



Listening to the voices of teachers

MULTILINGUALISM AND INCLUSIVE EDUCATION

Emilie Diephuis

ANR: 935124

Supervisor: professor dr. Kutlay Yağmur

Second reader: dr. Camilla Spadavecchia

Master thesis

Track Management of Cultural Diversity

Faculty of Humanities

Tilburg University

August 2018

Preface

With pride I present to you the final product of my academic career: my master thesis *listening to the voices of teachers; multilingualism and inclusive education*. It is written as part of my master's degree in Management of Cultural Diversity at Tilburg University and is the result of an intensive research over the last seven months. As this thesis would not have been possible without the help and guidance offered to me, I would like to take the opportunity to thank several people who guided and supported me during this process. First of all, I want to thank my supervisor Kutlay Yağmur. Not only did his feedback supported me during the thesis writing, but especially the inspiring debates we had motivated me in continuing writing. I feel proud to be part of his thesis circle and honored to contribute to this area in academic research. Of course, I want to thank all the informants who were willing to participate in the interviews and for their time and effort. Without their cooperation I would not have been able to write this thesis. Finally, I want to thank my family and friends for their support and patience. Everyone who supplied me with the necessary amount of chocolate, gifted me a computer mouse, jumped into trains after a computer crash, withstood my outburst after Google Drive failures and helped with the many grammar checks.

I wish to you new insights gathered from this study. Thank you for reading.

Emilie Diephuis

Maastricht, August 2018

Abstract

Due to increasing world-wide migration the number of different languages spoken in a country are increasing. In an educational context this means that classrooms consist of children with diverse linguistic backgrounds. Given the fact that many educational systems are still mono-cultural and monolingual, teachers are trained to serve monolingual student populations. The presence of a large number of immigrant pupils in the Netherlands raises the question of how teachers deal with diversity issues and how their personal beliefs may influence their practices in the classroom. Therefore, this research studies the attitudes, beliefs and knowledge of primary teachers on multilingualism and poses the following question: How can teachers' attitudes, beliefs and knowledge on multilingualism in classroom be described? Is this influenced by (a) the geographical location of the school and (b) by the composition of pupils with a non-Western background in the school? In this research, semi-structured and informal interviews are held with primary teachers from schools in Maastricht to gain a deeper insight in their attitudes, beliefs and knowledge on multilingualism. After conducting the interviews, the data was transcribed and analyzed using the Grounded Theory approach. The findings of this research show that teachers predominantly have positive attitudes and beliefs towards multilingualism, which, however, are not reflected in their knowledge and classroom practices. The findings point to the need to support teachers both during their initial teacher education and in-service professional development in adequately teaching multilingual pupils in order to meet the multilingual school reality.

Keywords: multilingualism, teachers' beliefs, language attitudes, minority languages, inclusive education, primary education.

Table of Contents

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	5
1.1 Background	5
1.2 Research problem statement.....	6
1.3 Previous research.....	7
1.4 Structure of the research.....	8
CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: MULTILINGUALISM AND EDUCATION.....	9
2.1 Importance of multilingualism	9
2.2 The formation of teachers' attitudes, beliefs and knowledge.....	11
2.3 Current teacher training programs and teachers' classroom practices	13
2.4 The influence of the geographical location of the school on teachers' attitudes, beliefs and knowledge on multilingualism	15
2.5 The influence of the composition of pupils with a non-Western background in the school on teachers' attitudes, beliefs and knowledge on multilingualism	17
CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY.....	21
3.1 Research design.....	21
3.2 Sample strategy	21
3.3 Data collection.....	23
3.4 Data analysis.....	25
3.5 Research quality indicators.....	27
CHAPTER 4: RESULTS	28
4.1 Teachers personal background	28
4.2 Background of the school and teachers	28
4.3 Diversity in teacher education	30
4.4 Attitudes, beliefs and knowledge towards linguistic diversity and the role of language learning	
4.5 Teachers' classroom practices.....	39
4.6 Language policies and language support.....	50
4.7 The local dialect	54
4.8 Teachers reflection and final suggestions.....	58
CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION	59
5.1 Teachers awareness: attitudes and beliefs regarding multilingualism.....	59
5.2 Prevalence of a monolingual ideology	60
5.3 Contradictory practices regarding the use of home languages	60
5.4 Multilingual home language pedagogies can be extended	61
5.5 Socio-economic background of minority pupils and school segregation.....	62
5.6 Achievement gap of minority pupils	64

