A Typology of Migrant Parents according to Attitudes and Expectations to Multilingualism and Education

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Abstract

A typology of parents of multilingual children according to their attitudes to language and multilingual education.

Schools in the Netherlands are becoming increasingly superdiverse due to increased migration. The children of migrant families are enrolled in schools in which Dutch is the primary language and the home language is not part of the curriculum. This could result in lower school results. Therefore the research question of the current study is:

What are the language attitudes of migrant parents in relation to their home languages and the school languages in the Netherlands? To answer this question 13 parents of 9 families participated in semi-structured interviews about their language practices and attitudes in a family context, about their attitudes towards including the home language in education and about their expectations towards the interaction between educators and themselves. The results were coded for language attitudes and analysed to explore the motivations and expectations. From this types of parents can be discerned ranging from parents with attitudes aimed at active multilingualism in literacy and verbal communication to passive multilingualism in verbal communication. The typology can be used to involve migrant parents in the education of their child and to help education policy makers to include parents' perspectives in their policies.

Keywords: educational linguistics, parental attitudes, migrants

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### List of Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BICS</td>
<td>Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills</td>
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<tr>
<td>CALP</td>
<td>Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency</td>
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<tr>
<td>CBS</td>
<td>Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek (Central Bureau of Statistics in the Netherlands)</td>
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<tr>
<td>CITO</td>
<td>Centrale Eindtoets (Nationwide tests at the end of primary school)</td>
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<tr>
<td>CLIL</td>
<td>Content and Language Integrated Learning</td>
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<tr>
<td>FLP</td>
<td>Family Language Policy</td>
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<tr>
<td>HL</td>
<td>Heritage Language</td>
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<tr>
<td>MinOCW</td>
<td>Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap (Ministry of Education, Culture and Science in the Netherlands)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>Researcher</td>
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<td>SES</td>
<td>Socioeconomic status</td>
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Interview MSE1

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Notes
1. Introduction

In the last decades in particular, societies have become increasingly diverse in cultures and languages. This *superdiversity* (Vertovec, 2007) particularly reflected in urban areas, emanates from globalisation and the subsequently increased mobility and migration. Consequently, pupils speaking a diversity of languages, dialects, language varieties and registers are brought together in a classroom where the majority languages are the languages of instruction. This may present challenges related to academic achievement and communication between the parents and teachers because the attitudes and expectations of education professionals are in conflict with the attitudes and expectations of the families resulting in a mismatch of language policies at school and linguistic management in the family context (Spolsky, 2012a, p. 5). In families in which multiple languages are spoken, or a minority language different than the majority around them, a family language policy is created. This family language policy is rooted in beliefs and ideologies about language, which lead to specific language uses: both language choices and the underlying ideologies and beliefs constitute language attitudes. Similarly, educational policies are built on the same structure of ideology, practice and management (Caldas, 2012; Spolsky, 2012a). In the literature there are a number of examples of how teachers’ attitudes and expectations affect learning for their pupils (e.g. Pulinx, Van Avermaet, & Agirdag, 2017; Roscigno, 1999; Van den Bergh, Denessen, Hornstra, Voeten, & Holland, 2010) as well as their attitudes to utilizing the multilingualism of the children in the classroom (e.g. Gkaintartzi, Kiliari, & Tsokalidou, 2015; Haukås, 2016). Furthermore, there is a considerable amount of studies on multilingualism in the family context and the policies and parental attitudes involved for a successful multilingual upbringing (Hancock, 2017; Sénéchal & LeFevre, 2002). So, while familial language use of multilingual families has been extensively researched, the attitudinal aspect of parents has received less attention in empirical studies. Moreover, few studies have been published on the attitudes of parents towards multilingualism in education and the position of their home languages in the intra-curricular education of their children. Since parental involvement and positive attitudes towards all languages are positively related to academic achievement (Lee & Bowen, 2006), this study seeks to explore and gain insight into the attitudes of migrant parents in the Netherlands, and accordingly, how the interaction in the context of multilingualism between parents and teachers is best approached from the parents’ perspective. More concretely, this study researches nine migrant families in the regions Amsterdam and Groningen with the aim of answering the following research question: What are the language attitudes of migrant parents in relation to their home languages and the school languages in the Netherlands? This study is interdisciplinary in its approach by researching language and language use in relation to language attitudes and education. The field of educational linguistics is defined by researching "a specific problem and then looking to linguistics and other relevant disciplines for their contribution to its solution" (Spolsky & Hult, 2010, p. 17)
1.1. Migrants and Multilingualism in the Netherlands
Since the 1940s large waves of migration have resulted in a gradually diversifying society in the Netherlands. Different motivations for migration can be distinguished; the first one being the independence of the former colonies such as Indonesia of which the second and third generation in the Netherlands are bilingual in one of the varieties of Malay with a clear Dutch dominance (Van Engelenhoven, 2002). Second, Moroccan and Turkish guest workers and to a lesser extent, southern European labourers migrated to the Netherlands from the 1960s onwards. The continuation of economic growth and the need for labour resulted in their permanent stay and through policies of reuniting families, the communities grew in the decades that followed (Van De Werfhorst & Van Tubergen, 2007, pp. 418–419). Especially the large Moroccan and Turkish communities aim at maintenance of the home languages in the second and third generation (Bezcioglu-Goktolga & Yagmur, 2018). Third, in recent years so-called newcomers, who have fled their country of origin because of war or political prosecution, have come in particular from Syria, Eritrea and Iraq (CBS, 2018b), preceded by refugees from former Yugoslavia and Afghanistan (Van De Werfhorst & Van Tubergen, 2007). Last, the group of migrants with a high socio-economic status (hereafter SES) moving for professional reasons has grown and consists not only of expats who stay temporarily, but permanent settlement is becoming more common. All the migrants bring a variety of languages with them. Across these four migration types mixed families are distinguished, which are in the context of this research defined as families with a Dutch-speaking parent and a parent speaking a migrant language. In Amsterdam for instance, 37% of children to the age of 12 are part of mixed families (Karssen, van der Veen, & Volman, 2016).

In total 3.9 million people have a migration background as the first or second generation, making up nearly 25% of a population of 17.1 million (CBS, 2018a). Since there are no numbers available on the third generation, the suggested numbers of multilinguals speaking migrant languages exceed these figures. Furthermore, the number of people from 167 countries migrating to the Netherlands per year has doubled in the last two decades to 230,000 in 2016 (CBS, 2017), which confirms the trend of increasing diversity in languages because of migration.

The children of the migrants coming to the Netherlands speak their parents' languages, in this study referred to as heritage languages (hereafter: HL), which are "the home languages of migrant pupils and which have a particular family relevance to the learner" (Gkaintartzi et al., 2015, p. 63). This migration results in multilingualism, or rather plurilingualism since the language skills in the respective languages may differ and account for the unique linguistic repertoire of each child (Sims, Ellis, & Knox, 2017).

1.2. Multilingual Children in Education
On the supranational level, the changed political dynamics since the 2000s shifted the educational approaches in the Netherlands from pluralistic models, offering mother tongue instruction for migrant children, to more monolinguial approaches in
recent years (Driessen, 2000; Extra & Yagmur, 2006). Extra & Yagmur (2006) report that contrary to the former approaches of language learning through the home language, it is generally viewed that language learning through immersion is the optimal approach. At present, the language of instruction is primarily Dutch, complemented with high-status languages from West-Europe such as English, which are taught within Early Foreign Language Education (Vroeg vreemdetaalonderwijs; MinOCW, 2018). Migrant languages are not taught within the curriculum at the primary level. Language ideologies that lay at the basis of these policies are discussed in more detail in section 2.2.

Numerically and relatively more pupils with a migration background than Dutch children in primary education are categorised as having an educational deficit (CBS, 2018c). The difference in academic performance between monolingual speakers of the language of instruction and multilingual children, and in particular from ethnic minorities has become widely known by the term achievement gap. This involves higher dropout rates and a reported weaker performance in language-specific skills, such as writing and reading comprehension, as well as in science education and numeracy (Aarts & Verhoeven, 1999; Roscigno, 1999). PISA results show the same pattern for Dutch pupils in language, science education and mathematics (CITO, 2015). An OECD report (2018) on motivations shows that migrant children in the Netherlands are more motivated to learn than their non-migrant peers, whereas their average results do not reflect this.

The Dutch Ministry of Education, Culture and Science (hereafter MinOCW) confirms the existence of an achievement gap in the results on the Central Final Exam (CITO) at the end of primary school between monolingual Dutch pupils and first or second generation non-Western migrants (MinOCW, 2018). Western migrant children perform on a similar level in this test as the monolingual Dutch pupils. Several studies, for instance Backus & Yagmur (2017) and Van de Werfhorst & Tubergen (2007), have focused on the achievement gap in the Netherlands in primary and secondary education respectively. Especially children with a Turkish or Moroccan background tend to perform academically weaker than monolingual Dutch pupils or those speaking a regional minority language like Frisian or Limburgish (Driessen, Van der Slik, & De Bot, 2002).

A growing body of literature has investigated the reasons for this difference in attainment between ethnic minorities. A commonly suggested explanation is related to a lower socioeconomic background and not directly to the ethnic minority itself. Roscigno (1999) found this relation for African American pupils indicating parental unavailability for supervision of homework and socialization due to a lower socioeconomic status (SES) was a causal factor in higher dropout rates and lower results. Even though these pupils did not have a multilingual background, it was found that the 'education system reproduces inequalities' (Roscigno, 1999, p. 180) because of the self-fulfilling prophecy in the teachers' low expectations of these pupils. Moreover, the achievement gap is reinforced if the languages in the classroom
are attributed a differential status with respect to learning and academic skills, and proficiency is perceived to be of value exclusively in certain languages (Sims et al., 2017). Low expectations exist for bi-ethnic pupils in the Netherlands as well, which is detrimental to their wellbeing (Karssen et al., 2016).

Factors that are pointed out to contribute to the production of the achievement gap are the level of education of the parents, which is reflected in the results of the CITO in the Netherlands (MinOCW, 2018), and the consequent competences to support the child in their school-related learning processes as well as the efforts for home literacy (Leikin, Schwartz, & Tobin, 2012). Home literacy is discussed in section 2.1.4 and section 2.3. However, limited time spent in school matters by the parents, or in other words the quantity of Dutch input by and interaction with the parents, does not determine whether they are affected by the achievement gap; rather it is the quality of input and the extent to which the languages are related that determines if academic language proficiency is acquired (Driessen et al., 2002).

Furthermore, the characteristics of the community around the family can indicate the ease or difficulty with which children achieve success in school. Due to different interaction patterns related to a sense of hierarchy between non-western migrants and the non-migrants in western society, school attainment can differ. This point is also sustained by the research of Driessen and Merry (2011) who claim that different ethnic minorities in the Netherlands attain success to different degrees and specific linguistic skills are not in line with the development of Dutch monolingual peers (Backus & Yağmur, 2017).

1.3. Multilingual Education
A variety of multilingual education models have been designed which can be implemented by schools to develop and foster the multilingualism of their pupils. Models range from immersion models, bilingual education to more flexible pedagogical practices such as translanguage, which prove to different extents to be effective for the wellbeing of the pupil and their academic achievement (Ball, 2010; García & Wei, 2014). The effectiveness of education models depend on various factors involved, such as the curriculum, teacher training, effective pedagogy, the child’s motivation and in the context of this research most importantly, the "congruence with parents' goals" for the development of their children (Ball, 2010, p. 46). Multilingual education is further discussed in section 2.2.

1.4. Language Attitudes
Speakers and interlocutors evaluate language varieties, such as variation on the basis of accent. These evaluations are called language attitudes, which can be divided in two types: status and solidarity. The former is the attribution of a high or low status to a language variety, resulting in expected social class. Especially the standard variety has overt prestige (Stewart, Ryan, & Giles, 1985). Non-standard varieties are reported to be evaluated as an indication for a low status, but simultaneously, the variety can have a covert prestige for its speakers or the speakers are attributed positive characteristics by the speakers of the standard varieties (Giles & Rakić,
This is termed solidarity, which is considered 'social attractiveness' (Stewart et al., 1985, p. 97) in a way that a speaker is attributed positive traits that are associated with trustworthiness and kindness. A difference in attitudes between different speakers is attributed to the identification of the speaker with a social group. In addition, contextual and situational factors determine the attitudes, which are consequently dynamic in nature (Giles & Rakić, 2014). In other terms, interaction between speakers defines and builds language attitudes (Liebscher & Dailey-O’Cain, 2009). The concept of language attitudes is universal. For migrants, the affinity with a social group and the construction of a social identity is especially important to reveal covert attitudes, because this has an effect on the languages spoken in their home environment, in the community and makes them relate to a group in society (Dailey-O’Cain & Liebscher, 2011).

Exploring the language attitudes of migrants can reveal the effectiveness of language policies because they are indicated to relate to inequality. It is therefore important to research what the causes are for the attitudes and how knowledge of these underlying causes can help improve policies (Lapresta-Rey, Huguet, & Fernández-Costales, 2017). One of the causes for language policies and the attitude that favours one standard language over all the other languages or varieties in a society is related to nation-building and the functioning of the nation (Paradowski & Bator, 2016). The resulting attitudes resonate in the school that functions as a micro-society (Duarte & Gogolin, 2013, p. 10).

1.5. Structure

This leads to the following research question: What are the language attitudes of migrant parents in relation to their home languages and the school languages in the Netherlands? The research question will be answered through finding the response on the following three sub questions. First, how is the family language policy structured reflecting the relation between the languages? Second, what are the attitudes of the parents towards multilingual education including their home language in the Netherlands? Third, which expectations do the parents of multilingual children hold towards the use of their languages in education? To find an answer to these questions, migrant parents in the Netherlands are interviewed about their language beliefs, practices and attitudes.

This study is interdisciplinary in its approach by researching language and language use in relation to language attitudes and education. The field of educational linguistics is defined by researching "a specific problem and then look[ing] to linguistics and other relevant disciplines for their contribution to its solution" (Spolsky & Hult, 2010, p. 17). The problem of an achievement gap and conflicting language attitudes between migrant parents and schools is looked at from a linguistics perspective. The study is structured by beginning with the most important theory and background information on language attitudes in the family and at school which are given in the next section by dissecting the aspects of Family Language Policy, the effect of teacher's attitudes and the interaction between parents and
2. Background

2.1. Family Language Planning & Attitudes

2.1.1. What is Family Language Planning?
The first and primary space of language learning is within the family. In most families, language use are 'predetermined' nor planned in detail because of influencing familial and societal circumstances (Caldas, 2012). However, the presence of two or more languages in the family requires parents to adopt deliberate strategies for maintaining all languages. Similarly, migrant families who speak a home language different than that of the majority actively manage and adopt a family language policy (hereafter: FLP). FLP is defined by King, Fogle & Logan-Terry (2008, p. 907) as "how languages are managed, learned and negotiated within families". This type of language policy is shaped by family external and internal factors which are linked to the three interconnected domains of language policy as defined by Spolsky (2003): ideology, practice and management. None of these domains are static in the family language policy because the language use, attitudes and management strategies are negotiated through every day interaction (Schwartz & Verschik, 2013). Thus, the purpose of a successful FLP is language maintenance, if the three domains of FLP are directed towards this very goal and 'linked to a strong sense of identity' (Spolsky, 2012b).

2.1.2. Family Language Attitudes
The importance of reviewing attitudes of parents is emphasised by the relation between the parental ideologies and the "parenting practices and developmental outcomes for children" (King et al., 2008, p. 910). As an illustration, Figure 1 is based on the model used by King et al. (2008, p. 910).
Figure 1. The interaction between beliefs, choices and development involved in FLP

Ideology as one of the pillars of FLP is not analogous to attitude but rather a compositional aspect of attitude, as well as the desired linguistic practices. The values a family attributes to the languages they speak evolve into beliefs about these values, which are subsequently solidified in ideologies (Spolsky, 2012b). In combination with the reality of language practices and desired language use, this defines the attitudes of a family. The language practices reveal covert attitudes family members may hold. However, practice may not correspond to desired language use reflecting overt attitudes, but the language attitudes of the parents are of great influence in the children’s actual language use (Bezcioglu-Goktolga & Yagmur, 2018) and also the learning of their own attitudes (Giles & Rakić, 2014). Family language attitudes have been identified as the driving force in the transmission and maintenance of a language (e.g. Caldas, 2012). Research that focuses on the formation/creation of language attitudes takes into consideration various context-related and family internal factors.

First of all, a positive parental attitude towards the home language is defined by significant factors such as the possibility of remigration and contact with the extended family (Bezcioglu-Goktolga & Yagmur, 2018). In addition, the family’s network, community or neighbourhood affects the language ideologies by expressing their own beliefs (Schwartz & Verschik, 2013). For instance, negative stereotypes may account for language shift in minority groups, which can be strengthened or disintegrated by educational and government policies (Caldas, 2012). Especially the societal pressure exerted on families through school revaluates the home language lower than the language of instruction, in particular altering the attitudes of the children (Bezcioglu-Goktolga & Yagmur, 2018).
Reportedly, more important for positive attitudes is the connection of language to culture and identity; the home language is an instrument for the transmission of culture and the construction of identity (Caldas, 2012; Paradowski & Bator, 2016), as well as socialisation as part of a cultural group (Schwartz & Verschik, 2013). Moreover, socio-economic opportunities and academic success associated with a certain language determine the FLP. Bezcioglu-Goktolga & Yagmur (2018) found that the attitudes of Turkish parents in the Netherlands towards the use of the family language or the language of the larger community is not necessarily either positive or negative. Rather, there is a dual ideology in which maintenance of Turkish is desired and supported because of the cultural identity associated with this language. On the other hand, Dutch is perceived as indispensable for societal integration, academic achievement and better socio-economic opportunities. Thus, the research provides evidence for the distinction between status and solidarity. It is important to note, however, that is not in every case a discernible division because multiple languages are also perceived generally by parents from mixed marriages to improve career prospects (Paradowski & Bator, 2016). A serious limitation for generalisation of this finding is that the study by Paradowski & Bator (2016) was conducted among exclusively highly educated mothers.

To develop the plurilingualism of children, the positive attitudes of parents for all languages are 'crucial' (Paradowski & Bator, 2016, p. 15), because an emotional connection is established to the languages in developing the languages in a home context. Therefore, the quality of family relations and the attachment from child to parent is essential, providing the opportunity for the transmission of attitudes as well (Gaskins & Labbo, 2007; Tannenbaum & Berkovich, 2005). The language in which the personal identity is constructed is positively valued by the parents and subsequently the children (Sims et al., 2017).

The parental attitudes towards the language policy in education relates to the perceived language proficiency of their children (Spolsky, 2012a, p. 6). This is illustrated in the study by Paradowski & Bator (2016) in which a participant indicated that their multilingual child had similar proficiency and language skills as compared to their monolingual peers in every of their three languages. It was suggested that this challenges the general observation multilinguals have different as well as overlapping skills in all their languages. Thus, the general language attitudes of parents of multilingual children are formed in the competition between the perceived status of the languages associated with societal integration and socio-economic opportunities on the one hand, and feelings of solidarity to the culture, people and identity associated with their home language on the other (Paradowski & Bator, 2016).

2.1.3. Family Language Practices
The everyday language practices in the family derive from and contribute to the development of language ideologies. Thus, the linguistic practices in a family define the language attitudes and vice versa. Therefore, the factors influencing language ideology cannot be dissociated from the aspects determining linguistic practices.
Research has suggested that next to ideology, language use is determined by the agents involved (Schwartz & Verschik, 2013) and the interactional patterns between them (King et al., 2008).

Language use is defined by the ethno-cultural family type and the position of the languages therein. Practices may vary in mixed families, two parents from either first, second or third generations, or one parent first generation migrant and one from a second or third generation (Becker, 2011). However, an increasing number of studies (e.g. Curdt-Christiansen, 2009), in particular Schwartz & Verschik (2013), focus on the construction of FLP with the perspective of families as communities of practice (Lanza, 2007). In this context, the language use, as well as the overarching attitudes, within the dynamic system of a family is defined by all of its members, and especially the children. The practices are adjusted to the familial structures, such as the number of children and their position. For instance, in families with one child, more interaction and input will provide a better proficiency than once a sibling arrives. In addition, age is related to changes in language use because of the influence of a peer group and interaction with the larger community (Caldas, 2012). Similar to Schwartz & Verschik (2013) who state that children are agents in negotiating the FLP, Bezcioglu-Goktolga & Yagmur (2018) find that language preferences for different uses of the various languages by the individual family members depend on the interaction with other members, for example language choice for use among siblings.

To extend this, the social agency of the child is underlined by its active role in translating to the home language and the subsequent socialisation of their parents in the case of insufficient language proficiency, which is termed child language brokering (Schwartz & Verschik, 2013).

Furthermore, the context of language use should also be taken into account when reviewing ideologies in practice within the family. For instance in the context of homework of school or other school-related subjects, the language of school instruction is often used instead of the home language, whereas this is the other way around when religion or culture is involved. This finding among Turkish families in the Netherlands reinforces the ideologies that society may hold (Bezcioglu-Goktolga & Yagmur, 2018).

Equally important factors are the practices inspired by the communities outside the family itself. The ideologies of the community can pressure the family practices towards language maintenance or language shift. The presence of communities speaking the same language facilitate an FLP towards language maintenance (Schwartz & Verschik, 2013). Especially urban areas for that reason may inspire practices, publicly and in the home, directed towards language maintenance, than is the case in rural areas (Bezcioglu-Goktolga & Yagmur, 2018).

Other factors that are theorised to play a role in language maintenance and ideology are not supported by empirical evidence. For instance, gender difference did not account for different language ideologies among migrant parents, even though management strategies may vary (Bezcioglu-Goktolga & Yagmur, 2018).
2.1.4. Family Language Management

In order to perform language ideologies, parents try to influence the linguistic practices of their children. Various strategies are adopted to stimulate learning of the home languages. These strategies are influenced by the parents' own experience with learning and speaking their languages, the practices and ideologies of the community they are part of, or books specialising on a multilingual upbringing (King & Fogle, 2006). A frequently occurring language management strategy in families is OPOL (one parent one language), by which the interaction with one parent is in all situations in one language and with the other parent in another language. Variations on this approach include situational, time-related or mode-related language choices, for instance in reading books, watching TV, using the internet and social media. In order to manage their children's language use and realising the FLP, parents can warn the child that a certain language should be used, pretending to not understand until it is repeated in the desired language, or repeating what is said in the appropriate language (Caldas, 2012).

Going to school affects language management because of the introduction and the pressing influence of the school language (Bezcioglu-Goktolga & Yagmur, 2018). As children grow older, the influence of peers increases and as such the input and interaction in the home language can diminish if the peers speak another language. This situation can be reversed if there is immersion in an environment where the home language is exclusively spoken, in order for peer relations in the home language to be created (Caldas, 2012).

Parents that have the desire for their child to develop reading and writing competences on top of speaking and understanding, employ different strategies to teach this, such as reading books together with the child, literacy lessons, language games etc. These home literacy practices can be complemented with formal education. Since mother tongue education for migrant children in primary education was rescinded, education of the home languages is not institutionally supported in the Netherlands with the exception of foreign language education in a number of West-European languages or bilingual education for models including primarily English. Instead, literacy development for other migrant languages is dependent on the family's efforts and capabilities or community initiatives (Bezcioglu-Goktolga & Yagmur, 2018). This is organised in so-called weekend schools or in extra-curricular language lessons that offer support for language maintenance through literacy in the home language. The interest and demand for and availability of academic development in the home language differs individually and dependent on community, language group or migration background, but one generalisation could be made: the interest in multiliteracy development including the home language is greater than there are opportunities available (Extra & Yagmur, 2006). A study by Lengyel and Neuman (2016) among parents whose children attend weekend schools in Hamburg, indicated that the parental attitudes towards the effects of heritage language education (development of oral proficiency and literacy) were positive because of their contribution to societal integration and construction of identity.
We expect that parents with a language attitude of status of their home language actively employ strategies for maintenance. This will be reflected in their language use and literacy practices.

For this study we expect to find that parents align their strategies to their language ideologies, which is reflected in their daily practices. A successful FLP shows active strategies and positive ideologies, resulting in language maintenance.

2.2. Teachers' Attitudes to Multilingualism in Education
Research into the ideologies that are the foundation of the pedagogical approach of teachers in the classroom is of paramount importance, because educational language policies influence the language attitudes of teachers and conversely, the beliefs and values of the teachers are determinants of the educational practices that ultimately affect the pupil's attainment. Accordingly, a relation was found in a study on the consequences of the attitudes of teachers between low expectations of teachers that result in lower attainment and the negative attitudes they held about languages (Pulinx et al., 2017). Similarly, the ideology of the teacher diminishes the perceived value of the home language to the pupil because of the legitimisation of the dominant language (Bezcioglu-Goktolga & Yagmur, 2018). Not only the pupil is affected by the language attitudes of the teacher, but their parents are influenced by the ideologies teachers may hold. Because of their position of power in knowledge on children's academic development and attainment, their advice and their expectations influence the parents. In particular, the parents' expectations of including the home languages in education are constructed or changed through the influence of the language attitudes of teachers (Spolsky, 2012a).

2.2.1. Teachers' Language Attitudes on the Language of their Pupils
The ideologies of teachers about language are a reflection of the beliefs present in mainstream society, as well as of educational policies which cannot be disconnected from the political aspect involved, and school-specific characteristics (Pulinx et al., 2017) and less so because of the teacher's own background (De Angelis, 2011). In general, other languages than the high-status language of instruction, in this case Dutch is perceived as an impediment to academic success and full integration into Dutch society. Problems in educational attainment are attributed to the bilingualism of the child. For that reason, the strongly held belief is that other languages than Dutch (or in some cases English or Frisian e.g.) cannot form part of the curriculum (Extra & Yagmur, 2006). The monolingual habitus (Gogolin, 1994) at schools, observable in curricula and tests (Pulinx et al., 2017) such as the CITO reflects an aim of assimilation instead of integration (Driessen & Merry, 2011). International findings confirm this tendency of a deficit perspective in similar educational situations, in which other languages are asserted to impede the acquisition of the language of instruction and therefore educational performance (De Angelis, 2011). This conceals the bilingualism of migrant pupils in the classroom (Gkaintartzí et al., 2015). These teachers assume that their multilingual pupils are the ideal of combined monolingualism, in which the differing skills and knowledge between the languages is
not taken into account. This results in a situation where they are diagnosed with language, developmental or educational deficits, whereas the notion of plurilingualism is based on the differing competences (Sims et al., 2017). Teacher’s attitudes are present on two levels i.e. explicit and implicit. Explicit attitudes are beliefs and practices that the teacher is aware of its influential consequences on the child, such as prejudices expressed through the content of their speech. In practices not related to language per se, such as non-verbal communication, language attitudes can be expressed (Van den Bergh et al., 2010). Thus, language management in the classroom is both consciously and unconsciously implemented by the teacher.

According to Giles & Rakić (2014) attitudes are related to the attribution of stereotypes to speakers which results in the social categorisation and ultimately an opinion about these speakers. The attitude of a teacher is a self-fulfilling prophecy because low expectations expressed in attitudes are related to a weaker performance of the student, not only in the domain of language, but also on math-related tasks (Giles & Rakić, 2014). These low expectations are related to monolingual attitudes. Monolingual attitudes can differ from teacher to teacher, and from school to school. For instance, the composition of the school population is a factor in the extent to which monolingual attitudes are present. Pulinx et al. (2017) argue that due to power dynamics, a monolingual ideology is stronger in schools in which Dutch monolinguals and minority multilinguals make up each around 50% of the school population. In the school itself, a difference between teachers in their sensitivity towards languages is noted due to the years of teaching experience or personal experience in the case of a multilingual teacher (Haukås, 2016).

The monolingual norm in classrooms does not depend solely on education policies, because language ideologies and language attitudes and power relations in the classroom are also influential. The classroom in this context is a space in which these attitudes and power relations are defined and performed by the teacher and the pupils between themselves. The pupils are constructing their identities based on their in-group belonging associating themselves with a perceived ethnolinguistic identity (Spotti, 2013).

