The Province of Drenthe:

Implementation of Drèents in primary education

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Abstract
Growing interest in regional or minority languages and in language attitudes in minority and regional language settings has been visible during the last decades. On the one hand, studies show that the use of regional or minority languages in many domains decreases. Lack of intergenerational transmission further contributes to a decrease of speakers. On the other hand, however, schooling and official recognition of regional or minority languages hope to reverse this process. This is also the case with Low Saxon in the Netherlands.

In this thesis, qualitative research is conducted on the support, thoughts and opinions of different groups involved with the implementation of Drèents in primary education in Drenthe. In Drenthe the regional language Drèents is spoken, which is a Low Saxon dialect. This regional variety has been recognized as a regional language in the Netherlands. A qualitative study on the support of teachers regarding the four-year project Bevordering Duits en Drents in de school is conducted, as well as on the thoughts and beliefs of teachers and parents about the regional language in general, and Drèents in primary education specifically.

This thesis shows that the perception of officials, teachers and children regarding the use of Drèents in general and in education is positive. Looking at the reactions of parents however, the data shows that this group supports the use of Drèents at school to a much lesser extent. Furthermore, the attitudes towards the regional language of parents are predominantly negative, which also influences family language policies. Consequently, the linguistic choices of parents regarding Drèents contribute to a further decline of the use of Drèents by their offspring.

Keywords: Low Saxon, Drèents, language education, monolingual habitus, multilingual turn, language variation, language attitude, multilingualism, family language policy
Chapter 1: Introduction
1.1 Low Saxon in the Netherlands and Germany

Most member states of the European Union are bilingual or multilingual (Mercator, 2002). This also holds for the Kingdom of the Netherlands, in which Dutch is the official state language, and Frisian the second official language. Additionally, several regional varieties are spoken: Limburgish and Brabantish are dialects of the southern part of the Netherlands, whereas in the eastern and northern parts, Gronings, Stellingwerfs, Sallands, West-Overijssels, Twents, Achterhoeks and Veluws are spoken (Bloemhoff, 2005). These dialects in the eastern and northern part belong to the overarching language group of Low Saxon. In Drenthe, a province located in the northeast of the Netherlands, the regional Low Saxon dialect Drèents is spoken next to Dutch (Bloemhoff, 2005: 9).

Drèents covers a small region that belongs to a larger dialect continuum in which various dialects exist (Stellmacher, 2000: 9). A standardized variety of Drèents does not exist, as Drèents consists of several varieties that can differ from village to village. Even though the differences between the seven main varieties are often small, differences in word usage and accent between the variety spoken in the northeast and in the southwest of Drenthe are considerable (Germs, 2012).

Low Saxon and its varieties are not only spoken in the Netherlands but also in a large part of Northern Germany until the Polish border. It is also spoken in a small part of Denmark (Germs, 2012). The different dialects of Low Saxon of different regional groups surrounding the Dutch-German border are mutually intelligible, though not perfectly so (Barbour & Carmichael, 1999: 10). Nonetheless, according to Volmert (2005), this dialect continuum is slowly disappearing. To protect the varieties of Low Saxon, Low German (Plattduuts) and Low Saxon spoken in the Netherlands have been recognized in the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages as a regional language since 1999 (Institut für Niederdeutsche Sprache, 2016).

![Figure 1. Map of the Low Saxon dialect continuum.](image-url)
In the last few decades, a current trend in almost all regions in the Netherlands is the decline of the use of regional languages. This is also the case of Low Saxon (Bloemhoff, 2005: 61). Many factors can contribute to such a decline (Baker, 2011). Research on both the language use of pupils in primary education in Drenthe and on the relationship between the language background of schoolchildren and their school results has been conducted by the institution Huus van de Taol, which protects and promotes Drèents (Huus van de Taol, 2016).

One of the conclusions of the report *Taalbeeld van de leerlingen in het Drentse onderwijs* (2009) is that children do not fall behind regarding their proficiency in Dutch when they also speak a regional language. This is addressed in Section 3.2. Another finding is that the use of Drèents among children has been decreasing: Only 10-20 percent of schoolchildren in Drenthe speak Drèents as their first language (Van Ruijven, 2005: 40). In addition, the analysis showed that children from lower socio-economic backgrounds speak Drèents more in comparison with their peers from higher socio-economic backgrounds (Van Reydt, 1997: 8).

1.2 Background of the project on multilingualism

As a consequence of the decline of the number of Drèents speakers, Drenthe has initiated the project *Bevordering Duits en Drents in de school*. The proposal is to integrate Drèents and German in primary education and at the teacher training programme of Stenden Hogeschool Emmen, which is a graduate school in southeast Drenthe. The aim of the project is to foster the use of German and Drèents at primary schools: Schoolchildren who do not speak Drèents (actively) are motivated to learn Drèents as a way of cultural enrichment.

German has been implemented in the project next to Drèents. Teaching children German from an early age offers them the possibility to work across the border in Germany, as unemployment rates are lower in Germany than in Southeast Drenthe. The cooperation between the border regions in the Netherlands and in Germany is thus the main reason to start teaching children German early in this region. To realize this, Drenthe cooperates with Huus van de Taol and Stenden Hogeschool.

As mentioned, Low Saxon has a large potential speakers. Some children have a passive command of Drèents, because of input from, for example, their parents or grandparents. Consequently, teaching Drèents at a young age is hoped to revitalize the regional language.

Before the start of the project, hardly any education took place in Low Saxon in Drenthe (Mercator, 2016). According to Bloemhoff, such education is a prerequisite to guarantee that the youth will continue to speak Drèents, as learning another language “will promote favourable attitudes toward the language and all factors associated with it” (Gardner, 1982: 139). Consequently, attitudes of the
inhabitants of Drenthe, such as teachers’ and parents’ attitudes, seem to be influential in revitalizing Dřents.

Despite the declining number of Dřents speakers, in Southeast Drenthe Dřents is spoken relatively more than in other regions in Drenthe. This offers chance “to foster language awareness and create curiosity about their language or the language of their parents, as well as about other languages” (Conteh & Meier, 2014: 3).

1.3 Content of the thesis
This thesis has been divided into six chapters. Chapter 1 focuses on Low Saxon and on the background of the project Bevordering Duits en Drents in de school. The chapter ends with a presentation of the aims of this study. Chapter 2 looks at the influence of nation state building on regional or minority languages. Against this background the position of regional or minority languages can be better understood. Emphasis is placed on the international and regional/minority rights instruments, such as the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages.

Monolingualism and multilingualism in education are focus of Chapter 3. The monolingual habitus will be discussed and the importance of the multilingual turn in education will furthermore be set out. Chapter 4 gives an overview of the methodology. The findings of the interviews are presented in Chapter 5. The thesis ends with the conclusions of the analyses of the interviews and a discussion in Chapter 6. It aims to provide a definitive statement of the implementation of Dřents at the pilot schools in Drenthe.

Recommendations for further research on multilingual education in the province of Drenthe are also given in Chapter 6. The Appendices I and II contain the interview designs, participant information and the transcripts of the interviews.

1.4 Objectives
This study focuses on the current developments in Drenthe regarding multilingual education. Research on the support of multilingual education has not yet been conducted in Drenthe. Therefore, the objective of this study is to provide an overview of the language situation at several primary schools in Drenthe, including to what extent the project Bevordering Duits en Drents in de school is supported by the groups involved with it. Pilot schools (teachers and children), parents and officials in the field of language planning and policy regarding Low Saxon are included in this study.

Despite the goal of schools to introduce their pupils to multilingualism, little research has been conducted to support the project on how the pilot schools translate their goals into practice. This is understandable, as this is the first relatively large-scale education project on multilingualism set up in Drenthe.

Language diversity in education is often seen as problematic by teachers and language planners in mainstream settings (Safford & Drury, 2013, as cited in Conteh
& Meier, 2014: 211). Therefore, it is interesting to investigate how Drenthe deals with linguistic diversity and to investigate whether the project has been implemented successfully. To get an idea of the support of the project and the reasons for implementing Drenths of the aforementioned groups, this study focuses on the schools involved with the project since its beginning in 2015. Emphasis is placed on the schools were Drênts has been implemented. Schools where German lessons are organized are excluded from this study, for reasons elaborated in Chapter 4.

Research into the situation regarding multilingualism in Southeast Drenthe is conducted from a sociolinguistic point of view. The first research question addressed is “to what extent is the project Bevordering Duits en Drents in de school supported by the different groups involved with it?” The second research is “what are the reported linguistic practices of parents in reference to their offspring?” Furthermore, what linguistic attitudes and ideologies can be derived from the reported practices of parents and teachers is addressed.

Interviews were conducted to gain insight into thoughts and opinions of the participants and on their use of Drênts. This will contribute to a better understanding of the choices made by parents, teachers and children. Looking at the decline of Low Saxon observed by Bloemhoff (2005) in the last decades, the expectation is that the attitude of parents regarding Drênts is not positive. Moreover, a description of the kind of multilingualism that is set up in Drenthe is given, as well as the problems schools faced regarding multilingual education.

With help of interviews, these questions are addressed with the aim to give an overview of the current language situation at primary schools in Drenthe. After presenting the results, suggestions for further research will be given.

Chapter 2: Nation state building and regional languages

This chapter presents background of the relationship between the development of nation states and the suppression of multilingualism. With this, the language situation and the decisions regarding multilingualism in Drenthe can be better understood. The creation of nation states, nationalism and linguistic homogenization in Western political traditions reached its peak during the nineteenth century. Nation building has been a powerful tool of nation states to create homogenization among their population. Wright (2016: 303) stated that “language is the glue that holds the group together”.

To create large communities of communication, linguistic difference had to be eradicated during homogenization processes of governments. These monolingual ideologies are “rooted in a preoccupation with preserving cultural and linguistic uniformity” (Gal, 2006, as cited in Mariou, 2017: 22). Consequently, the standardization and codification of one language variety of a nation state results in the devaluing of other varieties (Mariou, 2017: 22), such as Low Saxon and other regional dialects in the Netherlands. Nowadays, linguistic difference has often still been suppressed to create national unity (Wright, 2016: 225). It is often still the case
that the use of regional and minority languages is not allowed in the public sphere, such as in administration, in education and in the media.

Grosjean (1982: 35) states that if this nationalistic attitude towards language results in the prohibition of the use of regional languages in education, this might result in (former) speakers of a regional language becoming monolingual speakers of the national languages. As mentioned earlier, research of Bloemhoff (2005) on the use of Drèents shows this trend towards monolingualism among the inhabitants of Drenthe.

The return to a monolingual language situation of people that learned Drèents as their first language (L1) and the loss of the first language in favour of the national language is referred to as language shift or mother-tongue displacement (Grosjean, 1982: 38). However, nowadays more attention is paid to the rights of minorities and their languages, which is a reaction to the process of nation state building (Kymlicka, 2001, in Wright, 2016: 225). This response is also visible in Drenthe, where several measures in education have been made to promote multilingualism. The project Bevordering Duits en Drents in de school is a good example of more attention being paid to the development of multilingualism among schoolchildren in Drenthe.

2.1 Language, post-nationalism and regionalism

This section gives an overview of the juridical aspect concerning linguistic rights for Low Saxon set up by European Union. The aim of language planning and policy regarding nation-building has long been convergence (Wright, 2016: 311), which required organization on a national level. Nowadays, however, the political landscape is slowly shifting away from the national level to the local level. Since the end of the twentieth century, national governments have shared their authority with supranational organizations, such as the European Union and the United Nations, as well as with regional organizations (Wright, 2016: 305). This relocation creates space for regional authorities to recognize linguistic diversity. The widespread idea that has prevailed for centuries of ‘one language, one nation’ is slowly being dismantled, which gives more power to the local level with respect to the promotion of regional and minority languages. This is in line with the current situation in Drenthe.

Linguistic minorities and speakers of regional languages can be supported by national and regional governments through language planning and policies. However, “the relationship between language and the ‘social’ is always loaded with political and moral interests” (Irvine, 1989, as cited in Mariou, 2017: 21). These interests of different groups reveal positions of power and domination (Mariou, 2017: 21). For example, a government can grant a regional or minority language official status in the areas where it is used. In 1992, the European Charter for
Regional or Minority Languages\(^1\) was accepted as a Convention by the Committee of Ministers.

The Charter aims to protect and promote regional or minority languages, whose cultural heritage is considered vulnerable and threatened by the European Union (Wei, 2016: 56). The Charter does not give individual or collective language rights to individuals, languages or groups, but instead describes the obligations and responsibilities of states (Wei, 2016). The Charter tried to safeguard the use of regional or minority languages in administrative, economical and judicial fields, as well as in education and the mass media (Wei, 2016).

The insurance of the use of minority languages in these domains can be categorized in three stages of obligations of member states of the European Union. Part 1 of the Charter states that the aim of the Charter is “to develop the use of the languages traditionally spoken on the continent, regardless of their current official status” (Wei, 2016: 56). In Part II, the objectives and principles regarding the languages concerned are listed, whereas Part III lists the specific measures for the protection and promotion of the regional or minority languages that must be implemented in public life by the involved states (Wei, 2016: 56). These stages give states the opportunity to decide which part of the Charter they want to adopt.

The Kingdom of the Netherlands signed the Charter in 1992 and accepted it in 1996. The Charter entered into force on March 1\(^{st}\), 1998. By means of the charter, the Dutch government protects and promotes Frisian, which is recognized as an official language in the Netherlands. Low Saxon, Limburgish, Yiddish and Romani are recognized regional languages in the Netherlands. Regarding Drèents, the Dutch government has signed part II of the Charter in 1999, which means that Low Saxon is recognized as a regional language. The downside is, however, that only part I and part II have been signed, which means that there are no clear and structured obligations regarding the promotion and protection of Low Saxon.

Wei (2016) states that the European Union seems to be least bothered by minority protection. This can be understood in the light of the Treaty of Maastricht of 1992, which aimed to establish a political and economic union. Measures on minority issues would thus legally bind all member states of the European Union, which might be the reason for the European Union to be reluctant regarding minority rights at the European level. The European Union instead treats cultural and linguistic diversity as the responsibility of the Member States (Wei, 2016: 31).

Regional and local authorities are thus mainly pulling the cart regarding the promotion of Low Saxon. De Stichting IJsselacademie and Huus van de Taol are important players in protecting and promoting Low Saxon. The fact that only part I and II have been signed by the central government can be related to the status and importance of Drèents as well as the attitude towards it. This influences how far the

\(^1\) Hereafter, the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages will be referred to as “the Charter.”
Dutch government will go in granting equal linguistic rights to a group of speakers of a minority- or regional language (Grosjean, 1982: 25).

2.2. Status and language attitude regarding Drèents
In a situation in which two or more (regional) languages are in contact, usually one language has a higher prestige and status. This is often the national language and is referred to as the dominant or majority language the speakers of the majority language generally belong to the group that has the economic, political and cultural power in a country (Grosjean, 1982: 120). Regarding the language situation in Drenthe, the regional language has less prestige compared to standardized Dutch (ABN). This difference in status and social prestige is also reflected in primary education in Drenthe: Monolingualism often still is the norm in education.