5.7 Teachers' lack of time and confidence	65
5.8 The absence of multilingualism.....	65
5.9 An ambivalent attitude towards languages and its speakers.....	67
5.10 Prevalence of the local dialect.....	68
CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS.....	70
CHAPTER 7: REFLECTION	72
CHAPTER 8: LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH	73
CHAPTER 9: RECOMMENDATIONS	74
References	76
Appendices	79
Appendix A. Interview questions	79
Appendix B. Transcription header	84

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Currently there is a population growth of people from different ethnolinguistic backgrounds in the Netherlands as a result of increasing world-wide migration. According to Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS), the Dutch population grew by almost 35 thousand inhabitants in the first half of 2017, which is for the largest part the result of migration. In 2017 the Netherlands counted 3.9 million inhabitants with a migration background, of which almost 70% had a non-Western¹ background (CBS, 2018). On a national level, the proportion of non-Western migrants increased from 8,9% in 2000 to 12,7% in 2017, while the proportion of Western migrants remained about the same during that period (9%) (CBS, 2018). Yağmur and Extra (2011) point out that this population shift can be seen as an essential component of the globalization process. The authors also state that this results in increasing linguistic diversity of the host society and that more and more different languages are spoken in the Netherlands. For education this means that classrooms today are characterized by a considerable diversity in pupils' linguistic backgrounds. In the Netherlands, almost 18% of the pupils in primary education have a non-Western background, and this proportion is still increasing (CBS, 2017).

In a yearly report by the Dutch Inspection of Education (2018), in which an overview is given of the trends and developments in education, it is stated that between August 2015 and March 2016 there was a strong increase in newly arrived immigrants ("*nieuwkomers*") who eventually participated in mainstream education. This heterogeneity poses a challenge to education in general and to inclusive education in particular. This is especially relevant seen the current monolingual view of the Dutch education system. This view is subsequently transferred to teachers who bring their own attitudes, beliefs and knowledge on multilingualism in the classroom, which in turn can have consequences for the academic and social learning needs of multilingual children. For this research multilingualism is defined as the use of two or more languages (or varieties of languages) to communicate in a sociocultural space (Spotti & Kroon, 2017). This means that an individual is able to speak more than one language. The presence of a large number of immigrant minority (IM) pupils in the Netherlands raises the question of how teachers deal with these issues and how their personal attitudes, beliefs and knowledge may influence their practices in the classroom.

1.1 Background

Knowledge of teachers' beliefs is central to understanding their decision-making in the classroom, since this shapes their practices. Teachers are the ones who have to implement the monolingual language policies on a daily basis in classrooms and in doing this, they make use of language practices that reflect their own attitudes regarding multilingualism. These practices might have severe consequences for the pupils, particularly those in the primary level of education since this is when children enter the education system and acquire fundamental literacy skills. It also is, for a substantial number of children, the first time that they have to perform in the majority language. However, as Extra and Yağmur (2011) point out, minority languages are often regarded with a somewhat lower status. As a consequence, pupils who speak their heritage language and are multilingual learners, are rather portrayed as a problem instead of resourceful persons (De Angelis, 2011; Agirdag, Jordens, and Van Houtte, 2014). This raises the questions of how teachers relate to linguistic diversity, and if and how classroom practices get supported by minority languages of multilingual pupils. The attitude and

¹ The category 'non-Western' includes persons with a Turkish, African, Asian and Latin-American background. The category 'Western' consists of persons originating from a country in Europe (excluding Turkey), North America, Oceania, Japan and Indonesia (CBS, 2018).

beliefs teachers hold regarding this topic can have important consequences for these pupils. The consequences of teachers' practices, shaped by their beliefs is already visible in the occurrence of achievement gaps between the native Dutch children and children with an ethnic minority background with the latter having an educational disadvantage compared to their native Dutch peers (Inspection of Education, 2018, p. 67). National test results (Cito-test) show that these gaps are already visible at the start of primary school. Many determinants of this lower academic achievement of minority pupils have been identified over the years. One of them being negative teacher expectancies (Van den Bergh, Denessen, Hornstra, Voeten & Holland, 2010). The achievement gaps have also been attributed to family socio-economic resources and parental education (Duncan & Magnuson, 2006; Gamoran, 2001; as cited in Van den Bergh, et al., 2010). Yağmur and Konak (2009) explain the gap by inappropriate educational assessment of minority pupils' abilities. Agirdag et al. (2012) have found that it is the prejudiced teacher attitudes and expectations that enlarge the achievement gap between ethnic minority and majority pupils. Moreover, pupil's academic achievements could be hampered by the teachers' negative attitude towards a language variant spoken by this pupil (Agirdag, Van Avermaet & Van Houtte, 2012).