### 2.2.2. Teachers' Attitudes to Multilingual Approaches

Generally, the impact of learning in the mother tongue (i.e. optimal learning through the L1) is not acknowledged, but is imperative especially when society is becoming more complex. This superdiversity raises issues that can be resolved through language hybrid educational forms, the integration of multiple educational models, all simultaneously (Spolsky, 2012b). This call for multilingual education models results in a paradigm of various solutions. With regard to the teachers' attitudes to multilingual models, a discrepancy exists between the teachers' perception of using multiple languages to enhance learning for the multilingual child and the classroom practices. The general attitude of the teacher is optimistic towards inclusion of the available language in learning in the classroom if they would be equipped with the required specific language competences (Haukås, 2016). The general positive attitude
towards the heritage language of their pupils that is not acted upon is confirmed by Gkaintartzi et al. (2015), although for different reasons. The beliefs of teachers do not always correspond to the reality of practices, in which the development and maintenance of the pupil’s language is not supported because it is considered an issue of the community and after school hours.

The models designed for a multilingual pedagogy are constructed using different teaching strategies, learning processes and methods aimed at raising awareness of linguistic knowledge and awareness of language learning strategies (Haukås, 2016). First, language awareness and éveil aux langues (Awakening to Languages; Candelier, 2008) are methods to raise language awareness which improves the metalinguistic abilities to make sure the entire linguistic repertoire of the pupil is used. Hence, awareness is raised as well among the teachers themselves and among the parents involved, who all report attitudes that have become more positive through understanding of the diversity (Hélot & Young, 2006).

The conclusion of Bialystok (2001) that languages are dynamically intertwined in the brain and their daily use can positively influence brain functions has led to the concept of translanguaging. The translanguaging approach as a pedagogical strategy in multilingual classrooms requires code-switching. However, code-switching is perceived by many teachers as an indication for low proficiency in either language (García & Wei, 2014). The underlying idea is that complete acquisition of languages is only attained in case of separation, which is reflected in classroom practices and education policies (Gorter & Cenoz, 2017). Assessment is traditionally based on this idea and holistic views of teaching multilingualism do not influence assessment practices. However, the findings on teachers’ attitudes in different studies show that prior linguistic knowledge is acknowledged as a possibility for providing a scaffold for language learning. Nevertheless, the belief of these teachers implies that learning multiple languages in this way is only beneficial for the pupils who already have a high academic performance. Multiple languages in their view only include the high status languages (De Angelis, 2011). However, the teacher can assist learning for a multilingual child by valuing and referring to the home languages and cultures in the classroom. To achieve this language awareness is necessary, where it is absent in many classrooms (De Angelis, 2011).

All in all, the teachers’ self-reported attitudes are more positive than is reflected in their practices (Gkaintartzi et al., 2015), which leads to the hypothesis that parents in this study will confirm a conflict in attitudes and practices.

2.3. Interplay between Parents, Teachers, and Children
Parental engagement in the educational enterprise of their child is essential for the child’s learning motivation, socio-emotional growth and wellbeing. Additionally, the degree, quality and type of involvement of parents are indicative of a pupil’s educational performance. Therefore the interplay between migrant parents speaking languages other than the language of instruction and educational professionals at school who have the objective to let their pupils succeed in the language of instruction
is of importance. According to the threefold division of parental involvement in education as described by Pepe & Addimando (2014), parents participate in the school itself in educational activities, they assist in making homework and educational interventions and they provide the knowledge specific to their child and his development. These three fields of interaction with the school are discussed below.

2.3.1. Involvement in Education at Home and at School
The type of involvement by parents in the education of their child, as occurring in the home context, such as helping with homework, discussions about the educational process, expectations or school experiences or extra activities, is related to educational attainment (Lee & Bowen, 2006). Directionality of causality could not be established for the type of home involvement in education. However, a contributing factor to the ineffectiveness of parental involvement is a low SES or low educational capital, because of time constraints for helping or inability to help. (Lee & Bowen, 2006; Roscigno, 1999). In other words, if parents help their children, the quality and intensity of their help

Furthermore, parental involvement at school is related to educational attainment. This includes meetings between parents and schools, which are in the Netherlands commonly periodical meetings with duration of ten minutes. Other types of activities are helping out with extra-curricular activities, school trips or thematic projects. The school can provide information, develop skills or offer extra materials which involves parents out of the school’s initiative (Lee & Bowen, 2006).

Access to all these sorts of involvements can determine its effects on academic performance (Lee & Bowen, 2006). For instance, involvement is more difficult for migrants who experience a language barrier to participating in school, communicating with the teacher or in helping with homework

2.3.2. Involvement in Socialisation
Knowledge on culture is suggested as the cause for differential parental involvement in multilingual parents. When this cultural knowledge corresponds to the dispositions of the educational policies, academic achievement or improvement of that is generally higher than when these are not aligned (Lee & Bowen, 2006). However, migrant parents or multilingual parents often have differential funds of knowledge which comprise all linguistic and cultural resources that are acquired in the family and community (Schwartz & Verschik, 2013; Sims et al., 2017).

The parental funds of knowledge comprise knowledge on the acquisition and interactional language use of their children that occur outside the school context. In a study by Michael-Luna (2013), the parents accurately estimated their child's language proficiency, which corresponded to what the teachers reported. Sims et al. (2017, p. 778) argue for establishing “effective partnerships” between teachers and parents to foster multilingualism in the classroom and in individual pupils. Partnerships are construed through employing all the competences and resources related to the entire linguistic repertoire and the cultural knowledge. Therefore, the teacher’s knowledge
is essential. For example, when teachers understand the linguistic and cultural interactions of their pupils and families, the pupil’s performance at school is affected positively (Schwartz & Verschik, 2013).

To explain, socialisation and especially academic socialisation with the aim of improving educational performance does not occur exclusively through interaction, but through home literacy practices as well. Baker et al (1997) found that the parental attitudes towards reading in the home influence the motivations of children to read, which may in turn affect their attainment at school. Early literacy development starts by a positive experience of reading aloud by their parents because of the socio-emotional bond. This eliminates the effect of SES on attainment in school. In addition, teacher’s attitudes or social networks and environment affect the literacy development of the pupil as well. However, this study did not take into account multilingual children or migrant parents.

In a similar study among Dutch primary pupils, the results indicated that parents’ positive literacy practices and their involvement at school were positively related to language performance, in which numeracy was less affected by this. In particular the first years of school are fundamental in improving language competences (Kloosterman, Notten, Tolsma, & Kraaykamp, 2011). Home literacy and early literacy development can contribute to narrowing the language achievement gap by improving receptive skills and vocabulary. Moreover, if a reading intervention programme is introduced a significant effect is noted when teachers and parents receive training when the development of the child’s literacy signals possible difficulties (Sénéchal & LeFevre, 2002; van Steensel, McElvany, Kurvers, & Herppich, 2011). For multilingual children multiliteracy can reinforce their overall language results in school, contrary to the widespread belief that the home language writing skills will interfere with the language of instruction (Gkaintartzi et al., 2015). Therefore, multiliteracy is a factor in succeeding in education for multilingual children (De Angelis, 2011).

Cultural and language-specific knowledge is available in complementary schools of and for the communities, which can be accessed by regular schools through collaborations (Spolsky, 2012a). Particularly the knowledge acquired through equal valuing of the home language as a classroom language is practicable in adjusting teaching practices in mainstream education (Schwartz & Verschik, 2013).

Notwithstanding the positive effect of sharing the cultural knowledge of the parents with the school, conversely the school’s social and cultural funds of knowledge have a positive effect on learning if shared with the parents as well (Lee & Bowen, 2006).

2.3.3. School’s Effect on Parents
Schools influence parents and their attitudes to conform to a monolingual standard (Spolsky, 2012a), resulting in either the attribution of a lower value to the home
language or strengthening the positive attitudes to HL maintenance. In advanced cases this can be perceived as psychological pressure (Bezcioglu-Goktolga & Yagmur, 2018). The effect of schools and teachers can be explained through their position of power in educating children which also may reach outside the classroom (Bezcioglu-Goktolga & Yagmur, 2018). Advice to discourage family language use or promotion can have far-reaching effects, such as language loss. The linguistic extinction is considered a violation of human rights in education (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2002).

Specifically in the classroom where the teacher chooses which languages and cultures to use and refer to, this power is made concrete and the effect is visible (De Angelis, 2011). Especially more prestigious languages are supported because of the increased perceived socio-economic or academic opportunities, which parents are interested in as well (Bezcioglu-Goktolga & Yagmur, 2018).

Language awareness projects as studied by Hélot and Young (2006) can contribute to create more understanding in the classroom between pupils, teachers and parents of the languages and the associated cultures. The legitimisation of the languages spoken by the pupils increases classroom participation and parental involvement at school through more positive attitudes.

We expect that parents, who are aware of their funds of cultural knowledge and their plurilingualism, will have more positive expectations towards including the home language in the education of their child, as well as in regards to their type of involvement.

3. Method

This study has a qualitative design. The research was conducted through the qualitative analysis of data obtained through semi-structured interviews, to explore the attitudes and expectations of migrant parents in a family context and towards education in the Netherlands. A group of 13 parents of nine families was interviewed to discover patterns in their attitudes and practices, while taking into account individual variation (Bijeikienè & Tamošiūnaitė, 2013) to create a typology of the migrant parent with multilingual children. This can provide insights into the needs and expectations that can be incorporated in tailored approaches towards multilingual parents.

3.1. Participants

Subject of research are the parents of multilingual children in primary education who were selected through purposive snowball sampling (because of the potential sensitivity of questions (Bijeikienè & Tamošiūnaitė, 2013; Codó, 2009)) by starting with two different channels: through the organisation of Multilingual Parents Amsterdam, a network organised by the Rutu Foundation in Amsterdam and by an appeal to the author’s personal network through social media and telephone. The criteria for selection were that at least one of the children of these parents should be enrolled in mainstream primary education in the Netherlands. For this reason the only parents selected had to have at least one child in the age between 4 and 12 years.
old. One of the parents in a family should speak at least one other language than Dutch to their children in their daily life, to ensure the participation of bi/multilingual families. One interview was excluded from the data analysis, because this interview was conducted with only the Dutch speaking parent, in which their attitudes and expectations were not complemented with those of the migrant parent speaking another language than Dutch.

The participants were interviewed in March 2018 in their homes or in a quiet public place, such as a conference room at a coffeehouse or their office, according to what they would feel most comfortable at so they could speak freely. A quiet place was needed for recording and to restrict disturbance. For half of the group (5) a partner was present who was interviewed as well. For the other half, only one parent participated, either because of family structures or time constraints. In two instances, the partner joined later, once the interview had ended and could confirm or present another perspective than their partner. This is included in the transcripts as well. In the case of mixed marriages (2) both the migrant parent and Dutch native parent were interviewed.

The parents in this study speak different languages. They are all first generation migrants who migrated to the Netherlands for different purposes, such as for relationships (2), professional opportunities (4), or with their parents who went to work (2). The lengths of residence of the parents vary from 5 months to 20 years. The children are all born in the Netherlands, except for the child of MD1. Seven migrant parents completed education in the home language and three others (MT1, FT1 and MS3) followed education only partially or not at all in the home country. All parents have obtained a university degree.

**Table 1. Family composition of participating parents**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Anonymisation</th>
<th>Child 1</th>
<th>Child 2</th>
<th>Child 3</th>
<th>Language(s) used in the home context</th>
<th>Additional language(s)</th>
<th>Second parent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 MD1</td>
<td>Son (5)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Danish</td>
<td>Farsi, English, Dutch, German (S), French (S)</td>
<td>Danish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 FI1</td>
<td>Son (10)</td>
<td>Daughter (8)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Italian, Dutch</td>
<td>English, French, Portuguese, Spanish</td>
<td>Dutch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 MSE1</td>
<td>FNL1</td>
<td>Daughter (6)</td>
<td>Son (4)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Spanish, Dutch, English</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 MS1</td>
<td>Daughter (13)</td>
<td>Son (10)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Spanish, Dutch</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Dutch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 MHRE1</td>
<td>Daughter (10)</td>
<td>Daughter (4)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Hungarian, Romanian</td>
<td>Romanian</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


3.2. Materials
The qualitative data was obtained through a semi-structured interview (Bijeikienè & Tamošiūnaitė, 2013). Audio recordings and field notes were taken for analysis. The participating parents signed a consent form as in Appendix IV. The interview guide that structured the interview was composed of questions that followed from the literature as discussed in section 2 and according to the model of Codó (2009) for ethnographic interviews in which practices and beliefs are subject of research. Language practices and language ideologies are related (Heller, 2009). General information on family composition, occupation, education, and languages was the first section of the interview. Next the language practices, management and related language attitudes in the context of family were explored. After this the questions related to the language practices at school and the parental attitude towards this, as well as towards the position of home languages in education. The final section of the interview contained questions pertaining to the interaction between parents and educators and the expectations of the parents towards the education (related to language) of their children and the parental role in this. The interview guide is to be found in Appendix II.

3.3. Procedures
The interview was conducted in either English or Dutch, in whichever language the interviewee felt most comfortable to express him or herself. The interviews were subsequently transcribed and made anonymous. The first letter of the anonymisation code indicates if the interviewee is the mother (M) or father (F). The following letters indicate the languages spoken in the family context, followed by a random number. In the transcription several additions to the text are made. The text in italics is another language than the target language of the interview. Bold text is an emphasis of the interviewee. Off-topic, irrelevant or personal information is left out and this is indicated by [...]. Because the procedure of interviewing is entrenched in a certain culture, the interviewer was aware of and took into account different interactional patterns that could affect the interpretation of the data. Questions that potentially inquired after sensitive information were in the middle sections of the interview, to establish trusts or being able to regain trust (Codó, 2009).
3.4. Design & Analyses
All transcripts were loaded onto the qualitative data analysis software Atlas.ti and coded according to the questions and themes that aim to answer the research question. After a first examination of the data that aimed to uncover the general themes that were present in all interviews, the responses to the individual questions were analysed. The responses of parents within a theme that were similar in motivation for practices, attitudes and expectations related to language and linguistic development were grouped. From these groups of responses, the excerpts were included which completely reflected the group of parents with corresponding attitudes. These excerpts were translated by the author into English when the target language of the interview was Dutch. Afterwards, the translations were checked for fluency and accuracy by an English translator. The excerpts were subject to thematic qualitative analysis (Bijeikienė & Tamošiūnaitė, 2013) to gain understanding and explore the attitudes of parents and ideologies that could shape education. The collected data was complemented by a search for explanation through a combination with the existent literature on the topic.

4. Results & Discussion
4.1. Multilingual Family Types
The first questions of the interview are aimed at the family language practices, language management and attitudes in the home context, in order to answer the first part of the research question. More concretely, how is the family language policy structured reflecting the relation between the languages? To answer this sub question, the responses of the participating parents to the questions of the third and fourth section of the interview guide are subject to analysis. First of all, the questions pertaining to the language practices (questions 8-14), linguistic choices (questions 15 and 19) and interaction strategies (questions 20-21) in the family context are elaborated upon, to explore how covert language attitudes are manifested. Furthermore, overt attitudes are explored by analysing the questions on the status and solidarity of the languages (questions 22-24) as well as on home literacy and the expectations of proficiency and literacy (questions 16-18). Corresponding themes in the responses of all parents are analysed. We included the Excerpts of the response of the parent with the most typical motivation or attitude that represents the group with similar attitudes.

4.1.1. Family Language Use
The first parts coded with the code-group Family Language Use show varied linguistic use between and within multilingual families. The codes Spoken Interaction within the family, outside the family and Media use comprise this code-group used for analysis. The first code represents all the parts of the interviews pertaining to the linguistic spoken interaction between parents and child, as shown in Figure 2. Six parents (the Dutch parents not included) reported that they speak
primarily or exclusively their mother tongue with their child who also relates to them in that same language.

**Figure 2. Linguistic interaction between parents and child**

![Graph showing linguistic interaction between parents and child](attachment:graph.png)

MD1 and her partner have been speaking Danish to their child since his birth in Denmark and after their migration to the Netherlands five months prior to the interview as well. This confirms that age of arrival is a factor in home language maintenance (Schwartz & Verschik, 2013). More clearly, this is observed in the family of FP1 and MNL1, in which the 8-year-old son speaks Portuguese to his father, but the Portuguese of the 5-year-old daughter is not productive since the arrival in the Netherlands two years prior.

The children from the other four families that follow this interaction pattern are born in the Netherlands (MS3, FI1, MT1, FP1.1 and MS1).

Furthermore, two parents mention that they speak their mother tongue to the child who relates to them in Dutch (FI2). As mentioned above, the daughter of FP1 speaks Dutch whereas her father speaks Portuguese to her, similar to the interaction of FI2 with his children. FP1 reports instances in which the socialisation of the migrant parent occurs through the intermediation and translation of the child, known as child brokering (Schwartz & Verschik, 2013) because of his level of proficiency of Dutch. However, the interaction patterns are not always rigidly divided, which is illustrated by the language use of MHRE1 that characterises itself through the use of mostly Hungarian, but mixed with Romanian, English and Dutch. The children relate to their mother in Hungarian, but when the proficiency does not allow it, they turn to Dutch. These mixed language uses are also reported by MS2 whose principal

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1 One parent (FP1) is represented twice because there is a difference between his children in which language they respond to him.
linguistic choice points to Dutch and secondly to Spanish. The language attitudes underlying these practices and strategies the parents adopt are discussed in the next section.

In this study we found no indication of a possible fourth type of migrant parents who speak exclusively Dutch and who are not committed to transmitting their mother tongue to their children. Further research can be done to explore this possibility.

Among each other, the majority of the children of the families speak Dutch (which is the case for Fi1, MSE1, MS1, MHRE1 Fi2 and MS2). The siblings speak exclusively Dutch, also in environments where the home language is the majority language, such as holidays to the country of origin as illustrated in Excerpt 1. The family of FP1 forms the exception because the children shifted to Dutch between them after they migrated to the Netherlands. Their prior knowledge and proficiency of the Dutch language has been essential.

Excerpt 1. Language use of the children of MS1.

After analysis, no differences were reported in how the parents and their children had contact with family or friends in their home language through telephone, video-calling or holidays. Nevertheless, these instances of contact with the home languages became an instrument for the strategies of parents to promote the home language, which is discussed in section 4.1.2. Other language uses such as the language of media, books, reading or writing will be discussed in section 4.1.2. and 4.1.3.

We can discern three sorts of spoken language uses in the home context: bidirectional home language use, unidirectional home language use, mixed home language use according to the language attitudes of the parents.

4.1.2. Language Management & Language Attitudes
The FLP is shaped by choices that aim at home language maintenance to varying extents. A number of parents employ intentional strategies to actively strive for high proficiency in their home languages such as in understanding, speaking, reading and writing. On the other end of the spectrum the FLP does not involve strategic choices concerning the home language. The data collected from the parents in this study show that these choices reveal their language attitudes.

First, for active maintenance, five parents use strategies in spoken interaction that encourage the child to speak the home language, such as correcting (MS3), repeating in the desired language (Fi1, MT1) or pretending to not understand what is said until the target language is used (FP1, MS1). Interaction via video-calling or telephone is employed to require the child to interact with family members in the home language.
Excerpt 2 shows that MSE1 decided to organise a holiday for periodical immersion in Spanish for the child, to alter her perception of that language and associate positive experiences to speaking it, which reflects the examples of Caldas (2012).

Excerpt 2. MSE1 reports of periodical immersion in the home language.

These parents emphasise the importance of their child learning their home language. The attitudes and the motivations for this differ among this group of parents. However, communication with family or friends, regardless of their specific language attitudes, is reported as being of importance by all participants. Language-specific attitudes are based upon the status of the language in the community, the home country or the Netherlands and on personal beliefs as well.

FI1 acknowledges that Italian is a prestigious language with status in the world. However, more importantly, the connection with the associated culture from in particular the Napoli area is developed for their kids to experience and own that culture, next to developing the ownership of the Dutch culture. The strategies are aimed at only Italian in his home because its cultural and linguistic input is limited contrary to the large Dutch exposure (see Excerpt 5). From a similar perspective, MT1 (see Excerpt 3) employs media use in her home as an instrument to not only understanding the linguistic forms, but also the pragmatics and culture through films, radio and television programmes. Strategies like that are employed by FP1 (see Excerpt 4), MSE1, MS3.
Excerpt 3. Language management in the family of MT1

MT1:  Hij kijkt gewoon mee naar de films. Dat doe ik heel bewust, zodat hij de grapcultuur, de codes daar leert herkennen.

[ He just watches the films that we watch as well. I do that very intentionally, in order for him to learn to recognise the culture of jokes, the codes there.]

Excerpt 4. FP1 on speaking two languages and owning the related cultures.

FP1:  Zo, hij moet leren Portugees en Nederlands, niet alleen Nederlands. Oké, wij wonen hier, maar we hebben ook armen en benen in Brazilië. Zo, we hebben twee landen, Brazilië en Nederland. Zo, we praten Portugees en Nederlands, niet alleen één.

[So, he needs to learn Portuguese and Dutch, not only Dutch. OK, we live here, but we also have arms and legs in Brazil. So, we have two countries: Brazil and the Netherlands. So we speak Portuguese and Dutch, not only one.]

Excerpt 5. FI1 explains multilingualism and multi-faceted identity.

FI1:  I think it's very important, not because it's just a desire that I have, but they need, must learn Italian in all its dimensions. This is because, they are. It's something that constitutes their thoughts as well, next to their emotions; they are made of these two languages. It's part of them. So in order for them to recognise themselves in the future, they will need to think also many aspects, that they, and these... Life is long. Life is also complicated. It's also nice. But they need to have these coordinates that they will find primarily in their own native languages.

Excerpt 6. MSE1 on equality of languages in the home environment

In the family of MSE1, the parents promote equality of the languages. In other words, one language is not attributed a higher status than other languages, disregarding the negative external experiences by which the child is affected in her language use (see
Excerpt 2). The reason for this mother (repeated by FI1 & MS3) to provide a multilingual upbringing is supported by extensive reading on the development of children and the effective acquisition of multiple languages. After the migration of MD1, an organisation specialised in a multilingual upbringing was consulted to ensure productive multilingualism for her child. Moreover, child health professionals at health centres promote speaking the mother tongue of the parent to every newborn, in line with what is generally accepted in the literature on multilingual acquisition. For the parents of the children born in the Netherlands this is perceived as support from the community (MSE1, MHRE1).

Second, to a lesser degree, strategies are employed by parents who want their children to develop principally language competences that enable them to communicate with family and friends. Not all interaction is controlled and managed by the parents, which results in mixed maintenance. The children of MHRE1 do not speak Romanian anymore in their daily lives, but the other two home languages are used to communicate in the home because of their cultural, identity-related and social importance. Moreover, the interaction between children and parents with a language policy resulting in mixed language use is characterised by the agency role of the child, as is illustrated in (Excerpt 8).
Third, the child-parent spoken interaction is not managed by all parents according to strategies that promote home language maintenance. In the family of FI2 and MS2, the parents speak their languages (Italian and Spanish respectively) to their children, but the child chooses in which languages they interact and use media such as television and internet. The father approves of the principal use of Dutch by his children because it is this environment and culture that they live in and identify themselves with at the moment of interviewing. Thus, implementing strategies for home language maintenance are not required, until the children become interested in

Excerpt 7. MHRE1's attitude on communication and Dutch language proficiency.


[They speak the language. First, they translate to Dutch what they want to say. And only then in Hungarian. But that structure is totally different, totally different. So they say what they want to say in Hungarian with Dutch grammar. My mother now knows what they want to say. But other people say: "What do they say?" But I'm not ashamed, because they say: "They should speak the language better..." You know what they should? What they want, that is what they speak!]

[...]

MHRE1: Ze moeten kunnen communiceren. Verder, ik moet de Nederlandse taal beter verbeteren, omdat ze wonen in Nederland en dit is hun... Dat vind ik.

[They should be able to communicate. Also, I have to improve the Dutch language, because they live in the Netherlands and this is their... That is my opinion.]

Excerpt 8. Children as agents in defining language practices.

MHRE: Soms als ik iets zeg in het Nederlands tegen hun, zeggen zij: "Nee hoor, praat maar in Hongaars. Ik wil dat je praat in Hongaars."

[Sometimes when I say something to them in Dutch, they say: "No don't, just speak Hungarian. I would like you to speak Hungarian]
developing their proficiency in these languages. Both parents, however, stress the importance of multilingualism in developing understanding of different cultures and the cognitive effects that result from speaking multiple languages (Bialystok, 2001).

Excerpt 9. FI2 on Dutch learning and cognitive effects of multilingualism.

4.1.3. Attitudes to Home Literacy

Apart from understanding and speaking a language, the literacy competences reading and writing can be developed in the family context as well to promote home language maintenance. The literacy practices of families and their expectations reveal their language attitudes towards the languages. The nine families in this study apply different strategies at home for varying competences in literacy. The parents differentiate on the expectations or attitudes towards literacy in multiple languages. Thus, the home literacy practices range from learning to read and write in the home languages to none at all.

To achieve full literacy some parents employ various strategies to facilitate, learning to read and write in the home language, either through own efforts (FI1, MT1) or combined with formal schooling in extra-curricular courses or weekend schools (MS3). The parental efforts include singing songs, reading books, writing together and language teaching. MSE1 expects her child to develop full literacy in all three home languages in collaboration with the primary school instead of active strategies at home, which is discussed in detail in the next sections on home languages in education. FP1 expresses similar expectations for his children concerning reading and writing in Portuguese. Because of his child’s difficulty at school with reading and comprehensive reading in Dutch, he has not started to teach him to write Portuguese. However, FP1 encourages reading books and other activities like online word games to improve his reading skills and vocabulary until Dutch literacy is acquired. As reflected in Excerpt 10, the parents employ these strategies to facilitate the construction of identities from multiple sources. Although having the same perspective, MD1 has not considered the deliberate development of literacy. Nevertheless, she acknowledges the importance of Danish for future back migration. In Excerpt 11 the process of constructing attitudes through conversation according to the findings of Liebscher & Daily- O’Cain (2009) is observed, because the parent has not positioned herself in this issue before the question was asked.
FI1: I have full desire that my kids develop the four traditional competences fully and they flourish in their own language. That is per two, it’s twice as much. It’s not just Italian, it’s Italian and Dutch.

**Excerpt 10.** FI1’s view on the multiplication of languages.

R: And what about if he starts to read and write properly, do you want to give him formal lessons in Danish?

MD1: That’s a very good question. [pauses] Because we really didn’t think it through. [thinking] Also because Danish is such a small minority language. So we thought maybe he will not need it, at least not in the beginning. And then maybe later on, let’s say if we go back in, I don’t know, ten years, or five or twenty years, he could maybe learn it at that point when he needs it.

R: So at the moment he’s just learning Dutch?

MD1: Now it’s just Dutch learning, yeah. But it is a good question, because I think you know, I think we have not been very considerate of what is the best idea. Because also, let’s say we moved back to Denmark in ten years time and he’s probably at that time very good at Dutch and also speaks English, but if he has no knowledge of Danish, how can he just go about everyday life and just [inaudible]? We haven’t thought about that, no.

**Excerpt 11.** Construction of attitudes to HL literacy.

The parents who apply fewer strategies aimed at maintenance do this for very different reasons. First, MHRE1 has no support in language teaching and no opportunities for formal education. The oldest child is now learning the Hungarian spelling and reading simple books in Hungarian or, to a lesser extent Romanian. The youngest child is read to in Hungarian. Home practices for Dutch literacy are not existent because of the level of proficiency. Second, MS1 uses WhatsApp messaging as a means for the improvement of reading skills for her oldest child. She discourages her children to learn Spanish formally because of the lacking socio-economic opportunities, which high-status languages such as English do have (see Excerpt 11). Third, for MS2 and FI2 it is most important that the children are able to verbally communicate in the home languages. No literacy strategies are employed for Spanish and Italian, even though MS2 expresses her desire for her children to read and write in Spanish but only if the children develop interest in reading and writing.
The reasons for the language policies are similar for all parents in this study. They report that the reasons for using and managing the home language are that it is "natural" (MSE1), "self-evident" and "normal that kids should be raised with the languages of their parents" (FI1). Generally, multilingualism is perceived as a benefit for the children because of the usefulness of speaking multiple languages in a globalised society, understanding the complexity of cultures and critical thinking. The cognitive effects of managing more than one language and the metalinguistic abilities that accompany multilingualism are mentioned by all parents, regardless of their specific language attitudes.

Excerpt 12. MS1’s low status attitude towards Spanish.

MHRE1: Dat hoort bij ons. Ik praat zoveel talen.
[That's part of us. I speak a lot of languages.]