The low social prestige of the regional language negatively influences language attitudes towards Drèents. Language attitude, which often includes overt and covert attitudes, is defined as “learned predisposition from the language user or react consistently positively or negatively to a language (-variety, -form)” (Ebertwoski, 1978, as cited in Swarte, 2011: 16). According to Grosjean (1982: 123), negative attitudes can have profound consequences on learning a language. Parents often want to liberate their children from a stigmatized identity that comes along with a particular language, which results in “parents helping their children learn the “correct” language” (Grosjean, 1982: 123) to be able to have the social mobility and economic advantages linked with the use of this “correct” language. Language attitude is thus always one of the major factors in accounting for which languages are learned (Grosjean, 1982: 127).

Therefore, the role of school is considerable, as “going to school represents the first sustained ‘break’ from the home” (Edwards, 2010: 197) and during this period, children with regional or minority language backgrounds acquire the majority language. Learning Dutch is an expansion of the linguistic repertoire of children, but learning the majority language may displace the existing language (Edwards, 2010: 197). As concluded by Bloemhoff (2005), the use of Drèents among young people is indeed declining, mainly due to the lack of intergenerational transmission and the language shift towards Dutch.
Chapter 3: Monolingualism vs. multilingualism in education

3.1 Monolingual habitus in education

This section presents background of the monolingual habitus that dominates in education. Nowadays, it is estimated that over half of the world’s population are thought to be either bilingual or multilingual (Burck, 2007: 1). Despite this fact, governments often aim at spreading the national language. Consequently, the use of minority or regional languages in education is limited, which results in the so called monolingual habitus in education.

The term “monolingualer Habitus” was used firstly by the German education theorist Ingrid Gogolin in one of the first-ever books about monolingualism in 1993. In this book Gogolin gives an overview of how the German school system acquired its monolingual habitus due to linguistic homogenization processes that developed during nineteenth century nation-state building. Gogolin describes the term monolingual habitus as the structures and forms of most European schools that are based on the “deep-seated conviction that monolingualism in a society, and particularly in schools, is the one and only normality […] characteristic of a nation” (Gogolin, 1982: 41). These homogenization processes in education clearly show the monolingual habitus of teachers (Gogolin, 1994, as cited in Kroon & Vallen, 2004) and they have penetrated in language teaching methods and in handbooks on language didactics in teacher training programmes (Kroon & Vallen, 2004: 7). The monolingual mindset is thus the social norm, and has powerful implications regarding language planning and policy, as well as on language practices in different domains (Bonello, 2017: 102). As a consequence of this, German schools do not manage to meet the needs of pupils in a linguistically diverse immigration society (Gramling, 2016: 4).

On the contrary, applied linguists such as Alastair Pennycook state that monolingualism is not more than “an elite ruse, distracting us from the diverse, centrifugal linguistic practices in evidence everywhere we turn” (Pennycook and Otsuiji, 2015: 16-20, as cited in Gramling, 2016: 4). Despite the different opinions on monolingualism, the monolingual mindset has its influence in the field of education: Educational systems of post-industrial, developed countries are characterized by monolingualism being the norm (Van Avermeat en Sierens (2014: 9).

The example of the Tower of Babel, whose inhabitants were monolingual, is often regarded as the ideal basis of society (Burck, 2007: 10). The monolingual habitus makes it possible and easy to deal with unexpected situations, and thus, creates self-stabilization (Gogolin, 1982: 42). According to Gogolin, this also holds for teachers, whose professional ethos is strongly influenced by the idea that monolingualism in the official state language should be established. This also applies to mother tongue education in the Netherlands (Herrlitz et al., 2007: 67). In this way the monolingual habitus is maintained by the traditions of the educational system.
3.2 The multilingual turn in education
This section explores the importance of the multilingual turn in languages in education for the maintenance of regional languages. In the history of language learning several turns or paradigm shifts have been realized, according to Conteh & Meier (2014: 5). These turns are characterized by the way researchers and teachers “have understood language learning, and they influence how languages are taught” (Conteh & Meier, 2014: 5).

The turns during the last thirty years have been the ‘cognitive’ turn and the ‘social’ turn. Regarding the ‘cognitive’ turn it is argued that language learning should be understood as “a cognitive activity where learners individually process incoming information” (Conteh & Meier, 2014), whereas the ‘social’ turn focuses on the construction of meanings regarding language learning. With this, language learning should take place in interaction with others. Conteh and Meier argue that it is important to consider how these two paradigm shifts have been of influence to the multilingual turn. They argue that language learning is both cognitive and social, as well as cultural, historical and emotional (2014: 6). “The myth of the monolingual nation of monolingual citizens has been challenged at several levels” (Conteh and Meier, 2014: 3). This also holds for the field of education, in which increasingly more space is created for multilingualism. The monolingual norm of one standard language has been further questioned, and new light has been shed on language varieties (Conteh & Meier, 2014: 3).

There are some fallacies about best practice in language learning and teachings: To avoid that children will become confused by different languages, languages should be kept separate in classroom. Another fallacy is the belief that language diversity is a problem, and therefore it is better that all children speak one language in the classroom (Conteh & Meier, 2014: 159-160). In contrast to these fallacies, embracing multilingualism in education not only positively affects schoolchildren, but it can also be the link between families and communities. Pennycook (2001, as cited in Conteh & Meier, 2014: 7) suggests that school and society both influence one another. What happens in classrooms could thus have its influence on the world outside school. Therefore, regarding language teaching in Drenthe, more openness and awareness at the teacher training programme at Stenden Hogeschool Emmen on linguistic diversity in education has been developed in recent years. The goal is to create a critical language awareness among teachers, in which teachers analyse and question their language ideologies. In this way teachers can be empowered with “knowledge and pedagogies so that they may become agents of change” regarding multilingualism at schools (Hélot & Ó Laoire, 2011, as cited in Conteh & Meier, 2014: 107).

Concern of teachers, teacher educators and researchers are related to question how multilingual identities and multilingual competences can get more value in schools and how accepting multilingualism in schools can create a sense of belonging to particular groups (Conteh & Meier, 2014: 1). Due to these recent
developments it is interesting to get insight into the potentials and challenges of multilingualism at primary schools in Drenthe.

Much research has been conducted on the effects of bilingualism on children. Researchers of the early period expected bilingual children to have lower intelligence, socially adrift and behind in school (Lambert, 1977, in Grosjean, 1982: 224). Therefore, parents are often reluctant to send their child to a bilingual school, as the prevailing view of parents is the fear that proficiency in the majority language would be negatively affected if children learn a regional or minority language from an early age. Research, however, has shown that these fears are unfounded, as it has been found that bilingualism is a great asset to the child (Grosjean, 1982: 221). Bilingual children appeared to have more advantages than monolingual children: Early bilingualism leads to greater cognitive flexibility and greater creativity of children, which help young people to master several languages (Garland, 2006: 32).
Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1 Nature of research

This study is based on a series of sociolinguistic interviews with a sample of two officials, four teachers, three children and three parents. These semi-structured interviews with different people and institutions involved with the project were conducted in Dutch. All interviews were transcribed in Dutch and translated into English. Interviews allow “the researcher to reach areas of reality that would otherwise remain inaccessible such as people’s subjective experiences and attitudes” (Peräkylä, 2005, as cited in Soler & Zabrodskaja, 2017: 11). The participants were recruited with help of the project report and Huus van de Taol. The interviews were conducted at primary schools in Emmer-Compascuum, Nieuw-Amsterdam, Klazienaveen, Beilen and Hijken, which are small cities and villages in central- and southeast Drenthe.

Figure 2. Map of the province of Drenthe in the Netherlands.

Table 1. Basic characteristics of the sample (officials)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Officials</th>
<th>Generation</th>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Native language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O1</td>
<td>Between 63-65</td>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>Assen</td>
<td>Dutch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O2</td>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>Beilen</td>
<td>Dutch; Drèents</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2. Basic characteristics of the sample (parents)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parents</th>
<th>Generation</th>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Native language</th>
<th>Children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P1</td>
<td>Between 38-40</td>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>Nieuw-Amsterdam</td>
<td>Dutch, Drèents</td>
<td>a child in grade 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P2</td>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Dutch, Drèents</td>
<td>three children in grade 2, 5 and 7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P3</td>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>Venoord</td>
<td>Dutch, Drèents</td>
<td>one child in grade 7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3. Basic characteristics of the sample (teachers)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teachers</th>
<th>Generation</th>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Native language</th>
<th>Primary school</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>T1</td>
<td>Between 38-56</td>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>Dutch, Drèents</td>
<td>Obs de Bente</td>
<td>Emmer-Compascuum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T2</td>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>Dutch, Drèents</td>
<td>‘t Hijker Nust</td>
<td>Hijken</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T3</td>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>Dutch, Drèents</td>
<td>Obs de Bascule</td>
<td>Nieuw-Amsterdam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T4</td>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>Dutch, Drèents</td>
<td>Obs de Brug</td>
<td>Klazienaveen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4. Basic characteristics of the sample (children)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Children</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Native language</th>
<th>Primary school</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>Obs de Bascule</td>
<td>Nieuw-Amsterdam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>Obs de Bascule</td>
<td>Nieuw-Amsterdam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>Obs de Bascule</td>
<td>Nieuw-Amsterdam</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

During the transcription process and the analysis of the data, teachers were coded as T, and parents were coded as P. The three children involved in one interview are reported as C1, C2 and C3. The two officials involved are reported as O1 and O2. The abbreviation Int in the extracts refers to the interviewer.

Qualitative research seems to be appropriate for this study, as it gives the
opportunity to carry out an in-depth case study on the language situation in Southeast Drenthe. In this study a direct discourse-based approach regarding Drèents is applied, that is, the interviews contain direct language-related questions. It was intended to focus on all ten pilot schools involved in the project, but since some schools were not willing or could not cooperate for different reasons, these schools are not part of this study. As seven out of the ten schools solely focus on the implementation of Drèents, in this study only attention has been paid to Drèents.

4.1.1. Profile of the respondents
Twelve interviews were conducted. The respondents varied in age, gender, occupation and level of education. All respondents were born and raised in Drenthe and all of them could speak Drèents, except for the children, who did not have a high command of the regional language. Half of the respondents were linguistically educated in their language use of Drèents. This thesis aims to gain insight into the support of several groups for the project Bevordering Duits en Drents in de school, and ways in which the primary schools deal with multilingualism. To gain insight into the thoughts on multilingual education at the schools involved in the project results are collected from these groups.

4.1.2 Content of the interviews and data analysis
Four interviews were designed and adapted to the specific information that should be elicited from the different groups of respondents. For the interview with the civil servant, various topics were addressed during the interviews, such as the process of setting up the project, the role of the groups involved in the project and the evaluation of the project. The interviews with the teachers focused on how the project is implemented at the pilot schools. The interviews with the teachers, schoolchildren and parents also focused on their opinions regarding the project and on their thoughts about the regional language. Appendix I contains the interview designs and Appendix II contains the transcripts of the interviews.

4.2 The project Bevordering Duits en Drents in de school
The project has started with a limited group of pilot schools in Southeast Drenthe. The schools are divided into two groups: One group that has started with the implementation of Drèents, and the other groups provide courses in German. The following schools take part in the project:
Table 4. Pilot schools implementing Drèents in Southeast Drenthe

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Primary school</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Obs De Bente²</td>
<td>Emmer-Compascuum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Obs De Vlinderhof</td>
<td>Noord-Sleen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Obs De Dreske</td>
<td>Roswinkel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Cbs De Brug</td>
<td>Klazienaveen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Obs De Runde</td>
<td>Emmer-Compascuum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Rkbs De Banier</td>
<td>Zwartemeer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Obs De Bascule</td>
<td>Nieuw-Amsterdam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. ‘t Hijker Nust</td>
<td>Hijken</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5. Pilot schools implementing German in Southeast Drenthe

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Primary school</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Rkbs Wilibrordus</td>
<td>Coevorden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Obs De Brink</td>
<td>Emmen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Rkbs Kardinaal</td>
<td>Emmen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When the schools were contacted and asked if they were willing to participate in this study, not all schools reacted enthusiastically. The reasons were manifold: Lack of time and other priorities, such as planned visits of the Inspectorate. Surprisingly, one headmaster claimed that his school did not participate in the project, even though the name of the school was registered in the report of the project. In practice, thus, the project has not been implemented at all schools mentioned in the report of the project.

4.2.1 Language immersion

The languages that are offered at the schools are implemented by means of the immersion method, or by means of language activities in the target language. The initiators of the project prefer the immersion method. By means of this technique in language education children are immersed and taught in the target language. The main purpose of most language immersion programs is to promote and foster bilingualism. This method exposes schoolchildren to other culture and it also helps preserving regional languages. The subjects taught through this method are music, technics, physical education and geography. The immersion method is mainly used for teaching German at primary schools in Drenthe.

² The schools highlighted in blue have been visited for this study.
The second method is to implement language activities in either Drèents or German. These language activities are, for example, singing songs, reciting poems, reading out stories, playing multilingual games and watching movies in the target language (Huus van de Taol, 2015: 4). According to the report of the project the goal is to implement language activities one or two hours weekly.

Chapter 5: Findings of the interviews
This section draws on selected extracts from the interviews with the respondents. The views they expressed on the project and on the language ideologies are described. A summary of the most relevant themes that emerged from the in-depth interviews is given. Through analyzing the officials’, teachers’ and parents’ discourses, their views, questions and worries regarding the use of Drèents at schools were revealed.

Multilingual education is not only a linguistic matter concerned with pedagogy and practice. It is unavoidably concerned with politics, as linguists and educators have always acknowledged (Edwards, 2010: 273). Political, social and economic factors play an important role in language planning and policy. To gain insight into the political aspect involved with setting up the project, an interview with a civil servant of Drenthe another with the director of Huus van de Taol were conducted. An overview of the thoughts and ideas about the project Bevordering Duits en Drents in de school of officials is given, followed by those of teachers, children and parents.

5.1 Attitude towards the project
5.1.1 Officials: LPP - acquisition planning
Language planning can be categorized in status planning, corpus planning and acquisition planning (Johnson, 2013: 28-29). Acquisition planning involves the teaching and learning of a certain language and is often integrated into a larger language planning process in which the statuses of languages are evaluated and corpuses are revised. These changes are finally introduced to society on a national, state or local level through education systems, from primary schools to universities (Johnson, 2013: 54). Acquisition planning also influences the position and use of minority or regional languages in education. In Drenthe acquisition planning tries to ease the acquisition of Drèents for non-native speakers, as well as for semilingual pupils.

5.1.2 Huus van de Taol
The first interview was conducted with the director of Huus van de Taol, Jan Germs. Germs reported that the teacher training (PABO) in Emmen has been interested in the teaching of Drèents for years. Motives for setting up the project were as follows: A few teachers at the PABO valued the regional language and therefore had the wish implement it at primary schools in Drenthe. Moreover, Huus van de Taol aims at raising multilingual awareness among children and therefore wanted to take part in
the project. Most important have been the efforts of regional politicians that took the lead to realize the project. With help of the centrist political party D66 it has been realized to get a lectureship Multilingualism and Drèents at Stenden Hogeschool. However, both the right-wing parties VVD (De Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie) and PVV (De Partij voor de Vrijheid) only agreed with the proposal when socio-economic factors were taken into account. Consequently, Drèents and German were combined in the project.