Haukås (2016) points out that multilinguals differ from bilinguals and monolinguals on several grounds. Multilinguals demonstrate superior metalinguistic and metacognitive abilities. Nonetheless, when children are not encouraged in the school situation to rely on their different languages and language knowledge as positive resources, multilingualism may not provide an advantage (Haukås, 2016). Moreover, immigrant pupils are hardly attributed the status of a bi/multilingual learner, but rather portrayed as a 'problem' (De Angelis 2011; Agirdag, Jordens & Van Houtte, 2014; Agirdag, 2010). Teachers play a key role in promoting learners' multilingualism. Yet, in order to have a multilingual pedagogical approach in the classroom, there is need of competent teachers. However, teachers still usually feel uncertain to enact such visions (Van der Wildt, Van Avermaet & Van Houtte, 2017).

1.2 Research problem statement

Although linguistic diversity in the Netherlands is increasing, the current educational system upholds a predominantly monolingual view. This view gets transferred to teachers which can lead to marginalization of minority pupils, resulting in educational underachievement and social exclusion. Therefore, the overall aim of this study is to determine how multilingualism is practiced in daily life by primary teachers. Teachers play an essential role, since their practices can have great influences on the pupils (De Angelis, 2011). A better understanding of teachers' beliefs and the way they deal with multilingualism can help support the development of a culture of multilingualism within the educational context. In order to gain an in-depth insight into teachers' implicit beliefs and attitudes, semi-structured and informal interviews are held with 20 primary teachers. Based on the previous, the following main research question is formulated: How can teachers' attitudes, beliefs and knowledge on multilingualism in classroom be described? When conducting this research, the underlying factors of the school composition and geographical location will be taken into account. Therefore, the following sub-questions need to be answered:

- a). Are the teachers' attitudes, beliefs and knowledge on multilingualism in the classroom influenced by the geographical location of the school?*
- b). Are the teachers' attitudes, beliefs and knowledge on multilingualism in the classroom influenced by the composition of pupils with a non-Western background in the school?*

To answer the first sub-question, a distinction is made between the urban and more rural regions of the Netherlands. This study focusses on a city located in the province of Limburg, which can be seen as the periphery of the Netherlands (Cornips, 2013). According to Central Bureaus of Statistics (2018), there are considerable differences visible between regions to the extent of people with different cultural backgrounds, with a limited proportion of non-Western migrants in Limburg while in urban regions this proportion is particularly high. By interviewing teachers from Limburg, it could become clear if the geographical area of the primary school influences in some way the views of the teacher. The geographical area influences namely the ethnic school composition and subsequently perceptions of the teacher, which in turn might have negative effects for the minority pupils.

To answer the second sub-question, a division will be made between schools with a majority and minority of pupils with a non-Western background. It is important to consider the latter, since the number of ethnic minority children is growing at a faster rate than the number of ethnic majority children (OECD, 2000). Van Duin and Stoeldraijer (2014) show the forecast of CBS that the Dutch population growth is to a large extent caused by the growth of the non-Western population, which will -according to them- double in the next thirty years. Central Bureaus of Statistics classify persons with a foreign background as Western or non-Western, according to their country of birth (Van Duin & Stoeldraijer, 2014). If they are born in the Netherlands (the second generation), the classification is based on the mother's country of birth. In case the mother is also born in the Netherlands, the background is determined by the father's country of birth. The category 'non-Western' includes persons with a Turkish, African, Asian and Latin-American background. The category 'Western' consists of persons originating from a country in Europe (excluding Turkey), North America, Oceania, Japan and Indonesia (CBS, 2018).

