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The Sociolinguistic Status of the Moroccan Community in The Netherlands

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ABSTRACT. *Four different perspectives will be offered on the socio-political and linguistic status of the Moroccan community in the Netherlands. First of all, an outline will be given of the socio-political context of ethnic minority groups in Dutch society at large. Current statistics will be discussed in terms of criteria and outcomes. In section 2, our focus will be on demographic and educational data with respect to the Moroccan community in the Netherlands. In section 3, the status of Arabic in Dutch elementary and secondary education will be discussed. Data will be presented on patterns of language proficiency and language choice. Finally, we will discuss different perspectives on home language instruction (HLI) for ethnic minority children in the Netherlands, derived from different attitudes of majority and minority groups.*

1. Ethnic Minorities in the Netherlands

1.1. *Socio-Political Context*

As a consequence of socio-economically or politically determined processes of immigration, the traditional patterns of language variation across Europe have changed considerably over the past decades. Many industrialized European countries show evidence of a growing number of immigrant populations which differ widely, both from a cultural and from a linguistic point of view, from the mainstream indigenous population. It has been estimated that in the year 2000, one third of the population under the age of 35 in urban Europe will have an immigrant background. Within European Community countries, four major immigrant groups can be distinguished: people from Mediterranean EC countries, from Mediterranean non-EC countries, from former colonial countries, and

political refugees (cf. Extra & Verhoeven 1993a). First, an economically or politically motivated process of migration took place. Especially in the case of Mediterranean groups, migration initially most often involved contract workers who expected - and were expected - to stay for a limited period of time. As the period of their stay gradually became longer, the pattern of economic migration was followed by a pattern of social migration of families. Subsequently, a second generation was born in the immigrant countries, while their parents often remained uncertain or ambivalent about whether to stay or to return. These demographic shifts over time are accompanied by shifts of denotation for the groups under consideration (migrant workers, immigrant families, and ethnic minorities respectively), and by repeated demographic announcements of governmental authorities that 'their country should not be seen as an immigrant country'.

As in other EC countries, many members of ethnic minority groups in the Netherlands have a disadvantaged status from various perspectives. First of all, they often have a low socio-economic status, determined by a low level of education or employment. Moreover, their legal status is often weak; this holds most strongly for ethnic minority groups from non-EC countries. Finally, the languages and cultures of ethnic minority groups, in particular groups from Islamic countries, often have a low status in the perception of indigenous majority members. Since 1983, the following minority groups have officially been recognized as target groups of governmental policy (cf. Ministry of the Interior 1983:11):

* Moluccans from former Dutch Indonesia;
* Surinamese and Antilleans;
* foreign workers, their families and descendants originating from one of the eight Mediterranean countries with which bilateral labour contracts were concluded in the past (i.e., Portugal, Spain, Italy, former Yugoslavia, Greece, Turkey, Tunisia, and Morocco);
* political refugees;
* gypsies.

Three major characteristics of governmental policy on ethnic minorities can be observed over time:

1 In most policy documents and guidelines, the concept of 'ethnic minorities' has never been defined. Instead, ethnic minority groups are exhaustively listed in terms of target groups for specific facilities. The longitudinal studies by Muus (1992) and Roelandt et al. (1991) on demographic trends in the ethnic minority population in the Netherlands

are clear reflections of this policy. Muus (1992:23) contents himself with the circular statement that "the term ethnic minorities refers to ethnic categories as defined by the official Dutch minorities policy" and goes on to list these target groups and to present quantitative data. Roelandt et al. (1991:12) refer to the Chinese community in the Netherlands as a group "apart from the target groups of minorities policy", because certain facilities have been made available to this group. In practice, the actual target groups to which facilities are made available vary depending on the domain of facilities and/or the point of view of facilitators. To give just one example: the Ministry of Education has made available special school facilities for instruction in Dutch as a second language and for home language instruction; those ethnic minority children who are entitled to the former type of facility, do not qualify by definition for the latter type.

2. Ethnolinguistic variation is commonly conceived of in terms of deficits and problems, rather than in terms of differences and resources. The focus on socio-economic and second-language 'deficits' rather than on ethno-cultural differences has led in practice to an equation of differences and deficits. As a consequence and in spite of the rhetoric about the Netherlands as a multicultural society, minorities policy has been equated with deficit policy. The Scientific Council on Governmental Policy (WRR, 1989) gave support to the primacy of this struggle against deficits in the domains of education and the labour market, and to strong governmental reluctance in the area of community languages and cultures (cf. WRR 1989:23-24). Subsequently, the WRR report was in favour of more facilities for second language instruction and less facilities for first language instruction.
3. Finally, ethnic minorities policy is conceived of as temporary policy. The focus on first and second generation immigrant groups is based on the implicit assumption that 'deficits will disappear over time'. Due to this point of view, there is no clear intergenerational policy perspective on the future of the Netherlands as a multicultural and multilingual society.

1.2 *Current Statistics*

Current statistics of ethnic minority groups in the Netherlands are based on the traditional criteria of nationality and country of birth. Both criteria, and therefore all statistics, suffer from increasing erosion over time, due

to processes of naturalization and births in the Netherlands. Moreover, some ethnic groups have had the Dutch nationality since birth, e.g., all Antilleans and part of the Surinamese population. The increasing erosion of statistics on ethnic minority groups is not a phenomenon that can only be observed in the Netherlands. Complementary or alternative criteria have been suggested in various countries with a longer immigration history. In English-dominant countries like the USA, Canada and Australia, census questions have been used with respect to self-categorization ('To which ethnic group do you reckon yourself?') and home language use. A cross-national study of language-related census questions was conducted by Broeder et al. (1993).