The aim of Stenden Hogeschool and Huus van de Taol is to make children aware of multilingualism and not to teach the children to speak Drèents fluently, according to Germs. He explained:

O1 No, the aim is the stimulation of multilingualism, to sensitize a positive attitude with respect to other languages. And if the children learn some Drèents next to this, we really like and support this! […] There are so many relations between languages, but this does not make a child immediately a speaker of Drèents […] Language awareness and where language is all about and that it is fun to work with languages; that is important.

Germs stresses the stimulation of multilingualism and the creation of a positive attitude toward other languages. Language comparison is used to create linguistic awareness among schoolchildren. At primary schools words in Dutch, Drèents, English and German are compared to show the degree of similarity between languages, such as for instance the words *straat* (Dutch), *straot* (Drèents), *street* (English) and *Straße* (German).

The project has been set up for the years 2015/19. Currently, the third year has already started and aimed is to continue after 2019. O1 reported that the project is still in its infancy:

O1 It is still somewhat limited. It would be nice if (...) a bit more, slowly, that there would an afternoon [with Drèents lessons] and that new things regarding Drèents are introduced as well.

Germs furthermore reported that the number of Drèents speakers is declining rapidly. Working as a primary school teacher in a small village in Drenthe during the mid-seventies, Germs estimated that around 80-75 percent of the children spoke Drèents in the classroom, whereas at the beginning of the twentieth century only two or three children in the classroom were able to speak somewhat Drèents. This is in accordance with the outcomes of the research of Bloemhoff (2005) on the use of Low Saxon in the Netherlands. Germs described what he thought to be the causes for this decline:

O1 ABN, the B³, civilized. So if you want to be civilized, and people have been talked to that Drèents is a farmers’, rude and a retarded little language. If you want to stand up and be

---

³ The letter ‘B’ in *Algemeen Beschaaft Nederlands* (ABN) means civilized.
counted in the world, then you need to speak civilized. That is Dutch. [...] This idea of speaking ‘civilized’ is one of the causes, I think.

Likewise, linguists Kroon and Vallen (2004) also question that standardized Dutch is referred to as *Algemeen Beschaafd Nederlands*, as this suggests that people who do not speak the standardized variety would behave uncivilized with respect to their language use. Germs also mentions that parents often believe that if their children would speak Drèents, they would encounter language related problems at school. Parents therefore want to learn children standardized Dutch from an early age:

**O1** If you want the best for your children, and who doesn’t want that, then you would teach them Dutch in advance. Then they just have an advantage. [...] Parents just massively shifted to Dutch.

According to Germs, parents increasingly disapprove speaking Drèents. This negative attitude towards the regional language is highly ingrained in people and therefore difficult to change overnight. Germs reported that he fears that Drèents is a languages that will not survive the twenty-first century.

Another problem reported by Germs with regard to the survival of Drèents during the twenty-first century is the disappearance of intergenerational transmission of Drèents. This process is highly related to negative attitudes towards the regional language. Although Low Saxon is recognized as a regional language in the Netherlands, its social prestige is low. People may furthermore hold prejudices towards regional languages like Drèents, which evokes the question to what extent this low prestige and the support of the implementation of Drèents at primary schools are influenced by one another. In the remainder of Chapter 5 is focused on this relationship.

A problem reported by Germs is that parents are often uniformed regarding the advantages of multilingualism for their children. This is a hurdle that is difficult to overcome. He explained this the following way:

**O1** There is a lot of ignorance out here. And you can’t change that with a flyer [on the advantages of multilingualism] or with a lecture on a formal parents’ evening. It is so ingrained.

Germs also mentions that Drèents speaking parents try to speak standardized Dutch to their children. However, his experience is that these parents mix up Drèents and standardized Dutch, even though the parents think that they speak “correct” Dutch with their children. O1 finds this awkward. He advises these parents:

**O1** The language you speak the best, your rich home language, (...) just speak it. And at school they will learn Dutch.
Like some other teachers, O1 reported that they were in need of a method regarding the lessons Drèents:

\[O1\] What I have encountered (.), we have beautiful teaching material, such as songs, stories [...]. But we do not have a structured method to implement the lessons Drèents. We do not have it! We have quite some material, but a structural method is missing.

He made a comparison with the regional language Limburgish in education, which Germs sees as a good example of the implementation of a regional language at primary schools. In Limburg, the southernmost of the twelve provinces of the Netherlands, a consequent method is used to teach the children the regional language at primary schools:

\[O1\] In Limburg they have Dien eige taal, which consists of twelve lessons about Limburgish. The children won’t learn Limburgish immediately, but they do learn all kinds of aspects of Limburgish.

In sum, the aim of the realization of the project of Huus van de Taol regarding the regional language is to create language awareness among schoolchildren at primary schools in Southeast-Drenthe. Due to the negativity surrounded Drèents it might be too overambitious to aim at teaching children to speak at a high level in Drèents. Raising language awareness seems to be an appropriate first step towards the opening up of more space in education for the regional language. In reality, however, to realize this goal the development of a structural teaching method is needed.

5.2 Province House Assen

The second interview was conducted with a civil servant of the Province House in Assen, Drenthe. Theo Claas is member of the left-wing political party PvdA (De Partij van de Arbeid) and is responsible for the field called ‘Social’, to which welfare, healthcare and education belong. The Province has always been active regarding the promotion and fostering of the regional language in Drenthe, as the regional language is highly valued. O2 explained this as follows:

\[O2\] Drenthe is (..) very active regarding the promotion (.) of the regional language. […] For years we have been the initiator of the Low Saxon authorities.

\[O2\] For a long time we have tried to protect Low Saxon at level III of the European Charter. This failed, but at a certain moment we saw a chance […] for other ways of appreciation [of Drèents]. […] Instead of juridical recognition we now focus on recognition of the symbolic content [of Drèents] by the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Drenthe grants a subsidy of 400.000 euros to Huus van de Taol in order to promote Drèents. This amount is spread over four years: During the first year 70.000 is made available for Stenden Hogeschool and Huus van de Taol receives 30.000. In the following three years Stenden Hogeschool receives 85.000, whereas Huus van de
Taol receives an amount of 15,000 each year. The subsidies are spent on activities to promote the use of Drèents, such as literature, poetry and music in the regional language.

Drenthe thus seems to be characterized by centrifugal forces, in which attempts are made to create more linguistic diversity (Mariou, 2017: 22). Nevertheless, despite these revitalization efforts the number of Drèents speakers is declining. New ways of recognition and appreciation of Drèents were therefore sought by the Province and Huus van de Taol. A lectureship Low Saxon in Drenthe was initiated by the centrist party D66. However, the Province has not been responsible for education in Drenthe since 2008 and therefore rejected this idea:

O2 It is not the first task of the Province to finance education.

The four-year project Bevordering Duits en Drents in de school has instead been initiated with the aim to reinforce Drèents in primary education. In this way the Drenthe set up a new formula to support the regional language.

The project will be funded until 2018. Currently no subsidy will be made available for the project during the schoolyear 2019/20. Claas said the following:

O2 The schools want something structural, but for us four years is a long period [laughter]. […] Subsidy can’t be ensured anymore these days. You also have to critically judge the results [of the project].

5.2.1 Socio-economic advantages of multilingualism
From a socio-economic perspective Southeast Drenthe has always caused concern for the Province due to high unemployment rates and poorly educated people. Across the border in Germany, however, the demand for low-skilled workers is relatively high, which offers chances for unemployed inhabitants in Southeast Drenthe. With this, the Province wanted to realize the teaching of a combination of Drèents and German at primary schools in Southeast Drenthe. In this region the number of Drèents speakers is furthermore relatively high, which resulted in the implementation of both languages in education. O2 said:

O2 VVD agreed, but believed that the money for education should be made available for the improvement of the job market as well.

If the implementation of only Drèents in education would have been the aim, it would have been much more difficult to reach an agreement among members of different parties - a coalition of left-wing party PvdA and right-wing party VVD - in the Province House. When German was added to the project, the financing of the project became realizable. According to O2 it was hoped that the addition of German would create more enthusiasm among people with a skeptic attitude regarding Drèents. He explained this as follows:
It makes [the project] also stronger, for the people (…) that are somewhat skeptic regarding Drèents, as they are here in the province. Combining Drèents and German makes the story of multilingualism much stronger, as you are really focused on multilingualism now.

The *Euregio* and *Eems-Dollard regio* already focus on the collaboration between the border regions of the Netherlands and Germany. In sum, the economic perspective, that is, the link between education and the job market, seemed to be decisive for the realization of the project:

Finally, (…) we thought, a lectureship [Drèents]? No, but we wanted to give Drèents a boost in education, especially in primary education. […] We had the idea, we have to do a lot there [in Southeast Drenthe], as Drèents is spoken much there and the unemployment rates are furthermore high, and across the border in Germany the demand of employees is high.

### 5.2.2 Future of the project

In order to get positive outcomes of the project ultimately, improvements could be made according to Germs. Drèents is used primarily during music lessons at the pilot schools. He believes that this approach is not sufficient to transfer enough knowledge of Drèents. Another problem that Germs reported regarding the project is in line with the hurdles reported by O1. The availability of competent German teachers is the major problem. O2 said:

The biggest problem has been to find teachers that speak German fluently in the Netherlands and can teach it. […] The demand for German teachers is high.

Another problem reported by O2 is the declining intergenerational transmission of Drèents, as well as the skeptic attitudes of some parents towards the implementation of Drèents in education. O2 said that:

But at the same time we see that um, that Drèents (…) is not much spoken by young people // yes // this declines. And also […] that parents say “Yes, I should not speak too much Drèents with my child, as this is not advantageous to the development of the child.” […] This is a misconception.

But you also see that parents [noise] ask: “But will they learn Dutch properly regarding reading and writing”? That is problematic.

However, O2 finds the project useful and he will continue to emphasize its importance in order to support Stenden Hogeschool and Huus van de Taol from 2019 onwards. But due to the shrink at the Province of Drenthe it is not sure if this goal will be reached. Claas reported that it is of great importance that efforts should be made to persuade the Province of the importance of maintaining the regional language:
It is my job to ensure that the members of the board of governors want [the project]. And that is difficult. […] It also depends on whether the story regarding the project is good or not. […] It would be nice if we slowly try to make clear to the governors that we want to continue with it. […] We have to make sure that it also has priority in 2018.

In sum, the socio-economic aspect seems decisive regarding the realization of the implementation of the regional language and German at primary schools. Lack of competent teachers in German causes problems to realize the project. Currently it is uncertain if the project will be continued from 2019 onwards and depends on the willingness of governors.

5.3 Teachers, parents and children
Obs de Bente is a small public primary school in the village Emmer-Compascuum, close to the German border. Head teacher Woltman showed a very positive attitude towards Drèents. This positive attitude is also visible regarding the use of Drèents at the school: Woltman, among other things, stressed the advantages of multilingualism for the brain:

T1 Research has shown that (.) offering a second language, and it does not matter if this is English, German, French or a regional language is also advantageous with regard to language development.

T3, who teaches at the public school De Bascule in Nieuw-Amsterdam, stressed the importance of cultural awareness raising activities:

T3 I find it [Drèents] very important. It is culture, the culture of your own region, to which everything belongs: Landscape, buildings, but also the language.

Likewise, T2 and T4 share this positive view on multilingualism. T4 claims to be a big supporter of the project. This is how T4 explained it:

T4 The underlying thought is that children learn another language next to English, that is spoken a lot on television, in videogames, well, all those English words that are assimilated into the Dutch language. In my view it is important to learn an extra language. Regarding the cultural heritage of this region, this language should be the regional language. By means of making connections in the brain children can more easily learn to speak both languages.

T2 also stresses the importance of language regarding the intimate relationship between family members. She said that:

T2 As it has been stressed that multilingualism is very important // yes // and Drèents, of course, is very close to children, since granddad and grandmother speak it, or mom and dad.

The opinions of parents on the project, however, vary from the one end of the range to the other. Unsurprisingly, several parents express concern about their children being put into contact with the regional language at school. A mother, who speaks
Drêents, but not with her children, gave her opinion on the project:

**P1** The classes Drêents have been arranged to teach children about their culture, but if a child can only speak Drêents and not ABN (.), then there is a huge problem eventually. If you want to stay in this region, then that would not be a problem, but if you want something higher [careerwise], then it is really problematic not being able to speak ABN.

Her answer explicitly shows that she believes that the children’s skills in Dutch will be affected or lag behind when Drêents is introduced in the classroom. Likewise, the concern of P1 is shared by P3:

**P3** Drêents in education is not really important to me. […] I have seen it at my work if I have interns. They cannot even speak normal Dutch. I would not want that for my children. […] I find that a deprivation, yeah I think that is a shortcoming.

These parents report the fear of negative influences of the regional language on the school success of their children. Research of Kroon and Vallen (2004) of the Radboud University in Nijmegen showed that parents often stress the possible negative influences of the home language in school settings. Kroon and Vallen conducted research at primary schools in Limburg, the most southern province of the Netherlands.

Their study focused on the influence of speaking dialect on school results of children. This study showed that speaking a dialect in Limburg neither negatively influences the study results of primary school pupils, nor does speaking a dialect influences the language skills in standardized Dutch. Thus, the reported concerns of parents on the use of a dialect at schools results are unfounded.

The reaction of P3 furthermore shows that she does not seem to be aware of the fact that non-standard varieties are not degenerated varieties of a standardized language, but that they are complete language systems. Moreover, children are able to develop their language abilities and cognitions equally and independent of differences between languages or language varieties (Kroon & Vallen, 2004: 35). These language differences can cause problems in circumstances in which monolingualism in a language or language variety explicitly or implicitly is the norm. In such a context, differences in language use can be interpreted as a delay in language development (Kroon & Vallen, 2004: 4). Being a speaker of Drêents, P2 has experienced problems with prejudices about him due to his accent. P2 explained that:

**P2** But in particular in view of the future you are falling behind. […] Until you have proven yourself, than this is not the case anymore.

However, slightly more positive comments on the project were also reported. A father said that:
P2 I think it is nice that [schoolchildren] get [Drèents] (...) and if they do not get it, then they will learn it a little from home, of course, from their grandparents. [...] I think that it is a good thing to be aware of where you are from.

But in relation to other languages, P2 does not value Drèents much. Even more, when he was informed by the interviewer about the costs of the project, P2 seemed to lose his enthusiasm about the project:

P2 But hmm I find foreign languages more important than the language knowledge [of Drèents]. Regarding the future [of children], [Drèents] is absolutely not useful. I find it a waste of money, it would be better to spend it on something else, spend it on the German language than on Drèents.

This parent made a reference to the relationship between school and multilingual Europe, in which the German language plays an important role. This reaction of P3 shows that he values German more than Drèents, as German would give children more access to the world than the regional language.

In sum, the attitudes of the teachers towards the project are, in general, positive. The teachers seem to be aware of the monolingual habitus in education. They try to abandon the monolingual norm and create more space for the acceptance of linguistic diversity. Their attitudes are of great importance and decisive for a successful implementation of the project. The opinions of several parents, however, are much more dispersed, and vary from positive feelings about the project to mixed feelings and even doubts about it. It became clear that these parents value multilingualism in education, but only when it comes to the teaching of English and German. Regarding Drèents, however, parents were skeptic: A recurrent concern that was reported was the fear that Drèents would negatively influence their children’s proficiency in Dutch.