1.3 Previous research

Despite these dynamic linguistic changes, there is little to-date research on how teachers respond to this linguistic diversity. Especially in the Netherlands, little research has been conducted into the attitudes of primary teachers regarding multilingualism. In the Belgium context on the other hand, more research has been conducted in this field. A study, conducted in Flanders by Agirdag, Jordens and Van Houtte (2014) explored teachers' beliefs concerning the use of the Turkish language by Turkish children in Belgian primary schools. The analyses revealed that teachers have negative views about the use of the Turkish language, because they believe that speaking the mother tongue is harmful to academic achievement. The authors stated that these negative views are influenced by the policy context in Flanders that favors assimilation and Dutch monolingualism. However, concerning the Dutch context this research field remains unexplored. Agirdag et al. (2012) state that the teachers' attitudes regarding the education of ethnic minorities are largely ignored by educational researchers and that more studies should pay attention to teachers and their attitudes towards the education of pupils with an ethnic minority. Haukås (2016) also pointed out that research focused on teachers' knowledge and beliefs about multilingualism is surprisingly scarce. Delarue and De Caluwe (2015) state that language policy also mostly focuses on programmatic issues and the linguistic, academic and societal achievements of pupils but the role of the teacher is often relatively absent. This research thus responds to the need for research into the main actors that shape inclusive educational practices for pupils from diverse linguistic backgrounds. The current international context in its diversity and continuing migration developments make this a pressing issue.

1.4 Structure of the research

This thesis is divided into six chapters. The next chapter presents a conceptual framework that is needed to gain more insight into the topics that are of particular relevance to this study. Chapter 3 explains the methodology of this study. It discusses the research design, participants, data collection, data analysis and the research quality indicators. Next, the results of this thesis are presented in Chapter 4, followed by the discussion in Chapter 5 which presents the findings in relation to the theoretical framework. Finally, in Chapter 6 the general conclusions are presented. Moreover, this chapter discusses the limitations of this study and offers suggestions for future research and teaching.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: MULTILINGUALISM AND EDUCATION

2.1 Importance of multilingualism

2.1.1 European and Dutch perspective on multilingualism

Within the European Union (EU) language policies aim to protect linguistic diversity and promote knowledge of languages (Yağmur, Extra & Swinkels, 2012). Both the European Commission and the Council of Europe have published numerous policy documents in which language diversity is seen as a key element of the multicultural identity of Europe (Extra & Yağmur, 2006). European Union sees multilingualism as an asset to promote social integration and as part of personal identity. Additionally, multilingual citizens are better placed to take advantage of the educational, professional and economic opportunities created by an integrated Europe (Yağmur et al., 2012). However, within the EU, language policy is the responsibility of individual Member States. This means that member states create and implement policies regarding multilingualism and how to deal with (immigrant) minority languages based on the nation-states' ideology. Where the EU sees minority language as a contribution to Europe's cultural and linguistic diversity, European Nation-states do not always share this view of recognizing diversity as part of their national identity (Yağmur & Extra, 2011). Yağmur and Extra (2011) state that in European nation-states, immigrant languages are "commonly conceived of as a problem in achieving national cohesion and homogeneity" (p. 1186). A society with internal differences is namely viewed as dangerous, whereas the 'best' society is viewed to be one without any intergroup differences (Delarue & De Caluwe, 2015).

This view also upholds for the Netherlands, where a major characteristic of the European public discourse on immigrant groups nowadays focusses on integration. This was not always the case for the Netherlands. Before 2001, the Netherlands maintained a pluralistic approach regarding immigrant minority groups. This means that the Dutch government has pursued an integration policy that focuses on the maintenance of collective cultural identities (Rijkschroeff, ten Dam, Duyvendak, de Gruijter & Pels, 2005). After the terrorist attacks on the United States however, the dominant discourse in Dutch politics became increasingly anti-pluralist (Yağmur & Extra, 2006). The Dutch objectives to include all minorities into the Dutch society were completely reversed. Cultural pluralism was regarded as a threat to the process of sociocultural and structural integration into the host society (Rijkschroeff et al., 2005). Multilingualism was seen as a threat to social cohesion, so Dutch-only policies aimed at limiting the use, maintenance, promotion and salience of immigrant languages (Yağmur & Extra, 2006). The Netherlands manifested Dutch as a single standard language in order to create a national identity. Within Dutch policy documents, speaking Standard Dutch is seen as the only guarantee of equal opportunities, a proper job and an improved ranking on the social scale (Delarue & De Caluwe, 2015). Concerning the use of language in education this resulted in a monolingual approach. Language policy has as a fundamental goal "the production and consequent enforcement of a specific set of norms for language use in a certain institutionalized environment within a given State" (Kroon & Spotti, 2011, p. 2). The authors (2011) state that in general the tendency of this policing is to prescribe which language(s) can be used in a certain environment and proscribe – either implicitly or explicitly – which languages should not be used. Schools are an ideal example of these institutionalized environments to prescribe a standard language. This view, based on monolingual ideologies was subsequently translated into policies, designing the education curriculum. Hence, an oligot policy was established, meaning that the Dutch language was to be the only language of instruction in the curriculum (Kroon & Spotti, 2011). Thus concerning the Dutch context, societal