As in most other Western European countries, there is no tradition of all-population censuses in the Netherlands. Recently, the responsible Dutch Ministry of the Interior made an attempt to reduce the increasing erosion of statistics on ethnic minorities in the Netherlands by proposing the following three ethnic determinants in all municipal population statistics (cf. Fernandes Mendes 1991):

* birth-country of person, father and mother;
* nationality of person, father and mother;
* self-categorization.

Obviously, the combined birth-country criterion only suffices for first- and second-generation groups. Also the (combined) nationality criterion has limited value, because many ethnic minority groups have or will obtain Dutch nationality; according to Dales (1992:14), this already holds for about half of the target groups of governmental policy. The third criterion of self-categorization caused many objections to be raised by both minority and majority groups in the Netherlands, due to its subjective loading, the possibility of multiple self-categorization, and the potential misuse of collected data. Ultimately, parliamentary support was given to the Ministry of the Interior for a gradual introduction of the combined birth-country criterion in all municipal population statistics, although it was recognized that this criterion would lead to a diminishing identification of ethnic minority groups over time (cf. Dales 1992:17). It was also recognized that other criteria could be relevant for specific purposes or domains. Explicit reference in this context was made to the relevance of the home language criterion in the domain of education (cf. Dales 1992:12). Table 1 contains population figures of 1990, based on the criteria of nationality vs. birth-country of person, father or mother, and the combined birth-country criterion of person/father/mother respectively.

Table 1 *Population figures based on nationality vs. birth country of person, father and mother on January 1, 1990* (source: Roelandt et al. 1991:25)

Groups	Nationality	Birth-country person	Birth-country father	Birth-country mother	Birth-country p/f/m
Dutch	14.250,656	13.725,771	13.361.591	13,228.155	12.667,804
Greeks	4.456	5.236	7,535	5,455	9.200
Italians	16.745	14,134	27,185	16,114	31,403
Former Yugoslavs	12.824	14,475	19,275	20,594	24,232
Portuguese	8,040	7,885	10,181	9,582	11,542
Spaniards	17.429	17,560	23,380	21,729	28,724
Turks	191,455	141,250	202,897	199,396	205.898
Antilleans/Arubans	0	56,063	49.613	52,510	81.079
Surinamese	14,609	157,054	205,010	205,799	236.995
Cape Verdians	2.341	7,957	11,956	11.848	12,254
Moroccans	147,975	115.488	164.058	159.657	167,810
Tunisian	2,441	2,647	4.040	2.944	4,606
Chinese	6.163	21,319	33,551	30.988	35.899
Vietnamese	5.194	7,170	7,901	8.110	8.735
Other	212,246	598,565	764,401	919,693	1,366,393
Total	14,892.574	14,892,574	14,892.574	14,892.574	14,892.574
Total excl. Dutch	641.918	1,166,803	1,530,983	1.664.419	2.224,770

Compared to the nationality criterion, the combined birth-country criterion leads to a remarkable fall and rise in the number of indigenous and non-indigenous inhabitants of the Netherlands respectively. For other communities than those mentioned in Table 1, only global estimates can be given and the criteria for these estimates are rather unclear. Roelandt et al. (1991:31) give estimates from 1987/1988 for Moluccans (35.000), refugees (18.000), asylum-seekers (8,350) and gypsies (3.700). Recent estimates (1992) of the number of illegal residents in the Netherlands vary between 30,000 (Dutch Council of Churches) and 150,000 (Ministry of Justice).

2 The Moroccan Community in the Netherlands

In this section we present demographic and educational data on the majority of Dutchmen and the minority of Moroccans in the Netherlands, from both a comparative and a longitudinal perspective. Most of the information presented is based on the nationality criterion and derives directly or indirectly from periodically collected data of the Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) in the Netherlands.

2.1 *Demographic Data*

In the period of 1987-1991 the total population of Dutchmen only increased by 2% and it shows a tendency to stabilize. During that same period the Moroccan community in the Netherlands showed a steady growth, ranging from 122.746 inhabitants in 1987 to 156.880 in 1991, which means an increase of 28% (figures based on nationality). In Table 2, comparative data are presented on the saldo of birth, migration, and nationality change in 1988 and 1990 respectively.

Table 2 *Birth saldo, migration saldo and nationality change saldo of Dutchmen and Moroccans in 1988 and 1990* (source: Roelandt et al., 1992: 22)

Group	1988	1990
Dutchmen		
Birth saldo	51.693	57.297
Migration saldo	-1.428	-663
Nationality change saldo	9.076	12.747
Moroccans		
Birth saldo	4.337	4.604
Migration saldo	6.878	8.653
Nationality change saldo	-1.187	-3.012

First of all, Table 2 shows a positive migration saldo (i.e., more immigration than emigration) of Moroccans in contrast to Dutchmen. Moreover and contrary to widely held beliefs, the growth of the Moroccan population is increasingly based on migration to the Netherlands rather than on births in the Netherlands. Finally, there is a growing number of naturalizations of Moroccans, who meanwhile can acquire Dutch citizenship without giving up Moroccan citizenship (cf. Obdeijn [1993] who mentions a number of 30.000 naturalizations).

Table 3 shows the age distribution of Dutchmen and Moroccans on January 1, 1991.

Table 3 *Age distribution (in %) of Dutchmen and Moroccans on January 1, 1991* (source: Roelandt et al., 1992: 40)

Group	0-9	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60+
Dutchmen	12	13	16	16	14	10	18
Moroccans	27	23	19	12	10	8	1

Compared to the Dutch population, the Moroccan community shows a much stronger presence in the age range below 20 and a much weaker, although increasing, presence in the age range above 60.