MS1: Het is een waardigheid, dat zij eigenlijk als cadeautje krijgen. Denk ik. Ik zie dat zo. Een waardigheid dat veel kinderen niet hebben. En wij zien dat als iets normaals maar dat is niet zo. Want meestal praat je één taal in een huis.
[It is a valuable thing, which they get as a gift. I think. That's how I see it. A valuable thing that many children don't have. And we think that it's something normal, but it is not. Because usually you speak one language in a home.]

Excerpt 13. MHRE1 and MS1 view their languages as a gift that is part of them.

4.2. Types of Parental Attitudes to Education
The findings of the first section lay the foundation for analysis of the section of the interview about the presence of the home languages in the classroom, the teacher’s stimulation of learning the home language and including the home language for learning. This aims to answer the question: What are the attitudes of the parents towards multilingual education that includes their home language in the Netherlands? Responses to questions 25 and 27 of the interview guide discuss the use of languages in the school context, in which the parent is involved, such as the promotion of the home language by the teacher and the language use at school between parents, children and teachers. This is discussed in section 4.2.1. Question
explores the explicit parental attitudes to including the home language in education, and is discussed in section 4.2.2.

4.2.1. Promotion & Presence of Home Languages

Parents' attitudes can be influenced by the teacher's attitudes because of their position of power as professionals in advising on the education development of a child. Therefore the question pertaining to the promotion of developing proficiency in the home languages by the teacher reveals the parents' attitudes about their language in relation to the education of their children. The responses of the parents were coded with the code group Perceived Teacher's Attitude, which comprises of the codes Parental HL Use at School, Promoting HL Learning, and Classroom Presence of HL in the Classroom. The parts coded concern the perception and the consequential attitude of the parents on how their home languages are regarded in the classroom or by the teacher. The responses given are differentiated in the perceptions and the respective attitudes.

First, the data coded with Parental HL Use at School indicate that parents and their children show different patterns in language choice when they interact with each other, teachers or other parents in a school context. Four parents (MS1, MS2, FI2 and MHRE1) report that they speak primarily Dutch with their child at school, as well as with the teacher and other parents. Only infrequently, when communication is confounded because of language proficiency, these parents turn to English in contact with other parents or the teacher. The importance of speaking Dutch in a Dutch environment such as the school is the reason that is given (see Excerpt 11). Contrary to this are the parents who speak their home languages to their children in the school context, and Dutch when relating to the teacher or other parents. These parents stress the importance of speaking their home languages to their children for the reason of being consistent (MS3), the natural character of speaking the home languages (FP1, MD1, FI1: see Excerpt 14), the presence of other parents speaking different languages (MSE1).

FI1: Come on, go for it, I say it in Italian Forza: strength. But this is something that I do automatically, also not even thinking, that I'm trying to, because I think I'm speaking Italian with them. Actually this is something that I've seen that it is perceived as normal by many. The parents I hear them speaking French, English, German at the school. It’s something obvious that you do that in 2018. I think that since the 70s, 80s that this is an attitude that you should have as the father or mother of a multilingual kid.

Excerpt 14. FI1 on his home language use in the school.

Second, the parts coded with Promoting HL Learning can be categorised in four different situations. In the situation where the teacher does not stimulate the pupils or their parents to develop their home language competences, two distinct reactions emerged from the data that express positive or negative attitudes towards this
situation. The majority of the parents are not satisfied with the exceptional focus on Dutch learning by the teacher and the disregarding or discouraging the general development of the home language (FI1, FP1, MS1, MHRE1). This is illustrated in Excerpt 15 in which the parents indicate that multilingualism is an unexplored subject by the school resulting in regarding children only partly by disregarding their languages. The second situation in which the teacher does not stimulate learning the home language, the parents hold a neutral to positive attitude towards this. One mother (MD1) explained that a lack of promotion was a consequence of school choice, since they had chosen a regular school with Dutch instruction. Others (MS2 and Fi2) hold a positive attitude towards an exclusive focus on Dutch because of its importance in the country that they live in. Third, one parent (MSE1) indicated that the teacher and the school stimulates the multilingualism in not only the already multilingual children, but also in monolingual pupils, by offering language courses. This mother appreciates this aspect of the school in particular because of the inclusive nature (see Excerpt X). No parent indicated that the teacher promoted the home language development to which their stance was negative.

Third, the responses coded with Promoting HL Learning show similar patterns to the parts coded with Presence of HL in the Classroom. All parents hold attitudes towards presence of their home language in the classroom similar to the attitudes to promoting learning of that home language.

MSE1:

So we heard about this [...]school, which is a catholic school with a sort of- it's not like the Montessori system, but it's a system where they put like three groups together and they develop as quick or as slow as they can, you know. Obviously there is the same thing they have to learn, but they give them more room to do that. So we went there. And the first thing I saw and I heard, like a Russische vrouw met twee kinderen [Russian woman with two children] and a Dutch guy speaking Russisch [Russian] and then I heard like a British accented woman speaking British English to kids and then I saw another. And I was like this is it. Like and then the click with the principal, and then we heard they had, later, as an extra class Spanish. It's like: Wooow, what?! That was like I've never heard of this before, Spanish in elementary school, you know. So, everything added up. So she is now there. And from the first time she got in there we gave them also, you know, she has been growing up with other languages. [...] And I talked to the teacher and they have - the teacher who teaches Spanish in school, they also have like this specialisation with meertaligheid [multilingualism] or whatever. So I talked to her and she advised- [...] I would first choose to let her do two years of reading and writing in Dutch and then you could for her. Also to see if it's not too much for her. To see- because she was gonna probably be skipping one year also, because she was too fast but we decided not to because of the emotional growth. That's why I love this school. Because they are not only seeing one thing, they are seeing a lot of things.

Excerpt X. MSE1 discusses the school her child attends.
R: Worden uw kinderen gestimuleerd in het leren van het Spaans door de leerkracht? Does the teacher stimulate your children in learning Spanish?


[No. I don't see any attention for the second language. For example [...] - my daughter is very good at language and vocabulary. Very good at vocabulary, also in the CITO's and the like and very good extensive vocabulary in Dutch. And they're good at English. But I never hear something like: Can we do something with Spanish? Or that they ask or- totally nothing. I think that they don't do enough with languages in primary school. In secondary education they do and the primary school is getting started, but they aren't proficient in English. They can't do the languages because they have no one that is specialised in languages. But here they do a lot with Dutch, that they do, very much with grammar and calculus and Dutch. But they do little with languages in primary education. Very little.]

**Excerpt 15.** MS1 discusses learning multiple languages.

### 4.2.2. Including HL in education

In this chapter, we discuss the responses to question 29 in which two different themes are discerned. These themes on *Educational Achievement* and *Inclusion of HL in Education*, which are the codes that relate to the parents' perception of the educational development of their multilingual child and the attitudes towards plurilingual pedagogies as discussed in section 1 and 2.

The notion of multilingualism as having proficiency in multiple languages and metalinguistic and intercultural knowledge is valued by the parents as competences that should be acquired in school as MS1 indicates in Excerpt 15. Apart from the acquisition of these competences, the valuing of these metalinguistic skills and language resources are mentioned as an essential part of the schooling of children for the wellbeing and construction of identity. The views of FI1 on multilingualism in education are formed by reading extensively on educational strategies.
Furthermore, the code *Educational Achievement*, connected to the theme of the educational difficulties that multilingual children experience, allow for detailed examination of the attitudes that follow from this. Most parents (except MS3 and MSE1) report that their children are confronted with these issues that are attributed to varying extents to the consequences of the education system that focuses on monolingualism. FI1 perceives that his children are diagnosed with language delays, whereas their development is within range of multilingual language acquisition, which has an effect on their wellbeing. This is attributed to monolingual beliefs that educators have and bring into practice in the school of his children in particular, as illustrated in Excerpt 16. In particular comprehensive reading (FI1, FI2 & MS2, FP1 and MT1), spelling (FI1, FP1, and MS1) and vocabulary (MHRE1, FP1, and MT1) are mentioned as the areas of difficulty.

Including the home language as an instrument for learning, and especially if it helps overcome these educational difficulties, is regarded by FI1, FP1, MS3 and MT1 as a positive change to current education practices that are focused on Dutch. Moreover, including the home language would contribute to the wellbeing of the child as it is regarded as complete (see Excerpt 16). MSE1's daughter does not have difficulties related to language or understanding of other subjects. Nevertheless, including Spanish and English in regular education was a factor in school choice, because of its importance to the wellbeing of her child in feeling comfortable in developing all the home languages.

**Excerpt 16.** FI1 on multilingual approaches and children feeling complete.

Contrary to these positive attitudes, some parents would rather improve the teaching of high-status languages such as English, German or French that could increase professional opportunities in the future, instead of using the home language for learning (MHRE1, MS1). They emphasise the importance of knowledge and high proficiency in multiple languages. Between these opposing perspectives on multilingual pedagogies including the home languages, an intermediate group of parents is discerned. These parents are neutral towards inclusion. First and foremost, Dutch and other school languages are important for social, academic and professional success in the Netherlands. The latter two groups of parents base their attitudes to inclusion of the home language on the concept of language separation (Gorter & Cenoz, 2017).
4.3. Expectations of Language Inclusion & Coordination with School

The parental attitudes are intrinsically entwined with the expectations parents have towards the education of their child and the parental role as well as the role of the school in this. Therefore, in this section we analyse the responses to questions 26 about teacher's attitudes, 28 about the home language in school, 30 about parental involvement, and 31 about the interplay between parents and teachers to answer the question: Which expectations do the parents of multilingual children hold towards the use of their languages in education and towards the interplay between them and the school? The responses to the questions in the interview guide are coded accordingly.

4.3.1. Parental Expectations of Education

A general theme in all the interviews was the attitudes to the education system in the Netherlands, of which nearly all of the parents indicated that it is not accommodated to the needs of their multilingual children. However, the reasons they presented differed and can be related to the language attitudes that they hold towards their respective HLs.

Some of the parents indicated in the interviews that they have low expectations of the school and educational system in supporting the home languages and consequently supporting the multilingualism of the pupils. As illustrated in Excerpt 17, FI1 reports that the multilingualism of the children is ignored in the classroom because of lacking awareness on the teacher's part. These findings confirm the conclusions of the study by De Angelis (2011) that the home languages are not part of the classroom space when the teacher is not aware of multilingual development, reflecting a monolingual ideology (Gkaintartzi et al., 2015). The proposed solution is expand the knowledge on teaching to multilingual pupils, their development and learning curve, as well as gain knowledge on the school's population and the classroom composition. Similar perspectives are presented by FP1, who in addition states that monolinguals and multilinguals are impossible to compare when assessment (through CITO) is based on the pupils speaking exclusively Dutch. This assessment is individual whereas teaching is collective which could lead to disparities. In other words, these parents expect approaches that are tailored to multilingual children to help them succeed academically and socially.
FI1: I think, most of the time they just speak Dutch with each other, even though the classroom is very multilingual, potentially, but they are not expressed in the class. It’s as if, in my opinion, kind of a custom, kind of a tendency, implicit tendency of perceiving other languages are not belonging to that space. They should be spoken somehow otherwise, in another place. And it’s not a ban. [...] I’m talking about writing and reading, before that time. And the expectation that I will be faced with a lot of obstacles. Because the school is basically completely unaware of any multilingualism dimension and concerning they’re not, they don’t want to admit to themselves that the kids have this cultural world and linguistic world. That sounds poetic, but it’s something that is very tangible. Because you embody these languages, if you have them. You are those languages. So, and they have no knowledge and they have no strategies. And I spoke with the director of the school and the interne begeleider, so the internal responsible of the teachers, and the teachers themselves that are very, sometimes very motivated, but they lack completely this aspect of the education, which is very strange, because we are in one of the most international places in the Western world, as in density of foreign languages. So it’s a paradox. So my expectation is that I have to work a lot for them. [laughs] To help them actually feel valued. Because the school also doesn’t transmit also this idea of the richness, the very positive aspects of being multilingual. [...] It’s giving space to and understanding of actually the human being. It must be a pedagogical and philosophical approach to this reality that is different from class to class and from school to school. You first need to know what the school is constituted of. So you have to know your kids in your school. I’m talking to you as a director. You have to know every family. They are not just numbers. [...] The world is constituted of endless histories and languages. But we are again in the Netherlands, which is per definition been very open to the world, in any possible way. So again, it’s a paradox, I think it’s a paradox: Amsterdam and the Netherlands being willingly or unwillingly conservative about this. [...] The school, because they deny the other part of it, they just impoverish the child. But I think there’s a fear behind. The fear that if you go and speak, talk, even reason in another language, I cannot follow anymore. And it takes time from the language that is the goal of it, which is only Dutch. So this is clearly a monolingual fixation, obsession. It should be avoided. Especially because it can provoke an emotional block in some kids.

Excerpt 17. FI1 discusses parental involvement and his expectations of the school.
Other parents expect primarily that the school offers extra provisions and support for learning Dutch to multilingual children. The responsibility of the school lies in improving linguistic competences, because these skills cannot be transmitted completely at home, because of a limited proficiency in these languages (MD1, MS1, FI2, and MS1). The children who encounter problems with reading or language skills get extra homework, but FI2 proposes that the teacher checks whether all the material is entirely understood by giving more attention to the multilingual pupils, even though he acknowledges the extra effort for teachers (see Excerpt 18). The development of Dutch proficiency is the school’s obligation. Support of the home languages is the responsibility of the language community and the family, even though resources might be limited (MHRE1). This is further explored in the next section.

**Excerpt 18.** FI2 acknowledges the difficulties a teacher faces.

Of this group of parents, MS1 and MHRE1 indicate that the school is responsible for teaching their pupils high status languages that help the child achieve academic and subsequently socio (economic) success. Early English quality education in particular is considered to be necessary for continuing in secondary and higher education. The usefulness of the languages learned at school, either the languages of instruction or foreign language education, is paramount to prepare the pupils for socio-economic success.

Among others, MS3 observes that the knowledge on multilingual development is not spread to all institutions that concern themselves with children’s development. Child health centres promote speaking the mother tongue of the parents to ensure a multilingual upbringing. In contrast teachers advise otherwise, especially in reading practices as illustrated in Excerpt 19 and 20.
MHRE1: De advies van het consultatiebureau wanneer onze kinderen waren geboren, was, vond een mevrouw, dat je moet gewoon je eigen moedertaal praten tegen je kind. Want dat is foutloos. Dus de eerste taal die een kind leert is de moedertaal, foutloze moedertaal. Als ik begon mijn keuken-Nederlands tegen mijn kinderen praten, toen tien jaar geleden, dan wat leren ze? Niks. Ze hebben geleerd op school, op de juiste, op de goede manier. En nu de 4-jarige van mij corrigeert mij als ik zeg iets niet goed in Nederlands. En dan schaam ik me, maar op dezelfde moment ben ik ook trots op hun. Ze zijn slimmer. Ze praten beter de taal als wij. And that's it.

[When our children were born, the child health centre advised me that we should just speak my mother tongue to my child. Because that is without errors. So the first language a child learns is the mother tongue, the flawless mother tongue. If I had started to speak my kitchen-Dutch to my kids, ten years ago, than what would they have learnt? Nothing. They have learned it at school in a correct, a good way. And now my 4-year-old corrects me if I say something incorrect in Dutch. Then I'm ashamed, but at the same moment I am proud of them. They are smarter. They speak the language better than we do. And that's it.]

**Excerpt 19.** MHRE1 talks about the advice of the child health professionals.
**Excerpt 20.** The reaction at school on multilingualism, from the perspective of MS1.
Excerpt 21. MS3 talks about the advice and labels of child health centres and schools.

Contrary to the critique on the educational system, MSE1 has high expectations of the school in offering support for the multilingualism of her children. The contributing factors are the system of the Jenaplan schools that are organised in three groups instead of the eight age groups in regular schools. This provides her daughter with the appropriate level of education, according to her individual learning timeline. More importantly, the multilingualism specialist employed by the school decides in coordination with the parents the best course to follow in developing literacy. Spanish classes will follow Dutch literacy to ensure multiliteracy, as is expected by this mother.

In summary, all parents expect that the school helps the child in acquiring Dutch up to the level in which they can reach educational success. In this, Dutch is an instrument to integration and the communicative function of the language is emphasised, similar to the findings of Lapresta-Rey et al. (2017). However, the home languages are equally important to be valued and acknowledged in the school, for which knowledge and awareness of the functioning of multilingualism in children (De Angelis, 2011).
4.3.2. Expectations of the Parental Role

The parents' expectation of their involvement in the school in supporting the multilingual development of their children is twofold. First, parental expectations regarding language and literacy education of the home languages are discussed that were brought up in responding to questions 16, 25 and 27, coded with Parental Role Literacy. Second, the expectations concerning the concurrence with the school about the language development and educational performance of the child is explored through the analysis of responses to questions 30 and 31, coded with Parent-Teacher Interaction. These two sides of expectations of the parental role in supporting multilingualism in education define two types of expected parental roles which are either active or passive in cooperating with the school in supporting multilingualism.

Four parents (MS1, MHRE1, MS2 and FI2) expect from their part a passive parental role. This does not imply that these parents do not actively participate in school because they do assist in school trips and extra-curricular activities. Rather the expected parental role is passive with regard to the cooperation with the school to develop multiliteracy or develop multilingualism. As discussed before, the school in particular is responsible for Dutch literacy and is not expected to develop literacy skills in the home languages. The parents regard their function in home literacy as not including support Dutch proficiency because of lacking proficiency. Instead verbal communicative home language skills are to be developed in the family context (see Excerpt 20). Therefore, the cooperation with the school concerning multilingualism is not necessary. However, teacher’s knowledge on multilingualism is seen as essential for educational performance.

In contrast with this, the parents who expect from the school to value and integrate the multilingualism of the pupils into teacher practices, expect that they have to play an active role. Similar to the group of parents with expectations of a passive role, MD1 recognises the school's primary function in developing Dutch literacy. However, she has different expectations concerning multilingualism and how it is supported in school. Since her family's recent move to the Netherlands, her child in particular needs to learn Dutch, for which home based parental assistance with Dutch language learning, reading and writing is expected. This may result in a change in FLP, where Dutch is more prominently present. In this the interplay with the school is of importance because the teachers encourage her child when struggling with his multilingualism. The expectation is that the school in coordination with the parents provides solutions. Similarly, MSE1 expects to decide everything regarding literacy, language development in coordination with the multilingualism expert at the school of her child. The cooperation demands active parental involvement in the education and a high influence of the school in the FLP.
The parents (FP1, FI1 MS3, and MT3) who have low expectations of the education system in supporting the multilingualism of their children also have low expectations of their interplay with the school in coordinating home language and literacy development. However, they expect that a highly active parental involvement in education is needed to meet their expectations of proficiency and literacy in the home language (see Excerpt 17). This involvement consists of raising awareness among the educational staff on multilingualism and the course of development that runs different from monolinguals. In addition, flexible multilingual strategies are applied when helping with homework in the family of FP1, to ensure understanding of the material.

4.4. A Typology of Multilingual Migrant Parents

The language attitudes and expectations of the participating parents in this study allow us to characterise them and create a typology as visualised in Table II in Appendix I. The parents (Type I, see Table II) who have positive attitudes of their languages, in solidarity as well as status, actively employ strategies for language maintenance in order for complete acquisition of verbal communicative and literacy competences to occur. According to Caldas (2012) this is considered a successful FLP which will result in language maintenance. In the education of their children the promotion of language learning and valuing multilingualism and the home languages is important. Therefore, including the home language in education is considered a positive reinforcing approach to educational attainment. The expectations from the school or the teachers in supporting their pupil’s multilingualism are not high for these parents because they signal that the present knowledge on multilingual development is inadequate. This tendency is confirmed through the general finding of deficit thinking in classrooms with multilingual children (De Angelis, 2011).

Consequently, the parents’ active involvement in education at home, at school and in sharing knowledge is considered imperative for the academic development of their children. On the other end of the spectrum we find parents (Type III) that have a low attitude of status of their home language for reasons of perceived low socio-economic status or opportunities. These parents shape the FLP to ensure verbal communication. Interactional strategies are not employed and the development of literacy competences is not encouraged. A multilingual pedagogy that includes their home languages is not considered important, because Dutch and to a lesser extent other high-status languages such as English are more useful in society. Therefore, they expect a clear separation of languages and thus a separation of responsibilities to transmit these languages. This reflects the education system’s perspective of language separation that is believed to ensure optimal learning (Gorter & Cenoz, 2017). The school’s responsibility entails developing languages to guarantee academic success and the parent’s or community’s responsibility is to transmit the home language. Type II parents are more difficult to define, because some practices, attitudes or expectations can be classified as Type I or Type II parents. However, in general the reality of language use and attitude is intermediate between these two types. The FLP of these parents shows strategies aimed at verbal communication in exclusively the home language. A laissez-faire attitude exists for literacy practices. Concerning
multilingual approaches in the classroom, these parents would neither oppose nor promote this because the awareness of this possibility has only come up in the interview. Nevertheless, the school is expected to support their multilingual child in learning Dutch through extra efforts.

It is important to consider that this typology is created on the basis of self-reported data of primarily highly educated parents from Western countries whose motivations to migrate were mostly because of profession or relationships. This may influence their language attitudes and expectations towards the education system. However, their observations on multilingual development and language practices in education are similar across all language backgrounds, which allows for careful generalisations. Nevertheless, further research is needed into the interplay between migrant parents and educators in the Dutch system.

5. Conclusion
The study of the practices, attitudes and expectations of migrant parents regarding their multilingual children’s education was designed to gain insights into the parent’s funds of knowledge and how this can be a valuable contribution to educators in making policy and creating teaching practices. The importance of this is reflected in the influence of parental attitudes, expectations and involvement on the academic performance of their children. Therefore the knowledge on language use at home, as well as expected proficiency and competences can help teachers in tailoring their approaches to multilingual children. Moreover, the knowledge on expectations of the school and involvement of these parents can improve and construct educational policies that include these parents who may experience a barrier to participating and explaining their views on education. All in all, the innovative approach of in-depth interviews into the attitudes of multilingual parents regarding education can prove invaluable to the field of HL use and FLP because it relates regular education to FLP and vice versa.

Concluding, the parents in this study vary in their attitudes towards home language maintenance or flexible and multilingual approaches, but they all indicate that knowledge on multilingual learning and thinking is not sufficiently present at schools. Moreover, the education system does not provide space for multilingual pupils to achieve their fullest potential, according to these parents. Thus, the central recommendation of this study is for educators and teachers to expand their knowledge on multilingual development, acquisition, learning and assessment in order to shape teaching practices that value all home languages.
Appendices

Appendix I. A Typology of Migrant Parents

Table II. Typology according to attitudes and expectations of multilingualism at home and in education.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>TYPE 1 (5 parents in this study)</th>
<th>TYPE 2 (2 parents in this study)</th>
<th>TYPE 3 (2 parents in this study)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FLP</td>
<td>Active maintenance strategies (verbal and written)</td>
<td>Partial maintenance strategies (verbal)</td>
<td>No/Few strategies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitude to HL in education</td>
<td>Positive towards multilingual pedagogy</td>
<td>Indifferent towards multilingual pedagogy</td>
<td>Negative towards multilingual pedagogy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expected Parental role</td>
<td>Actively involving in education &amp; multilingual support</td>
<td>Actively involving in education &amp; multilingual support / Separation of responsibilities: home language and school languages.</td>
<td>Separation of responsibilities: home language and school languages.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expected Role of the School</td>
<td>Expectations low, because of educational system. (Exception: child in different educ. system)</td>
<td>Support of multilingual children in learning Dutch</td>
<td>Support of multilingual children in learning Dutch</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Interview Guide

Language Use, Language Attitudes and Educational Expectations Relating to Language of Parents of Multilingual Children

[Taalgebruik, taalattitude en onderwijsverwachtingen m.b.t. taal van ouders van meertalige kinderen]

Rijksuniversiteit Groningen
MA Multilingualism Thesis

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Version: 13-3-2018
Interview Guide

Type: Semi-structured interview

Language of communication: Dutch or English, dependent on the ability of the interviewee to express him/herself.

Time: 45 minutes for conducting the interview, 15 minutes for preparation and 10 minutes for wrapping it up.

Materials: Audio recorder

Location: at the home of the interviewee or a calm neutral public space like a coffeehouse.

Structure

1. Introduction to the interview
   Welcome-

   Opening- My master thesis is about the language practices and underlying attitudes of parents with regard to multilingualism. Interviews with parents will help me learn more about this subject. Thank you for helping me gain insights and learn about the language attitudes that a parent of a multilingual child holds in the context of family or school; about issues pertaining especially to the multilingualism of your child.

   Sign form for informed consent. The audio recordings of this interview will not be published or disclosed to any third party. The information you will give will be anonymised and confidential.

2. Biographical information

2.1. Concerning parent:
   1. When and where were you born?

      Response

   2. Could you tell me something about how you came to speak your languages? (What languages do you speak and how did you come to learn them?)

      Response:
3. What kind of schooling did you get and what is your occupation right now?

Response:

2.2. Concerning child:

4. Could you tell me about your children (and their languages)? Where were they born?

Response:

5. How many children do you have?

Response:

6. How old are they? Which school do they attend?

Response:

7. What languages do they speak? How do they learn them?

Response:
3. Language use in the home

8. Which languages do you speak in everyday life? (Friends, colleagues, neighbours, government off., teachers). Is this different for writing or listening?

Response:

9. Which languages do you speak in the family/home environment? (To partner, children, extended family)

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Table 1

10. Which languages do you use for watching television, reading books, magazines, newspapers, Social Media etc.? And why?
11. Do you have contact with people in your homeland? How often and how do you communicate, through internet, Skype, telephone etc?

Response:

12. Which languages do your children speak at school, in the schoolyard, or among friends?

Response:

13. Is there a difference between your children in how they manage their languages?

Response:

4. Language choice in the family

14. Why did you choose this linguistic strategy to be used in your home?

Response:

15. What do you expect for your children concerning their linguistic abilities (reading, understanding, speaking, and writing) in each language?

Response:

16. Are you reading books with your children as well, in what languages do they read at home?

Response:

17. Are your children attending formal education in the family language (s)? (Are you aware of the opportunities such as weekend schools?)

Response:
18. Were there any factors that influenced your choice, like your own experience, community practices, books etc.?

Response:

19. (Have you set up rules concerning the language use of your children in the home?)

Response:

20. Have the language strategies changed over the years? Or with each child? Would you like to change them?

Response:

21. How do your children react to their bi/multilingualism and bi/multiculturalism?

Response:

22. What do you think are advantages or disadvantages to the bi/multilingualism of your children? Why language 1 or language 2? Do you think it is beneficial?

Response:

23. Do you think that the home language gives your child societal/economic opportunities?

Response:

5. Perceived teacher's attitudes

24. What kind of reactions do you or your child encounter at school concerning your child's bi/multilingualism? (Are there any tensions?)
25. What do you think is the teacher’s perception of your child’s bi/multilingualism?

Response:

26. Does the teacher stimulate or discourage the learning of your home language?

Response:

27. Have you or your child ever felt uncomfortable using your family language at school?

Response:

6. Interplay parents, educators and children

28. How would you feel about your home language being used in school for learning?

Response:

29. How do you see your role as a parent in the school? What would make you maybe increase your participation?

Response:

30. If you could say one thing to your child’s teacher about your multilingualism, what would it be? (What do you expect from the school or the teacher regarding the multilingualism of your child, what would be most helpful?)

Response:
Interviewhandleiding - NL

**Type:** Semigestructureerd interview

**Taal van het interview:** Nederlands of Engels, afhankelijk van de vaardigheid van de geïnterviewde om zich in één van de talen uit te drukken.

**Tijd:** 45 minuten voor het interview, 15 minuten ter voorbereiding en 10 minuten voor de afsluiting.

**Materialen:** Geluidsrecorder, pen, papier en toestemmingsformulieren.

**Locatie:** Thuis bij de geïnterviewde of een rustige openbare plek.

**Structuur**

1. **Introductie op het interview**
   **Welkom-**
   **Opening-**  De masterscriptie waarvoor u geïnterviewd wordt gaat over de taalkeuzes, -acties en -attitudes die daarvan aan de basis liggen. Onderwerp van dit onderzoek zijn de ouders van meertalige kinderen. Dit zal mij meer inzicht geven in hoe de taalattitudes van de ouders functioneren en wat voor invloed dit heeft op de verwachtingen t.o.v. het gebruik van de thuistaal op school.