circumstances changed over time and a shift from an attitude supportive of minority languages changed into an attitude supportive of the majority-language-only. This renewed attitude influenced the belief system on multilingualism and subsequently policies regarding multilingualism in Dutch society and education.

2.1.2 The Importance of maintaining the heritage language of minority pupils

Language transmission occurs in both the domestic domain as in the public domain (e.g. at school). In the case of minority language speakers however, Extra and Yağmur (2006) speak of a mismatch that usually exists between the language spoken at home and the language that is used as the medium of instruction at the school. These practices influence a large number of pupils, as is shown by a study of Extra et al. Between 1997 and 2002, they conducted a study in which data was collected amongst primary and secondary school pupils in the Netherlands including reference to which languages are spoken at home. Results show that 32 percent of the primary and 28 percent of the secondary pupils reported that one or more languages other than or along with Dutch are spoken in their homes (Extra & Yağmur, 2006). Thus, in the Netherlands there is a significant share of children having a wide variety of linguistic backgrounds, ranging from rarely to regularly speaking Dutch at home. What these children have in common is using (or hearing) at least one language that is not the national language to some extent in the home. According to Bailey and Marsden (2017) this is usually accompanied by an awareness of a culture that is different to that of their monolingual Dutch-speaking peers. Within this study the term home language refers to language use or knowledge of languages (other than Dutch) that children who use Dutch as an additional language have gained from their home lives (Bailey & Marsden, 2017). McGilp (2014) calls children learning a second language, sequential bilinguals, which means these children already have knowledge of one language and are learning another. This is in contrast to simultaneous bilinguals, who acquire two languages at the same time (McGilp, 2014). For these children the provision to learn the majority language whilst maintaining their mother tongue should be supported and encouraged for a number of reasons.

For sequential bilinguals, maintenance and development of their heritage language will aid the acquisition of their second language and enables learners to continue in their cognitive and emotional development in a language they are comfortable with (Lightbown & Spada, 2006 as cited in McGilp, 2014). Moreover, Abdullah (2009) states that when multiple language skills are well-developed, this provides cognitive advantages for the child. Other advantages have been brought forward by Lee and Oxelson (2006) who say that proficiency in one's mother tongue establishes a stronger sense of ethnic identity and connection to the cultural group. According to them, this in turn can lead to more positive self-esteem of the child and the ability to experience an enriched environment of two cultures. The authors (2006) say that conversely, the loss of proficiency in the mother tongue leads to breakdowns in communication with family members and detachment from ethnic community networks. Thus, for minority pupils, losing proficiency in their mother tongue is more than just a loss of a linguistic system. According to Lee and Oxelson (2006) it is “a separation from their roots, a denial of their ethnic identity, and a dismissal of their potential as a bilingual and bicultural member of society” (p. 455). Therefore, maintaining the mother tongue is of importance for both the pupils' cognitive as social development.

However, as the results of the research of De Angelis (2011) show, a large proportion of teachers believe that the frequent use of the home language delays the learning of the host-language and gives rise to confusion in the pupils' minds. Teachers believe that every second should be invested in pupils' acquisition of the dominant language (Van der Wildt et al., 2017). Additionally, a common misunderstanding among teachers is that only teachers who are proficient in the pupils' home language can support maintenance of this language. To the contrary, studies have shown that positive

effects are also found when teachers express interest in the home language and treat it as a resource (Franquiz & de la Luz Reyes, 1998, as cited in Lee & Oxelson, 2006). Nevertheless, since teachers still maintain these beliefs, children who speak a heritage language other than the host-language are supported by fewer resources and therefore placed in a disadvantaged position. Hence, this study maps the linguistic awareness of primary teachers and if and how they make use of the IM languages during classroom practices.