2.2 *Educational Data*

It is a widespread phenomenon that minority students are overrepresented in lower types of educational institutions and underrepresented in higher ones. At the same time, they often show a gradual upward mobility in education. All three phenomena can also be observed for Moroccan children and youngsters in the Netherlands. Below we present comparative data on the following Dutch school types: elementary education (BO or *Basisonderwijs*), special education (SO or *Speciaal Onderwijs*), lower vocational training (LBO = *Lager Beroepsonderwijs*), general secondary education (AVO = *Algemeen Voortgezet Onderwijs*), secondary vocational training (MBO = *Middelbaar Beroepsonderwijs*), higher vocational training (HBO = *Hoger Beroepsonderwijs*), and university education (WO = *Wetenschappelijk Onderwijs*).

Table 4 gives longitudinal and comparative data on school participation of Dutchmen and Moroccans in 1984/1985 and 1990/1991, derived from the Central Bureau of Statistics (1993).

Table 4 *Participation of Dutchmen and Moroccans in Dutch education* (derived from CBS, 1993) Notes: * data on 1988/89; ** data on 1989/90

School Type	Group	1984/85	1990/91	Index
Elementary Education	Dutchmen	1,410.00	1.336.600	95
(BO)	Moroccans	25.400	37.000	146
Special Education	Dutchmen	94.280	101.040	107
(SO)	Moroccans	1.270	3.360	265
General Second. Educ.	Dutchmen	804.100	660.900	82
(AVO)	Moroccans	2.300	6.500	283
Lower Vocat. Educ.	Dutchmen	363.400	214.400	59
(LBO)	Moroccans	5.900	8.100	137
Second. Vocat. Educ.	Dutchmen	255.130	283.480	111
(MBO)	Moroccans	300	1.470	490
Higher Vocat. Educ.	Dutchmen	144.500	166.100 *	115
(HBO)	Moroccans	60	100 *	167
University Education	Dutchmen	163.370	171.190 **	105
(WO)	Moroccans	50	220 **	440

Due to demographic changes in school populations as referred to in Table 2, these data only show developments over time in the absolute numbers of school participants. The Moroccan population shows an increased representation over time in all school types. During the school years of 1984/1985-1990/1991, their number increased more rapidly in AVO than in LBO. Although their presence in HBO and WO was very limited in 1984/1985, these figures strongly increased over time.

Elementary schooling in the Netherlands starts at age 4 and consists of 8 grades. In Table 5 we present comparative results on two major elementary school subjects, i.e. language (Dutch) and arithmetics, in three grades. The data derive from a large-scale study by Tesser et al. (1991).

Table 5 *Mean percentages of correct scores for language (L) and arithmetics (A) in 1988/1989 in three grades of elementary schooling* (source: Tesser et al. 1991)

	Grade 4		Grade 6		Grade 8		Number of informants
	L	A	L	A	L	A	
Dutch children	80	84	75	73	83	69	4.008
Mor. children	66	73	61	54	68	50	750

Moroccan children have lower scores for these key subjects in all grades and the differences between Moroccan and Dutch children have a tendency to increase over time. Such divergence has also been shown in other studies and for some other minority groups.

In Table 6 we present a longitudinal profile of the educational distribution of Dutch and Moroccan youngsters at the ages of 12 and 15, derived from the Central Bureau of Statistics (1993). The age of 12 marks the transition of many youngsters in the Netherlands from elementary to secondary education. The age of 15 is the last year for which integral measurement is possible, because obligatory schooling stops after this age.

Table 6 *Longitudinal profile (in %) of the educational distribution of Dutch and Moroccan youngsters at the ages of 12 and 15* (derived from CBS 1992)

Age	Year	Group	BO	SO	AVO	LBO
12	84/85	Dutchmen	35	6	47	12
		Moroccans	80	5	8	7
12	90/91	Dutchmen	0	3	62	36
		Moroccans	6	6	24	65

15	84/85	Dutchmen	0	3	62	36
		Moroccans	6	6	24	65
15	90/91	Dutchmen	0	3	67	30
		Moroccans	3	8	37	52

Table 6 shows the upward educational mobility of Moroccan youngsters in the Dutch educational system over time. During the school years of 1984/1985-1990/1991, there is a decrease of 12-year- olds in elementary education (BO) and an increase of 12-year-olds in general secondary education (AVO). Less encouraging, however, is the proportional growth of Moroccan youngsters in special education (SO; see also Table 4). At the age of 15, there is a mirrorlike distribution of Moroccan and Dutch youngsters over AVO and LBO, with a tendency of increasing participation of Moroccan youngsters over time in AVO and a decreasing participation in LBO. Also in this age group, there is a proportional growth of Moroccan youngsters in SO. The (decreasing) proportion of Moroccan 15-year-olds in BO refers to those who migrated to the Netherlands more or less shortly before this age.

In Table 7 we finally present the proportional distribution of the highest final certificates in education of 15- to 65-year-old Dutch and Moroccan males and females in 1991.

Table 7 *Distribution (in %) of highest final certificate in education of 15- to 65-year-old Dutch and Moroccan males and females in 1991* (source: Roelandt et al. 1992:174)

Group	None	BO	LBO	AVO/MBO	HBO/WO	School going	N of informants
Dutchmen							
males	2	17	18	31	19	13	735
females	2	17	20	35	17	11	742
Moroccans							
males	47	22	4	9	1	17	1.116
females	65	13	3	5	-	14	782

Education may have been completed in the Netherlands or abroad. Moroccans and especially Moroccan females are strongly overrepresented at the lowest levels of educational success and strongly underrepresented at the highest ones.