   *Teken formulier voor geïnformeerde toestemming.* De geluidsopnames van dit interview zullen niet worden gepubliceerd of openbaar gemaakt worden aan derden. De informatie die u geeft in dit onderzoek zal geanonimiseerd worden en is te allen tijde vertrouwelijk.

2. **Biografie**
   **2.1. Van de ouder**
   1. Waar en wanneer bent u geboren?

   *Response*

   2. Zou u me iets kunnen vertellen hoe het komt dat u deze talen spreekt?

   *Response:
3. Wat voor onderwijs heeft u gevolgd en waar houdt u zich nu mee bezig?

Response:

2.2. Over uw kind:

4. Kunt u me iets vertellen over uw kinderen en de talen die zij spreken? Waar zijn ze geboren?

Response:

5. Hoeveel kinderen heeft u?

Response:

6. Hoe oud zijn ze en op wat voor school zitten ze?

Response:

7. Welke talen spreken ze, en op welke manier/waar leren ze deze?

Response:
### Taalgebruik thuis

8. Welke talen gebruikt u in het dagelijks leven, tegen vrienden, collega's, buren, overheid, leraren? Is dit anders voor schrijven of luisteren?

9. Welke talen spreekt u thuis of binnen de familie?

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*Tabel 2*
10. Welke talen gebruikt u om TV te kijken, boeken, tijdschriften of kranten te lezen, gebruik van Social MEdia etc? En waarom?

Response:

11. Heeft u nog contact met mensen in uw geboorteland? Gebeurt dit vaak en op welke manier heeft u contact? (Internet, Skype, telefoon)

Response:

12. Welke talen gebruikt uw kind tegen vriendjes, op het schoolplein en in de klas?

Response:

13. Verschilt het per kind hoe ze hun talen 'managen', c.q. hoe ze ermee omgaan?

Response:

4. Thuistaalkeuze

14. Waarom heeft u gekozen voor deze strategie? (keuze voor verschillende talen, situaties, OPOL?)

Response:

15. Wat verwacht u dat uw kind bereikt in elke taal, in bijvoorbeeld begrijpen/lezen/spreken/schrijven?

Response:

16. Leest u samen (boeken bijvoorbeeld) met uw kinderen? Zoja, waarom kiest u hiervoor en in welke talen gebeurt dit?

Response:

17. Krijgen uw kinderen formeel onderwijs in de familietaal, zoals op een weekendschool?
18. Zijn er factoren die uw keuze hebben beïnvloed? Was het eigen ervaring, de gebruiken binnen een gemeenschap, boeken etc.?

Response:

19. (Heeft u regels gemaakt voor het gebruik van de verschillende talen thuis?)

Response:

20. Zijn de strategieën veranderd met de tijd, of met andere kinderen? Zou u de situatie willen veranderen?

Response:

21. Hoe reageren uw kinderen op hun tweetaligheid/ meertaligheid? Evt. verschillende culturen?

Response:

22. Welke voor- of nadelen denkt u dat er zitten aan de meertaligheid van uw kind? Is dit verschillend voor elke taal?

Response:

23. Denkt u dat elke taal/thuistaal uw kind maatschappelijke /economische mogelijkheden oplevert?

Response:

5. Waargenomen houding van leerkrachten

24. Wat voor soort reacties krijgt u of uw kind op school, met betrekking tot de meertaligheid van uw kind en de meertalige opvoeding? Zijn er spanningen?
25. Hoe denkt u dat de leerkracht denkt over de meertaligheid van uw kind?

Response:

26. Wordt uw kind in het leren van de thuistaal gestimuleerd door de leerkracht of wordt het ontmoedigd?

Response:

27. Heeft u of uw kind zich ooit ongemakkelijk gevoeld om de thuistaal op school te gebruiken?

Response:

6. **Interactie tussen ouders, leerkrachten en kinderen**

28. Wat vindt u ervan als/dat uw thuistaal in het onderwijs van uw kind zou worden gebruikt om dingen te leren?

Response:

29. Hoe ziet u uw eventuele rol bij het onderwijs van uw kind/ de rol als ouder op school? Waardoor zou u mogelijk meer betrokken zijn bij de school?

Response:

30. Als u een ding zou kunnen zeggen tegen de leerkracht van uw kind over uw en zijn/haar meertaligheid, wat zou dit dan zijn?

Response:
Appendix III. Interview Transcripts

Conventions
R Researcher'
M Mother
F Father

*Italic* Language other than the target language
*Bold* Spoken emphasis

[...] Irrelevant/personal information left out of the transcript by researcher.
[Text] Added text by the researcher

Interview MD1

22-03-2018
R: HILDA HEYDE

R: Could you tell me something about yourself? Where were you born, what languages do you speak and how did you come to speak them?
MD1: Yeah, OK. So, about me or my son?
R: About you!
MD1: I grew up in Denmark. And I speak Danish and my family spoke Danish and that was basically it. And then at school, we had German since grade 7, so how old are you at that time? I don't know. Maybe 11/12 years old?
R: Oh OK, is it a different system than here in the Netherlands?
MD1: Yeah, it's a different system. It's slightly different. And then I came to learn French and then of course English. And some Latin, but that's not up to speed. But I haven't practised my language skills in French and German, not very much. So I did in secondary, my secondary education, but not since then. And I haven't lived in those countries, so I haven't used it very much. But English, I think I had that since high school also. All these three languages, but I've only used English in my studies. So not in my university studies, but I did -you know. I was half a year in Britain, to study. So of course I had to do that in English. And then my PhD, I did it at a business school. And the business school had a lot more international environment and I wrote my thesis in English. But I didn't really had any training in English. So since then, I've also- now since all my teachings here in English, I have been wondering if maybe I should do an English course.
R: Ah, so it's just on the go.
MD1: It's just that, you know.
R: And what do you do for work?
MD1: I have a job as an Associate Professor. In Dutch it is a Adjunct Hoogleraar, in [...] So it's a permanent position.
R: And that's what made you move here?
MD1: Yeah, yes.
R: How long ago did you move here?
MD1: Five months ago, in the 1st of October.
R: And before that you haven't lived here?
MD1: No, not in the Netherlands. My grandmother was Dutch, but I haven't lived here.
R: OK, and when you spoke to her, did you speak Dutch?
MD1: No she spoke Danish, but with a heavy accent, with a heavy accent. So some words were definitely with some Dutch inspiration. But she didn't speak Dutch to me. It's funny, because my father and his siblings all think that I must be capable of speaking Dutch because they speak Dutch. But she- no, I didn't learn it.

R: But you got to learn it anyway.

MD1: Now I'm learning it.

R: Could you tell me about your children and their languages?

MD1: I have one child, so his name is [name]. He is five years old. He turns six in June. And he speaks Danish, that's it. And then he thinks he speaks English because he watches movies in English. And also, we've been travelling, so he could say a few things in English. And he thinks he's got it all covered. Oh yeah, school, we have English. I can just take those days off, because I know that. So he's very self-confident that he... but of course he's not very good at English. But then he has. was put in a Dutch school. So he speaks a bit of Dutch now. But that has been a challenge for him.

R: Because of those five months?

MD1: Yeah, exactly. Because he didn't understand anything. And we couldn't really help him. He didn't have any preparation, or any assistance. He was just put in the school. Eh, and also he could not express himself. I think that was actually what was most difficult for him. He wanted to explain things because he's a social being. That he really wanted to explain things and he couldn't, nobody understood him. So that was annoying. And then he starts to grab the other children. And they would of course get annoyed. So he was very frustrated and very unhappy.

R: How did the school cope with that? Or the teachers?

MD1: They did different things. So first of all, my husband quit his job when we moved. So he picks him up at 12, at noon, so he's only there half a day. Eh. Now he has one long day on Tuesdays. But we reduced the amount of time he was there because he got too exhausted and too tired. And then he got home so he could. He was frustrated. So he could take out his frustration on my husband and me. But also he could do, you know, things to kind of calm down again. And then the school tries to do, in the morning, I have not been part of that, because my husband, now he does not work, so he brings him to school and picks him up. So he do small assignments with him in the morning, to learn some new words. So he had to come in at 8.15 or 8 it was, to do a bit of language training before school started. But it didn't really work out in practice, because the other children can arrive from it's at about the same time. So it's half an hour before the lesson starts. So in reality, it became more of a mixture. It didn't... But they did have. And then they give us some sheets home with words that he should learn. Which was very good, except for our pronunciation was wrong. And also we tried to borrow books in Dutch, children's books to learn Dutch. We could of course understand the words. We tried to [inaudible] them. I think our help was actually not help. Because we would just say them with a heavy Danish accent, just what we thought sounded Dutch, but wasn't Dutch. So actually, we have now learned that we should just stop that. And then what he picks is up, is so much more the right, the sound of the words, right?

R: Yeah, how it sounds?

MD1: Yeah, exactly. I think our sound is not what he wants to do.

R: And did he show any reluctance to that, or was it just that you didn't think it was the right approach for Dutch?

MD1: Eh. I think it was kind of artificial, but also I think it was quite obvious that we didn't really, you know, we're not doing a really good job. Because we were also hesitant. So when we read for example stories for him in Danish we would just you know, read and make expressions with our voices. And now when we have- so now we have- he really likes Donald Duck. So we do have some Donald Duck in Dutch that we read aloud. But it's difficult to do it in the same way, right. So some of the sentences they are like... What is it? So some of the sentences are very simple, so we can figure out what it means, but sometimes and then we're like [inaudible]. And of course that is not very entertaining for him, right. That's why he wants to have a story. So I think, it
kind of. We stopped it because we were too slow and we got too tired and he didn't really enjoy it very much. And also we talked to different people, who told us that it was not a good idea. So there's an organisation called- what's it called-now I don't remember. I can ask my husband what it is.

R: Is it here in Groningen?

MD1: Yes, it's in Groningen, to help children with a second... who speak a different language to learn Dutch. So there's a person now who will come to our home next Monday, to read some Dutch with him. So that he gets the experience of, you know, how it's supposed to sound.

R: So you stopped the reading and the speaking Dutch at home.

MD1: So we do it a little bit. Because we still have Donald Duck. So there's some things. But then also we- now we're doing the Dutch courses, so we have different small games, also on the computer. My husband has this game where you can see, because our son is too young to read still. But there are symbols or pictures of the different things and then we have to say what Dutch word it is. And he can beat us at that game. So he likes to play that. So we're doing things like that. And also explain: I was in the Dutch lesson and now I know that for example that a sofa is called a bank. Why do you call a sofa a bank? So we do discuss it a little bit, but we don't speak Dutch.

Also this woman who visited us told us it was fine that we speak Danish in the house. We wouldn't really help him. What we try to do is when we go outside to try and say things in Dutch. Because I think that sometimes, in the playground, it's the other children here. When I speak to him in Danish, then they don't approach him. Because it's kind of like, you know, like someone foreign, who just doesn't understand. So I think we should try to do that more, keep it a secret. And try to speak in Dutch: "heel goed" [very good], or something like that. And then maybe they will just come naturally. That they will think that he will understand and also now he does, right so.

R: So does this mean that now it's more open for him, so it's possible he gets the social things as well?

MD1: Yeah, yeah. I think that's the most difficult thing for him, that's when it's an open social space. Sorry, go on.

R: No, no that's perfect. How do the other children approach him in the classroom?

MD1: I think- I'm not sure, because honestly I'm not in the school very much. Because we just decided, you know, my husband is doing it, and then I'm working. So- so I'm there quite little, but of course I'm there sometimes and I also speak to the teachers. So I think they try to help them. They have this what they call a "kring" [circle], when they sit in a circle. And for example, when he could speak to 10 in Dutch, they all heard it and then they applauded him. That was a positive thing. And also now he has started speaking full sentences. That has also, I think, been celebrated. But he doesn't-it's difficult for him to sit in the "kring" [circle] for so long as they do. So now the teacher gave him some different tasks. So he is the one who has to hand out all the materials. Because he still doesn't get everything. So he has other tasks. But I think the children mostly approach him with like "kijk, kijk" [look, look], "kom, kom" [come here, come here]. So like very small words. And then also, what he decided to do, [name]. So that was his own approach was, they can select the tasks. So he decided to do lots of craft, painting. And then he felt like he had a task that he should do. And so it was if other people, or the other students, pupils approached him it was about a specific thing. So that was more... easier to manoeuvre for him, I think. To say: OK, now it's about the colours. Now it's about the painting. Whereas for example, when they're on the playground that is sometimes where I think he has the problem because it's an open space. So anything could happen. That's more difficult for him.

R: It could be about anything?

MD1: Yeah, exactly! Whereas if he's playing with a specific thing, so let's say a train, then he knows, you know, what's going on. So I think that's more doable in a sense.

R: So in a context you need these kind of words, and another in another context. And what about the use of Danish in the classroom, can he use it?
MD1: No. One of the teachers... He has two different teachers. One is there three days a week and another two days a week and the one of two days a week has been on vacation to Denmark. So she speaks...Honestly, I don't know but I think she knows some Danish words. But [my son] tells us that he thinks she speaks Danish and that's great. I don't think she does. And I don't think any of the education is in Danish. I think it isn't, right, because nobody else understands it. But she [inaudible] it a little bit, some Danish words. But apart from that, I think none at all.

R: And at home, what languages do you use or speak?

MD1: Yeah, it's in Danish I'd say, something like 99% in Danish, so 90%. Not completely. I think that after this woman visited us and we figured out that we weren't able to help him very much. We will discuss the courses that we do and the new words we learn in Dutch. But we're not trying to speak Dutch at home. But we also now in the course learning to write a little bit. And I think it will be different next year. He will be in group three in school so he will start writing and reading in Dutch. So probably we will have to do more things in Dutch together.

R: So is he reading in Danish with you?

MD1: Just the letters. But that's, kind of -some Danish letters, that are the same in English and Dutch. So, A U O, very useful letters. But apart from that it's the same. Most of the sounds are similar. So he does that. And he's interested in writing letters to friends, and we do that in Danish.

R: And what about if he starts to read and write properly, do you want to give him formal lessons in Danish?

MD1: That's a very good question. Because we really didn't think it through. Also because Danish is such a small minority language. So we thought maybe he will not need it, at least not in the beginning. And then maybe later on, let's say if we go back in I don't know ten years, or five or twenty years, he could maybe learn it at that point when he needs it.

R: So at the moment it's just learning Dutch?

MD1: Now it's just Dutch learning, yeah. But it is a good question, because I think you know, I think we have not been very considerate of what is the best idea. Because also, let's say we moved back to Denmark in ten years time and he's probably at that time very good at Dutch and also speaks English, But if he has no knowledge of Danish, how can he just go about everyday life and just [inaudible]. We haven't thought about that, no.

R: That's a difficult issue

MD1: Yeah, I think so. He would maybe not feel as connected as we automatically think he is.

R: Regardless of that he speaks it?

MD1: Yeah, yes, so I don't know what to do. And I think that I'd rather not be his teacher. So if he was to learn Danish in a proper way. Trying to figure out what he's interest in reading and get him that. Maybe find him- you know doing something where I will not be the teacher.

R: Do you know if there are weekend schools or something?

MD1: I don't know if there are. I don't think there are for children. But I've met some friends who teach Danish to Dutch people. So I probably, I think I will ask them to do it. I don't think I'll do it myself.

R: Which languages do you speak in the family/home environment?

Table 1. Languages spoken in the household of MD1

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68
# PARENTS AND MULTILINGUALISM IN EDUCATION

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**MD1:** Danish to everyone. Husband’s father, so that would be his grandfather, is Pakistani, he speaks Urdu and lots of English, but also Danish. So we would sometimes speak to him English. And with my son he speaks Danish.

**R:** Which languages do you use for watching television, reading books, magazines, newspapers, Social Media etc.? And why?

**MD1:** I think sometimes we. Because again, because Danish is such a small language. And most things that you watch would be in English and then with subtitles. So that’s... But I would prefer the Danish subtitles especially when I’m tired, because it’s easier for me to understand. Or watch Danish television. So I’m still not integrated enough, very much. Because when I’m tired that’s what I’d like to do. But also I have been reading novels in English. But I think the more tired I get, you know the more... If it’s just to relax, it is easier to do it in Danish.

**R:** How does your son react to being bilingual?

**MD1:** He’s worried about it now, that he would be in third grade after the vacation and he is worried that his Dutch is not good enough. I think it is a big change for all the children. They have to move from one building to another building and they will have to be with bigger kids. So it’s a big move for everyone. And the school day will be different. They will have more teachings rather than playtime. And he’s told us that he’s worried his Dutch is not good enough. So it has definitely been a concern for him. And also he’s worried. He’s been very annoyed and frustrated with it. But I think now that he manages it. He’s quite proud. He told me the other morning that he was the cleverest one of the three of us, because he was the best in Dutch. So I think for his self esteem it’s also quite good that he actually succeeds at this. And he is, you know, better than we are.

So they did a test of his vocabulary in school now. And he had a normal vocabulary for Dutch children, he was in the bottom of the normal, how do you say, average. But still it was within the normal range. And I think that if they tested me I wouldn’t be, you know, not even be close to any normal range. They were quite surprised. That was his passive vocabulary. So I think he understands quite a lot.
R: And what about the active vocabulary?
MD1: Also, in the beginning he was very hesitant because he didn't want to speak because he thought he couldn't do it. Now because he wanted to play and the other children were interested in playing with him. I think it has. He has started to say a few sentences. Now he's improvising a little more. I don't speak Dutch, but I think some of the things I've heard him saying are really Dutch. For example when you want to tease somebody that is in Danish "dumme", and I don't think it's the same word in Dutch, to call someone stupid.
R: Oh yeah, it is! "Dom" or "stom".
MD1: So maybe he's right. I thought he was- so he's saying the impolite words in Dutch [laughs]
R: Do you think that Danish will give your child economic or societal opportunities?
MD1: Both yes and no. I think for him it's. I think that it's very good that he can speak Danish, so that he can speak with his family, and you know, his friends. And so. And also that's the language he was brought up in and he knows all the songs and children's books, I think. So I think it's, you know, nice to. I think he should definitely keep it. But I think in terms of his career or economic gain, or something, I think it's a huge advantage that he knows another language. And also that he learns to speak other languages. Because I don't think that it will decline in the future, the need to communicate with the rest of the world. I don't know if Dutch is maybe the you know, exc- best language in the world to learn. But I think that just learning another language gives you the opportunity to then, you know, maybe learn a third language. And I think that also it's useful not only to know English. Because I think that's happening a lot. So I think in terms of economic gain and his future, speaking another language is ...
R: Is that the general idea of bilingualism?
MD1: Yeah! Of course I think English, at least in my profession, you know, that would be what you recommend people to learn. I think he will learn that anyway. Right because everyone on the planet- so I think. Also I think it will be an advantage for him. And I don't think Danish will bring him.. no.
R: So what kind of connection is it?
MD1: Cultural connection is very important. But I think in terms of, you know, travelling or maybe living abroad, communicating with people, then I don't think Danish will get you very far. So I definitely think Dutch or English, or German, or any other language basically would be an advantage. Or it could be Spanish or French. I mean, I think it's just useful for him to learn. I think also at this time, it seems like, at least that's what people told us: It's a good time also to learn new languages. Because apparently your brain is still- so we thought, if we're going to move, then he would be learning another language. Maybe it's a good time to do that now. We had many discussions about how to do it, if we should do it. I think he can learn it now. And then later on he would...
R: What do you think his teachers think of his bilingualism?
MD1: They have told him now that they're very proud that he's making good progress in Dutch. So, I'm thinking that that might maybe be seen as an advantage, that he can do two languages. I think that they're quite positive about it. But I don't think that they will actually, As we talked about it, they are going to use it. We will see after the vacation. But I don't think they have any special arrangement appropriate for children with two languages.
R: So they don't stimulate Danish?
MD1: No not really. No it's completely Dutch. We were discussing if it was better to go to the international school, but I liked this local school better. And also I think that it's more in terms of friendship that we thought it would be nice to have friends who stay instead of travel. And we thought also, if he's going to live in the Netherlands, it's probably better that he speaks Dutch, than if he learned to speak English. I don't know, but anyway, so it's just in Dutch. And at some point I think he will [inaudible]
R: And do you feel that Danish is a barrier to participating in school?
MD1: Yeah, definitely for him it has been, absolutely. A huge barrier. So being the new kid and also being the kid that didn't understand a word has definitely been a barrier. However, I think now I think he overcomes this. It also makes him. You know, that would be the positive interpretation, right? I think he is very proud of himself. And he's also, you know, we also applaud him for doing it. But yes, it has been a barrier.

R: How do you see your role as a parent in school?

MD1: Also I think for us it has been strange, because usually we could help him out, and here we really couldn't. So I think for us as parents it's a very different parental role than usually. And my husband, his father is Pakistani, so an immigrant in Denmark. He knew that that would be the case; that we would be the ones speaking with an accent and not being able to help properly. And I thought: Yeah, well. But I can see that he was more foreseeing than I was. And that's completely true, that we cannot help him in the same way as we could as if it was in Danish. Just with jokes, play with words, songs and different things. We don't know it in Dutch at all. So even though we try to learn, I think it's very different. We were not, how do you say, we were not the masterminds of the universe that we used to be. So that's a different role I think.

R: What would make you maybe increase your participation?

MD1: I think at least, I would be very confident if it was in Danish to say: Oh, you know, you need to do your homework in this way and this is how it is done. I know the rules. And that is easy. You know, I would feel a lot more confident, but now since it is in Dutch, I think. Now I'm learning to write in Dutch and speak a little bit. I think it's quite difficult. So I am still fumbling in a sense that I think that, yeah, I would not be of the same help as usually.

R: And does that affect your engagement in the school as well, your parent participation?

MD1: Both yes and no. Because, I think. Now, again, because my husband doesn't work now. Because we made that decision. So he's actually involved himself a lot in the school and with the other parents. So now he's the... for some of the activities...So he's a graphic designer, so when they do craft, or if they go on a tour to the park or the movie theatre, he goes with them. I don't know actually how he speaks to the children.

R: It doesn't affect that he engages in the school as much?

MD1: No, because he has the time to do that. He's happy to do that. And he's also now makes appointments for play dates and speaks with the other parents. So that's kind of, it has turned around and upside down in comparison to how it was before we moved. I would often be the one to pick him up and be like the mom usually does. So the one who bakes a cake and tadada. Well, he's not baking a cake. We had to bring coffee and he was the one who reminded me to - so that, it's kind of an agenda thing; I think it has turned, it has changed a lot.

I think many things have changed at the same time. I think he's more engaged in the school and- I don't know, he's more engaged because he has the time to do so now. But it is difficult, because they have, and I'm not on that, but they have a WhatsApp group for the class. So it's my husband who has that, I don't have it. But sometimes he's confused, because all the parents write so many messages. And there's a thread of messages of something, like you should bring like the toilet rolls, the paper ones. And we don't know the word for that. And then maybe how many children are to drive in what car to go to the movie theatre. Who should bring a seat for their child, an extra seat. And then it's quite confusing, it's very informal- I don't know, because it's not me, but he says it's sometimes difficult for him to follow the debate. And the- and I think that sometimes it's more informal. But maybe it's not, I don't know, but anyway it can be difficult. So I think that there he sometimes think like he's behind or outside.

R: Is he missing out on the underlying messages?

MD1: Yeah, exactly. But then there was another, a friend from school's mom, and she volunteered to help translating. So that's very good. Sometimes he would ask her or she would just let him know: 'Ok, so this is what it's about, here is what you're gonna do'. So that's very nice. So I think that thanks to the other parents he's OK.

R: Nice! Would there be one thing that you would recommend to your child's teacher?
MD1: I really cannot think of anything that I don't think they do. Eh. No, I think they're actually doing quite a good job.

[...]

Maybe have their webpage in English, but that's more for us, right? So we would try to Google Translate it, when we don't understand.

R: Are there more parents who don't speak Dutch?

MD1: I don't know. I think all the parents are Dutch. We could have chosen a different school if we wanted information in English and we decided not to. So I don't think we should require them to do things in English.

Interview FI1

23-03-2018

R: HILDA HEYDE

R: When and where were you born, what languages do you speak and how did you come to speak them?

FI1: I was born in the province of Naples, in southern Italy in 1973. And I was raised as a monolingual person. Of course, Italian. Even though my parents are from the area of Naples, so they also sometimes speak dialect. And I've been exposed later in school to a lot of dialects, which is actually a language but not qualified, at least to the one they speak today. So I feel myself actually, like many Italians, bilingual, in the sense that I speak Italian and the dialect. This is something often to be found in Italy. Then I came to the Netherlands after I completed my studies. I studied Philosophy. I graduated a Master of Arts in Philosophy of Language. And then later I started Didactics. And I completed also this master Didactics of Italian as a second language. So actually I learned the techniques to teach basically any language as a second language, of course that I can have command of.

R: So it could be Dutch as well or English?

FI1: Theoretically yes.

R: Did you learn any other languages?

FI1: Yes, well my father, he is Italian-English. So he, well the mother, my grandmother was born in London. Even though she was daughter of Italian immigrants of the 19th century. The story really goes back in time. But anyway he sometimes spoke English with me, with jokes, with limericks, any stuff that he learned from his mother, but we didn't really have conversations. Just taught me a couple of things. Just for playing. Later on, when I moved to the Netherlands. First I got to say, in Italy, the education of a, in my case, foreign language, was very poor at school, because I did gymnasium, lyceum. This means that I learned ancient Greek and Latin for five years from 13 years old to 18 years old. And only the first two years out of the five years of classical lyceum, this is the name, had English as a foreign language. So only two years of English.

[...]

So when I came to the Netherlands when I was 25, my English was scholastic, how do you say, it was very, really bad. It was just bad. Written and also orally. I could not even express myself properly. Of course with gestures, like many Italians often do. It was just words and stuff and very grammatically, yeah, wrong sentences. But of course, I had something in my, well, luggage, that I was exposed to English somehow: pronunciation from my father. So I was really motivated, of course. This motivation is very important. So I felt like English was kind of my second home, strange enough. Because I had never, because I had just been one time in England.

[...]

So there was something. I want to stress this point that I was really. I felt I had to learn English because it belonged to me somehow. So it helped me be motivated and learn English in Amsterdam, two courses at the British Language Training Centre
which are part of the British Council. And later on, that was at the end of the nineties and at the beginnings of the 2000s I started with Dutch. Even though I was exposed during these three years to Dutch, because I had a relation with a Dutch lady, that later became the mother of my two kids. So I had a crash course, five days per week, during the summer of 2001, in a school that was a very funny one because they had a theatrical method. So it was a lot of role playing, it was a crash course. For two or three weeks, a crash course. The school gets their money and they quickly were done. No, it was funny. I was with a lot of English-speaking people, I remember. So I spoke English-Dutch-English-Dutch. So, I got to say. And also, because I had this crash course, that I did not learn anything. I could join the, let’s say, governmental courses. Well he courses that you could pay hardly anything. It was actually the inburgeringcursus, that I did on a voluntary basis because as a European I did not have any compulsory request from the government. But they were almost for free, so it was very interesting. So I joined them, I followed them. And then until the NT2, Nederlands exam that I sat for, in 2003 or 2004. So I managed to get the diploma, which actually doesn’t mean anything. I mean it doesn’t. You never show it to...At least it never happened to me. You never show it to someone that wants to employ you for an interview. You just have this thing done. Just for myself, exactly. I did it in one time. Sometimes, it’s- I got the four competences in one shot. And then I went. I’m just following the red thread of languages. I had to go to Africa, to Mali in particular, because of my passion for Western African music. So I wanted to get prepared and I started French at Maison Descartes. Just one or two courses after each other. And after having learned Dutch, French is really easy for an Italian. So I was very quickly in learning French properly and to, to manage- [...] So I went to Africa and I could speak with anyone in French, with all the people there. But they also articulate much more than in France. So that was French. So I could get good competence. I think that according to European Framework of Languages, I think I got to B1, B2, on the scale. Then I, well, the life goes on and I ended up, after the separation, I ended up living with a Spanish friend of mine that also separated from his Dutch girlfriend. So you know all my story, all my life. And so, Spanish, even easier than French, it looks like Italian on itself. So we spoke Italian-Spanish, a mix of. And it was funny, because at a certain point we did not even know what language we were speaking because it’s almost the same. It’s even, much closer than German and Dutch, to have an idea, also grammarly, -wise. Then later on in life, I had this relation with a Portuguese, a Brazilian woman. And in two months I was able to speak very good Portuguese, also because Portuguese is even closer than Italian to Spanish. So let’s say that with Latin languages, except Romanian, which is also a Latin language, I can speak very well all of them. And French has gone down because I didn't practice it anymore. So it’s in a "depot, voila". It’s kind of dormant now. So this is my language portfolio. So I think that Portuguese and Spanish are B2 and C1. Just to give approximately an idea. French went down, is dormant. English I speak it every day, you see, just in an Italian way. In a way that many expats, non-English speaking expats speak it, not properly. Yeah, you know, I don’t speak it perfectly, absolutely not, but I manage to have any kind of conversation with anyone. [...] R: And how about with your children?
FI1: With the children, I just speak Italian. And this was intentionally done since their birth. And also, normally because I always thought that the kids should be raised with the languages of their parents. So, I was consequent [consistent] as you say in Dutch. They are simultaneously bilingual. That means bilingual from the birth. And the mother she’s Dutch. We have shared custody, 50/50. And basically they speak both languages. Of course, now they are faced with writing and reading, which is not that easy. Especially writing, you know because you are an expert, that it’s a technique. It doesn’t go automatically, just like listening and speaking. But they are very good at
both languages, and also, next to that, they know the... They experience and they own
the related cultures. So they know the aspects of the Dutch culture, of course, they
actually live in the Netherlands. They go on holiday in Italy, often. They also are
exposed to multiple elements of Italian culture. Especially from Napoli, where I come
from. That is southern Italy, it has a distinctive culture. And the grandmother and
grandfather they are also from the area of Napoli, they also come often to visit. Them,
they also will be here next week for Easter. And they are into this Italian, let's say,
really soundscape around them. And they. But of course they sometimes, put a word,
very often, put a word from another language in their speech. So they say, yeah, it's
funny. And I don't really want to correct them in the way that: 'No, you don’t say that'.
But I repeat the word in my language. But this is something normal.

