access to a close network of people, cultural brokers and other active inhabitants of the neighbourhoods, which would be otherwise inaccessible for the more centralised municipality. Also in Utrecht it would be fruitful to invest in a more decentralised approach.

There is a wealth in private initiatives that could greatly profit from cooperation with the city. These are, as previously mentioned in this report, difficult to list. These initiatives would have to be identified first; and they would have to be

encouraged and registered by the city, for instance. Private initiatives that could contribute to the city's goal concerning multilingualism should be supported by the city financially.

On a larger scale, the city of Utrecht would profit from actively joining (EU) activities that already exist. In a recent internship project supervised by the city, it is suggested, for instance, that Utrecht should more actively participate in the European day of languages or – we add - the United Nations International mother language day. Such days offer excellent opportunities to stimulate linguistic awareness, a positive attitude towards different mother tongues and multilingualism in a city. Local partners (libraries, schools and universities, for instance) should be encouraged to pay attention to the topic within their own networks.

We believe that the city of Utrecht would greatly profit from a general increase in multilingual awareness. The greatest challenge is to stop viewing minority languages as problematic and start seeing them as a potential wealth. Ideally, a multilingual boost would have its effect on Dutch native speakers as well, encouraging the learning and acquisition of more languages. We believe that through cooperation with and between existing initiatives this goal should be obtainable with modest and limited financial resources.

We would like to end our report by emphasizing that multilingualism and plurilingualism do not need to be a problem for any society. The problem is the failure to turn it into an advantage, to exploit it and to profit from it. We hope that this report will contribute – as small as it may be – towards this goal.

References

Arslan, Zeki (2012). Een historisch overzicht van het (taal)achterstandsbeleid: etniciteit speelt geen rol meer. De kracht van meer taal. [A historical overview of (language) arrears policy: ethnicity doesn't play a role anymore. The power of more language]
http://www.forum.nl/Portals/0/publicaties/de-kracht-van-meer-taal.pdf. 4-5.

Beacco, J-C. (2007). *From linguistic diversity to plurilingual education*. Strasbourg, Council of Europe (Language Policy Division). http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/linguistic/Source/Beacco_EN.pdf Retrieved 24 January 2013.

Bovenkerk, Frank., Kees Bruin, Lodewijk Brunt and Huib Wouters (1985). *Vreemd volk, gemengde gevoelens*. (Strange people, mixed feelings] Meppel: Boom.

Bremer, Renée van den (ed.) (2013). *Utrecht Internationa(a)l? Opgaven voor de stad*.[Utrecht international? Challenges for the city] http://www.economicboardutrecht.nl/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/2013_KvK_Utrecht-internationaal.pdf

Broeder, Peter and Guus Extra (1999): *Language, Ethnicity and Education*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Dieleman, Ruben (2013): *Meertaligheid in de stad: Strategie*. [Multilingualism in the city: Strategy] Unpublished Report.

Dorleijn, Margreet and Jacomine Nortier (2008): 'The hand and the glove. Code and style as bilingual options among young people of Turkish and Moroccan descent in the Netherlands' In: Jens Normann Jørgensen and Vally Lytra (eds.) *Multilingualism and Identities Across Contexts*, Pp. 109–128. (Copenhagen Studies on Bilingualism 45.) Copenhagen: University of Copenhagen, Faculty of Humanities.

Egmond, Marloes (2010). *Onderzoeksrapport Meertaligheid in het Utrechtse Midden- en Kleinbedrijf*. [Research Report Multilingualism in Small and Medium-sized Businesses] Unpublished Report, Utrecht University. (short version: http://www.jantenthije.eu/wp-content/uploads/2010/08/Def_Artikel_meertaligheid_MKB.pdf)

Jaspers, Jürgen (2010): Inleiding [Introduction]. In: Jürgen Jaspers (ed.): *De klank van de stad. Stedelijke meertaligheid en interculturele communicatie* [The sound of the city. Urban multiligualism and intercultural communication].Leuven/Den Haag: Acco, pp. 7-32.

Jaspers, Jürgen and Jef Verschueren (2011): 'Multilingual structures and agencies'. Journal of Pragmatics 43, 1157-1160.

Martinovic, B. The Dutch city of Utrecht as a European Hotspot and Laboratory for Multilingualism. Utrecht Municipality. http://www.utrecht.nl/images/secretarie/internationaal/pdf/multilingualism utrecht.pdf

Nortier, Jacomine (2009): *Nederland Meertalenland: Feiten, Perspectieven en Meningen over Meertaligheid*. [Netherlands Multilingualland: Facts, Perspectives and Opinions about Multilingualism] Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, p. 94-95.

Nortier, Jacomine and Margreet Dorleijn (2013): 'Multi-ethnolects: Kebabnorsk, Perkerdansk, Verlan, Kanakensprache, Straattaal, etc.' In: Peter Bakker and Yaron Matras (eds.) *Contact Languages*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, pp. 237-276 (to appear)

Scholtmeijer, Harm (1999): 'Stad-Utrechts. Honderd joar Vollekstaol in het hartsie van het lând'. [100 years of colloquial language in the heart of the country] In: Joep Kruijssen and Nicoline van der Sijs (eds.) *Honderd jaar stadstaal*. [Hundred years urban languages] Amsterdam/Antwerpen: Contact, pp 181-207

Scheele, Anna. (2010) Home language and mono- and bilingual children's emergent academic language: A longitudinal study of Dutch, Moroccan-Dutch, and Turkish-Dutch 3- to 6-year-olds. Enschede: Ipskamp Drukkers

Websites:

Monitor Diversity and Integration 2010, Utrecht Municipality
http://www.utrecht.nl/images/BCD/Bestuursinformatie/publicaties/2010/DiversiteitIntegratie2010.pdf

Website BIMU http://bimu.wp.hum.uu.nl/

Website Cultural Sundays http://www.culturelezondagen.nl/cz/do.php?a=show_visitor_static&b=english

Website Dutch School System http://www.homeinleiden.nl/html/schoolsthedutcheducationsystem.htm

Website Early Birdie http://www.earlybirdie.nl

Website European Platform of Internationalising of Education
http://www.europeesplatform.nl/sf.mcgi?3617&cat=764 http://www.europeesplatform.nl/sf.mcgi?3632&cat=767

Website Full Color TV http://www.mtnl.nl/read/full-color-utrecht?submenu=13090#

Websites Government of the Netherlands
http://www.rijksoverheid.nl/onderwerpen/voortgezet-onderwijs/vraag-en-antwoord/welke-vreemde-talen-krijg-ik-in-de-onderbouw-van-het-voortgezet-onderwijs.htm
http://www.rijksoverheid.nl/onderwerpen/basisonderwijs/vraag-en-antwoord/welke-vakken-krijgt-mijn-kind-op-de-basisschool.html

Website Growing up Bilingual www.growingupbilingual.org

Website Rijks Universiteit Groningen, about the Dutch Educational System (2013)
http://www.rug.nl/education/lerarenopleiding/international-students/dutch-educational-system

Website Utrecht Monitor 2013 http://www.utrecht.nl/index.php?id=14959

Website UOA, Utrecht Municipality
http://www.utrecht.nl/images/BCD/SectorFenP/Begroting/2012/Doorklikbestanden%20programmabegroting%20 2012/Onderwijs/UOA_visie_2010_2014.pdf

Website Utrecht language courses (2011), Utrecht Municipality
http://www.utrecht.nl/images/Secretarie/Internationaal/pdf/Taalcursusaanbieders%20Utrecht%20versie%209%20 december%202011.pdf

Website VoorleesExpress http://www.voorleesexpress.nl/