The data presented in Table 7 derive from a study by Ankersmit et al. (1989) and are based on interviews with a random sample of Moroccan, Turkish, Surinamese, Antillean and Dutch heads of households (plus family members). The Moroccan heads of households were interviewed by Moroccans in Moroccan Arabic. Only 45% of these Moroccan informants had a job, whereas in the age range of 25-29 this figure even decreased to 41%. For the control group of Dutch informants these figures were 72% and 76% respectively. Most labour positions of the Moroccan informants, especially in the higher age ranges, were held in low-level professions. Moreover, there was a strong underrepresentation in public and state-financed jobs, in spite of various affirmative action programs of governmental institutions. As far as return expectations are concerned, less than half of the Moroccan informants said that they did not want to return to Morocco; the majority of the other informants did not foresee real possibilities for return migration, and only 1 out of 10 informants expected to return within 5 years.

A study of the Central Bureau of Statistics (1984) published earlier contains data on the original area of emigration in Morocco. The data were collected in 1984, and also derive from randomly selected heads of households (n = 1098). At that time, 60% of all families originated from Northern Morocco, especially from the Rif area. The remaining families originated from the South (15%), Central part (10%), North-East (8%), and Atlantic coast (7%). Among the first Moroccan migrants to the Netherlands, Rif people were well represented. Most of these people were of a relatively high age at the time of migration and had a relatively rural background, and a relatively low level of education. However, as mentioned above, the data presented in this section indicate that there is an upward educational mobility of Moroccan youngsters in the Netherlands.

3 The status of Arabic in Dutch Education

3.1 *The Context of Language Use*

Morocco is a country with intricate patterns of language variation and language choice. At least the following language varieties should be taken into account (cf. Abbassi 1977; Bentahila 1983; Nortier, 1989; De Ruiter 1989):

* three indigenous North-African and mutually distinct Berber varieties, i.e. Tašelhit (in the High Atlas, Anti Atlas, and Sous Valley),

Tamazigt (Middle Atlas), and Tarifit (Rif area);
* three 'invasive' Moroccan Arabic dialects (city Arabic, Bedouin Arabic and Mountain Arabic), a standardized mixture of which - with strong Rabat influences - serves as a *lingua franca*;
* Classical Arabic as the language of religion;
* Modern Standard Arabic as one of the two languages (with French) of mass media and present-day literature;
* French and Spanish as (former) colonial languages, due to the French/Spanish mandatory period (1912-1956) and the Spanish Northern enclaves.

Berber and Moroccan Arabic are basically spoken community languages, whereas Classical and Modern Standard Arabic, and a fortiori French, are learned and used as non-primary language varieties with wider public oral or written functions. Whereas Berbers commonly acquire Moroccan Arabic as a *lingua franca*, Arabophone speakers tend not to acquire Berber. However, given the extended set of language varieties mentioned earlier, it is daily practice for many inhabitants of Morocco to encounter, switch to, and borrow from different languages.

At least part of this complex pattern of language use is clearly represented in the Moroccan community in the Netherlands (cf. Extra & Verhoeven 1992). However, it is easier to make solid statements about the areas of origin of Moroccans in the Netherlands than about preferred or actual language use. The language choice of the first transplanted community of emigrants will initially have reflected source country patterns. Many rural Riffeans, for example, will have continued to speak Tarifit as a home language and Moroccan Arabic as a *lingua franca* in 'outdoor' contacts. Of the people who only speak a Berber variety, many are older women from rural areas; their outdoor contacts are limited and they have had little, if any, schooling. However, additional language varieties will have entered the lives of Moroccans who have grown up or were born in the Netherlands:

* standard Dutch as the language with most public functions, including the function of subject and instrument of schooling;
* regionally or locally spoken dialects or sociolects in the Netherlands;
* English as the major 'foreign' school language and the major language of international communication.

Arabic plays both an informal and a formal role in the Dutch educational system. It plays an informal role as the mother tongue of a

minority of the Moroccans and other Arabs living in the Netherlands and frequenting Dutch schools. It is estimated that around 70% of the Moroccans have a variety of Berber as their mother tongue and the rest a variety of Moroccan Arabic (cf. Aarts et al. 1993). Apart from this relatively large group of Arabic-speaking Moroccans, Dutch society hosts small numbers of people originating from Tunisia, Algeria, Egypt, Palestine and Irak.

The formal role of Arabic in the educational system is found at all levels of education. In elementary education Arabic is taught in special, voluntary lessons in the context of *Home Language Instruction* (henceforward HLI) facilities for ethnic minority children (cf. section 4). In lower grades of secondary education, Arabic is offered as an optional subject to pupils irrespective of their language background. The introduction of Arabic in lower grades of secondary education is of recent date and in the years to come Arabic will also be offered to pupils who are in higher grades of secondary education. Last but not least, Arabic has been taught at Leiden University since the end of the sixteenth century and at other Dutch universities since more recent dates (cf. Brugman 1987). We will here focus on the status of Arabic in primary and secondary education. In doing so we will discuss both institutional aspects of teaching Arabic and research conducted on the status and use of Arabic.