R: So there is a strategy to what you do, something like One Parent One Language?
FI1: Yes, and I try to do that, because the exposure that they have to Dutch is much more
big. I'm almost entirely the source of Italian. And so I speak Italian with them. Of
course we are on Skype with my father, my mother, my uncle sometimes, my brother,
my auntie. So they're exposed to it, but they're also asked some things. They answer.
They are, they are. I try to compensate. This is important. This is something that I do
intentionally, and not because I have anything against Dutch, not at all. This is
actually my kids are Dutch-Italian. They perform their Dutch perfectly. Just like the
Italian language. But I have this rule, that they should watch Italian cartoons in
Italian, they should watch films in Italian when they're with me, 50% of the time.
Sometimes I find in a kringloop [second hand store] for example, or in a shop also, I
buy for example a Dutch movie. And then I pass it to the mother if she wants it,
otherwise I give it to another friend of mine. So have your doses of Dutch culture at
the house of mama. So that you also clearly separate. I don't know how, how, to what
extent this is the right way to do, but I think it's understandable, just because you
want to put a balance. And again, because they live here, they are less exposed to the
Italian language. And as I told you before, before the interview, I think it's very
important, not because it's just a desire that I have, but they need, must learn Italian
in all its dimensions. This is because, they are. It's something that constitutes their
thoughts as well, next to their emotions; they are made of these two languages. It's
part of them. So in order for them to recognise themselves in the future, they will need
to think also many aspects, that they, and these... Life is long. Life is also
complicated. It's also nice. But they need to have these coordinates that they will find
primarily in their own native languages.

[...]
R: So we kind of did this, we talked about this: what the children speak to which parent
or to extended family. So what do they speak to which person?

**Table 2. Languages spoken in the household of FI1**

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<th>Child 1</th>
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<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
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With each other they speak Dutch. 90% of the time, 95% of the time. Maybe if we are in Italy, or if they want to put an accent on something, something they repeat, or they put, they tell a joke. But otherwise the common language between them is Dutch, and that is allowed at home eh. It's not that I stop them, 'you should speak it'. That is normal. Again, because they live here.

R: Is there a difference between your children in how they manage their languages?
FI1: No, no. When they relate to me, they just speak Italian to me.
R: Always?
FI1: Yes, always. And sometimes in their speech they automatically, without thinking put a Dutch word. This happens very often. So the lexicon - the vocabulary that they use, is sometimes mixed with each other. So unconsciously, how can I tell you, let me give you this example, let’s reverse it. And I start speaking with you and I say: 'Hi Hilda, do you see this room, there’s this table, this chair, and this porta, you see this porta. The porta is door, but I say porta in the speech. The same happens in a reverted way. Which is normal. But then I say: 'Oh you mean the door?' 'Yes, yes, the door.' He has the word - most of the time he has the other word in Italian. Especially when this word is a cluster of words. They repeat things they have heard things they heard at school as a cluster of words, as a way of saying.

R: Like a phrase?
FI1: Like a made-phrase a phrase that is already there. Well, like an idiomatic expression. In this case, they use it and I correct it indirectly by repeating in Italian, with a tone, just like a question. So they say: "yes." Si, si. And sometimes I say: 'Please, talk in Italian', but in a friendly, a playful way. I try to put a playful element always.

R: Which languages do your children speak in school, or in the schoolyard with friends?
FI1: I think, most of the time they just speak Dutch with each other, even though the classroom is very multilingual, potentially, but they are not expressed in the class. It's as if, in my opinion, kind of a custom, kind of a tendency, implicit tendency of perceiving other languages are not belonging to that space. They should be spoken somehow otherwise, in another place. And it's not a ban. But I don’t know, I don’t have an idea on that. Also because I don't observe the children at school. I cannot visualise what happens in the classroom. Almost for sure, they just speak their own language. But there are bilinguals in Spanish-Dutch, Portuguese-Dutch, Italian-Dutch, also some Arabic-Dutch kids. So, well. But I think that they speak actually most of the time Dutch.

R: So they don't speak different languages with friends?
FI1: Well, there is an Italian-Dutch kid, actually the mother is Dutch-Italian, so the father of her was a gastarbeider, he came to work in the Netherlands. So she learned from him Italian. She doesn't speak perfect Italian, but she likes. And the father comes from Sicily. She goes to Sicily every time, because they have a house there. But my kid and his kid, they prefer, not prefer, they don't prefer, they just speak automatically Dutch with each other. And then I, because the kid is exposed to Italian, because she, the mother, has a relation with an Italian guy from Sicily. Now they live together. So he is exposed to Italian, he understands Italian. When they are with me I speak with them Italian. And they shift, to Italian as well. They alternate. It's difficult to predict, to standardise this shift. I think that the main figure, the main, the main—the image is that normally, that kids have the tendency to speak the languages they are most exposed to. Of course Dutch.

R: What do you expect for your children, concerning their linguistic abilities?

FI1: There are different things, the desire... I talk about my kids, but I could talk about any kid in the world. It's just a general attitude that I have. I'm for. My first premise, my idea is that the brain is just multilingual in itself, potentially. Monolingualism is something that historically has gone with the development, birth, development of the European states. And the European states then have shaped all the geography of the world. Geo-graphy, the writing of the world. Really this is geography about. So they have chosen the language, that could be the language of the administration. So there's also the construction of the citizen, as someone who speaks just one language. And to construct the identity, that has brought to very positive things and very negative things. Apart from this introduction, because I have this—I'm convinced that this is the way by which societies have built themselves. And also because there is scientific evidence that the brain is not per definition monolingual. Actually it's completely the other way around. The brain can absorb many different languages and can have a common [inaudible]. And often this results in benefit, also for the critical thinking. Because you can relate and you can relativise more easily. I have full desire that my kids develop the four traditional competences fully and they flourish in their own language. That is per two, it's twice as much. It's not just Italian, it's Italian and Dutch. So this is my desire. And the expectation is. Well I have, I just told before the interview: the results in Dutch are poor, concerning reading comprehension, reading, well I don't know how to say, begrijpend lezen [comprehensive reading] and spelling which is actually respectively the comprehension of your reading and dictation. I would really like that become better, that that improves. But at the same time the expectation that I will be busy with that. Also very, with a lot of effort I will try to help guide my kid, actually especially with Italian, but also having an eye on what it does with Dutch, especially at mother's place, in order to reach some results before puberty is completed. Let's say the puberty time. Because I think he can enjoy much more learning., I'm talking about writing and reading, before that time. And the expectation that I will be faced with a lot of obstacles. Because the school is basically completely unaware of any multilingualism dimension and concerning they're not, they don't want to admit to themselves that the kids have this cultural world and linguistic world. That sounds poetic, but it's something that is very tangible. Because you embody these languages, if you have them. You are those languages. So, and they have no knowledge and they have no strategies. And I spoke with the director of the school and the interne begeleider, so the internal responsible of the teachers, and the teachers themselves that are very, sometimes very motivated, but they lack completely this aspect of the education, which is very strange, because we are in one of the most international places in the Western world, as in density of foreign languages. So it's a paradox. So my expectation is that I have to work a lot for them. [laughs] To help them actually feel valued. Because the school also doesn't transmit also this idea of the richness, the very positive aspects of being multilingual.

R: And how does that express itself?
It expresses itself by the denial of this aspect, not even in the register, what do we call it, their files they have any mention. Maybe they did not, in the past, want to discriminate and to write this Moroccan or Italian gastarbeiter [guest worker]. I have thought about this. Maybe that was the reason. But on the other hand, they just deny that the kids have these multiple identities as languages. The thing is, they cannot test themselves. But it's not about testing the foreign languages. It's about promoting the aspects of being multiple in a way. And I think there's fear behind. There's fear not to get control on things. There's fear of indeed leaving a structured setting, and to face the unknown. But that unknown can only be known by using multilingual strategies that are in the literature to be found. Because there have been a lot of empirical studies and a lot of research that it can be found of course through academic paths.

So are you talking about the suppression of the languages?

Yes, this is very important. Especially those of minorities. If I talk about Italian, at least I feel strong that it is the language where Dante is read and Leonardo da Vinci, Galileo Galilei and I can go on and on. It is the language of. It's used in the opera. In the centre of any capital opera or the Italian language [is used] and it's also the language of the Church. I'm not religious myself. It’s this language that has these two places in the world that are very prestigious. It’s the language of the Catholic Church and it is the language of the opera. So I feel also kind of like. This is important, I feel calm that sooner or later this language will reveal himself in its potentiality. Because it’s related to a country that has a position. Even though Italy is also seen negatively. Because many stereotypes like mafia and corruption. It’s also seen because of its beauty and [inaudible]. But what if a kid speaks Albanian, or the kid speaks a, I don’t know, a language from Cambodia, or that language in India. Because India where there are thousands of languages. So I think, again talking about the general, it means that it will be even harder for them. Not to mention an indigenous language from an ex-colony. That will be even harder probably.

And why?

There is no prestige, no reference to a higher culture. Of course, French, Italian, German have these big names related to them. But what if. But even. Yeah. So, I’m thinking that there are so many languages that you cannot even count them. But the thing is, it’s not about controlling all the languages in the world. This is an impossible mission to be accomplished. It’s giving space to and understanding of actually the human being. It must be a pedagogical and philosophical approach to this reality that is different from class to class and from school to school. You first need to know what the school is constituted of. So you have to know your kids in your school. I’m talking to you as a director. You have to know every family. They are not just numbers. Because there is. And I conclude with that.

There is the construction of the citizen, the construction of a man or woman. So shall we construct the citizen or shall we construct the man or woman? I would of course construct both, that of course overlap each other. But both. I mean, citizen must function well in the society but what about the man? I mean, there is only one world. The world is constituted of endless histories and languages. But we are again in the Netherlands, which is per definition been very open to the world, in any possible way. So again, it’s a paradox, I think it’s a paradox: Amsterdam and the Netherlands being willingly or unwillingly conservative about this.

And do you want to enrol your children in formal schooling in Italian?

I wanted to do that via, what do you call it, a weekend school. It does not have only lessons only in the weekends but extracurricular classes, schools. I actually, myself, taught these kids at that school, more than 10 years ago, maybe 15 years ago. I started actually giving lessons to kids primarily. It was not really my specialisation. Indeed, I faced lots of challenges and it was tough for me, I got to say. Especially because they were so-called multi-classes, so I received kids of any age from 7-12 with different backgrounds which is often the case. So it was very difficult to keep first of all public
order in the room. And then working actually tailor made with all of them and also as a group. Also at the International school of The Hague, for example I went there to give extracurricular courses to kids. But anyway, these experiences also gave me insights. The teachers were hired either locally, as it was my case, or from Rome, which means via the Ministry of Education, this means from all Italy these teachers were hired because it went via the Consulate. The Italian state gives the possibility actually six generations until... what.. The last six generations can even take profit of Italian lessons abroad because of the history of immigration in Italy. So there was this possibility. I gave lessons and I would like that to have that been done today, once a week, provided that the teacher is good. So I should test the teacher because I even had criticism on myself because I was not really probably educated enough in that aspect. And again, there was an object problem of the.... So this wants to say, I really want to explain, that weekend schools are a strange place. Because they are not standardised of course, there are different languages and there are different institutions. They try to do their best, probably. But you never know who and how and the all of it works.

[...]

What I want to say is that my kids, I would send my kids to weekend schools for two reasons. The first is they would go there and improve their Italian, it’s already there, especially writing and reading. Then they would also be put into contact with their Italian, let’s say, equivalents.

R: Peers?
FI1: Peers, thank you. I wanted to search that word indeed. So there would be this linguistic aspect and cultural aspect together. Third thing is that it would probably be cheaper than sending them to any commercial school that provides with the kind of the same thing. But in the end, quality is the most important thing. So, just to step back from this. But what I saw in these schools, they were not even schools, they were classes located in different places or institutions, I should check if they are worth of putting my kids there. Otherwise I could opt for a commercial school that organises in a very good way lessons for kids. Maybe even more expensive, it doesn’t matter, it’s important that my kids have profit from that. I don’t know if I answered your question.

R: Yes, a long answer, but good!
FI1: This is also an Italian character, Italian trait. Telling like an ellipse. Elliptic way of living, and talking.

[...]

R: What about the reactions your kids get at school about their bilingualism/biculturalism?
FI1: They just deny it!

[...]

I mean, I don’t want to put the finger on them: 'you are bad'. But the thing is, these people are unaware of anything concerning multilingualism as a domain of knowledge. Why as a domain of knowledge? Because there's been research on that. And the research was motivated by some facts that if you are [inaudible]. And something was done in different places in the world as you of course know because you are an expert on this field, but the schools are just completely. Well, I cannot talk about the schools, the school of my kids.

R: Would that prevent you from speaking Italian?
FI1: Me, myself?
R: Yes!
FI1: Well I take the kids to school, then I go pick them up. And I speak at the door with them and I say Buona Fortuna good luck, or Give me a kiss. Or something like this, in Italian. Zet’m op. Just like In Dutch. Come on, go for it, I say it in Italian Forza, strength. But this is something that I do automatically, also not even thinking. That I’m trying to, because I think I’m speaking Italian with them. Actually this is something that I’ve seen that it is perceived as normal by many. The parents I hear
them speaking French, English, German at the school. It’s something obvious that you do that in 2018. I think that since the 70s, 80s that this is an attitude that you should have as the father or mother of a multilingual kid. Actually this widespread knowledge is accepted not only by the academic community, but nowadays also by the general people. Again this is a paradox that the school, because of this situation also in time, doesn’t promote this aspect. And if you criticise it, you get easily marginalised or they do as if they don’t understand. Or they say like: ‘We know, we know of course that you speak different languages. Sure, sure.’ And it stops there. It’s not about knowing, but it’s about englobing this in educational formulae. This is done by probably many schools in the world on a daily basis with some goals that have to be reached. And this goals that have to be reached show that the imperia can be build. Means, an empirical result. And this can be tested of course. Not only the grammar. Well, I’m not talking about the language itself, but the results of the kids. It would be better, if they can let be especially emotionally can be released from this thing that can be a block, if they’re only perceived for only half of them, one third of them, one fourth of them. My kid was addressed by his peers last year also bullied. Well he bullied too, but he was also bullied. They were questioning how much Italian he was. [name] You are only 25% Italian. You are 75% Dutch
No, you are 30% Italian and 70% Dutch. These are things that look innocent but they shouldn’t happen. They could be prevented from giving the class the idea that we are a 100% everything that we have in ourselves. This is an important point that I always tell my kids. You are not 50% Dutch and not 50% Italian. You are not 50%. This is normal, this is a widespread way of talking when you’re bilingual. I am half English and half French, which is acceptable in normal speech. But if you reflect on that and I also put in evidence, put under the attention of the interlocutor that you are not 50% English and French. They say: ‘what do you mean?’ You are 100% English and 100% French. It’s not a division, it’s a multiplication. You are 1+1. And I say to my kids, for example as a joke:
‘What is your Dutch eye, what is your Dutch ear? Let me see! Ooh this is your Dutch ear, because you’re 50%, and this is your Italian ear. And the teeth?’
And again, your ears are all Dutch, and all Italian. It’s a good way to visualise it. Because people really can have this trauma of not being completed. But they’re 1+1. I don’t remember what the question was. But this is symbolically very important.
[...]
The school, because they deny the other part of it, they just impoverish the child. But I think there’s a fear behind. The fear that if you go and speak, talk, even reason in another language, I cannot follow anymore. And it takes time from the language that is the goal of it, which is only Dutch. So this is clearly a monolingual fixation, obsession. It should be avoided. Especially because it can provoke an emotional block in some kids. I know mothers that have this problem of the kid being so-called selective in- that have this phenomenon I don’t how pathological it is, if there’s a label in the book [inaudible]. Selective mutism, she doesn’t speak anymore. [...] There’s been this moment in time, when my daughter, she didn’t want me to speak Italian when I left her and go back home after taking her to the school. This occurred after her teacher said to her, I’ve heard from the teacher during one of our meetings, that she asked her to speak Italian in a circle at the beginning of the class. Because she heard from me that she was bilingual. So again, the road to hell is paved with good intentions. She wanted to do something good, but she caused a block, an emotional block and also a behavioural block in my daughter that lasted several months. [...] She doesn’t oppose, no resistance, but she does want me to go away quickly. So there’s still a tail to this thing that actually happened two years ago now. And I can clearly relate that to that. It started that. And this teacher, I’ve heard from third parties, actually she told me that. She replaced the original teacher that was assigned to this class. [...] This teacher only had experience with group 8 and she was put in group 2. And she was enthusiastically starting this experience, which was fine. Was she prepared? I don’t know. But this goes really far. When is the teacher prepared? And also concerning the
situation the schools have today, they don’t have money, they have this problem with having few possibilities and teachers. Probably also this factor diminished the possibilities for the schools to have well-prepared teachers.

[...]

R: What about your role as a parent in the school?

FI1: This is a very good question because I am completely... Let's put it this way. I have given the school the possibility to be active in some things, for example this multilingualism topic and put things in practice. But they refused explicitly. The director herself said: 'No, we don't need it.' I showed various pieces of literature, I sent them through this platform where we send messages like e-mails. Either you get no answer, or you get an answer that 'next time I will show it to the group [inaudible] and you don't hear anything. I wanted to celebrate, or do something or put under the attention that it was the European Day of Language, that it was the International Day of Mother Tongues, they didn't do anything, they didn't even react.

[...]

They didn’t open for indeed other languages and cultures to be valued actively. My position in the school is just that of a father that comes up with criticism in their eyes. And the consequence is that I have been completely marginalized. The tendency is that I try to be there as little as possible. And I don't feel welcome. Yesterday I was even told that it was probably better because of the situation that my kid shows delay as for, how do you say it, two results with language, that I could for example stop with teaching him Italian. That was said in a very light way, but asking me if that was my desire that I want him to learn Italian, and if it’s not his, that maybe it means he simply doesn't want it and it could be left for maybe later. And I objected, that that is fully anti-educational. That would deprive him of his own identity and language for the time that it would take to give space to the Dutch language instead of. I said that it's my position that my kids should learn both perfectly.

[...] They have in their logic: 'We have to match the CITO-toets standard, and Italian falls out of this. So let's give a priority to that.' But again, this is a discrimination. Which seems a big word, but it's not an active discrimination that you are telling me 'you are less than I am'. But implicitly, it's a form of discrimination

[...] They would exclude something but they don't consider the kid as a whole. So the kid as a whole means that these languages are not languages; it's a language. Even kids that speak three or four languages, they don’t speak three or four languages according to them. If you ask a kid, 6 year old how many language he speaks. He doesn't even understand the question. They have one massa, they have one thing within them. So the very good way to see languages would be that one kid speaks his own language. Of course, then we can explain that the vocabulary is Finnish, French etc. But for one child, there is only one language that articulates himself in different ways. If you neglect one, you’re really tearing apart his one language, that he expresses in a different way. Because it's often like this. They have also borrows from different languages. So I mean it's something that even cannot be defined properly. This makes unaware teachers afraid, as if it is a place that cannot be touched. Better to leave it for later on or for outside the school. I don’t want even to know what happens. It’s weird, it’s the norm, I guess. I can’t speak for other schools.

[...]

Just to relativise, this also happens in the town where my family lives in the province of Napoli.

[...]

I can expect that there is very conservative way of thinking, of full ignorance in this provincial place that is 33 kilometres away from a big city. But I could not expect this in Amsterdam. This in Amsterdam is mind blowing. In a negative way, this is completely, I don’t get that. And also the Netherlands, I would not expect that in
Groningen, it’s an international campus, city. Rotterdam. But I don’t know what happens there.

R: And what would you say to the teachers of your children if you could say one thing?

FI1: Just the head of the school, the way they shape, they form their own employees. The thing is there is little attention, to one specific thing is that the child must become a man fully. Must, he will. He’s already a man and a woman. Because You see, when you see a flower. When this is a seed, you don’t say this is a seed. What are you buying in the flower market. You’re buying a tulip then of course you buy the bulb. You know, that the cause is in the effect. But the thing is that the kid will grow and become a man. And when he is a man, and he will not recognise himself fully he will have a problem. So it’s very, it’s all about having the picture in front. The only answer is education.

Interview FP1| MNL1
28-03-2018
R: HILDA HEYDE

R: Hoe hebben zij hun talen geleerd en welke talen spreken zij?

R: Welke strategie hebben jullie toegepast; zijn er ook regels gemaakt?

[...]
Dus ja, dan sprak ik Nederlands tegen hun en zij Portugees tegen mij. Dat vond ik dan ook wel weer grappig.

R: Is dat dan ook weer veranderd sinds jullie hier zijn gaan wonen?

R: Helemaal niet meer?
MNL1: Nee, wel verstaan, maar niet meer spreken. Dat komt nu dan wel weer terug, maar nog wel beperkt.


R: Doen ze dat vaak, Facetimen, of bellen?

MNL1: Ja bijna elke week

FP1: Eén, twee keer

MNL1: Ja, zo dus.


R: Welke talen gebruiken jullie om bijvoorbeeld TV te kijken, boeken te lezen, tijdschriften, kranten, en social media?


FP1: Maar ik doe het in Portugees.

R: En lezen en schrijven bijvoorbeeld?

FP1: [Onze zoon] wel. Wat is grappig, [onze zoon] schrijft Portugees zoals jij praat, met de Nederlandse klank. Zo je hebt woorden in Portugees, laat maar zeggen casa. Zo, hij weet wat het is, dat casa, maar hij gebruikt de klank van het Nederlands. En ook wat is -

MNL1: Maar andersom ook, want hij heeft bijvoorbeeld de 'v' in het Nederlands, van vis. En die spreekt hij dan soms meer uit als een 'w'. En dat is dan weer hoe je het in het Portugees uitspreekt. Dat mixt hij nog wel eens. Maar als hij dan- hij zag van de week een woord, cacaoboter ofzo. Cacao, dat spreekt hij dan wel gewoon hup zo uit. Misschien zou een Nederlands kind zeggen 'cacaao' ofzo. Die zou dan die 'ao' niet zo snel herkennen, denk ik. Maar hij dan weer wel, dan denk ik oh, maar dat komt dan wel door zijn Portugees. Dat weet jij misschien wel?

R: Ja, dat zou heel goed kunnen! [lacht] Wat verwachten jullie dat jullie kinderen kunnen bereiken in elke taal, in bijvoorbeeld begrijpen/lezen/spreken/schrijven.


FP1: Voor mij belangrijk nu voor [onze zoon] is contact met de taal. Dus niet loss, verlies van dit contact. Zo ik gebruik veel, lezen boeken in het Portugees, film kijken in het Portugees, heel veel dingen in het Portugees. Maar de grammatica, schrijven, dingen

MNL1: Nee, mijn grammatica in het Portugees is echt niet goed. Ik kan wel gewoon goed praten, maar niet eh... En mijn Nederlandse grammatica is ook niet goed, [lacht] daar kan ik hem ook niet bij helpen. Je merkt bijvoorbeeld aan [onze zoon], zijn zinsopbouw in het Nederlands, is heel erg, is vaak zoals het in het Portugees is, die werkwoorden staan allemaal op een andere plek. En dat is in het Nederlands dus ook. En ik merkte bij mezelf, want ik heb 12 jaar in Brazilië gewoond, dat ik dat zelf ook niet altijd goed schrijf of deed, of... Daarin heeft hij denk ik ook geen goed voorbeeld heeft gehad misschien. Zijn woordenschat is denk ik in het Nederlands minder, omdat hij natuurlijk in Brazilië alleen Nederlands van mij hoorde en dat is dan ook heel beperkt. Want moeder-zaakrelatie, wat voor gesprek ken je dan? Maar je hoort niet constant Nederlands om je heen, dus dat is wel minder.


R: Dus het zijn meer verschillende woorden?


MNL1: Kaaassaaf, weet je wel, dat soort dingen, die heb je alleen bij het eten een keer te pakken, en dan...

FP1: Zo, is niet belangrijke woorden, is meer- hoe zeg je dat? Ik weet niet. Jij begrijpt. R: Gewoon die niet zo vaak gebruikt worden. En wat spreken jullie kinderen met elkaar?

FP1: Portugees

MNL1: Ja, nu Nederlands denk ik? De kinderen!

FP1: Oh, de kinderen!

MNL1: In Brazilië was het Portugees en in Nederland, Nederlands. Daar waren we toen ook heel benieuwd naar, van wat gaan ze straks in Nederland praten? Nou dat is dus Nederlands.

FP1: In het begin was Portugees.

MNL1: Ja was Portugees, want toen waren ze het allebei nog een beetje aan het leren. En dan uiteindelijk kiezen ze toch er voor, wat het meest gesproken wordt.

R: En wat spreken ze op school, op het schoolplein of met vriendjes?

MNL1: Nou, we hebben nu vrienden in Kampen en die kennen we nog vanuit Brazilië en die hebben een jongen net zo oud als [onze zoon]. En als ze elkaar zien- die jongen dus praat echt Portugees thuis. Die jongen praat echt Portugees gewoon met zijn moeder. Met zijn vader weet ik dan niet, Nederlands denk ik. Toen hij hier binnenkwam vorige maand op z'n verjaardag toen ging hij Portugees praten met [onze zoon]. Toen dacht ik: "oh, leuk!" Maar op een gegeven moment gaan die toch over in het Nederlands. Dan merken ze toch, van eh, jij kan ook Nederlands ofzo, of dat gaat makkelijker. Maar veel andere Portugese contacten zijn er niet.


MNL1: Die is niet zo goed, die jongen woont nog in Brazilië, maar die komt straks ook in Nederland wonen. Die was dan hier op verlof en ja, daar sprak die wel Portugees mee. Ja, en de kinderen van [onze vrienden], die zijn toen geweest, dan weet ik niet zo goed wat ze met elkaar spreken.

[...]