2.2 The formation of teachers' attitudes, beliefs and knowledge

2.2.1 *Attitudes and beliefs*

In this thesis, attention is paid to the attitude and beliefs of primary teachers, since these are crucial factors to achieve inclusive education for pupils from different linguistic backgrounds. There are many ways to define "attitude". Therefore, for this study the following definition is used: "An attitude is a learned predisposition to respond in a consistently favorable or unfavorable manner with respect to a given object" (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975, p. 6 as cited in Oskamp & Schultz, 2005, p. 8). The term object can refer to many things, like things or (groups of) people. In this study the attitude object refers to the concept of multilingualism and more specific minority pupils. A traditional view of attitudes is that they have three interrelated components; cognitive, affective and behavioral. However, according to Oskamp and Schultz (2005), a preferable new approach is to consider these three aspects as separate entities. The authors (2005) refer to beliefs, attitudes and behavioral intentions instead. Although attitudes and beliefs are related concepts, they are not synonyms for each other (Oskamp & Schultz, 2005). Therefore, this thesis makes a clear distinction between these two concepts. In this study, teachers' beliefs refer to "a complex, interrelated system of often tacitly held theories, values and assumptions that the teacher deems to be true, and which serve as cognitive filters that interpret new experiences and guide the teacher's thoughts and behavior" (Mohamed, 2006, p. 21, as cited in Haukås, 2016, p. 3). The main difference between attitudes and beliefs is thus that beliefs are cognitive, whereas attitudes are affective (feelings and emotions). What these two concepts have in common on the other hand is that they are not a behavior, but can be seen as a predisposition to respond in a particular way to the attitude object (Oskamp & Schultz, 2005). Thus, a certain attitude or belief a person holds, can influence how this person acts. This can have great consequences for minority pupils, in case a teacher holds certain negative attitudes or beliefs towards them, which in turn influences how this teacher perceives and treats the pupil. Later we will see this getting reflected in teachers' classroom practices.

Another notion these two concepts have in common and is of particular interest for this study, is that attitudes and beliefs are learned. This upholds for teachers, but also for children. Oskamp and Schultz (2005) bring forward that attitudes and beliefs are learned via various factors; not only through personal experience, but also through social interaction with parents, teachers and peers (p. 374). Next to children often imitating the practices of their parents, the authors (2005) also bring forward the important role of teachers in shaping a child's attitude by explicit teaching and implicit modelling of their own. They state that second only to parental influences in determining children's attitudes is school teaching. The educational system plays thus a major role in shaping the attitudes and beliefs of young citizens. Pupils will imitate the behavior of the teacher, who serves as a role model for them, since a common type of attitude learning is imitation of the behavior of another person who serves as a model (Oskamp & Schultz, 2005). Teachers on their turn also have adopted specific attitudes and beliefs, which they then transfer to their pupils, which will be elaborated upon in 2.2.3. Thus, it is of

importance to discuss teachers' attitudes and beliefs, seeing their important role in not only providing much of a pupils' information, but also help form their attitudes and beliefs.

2.2.2 Monolingual ideology reflected in Dutch educational (language) policies

The Dutch education system can be characterized by a great pedagogical and didactic freedom. Schools are namely free to determine the content and methods of teaching for pupils as long as they conform to national attainment targets (OECD, 2016). This means that with no national curriculum, schools have extensive freedom in designing their own. Besides, while in the past public schools were overseen mostly by local governments, the governance has nowadays increasingly become the responsibility of independent school boards. Next to designing the schools' curriculum these boards have many other powers, such as overseeing the schools' implementation of legislation and regulations and the employment of teachers and other staff (OECD, 2016). These school boards might also be influenced by the monolingual state ideology, which in turn gets reflected in e.g. the school curriculum they implement. This has been brought forward by Yağmur and Extra (2011) who state that immigrant minority languages are commonly considered sources of problems and deficiencies by policymakers, local educational authorities, headmasters of schools and teachers, who rarely see them as sources of knowledge and enrichment. Other languages, such as English, are however perceived as important and therefore the focus is commonly on the learning and teaching of English as a third language in primary schools (Extra & Yağmur, 2006).