3.2 *Arabic in Elementary Education*

Dutch elementary education consists of eight grades and can be divided into three parts: the first two years (grades 1 and 2) which are a continuation of the former kindergarten, the medium grades 3-5 and the higher grades 6-8. In all grades Moroccan children are entitled to HLI. Research and statistics show that the majority of Moroccan children participate in this voluntary type of education. Driessen et al. (1989) present a figure of 70% and Driessen (1990) even mentions 85% to 95%. In Table 8 we present figures of the Ministry of Education which are more moderate but probably more reliable, as they are collected nationwide.

Table 8 *Total number of Moroccan elementary school children in two successive school years and participation in HLI during those years* (source: Ministry of Education and Sciences)

Year	N total	HLI	%
1989/90	38.867	27.506	71
1990/91	40.728	28.266	69

Apart from HLI, Moroccan pupils may take part in Arabic lessons outside the school curriculum, for example in mosques or private schools. Not much is known about this kind of education, but a relatively large part of Moroccan pupils actually participate in it. Shadid & van Koningsveld (1990; 1992) estimate that 40% of the Moroccan children in the age range between 6 and 14 participate in this kind of education in Rotterdam. Other estimates vary between 24% and 44% (cf. Aarts et al. 1993; Driessen 1990; van Langen & Jungbluth 1990).

Grades 1-2 (4-5 years)

From the beginning of these grades pupils are offered HLI. Officially, this instruction is aimed at teaching Arabic. In practice, however, the children in these first grades are addressed in their native mother tongues, i.e., Moroccan Arabic or Berber, or even in Dutch if their knowledge of the 'mother tongues' is weak. As Arabic is a formal language of literacy and as writing and reading are not part of the curriculum during the first two years of elementary school, the children are not taught Standard Arabic, although they get acquainted with basic letters of the Arabic alphabet. Most of the time the lessons are devoted to aspects of Moroccan and Arabic culture.

Research evidence shows that Moroccan children at this age are dominant in Moroccan Arabic over Dutch. This finding results from, among others, Narain & Verhoeven (1993). They did a longitudinal study on the bilingual development of Turkish, Moroccan and Antillean elementary school children in Turkish (L1), Moroccan-Arabic (L1), Papiamento (L1) and Dutch (L2) respectively. Two cohorts of children were followed over time. The degree of bilingualism in the first cohort was determined at the start and end of group 1 and at the end of group 2, in the second cohort at the start and end of group 2 and at the end of group 3. Taken together, the two cohorts of children offer a broad perspective on bilingual development in the age range of 4-8. Table 9 contains the resulting evidence for the Moroccan children on the following six bilingual tasks at the start of group 1 and at the end of group 3:

* sound manipulation (SM): perception and production of minimal phonemic differences in monosyllabic words;
* cognitive categorization (CC): comprehension of reference to the concepts of colour, shape, quantity, space and time;
* productive vocabulary (PV): production of content words (nouns and verbs);
* receptive vocabulary (RV): comprehension of content words (nouns and verbs);

* sentence imitation (SI): reproduction of critical morphosyntactic cues in current sentences;
* text comprehension (TC): comprehension of explicit and implicit information in texts.

Table 9 *Mean correct scores per group, task and language (L1-L2)* (derived from Narain & Verhoeven 1993)

Tasks	SM	CC	PV	RV	SI	TC
Languages	L1-L2	L1-L2	L1-L2	L1-L2	L1-L2	L1-L2
Max. score	25-25	65-65	40-40	60-60	40-40	20-20
Group 1 (N = 44)	15-14	30-29	12-08	21-19	15-11	07-05
Group 3 (N = 28)	25-25	57-50	32-25	45-47	37-39	18-15

The Moroccan children emerge as balanced bilinguals, although Moroccan Arabic is more dominant at both the beginning of group 1 and at the end of group 3. There is, however, a significantly stronger growth of Dutch during this period. Below we will observe that Dutch will become dominant with time (cf. de Ruiter 1989). Another picture of linguistic skills is presented by Pels (1991). In her study on the 'cultural capital' of young Moroccan children she reported on the language use of 19 Moroccan children before they entered elementary school, of whom 35% nearly always spoke Dutch at home, 40% used Dutch now and then, and only 25% did not speak Dutch at home. Pels noted that parents of children of the first category used Dutch besides the mother tongue and that these children belonged to the youngest ones of the family. It is evident that there is a large variety of linguistic patterns in Moroccan families, a finding that emerges from research on older children and adults as well.

Another major linguistic study on Moroccan children in kindergarten years was carried out by Wagenaar (1993). She measured the language proficiency of young Moroccan children in a Moroccan-Dutch kindergarten class. An experimental group of 27 Moroccan children was followed during their first two years in elementary school. A Moroccan and a Dutch group in regular schools acted as controls. At the beginning of the experiment the children were 4.5 years of age. Nine of the children came from a Berberophone background. Wagenaar touched upon the question whether or not to set up a Berber-Dutch experimental group as well. She argued that it did not seem to make sense to advocate such a model. First of all, the law requires the official language of the country of origin to be the language taught and used in bilingual programs. Furthermore, the

question can be raised what Berber variety should be used, although Tarifit Berber seems a good candidate as the major Berber language among Moroccan immigrants. Finally, Moroccan parents generally opt for (Moroccan) Arabic as the language to be used at schools, due to its higher socio-cultural prestige. In order to assess the effects of the bilingual experiment on the Berberophone children Wagenaar reports on them separately. In the first two years of the experimental program the children received 15 hours of instruction in Moroccan Arabic per week (the mornings) and 8 hours per week (the afternoons) in Dutch. The children had a low socio-economic background and attended a school in which 80% of the children belonged to minority groups. The overall picture that emerges from the children's proficiency in Moroccan Arabic is that the process of acquiring this language is quite regular in the 3 years of the experiment. However, this process stagnates in the year in which it is no longer the language of instruction in the classroom (group 4). A separate analysis of the Berberophone children's proficiency in Moroccan Arabic showed that they hardly acquired any productive Arabic. Nevertheless, Wagenaar opts for a bilingual Arabic Dutch school model for all Moroccan children as more favourable to them than the regular monolingual model, because it would benefit the children's acquisition of both (Moroccan-) Arabic and Dutch.