FP1: Misschien de meisjes praten meer Portugees, want zij wonen in Brazilië

MNL1: Volgens mij, praten [onze vrienden] ook geen Nederlands met elkaar. Dus ik denk wel dat het Portugees is. Maar goed, wij, ik wilde- zeg maar in Brazilië was het in het begin best wel een frustratie voor mij dat ze dus Portugees tegen mij praatten. Ik wilde dat ze dat Nederlands vasthielden. Ik heb ook altijd- daar ben ik altijd heel
trouw in geweest. Ik ga altijd Nederlands tegen hun praten. Maakt niet uit of ik in de supermarkt sta en al de Brazilianen staan te kijken van wat is dat nou? Want die vriendin die nu dus nog in Brazilië woont, zij is op een gegeven moment gestopt met Nederlands praten met haar zoonje. Nou ja en toen ging het Nederlands van die jongen ging echt, kelderde heel erg naar beneden. Toen dacht ik, dat moet ik niet doen, weet je wel, dat moet ik voorkomen. Zodat ze wel gewoon Nederlands kunnen verstaan en spreken. Alleen dat spreken zakt ook heel erg af, op het moment dat ze het alleen horen. Dat vond ik in het begin wel moeilijk en nu zijn ze dan weer helemaal naar het Nederlands over, dan vond ik het echt jammer dat ze, dat [onze dochter] gewoon helemaal niet Portugees sprak op een gegeven moment. Echt ah... En dan denk je eerst nog [mijn man] komt terug, dat zal wel weer omslaan, maar dat heeft nog wel lang geduurd voordat ze weet wat... Daar maak je dan zelf ook een beetje een studie van, van hoe komt dat toch en...

R: ...hoe kun je het oplossen
MNL1: Ja, en bij die familie in Kampen, [Hij]praat heel goed Portugees met zijn moeder en met zijn vader gewoon Nederlands. Die kan het wel, dus echt wel een beetje...

FP1: Zelfde leeftijd. Ik denk de leeftijd is een belangrijke factor, want ik denk voor deze leeftijd ze denken: 'wat is belangrijke taal nu?' En ze praten de belangrijke taal. Als [onze zoon] deze leeftijd in Brazilië, hij praat geen Nederlands. Want de meesten vragen: 'Hoe kan jij zeggen woorden in Nederlands, hoe kan jij zeggen woorden in Nederlands?' En hij praatte niet Nederlands met mensen.

MNL1: Geen woord. Dan zei de buurman, die had ook een zoon die van zijn leeftijd: "[naam zoon] zeg eens een woord in het Nederlands." Dan zei die het echt niet.

FP1: Ik probeer research, hoe zeg je dat,
MNL1: onderzoeken
FP1: Ja, onderzoeken dat, hoe werkt dat? Eh, hoe zeg je dat, ik vond niet. Maar ik observeer mijn kinderen en ik heb dit gezien, dat de leeftijd is een beetje: oh, wat is dat, ik ga niet Portugees praten hier. Niemand begrijpt wat ik zeg. Als ik praat in het Nederlands, maar papa verstaat wat ik zeg, waarom ik praat Portugees? En met [onze zoon]s leeftijd is meer, kan wel wisselen, change, zo is makkelijk. Hij praat met mij Portugees, met mijn moeder praat ik Nederlands. Ik ben zo -

MNL1: Jaloezie
FP1: Ja, oh man. Wat is dat?!
MNL1: Hij kan gewoon switchen


R: Hoe lang duurt het ongeveer voordat je daar weer aan gewend bent?
MNL1: [Onze zoon] is hier geboren, toen zijn we met vier maanden naar Brazilië gegaan. Toen was ik al die tijd wel Nederlands aan het praten tegen [onze zoon] en Portugees tegen jou. Dat was in Brazilië natuurlijk wel wat intensiever. Ja, dat het vloeiend ging, ik denk wel twee, drie maanden, dat je dat heel bewust eh.. Maar, dat scheelt ook- ik had natuurlijk voorheen- want dat vond ik in Brazilië altijd heel moeilijk, met baby's. Als ik dan een Braziliaans baby'tje in mijn armen kreeg, dan kon ik niet echt in het Portugees tegen die baby van eh- zoals je wel eens in kindertaal tegen een baby praat. Dat kon ik dan weer niet in het Portugees zeg maar. En dan ging ik dat maar in het Nederlands doen. Dan wist ik niet zo goed, oh, wat voor woorden moet ik nu gebruiken, want met [onze zoon] praatte ik natuurlijk altijd Nederlands. Dat vond ik dan wel weer. Zat ik daar met een Braziliaans baby'tje doe ik dat maar gewoon in het Nederlands. Dat viel me wel op. Je bent je er echt wel een tijde van
bewust, oké Nederlands en dan switchen naar het Portugees. Misschien korter hoor dan twee maanden, want is wel echt elke dag, we woonden toen bij jouw familie, bij jouw moeder. Intensieve training Nederlands-Portugees.

R: Wat is de reactie van de kinderen op hun tweetaligheid?
MNL1: Hmm. Ja, ik denk dat ze het heel natuurlijk vinden
FP1: Ja.
MNL1: Want voor [onze zoon] is het best wel moeilijk op school nu, met lezen en schrijven. En dan zeggen we: Maar ja, jij kunt Portugees. Je moet hem daar een beetje bewust van maken, wat zelf komt die daar niet op van ohja, ik kan ook Portugees, en heel normaal.
FP1: Dat is meer de pressure, de druk van de school, van het systeem. Hij praat heel vloeiend Nederlands, geen last van de taal. Maar deze dingen, de school, de testen, de examsen, en deze dingen, is moeilijk.
R: En de leerkracht, wat doet die?
MNL1: Nou, hij blijft nu een jaar zitten, en op zich zien wij ook wel dat dat belangrijk is, dat hij die basis een beetje goed meekrijgt. Maar hun gooien het ook een beetje op concentratieproblemen. Terwijl ik denk dat van op zich had ie dat in Brazilië ook wel, dat ie gauw was afgeleid, maar ik denk wel dat ook het is moeilijk, dus al het andere wat me kan afleiden, dat is welkom zeg maar, voor hem.
FP1: Maar hij kan wel concentreren. Kijk maar!
[Gelach]
FP1: Probleem voor mij, ik zeg is niet concentratie. His concentration is very good. But people in the school, here and in Brazil also, they always look to him as, you are not in the system. You are not - you have to be in the system. You are not. You have to come to-
MNL1: Je moet meedoen in het systeem en dan is het normaal, zeg maar.
FP1: En dan ben je normaal.
R: Dan komt er een gat wat niet meer te dichten is.
MNL1: Ja, dan wordt het voor hem erachteraan hollen elke dag en het niet halen zeg maar. Dat gaat op een gegeven moment frustrieren natuurlijk.
FP1: Kijk, mijn werk is saai, maar soms is heel spannend. Ik heb een boek, ik maak een boek. En deze boek heeft, deze psychologieboek, en dat is niet praten maar doen. Zijn tips voor ouders. Kinderen leren vooral door te doen, meer dan door te praten. En ze leren het meest als ze plezier hebben in wat ze moeten doen.
MNL1: Ja, dat is ook wat je tegen de juf zei.
FP1: Om de therapie zo, blablablá. Dit impliceert flexibiliteit in de werkwijze en houding van de therapeut. De therapeut is de ouders en ook de..
MNL1: Leraar.
FP1: Leraar. Zo de volgende afspraak
MNL1: Tien-minutengesprek
FP1: Weten we wat we moeten doen. Zo, dat is mijn- hoe zeg je dat- that is my idea-mijn idee over dit, over [onze zoon]. Maar ik kan niet ruzie maken tegen het systeem. Het systeem is daar, CITO is daar, de leraar is onder CITO. Ik begrijp wel- ik denk is belangrijk voor het systeem van het land, in Nederland. Maar voor mijn kinderen dat helpt niet, zo wat ik moet doen? Mijn kinderen hebben twee talen en de andere taal is belangrijk. Ik hoor mensen zeggen: 'Jajij moet praten Nederlands tegen jouw kinderen." Wat?!! Ik wil zeggen heel slechte woorden tegen deze mensen. Maar natuurlijk ik ga niet doen. Ik begrijp deze mensen, hoe zeg je dat- kan niet- weten niet hoe belangrijk het is twee talen.
Sorry, mijn Nederlands is zo slecht.

Nee, ik begrijp je helemaal.

Zo, hij moet leren Portugees en Nederlands, niet alleen Nederlands. Oké, wij wonen hier, maar we hebben ook armen en benen in Brazilië. Zo, we hebben twee landen, Brazilië en Nederland. Zo, we praten Portugees en Nederlands, niet alleen één. Zo, is moeilijk dat mensen begrijpen dat in het systeem. Het systeem is alleen Nederlands, Nederlands, Nederlands.

Wij kennen ook een vrouw uit Eritrea en die heeft een zoontje die is hier geboren. Die is net zo oud als [onze zoon]. Hij was hier van het weekend en toen had ie het over: Mijn moeder, die praat met vrienden alleen Eritrees en op dr mobiel. En hij heef t het niet geleerd van haar. Zij heeft altijd alleen maar Nederlands met hem gesproken. Dus hij kan die taal niet. Dan zie je hoe frustrerend het voor een kind wel is. Want ze zijn daar ook naar het land geweest, maar dan kan zo’n kind helemaal niet met zijn familie praten. En dat hebben we in Brazilië ook gezien. En toen dachten we nou dat willen we echt niet.

Je moet een band met je cultuur houden?

Ja, en ook met familie kunnen praten als je daar bent. En we hebben ook mensen gezien, want we hebben in de zending gewerkt, en die kinderen leren wel drie of vier talen. En dat kon ook allemaal prima. Mensen in Braziliaanse Familie zei wel eens, dat is veel te verwarrend voor [onze zoon]. Nederlands, Portugees, dat gaat helemaal niet goed. Terwijl wij zoiets hadden van kinderen kunnen meer talen leren hê. En hoe gaaf is het? Maar jouw familie vond het ook altijd- dacht ook, omdat het- als een volwassene is het dan niet te begrijpen dat een kind Nederlands verstaat. Die hadden iets van: Naah, dat kan niet.

Is wel grappig voor ons. Is moeilijk ook niet met de kinderen. Één keer ik was met [onze dochter], ik wilde naar de wc gaan, en ik vraag aan [onze dochter] heb jij naar wc gegaan. En [onze dochter] heeft de antwoord, zo makkelijk met de perfectum. Met 'hebben' enzo.

Zinsopbouw: Ik ben naar de wc geweest.

Leren deze dingen op de school.

Grammatica aan het leren

Waar hoort welk werkwoord in de zin enzo.


Als je ermee opgroeit..

Ik geloof dat kinderen, wat wij weten van [onze vrienden], is dat kinderen vier talen.

Vier? Drie!

Ik dacht vier. Jij denkt drie?

Ja Engels, Portugees en Bengal.

Ja, maar dat kinderen wel vier talen kunnen handelen, zeg maar, al opgroeien.


Op school andere taal.

In Brazilië was [mijn man] Engels aan het leren, van gewoon een cursus en daar liep ook een familie die waren Amerikaans. En de kinderen waren in Brazilië opgegroeid en [mijn man] dacht nou met dat jongetje van 6 ga ik even lekkerEngels praten. En
toen zei die: "Nee jij bent Braziliaan, met jou praat ik geen Engels, met jou praat ik Portugees."

FP1: Ja, echt.

MNL1: Zo van, jij bent Braziliaan, met mijn moeder praat ik Engels of met iemand uit Amerika of Engeland. Die schermde dat ook heel erg af, van eh. Ja was wel grappig. Ja, het hooft niet met jou.

FP1: Hij is boos.


[...]

Heeft ons ook altijd wel, we vonden het ook altijd wel interessant, die andere talen. Zoals die kinderen daar rondliepen.

MNL1: Die ouders worstelden met Portugees. En die kinderen praten vloeiend Engels en vloeiend Portugees. Wel leuk om te zien. Toen hadden wij nog geen kinderen, dus dat was voor ons van oh, zo gaan wij het ook doen later.

R: Dus jullie hebben wel veel kunnen zien voordat jullie zelf keuzes hierover hoefden te maken.

FP1: En beetje motivatie om door te gaan. Want voor mij is nu een beetje moeilijk, met [onze dochter]. Soms ik begrijp niet wat zij zegt. Zo is een beetje frustratie voor mijzelf, voor mij een probleem met de taal. Ik ben niet een full vader, want ik kan niet zijn full, want ik begrijp niet alles wat mijn dochter kan wel zeggen. En op hetzelfde moment, [mijn vrouw] in Brazilië zelfde met [onze zoon], niet dezelfde maar een beetje... Jij moet continue met deze dingen. Ik moet Portugees praten met [onze dochter].

MNL1: Je wil het.

FP1: Voor mij is makkelijk doen dat. Is niet zoals [mijn vrouw] met Portugees. Want ik heb geen Nederlands

MNL1: Ja ja, hmm

FP1: Maar is een beetje...

[...]

R: Worden jullie kinderen in het leren van de thuistaal gestimuleerd door de juf of meester?

MNL1: Nee.

FP1: De juf? Nee.

MNL1: Ik denk als je vraagt wat is de tweede taal van [onze zoon]? Dat ze dan heel hard moeten nadenken van wat er in Brazilië ook alweer gesproken wordt. Nee daar merk je helemaal niks van.

FP1: Is denk misschien geen kennis van dat.

MNL1: Ik denk ook dat er weinig ervaring is, hoor, hiermee. Ze hebben nu wat vluchtelingenkinderen, maar die worden dan naar Amersfoort gestuurd, naar de taalschool. Ze zijn daar een jaar Nederlands aan het leren en worden klaargestoomd om het systeem verder af te maken. Dus misschien is dat ook wel een dingetje. Ja, dat ze niet zo goed weten, want ze hebben hem wel bijles gegeven en extra aandacht. Maar dat ze niet zo goed weten wat ze daar verder mee moeten.

FP1: Ja, nee, dat wordt vanuit school niet zo.. Wij hebben dan zelf bedacht..

MNL1: Ze hebben dan wel gevraagd of hij dan in het Portugees kan lezen

FP1: Ja, hij leest daar nu Portugees.

MNL1: Nee, verder is er niet veel stimulatie ofzo vanuit hun. Ja, ze zijn heel erg gefocust op het Nederlands.

goed voor mij, voor de kinderen, voor [mijn vrouw], voor iedereen hier. Voor Portugees, nee, is niet goed.

R: Wat vindt u ervan als uw thuistaal in het onderwijs van jullie kinderen gebruikt zou worden om dingen te leren?

MNL1: Als het zou kunnen?

R: Ja, als het zou kunnen

MNL1: Ja! Zeg maar, kijkend naar [onze zoon], van dat is zijn tweede taal, laten we hem daar ook in ontwikkelen. Ja!

FP1: Kan niet.


R: Dat hij door het Portugees

FP1: Op school?

R: Ja.

MNL1: Dat het Portugees gebruikt wordt zeg maar om ook het Nederlands te leren.

FP1: Oh.

MNL1: Als dat zou kunnen.


MNL1: Huiswerk deed ik altijd in het Nederlands, als ik dan tussendoor uitlegde wat hij moest doen.

FP1: De uitleg is in het Nederlands. Is Portugees de les, maar de uitleg is Nederlands. Niet goed, maar..

[lachen]

MNL1: Niet perfect, maar op zich maakte hij ze altijd wel redelijk

FP1: Hij begrijpt wel. Is niet de beste... [lacht]


FP1: Ik doe de uitleg in het Portugees. Want mijn Nederlands is niet goed, voor uitleg. Ik doe in Portugees. Hij begrijpt wel. Maar ik weet niet hoe- hoever dat kan helpen, [onze zoon]. Begrijp je wat ik zeg?

R: Ja, ja!

[..]

R: Hoe ziet u uw eventuele rol bij het onderwijs van uw kind of alsouder op school?

MNL1: Onze rol als ouder op school.

FP1: Wat is dat, rol?

MNL1: Papel

FP1: Oh, papel. Ik doe niet.

MNL1: Over dit onderwerp?

R: Nou gewoon in het algemeen

FP1: Oh, in het algemeen


R: Komt dat ook vanwege de taal?

FP1: Ja, ik vind moeilijk. Kijk, ik praat nu met u. Maar op school, ik doe een beetje op de schoolplein, praten met andere ouders, maar dat is moeilijk voor mij. De afspraak met de leraar is altijd moeilijk voor mij. Als ik moet praten, ik ga run away, ik ga altijd...

volgens mij is dat het niet. En dan denk ik wel misschien zijn ze toch een beetje beperkt daarin.

FP1: Mijn probleem is ook, dat ik niet weet hoe werkt het systeem. Altijd ik heb vraag en niemand weet hoe werkt. Systeem is daar, is gewoon. Is de, de- I hate this word.

MNL1: Het is gewoon zo zeggen we dan. Het regent.

FP1: Alles is gewoon. Alles, alles. Oh er is regen, waarom? Is gewoon.

MNL1: Is gewoon zo.

FP1: Alles! Waarom regent hier zo, te veel hier? Gewoon. Zo!

R: Helemaal gek wordt u ervan.

FP1: Ja, alles is gewoon. Ik begrijp niet. Ik ben niet perfectionist, maar ik ben echt details.

MNL1: Echt waarom.

FP1: Echt klein! Ja, ik wil weten. Ik wil. Zo, mijn probleem met de taal is. Ik wil niet praten, ik weet niet waarom praten deze manier. Nou dat is gewoon. 'Het' en 'de', wat is dat, waarom, gewoon.

MNL1: Wanneer 'het' wanneer de, wanneer...

FP1: Ja, Ik wil weten waarom. Het systeem is daar. En ik denk als ouder, ik moet participeren meer en de constructie van systeem. Onderwijs, ik wil hoge woorden gebruiken maar ik zeg het niet. Ik wil de constructie van het curriculum van de school, hoe is dat, waarom dat? Maar ik weet niet, hoe kan dat. [mijn vrouw] is gewoon, alles gewoon. En als ik kan niet participeren, want mijn taal is zo slecht, ik ga...

MNL1: Je trekt je terug.

FP1: Ja, dat is mijn probleem, en dat is mijn fout. Ik moet gaan daar, en vragen, in slecht Nederlands, maar ik moet doen. Maar ja, dat is wat ik denk is onze rol op school.

R: Zou de school daar nog aan tegemoet kunnen komen, dat de school het makkelijker maakt voor jou?

FP1: Ik weet niet hoe, ik ben een probleem voor hun.

MNL1: Nee, maar je bedoelt het concentratieprobleem wat hun zien.

R: Ja dat, of het participatieprobleem, dat je je terugtrekt?

FP1: Nee, ik heb nooit iets teruggehoord.

MNL1: Kijk, ik denk dat als wij gesprekken zouden willen aanvragen enzo van we willen er toch nog over verder praten, dat de school het makkelijker maakt voor jou?

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MNL1: Kijk, ik denk dat als wij gesprekken zouden willen aanvragen enzo van we willen er toch nog over verder praten, dat de school het makkelijker maakt voor jou?
MNL1: Ja, wij moesten natuurlijk vanuit Brazilië een school regelen. En je hebt hier scholen daar heb je echt wachtlijsten. Zodra je kind geboren is moet je je kind inschrijven en hopen dat je uitgeloot wordt. Deze school heeft zeg maar code oranje gehad, dat was natuurlijk ook niet zo positief, maar er is u een nieuwe directrice. En die systeempjes, ik denk dat je op andere scholen ook zo'n systeem hebt.


R: Een discussie zeg maar.


MNL1: Dat is onze rol, in een paar woorden.

FP1: Ik wil, ik zie niet de interesse van de school in kinderen als [onze zoon] met twee talen. Ik zie niet.


R: Wel het welzijn van hem in de gaten houden?


R: Als u een ding zou kunnen zeggen tegen de leerkracht van uw kind over uw en zijn/haar meertaligheid, wat zou dat zijn?

MNL1: Beetje open-minded. Of ga lezen over meertalige kinderen ofzo. Zodat ze ja...

FP1: En dit bewijst dit. Niet alleen follow de systeem.

MNL1: Dat heb je toen ook gezegd in het gesprek en toen zei ze wel van ja dat zouden we ook wel heel graag willen. Maar je hebt natuurlijk 24 kinderen in een klas en dan kun je ze niet allemaal apart iets aanbieden wat voor hun, ja, dat snap je.

FP1: Ik begrijp, maar daar jij hebt een probleem, want de development, ik weet niet deze woorden. Development van de kinderen, is individueel, is niet een groep. Oké, je hebt een groep development, maar jij hebt ook de individueel. En ik zie niet de individueel, dat zijn dingen dat ik denk de school...

MNL1: Er zijn moment dat [onze zoon] apart genomen wordt en dat er extra leesmomenten zijn, maar dat is misschien heel beperkt.

FP1: School is niet alleen sociaal, maar ook individueel. Als jij doet de CITO-toets is individueel. Waarom, jij maakt de kinderen oefeningen sociaal, maar niet individueel voor de kinderen, een vraag voor de kinderen op hun niveau. Dat is een beetje uit van de balans.
MNL1: Maar ik zou als tip wel meegeven van misschien is het wel interessant om daar in te verdiepen. Vooral ook omdat, zeg maar, je hebt nu- je hebt veel te maken met vluchtelingenkinderen enzo. Maar die gaan echt naar Amersfoort naar een taalles, waar ze de taal leren en dan komen ze terug met een goede basis. Goed genoeg om op de basisschool verder te gaan. Dus dan denk ik dat gaat helemaal buitenom de leerkrachten. Dus die hebben daar helemaal niet zoveel mee te doen. Want op het moment dat zij merken oh dit vluchtelingenmeisje haar Nederlands is echt te beperkt om mee te komen, dan gaan ze naar die taalles. En ik denk dat [onze zoon] op het randje zat, omdat hij van mij natuurlijk altijd Nederlands heeft gehoord. Ik heb wel zulke momenten gehad, dat ik heb gedacht had hij ook niet naar Amersfoort gemoeten, ofzo.

FP1: Is twee ziektes die heel veel zijn, die de kinderen hebben. Is ADHD en dyslexie. Hij is gewoon druk, hij is niet ADHD. Kinderen, be child.

MNL1: Dat hebben heel veel kinderen opeens momenteel.

FP1: Maar dat is de leeftijd.

MNL1: De één is gewoon drukker dan de ander. Ik ben wel blij dat ze niet ook hebben gezegd van [onze zoon] is dyslectisch, dat wordt misschien het eerste stickertje.

FP1: Het was ook wel, hoe zeg je dat [praat Portugees].

MNL1: We moesten naar -omdat zijn woordenschat natuurlijk ook wel beperkt was, of we niet naar een...

R: Logopedie?

MNL1: Ja, logopedie, en toen ging ik bellen met de logopedie, en die zeiden, alleen als je een medische indicatie hebt, wordt het vergoed. En toen dacht ik ja, we hadden echt geen geld om logopedie erbij te betalen. En het was ook eigenlijk meer om woordenschat te vergroten.

FP1: Ja, de logopedie zei: hij is tweetalig

MNL1: Ohja, dus hij kwam helemaal niet in aanmerking voor de verzekering

FP1: School niet begrijpt.

R: Er is geen communicatie tussen die instanties?

MNL1: Dat is toen meerdere malen gevraagd. Ja, ik heb gebeld. Het is niet op medische- het is niet vanwege- dus dan...


MNL1: Maar als we een gesprek erover willen, dan vind ik wel dat ze daar open over zijn.

FP1: In Brazilië wij hebben een probleem met het systeem. Heel veel scholen concentreert het onderwijs naar de toetsen voor universiteit. Wij hebben in Brazilië toetsen dat als jij bent goed, jij gaat naar de universiteit. Dus alle scholen focussen curriculum in deze toets. Maar ik wil niet in universiteit. Waarom ik ga leer, iets wat ik gebruik niet. Dus is heel moeilijk voor heel veel mensen. Dat systeem is geld, dat is het systeem. Hier, in begin ik observeer, wat is dat. Iedereen focust in CITO. En nu- vroeger CITO is alleen groep 8, nu CITO is vanaf groep 1. Dus iedereen focust op groep 1. Kinderen oefenen op CITO. Enne..

MNL1: Ik denk dat ze dat met het idee hebben gedaan, dat ze niet zo zenuwachtig zijn in groep 8, dat ze de hele schoolperiode er al bekend mee zijn.

FP1: Het idee is goed. Ik bekritiseer niet het idee.

MNL1: Maar wel hoe erop gefocust wordt op de uitkomst.

FP1: Ja, jij hebt een idee, maar jij creëert een systeem. Iedereen loopt in dit systeem. Maar iedereen loopt verschillend. Jij begrijpt wat ik zeg? Zo ik loop een manier, jij een andere manier, zij een andere manier. Waarom ik ga lopen, voor deze systeem, voor
dit idee, op dezelfde manier als jij loopt? Ik begrijp niet. Is zelfde probleem als je hebt daar in Brazilië. Als ik leer in iets, is niet dezelfde manier. Ik kan niet dezelfde manier.

MNL1: Ik denk echt dat jij beter de vrije school wat meer in had kunnen vinden.
FP1: Ik ken niet de vrije school, ik ga kijken.

Table 3. Languages spoken in the household of FP1 & MNL1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mother</th>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Child 1</th>
<th>Child 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td></td>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>Dutch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father</td>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td></td>
<td>Portugese</td>
<td>Dutch</td>
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<tr>
<td>Child 1</td>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dutch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child 2</td>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Interview MS1

28-03-2018
R: HILDA HEYDE

R: Wat voor talen spreken jullie?
MS1: Wij praten Spaans en Nederlands. Want mijn man die praat geen Spaans. Dus met mijn man praat ik Nederlands en met de kinderen altijd Spaans, als wij alleen zijn.

R: Als hij er ook bij is?
MS1: Als hij erbij is, dan ook. Ik praat altijd Spaans tegen de kinderen. Als zij antwoord geven, eerst deden ze alleen maar in het Nederlands. En toen ben ik flauw van, en ben ik begonnen toen zij heel klein waren, een jaar of 2, om te zeggen, ik begreep niet wat zij zeggen. Ik begrijp het niet en ik deed het niet. Als zij iets vroegen of wat dan ook, appel of water, of wat dan ook dan deed ik het niet en zei: 'Ik begrijp je niet.' En toen begonnen zij Spaans te praten. En nu praten zij bijna altijd tegen mij Spaans, maar

Table 4. Languages spoken in the household of MS1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mother</th>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Child 1</th>
<th>Child 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
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<td>Spanish</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Father</td>
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<td>Dutch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child 1</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child 2</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

R: Wat verwacht u dat uw kind bereikt in elke taal, in bijvoorbeeld begrijpen/lezen/spreken of schrijven?

MS1: Ja, niet foutloos, afhankelijk van wat zij willen doen. Maar wat ik doe, bijvoorbeeld nu om - zij lezen niet zo vaak. Zij houden niet van lezen. Geen van de twee. In geen enkele taal. Alleen maar van die Donald Duckjes en dat soort tijdschriften. En boeken minder, beetje, maar niet veel. Dus wat ik probeer om de schrijfvaardigheid

R: En moet zij dan ook in het Spaans terugschrijven?


MS1: Als ik tweetalig Engels was, dan zou ik wel meer doen voor schrijven. En heel netjes en heel goed lezen, misschien boeken. Ik heb boeken in het Spaans. Maar zij houden niet van lezen en ik wil hun niet dwingen.


R: En als ze tegen elkaar praten, wat spreken ze dan? Of tegen vriendjes en op het schoolplein?


[...]

MS1: Het was heel grappig, het was twee jaar geleden. Of nee meer. [Mijn zoon] was een jaar of 4 ofzo. En toen gingen naar Griekenland op vakantie. En daar waren andere kinderen, Griekse kinderen daar. En zij wouden spelen met mijn kinderen. Dus ja, wat praten wij? En [hij] begon Spaans te praten tegen de Griekse kinderen. En toen begrepen zij elkaar, het woord: ”pata”. Zo’n soort voet. En het was ”pata, pata, pata”. Maar hij probeerde de hele tijd Spaans te praten tegen hun. Hij weet, hij was heel klein, hij weet op een bepaalde manier dat buitenlandse kinderen, of een andere taal is Spaans. Was heel grappig.

[...]

R: Hoe reageren ze zelf op dat ze meertalig zijn?

MS1: Hoe reageren zij, ik heb geen idee. Ik denk dat zij, dat voor hun is iets dat gewoon bij hun hoort. Ik denk dat zij zien dat niet als iets bijzonders. [Mijn dochter] was 2 jaar en toen vertaalde zij al mijn familie naar het Nederlands en de familie naar het Spaans en de twee talen. En [mijn zoon] minder. Maar zij zien dat als iets wat bij hun hoort. Iets natuurlijks, iets normaals. Niet iets bijzonders of anders. En als iemand hun vraagt, of

R: Wat voor soort reacties krijgt u, of uw kind, op school over de meertaligheid en de meertalige opvoeding?