5.3.1 Children
During the interview with T3, three schoolchildren were asked about their experiences with the project. The children reported not to speak Drèents in the schoolyard or in other activities with peers. A problem reported by the teacher is the purpose for which children in class generally use Drèents, which maintains the negativity that surrounds the regional language. The teacher tries to change this attitude. Being a Drèents speaker seems to contribute to the positive attitude towards the regional language. By means of singing songs and treating serious subjects in Drèents, T3 hopes to create a more positive attitude among the children about Drèents:

T3 This morning I have tried to change this; that speaking Drèents is not only to act tough, but that you can also say very sensitive things in Drèents. [...] I try to give children a good feeling [by speaking Drèents], so that it loses its tough image of farmers (inc.) [laughter]. It is still associated very much with that. As if you could only use it for that purpose. And I try
This perception of Drèents being a tough farmers’ language are obtained during the socialization of children. Drèents has mostly existed only as a provincial dialect, associated with farmers. This low status of a language or language variety is often correlated to the low status of its users (Kroon & Vallen, 2004: 4), which seems to be the case with Drèents.

The three girls reported to speak Drèents to their grandmother and grandfather sometimes. C1, however, admitted that she didn’t like to speak Drèents:

C1 I have tried [speaking Drèents], but it does not suit me.

T3 seems very passionate about Drèents and his positivity seems to be contagious to the children. Crystal (1998) states that positive attitudes spill over to minority and regional languages and the teacher’s role is important in this process. In general, all three girls were positive about Drèents, as well as on having music lessons in Drèents at school. C3, for example, said:

C3 I actually do like it // yes //, as it is different than other languages. […] And you also learn new words that you did not know before!

An observation of a music lesson at primary school ‘t Hijker Nust showed that the children of grade 1-2 reacted enthusiastically. Hijken is village in which Drèents is spoken relatively much. However, not all children speak it, according to T2. During the lesson the teacher spoke Drèents consequently and tried to motivate the children to speak Drèents: “If you can say it in Drèents, then you can speak Drèents. If this is too difficult, then speaking Dutch is also fine.” Despite this encouragement the children answered in Dutch. However, the children seemed to understand the questions of the teacher. The teacher discussed, for example, false friends to raise awareness of the differences between Drèents and Dutch.

5.3.2 Problems and needs of schools
Even though the teachers reported to have positive feelings about the project, with respect to the practicability of the lessons there are still some hurdles to overcome. The availability of native speakers is of great importance for the success of educational revitalization programs of a regional or minority language.

Based on the interview it seems that Obs De Bente has potential to implement Drèents in the (near) future more extensively, as Drèents has priority at the school. However, the school does not want to be involved in the project half-heartedly, and aims at setting up lessons Drèents in a structural way. T1 wishes to receive more support and input of the project coordinators, as a structured and useful method to implement Drèents is currently missing.
T1 explained that:

**T1** We want something that we can do in class every week. […] I want to offer a second language [Drèents], but I do not want to cut corners. […] If Leonie leaves, for example, I do not want my lessons Drèents to collapse; it should not depend on one person. So I would like to have material that you can take up easily, that does not necessarily have to be a method, but something that you can take up. […] And at the moment I miss that.

Later on in the interview he, again, stressed that the availability of competent teachers in Drèents is a decisive factor regarding the success of the project:

**T1** What we need are native speakers, who also propagate [Drèents] and (..) not everyone is able to do that. […] And it should not matter if that is Leonie or another teacher, something that you could do every week.

T1 furthermore expressed the wish to inform parents better about the advantages of bilingualism for children, of which many parents have not yet been convinced:

**T1** We try to make [parents] understand that offering a second language (inc.), French, English, German or dialect, that this contributes to a better language development. Many parents, however, do not believe this. […] You do not have to convince me anymore, you see. You have to make sure that parents will be convinced.

In sum, lack of a clear and structured teaching method is a problem at primary school De Bente. Currently the lessons Drèents are limited and the headmaster wishes to develop and expand the lessons to other subjects than music only. The head teacher furthermore wishes to spend more time on Drèents. Enough teaching material is available, especially compared to a few years ago, but continuity is missing, according to T1.

At primary school ’t Hieker Nust in the small village Hijken the regional language is spoken relatively much. T2 has been teaching music in Drèents in grade 1-8 since the beginning of the schoolyear 2016/17. T2 reported to use teaching material provided by Huus van de Taol, such as the website Wiesneus, songbooks in Drèents, and in grade 6, 7 and 8 she uses more challenging stories in geography- and history classes. Regarding the teaching material T2 expressed that she would like the teaching material of Huus van de Taol to be structured in themes. She furthermore reported that some themes are missing. This is how T2 explained it:

**T2** Every time I search for material that fits our theme. So it might be easy that it [teaching material] is ordered by theme, […] that would save me time. […] If only they would give an overview of it [themes] in a register or something.

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4 The only teacher at Obs De Bente who provides musiclessons in Drèents.
Both T3 and T4 reported to have enough teaching material. They also reported to be positive about the website *Wiesneus* and used it if it fitted into their own teaching program. As mentioned, at the pilot schools the immersion method is used to teach Drèents. T4 said that she supported this teaching method:

**T4** The immersion method is used in combination with a subject. And I do this with music, which [...] is a perfect combination, in my view. Because you teach in a very different way than you teach other subjects, as music is an expression subject. Therefore, children do not have to speak Drèents, but they hear Drèents, as I use it as the language of instruction.

T3 stressed the importance of not restricting the use of Drèents in class. He likes to switch between Dutch and Drèents, which is a good example of translanguaging. Translanguaging is the activity in which is not focused on a monolingual standard, but on switching between languages in which there are no obvious boundaries between the languages used in classroom (García, 2008: 47, as cited in Conteh & Meier, 2014: 119).

At primary school ‘t Hijker Nust this is not the case: the use of Drèents is limited to only a quarter of an hour every Wednesday morning, called ‘Het Drents Kwartiertje’. T3 opposed the idea of restricting Drèents to certain moments of time in the classroom:

**T3** The use of Drèents should not be something that is strictly separated, but it should rather be something that exists and that is normal.

Taking this into account, multilingual education at the primary school Scoil Bhride Cailini in Northern Ireland can be taken as an example. Scoil Bhride Cailini has successfully put into practice a multilingual approach in education. Teachers often do not know in what way multilingualism can be incorporated into the classroom.

This Irish school, however, can serve as an example that multilingualism in the classroom is feasible. The teachers at Scoil Bhride Cailini look at the acquisition of multiple languages in another way: Teachers want to learn the pupils to appreciate their culture and traditions, which empowers them socially and personally. The attitude of the teachers is not to tally every mistake, instead the pupils are encouraged to write stories in their first language and all the other languages they know. This helps to foster interest and curiosity about their own and other languages. In this way the regional or minority language can benefit from this multilingual approach: Children develop cognitive- and linguistic skills that support the development of new languages (Baker, 2000: 81), such as a regional or minority language.

Teachers focus too often on the separation of the language that should be learnt. According to the Irish language expert David Little (2007), languages should be taught in relation to one another and not in isolation. Teaching languages in isolation is supported by the erroneous view that there is not enough room for two full language balloons in the head, as described in the Separate Underlying Proficiency (SUP) model (Baker, 2000: 72).
In sum, the interviews with the teachers showed that their language lenses were not monolingually biased, but in some cases it seemed that they had not yet completely internalised a multilingual mindset. The Irish primary school Scoil Bhride Cailini can be taken as an example for the implementation of regional and minority languages.

5.4 Language attitude and Family Language Policy

This section focuses on the language use in the family setting: What decisions parents make on language use among themselves and with their children. Family language policy is described as the “explicit and overt planning in relation to language use within the home among family members, but they naturally also include the ‘implicitly and covertly’ adopted initiatives to promote language learning and literacy at home” (Curdt-Christiansen 2009: 352). Language decisions made in a family are closely related with language attitudes and ideologies.

The replacement of Drèents by Dutch of the younger generation in Drenthe contributes to the rapid decline of speakers of the regional language. There are many reasons for this replacement. Parents recurrently reported to have the idea that children that are exposed to Drèents at home would not be able to speak “correct” Dutch. This would specifically be the case of children from lower socio-economic families. This seems to be the main reason for parents not to transmit the regional language to their children. P1 expressed the first of these reasons in the following way:

P1 Indeed, I think it is important that children know about Drèents. However, the kind of remarks I heard from certain parents.. but maybe the lower educated parents are meant here. It might be a problem that they speak a lot of Drèents at home and consequently their children are not able to speak ABN. So yeah, that is very problematic.

P1 does not find it important that her children speak the regional language. She and her husband only expect a passive command of Drèents from their children when they speak it. P1 explained that:

P1 I myself do not find it that important that [children] (inc.) speak Drèents. They do not have to learn Drèents, if only they [children] can understand it. Having the skill to talk [in Drèents] is not very important to me.

Likewise, P2 and P3 point out that they want children to speak “normal”, which means standardized Dutch, and therefore have decided not to learn their children to speak Drèents. P3 mentioned:

P3 I find it very important that my child can speak a little ABN // yes // and not only Drèents. Because I see this happen with other children: They cannot speak normal. That is troubling me.
However, P2 explained that even though he does not speak Drèents with his children, he wants to make them aware that they are from Drenthe:

**P2** I find it important to be true to yourself. They do not have to have a very good command of Drèents, but [children] should know where they come from.

Throughout the interview P2 repeatedly expressed his bad experiences due to this regional accent in his career. The underlying issues of negative attitudes are not linguistic, but are related to access to power and with quality of life (Crystal, 1998). The value assigned to a language is often related to the economic advantages of speaking a certain language, such as, for instance, if a language gives access to better jobs (Crystal, 1998). The answers of P2 implicitly showed that he does not want his children to have the same negative experiences regarding job perspectives due to a regional accent:

**Int** Do you think that children fall behind when they speak Drèents?

**P2** I have an employment agency, which is active on the national level. At meetings in, for example Utrecht [Randstad], I try to adapt my language. But it will always be audible that I come from Drenthe. And I try to adapt my language not to come across as strange. Until they know who you are and how capable you are, then it is not a problem that you have an accent. […] Someone from Rotterdam [city in the West of the Netherlands] also has an accent, but that is accepted. However, a Drèents accent or a Gronings accent is much less accepted.

In sum, all parents expressed not to feel the wish to transmit the regional language to their offspring. The factors that determine parents’ choices are closely related to the negative associations and consequences that a regional accent might have for their children in their future professional career. Thus, the economic and professional value of Dutch is the main reason why parents use only Dutch for their daily communication in their family.

Parents seem to have been influenced by negative stereotypes, and therefore display negative attitudes towards the regional language, resulting in their children having high proficiency in Dutch, whereas they have, in general, passive command of Drèents.

The position of the regional language becomes highly problematic when this attitude is shared by a whole community, in which parents have the strong wish to improve life for their offspring. The next step would be that parents prefer to use Dutch for their daily communication, which currently happens in Drenthe. The next stage of language loss would be if children come to be penalized for using the regional language at home and furthermore are not surrounded by peers speaking the regional language (Crystal, 1998). One mother reported that she knew children that were forbidden to speak Drèents at home. The next step would be that children are no longer able to understand their grandparents (Crystal, 1998). These stages of language loss thus cause a serious threat to the regional language.
5.5 Future of Drèents

Regarding the future of Drèents, the beliefs of the vast majority of the teachers on this topic are not very hopeful. Only one teacher reported to see the future of Drèents positively. She referred to the language use in her family, as well as on the use of Drèents at the school she teaches at. In her view speaking Drèents seemed to be more accepted in comparison with the past. Nowadays, Drèents would be on the rise again, which she regarded as a positive development. She reported that:

**Int** And how do you see the future of Drèents? What do you think will happen with it?

**T2** I think (.) that it is going into the right direction again, my children are now twenty and twenty-two. At home we always speak Drèents (inc.), me and my husband, our son can understand it[Drèents] very well, but does not speak it. He understands everything perfectly (inc.). Our daughter, however, she does speak it. She works in a nursery home with elderly that speak Drèents, the distance becomes smaller, as she is able to speak Drèents.

She also mentioned that she feels that speaking Drèents has become more normal and accepted compared to the norm some years ago:

**T2** At our home I often speak Drèents, and I am answered in Dutch. It won’t be the case, but in my perception (inc.) then it was like, well you had to raise your children in Drèents. I have the feeling that it is possible again to speak Drèents (inc.).

**T2** [...] But a few years ago children did not even notice that I was able to speak Drèents. You just did not do that! Everything was in Dutch. And now that is not the case anymore.

When two other teachers were asked about their views on the future of the regional language, they reported to have a negative view on its future. T3 stressed that the intergenerational transmission of the regional language is problematic, as children do not learn the language automatically on the street anymore:

**T3** On the street there is not one child that speaks dialect anymore. In the past they used to say: “You learn Drèents on the street, and you have to learn Dutch at home. But now this is not the case anymore. If [parents] want them to learn Drèents, you will have to do this at home // yes //, since they won’t learn it on the street anymore.

The consequence is that parents would have to devote high efforts to learn their children to speak Drèents. And exactly this transmission belongs to the past. T4 expressed concern about the intergenerational transmission of parents of her own generation being decisive factor for the existence of Drèents. This is in accordance with Crystal (1998), who states that “parental attitudes are crucial, in fostering the language in their children.” The preference for Dutch when it comes to transmission is high among young parents. This group of parents, in general, stops transmitting the regional language to their offspring.
This is how T4 explained it:

**T4** I attended MAVO at a high school in Klazienaveen [village in Southeast Drenthe]. Back then everyone spoke Drèents. [...] Those people, that were in the same school, their children are now in my class. From the generation between 30 and 40 years. The parents still speak, I think, much Drèents, they are still able to speak it and also do it. But they do not raise their children with Drèents.

When T4 was asked what she thought to be the reasons for this lack of intergenerational transmission, T4 explained that the reasons for the decline could be related to the stigma attached to Drèents, as well as to certain purposes to which Drèents is often used, such as punishment of children or complaining. T4 expressed these reasons in the following way:

**T4** It [Drèents] is covered with such negativity. I do not understand that people think that it has negative consequences to anyone. Often Drèents is used to complain, to say negative things. If the language would be used to express in a positive way, so also for giving compliments, saying sweet and nice, beautiful and good things in the regional language, it might be that very slowly - but maybe this is an utopia - this negative association could be removed.

Another problem reported by T4 is the attitude parents and other teachers sometimes have towards speakers of Drèents. T4 said that:

**T4** I am also afraid that Drèents won’t survive the twenty-first century. I can’t believe it, I almost can’t believe it! Even adults or colleagues think, “she gives those classes in Drèents, so she must be this kind of stubborn fighter for Drèents, she only speaks Drèents, and is also only capable to speak it. Which is nonsense.