Thus in the Netherlands there seems to be a contrast between the official policies for education that take a monolingual approach (as outlined in previous sections) and the multilingual student population that is present in the classroom. Because of the increasing number of immigrant minority pupils who speak a language at home other than or in addition to Dutch (Yağmur & Extra, 2011), Dutch education should adapt their curriculum to this population to give them the chance to fully develop. Also, with no national curriculum and the increasing responsibility of local institutions this means that the school curriculum and overall regulations can differ greatly between schools. This can work in the disadvantage of minority pupils, who could suffer from views upheld by local school boards in case these institutions uphold negative beliefs regarding multilingualism. This might subsequently be reflected in their school curriculum and be translated in for example the suppression of attention for minority pupils. Teachers play an important role in this, since they have to implement the policies drawn up by the local institutions.

2.2.3 Monolingual Ideology and the influence on teachers

Language policies are in most cases developed and imposed by policy makers at national, regional or local levels (Van Avermaet, Pulinx & Sirens, 2014). These language policies are based on language ideologies of a state, meaning "the ideas people have, formed by their socio-cultural environment, about language, its usage and its effects within institutions" (Kroon & Spotti, 2011). Delarue and De Caluwe (2015) bring forward that language policies especially have a great impact in the domain of education, as language-in-education policies play a crucial role in how a society articulates and plans for the future of its members. Not only are teachers the ones who have to implement these language policies, these languages policies also influences their own ideologies on language education.

Teachers hold these ideologies as well for their pragmatic norms that is "norms that indicate how the language should be used in specific circumstances" (Kroon & Spotti, 2011). The language norm in the Netherlands is Dutch, since knowledge of standard Dutch is seen as a condition for a successful school career (Kroon & Spotti, 2011). Teachers' underlying language ideologies about languages and their use in society are subsequently turned into language practices. Thus, their pedagogical decisions in their teaching might be influenced by these current monolingual policies in

education. However, language policies are not the only factor shaping their practices, but they do this also in interaction with the context of their classroom, their own experiences and beliefs (Creese, 2010 as cited in Van Avermaet, Pulinx & Sirens, 2014). This can have severe consequences for the pupils, since what is taught to the pupils is to a large extent determined by the beliefs teachers hold on citizenship education and social reality in general (Pulinx, Van Avermaet & Agirdag, 2017). Thus, the monolingual view of the Dutch education system is transferred to teachers, who on their turn have to prepare their pupils for society. This means that teachers have a lot of policy power, as they can choose whether to make use of minority languages into their teaching or not. Therefore it is important to study teachers' beliefs regarding this issue.

2.3 Current teacher training programs and teachers' classroom practices

2.3.1 *The advantages of multilingual home language pedagogies*

Bailey and Marsden (2017) use the term 'multilingual home language pedagogies' to refer to "the use of activities, which use or refer to home languages, or a selection of different languages for the purpose of building language awareness or recognizing and valuing home languages and cultures (p. 285). The authors (2017) distinguish three categories in which rationales of teachers can be grouped for using home languages into classroom learning. The first refers to a means of helping non-native pupils access the country's native language and the curriculum. The second is as a way of celebrating diversity and recognizing children's home lives and the third one as a way of welcoming or integrating pupils into the classroom.

In section 2.1.2 the advantages of multilingual pupils when maintaining and developing their heritage language were discussed. Next to this, being in a class receiving multilingual home language pedagogies has various advantages as well for their cognitive and social development. Moreover, not only multilingual pupils benefit from this, also monolingual Dutch pupils do. Bailey and Marsden (2017) bring forward that teaching pupils about multilingualism has been shown to improve pupils' self-efficacy towards language learning as well as providing them with a more realistic picture of the world's multilingualism which is perhaps contrary to the 'monolingual bubble' they may be living in. Additionally, using a wider variety of languages has been found to positively influence children's expressed views towards other languages and cultures. Multilingual pedagogy can also be useful for teachers, when their linguistic knowledge and confidence are limited, because specialist knowledge of one language is not required. Thus, it might be helpful if primary teachers adopt multilingual home language pedagogies in their teaching by making use of pupils' home languages and treat them as resources.