Grades 3-5 (6-8 years)

De Ruiter (1989) reports that in most cases seven-year-old Moroccan children make use of the mother tongues in communication with their parents, whereas with siblings and friends Dutch is the most chosen language. In terms of language proficiency, however, the children are significantly more skilled in Dutch than in their mother tongues. Here we observe the increasing pattern of dominance of Dutch over the mother tongue, which started at the end of group 3, as reported by Narain & Verhoeven (1993).

In the medium grades of elementary school Moroccan children are actually confronted with Standard Arabic in HLI lessons. Not much is known about the results and effects of the lessons during these years, apart from the study by van de Wetering (1990). She tested 447 Moroccan children, starting from the third grade in the period 1983-1985, with respect to their reading skills in Standard Arabic. An evident distinction was made between technical reading skills and reading comprehension. The Berberophone children in her study achieved the same level as the Arabophone children with respect to technical reading, but they had

lower results in reading comprehension. Van de Wetering claims that 60% of the pupils who master technical reading acquire sufficient word and sentence comprehension on condition that they have followed at least three years of HLI. Her general conclusion is that "it is realistic to expect that most pupils who have had uninterrupted HLI for 5 or 6 years in relatively favourable circumstances may be able to reach a level at which they are able to read and understand a simple Arabic text." This statement is formulated with great caution.

Bilingual schools do not exist in the Netherlands except in experimental forms (see for example Wagenaar 1993). Teunissen (1986) reports on an experiment in a bilingual Dutch-Arabic elementary school. He, too, was confronted with the problem of what language to use in an experimental Moroccan mother tongue program. In his project Turkish as well as Moroccan children who had had two years of kindergarten entered a two year bilingual program, in which minority language instruction took 55% of the time in the first year and 45% in the second year. The results showed that the program had a positive influence on the development of oral proficiency in Moroccan Arabic. However, the development of skills in Standard Arabic stagnated in such a way that only 'descriptive results' could be presented. It turned out that during the project there were continuous problems with the choice of Moroccan Arabic vs. Standard Arabic. This resulted in a constant alternation of Moroccan teachers, which of course did not benefit the program. The children's acquisition of Dutch did not show any retardation compared to Moroccan children in Dutch-only classes.

Grades 6-8 (9-11 years)

Information on language use by older pupils in elementary education can be obtained from de Ruiter (1989; 1992). He sketched a language profile of 80 Moroccans, divided into four groups of 7-, 11-, 14- and 21-year-olds, which in turn were made up of 10 Moroccan Arabic and 10 Berber speaking informants per age group. They were asked what language they used in communication with their fathers, mothers, brothers and sisters and with Moroccan friends. The overall picture that emerged from the subjects' answers was that all groups used the mother tongue, i.e., Moroccan Arabic or Berber, with their parents in an average of 80% of the contacts. At the same time, the mother tongues were used in only 44% of the contacts with siblings and in 34% of the contacts with Moroccan friends. The 11-year-old Arabophone children used Dutch in 50% of the speech situations; in 43% of these Dutch was used by those with a Berberophone background. The study also brought out a new

phenomenon, quite uncommon in Morocco. Some Moroccan children from Arabic-speaking origin said they used Berber in communication with their Berber friends. Similar patterns of language choice as found by de Ruiter (1989) were also reported by Vermeer (1986) and van Langen & Jungbluth (1990). Moreover, it was shown that the 11-year-old children were also more skilled in Dutch than in their mother tongues. The differences in achievement were especially large in the domain of vocabulary. These young Moroccans, who had all lived the larger part of their lives in the Netherlands must therefore be considered more communicative in Dutch than in their mother tongues. Dutch pushes mother tongue acquisition and use aside. This feature was confirmed by the directionality of frequent occurrences of lexical code switching towards Dutch.

A similar tendency with respect to patterns of language use was found by Broeder et al. (1993) In their study on (self-)identification and home language use 5788 elementary school pupils (from all grades) took part. Of these, 428 were of Moroccan origin. The languages used at home were Arabic (33%), Berber (28%), Arabic plus Berber (8%), 'Moroccan' (26%), a non-identified variety of Arabic /Barber/Dutch, Dutch only (3%), or Arabic plus French (1%). Table 10 gives an overview of patterns of Dutch use.

Table 10 *Number of pupils claiming to speak Dutch frequently with persons mentioned* (source: Broeder et al. 1993)

Frequent use of Dutch with:	n total	Dutch	%
Mother	182	32	18
Father	178	54	30
Younger brothers and sisters	141	69	49
Older brothers and sisters	152	112	74

The figures represent a widely observed pattern of intergenerational language shift. In interaction with the parents, in particular, the mother the pupils use Dutch the least and in interaction with older brothers and sisters the most. When asked whether the pupils use another language besides Dutch with their mother, 75% declared to do so. On the question of language dominance 47% of the Moroccan children claimed to be dominant in Dutch and 41% in another language. 47% of the Moroccan children said that they preferred to express themselves in Dutch and 42% in another language. The pupils were also asked to judge their proficiency in their own language. The pupils of grades 7 and 8 judged their proficiency in Arabic or Berber with '3' on a scale that ran from '1'

(no proficiency) to '5' ('excellent proficiency'). An oral receptive vocabulary task was also administered to the same children. The average correct score was 75%. In a Dutch version of the same task the children's average correct score was 87%. Moreover, high skills in the mother tongue correlated strongly with high skills in the second language.