These remarks and ideas of other teachers reveal much about how speakers of Drèents are viewed and this negatively influences a safe future for the regional language. The preference for Dutch over the generations, which can be referred to as ‘Dutchification’, seems to be the most determinant factor for the decline of the amount of speakers of the regional language. This monolingual dominance results in a gradual decrease of the linguistic heritage of a region (Crystal, 1998).

Likewise, this process of Dutchification is emphasized by a father-of-three. He explained that:

**P2** I do not think that it [Drèents] will continue to exist. In Drenthe increasingly more people come to live here. In Emmen [city in Drenthe] everyone speaks Dutch (.), whereas if you look back fifty years ago, everyone spoke Drèents. For example, I talk more Dutch compared to my parents // yes // so I think that it [speaking Drèents] will decline even more. I think that Drèents (.) won’t exist anymore in hundred years, I guess. At least to a lesser extent than nowadays. Go try to talk Drèents with people twenty or thirty years of age, they do not understand it at all.
The views regarding the future of Drèents of the parents varied from a quite positive view to very negative thoughts about it. P3, for example, said:

**P3** I think that Drèents will continue to exist, certainly. Well, I think that there are always people that speak the language and will continue to do so.

Notice the discrepancy between the positive view on the future of Drèents and the family language policies and practices realized in this family, as in the case of P1:

**P1** Drèents will always continue to exist. This is, of course, sustained by speaking ‘plat’ at home. Anyway, even though I have to say that I think that this stops here, because our children probably won’t speak Drèents at home [in the future].

The remark of this mother is striking and contradictory, as she one the one hand reported that she has no fear that the regional language will die out. On the other hand, however, she distances herself and her family from the use of Drèents. In this way she does not contribute to the maintenance of the regional language. According to P1 it furthermore looks like that the use of the regional language is only reserved to people from lower socio-economic backgrounds. The mother said:

**P1** And you see more and more, hmm (...), I am a little afraid of that… […] I think that the difference between children that speak Dutch, that it will be obvious that they are from a higher class. That you eventually will see this class difference. That you will see that children that speak Drèents come from disadvantaged families, and the others [ABN speakers] are from normal or highly educated families. The differences will be underscored, whereas that should not be the case, because this disperses society even more.

In the Netherlands local and regional dialects have developed into sociolects over time: Social class differences between different language users became more prominent, and dialect has increasingly become more a characteristic of the lower class (Kroon & Vallen, 2004: 13).

In sum, the beliefs of teachers and parents with regard to the future of Drèents vary from highly problematic and pessimistic, that is, Drèents is expected to die out, until quite optimistic views about the maintenance and existence of the regional language. The most determinant obstacle in preserving the regional language seems to be the process of Dutchification of (former) speakers of Drèents. This language shift towards Dutch was reported by many interviewees. The ongoing language shift is in line with the concern expressed by Bloemhoff (2005) about the use and the future of Drèents. Crystal (1998) confirms this and states that “as soon as one generation loses its awareness of a language, it takes an effort of extraordinary proportions for that language to regenerate.”

Regarding the family language policies of parents, the reported practices and

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5 ‘Plat’ is the popular term for Drèents.
ideologies that were detected in the interviews showed that the support of parents regarding the project varies: On the one hand, some Dreants speaking parents with a have a positive attitude towards the implementation of Drèents, as they reported it is important that their children learn Drèents and that children become aware of multilingual practices. On the other hand, another group of Dreants speaking parents highlighted the importance of their children learning standardized Dutch at school. According to this group, the regional language could be spoken at home, but definitely not during school time.

Furthermore, parents that do not speak the regional language and that originally do not come from the region, but from the Randstad, did not show positive attitudes to the project either. Parents questioned why their children should learn Drèents, and some did not see advantages in learning Drèents.

Chapter 6: Conclusion and discussion

Before the conclusions to the research questions are given, some points of consideration are discussed. The conclusions on the first research question is presented, followed by the conclusion on the second research question. Finally, recommendations for further research are given.

6.1 Conclusions
6.1.1 Points of consideration

The present study focused on language use at schools and of parents in Drenthe, as well as on language attitudes towards Drèents of teachers, parents and children, and of their support to the project Bevordering Duits en Drents in de school. Before discussing the results of this study, it is important to mention that the limited dataset and qualitative research approach do not allow to generalize the findings in a manner that a larger scale, qualitative study would have done. Rather, in approaching a smaller data corpus from a discursive and sociolinguistic perspective, I have been able to study the discursive patterns in-depth and approach them as part of a societal broader sense.

6.1.2 Support of the project

The present study aimed at giving an overview of the support to the project Bevordering Duits en Drents in de school in Drenthe. The first research question was “to what extent is the project Bevordering Duits en Drents in de school supported by the different groups involved with it?” The interviews were analysed by means of a qualitative discourse-based approach, both looking at the explicit metalinguistic discourse of the respondents. Metalanguage can reflect the respondents’ views about the use and value of Drèents.

The reactions of (head) teachers regarding the project varied from schools being badly informed about the project to positive views on the project. Several schools showed indifference towards the project, whereas the schools I visited showed a very
positive attitude towards the project. The predominant view of the teachers interviewed regarding Drèents was that they viewed education in Drèents as a resource rather than a problem.

Teacher beliefs regarding multilingualism were positive and they highly valued linguistic diversity. Teacher education can play an important role in influencing ideologies regarding Drèents. Classrooms are important in creating a social and cultural identity. Additionally, education on multilingualism can make teachers aware of their (embedded) ideologies and reflect on their beliefs and ideologies (Conteh & Meier, 2014: 15). Based on the interviews with four teachers, however, these ideologies seem to be positive and open to multilingualism in education.

Regarding language planning at the Province House, it seemed that language planners focus on the economic prospects that come with teaching German. Funding of the project, therefore, has tended to support mostly the economic benefits of multilingualism in Drenthe.

In conclusion, despite the high motivation of schools to implement Drèents, there are still some hurdles to overcome. As Trowler (2003, as cited in Conteh & Meier, 2014: 7) reported, a recurrent gap is visible between language policy makers and the schools and teachers that put language planning into practice. The classroom activities arranged by teachers and their interaction with children are decisive when it comes to enacting language policy (Conteh & Meier, 2014). This is the case at some schools: Language policy is made top-down, but when it comes to implementing the ideas schools do not manage to live up to the plans in the project. The reasons of the schools that face this problem are manifold, for example, lack of time and other priorities. Consequently, the regional language is only present to a very limited extent, mostly limited to music lessons, and is present at some schools more than at others.

The problems the schools face lie in the field of teaching methods and materials and the availability of qualified teachers in Drèents. The availability of bilingual materials in many minority and regional languages is not an easy task and funding for such materials may be difficult to find (Baker 2000: 103). This is also the case at the primary schools visited. The schools involved in the project reported that they were willing to use language diversity as an educational resource. It can be concluded that a new paradigm on language learning is visible in Drenthe, although currently to a limited extent.

6.1.3 Linguistic ideologies and language attitudes of parents
The reported language practices and attitudes of parents and teachers were another focus of this study. The second research question that was addressed was “what are the reported linguistic practices of parents in reference to their offspring?”
Furthermore, this study addressed what linguistic attitudes and ideologies can be derived from the reported practices of parents and teachers.

In accordance with Bloemhoff (2005) and Driessen (2012), it was expected that intergenerational transmission of the regional language would be declining. Negative language attitudes were expected to be decisive in intergenerational transmission of minority and regional languages, as indicated by Grinevald and Bert (2011).

It is interesting to note some conflicting discourses between teachers and parents in the data. Whereas all teachers openly and positively acknowledged the advantages of multilingual competences, parents questioned the value of the regional language at school. The interviews revealed that most parents believed that learning Drèents both at home and at school would influence their children’s Dutch proficiency. This conviction influences family language policy and results in the decision to shift towards Dutch.

This study confirms previous findings about the decisive role of intergenerational transmission and language shift for the maintenance and the use of regional and minority languages. A negativity surrounding the regional language characterizes the linguistic discourse of parents on Drèents. When the respondents were asked about the future of the regional language, their reactions showed that they were not hopeful regarding its survival. It was repeatedly mentioned that eventually only lower-educated people from Drenthe would speak it, because others would shift to Dutch.

6.2 Recommendations
The findings of this study show that it is highly recommended to expand the implementation of Drèents to other lessons besides music, such as history, geography or traffic lessons. Furthermore, it is recommended to increase the amount of time spent on the regional language. To successfully implement the project, it should be continued past its scheduled end date of 2019. Most importantly, more attention should be paid on a structured method to teach Drèents, as teachers reported a need for that. More experimentation and evaluation are needed to uncover the challenges and opportunities of the implementation of Drèents (and German) in education.

My goal was to offer a useful overview of the current linguistic practices of officials, schools and parents towards Drèents. The factor that is most likely to influence the future of Drèents is the lack of intergenerational transmission reported by the parents. Crystal (1998) and Skutnabb-Kangas (2007) state that no language can ever be saved by schools on their own. Schools can play an important role in revitalizing a regional language, but the future of Drèents also depends on the willingness and responsibility the inhabitants of Drenthe show towards maintaining it.
Currently, a strong revival of Drèents seems unlikely. The success of implementing Drèents in education is uncertain, and the question remains whether the project *Bevordering Duits en Drents in de school* is sufficient to ensure that children start speaking Drèents again. Bloemhoff (2008) noted that Low Saxon should be recognized in part III of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. This study supports that recommendation, as recognition in part III could ease the production of (teaching) material in Drèents for schools. A recognition in part III would also open more space for teaching the regional language at primary and secondary schools.

It should be mentioned that this study is limited to the implementation of Drèents at primary schools and there was no focus on German due to the lack of schools that were willing to participate. Therefore, a similar study should be conducted on the implementation of German at the pilot schools. Despite the previously described limitations of this study, I hope that this research provides a useful analysis and interpretation of the language situation in Drenthe and of the linguistic practices of speakers of Drèents in this region.

**Note**

1. To preserve confidentiality, anonymous names of some respondents were adopted in this study.
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Appendix I
Interview designs

Appendix II
Ila. Transcripts teachers/children
Ilb. Transcripts parents
IIc. Transcripts officials

Appendix I: Interview designs

1. Officials (Huus van de Taol and Province House Assen)
1. Age, education, language background
- Wanneer is het project ‘Bevordering Duits en Drents in de school’ begonnen? When did the project ‘Bevordering Duits en Drents in de school’ start?

- Wat was de aanleiding voor het opstarten van het project? What was the motivation for setting up the project?

- Waarom vindt de Provincie Drenthe het Drents is het onderwijs belangrijk? Why does the Province of Drenthe think that Drèents in education is important?

- Welke partijen waren betrokken bij het opzetten van het project? Which groups were involved in setting up the project?

- Wat zijn de doelen van het project? What are the aims of the project?

- Hoe zijn de (basis)scholen erbij betrokken, geïnformeerd en geselecteerd? How are the primary schools involved, informed and selected?

- Wat voor adviezen zijn er gegeven om het draagvlak ten aanzien van dit project bij de ouders te vergroten? What advice has been given to increase the support of parents regarding this project?

- Hoe is het curriculum van het project ontstaan? Welke partijen waren hierbij betrokken? How was the curriculum of the project made? Which groups were involved in this process?

- Hebben andere projecten meertaligheid, zoals de drietalige scholen in Friesland, een voorbeeldfunctie gehad voor dit project? Did other projects concerning multilingualism, such as the trilingual schools in Friesland, serve as an example for this project?

- Wat voor rol heeft de Noordelijke Hogeschool Leeuwarden (NHL) and Stenden Hogeschool Emmen in het project? What is the role of the Noordelijke Hogeschool Leeuwarden (NHL) and Stenden Hogeschool
Emmen regarding the project?

- Hoe was de samenwerking tussen Huus van de Taol en de Provincie Drenthe betreffende het project?
How did the collaboration between Huus van de Taol and the Province of Drenthe look like?

- Hoeveel subsidie heeft het Huus van de Taol en Stenden Hogeschool ontvangen vanuit de Provincie voor het opzetten van het project? Is dit genoeg, of zou het wenselijk zijn dat er meer geld beschikbaar komt?
How much subsidy did Huus van de Taol and Stenden Hogeschool receive from the Province of Drenthe in order to set up the project? Is this enough, or should more money be invested in the project?

- Welke stappen zijn ingebouwd om de beoogde doelen van het project te behalen?
What steps have been taken to be able to achieve the goals of the project?

- Hebben jullie al feedback gehad op het project van de betrokken scholen? Wat zijn de uitkomsten?
Have you already gotten feedback on the project of the schools involved? What are the outcomes?

- Wat is de houding van de provincie Drenthe t.o.v. het promoten en beschermen van het Drents?
What is the attitude of the Province of Drenthe regarding the promotion and protection of Drèents?

2. Teachers
1. Residence, age, education, language background
- Hoe bent u betrokken bij het project ‘Bevordering Duits en Drents in de school’?
How are you involved in the project ‘Bevordering Duits en Drents in de school’?

- Hoe denkt u over het project ‘Bevordering Duits en Drents in de school’?
How do you feel/think about the project?

- In welke groepen is het project gestart?
In which grades has the project been started?

- Welke werkvormen en lesmethodes gebruikt u?
Which (teaching) methods are used?

- Zijn die u aangereikt door de PABO of heeft u een rol gespeeld in de ontwikkeling daarvan?
Did Huus van de Taol provide the (teaching) methods, or did you play a role in the development of the methods?

- Hoe ziet het curriculum eruit?
What does the curriculum look like?
- Is het doel van het project duidelijk genoeg?
Do you think that the aim of the project is clear enough?

- Hoeveel uur besteed u aan Duits/Drents per week?
How many hours a week is spent on German and Drèents?

- Worden de vaardigheden van de leerlingen getest? Hoe?
Are the skills of the pupils assessed? How?

- Zijn er (tussen)evaluaties met de projectontwikkelaars? Wat wordt met uw aanbevelingen/opmerkingen gedaan?
Are evaluations with the project developers being held? Are your recommendations/comments taken into account?

- Zijn er zaken die u mist in het project, maar die u wel graag zou willen gebruiken?
Could you mention things that are missing in the project, but that you would like to use?

- Hoe reageren de leerlingen op het project? Ziet u hun vaardigheden wat betreft het Duits/Drèents ontwikkelen?
How do the pupils respond to the project? Do you see developments with regard to their skills?

- Hoe reageren ouders van leerlingen op het project?
How do the parents respond to the project?

- Zijn er struikelblokken of bezwaren van ouders?
Do parents have objections?

- Is er contact met andere scholen (Duitsland en Nederland) die deelnemen aan het project?
Does the school have contacts with other schools that are involved in the project (in Germany or the Netherlands)?

- Wat wordt hier besproken?
What is discussed here?

- Tot wanneer doet uw school mee aan het project?
Until when does your school participate in the project?

- Welke ontwikkelingen zijn er met betrekking tot het invoeren van meertalig onderwijs op deze school?
What new developments with regard to multilingual education are implemented at this school?

- Hoe denkt u over meertalig onderwijs?
What is your perspective on multilingualism in education?

- Hoe ziet u de toekomst van het Drèents?
How do you see the future of Drèents?
3. Parents
1. Residence, age, education, language background

- Bent u op de hoogte van het project ‘Bevordering Duits en Drents in de school’?
Have you been informed about the project ‘Bevordering Duits en Drents in the school’?