MS1: Van de kinderen heel veel nieuwsgierigheid. En toen vragen zij 'Oh zeg maar dit, zeg maar dat. Hoe zeg je dit, hoe zeg je dat?' Van de leraren niks, goed. Zij weten dat zij tweetalig zijn. Maar ik kan mij herinneren dat in groep 1, dat was een beetje, dat zij, of was het groep 1 of de kleuterschool? Dat zij wilden, dat wij, dat ik meer Nederlands praatte tegen hun dan leren zij de taal beter. Volgens mij was een juf.

Was een reactie op een juf, dat ik moest voorlezen, meer voorlezen of samen lezen in het Nederlands. En ik heb gezegd, ik ga geen Nederlandse boeken lezen, want ik maak fouten. Mijn Nederlands is niet foutloos, dus ik ga niet de kinderen de uitspraak verkeerd leren. Dat ga ik niet doen.

Maar meestal de reactie van leerkrachten en kinderen is goed. Ik heb een paar keer aan het begin, toen ze begonnen met lezen, ik heb een beetje een tegenreactie, volgens mij was het in de kleuterschool. Maar ik heb gewoon, hoe zeg je dat, voet bij stuk gehouden. Ik zeg: nee ik ga dat niet doen. Maar meer voor hun, omdat ja ik wil niet dat zij -

R: Worden uw kinderen gestimuleerd in het leren van het Spaans door de leerkracht?


[...]

MS1: Hier beginnen ze ook in groep 3 met Engels, maar niet goed.

R: Waarom?

MS1: Omdat de methode niet goed is, want het is met liedjes. Het is zo’n belachelijke methode met liedjes. En de leraren, volgens mij, kunnen niet goed. Tenminste als ik
ze hoor praten, nee. Dus twee dingen: Één is de methode, en twee is de leraren. Die zijn niet opgeleid om Engelse les te geven. Ja, en dat is zo.

M: Ja, want Engels en Duits zijn hier heel belangrijk ook voor een opleiding en een baan en alles. Dat zou heel goed voor de kinderen zijn denk ik.
R: En als ze dat met het Spaans zouden doen, wat zou je daarvan zeggen? Als ze in de les Spaans zouden gebruiken om de stof te leren.
MS1: Prima, zij vinden ook prima, zij vinden het makkelijk. Zij willen iets met Spaans of Spaans als keuzevak, maar dat is bijna nergens hier. Dus ja, zij zouden prima vinden. Maar -ik raad hen af om een opleiding met Spaans te doen, want er is weinig werk. Eh. Liever als zij iets willen met talen, dan Engels of Duits, en Spaans als bijvak, maar niet echt alleen Spaans. Want ja, daar is gewoon weinig werk voor. Ja.
R: Dus dan zouden ze Duits moeten leren?
MS1: Voor Duits is heel veel werk. En Engels- Engels en Duits eigenlijk vragen zij overal. Frans ook heel veel. Maar Frans hebben ze op de middelbare school, mijn dochter niet. Het was een keuzevak in klas 1, en dat heeft zij niet gekozen.

R: Dus dan zouden ze Duits moeten leren?

R: Nee?
MS1: Portugees vind ik wel mooier, leuker, maar Italiaans, nee, vind ik niet zo'n leuke taal. Portugees vind ik niet zo moeilijk.
R: Allemaal leuke talen, vind ik.
MS1: Ja. Ja. Er is geen taal dat ik zeg nou, dat... Pools is een beetje een harde taal.
R: Maar ik merk ook dat dat kan veranderen, want ik vond dat ook altijd van het Duits, maar dat vind ik nu ook niet meer zo.
MS1: Duits hangt van de persoon af, meer, vind ik. Maar Pools vind ik een harde taal, een taal te- weet ik niet.

**Interview FI2| MS2**

28-03-2018
R: HILDA HEYDE

R: Could you tell me something about the languages in your family?

FI2: I'm speaking Italian most of the time with them. They're replying in Dutch. But they understand me, yeah.

R: So it's mostly Italian?

FI2: No, mostly Spanish maybe with them

MS2: Ik spreek ook in het Nederlands eigenlijk.

R: Ook tegen hun?

MS2: Ja, ook tegen hun.

R: Heeft u hier een strategie voor?
MS2: Gewoon spontaan. Soms, ja, dan begin ik in het Spaans en als ik zie dat er zijn dingen die niet begrepen zijn, ja, dan ga ik in het Nederlands. Ja, dan probeer ik in het Nederlands.

R: En wat spreken uw kinderen tegen elkaar?

MS2: Nederlands, ja.

R: En is dit veranderd met de jaren of is dit altijd zo geweest?

MS2: Ja, sinds ze heel klein zijn.

FI2: Between them, they speak Dutch.

R: And between you?

FI2: Mostly Spanish, no? We speak Spanish together. There’s also another jongen [boy]. He’s 15 and we speak Spanish with him, yeah, so. But I speak Italian with them, yeah.

MS2: But Nederlands ook.

FI2: Ja, Nederlands ook.

MS2: Soms Nederlands en soms.

FI2: If they don’t understand, I try in Dutch. Actually they do understand, but they don’t want. [laughs]

Table 5. Languages spoken in the household of FI2 & MS2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mother</th>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Child 1</th>
<th>Child 2</th>
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<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
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<td>Father</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
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<td>Italian</td>
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<tr>
<td>Child 1</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Let's go back to your language choices; which choices do you make in the home with regard to the languages? Are there rules?

No rules, no. I actually like they speak Dutch, because they are Dutch. They were born here, they live here. At least for now, I don't know in the future, but...


Drie, vier dagen en het was vloeiend, ja

Heel gek.

En in Italië ook hè, met mijn vader.


Ook daar was de familie zijn kleine kinderen, dus zij kunnen spelen. Dat is beter.

Contact met familie in land van herkomst?

Nee, met mijn broer-

Ja, via Skype wel, maar ze willen niet.

Ze willen geen woord zeggen.

Soms met ouders wel.

Minder, minder, minder. Ook met jouw moeder niet meer hè? Vroeger was meer. In het begin, no? Nu niks. Geen schrijf, geen.

Maar we hebben wel vrienden hier die Spaans spreken en soms- sommige dingen kun je horen, maar meestal Nederlands tussen hun.
FI2: Also the kids of our friends they are Latin American and they speak Spanish, but they speak Dutch together. It's the first language, mother language.

R: What would you want or expect for your children with regard to their languages?

FI2: That they're happy [laughs]. Doesn't matter. I wish they speak Italian of course. I think also is nice, more languages, you know, I know because I come from another country, because is a mental training, you know.

R: What would you expect for your children concerning comprehension or speaking? And how about reading or writing?

FI2: No

MS2: Nee, nog niet, 5 en 4 jaar.

FI2: Maar wil je deze?

MS2: Ja, ik, ja, wel!

FI2: Jawel, maar jij doet niet?

MS2: Er is ook een Spaanse school hier in Amsterdam, zaterdagen. En ja, ik denk, is goed zo, weet je. Zij kunnen praten, wel communiceren, maar ja, schrijven en lezen, misschien later komt. Als zij willen.

FI2: Als zij willen.

MS2: Met mijn oudste zoon, ja, hij is naar de Spaanse school gegaan, maar ja, op een gegeven moment wilde niet meer, weet je. Hij wilde naar voetbal. Waren dezelfde tijd dus ja. Ik zie dat- als hij later wil, zij doen.

R: Do you think that the home language gives your child societal/economic opportunities?

FI2: I think they can do in the future, if they want. Cause they have experience with the languages, maybe if they start being interested in Italian, or culture or Argentina, that would be, you know [inaudible]. Or maybe they start to - I don't know, they like French. You know? Or German, also. Or Chinese, or nothing [laughs]. Could also be. [...] Sometimes you see, the youngest he says some Italian words to- how to say- give me some happiness.

MS2: And he's more social. And [my daughter] is the..

FI2: For example the movies, we try to. They watch movie in Italian, Spanish or English, but [my daughter] for example wants Dutch, she only wants in Dutch, because she won't understand everything. And he's more flexible.

R: Has their language use changed over the years?

FI2: No, it's always been like that.

MS2: Hij maakt veel contact altijd met iedereen, met kinderen. Ik denk dat hij, met talen is zijn gereedschap om contact te maken. Hij wil graag meer talen. Soms vraagt hij "ja, in het Frans". Wat?! Oké, ik vind wel mooi dat!
FI2: Zoveel gekeken. Deze movie he saw a lot.

MS2: Hij weet precies wat gaat gebeuren.

R: En wat spreken uw kinderen met vriendjes of op het schoolplein?

FI2: Altijd, altijd Nederlands.

MS2: Ja, ze leven in het Nederlands eigenlijk.

FI2: Op school met de Cito-toets, voor [de oudste] dit was het eerste jaar, hadden ze twee toetsen. Een is voor rekenen en een andere was voor taal. Taal was C, I think is average, no? Rekenen was E.

MS2: Ah, oké.

FI2: Met taal hebben we gevraagd, waarom? Oké, waarom deze, ik begrijp niet wat de toets?

MS2: Habla Ingles

FI2: Sorry, she said she didn't understand actually what the teacher wants. [My daughter] says that. I don't know, this makes me a little more afraid. Language was good, OK, C, was OK. Also the teacher says: "no problem" It was a good level. Speak about, also ask. But for rekenen, maths, calculus, I don't know, they're five years, I don't know what they do. She said that she didn't understand what the teacher was saying.

R: What was it that she didn't understand?

FI2: The words I think, the words, or maybe the exercise. I don't know. I will not pressure her for that.

R: What did the teacher say about that?

FI2: We try to ask, but with this CITO-toets, is ambiguous. I don't understand actually what they do, what they want. [...] If you want to help, you don't know how. Because you don’t know- But we really experienced this problem, no?

MS2: Ja, met mijn oudste zoon, wij hadden wel problemen met de taal. De vader, is andere vader, is ook Argentiëns, we praten altijd Spaans tegen hem. Ja, hij had in het begin wel een achterstand met Nederlands, maar ja, de CITO was altijd iets, de CITO was altijd niet goed begrepen door de ouders.

[...]

MS2: De probleem ook is de CITO-toets maakt niet de juf zelf van de klas, maar een andere persoon, dus ja.

FI2: Is dat hetzelfde van nu of is het anders?

R: Ze passen het wel aan elk jaar.

FI2: De procedure, I mean, is the same?

R: Yeah, the system is the same.

[...]

MS2: Ja, maar de CITO is ook met advies. Het is een moment, maar daarom vind ik ook helemaal niet juist. Weet je, omdat sommige kinderen krijgen wel een advies wat op
How many languages do you speak?

FI2: Just one language.

MS2: Ja, ik heb Frans geleerd, Engels ook.

FI2: Ah op school, you mean!

R: Ja, op school! En thuis?

MS2: Thuis gewoon Spaans.

FI2: For example, in Italy, we don’t have this culture of multilingualism, at least when I was young. We study at school a lot of years. Then the class is finished and it’s done. Let’s talk Italian, everything is Italian. More we have a dialect culture. Actually we are a multilingual country, if you think about that. Multiple dialects, but yeah.

R: So do you speak multiple dialects?

FI2: Yes, my dialect, I come from Naples. So we speak Italian and Napolitaans.

R: Is it very different?

FI2: Yeah, it’s very different, actually consider it a language.

R: What do you think are advantages or disadvantages to the bi/multilingualism of your children?

FI2: In school now, at least now in the beginning, it could be a disadvantage, maybe.

R: And why?

FI2: Because maybe, they don’t understand precisely what the teacher’s saying. I don’t know.

R: Have they said that to you?

FI2: The teacher says the level was the same. Maybe no? For my daughter it was that. Also we were worrying about, because my son went to the logopedist, for about -for a couple of months, one year, some months shorter. And the doctor says the level is good, normal.

MS2: Aangezien hij met drie talen is opgevoed, ja, ja.

FI2: Of course, when they grow up it is a big advantage, I think, it is really a great advantage. Fourth language becomes easier. I think they’re really lucky.

MS2: En ook niet alleen met de talen, maar zij kunnen beseffen dat er andere mensen zijn die anders zijn ook.

FI2: Multiculturele is normaal voor hen. Amsterdam is ook mooi voor deze, ja ik denk. Ook de crèche hier, I think, was alle nationaliteiten in de klas. Amsterdam is heel mooi voor dat.

R: En nu op school ook?
FI2: Ja, op school wel.

MS2: Er zijn veel culturen.

FI2: Ook de kinderen zijn -is Nederlands, of met een andere man. Surinaams, of Frans.

MS2: [Een vriend van ons] is een beetje kritisch.

FI2: De kinderen zijn een beetje groter, misschien is dat het.

MS2: Ja, dat is anders hè.

FI2: Nu is mooi, spelen. Dan misschien-

MS2: We denken ook, tenminste ik, dat de school neemt niet serieus dat kinderen die andere culturen, ja, beleven; het Nederlands is anders, weet je, voor hun. Is niet hetzelfde als dat je de hele tijd Nederlands praat, thuis ook. Ja, is anders. En denk ik, de school als instelling, neemt niet dat serieus. Ja, dat iedereen moet hetzelfde. Nee, niet iedereen is hetzelfde. Is niet hetzelfde niveau. En daarom zijn mensen kritisch. Ik heb ook met mijn oudste zoon dat beleefd. [...] 

FI2: One hand it's important that everybody is treated at the same level, because otherwise you do difference, you know. They feel different if the school treats the foreign children in a different way, or not.

MS2: The school treats them in a different way.

FI2: Yeah, you're saying that-

MS2: The education here is you cannot. I'm kritisch.

R: En hoe bedoelt u dat precies?

MS2: Eigenlijk is- komt niet in verband met de taal, maar de kansen voor iedereen, voor elk kind. Met tien jaar, kun je niet zeggen, je kunt niet doen. Is anti-pedagogisch, ik denk. Kan niet verbieden dat hij misschien later komt de ontwikkeling wel goed, maar ik weet dat door de taal veel kinderen die misschien kunnen verder gaan worden neergedrukt. Dat vind ik echt gevaarlijk.

R: Is dat vooral bij deze school of in het algemeen?

MS2: Ja, groter. Van de regering, de opleidingen, het hele systeem volgens mij is verkeerd. Ik weet dat veel kinderen die misschien hebben geen goede basis van het Nederlands, van de taal, kunnen zich niet goed ontwikkelen, weet je. En dat is jammer voor een kind.

R: Hoe reageren uw kinderen zelf op dat ze meertalig zijn?

MS2: Ik denk dat ze mooi vinden dat ja, ze kunnen meer dan anderen, misschien of -


R: Daar zijn ze zich wel bewust van?

R: En wat voor reactie krijgen jullie op school of buiten de deur.

MS2: Op school zeggen ze, je moet in het Nederlands praten

FI2: Maar ja, ik probeer altijd. Is normaal, is Nederland hier.

MS2: Ja, maar voor mij is heel gek dat mijn oudste zoon altijd Spaans tegen mij praatte.

FI2: Ja, maar hij heeft, ik denk is heel belangrijk, voor drie maanden gewoond in Argentinië. Hij was 4. Ik denk dat hij heeft imprinting. I think the language is imprinting when you are a child. So now he's here and now it's normal to speak Spanish with you.

[...] 

MS2: Maar wat ik heb gezegd - dat mijn zoon praat vanaf zijn geboorte met mij Spaans, altijd.

FI2: Ik denk is belangrijk wonen in Argentinië voor drie maanden.

MS2: Nee, denk ik niet.

FI2: Wat denk jij?

R: Ik denk dat het allebei een effect heeft. Dus inderdaad, dit is de taal die je spreekt met je moeder dus er komt een emotionele band eraan vast. Dat dat ook heel belangrijk is. En hetzelfde geldt voor Italiaans dan.

FI2: Ja, is mooi voor hem, is heel mooi.

[...] 

R: Hoe zien jullie jullie rol als ouders bij de school?

MS2: Voor ons is heel moeilijk te helpen van school, toch?

FI2: Ja.

R: Als ze iets op school moeten doen?

MS2: Ja.

FI2: Rekenen- ik ben bioloog, the natural sciences. Voor mij wetenschappen is beter, maar bijvoorbeeld if they, taal... [...]

MS2: Begrijpend lezen

FI2: Begrijpend lezen, voor mij it's difficult.

MS2: Voor ons is-

FI2: For him, it's still a problem maybe, because rekenen is a good score. Begrijpend lezen is een moeilijk ding voor buitenlanders. So maybe they need extra help. They need extra help, I think is important and to afford this. And extra help. I think the society is
- eh- let's see- they want, they can, maybe they don't know how to. Because there is not much research about. Also because there are, I think also- it's actually so multicultural Amsterdam, because there are Marrokaans, which are different from Turks, different from Surinaams, different from Italians, Greek, Spanish, Portugal. That's what I mean, So maybe, I don't know how to manage all the other. Maybe it's hard too, this stuff.

[...]

R: Have you ever felt uncomfortable using your languages at school?

FI2: Yeah, I feel uncomfortable. If I speak Italian, nobody understands it. Also English, I don't, I try not to speak English. Actually at school I never speak English. I do with some parents, some ouders. But always Nederlands, mijn Nederlands of course [laughs].

R: And how about your involvement in the school?

FI2: Yeah, we do. Every Wednesday, today I went, I do tafelspelletje met kinderen, elke week. Jij ook, met theater-

MS2: Ik ben gister gegaan naar theater, uitstapjes. Ja, ik doet het.

FI2: Ik heb een keertje gedaan, in het begin van de school. Van libelle naar school, en dan over levenscirkel. Ja, was mooi.

R: Ze gebruiken ook wat je al in huis hebt qua kennis?

FI2: The school is good. At least our teacher at the class, de lerares is heel goed. Is moeilijk werk. Veel kinderen en- 30 minuten met drie kinderen, vier kinderen, is een mess, je begrijpt. Je begrijpt dan dat leraren gaan veel spelen. Is normaal. Is moeilijk werk. Jij kan doe makkelijk, jij kan spelen en doe wat je wil. Als jij begrijpt is niet mijn probleem, is niet een probleem. Als jij wil goed doen, is moeilijk. If you want to take care of this problem, language problem. Or every kid has a family. Each kid has their story. And it becomes really hard, a hard job. For 30 or maybe more, I don't know how many there are. They also have a problem. They are in staking last month, every month or not. Maybe there are more. Because when they are sick they don't have a replacement. They become more.

R: So not enough substitutes?

FI2: Yeah, substitutes.

R: So do the kids have to go home?

FI2: No, they stay in this case yes, when they are staking yes, but when they're sick they split the class in two. A bit in one class, and a bit in another. So they become more. 50 kids in a classroom, it's a lot.

R: If you could say one thing to say to your child's teacher about their multilingualism, what would that be?

FI2: I think that when, for example, if they could teach some things like how to do rekenen, this kind of stuff that they will grow up and do in school, they should take into consideration that the kids understand what they say. For example that she explains how to do 1+1. And it would be nice to go to [my daughter] and say: "Do you
understand?" Or to other kids of course. I think that the people, that this guy at the beginning had some problem with begrijpend lezen. So extra effort with this extra-

MS2: But the juf say, zij ging in een groep met extra begeleiding voor mensen, kinderen die niet helemaal 100% Nederlands zijn. Dus de hele klas [laughs]. Nee, nee.

FI2: Bijna, zijn niet twee ouders.

MS2: Ja, extra begeleiding voor taal. Weet ik niet of is nu gebeurd.

FI2: Maar ook, ik zeg ook normaal. Ik begrijp, is moeilijk. Zijn te veel kinderen en begrijp jij, begrijp jij, jij? Is moeilijk voor de leraar. But I think is important. The most difficult thing for them is to understand actually. To really understand what they're saying and the kids say: "Yeah, OK, OK. You are right, good."

MS2: Iemand die in dezelfde school zit, een Colombiaanse kennis van mij zei dat haar kind heeft helemaal niks gedaan op de CITO. Niks! Omdat hij begrijp, ik weet niet of hij het niet begreep of wat. Maar ja, niks gedaan.

R: Helemaal niks ingevuld?

MS2: Nee, niks!

FI2: Sometimes I think could also be psychological stress.

MS2: [Mijn dochter] zei dat zij had gehuild, omdat zij begrijpt het niet. Ja. Kinderen lijden wel van de stress bij de CITO.

[...]

MS2: Met de taal verbergt soms ook discriminatie. Voor werk ook. Als je niet goed Nederlands spreekt, je gaat weg. Dat is jammer.

[...]

R: En nooit gedacht, ik wil weg?


R: Teruggaan geeft dus niet heel veel kansen?

MS2: Nu niet, daarom zeg ik misschien in de toekomst. En als je kinderen hebt denk je aan mijn moeder, zij kan niet genieten van haar kleinkinderen. En niet vaak, want is heel duur en ver weg.

R: Komen ze wel eens hierheen?

MS2: Nee, mijn moeder is drie keer gekomen bij de bevallingen. En jouw vader ook hè.

FI2: Ja, drie dagen en weer weg. Weer voor hem is heel moeilijk. In de zomer hè. And I miss my friends and still with them I go out.

MS2: We praten met Latijns-Amerikaanse vrienden en ja, het leven is anders. Kan niet naar buiten zomaar. Is anders. En ook, heeft invloed op manier van met mensen omgaan.

FI2: But for me, finding work is difficult, what you like. But in Italy was the same. But for some Dutch, when they speak the language.

[...]

MS2: En ook [mijn dochter] gaat met een vriendin van wie de vader Engels spreekt. En zij spreekt een paar Engelse woorden en die vriendin een paar Spaanse woorden. En is
ook leuk dat zij een beetje kunnen delen. Ook slechte woorden [lacht]. Ik vind het ook een goede school.

FI2: Maar je moet praten over ervaring met de andere school. Is een zwarte school, no?


FI2: Probleem ja, systeem is goed, maar doesn’t take into consideration the problem that maybe buitenlander can have some problem- maybe it’s perfect for our doctors, you know. But also I remember, the politic, during the elections there were these politics that the kids was in the VMBO the same as your son. You remember? He was on the television talking about this problem. Maybe also for Dutch, some Dutch people have this kind of problem, but I think the buitenlanders are more influenced by that- can have more problems. Obstacles.

MS2: Sí, de VMBO is vol met buitenlandse kinderen.

FI2: Our reason should be, you know. Maybe it’s not -I don’t think it’s you won’t do that. Now it’s a resource that they must take into consideration. Because it’s no good for society. Because these kind of people then grow up with dissatisfaction, they feel different. If you feel difference- because if, for example you know, if I feel different from you because I’m Italian and you’re Dutch, maybe it’s true, it’s normal because I already have a culture. OK? We are different, but we can sit together. But if you don’t feel from the place you were born, it’s bad, it’s really bad because you don’t know where you are, you don’t know what- It’s easy to find... I don’t know how to organise, how to manage this. I remember there also was a Chilean woman, she came here because she was a refugee from Pinochet, you know. She said when she came here the only thing she got from the Dutch people- they were really kind with her, gave everything and were really hosts, really good. The only thing they gave were Dutch language, Dutch courses, so no psychological help or, you know? They came here, I mean this immigration is different, for example from me, I came because of experience and adventure. Then after a while, you need to manage this kind of thing. Not just Dutch courses. I can imagine it’s difficult to manage that. But they need, because now the reality is this. Amsterdam is the most culturally diverse in the world, maybe Amsterdam. Maybe London, I don’t know. And we have to work.

MS2: Wat ik ook heb in mijn werk- ik werkte als thuishulp in de thuiszorg. En ik praat altijd met de oudere mensen, was heel leuk, hele leuke band. Maar als ik niet zo goed in het
Nederlands sprak, ja, ze kijken naar mij als minder, weet je. Is wel, als je niet goed Nederlands praat, ben je een soort dom, een soort minder. En als ik zei: "Ja, ik ben grafisch ontwerpster, ik doe-", ze kijken van hoe kan dat nou en praat je niet zo goed? En dat is een soort grens dat we hebben. Mensen verminderen ons door de taal. Dat is echt - erg. Maar ja. We kunnen dat, ja, wel meedoen, maar de jonge kinderen is moeilijk voor hun dat, ja, pubers die een slechte stuk van hun leven zijn. Soort agressiviteit en dat soort dingen. Voor pubers is heel moeilijk om verminderd te voelen, en dat gebeurt veel.
Interview MHRE1
30-03-2018
R: HILDA HEYDE

R: Wat voor talen spreken jullie?


Table 6. Languages spoken in the household of MS1

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<th>Mother</th>
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<th>Child 1</th>
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R: Gebruikt u ook strategieën om ze de ene of de andere taal te laten spreken?

MHRE1: Op school doe ik met [mijn jongste dochter], omdat op school ben ik overblijfmoeder bij de kleuters. En ze praat heel vaak Hongaars met mij daar.
En ik zeg nee: 'Hier op school ben ik geen mama, ben ik een juf, ik praat Nederlands en thuis heel vaak ik zeg dat ik praat Hongaars.' De regels, als ik thuis ben, is Hongaars. Met drieën praten we Hongaars. Met [de jongste dochter] lukt dat heel goed, maar met [de oudste] niet. Ze kan niet uittegen in het Hongaars wat ze heeft geleerd op school of, weet je, haar gevoelens, ze kan niet in Hongaars uitleggen. Ze moet echt in het Nederlands praten. We praten Nederlands, snap je. Ja, dan is moeilijk voor haar, voor haar is eerste taal, voor haar is Nederlands eerste taal. En nu begin ik met [de jongste] ook te merken. Als ze iets moet uitleggen: 'Zeg maar in het Hongaars.' 'Nee, kan ik niet.'

Ik vind beetje jammer. Maar omdat ze zo meertalig, ze hebben van alle talen gewoon de basis. Echt de basis. En de Nederlandse is haar echte uitgebreide taal. Zo dat is makkelijk. En dat vind ik niet erg, weet je. Ze wonen hier. Dus ik ben blij, ze praten die taal goed. Ze kunnen met mij ook communiceren en met mijn ouders ook. En als wij zijn in Roemenië ze moeten maximaal twee dagen hebben tussen Roemeense kinderen en ze praten Roemeens zo gewoon. Daarna gaat het ook weer beter. Ze komen terug en een maand later zakt weer, weet je, want ze praten niet meer met niemand Roemeens. En voor [mijn man] is ook makkelijk, weet je. Hoe weinig hij is thuis, hij praat dan ook meestal Nederlands met de meiden.

R: Dus dan is Nederlands het makkelijkst

MHRE1: Ja, voor iedereen eigenlijk.

R: Wat verwacht je dat je kinderen kunnen m.b.t. taal, dus bijvoorbeeld lezen of schrijven?


R: Krijgen uw kinderen formeel onderwijs in het Hongaars of Roemeens?

MHRE1: Ik heb niks, alles moet ik zelf doen. Deze zomer haal ik van Roemenië boekjes op. Echt de groep 1 boekjes, A, B, C, en appel en peer, gewoon voor [mijn oudste dochter], voor [mijn jongste dochter] ga ik niet beginnen, zij is veel te klein, voor de alfabet. Het is genoeg als zij doet in het Nederlands. Maar dat zal ik ook doen. Ze doet heel veel in Roemeens kan ze beter leren, moet ik zeggen. Omdat dat is makkelijker voor haar, de alfabet. Ze probeert ook in Hongaars maar door die zij/c/ en weet je, door die dubbele. Ze weet niet hoe dat werkt. Dat Roemeense alfabet dat gaat veel beter. Dat is bijna net zoals het Nederlandse, dat is niet veel verschillend.

[...]

MHRE1: Maar ik ben niet streng, ze praten het alleen in Roemenië of Hongarije, maar dat is geen inter[nationale] taal. Wanneer wij zijn in Roemenië en de meiden praten Hongaars. Ik heb ook een zusje, zij heeft ook twee kinderen. Mijn zusje zegt: Ze praten zo Hongaars als een foreign taal, weet je, als een.. Je kan echt horen op hun accent dat ze zijn niet Hongaarse kinderen; dat is hun tweede taal, dat is een andere taal voor hun. Mijn zusjes zeggen ook altijd: Nou de buitenlandse kinderen zijn er ook weer.

R: Welke taal spreken ze als ze tegen elkaar praten? En met vriendjes en op het schoolplein?


R: Wat is de reactie van de kinderen dat ze meertalig zijn?

MHRE1: Ah, ze zijn trots op, die van mij. Ik denk dat soms dat zij verstaan niet helemaal goed dat zij zijn zoveel talig. [...]Dat hoort bij ons. Ik praat zoveel talen.