Driessen (1990) asked young Moroccans in grades 7 and 8 of elementary school to assess their oral skills in the mother tongues as well. They scored an average of 3.5 on a five-point scale. The teachers' judgement of the children's proficiency did not differ significantly. Driessen (1990) also investigated the reading and writing skills in Standard Arabic of 254 Moroccan children in the last grade of elementary school (group 8). On average, the Moroccan children had had 6.2 years of HLI lessons and 1.3 years of private Arabic lessons organized by Moroccan organisations. In an Arabic language test the children scored very low. More than 70% were not able to give a correct answer to a quarter or less of the multiple-choice and open questions, in spite of test instructions in both Arabic and Dutch. The author deems the 'complex language situation' and the fact that probably 35% of the Moroccan group were of Berber origin to be possible causes for these results. The test used by Driessen was of limited scope, however, and its validity has been questioned (cf. Bentahila 1991).

Multiple data on Turkish and Arabic proficiency of Turkish and Moroccan children were collected in the last grade of elementary school by Aarts et al. (1993; 1994). They compared the language proficiency of 222 Moroccan children in the Netherlands with a reference group of 242 Moroccan children in Morocco. The average age of the two groups of children was 12.10 and 12.2 respectively. Not all the children participated in all tasks. The overall results of the study are presented in Table 11.

Table 11 *Mean correct scores in %, per task and group* (derived from Aarts et al. 1993)

Tasks	N items	Moroccan children	
		in NL	in Morocco
Oral tasks			
receptive vocabulary	31	60	91
understanding instruction	20	52	-
Written instruction			
technical reading	35	79	95
spelling and sentence judgement	40	30	64
receiptive vocabulary	36	34	77
reading comprehension	19	50	91

The score profile of the various tasks first of all shows the relevance of multiple measurement of different skills. The Moroccan children show much differentiation both within and between the groups in the Netherlands and Morocco. The lower scores of the Moroccan children in the Netherlands on most of the written tasks are indicative of the great distance between home language use and standard language conventions in the country of origin. Nevertheless, the Moroccan children in the Netherlands show better results on this variety of tasks than had been observed in previous, more global and restricted studies on Arabic proficiency (cf. Driessen 1990; van de Wetering 1990).

We conclude that the limited instruction in Arabic which Moroccan pupils in Dutch elementary schools receive does not suffice to attain a high level of language proficiency in Arabic. Spelling and written vocabulary in Arabic are poorly mastered by Moroccan pupils at the end of elementary schooling in the Netherlands. Mother tongue instruction only appears sufficient to attain the basic skill of word decoding and a limited oral vocabulary and reading comprehension.

3.3. *Arabic in Secondary Education*

Since 1987, Arabic and Turkish have been offered as optional subjects in secondary schools in the Netherlands. Uitleg (1990) and Diephuis et al. (1992) have defined proficiency targets for Arabic. In the school year of 1991/1992 110 secondary schools had Arabic in their curriculum. Table 12 gives the numbers of pupils taking part in these lessons.

Table 12 *Number of pupils in Arabic lessons in grades 1-5, 1991/92* (source: Ministry of Education and Sciences)

Grades 1-5	Grade 1	Grade 2	Grade 3	Grade 4	Grade 5
N pupils	1545	1133	899	394	5

The low number of pupils in the highest grades is due to the fact that Arabic as an optional subject has only recently been introduced in secondary education. It is expected that the number of pupils will grow in the years to come. Van Langen & Jungbluth (1990) registered a percentage of 18 of Moroccan pupils taking Arabic in secondary education; Aarts et al. (1993) came up with 20 pupils out of 151.

The 14-year-old informants in the study by de Ruiter (1989) mentioned earlier used Dutch predominantly with their friends and

siblings, but the mother tongue was in dominant use with their parents. They were, however, linguistically more skilled in Dutch than in Arabic or Berber. In a study by de Jong et al. (1988) Moroccan youngsters in secondary school were asked to judge their proficiency in their own language as well. The majority of the youngsters declared they had no problems with it. However, these Moroccans were interviewed at a moment when they had lived the larger part of their youth in Morocco.

Aarts et al. (1993) administered an Arabic functional literacy task to 151 Moroccan pupils in the first grade of secondary school. This group was the remainder of the group of pupils that participated earlier in this research, when they were in the last grade of elementary school (see above). On a total of 24 items they had a correct score of 19%. The Moroccan children thus performed poorly on the task. The majority of the pupils could not answer any of the questions. Sometimes they indicated that they could understand the texts and the questions, but were unable to produce the answers. The children in Morocco who participated in the study by Aarts et al. (1993) did the test as well and performed very well on it: their correct score was 79% on 24 items. This score is even more significant as these subjects did the test in the last year of elementary school in Morocco and were younger than their counterparts in the Netherlands.

Productive tasks in Standard Arabic thus seem to be quite difficult for Moroccan children in the Netherlands. A comment on this result must be that not all 151 pupils attended the Arabic lessons. Actually, a majority of them did not. Therefore the conclusion is not warranted that Moroccan youngsters have no functional skills in (Standard) Arabic. Since Arabic as an optional subject has only recently been introduced in secondary education it is expected that the skills of pupils who take part in these lessons will be higher than those of the pupils taking part in this research. A dichotomy might develop in the future: a group of Moroccan youngsters not skilled at all in Standard Arabic and a (smaller) group that will develop skills in Standard Arabic.