- Wat vindt u van het project ‘Bevordering Duits en Drents in de school’?
What do you think of the project ‘Bevordering Duits en Drents in the school’?

- Worden ouders door de school betrokken bij dit project?
Does the school involve parents in the project?

- In hoeverre vindt u het belangrijk dat uw kind Drents leert? Waarom vindt u dat belangrijk/niet belangrijk?
To what extent do you think it is important that your child learns Drents? Why do you find this important/not important?

- In hoeverre ziet u voordelen in meertalig onderwijs? (Nederlands, Engels, Drents)
To what extent do you see advantages in multilingual education? (Dutch, English, Drèents)

- Ziet u het als een voordeel dat uw kind meertalig opgroeit?
Do you think it is an advantage that your child grows up in a multilingual environment?

- Wat vindt u ervan dat uw kind(eren) Drents op school leren?
How do you feel about your child(ren) learning Drèents?

- Bent u er bewust mee bezig om uw kind Drents te leren?
Are you actively trying to learn your child Drèents?

- Speelt u zelf een rol in de uitvoering van het project? Hoe?
Do you play a role in the implementation of the project? How?

- Zou u, indien nodig, een financiële bijdrage willen leveren om dit project op school in stand te houden?
Would you, if necessary, contribute financially to maintain the project at this school?

- Op welke taal zou volgens u de focus (meer) moeten liggen? Op het Drents, Duits, Engels of Nederlands? Waarom?
On what language should the focus lie (more) on? On Drèents, German, English or Dutch? Why?

- In hoeverre is de deelname aan dit project een doorslaggevende factor om voor een bepaalde basisschool voor uw kind(eren) te kiezen?
In what way is the participation of the school in this project a determining factor to choose for this particular school?

- Hoe ziet u de toekomst van het Drents?
How do you see the future of Drèents?
4. Children
- Weten jullie waarom jullie Drents leren?
Do you know why you learn Drèents?

- Hoe vinden jullie het om Drents te leren?
How do you feel about learning Drèents?

- Zouden jullie vaker Drentse lessen willen hebben?
Would you like to have more courses in Drèents?

- Welke taal spreken jullie met vrienden/vriendinnen?
What language do you speak with friends?

- Wat vinden jullie het leukste van de lessen Drents?
What do you find the most fun/interesting regarding the courses Drèents?
Appendix II
Transcripts interviews

/inc./ = incomprehensible words
/inc., reason) = unintelligible passage because of a given reason
/ = discontinuations
// = speech overlaps
(., .), (…) = pauses

IIa Teachers (including children)

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Participant</th>
<th>T1: M. Woltman</th>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>Educational level:</td>
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<tr>
<td>Occupation:</td>
<td>primary school headmaster and teacher</td>
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<td>Primary school:</td>
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<td>Date of recording</td>
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<td>Interviewer</td>
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<td>April 24, 2017</td>
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<td>Transcriber</td>
<td>Susanna Hettinga</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Current situation of Drèents

T1 Maar als je naar ouders kijkt, dan zijn er best nog wel veel ouders die wel eh dialect praten maar niet met de kinderen.
But if you have a look at the parents, many of them still speak in dialect, however, not with their children.

Start project

T1 Wij moeten (inc.) als openbaar onderwijs Emmen hebben ze gezegd (.) het is de bedoeling dat je als school gaat eh profileren op bepaalde dingen. En er zijn een aantal punten die eh openbaar onderwijs Emmen vindt, die elke school moet doen waaronder tweetalig onderwijs //ja// Engels doen we al (.), en eh toen is er gekeken hoe kunnen we dat nou verbeteren? Toen is er gekeken naar Duits omdat we hier natuurlijk aan de grens zitten // hm hm (affirmative) // alleen we zitten hier in de regio met vier openbare scholen, in dit dorp dan // ja // en als we allemaal Duits gaan doen, dat heeft ook geen zin want als je je moet onderscheiden, dan moet je kijken naar eh eh hoe kun je je dan onderscheiden.
Public education in Emmen advised us to profile as a school in some aspects. They think that every school should focus on bilingual education // yes // and we have already included English [in the curriculum] (…), and we wanted to look at ways for improvement. Then we focused on German, since this is the border region // hm hm (affirmative) //, the only problem is that there are four public schools in this region, in this village // yes // so if all these schools focus on German, that doesn’t make sense. As a school you have to stand out.

**Implementation project**

T1 We willen wel iets wat we ook wekelijks in de groep kunnen doen. […] Ik wil een tweede taal [Drents] aanbieden maar ik wil geen hapsnap werk. […] Als Leonie weggaat, bijvoorbeeld, dan wil ik niet dat de lessen Drents in elkaar zakken // ja //, het moet niet afhangen van één persoon. Dus ik wil graag materiaal hebben dat je makkelijk op kunt pakken, dat hoeft niet perse een methode te zijn maar wel iets wat je makkelijk op kan pakken. […] Op dit moment mis ik dat.

We want something that we can do in class every week. […] I want to offer a second language [Dreënts], but I want to do it well. […] If Leonie leaves, for example, I do not want my lessons Dreënts to collapse // yes //, it should not depend on one person. So I would like to have material that you can take up easily, that does not necessarily have to be a method, but something that you can take up. […] And hmm at the moment I miss that.

[…]  

**Int** Wat voor onderdelen willen jullie dan in het Dreënts?  
What subjects do you want to teach in Dreënts?

T1 Nou ik eh zoals we het nu doen (.) het muziek in het Dreënts (.) ik denk dat we daar naartoe moeten hoor. Eh eh het Dreënts koppelen aan een vak, en of dat dan muziek is of verkeer of // ja // (inc.) ik heb wel het liefste muziek hoor. Ik denk dat dat wel harstikke mooi is.

Well, like we do it now (.) music lessons in Dreënts (.), I think we should focus on that. And umm we should combine Dreënts with a subject, whether this is music or traffic lessons // yes // (inc.) but I prefer music lessons. I think that that would be very nice.

**Reasons for the implementation of Dreënts**

T1 Het cultureel erfgoed vind ik wel eh heel belangrijk. Dus vandaar dat wij ook gezegd hebben van, goh, kunnen wij ook niet iets met die Drentse taal?

I find its cultural heritage very important. Therefore, we said, well, can’t we do something with Dreënts?

T1 Uit onderzoek blijkt ook (.) het aanbieden van een tweede taal, het maakt niet uit of dat Engels, Duits, Frans of een dialect is // ja // is ook beter voor je gewone taalontwikkeling.

Research has shown that (.) offering a second language, and it does not matter whether this is English, German, French or a regional language // yes // is also advantageous with regard to language development.
**Aims of the project**

T1 Ons doel is niet om ieder kind hier op school Drents te laten praten (...) // ja // want dat gaat je toch niet lukken want je hebt steeds meer mensen uit het Westen [Randstad] die hier naartoe komen // ja // (inc.) dat gemaakt Drents klinkt voor geen meter [laughing] maar je moet wel ten eerste dat ze weten dat het Drents gesproken wordt, dat ze het verstaan. Maar ze hoeven het van mij heus niet te spreken, dat wil ik ook niet hoor. Dat moet niet het doel zijn // nee // maar dat ze wel weten goh he // soort bewustwording van van meertaligheid zegmaar // ja, en kijk dat mensen die alleen maar plat praten hier, dat die niet dom zijn.

It is not our aim to learn every child at this school to speak Drèents (…) // yes // since that is not possible anyway, as increasingly more people from the West [Randstad] move to Drenthe // yes // and well, (inc.) that fake Drèents they speak sounds rubbish (inc., laughter) but firstly it is important that they [schoolchildren] know that Drèents is being spoken, that they understand it. But I genuinely do not expect them to speak it, I do not want that. That should not be the aim // no // but that they know // kind of awareness of multilingualism in that sense // yes, and look, that people that speak Drèents, that they are not stupid.

**Problems and needs of the school**

T1 Alleen (_) je hebt hier ook heel veel mensen uit het Westen (_) die kun je dat eigenlijk niet wijsmaken.

Many people from the West (_) live here, and you actually can’t convince them.

[…]

T1 Daar zitten wij eigenlijk nog in dat stadium (_) om mensen te overtuigen dat het aanbieden van het Drents als tweede taal beter is voor de gewone taalontwikkeling van kinderen.

Right now we are still in that stage (_), in which we have to persuade people that offering Drèents as a second language is advantageous for the language development of children.

[…]

T1 Wat je wel nodig hebt zijn native speakers, die het ook uitdragen en ehm (_) dat kan niet iedereen.

What we need are native speakers, who also propagate it [Drèents] and (_) not everyone is able to do that.

Int Staat het zegmaar qua prioriteit, dat het niet bovenaan staat?

Is education in Drèents not really a priority, so to say?

T1 Het staat eh het staat niet helemaal bovenaan. Het heeft wel prioriteit. Wat prioriteit heeft is techniek en de Drentse taal, maar goed, je hebt ook je gewone onderwijs (inc.) dingen.

It is indeed not on top of the list, although it has priority. Technique lessons and Drèents both have priority, but then again, regular education is also important (inc.).
Het mooiste zou zijn dat je een methode hebt, die methode voor elke groep, eh in groep 1 doe je dit, in groep 2 doe je dat en dat het ook een doorgaande leerlijn heeft.
The most ideal would be a method for each group, umm in grade 1 you do this, in group 2 you do that, and that the lessons have a continuous learning line.

Reactions of parents

Dus de ouders worden wel voorgelicht. En weet u ook hoe ouders hierop hebben gereageerd?
So the parents are informed. And do you know how the parents reacted?

Ja, dat verschilt. Er zijn mensen die vinden het fantastisch en er zijn ook mensen die zeggen wat een flauwekul.
Yes, that differs a lot. Some people think it is great, but there are also people who find it nonsense.

Wat voor mensen zijn dat dan?
What kind of people are they?

Dat zijn vaak de Westerlingen [Randstad]. “Als ik wil dat mijn kind Drents leert, waarom moet dat op school”?
 Mostly people from the West [Randstad]. “If I want my child to learn Drèents, why should that be done at school”?

Ja. En de mensen die uit de regio komen, die zijn wel enthousiast?
And the people from this region, are they enthusiastic about it?

Dat zijn vaak de Westerlingen [Randstad]. “Als ik wil dat mijn kind Drents leert, waarom moet dat op school”?
 Mostly people from the West [Randstad]. “If I want my child to learn Drèents, why should that be done at school”?

Ook niet allemaal, hoor. Maar net wat ik zeg, we proberen ze duidelijk te maken dat het aanbieden van een tweede taal (inc.) Frans, Engels, Duits of dialect, dat dat bijdraagt aan een betere taalontwikkeling. Alleen dat gaat er bij een heleboel niet in.
Not all of them. We try to make them [parents] understand that offering a second language (inc.), French, English, German or dialect, contributes to a better language development. Many parents, however, do not believe this.

Kijk, je hoeft mij niet meer te overtuigen. Je moet zorgen dat je de ouders overtuigt. You do not have to convince me anymore. You have to make sure that parents will be convinced.
Participant | T2: R. Schepers  
Gender: female  
Language background: Dutch, Drèents  
Educational level: pedagogical academy (PABO)  
Occupation: primary school teacher  
School: ‘t Hieker Nust  
Location: Hijken

Situation | 1. Observation musiclesson Drèents in grade 1-2.  
2. Interview on the topic ‘Bevordering Duits en Drents in de school’ at primary schools in the province of Drenthe.

Language(s) involved | Dutch, Drèents

Date of recording | April 12, 2017

Interviewer | Int: Susanna Hettinga

Date of transcription | April 24, 2017

Transcriber | Susanna Hettinga

Opinion about the project
T2 Waarom zou je geschiedenisles in het Nederlands moeten geven? Dat kan ook in het Drents.
Why should you teach history in Dutch? That can be taught in Drèents as well.

Reasons for taking part in the project
T2 Omdat aangegeven wordt dat taligheid heel belangrijk is // ja // en dit staat natuurlijk heel erg dichtbij eh Drents staat natuurlijk heel erg dichtbij omdat opa en oma ook Drents praten of papa en mama.
As it has been stressed that multilingualism is very important // yes //, and Drèents, of course, is very close to children, since granddad and grandmother speak it, or mom and dad.

Problems and needs of the school
T2 Elke keer moet ik naar materiaal zoeken dat bij ons thema past. Als ze het aan zouden geven in een bepaald register, of zoiets. […] Dus misschien is het dan handig dat het per thema, […] dat scheelt mij weer tijd.
Everytime I search for material that fits our theme. If they would give an overview of themes in a register or something. So it might be easy that teaching material is ordered by theme, […] that would save me time.

Reactions of parents
Int En umm weet u ook hoe ouders hierop reageren, op het Drents kwartiertje? Zijn ouders voorgelicht?
And umm do you know how the parents react to ‘Het Drents kwartiertje’? Are they informed about it?
Ik weet niet wat ze daar op dit moment van vinden. Ik weet wel dat kinderen heel enthousiast zijn // hm (affirmative) //, want als ik eh van buiten kom […] dan doen we op het laatst het Drents kwartiertje, dan is het zo van “He juf, […] vergeet je dat Drents niet want het is woensdag he”!

I don’t know what they think of it. I do know that the children are very enthusiastic // hmm (affirmative) //, if I enter the classroom […] the children are like “Ma’am, don’t forget about Drèents, because it is Wednesday!”

**Future of Drèents**

**Int** Hoe ziet u eigenlijk […] de toekomst van het Drents? Wat denkt u dat daarmee gebeurt?

How do you see […] the future of Drèents? What do you think will happen with it?

Ik denk (.) dat het nu weer de goede kant opgaat, mijn kinderen zijn twintig en tweeëntwintig, en wij praten thuis altijd Drents (inc.) samen, mijn man en ik, maar onze zoon kan dat allemaal heel goed verstaan maar praht het niet. Hij verstaat alles perfect maar (inc.). En onze dochter, die spreekt het wel, en die werkt nu in de verpleging met oudere Drentssprekende mensen, de afstand wordt kleiner omdat zij ook Drents kan.

I think (.) that it is going into the right direction again, my children are now twenty and twenty-two. At home we always talk Drèents (inc.), me and my husband, but our son can understand all of it [Drèents] very well, but does not speak it. He understands everything perfectly (inc.). Our daughter speak it. She now works in a nursery home with elderly Drèents speaking people, the distance becomes smaller, as she is able to speak Drèents.

Bij ons is het vaak dat ik in het Drents doe, en ik krijg antwoord in het Nederlands. Het zal niet zo zijn maar eh in mijn beleving (inc.) // hmm // eh werd het toen wel een beetje zo van ja, nou je moest toen je kinderen eigenlijk eh opvoeden in het Nederlands. Ik heb het idee dat het nu wel weer kan, gewoon je Drents kan (inc.). Ik merk ook als ik hier oudergesprekken heb of contactavond en er zijn Drentssprekende ouders, dat het makkelijker communiceert.

At our home I often speak Drèents, and I am answered in Dutch. It won’t be the case, but in my perception (inc.) // hmm // in the past you had to raise your children in Drèents. I have the feeling that it is possible again to speak Drèents (inc.). I also see this at evenings for parents, and if there are Drèents speaking parents, that it communicates more easily.