R: Wat voor soort reacties zijn er op school?

MHRE1: De advies van het consultatiebureau wanneer onze kinderen waren geboren. Was vond een mevrouw, dat je moet gewoon je eigen moedertaal praten tegen je kind. Want dat is foutloos. Dus de eerste taal die een kind leert is de moedertaal, foutloze moedertaal. Als ik begon mijn keuken-Nederlands tegen mijn kinderen praten, toen tien jaar geleden, dan wat leren ze? Niks. Ze hebben geleerd op school, op de juiste, op de goede manier. En nu de 4-jarige van mij corrigeert mij als ik zeg iets niet goed in Nederlands. En dan schaam ik me, maar op dezelfde moment ben ik ook trots op hun. Ze zijn slimmer. Ze praten beter de taal als wij. And that’s it. Ik lees ook niet in Nederlandse taal voor de meiden. [Mijn jongste dochter] houdt heel veel van Hongaarse boeken, dus ik heb zo van die dikke Hongaarse boeken. [De oudste] luistert niet, omdat ze begrijpt niet alles, dus voor haar is moeilijk. Ze gaat gewoon weg. Maar voor [de jongste], ze vindt het geweldig, en ik moet over en over dezelfde boekjes. Nu kent ze uit haar hoofd de Hongaarse. Maar ik lees ook in het Nederlands, maar heel vaak in Hongaars lees ik voor haar. Nu ook we hebben die Kerst van Olaf, weet je, die nieuwe film van Elsa en Anna. En dat is in Hongaars. En dan moet ik elke dag, ik kom thuis van school, ze wil haar melk en ze zegt: ‘Mama, ik wil kerst van Olaf.’ En
dat is in het Hongaars. En ze kent nu de hele film uit haar [hoofd]. En ze vraagt: 'wat is dit, Hongaars, wat is dit in Nederlands? En dan vertaal ik voor haar. En ze weet, en ze gebruikt de dag erna. Mijn moeder leert ze heel veel Hongaarse kinderliedjes. En door die leren ze de taal beter.

[...]


R: Wordt uw kind gestimuleerd om de thuistalen te leren?

MHRE1: Nee.Bij mij in de klas, is een hele, moet ik zeggen, negatieve reactie altijd omdat ze meertalig is, door de jaren nu. Haar woordenschat is niet heel uitgebreid in Nederlands, ook niet in Hongaars, ook niet in Roemeens. Want wij gebruiken de basiswoorden, weet je, de elke dag woorden. En haar Nederlandse woordenschat is niet echt goed. En altijd de antwoord was: "Want ja, zij is buitenlander." "Ja, omdat zij is meertalig." Ja, want weet je, zo dat vind ik een beetje - niet echt een positieve reactie van de leraar, maar eh. Wij hebben ook niet veel mogelijkheden. Kijk de Poolsen hebben een school in Groningen. Daar is een Poolse school. Misschien kan ik ook een Roemeense school vinden voor hen ergens. Ergens in het land. Maar ik ga geen honderd kilometers reizen, dat zij krijgen een extra Roemeense les, want dat kan ik hier thuis via de computer doen voor hun. Er zijn echt niet - er zijn echt niet veel mogelijkheden om hun taal te verbeteren.

Maar wat ik hier merk bijvoorbeeld op de basisschool hier, de leerkrachten, die zijn ook niet zo talig. Want hun Engels is ook niet goed. In ons land, ook in basisschool, ook in middelbare school. Wij hadden iemand, die was gewoon een Engels leraar, die heeft de Engelse diploma ook gehaald, zo ze was geen wiskundejuf, geen aardrijkskunde. Gewoon Duits, of gewoon aardrijkskunde. Of gewoon Engels. Je hebt Engels van een hele jonge leeftijd van groep 3 of 4, van 7 of 8 jaar, echt op de juiste manier geleerd met iemand die echt goed grammatica en alles, alles goed in Engels praten.

Ik ben zo goed in talen want ik krijg een goede basis in basisonderwijs, tot ik was 14, want in Roemenië zit je tot 14 in de basisonderwijs. En toen ging ik in Lyceum, op de middelbare school, was ik in Engels en Duits gekozen, Duits was heel slecht voor mij. Maar dat was de enige optie of Duits of Frans, of Engels en Duits. Heb ik Engels, was mijn eerste taal. Mag ik heel goed. Tot 14 heb je een tweede of een derde taal al goed in jouw handen, als een taal leert. [... ] En dat vind ik jammer, Omdat dit is de leeftijd wanneer ze goed kunnen talen leren. Waarom kunnen die juffen niet? De kleuterjuffen ze kunnen, ik denk, een beetje basis Engels. Ze kunnen de kleuren leren, de nummers, de cijfers, weet je, echt spelend. Er zijn zoveel mooie tekenfilms in Engels. Gewoon spellerwijs. Volgens mij doen ze bij geen enkele gewone school. Misschien zijn er tweetalige basisscholen, weet ik niet. Maar hier zijn de gewone scholen- wij wonen niet in een hele grote plek - hier zijn ze niet. Wij hebben ook geen internationale school. Ik weet dat ze in Almere een hele grote internationale school hebben waar je kunt in Engels leren.

Interview MSE1
21-03-2018
R: HILDA HEYDE
Table 7. Languages spoken in the household of MS1

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<th>Mother</th>
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R: So you just told me that you chose to raise your children with the idea of one parent one language?

MSE1: Yes we chose that.

R: Why did you choose that?

MSE1: I read about that in an article or in a book. I don’t even remember, it was a long time ago. But it was this method of one parent one language and the other was one language at home and another language in the community. We chose for the one parent one language. And what was nice to hear because I didn’t know how this was going to work out, also within the community itself. The first surprise for me was the consultatiebureau [early child development professionals] because they encourage us to do that. So that was for me like an encouragement for the community kind of thing. But then it was hard to do, because not everybody had the knowledge of it. Not everybody was kind of open to hear what her language sound because they were not used to it. So, from one or two years it was kind of a no problem. Like we were home, I kept her home and I was still at home. So it was just the natural thing to do. But at,
I think that between 2- when she was around 3 years and we were in the store. But whatever, I kept talking to her in Spanish but she felt kind of like everybody looking at us. And she felt kind of like it is not nice kind of thing to do?

R: A judgment?

MSE1: Yes and ah, from there like some part of the family were not like, I think they didn’t have the good understanding of how important it was for us to raise our kids with also my language. So that was kind of like a thing because if they were to their grandparents house, either they didn’t like it or they were giving some comments. And I was like how can I make them understand that it’s not stiekem, achterhuis inbreken maar is gewoon goed voor het kind, goed voor mij en goed voor iedereen [secretive, breaking in through the backdoor, but it’s just good for the child, good for me and good for everyone]. So that season of two and a half, three and a half years was hard because she was more aware of what people were saying.

R: And they were saying it to her?

MSE1: And they were really saying it. So that was tough and- but the good part of it, is that on the other side my husband is so- he was clear about it. He was encouraging it and even at home he said when we are at home we will also speak Spanish at the table, because he could. And the other part of it is then I started being more with [inaudible] communicating more constantly with my family. And then we have FaceTime and she could talk to them and see them. And you know just is the normal thing just like everyone connected and also other people who spoke Spanish. By then my friendships here were growing up and there were also more international minded people who knew that it's normal, it's good for them. So they helped us a lot, with encouraging. They're like: "Wow, you're speaking [Spanish]!" You know, just motivating her.

R: So approaching her positively?

MSE1: Positive, yes! So I decided to go to Spain, only her and me one time just before the switch, just before she started pumping up. Like when she was really like: "This is not gonna work!" You know, afraid it's not gonna work. So I went to Spain to visit my family and- for a week. Within four days, I think, she was already like in agreement, she was going along with the family, she was like, yeah, doing it by herself. Not a perfect Spanish, but enough to say she feels comfortable, she knows it's normal, she knows other people speak it. And we came back and that’s when my friends started like helping out or being themselves, let's say. And she started being more motivated and from that time it was a switch. Like totally. She was aware of what it was, speaking another language, she thought it was good, she got proud of it, and you know, that was good.
The other point was when we went to school, because before we went to school I was researching. I said: "oh, we got to have a school... I don't see a lot of people who are either mixed, she's only going to be the only one. Like "ah, how can we do this?" And also the classic system was probably not going to be good for her. So we heard about this [...] school, which is a catholic school with a sort of- it's not like the Montessori system, but it's a system where they put like three groups together and they develop as quick or as slow as they can, you know. Obviously there is the same thing they have to learn, but they give them more room to do that. So we went there. And the first thing I saw and I heard, like a *Russische vrouw met twee kinderen* [Russian woman with two children] and a Dutch guy speaking *Russisch* [Russian] and then I heard like a British accented woman speaking British English to kids and then I saw another. And I was like this is it. Like and then the click with the principal, and then we heard they had, later, as an extra class Spanish. It's like: Wooow, what?! That was like I've never heard of this before, Spanish in elementary school, you know. So, everything added up. So she is now there. And from the first time she got in there we gave them also, you know, she has been growing up with other languages. Because they say that sometimes they can walk a little bit behind with writing and reading because they're still busy with other languages. But she was already too far, so it was actually good.

R: So there wasn't any delay?

MSE1: No, that she's walking behind with the languages, no she was speaking really good Dutch, she was beyond her class. And eh, so but letters was OK, right now with reading it's OK. We were also, because my husband is dyslexic, we were wondering what was gonna, if she's gonna [inaudible]. Till now it's OK. Till now she's normal with writing, I guess, and she's still doing, that's de *mooiste* [the best], she's also above the class and then she's also doing extra work. And for our surprise, when we went to -two years ago we went to Mexico, for her it was going to be the third time, yes. But it was the first time she was gonna go a little bit older, knowing, knowing things, acknowledging things, and be more perceptive. And we arrived in LA, because we have friends there and we stayed there for a week before we went to Mexico. Within hours she was speaking English. And [my husband] and I were like: How did this happen, when did this happen?

R: Did you ever speak English to her?

MSE1: To her? Like there was, from that time before, she was- [Children interrupting]. For example they're not allowed to watch TV at home in Dutch, in *Nederlands*. They're only allowed to do it in Spanish or English. So she started with a lot of Spanish and then she switched because for some reason, that was also frustrating, because it was in the time when she was aware of all languages. that we couldn't get Netflix in Spanish. I couldn't find in YouTube a lot of things in Spanish, they only played one and then switched to English. So
it was like what's going on? Like why is this so difficult? And we couldn't - and a year later it changed again. So now on Netflix you can find it in Spanish, now you can be looking more into Spanish, channels also on YouTube and stuff like that.

So when- I think that was a big influence of- because we were not putting anything in Dutch at home. Like everything but. It was almost a year of just English, watching TV in English or doing spelltjes [games] in English or whatever and me speaking to her in Spanish. So when we got to the States, it was for us a surprise. Because we knew that she could say things here and there in English because when she started school, like sometimes she had an expression in English. Like where did you get that from, oh cool! So when we arrived in LA it was really indrukwekkend [impressive] to see that happening within- it was a couple of hours. And it's like: oh, that's great so we don't have to do that anymore.

She picked up a lot without me knowing it. So yeah, we didn't do much for English. I mean, we did unconsciously, I guess, not expecting any results. But then she did. And then I was worried because I said: Oh, no she was so excited and it goes so easy. Now we go to Mexico and now what's going to happen? But she loved English, she loved speaking English. For her it was more like I can speak English. It's OK I know Spanish, but I can speak English.

R: Was it like a surprise for herself as well?

MSE1: Yeah, I think so, aha. But Spanish goes well every time. When I saw a switch it was last year in the summer. I took them again to Spanish, because I was worried that she was gonna [aim] only with English. Because you know that mama speaks Spanish, but yeah, mama, you know. And then, I saw the boom, the 'oh now she speaks it', you know. And now she was - also be a bit more sure of herself because at the beginning she has -she was frustrated, she is such an OCD that she wants to have everything perfect. So with languages she also wants to say yeah right, and then if she doesn't say yeah, right, it's a whole drama. So for her also- I think she didn't -zij durfde niet te praten in het Spaans, omdat zij was niet zo- En dat was wel jammer [she was afraid to speak Spanish, because she wasn't so- And that was a pity]. Maar [But], she grows up and she gets more secure and then she speaks more. She has to be also comfortable like sometimes. Because she speaks right now, let's say, a lot to a certain level. But now there is this other level, you know. Like come on, you can go to the next one. And sometimes, I don't push it, but I have my ways to trying to stimulate it. Let's not forget, still Spanish you know out there. Just two days ago she was so frustrated; it is because "Why do you speak to me in English?" She will say: "But I better say it in English, because in Spanish I don't remember how you say it- how do you say it?" It was like a whole drama. The story is like: Relax! It's gonna be fine!
R: Do you read books with your children? In what languages do they read at home?

MSE1: I did. But I'm not like a- not in Spanish anymore.

R: Did you use to do it in Spanish?

MSE1: Yeah, and because it became this connection with my husband thing. Reading for him is really important. Like I think it's something that his parents did with him when he was really little. For me it was lie down, let's sing a song, let's pray and that's it. I don't remember- I do remember I read, but I don't remember such a social attachment with reading before going to bed. For him it is. So it's this thing. *I didn't get to, af en toe, af en toe! Because we haven't read in Spanish. It's like [inaudible]. And that way- what I do, just more, we call Tía, we call Abuelo, which is my family in Mexico and then af en toe with my family in Spain. With them, I'd rather just go there. They're like really busy. When are you home? No, no. The same timeline, but it's like the rhythms are not the same, so we barely get together. But it's fine.

R: Do you want them to be able to read and write? What do you expect for them concerning understanding, speaking, reading or writing?

MSE1: Yes, because when she started, oh yeah, that's the other. When she started going to school, I kept busy with her, I think, the first year, because I was not at school yet- the first year of her I was still at home with one kid. I was also reading a lot about her development and what consequences or what voordelen en nadelen van [advantages and disadvantages of] eh, and how are we gonna, right now, how are we gonna walk her in school, how are we gonna walk her with Spanish and Dutch. And I talked to the teacher and they have - the teacher who teaches Spanish in school, they also have like this specialisation with meertaligheid [multilingualism] or whatever. So I talked to her and she advised- 'cos I asked: When am I gonna teach her to also write in Spanish? Like when is it gonna be a good time? Because on the one side I said, for me it's important that she starts with both at the same time. And on the other side, that she just learns good Dutch and then she can do the switch to writing and reading for example in Spanish. And she said: I would first choose to let her do two years of reading and writing in Dutch and then you could for her. Also to see if it's not too much for her. To see- because she was gonna probably be skipping one year also, because she was too fast but we decided not to because of the emotional growth. That's why I love this school. Because they are not only seeing one thing, they are seeing a lot of things. And I thought, I agree. So we focus in that. And then I said OK, now this year is for her to learn to read and write Dutch. And when she's more- when she's stronger in the language then we're going to start with writing and reading Spanish. The advantage of that is that Spanish is the same- you read it and write as it sounds. And Dutch also, so it could be an advantage but also a non-
advantage, but -I trust, right now, the choice we made with them. And I hope it works out. [laughs] But I would not start with English writing and reading right now at all because that would be totally-no I would not start with that right now. Like I would choose for Spanish.

R: Are your children attending formal education in the family language(s), such as in a weekend school/ language courses?

MSE1: I hope we can do it in corporation with the school based on the extra class they can get. Because at the beginning she was going to a pluskлас [lesson for children who can take on extra challenges] whatever. Right now, because she seats in three groups, she's more freely, she doesn't go to the pluskлас because she has a challenge in the three years. She's right now doing some work with the third-grades and some work with fourth-grades, graders. So she still has another - at least she has another year till she's, you know, walking between fourth and fifth, and then she's gonna cross to six, seven and eight. But I- so we decided this year not to move anything with an extra language at school. But it's the bedoeling [intention] that at the end of this year we will sit down and then see how she's reading and writing and then see if we can then just add something. And what has been good is the teamwork with the teacher. Still now, in that school, that school. That has been supportive of the way of we- I asked: "What's she doing at school? How can we help her at home? What can we stimulate?" And then when we see things happening at home, either it's character for example all these things like she was, because of her OCD-thing. If she didn't have anything perfect she was, how do you say that again, overstuur [upset]. Maar bad, like really bad. Like this is not normal just for like a sum or like writing, you know. Take it easy. So we're also in sync with them. It's like you've seen her here. And what can we do at home? What else can we do to support each other? So in every step it's been like

When we went to Mexico, was also oh she's probably going to do this and that. Is that like eh, Do we have to bring something for her to keep up with Dutch or not, because we were there and the only thing we're speaking little English and Spanish, so it's like no Dutch. But I mean she would not lose it, but still it was no- And if she needs to learn something, she said: "No, let her go. Let her enjoy, she's gonna go back and she's gonna pick it up." I was like oh, perfect. I'm so glad we chose for that school. I mean I would not know what would happen in another school. But I believe the classic system would not be probably like that flexible as we've been going through with this one. You know, it's like for me- because she was so frustrated at the beginning, you know, like walking above. It wouldn't have been nice to see her staying on the group 1, you cannot move from here. And do it every, I don't know. Like in the box, instead of like let's see what happens kind of thing.

R: With the aim to let her develop on her own?
MSE1: Yes, and that was for us. And with this extra, because it's like sometimes eh, for example self in charge. People came up to me: "Why do you speak Spanish to her?" It's because it's my taal [language], I speak Spanish. Like why would that be a question, you know? And she said: "But that's not good. And you should only speak then Dutch. Then you will never learn Dutch either." And it's like: "Thank you!" And just not giving up on that. But sometimes it becomes too much and was eeh, you know, you get all discouraged or sometimes it gets tiring of just trying to explain to everybody. And sometimes also with my husband: "Why do you still speak in English with your husband?" It's like, I don't tell you anything on why you're speaking Frisian with your husband either, so just let it keep that way. In the beginning I was very passionate and then you're kind of like ignoring and in the end it's just kind of like: Just leave me alone. Like, it's fine. If I wanna talk to you I talk in Dutch and if I talk to him it's just in whatever language I wanna talk, because we can [laughs]. But eh- so they- she's been the one who has been experiencing more the process of also hearing from yeah, from everybody and then from being weird to being normal, kind of thing, and to be cool, kind of thing. Now for her it's cool.

R: Before, I heard them mixing a few languages..

MSE1: I think it has to do lot with me, a lot I think. Because at the beginning I was at home and it was Spanish. But because I talk to [my husband] and what is funny is that when I was getting my first [inaudible] you know whatever, I turned to English, instead of Spanish which was weird, but that happened. So with her, if I wanted to say something quickly or whatever I would turn into English too. So there was a season when instead of just keeping it to Spanish, so sometimes it was just jumping to English. And then there was a season that I had to do a test, I think, what was it? I don't know if it was that test, because that already happened. I don't know if it was one of the eerste pogingen [first attempts] I did to get a job. So I talked to my husband: I need to practice, like. I did understand a lot, but I'm like her: if I don't have it perfect, I don't wanna say it. So that was hard, because practice I didn't have it or I did some because I did a lot of also vrijwilligerswerk bij de kerk [volunteering at the church]. But it was to a certain level. And also necessary and a lot of - and if I just blocked and then I turned into English and everybody understood me. So in that process then I said: OK, we're gonna get at least a couple of months where we just speak Dutch so I can get room to practice and make mistakes and then correct me, and get frustrated and everything that goes with it. So I kind of let go for a couple of months. And that's when it started being kind of weird and then she didn't want to talk. And then sometimes when I saw those things on her like in public, and like, I did a couple of times even cry. And it's like oh my, she's not good. It's really frustrating. So then I turned into English, 'cause then when it's - English has been always cool, you know. Here it's not weird seen. But Spanish somehow was, because it's not so bekend, denk ik [known, I
think]. *Of met oudere mensen* [Or with older people]. *Want wij waren ook altijd op een moment waar geen jongeren waren of geen kinderen die naar school gaan* [Because we were always at a moment at which there were no young people or children who go to school]. *Snap je, het is een andere leeftijd denk ik ook* [You know, it is a different age as well, I think]. That also has to do with the fact that - yeah we mix, I still mix everything. I think it has to do still with the connection of-with who I’m talking to. Because when I’m in the school I would never, *nou ja* [well] -with teachers I never switch to English for example. In my work I never switch to English for example. Eh with people and I know that that’s also a normal thing from the brain. When you relate somebody with a certain language you stick to that language, and you don’t move. But if you relate that person with English then you- it doesn’t matter how much you’re gonna do with Dutch because the first connections already were in English then you totally turn into English. And that happened with my friends here. When I met them here, we started our friendship in English. Even though now, when I speak so much Dutch then I did, they switch, and then I switch to English. It’s like such a - just like with my husband.

R: It’s because you build up a relationship in that language.

MSE1: Exactly, in that language. So, yeah, that’s why. And right now for example, what’s good, with the traditions, with the culture it’s like, I think we are really raising them, now not anymore with two cultures, but with three cultures, let’s put it that way. Because we met in LA, so we were there for a while and I am from the north of Mexico, which I get a lot of also American influence, but also a lot of Mexican influence. Eh, and he loved it there, so there are certain things that we brought from Mexico and from the States and when we were here, just like, we didn’t sit down and talk "Oh yeah, we’re gonna bring this with us". It’s things like, at a certain point, you’re building a new family, you choose for certain things, you choose for certain values and you know. And with that goes the culture, sometimes consciously, sometimes unconsciously, but I would say we are really mixed. Which is the best out of the three, I think.

R: Yeah.

MSE1: And with food happens the same thing, like met *pannenkoeken* [pancakes]. We do *pannenkoeken* like- probably our *pannenkoeken* were the first Mexican *pannenkoeken*, they are made by real Mexicans, you know, we started mixing. For example for us, like the nice hamburgers are like you couldn’t before find them here at least. It was only McDonald’s and that was it *of de snackbar* [or the cafeteria]. For us, it was like "what is this?" Of that way, like sitting down on Friday with hamburger with French fries, but really homemade hamburgers and things like that. Or doing the Mexican food. At the beginning when I was at home I cooked a lot of Mexican and then I didn’t because I got a job and then a study. You start mixing in the kitchen. I also mix
a lot of stuff. When I'm going to be doing *stamppot* [stew] be made of *gewoon* [just] pota
toes. I just mix and I put this, and I put that. Or I do sometimes the Mexican *stamppot* thing. Your own thing. And what is so cool is that the kids get used to it. They ask right now for quesadillas or they ask for *elote*, which is *mais* [corn] or burritos. We're gonna eat burritos today. Ah yeah. You know like, they love food and that's good. So that's also another part of embracing the language, but embracing also yeah the cultures, I think.

I think we - For- he also- we also saw. When we got married, we knew wherever we go, one is never going to be, you know, is gonna be like one has to embrace another culture mostly. Or we both have to embrace a third culture. Or you know, it's always one or the other or both. It's never gonna be one. So we were conscious about that at the beginning. And I guess yeah, so cliché can sound, but yeah- home is where you are, and that was for us, like, really became real, kind of thing. Because when we were trying to figure out if we were gonna move or stay or what we're gonna do. Like, but I said: "I cannot wait till we move, to see where we're gonna build." You know, by then we had a baby already and we were together already. What are we gonna do? So it was more kind of like, we have to start now and wherever we go, we are taking him just with us. That's gonna be it. Or we build you know from other places too. And for me it was always a sort of embassy, like we call it. No matter how hard it's gonna be out there, you're home. You know, you're free to speak. He never pushed me for example to speak Dutch, I never pushed him to speak Spanish. It's never been a "you have to be more like a Mexican" or I have to be more like a Dutch. I never heard that from him. "You're doing it wrong, or you have to do it right because now we're here." Like I think, it was huge that I had a sort of guy like him. Eh- He said: "I don't know, I don't have any plan, we just be who we are." OK, perfect, you know.

R: There's freedom in there

MSE1: Yes, so that was really nice. So when it was harder and I was coming to him -Just like a safe place just to be.

R: And for your children?

MSE1: I just was gonna say that. It's like whatever happens out there, you're here and you may speak whatever you want. Yes, because it's home. *Un beso* [a kiss (ES)] for her, means more than *een kus van mijn kant, snap je* [a kiss (NL) from me, you know]. Things are just loved then, you know. I would never say- *soms wel een kus, maar is* [sometimes it is a kiss (NL)]- it's give me a kiss or a beso. Sounds perfect. You see that also in them or when she's mad. Sometimes she reacts more in Spanish. "*No, dame!*" [No, give it to me!] I'm like, ah good, there's some Spanish! Latina girl, oh my goodness! [laughs] Oh, she is! "When is the rain gonna stop? When is the sun coming out? We should move to Mexico!" It's like "I know!" And the other one is more like Dutch, I
think. He was having like a Mexican teacher, a football, soccer teacher. But he loves both, he has no-

R: Do they have a preference? Is there a difference between them in how they manage their languages?

MSE1: No, and I think that's what they see in us. That there is no one more than the other one. That it's both and that's it. [My daughter] came actually- what was it exactly that she said. Something about a father, no not a father - it was andersom [the other way around]. It was a son and a mom. She said something I don't remember exactly. That she said: het klopte niet, of zoiets [it wasn't right, or something]. And I turned to her and I said: "And your daddy and you?" And she said: "Oh yeah". I said: "He's your daddy right? And she was like yeah. He's blond and you're brown and you're his daughter. Not all the time has to be the same thing." And she said: "Oh yeah, that's true." Like it was something that it was just- Oh! It was a difference between three brothers and sisters. They didn't look nothing like each other, nothing. And the one was too tall, the other one was too little, and one was fat, you know. And she said something like: Are they really brothers and sisters?! It's like, maar they don't look like each other and they're nothing like each other, like stuff like that. And I said, what about you and your daddy? That's like -it's different. Oh because we were talking about, sometimes she was told a lot at school at the beginning: You're too little, you're too klein [little]! She was so irritated, it was like- And I said to her: Look around. The one has blue eyes, the other one has green eyes, the other one is tall, the other one is klein [short], the other one is big, the other one is small. And what? Like nobody is just the same. So in that, is also another part of the development, you know. It's not only about - Right now, I don't feel anymore that she's too different than the rest. Probably it's there are more people around that are like either mixed or speak other languages. That also helps a lot.
Appendix IV. Consent Form

Version May 2016

Informed consent

I consent to participate in a study conducted by

Hilda Heyde
h.a.c.heyde@student.rug.nl
Rijksuniversiteit Groningen

I am aware that participation in this study with the title

‘Language attitudes of parents of multilingual children to education in the Netherlands’

is entirely voluntary. I may withdraw my participation at any time and have the data obtained through this study returned to me, removed from the database or deleted.

The following points have been explained to me:

1. The purpose of this study is

Gaining insight into the language attitudes, choices and expectations from parents of children aged 4-12. These attitudes, in particular towards the Dutch educational system, are documented.

2. I will be asked to

Participate in an interview in which I will be asked about the attitudes and language choices.

3. What the potential risks or inconveniences are

If you do not feel comfortable with a question for possible sensitive information, feel free to leave it unanswered.

4. The entire duration of my participation will be approximately

45 minutes.
5. The data obtained during this study will be processed anonymously and will therefore not be able to be traced back to me.

6. The researcher will answer any questions I have about this study, now or at any time while the study is ongoing.

7. I have been provided with the contact details for the researcher

Date: 
Researcher’s signature: 

Date: 
Participant’s signature: 

For any complaints about this study, please contact the Research Ethical Review Committee (CETO) of the Faculties of Arts, Philosophy, and Theology and Religious Studies of the University of Groningen, e-mail: ceto@rug.nl
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**Datasets**


**Notes**

1 Early Foreign Language Education is intended for pupils from grade 1. Since 2015 primary schools in the Netherlands can implement this programme and teach 15% of the time dedicated to education in English, German or French (MinOCW, 2018).
The Rutu Foundation is specialised in intercultural multilingual education, as well as mother tongue education.

Additional languages are the languages not used commonly in the home context, but those that the parents have proficiency in and use in particular contexts outside the family context, for example work, friends etc. Children can come in contact with these languages, even though the input and output may be limited.

The responses to the first 8 questions in section 1 and 2 give the context of characteristics of the family and its languages.

Jenaplan schools aim to raise children together with the parents. Learning is learner-tailored and pedagogical approaches serve the purpose of being able to live together. More information: https://www.jenaplan.nl/en/