4 Perspectives on Home Language Instruction

Home language instruction for ethnic minority children at Dutch schools has a unique history of implementation. For large groups of pupils, home languages were introduced as a subject and/or medium of elementary school instruction in 1974, without previous curriculum development, without teacher guidance and inspection, even without a legal base.

For various reasons, HLI was and is a complex task of governmental policy. First of all, given the multicultural and multilingual composition

of many schools, this task is not restricted to the implementation of bilingual programs, but is extended to arranging multilingual education. Practical experiences with and empirical evidence on education in an exclusively bilingual context can therefore only be transferred to a limited extent. Secondly, there is a large variety in the type and degree of bilingualism of ethnic minority children, both within and across different ethnic groups. Viewed from an intergenerational perspective, these differences show a steady increase over time, with a tendency of language dominance patterns shifting towards Dutch (cf. Extra 1993). Thirdly, embedding HLI for a variety of target groups in the rest of the curriculum is no easy task. At this moment, some ethnic minority groups receive HLI apart from the core curriculum, whereas other groups receive this instruction instead of instruction in specific other subjects in the core curriculum. Finally, the feasibility of HLI is often questioned in cases where there is a relatively small demand on the part of small-sized and/or widely scattered groups.

The developments in this much-debated domain of Dutch education should be evaluated against the background of a policy perspective on ethnic minority children in terms of socio-economic and second-language 'deficits' rather than ethno-cultural differences (cf. section 1). In the early seventies, a struggle against the deficits of children with low socio-economic status was announced for all elementary schools in the Netherlands by the Ministry of Education. As a consequence, schools with many low SES children were allotted additional teaching personnel. While the influx of ethnic minority children from low SES families at Dutch schools strongly increased during the seventies and eighties, minorities policy became implicitly more and more equated with a struggle against deficits, at the cost of ethno-cultural differences.

The coincidence of minorities policy and deficit policy in Dutch education is not a universal phenomenon. HLI for ethnic minority children can also be conceived of in terms of affirmative cultural policy, as was demonstrated by Clyne (1991) in the debate on languages other than English (LOTE) in Australia and by the parliamentary approval of the Home Language Reform (1976) in Sweden. In Sweden, there is a legal obligation for directors of all elementary schools to engage in the following activities on a yearly basis :

* to make an inventory of home languages other than Swedish used by all the pupils at school;
* to inform the parents of these pupils - both in Swedish and in the major local minority languages - about the reasons and possibilities of HLI;

* to assess these parents' needs of HLI for their children;
* to offer HLI in cases of a minimal demand by 5 children per language per municipality (if the demand is low, schools are invited to cooperate).

The fulfilment of these legal requirements is evaluated by the National Educational Inspectorate. In practice, HLI regulations are not always easy to implement in Sweden, due to an increasing decentralization of educational policy; to compensatory or transitionally determined attitudes towards HLI; to insufficiently trained or unavailable home language teachers; and to the absence of nationally determined goals and evaluation procedures (cf. Boyd 1993). The conceptualization of HLI from a deficit versus a cultural perspective has widely different consequences for the target groups, goals, target languages, and evaluation of HLI (cf. Extra & Verhoeven 1993b). The CALO report *Ceders in de tuin* ('Cedars in the garden'), an advisory report for the Dutch Ministry of Education, proposed a reconsideration of current concepts in educational policy on ethnic minorities in the Netherlands (cf. CALO 1992). In the domain of HLI for ethnic minority children, the CALO report has been inspired by cultural policy concepts abroad.

Generally speaking, there is a top-down focus of majority groups (e.g., national or local education authorities, school boards or principals, and majority language teachers) on the acquisition of Dutch as a second language, most commonly in combination with a rather negative attitude towards first language maintenance over time. On the other hand, there is a bottom-up focus of minority groups (e.g., ethnic minority organizations or parents, and ethnic minority language teachers) on first language learning and maintenance over time (cf. van de Wetering 1990; de Jong et al. 1988; 'Inspectie van het Onderwijs' 1987). In spite of the low institutional support of HLI, the degree of participation of at least Turkish and Moroccan children in these programs is high.

It is a popular Dutch view that ethnic minority families should give up their home language and should switch to Dutch, and that ethnic minority children should spend all their energy on second language learning instead of wasting time on first language maintenance. In this conception, multilingualism is seen as a problem, not a resource. It is an intriguing question where such an attitude stems from. The key to understanding should be sought in the attitude of many Dutch people in the Netherlands and abroad towards their own language and culture. In a study entitled *Het Nederlandse onbehagen* ('The Dutch discomfort'), Pleij (1991) argued

that a major characteristic of the Dutch identity seems to be the denial of such an identity, in combination with a widely observed lack of cultural self-awareness. A magnifying effect of this attitude can be observed in the attitude of many Dutch people abroad towards their language of origin. Successive population census data in the USA, Canada and Australia have shown that Dutch immigrants in each of these countries are at the top of the list of those ethnic communities who to a large extent give up their home language within one generation, and shift to English. At least in the context of these English-dominant immigration countries, the language of origin is apparently not conceived of by many Dutch people as a core-value of cultural identity (cf. Clyne 1991; Smolics 1992; 1980).

It does not seem to be a senseless claim that the observed attitude of many Dutch people, in the Netherlands and abroad, towards their own language and culture is mirrored in the attitude towards the languages and cultures of ethnic minority groups in the Netherlands.

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