Maar een aantal jaar geleden toen merkten kinderen helemaal niet dat ik ook Drents kon, zeg maar. Dat deed je gewoon niet! Alles ging in het Nederlands. En dat hoeft nu niet meer.

But a few years ago children did not even notice that I was able to speak Drèents, so to say. You just did not do that! Everything was in Dutch. And now that is not the case anymore.
But parents are often a little afraid for it. They might think, we have to learn them [children] Dutch and that Dutch skills will decline when we are learning other languages.

That was the idea during the time when my children learnt to speak, so to say. Drèents would only be spoken by farmers, (inc.), less developed, whatever you want to call it, whereas it has nothing to do with intelligence.
Opinion about the project

T3 Ik vind het heel belangrijk. Het is ook een stuk cultuur, de cultuur van je eigen streek, daar hoort alles bij: Landschap, bouwvormen, maar ook de taal.
I find Drèents very important. It is the culture of your own region, to which everything belongs: landscape, buildings, but also the language.

T3 Het gebruik van het Drents is niet iets waar een lijstje omheen moet, maar wat gewoon gewoon is.
The use of Drèents should not be strictly separated, but it should rather be something that is normal.

Status of Drèents

T3 Dat heb ik vanmorgen dus een beetje geprobeerd te doorbreken, dat Drents praten niet alleen is om stoer te doen, maar dat je ook hele gevoelige dingen in het Drents kunt zeggen.
This morning I have tried to change this; that speaking Drèents is not only to act tough, but that you can also say very sensitive things in Drèents.

Aims of the project

T3 Uiteindelijk willen we allemaal graag dat mensen die streektaal blijven gebruiken, dat is het grote doel. En ik probeer ook, nogmaals, dat kinderen daar een goed gevoel bij krijgen, dat het een beetje uit de stoere imago van boer Harm raakt (inc., laughter). Daar wordt het nog zoveel mee geassocieerd. Alsof dat de enige manier is om Drents te gebruiken.
In the end we all want people to keep speaking the regional language, that is the aim. I try, once again, to give children a good feeling [by speaking Drèents], it should lose its tough image of farmers (inc., laughter). It is still associated very much with that. As if you could only use it for that purpose.
Reactions of parents
T3 Er was een jongen vanmorgen eh die zei, toen ik vroeg wie spreekt er weleens Drents, en dat vond ik wel heel bijzonder, “ik mag het niet thuis [spreken]. Mijn ouders doen het wel maar ik mag geen Drents [spreken].” This morning a boy told me, when I asked the children if they spoke Drèents at home, “I am not allowed to [speak Drèents at home]. My parents speak it, but I am not allowed to speak it”.

Future of Drèents
T3 Op straat is geen kind meer dat dialect spreekt. Vroeger zeiden ze: “Je leert het Drents op straat en het Nederlands dat moet je dan maar thuis doen, maar dat is niet meer zo. Als je wilt dat ze Drents leren dan moet je dat thuis doen want op straat leren ze het niet meer. On the street there is not one child that speaks dialect anymore. In the past they used to say: “You learn Drèents on the street, and you learn Dutch at school. But now this is not the case anymore. If parents want them to learn Drèents, they will have to do this at home, since they won’t learn it on the street anymore.

Children
T3 Ik ga nu even over het in Drents. Dat is altyd in bietje gek he? I now switch to Drèents. That is always a little strange, isn’t it?
C1 Ja, soms wel (inc., nervous laughter). Yes, sometimes it is (inc., nervous laughter).

Int Spreken jullie zelf ook Drents? Do you speak Drèents?
C2 Ja, weleens tegen opa en oma. Yes, sometimes I speak it to my granddad and grandmother.
C3 Ja, tegen opa en oma doe ik heel soms (inc., noise). Yes, very occasionally I speak it with them (inc., noise).
C1 Ik heb het wel een keer geprobeerd, maar het lijkt niet echt bij mij. I have tried [speaking Drèents], but it does not suit me.

[...]

Int Wat vinden jullie van het Drents? What do you think of Drèents?
C2 Soms is het wel grappig. Sometimes it is funny.
Ik vind het eigenlijk wel mooi want het is anders dan andere talen. [...] Je leert ook nieuwe woorden, die je eigenlijk helemaal niet kent.

I actually do like it, as it is different than other languages. [...] And you also learn new words that you did not know before!
Opinion about the project
**T4** De achterliggende gedachte ervan dat kinderen een andere taal erbij krijgen naast het Engels dat al heel veel gesproken wordt op tv, in videogames, nouja alle Engelse woorden die al in de Nederlandse taal verwerkt zitten. Ik vind dat het belangrijk is om er nog een taal bij te leren. En dat dat dan streektaal is met de achterliggende gedachte dat dat cultureel erfgoed is dat hier vandaan komt. En door verbindingen in de hersenen te leggen kunnen kinderen beide talen beter spreken.

The underlying thought is that children learn another language next to English, which is spoken a lot on television, in videogames, well, all those English words that are assimilated into the Dutch language. In my view it is important to learn an extra language. Regarding the cultural heritage from this region, this language should be the regional language. By means of making connections in the brain children can more easily learn to speak both languages.

Implementation of the project
**T4** Het is immersieonderwijs en het is in combinatie met een vak. En dat doe ik met muziek en in principe is dat de perfecte combinatie, vind ik zelf. Omdat je dan op een heel andere manier lesgeeft dan dat je andere vakken geeft. Want muziek is een expressievak en daardoor hoeven de kinderen in principe niet Drents te spreken, maar ze horen wel mijn instructietaal aan in het dialect. […] En door het regelmatig te horen, pakken ze het vanzelf op // ja // en (.) kunnen ze het misschien niet spreken, maar weten ze wel wat de bedoeling is en wat ze moeten doen.

The immersion method is used in combination with a subject. And I do this with music, which is a perfect combination, in my view. Because you teach in a very different way than you teach other subjects, as music is an expression subject, and thereby children do not have to speak Drèents, but they hear me using the language of instruction in Drèents.
Reactions of schoolchildren

Int How do the children react to Drèents?

T4 Altijd eerst lachergig, de allereerste keer is iedereen lachergig. En iedereen vindt het gek en raar. Maar hmm dat is na de tweede keer over. Het is wat anders en zodra ze merken dat ik er zelf serieus mee omga en dat het gewoon natuurlijk en normaal is, hoe sneller en eerder zij eraan gewend zijn.

At first they always react giggly, the first time everyone is giggly. And everyone [in class] finds it weird and strange. But hmm after the second class this stops. [Drèents] is something else and as soon as they [children] see that I am very serious regarding Drèents, and that it is natural and normal, the faster they get used to it.

Reactions of parents

Int Are there also positive reactions of parents?

T4 Nou, hoofdzakelijk omdat het in combinatie is met muzieklessen en omdat kinderen daar enthousiast over zijn.

Well, mainly in combination with music lessons, since the children are very enthusiastic about that.

Future of Drèents

T4 Ik heb zelf in Klazienaveen op de MAVO op school gezeten. En toen sprak iedereen Drents, werkelijk iedereen. En dat is nu, die mensen die toen bij mij op school zaten, daarvan heb ik nu de kinderen van in de klas. Die generatie is dat, tussen de 30 en de 40. Die ouders spreken, denk ik, wel heel veel Drents nog, kunnen dat wel en doen dat ook nog wel, maar voeden de kinderen niet in het Drents op.

I attended MAVO at a high school in Klazienaveen [village in Southeast Drenthe]. Back then everyone spoke Drèents, actually everyone. […] Those people, who attended the same school, their children are now in my class. This is the generation between 30 and 40 years. I think that these parents still speak much Drèents, but they do not raise their children with Drèents.

Int Do you have any idea what the reasons are?

T4 Door het stigma // ja // dat erop rust. […] Er zit zo’n negatieve lading overheen. Ik snap niet dat mensen denken dat je er minder van wordt. Vaak wordt het Drents gebruikt om mee te mopperen, negatieve dingen te zeggen. Als op een positievere manier de taal uitgesproken wordt, dus ook complimenten geven, lieve en aardige, mooie en goede dingen zeggen in de streektaal, dat heel langzaam aan, misschien is dat een utopie, maar dat dan die negatieve lading van de streektaal er wel af zou kunnen gaan. Maar ja, dan moet ik dat niet mijn ééntje doen. En als je dan zingt in de streektaal, een positievere draai kunnen we er niet aan geven.
Because of the stigma // yes // that is has. […] [Drèents] is covered with such negativity. I do not understand that people think that it has negative consequences to anyone. Often Drèents is used to complain, to say negative things. If the language would be used to express positive things, to give compliments, say sweet and nice, beautiful and good things in the regional language, it might be that very slowly - but maybe this is an utopia - this negative association could be removed.

[…]

T4 Ik ben er ook bang voor dat het Drents de 21e eeuw niet zal overleven. Ik kan het niet geloven, ik kan het haast niet geloven! Zelfs volwassen of collega’s denken, zij geeft die Drentse les dus het is echt zo’n doorgewinterde voorvechter, spreekt alleen maar Drents en kan ook alleen maar Drents. Wat gewoon onzin is.

I am also afraid that Drèents won’t survive the twenty-first century. I can’t believe it, I almost can’t believe it! Even adults or colleagues think, “She teaches Drèents, so she must be this kind of stubborn fighter for Drèents, she only speaks Drèents, and is also only capable to speak it. Which is nonsense.
IIb Parents

| Participant | P1: -  
| Gender: female  
| Age: 40  
| Language background: Dutch, Drèents  
| Educational level: -  
| Occupation: working at a notary’s office  
| Location: Nieuw-Amsterdam |

| Situation | Interview on the topic ‘Bevordering Duits en Drents in de school’ at primary schools in the province of Drenthe. |

| Language(s) involved | Dutch |

| Date of recording | April 20, 2017 |

| Interviewer | Int: Susanna Hettinga |

| Date of transcription | April 25, 2017 |

| Transcriber | Susanna Hettinga |

Attitude Drèents

P1 Ik denk inderdaad dat het goed is dat kinderen weten over het Drèents. Alleen denk ik wel, wat ik voor opmerkingen van bepaalde ouders hoorde, maar dan heb je het misschien ook wel over de minder hoogopgeleide ouders en dat is misschien ook een beetje een taalprobleem dat zij thuis dus ook heel veel Dreents praten, maar dat kinderen dus ook gewoon geen ABN kunnen. Dus dan ja, dat is wel heel lastig. Indeed, I think it is important that children know about Drèents. However, I think that the kind of remarks I heard from certain parents, but maybe the lower educated parents are meant here. It might be a language problem that they speak a lot of Drèents at home, and consequently that their children are not able to speak ABN. So yeah, that is very problematic.

P1 Ik vind het niet zo belangrijk dat ze (inc.) Dreents leren. Opzich heb ik niet zoiets van ze moeten Dreents leren, als ze het maar kunnen verstaan. Het kunnen praten vind ik niet zo belangrijk. Dan zou ik het fijner vinden als ze het Duits in plaats van het Dreents onder de knie krijgen (inc., laughter). […] Omdat ze hier dus ook in de grensstreek zit. […] Duits vind ik toch echt wel prioriteit hebben in deze omgeving. I myself do not find it that important that [children] (inc.) learn Drèents. They do not have to learn Drèents, if only they [children] can understand it. I would rather see them learning German instead of Drèents [laughter]. […] Because we are in the border region here. […] I find that German really has priority in this region.

Attitude project

P1 Één van de kinderen had op school te horen gekregen dat hij op school niet meer Dreents mocht spreken. En dan gaan ze nu Dreents lessen inzetten. Dan denk ik ja dat is niet zo handig. At school one of the children was told that he was not allowed to speak Drèents anymore at school. And now they have started arranging classes in Drèents. Well, I do not find that very clever.
De lessen Drents zijn beschikbaar gemaakt om de kinderen een stukje cultuur mee te geven // ja, klopt // maar als dat kind alleen maar Drents kan en geen ABN, (. ) dan heb je toch een probleem straks. Ja, als je stratenmaker hier wordt in de buurt is dan geen probleem, maar als je iets hoger eh zou kunnen dan wordt het toch echt wel een probleem als je geen ABN spreekt.

The classes Drèents have been arranged to make children learn about their culture // yes, correct // but if a child can only speak Drèents, and not ABN (. ) then you have a huge problem eventually. If you want to stay in this region, then that would not be a problem, but if you want something higher [careerwise], then it is really problematic not being able to speak ABN.

[...]

Waar zou volgens u de focus in het onderwijs moeten liggen: Op het Drents, Duits of Engels, en waarom?
On what subject should the focus be in education: Drèents, German or English, and why?

Attitude multilingualism
Ik denk eh toch dat er meer op het Engels ingezet moet worden // ja // omdat dat (. ) toch de internationale taal is.
I think hmm that the focus should be more on English // yes //, since that is (. ) the international language.

Future of Drèents
Drèents zal altijd blijven bestaan. Dat hou je natuurlijk eh in stand doordat je thuis zelf ook wel eh (. ) plat praat. Maar goed, al moet ik wel zeggen dat ik denk dat dat hier wel stoppt want onze kinderen zullen dat thuis waarschijnlijk niet gaan doen.
Drèents will always continue to exist. This is, of course, sustained by speaking Drèents (. ) at home. Anyway, even though I have to say that I think that this stops here, because our children probably won’t speak Drèents at home [in the future].

En daar ligt nou juist het probleem. Ik heb ook vaker gehoord dat kinderen het nog wel met hun opa en oma spreken, maar dat ouders het zelf niet meer doorgeven. Als de volgende generatie het ook niet meer leert, dan houdt het uiteindelijk wel op.
Well, and that is exactly the problem. I often hear that children speak [Drèents] with their grandparents, but that the parents themselves do not transmit it anymore. If the next generation does not learn it [Drèents], eventually it will stop.

Dat is inderdaad wel een probleem, al denk ik wel dat de lager opgeleide mensen, die blijven Drents praten. En eigenlijk zie je dan steeds meer dat eh (. ) daar ben ik een beetje bang voor. […] Dan denk ik dat je straks het verschil ziet dat kinderen die Nederlands spreken, dat je duidelijk ziet dat die dus eh wat uit een beter milieu komen. En dat je straks dat milieuverschil heel erg gaat zien. Dus dat kinderen die Drents praten een beetje de achterstandsgezinnen zijn en de rest normaal of hoger...
opgeleid. Dat zou wel eens toekomst kunnen zijn. […] Dan ga je het verschil juist meer zien, terwijl dat eigenlijk niet zou moeten omdat je dan de maatschappij weer meer uiteen drijft.

That is, indeed, a problem, although I think that lower educated people will continue to speak Drèents. And you see more and more, hmm (..), I am a little afraid of that… […] I think that the difference between children that speak Dutch, that it will be obvious that they are from a higher class. That you eventually will see this class difference. That you will see that children that speak Drèents come from disadvantaged families, and the others [ABN speakers] are from normal or highly educated families. The differences will be underscored, whereas that should not be the cause, because this disperses society even more.

P1 Dat is jammer want dan blijft die negatieve houding ten opzichte van het Drents ook bestaan.
That is unfortunate, because that negative attitude towards Drèents will continue to exist.
Participant

P2: -
Gender: male
Age: 38
Language background: Dutch, Drèents
Educational level: -
Occupation: director of an employment agency
Location: -

Situation
Interview on the topic ‘Bevordering Duits en Drents in de school’ at primary schools in the province of Drenthe.

Language(s) involved
Dutch, Drèents

Date of recording
April 20, 2017

Interviewer
Int: Susanna Hettinaga

Date of transcription
April 25, 2017

Transcriber
Susanna Hettinaga

Attitude project

P2 Ik vind het leuk dat ze het krijgen (…) [het Drents] en als ze het niet krijgen, dan krijgen ze het vanuit huis natuurlijk wel een beetje mee, bij de opa’s en oma’s vandaan. Maar eh ik vind buitenlandse talen wel een stukje belangrijker dan de taalkennis [van het Drents].
I think it is nice that they [schoolchildren] get it [Drèents] (…) and if they do not get it, then they will learn it a little from home, of course, from their grandparents. But hmm I find foreign languages more important than the language knowledge [of Drèents].

P2 Ik denk dat het gewoon goed is om te laten zien waar je vandaag komt, dan eh (…) we zijn bezig met de toekomst en je hebt het [Drents] nodig want eh dat is absoluut niet nodig. […] Ik vind het zonde van het geld, dat kunnen ze beter ergens anders aan besteden // hm //, dan liever aan de Duitse taal dan aan de Drentse taal.
I think that it is a good thing to show where you are from, than hmm (…) we are concerned about the future, and you need it [Drèents], since it is absolutely not useful. […] I find it a waste of money, it would be better to spend it on something else, preferably spend it on the German language.

Attitude Drèents

P2 Ik heb een uitzendbureau en die is landelijk actief. Als ik op bijeenkomsten kom in bijvoorbeeld Utrecht dan (…) probeer ik mijn taal aan te passen. Maar men blijft altijd horen dat je uit Drenthe komt. En eh ik probeerde mij aan te passen om maar niet eh (.) vreemd over te komen. Tot je eh dat men ziet wie je bent en hoe goed je ergens in bent dan is het niet erg dat je een accent hebt.
I have an employment agency, which is active on the national level. At meetings in, for example Utrecht [Randstad], I try to adapt my language. But it will always be audible that I am from Drenthe. And hmm I try to adapt my language not to come across as strange. Until they hmm know who you are and how capable you are, then it is not a problem that you have an accent.
P2 Ik vind dat je moet zorgen dat je jezelf blijft. Je hoeft niet heel goed Drents te kunnen, maar ze [children] moeten wel weten waar ze vandaan komen.
I find it important to be true to yourself. They do not have to have a very good command of Drèents, but [children] should know where they come from.

[…]

Int Denkt u dat kinderen achterstand oplopen als ze het Drents vanuit huis spreken?
Do you think that children fall behind when they speak Drèents at home?

P2 Ja, eh maar met name voor de toekomst sta je met 1-0 achter. […] Tot je je hebt bewezen en dan niet meer.
Yes, hmm but in particular in view of the future you are falling behind. […] Until you have proved yourself, than this is not the case anymore.

P2 Ze [kinderen] vinden het meer grappig, dan dat ze het echt willen leren.
They [children] mainly find it funny, than that they really want to learn it [Drèents].

Future of Drèents
P2 Ik denk niet dat het [Drents] door gaat zetten. Als je nu kijkt eh, in Drenthe komen ook steeds meer mensen uit het Westen te wonen. In Emmen spreekt men gewoon Nederlands, (.) terwijl je 50 jaar terug kijkt, spraken ze allemaal Drents. Iedereen. Ik bijvoorbeeld, ik praat Nederlandser dan mijn ouders doen // ja // dus ik denk dat het steeds minder gaat worden. Ik denk dat het Drents eh eh er (.) over 100 jaar niet meer zal zijn, denk ik. In ieder geval in veel mindere mate dan dat het eerder was. Ga maar eens echt Drents praten met mensen van 20 à 30 jaar, die verstaan het helemaal niet. I do not think that it [Drèents] will continue to exist. If you have a look at hmm, in Drenthe increasingly more people come to live here. In Emmen [city in Drenthe] everyone speaks Dutch (.), whereas if you look back fifty years ago, everyone spoke Drèents. For example, I talk more Dutch compared to my parents // yes // so I think that [speaking Drèents] will decline even more. I think that Drèents hmm (.) won’t exist anymore in hundred years, I guess. At least to a lesser extent than nowadays. Go try to talk Drèents with people twenty or thirty years of age, they do not understand it at all.
Participant

P3:
- Gender: female
- Age: 38
- Language background: Dutch
- Educational level: -
- Occupation: works at a nursery home
- Location: Veenoord

Situation

Interview on the topic ‘Bevordering Duits en Drents in de school’ at primary schools in the province of Drenthe.

Language(s) involved

Dutch

Date of recording

April 21, 2017

Interviewer

Int: Susanna Hettinga

Date of transcription

April 26, 2017

Transcriber

Susanna Hettinga

Attitude project

P3 De Drentse taal is voor mij niet echt belangrijk in het onderwijs.
Drèents in education is not really important to me.

Attitude Drèents

P3 Ik vind het heel belangrijk dat mijn kind in ieder geval gewoon een beetje ABN kan // ja // en niet alleen maar Drents. Want dat eh dat zie ik dan ook wel bij andere kinderen: Die kunnen dan niet normaal praten. Daar heb ik dan wel moeite mee. I find it very important that my child can at least speak a little ABN // yes // and not only Drèents. Because hmm I see this happen with other children: They cannot speak normal. I have troubles with that.

P3 Ik zie het in mijn werk als ik dan stagiaires heb. Die kunnen niet eens normaal Nederlands praten. Dat zou ik niet willen. […] Dat vind ik wel een achterstand, dat vind ik wel een tekortkoming. I have seen it at my work when there are interns. They cannot even speak normal Dutch. I do not want my children to speak like that. […] I find that a deprivation, I think that is a shortcoming.

Attitude multilingualism

Int En ziet u ook voordelen in van meertaligheid?
Do you see advantages regarding multilingualism?

P3 Ja, ik denk voor de toekomst helemaal wel. Maar niet zozeer het Drents, maar in ieder geval wel het Engels. Ik denk wel dat dat een voordeel is, zeker wel. Yes, with regard to the future for sure. Drèents not particularly, but English. I think that that [English] is an advantage, certainly.
Future of Drèents

P3 Ik denk wel dat het blijft bestaan, zeker wel. Nouja, ik denk dat er altijd wel mensen zijn die de taal spreken en dat blijven doen, ja dat denk ik wel.

I think that Drèents will continue to exist, certainly. Well, I think that there are always people that speak the language and will continue to do so.
**IIc Officials**

| Participant       | O1: J. Germs  
Gender: male  
Age: 63  
Educational level: pedagogical academy (PABO)  
Occupation: former primary school teachers, currently director of Huus van de Taol  
Location: Beilen |
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<td>Susanna Hettinga</td>
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**Aim of the project**

**O1** We verwachten echt niet dat die scholen de kinderen Drents gaan leren.
We do not expect those children to learn Drèents.

**Int** Dat is niet echt een doel?
That is not really an aim?

**O1** Nee, het doel is het stimuleren van meertaligheid, een positieve houding ten opzichte van andere talen sensibiliseren. En als er dan een bijvangst is, dat de kinderen ook enigszins Drents leren via allerlei wegen, dan vinden we dat alleen maar mooi! […] Er zijn zoveel relaties tussen talen, en dan wordt zo’n kind niet direct Drentstalig […] bewustwording van taal, en wat taal allemaal is en dat het leuk is om er mee bezig te wezen, dat is belangrijk.
No, the aim is the stimulation of multilingualism, to sensitize a positive attitude with respect to other languages. And if the children learn some Drèents next to this, we really like and support this! […] There are so many relations between languages, and this does not make a child immediately a speaker of Drèents […] Language awareness, and where language is all about, and that it is fun to work with languages, that is important.

**Decline of speakers of Drèents**

**O1** ABN, die B, beschaafd. En als je dus beschaafd wezen wilt, en de mensen hebben zich dus aan laten praten dat Drents een boers, lomp, achterlijk taaltje is. Wil jij meetellen in de wereld, dan moet je beschaafd praten. Dat is Nederlands. […] Het ‘beschaafde’ is een deel de oorzaak, denk ik.
ABN, the B, civilized. So if you want to be civilized, and hmm people view Drèents as a farmers’, rude and a retarded little language. If you want to stand up and be counted in the world, then you need to speak civilized. This is Dutch. […] This idea of speaking ‘civilized’ is one of the causes, I think.
If you want the best for your children, then you teach them Dutch in advance. Then they just have an advantage. […] Parents just massively shifted to Dutch.

Future of Drèents

I fear that Drèents is one of those languages that will not survive the twenty-first century.

People still look down on people that speak Drèents.

There is a lot of ignorance out here. And you can’t change that with a flyer [on the advantages of multilingualism] or with a lecture on a formal parenting evening. It is so ingrained.

The language you speak the best, your rich home language, (…) just speak it. And at school they will learn Dutch.

It would be nice if (…) a bit more, slowly, that there would an afternoon [with Drèents lessons] and that new things regarding Drèents are introduced as well.

What I have encountered (.), we have beautiful teaching material, such as songs and stories etc. But we do not have a certain method to implement the lessons Drèents. We do not have it! We have quite some material, but a continuous and structural method is missing.

In Limburg they have *Dien eige taal*, which consists of twelve lessons about Limburgish. The children won’t learn Limburgish immediately, but they do learn all kinds of aspects of Limburgish.
**Aim and importance of the project**

O2 Als Provincie Drenthe zijn wij (...) zeer actief in de bevordering (...) en promotie van de streektaal. [...] Wij zijn al jaren trekker van de Nedersaksische overheden. For years we have been the initiators of the Low Saxon authorities.

O2 We hebben lang geprobeerd het Nedersaksisch op niveau III van het Europees Handvest te krijgen. [...]. But we saw a chance [...] for other ways of appreciation [of Drèents]. [...] Instead of juridical recognition we are now busy with symbolic recognition[of Drèents] by the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

O2 Deel III [van de Charter] schept verplichtingen, en dat vinden overheden niet leuk, zegmaar. Regional and local authorities find their independence important.

O2 Maar tegelijkertijd zien we dat het Drents (...) toch niet zoveel door jongeren gesproken wordt // ja // dat neemt af. En ook [...] dat ouders zoiets hebben van “Ja, ik moet niet teveel Drents met m’n kind spreken want daar komt het kind niet verder mee.” [...] En dat is een misvatting.
But at the same time we see that Drèents (...) is not much spoken by young people // yes //, it declines. And also [...] that parents say “Yes, I should not speak too much Drèents with my child, as this is not advantageous to the development of the child.” [...] This is a misconception.

**O2** Het is niet de eerste taak van de Provincie om onderwijs te betalen.
It is not the first task of the Province to finance education.

**O2** Het maakt het ook sterker, toch naar mensen die (...) wat sceptisch staan tegenover het Drents, want die zijn er natuurlijk ook in de provincie. Door de combinatie van Drents en Duits is het verhaal over meertaligheid veel sterker geworden, want nu ben je dus echt bezig met meertaligheid.
It makes [the project] also stronger, for the people (...) that are somewhat skeptic regarding Drèents, as they are here in the province. Combining Drèents and German makes the story of multilingualism much stronger, since now you are really focused on multilingualism.

**O2** De VVD ging akkoord, maar vond wel dat het geld uit het onderwijs ook naar arbeidsmarkt doeleinden moet gaan.
VVD [right-wing party] agreed, but believed that the money for education should be made available for the improvement of the job market as well.

**Socio-economic advantages of multilingualism**

**O2** Uiteindelijk (...) hebben we gedacht, een lectoraat [Drents]? Nou nee, maar we voelden er wel wat voor om het Drents een impuls te geven in het onderwijs, met name in het basisonderwijs. [...] Toen hadden we het idee, we moeten daar [in Zuidoost-Drenthe] veel gaan doen want er wordt nog veel Drents wordt gesproken en er zit bovendien veel werkloosheid, en aan de Duitse kant van de grens is veel behoefte aan werkgelegenheid.
Eventually (.) we thought, a lectureship [Drèents]? No, but we wanted to give Drèents an impulse in education, especially in primary education. [...] We have to do much [in Southeast-Drenthe], as Drèents is spoken much there and the unemployment rates are furthermore high, and across the border in Germany the demand of employees is high.

**Problems and needs**

**O2** Maar ook hier zie je dat ouders af en toe [noise] roepen: “Maar leren ze dan wel fatsoenlijk Nederlands, qua lezen en schrijven”? // dat is het probleem //, dus dat is nog wel lastig. Het grootste probleem was ook om in Nederland leerkrachten te vinden die vlekkeloos Duits spreken // hmm // en die het kunnen onderwijzen. [...] Er is heel veel behoefte aan leerkrachten Duits.
But you also see that parents [noise] say: “But will they learn Dutch properly, regarding reading and writing”? // that is the problem //, so that is troublesome. The biggest problem has been to find teachers that speak German fluently in the Netherlands // hmm // and can teach it. [...] The demand for German teachers is high.
**Future of the project**

O2 Ik heb het gevoel dat het redelijk goed loopt, maar tegelijkertijd, we hebben voor vier jaar geld toegezegd en we zijn nu halverwege. […] De 100.000 zit niet meer in de begroting van 2019.

I have the idea that [the project] is going well, but at the same time, we have committed money for a period of four years, and now we are already halfway. […] An amount of 100.000 will not succeed in the budget for 2019.

O2 Ik moet zorgen dat de bestuurders het [project] gaan willen. En dat is lastig. […] Dat hangt er ook vanaf of er een goed verhaal komt. […] Het zou mooi zijn als we nu langzamerhand gaan proberen te werken aan pogingen om helder te maken aan bestuurders dat we hiermee door willen. […] We moeten zorgen bij de voorjaarsnota van 2018 dat […] het daar een plek krijgt.

It is my job to ensure that the members of the board of governors want [the project]. And that is difficult. […] It also depends on whether the story regarding the project is good or not. […] It would be nice if we slowly try to make clear to the governors that we want to continue with it. […] We have to make sure that is put on the agenda in the nota of the spring of 2018.

O2 De scholen willen graag wat structureels, maar voor ons is vier jaar al een hele periode (inc., laughter). […] Subsidie staat ook niet meer vast. Je moet ook kritisch beoordelen wat de prestatie is, wat het heeft bijgedragen aan de doelen.

The schools want something structural, but for us four years is already a long period [laughter]. […] Subsidy can’t be ensured anymore these days. You also have to critically judge the results, what has been contributed to the goals.

O2 Het Rijk zou toch langzamerhand moeten inzien dat (..), zeker in de grensgebieden, aandacht voor de buurten is ongelofelijk belangrijk. Daarom is die combinatie met dat economische zo gek nog niet want Zuidoost-Drenthe kent een hoge werkloosheid.

The government should recognize that (..), especially in the border regions, attention to neighboring languages is very important. That is why this combination with the economic aspect is a good idea, as Southeast-Drenthe has high unemployment rates.