2.3.2 *Teachers training programs*

Teachers in the Netherlands receive initial training when becoming a primary teacher. This means that they must successfully complete a four-year professional education program that focuses on teaching practice and includes practical training. As part of their education, they must pass language and mathematics examinations (Shewbridge, Kim, Wurzburg & Hostens, 2010). Most teachers in this study completed their training at the pedagogic academic basic education (PABO, i.e. training at the HBO - higher vocational training - level). This program allows a graduate to teach in all grades of primary and special education (OECD, 2016). Teachers can also participate in additional trainings and induction programs during their career. However, since schools in the Netherlands are characterized by great autonomy, the further detailing of these courses are highly dependent on the schools themselves (Shewbridge et al., 2010; OECD, 2016). As a consequence, this can result in differences in

teacher quality per school. According to the Inspection of Education (2018) this is already the case for the Netherlands, since sufficiently-qualified teachers are not equally divided among schools (p. 39). In their OECD report, Shewbridge et al. (2010) underline the importance that the growing student diversity requires teachers to be able to adapt their practice in the classroom to meet diverse pupils' needs. However, according to the Dutch Inspectorate of Education, current teacher training could be improved to develop skills to adapt to this diverse pupil needs (Shewbridge et al., 2010). This need for improvement is also emphasized in policy documents regarding the Flemish context that stresses the reform of teacher training programs in order to train teachers in linguistic competencies (Delarue & De Caluwe, 2015). This fact is also stressed by Cruickshank (2004), who states that teacher education programs in many OECD countries have been slow in responding to increasing cultural and linguistic diversity.

2.3.3 Teachers uncertainty in handling multilingualism in classrooms

According to Van der Wildt, Van Avermaet and Van Houtte (2017), teachers are uncertain how to handle the linguistic diversity of their pupils. The authors refer to previous studies by Coleman (2010) and Johnson (2012) who found that teachers feel generally unprepared to teach multilingual pupils. This is also evident in a study conducted by Haukås (2016), who brings forward that - although teachers have positive beliefs about multilingualism and that multilingualism should be promoted - they do not feel competent at using multilingualism in their classroom and that many teachers are concerned that it could disrupt further language learning of the pupils. Bailey and Marsden (2017) show in their research the importance of confident teachers regarding these issues, since this increases teachers' willingness to undertake practices, such as providing extra help to multilingual pupils. The authors (2017) investigated the views of 55 primary teachers in a small local authority in England on how willing and confident they would feel to undertake classroom practices that recognize and use the linguistic and cultural insight of pupils who have a home language other than English (EAL). They conclude that although teachers generally showed willingness to consider implementing certain activities involving these pupils' home language, they lacked confidence in particular areas (e.g. linguistic knowledge, classroom demands). Concerning Dutch context, it is stated that teachers are generally good at didactic skills, such as giving clear explanations, but are less successful at actively involving pupils in class (Inspection of Education, 2018). In addition, teachers also indicate that they feel less prepared to differentiate education to the specific needs of pupils (OECD, 2016). As a consequence of the uncertainty of teachers, they rely on their own knowledge about multilingualism, which is often to the disadvantages of multilingual pupils. Therefore, Abdullah (2009) stresses the necessity that teachers receive appropriate training or staff development programs which incorporate the necessary knowledge, skills and attitudes for such a responsibility. Also Bailey and Marsden (2017) stress the importance of adequate pre-service training, since this is likely to play an important role in developing teachers' confidence (Bailey & Marsden, 2017).

2.3.4 The need for professionalization and non-cognitive skills of teachers

Teacher quality is an exceptionally strong predictor of student learning (OECD, 2016). The OECD review (2016) brings forward a possible solution to increase teacher quality. Next to the mathematics and language tests required for the first-year trainee teachers, other criteria that reflect the complex nature of teaching, such as non-cognitive skills should also be taken into account. The Dutch Inspection of Education (2018) also recommends professionalization activities that can support teachers in dealing with differences among their pupils. This concerns activities that focus on their (professional) didactic skills and which are in line with their development needs. Abdullah (2009)

states that education courses for teachers should contain elements that address the diversity of cultures in both the content as well as the delivery. The author (2009) recommends that within the curriculum, particular emphasis needs be given to the understanding of how children develop language and teachers should gain practical experience in teaching a second language. Subsequently, more than other teachers, teachers who are good at didactic and differentiation skills are more active in their further professional development and will put effort into continuing their learning process (Inspection of Education, 2018). Because teacher quality is such a strong predictor of student learning, this quality needs to be nurtured throughout the professional career of a teacher. Abdullah (2009) therefore stresses the importance of continuing education on multicultural issues that should be readily available for teachers educating young children.

2.4 The influence of the geographical location of the school on teachers' attitudes, beliefs and knowledge on multilingualism

2.4.1 *Center versus peripheral areas*

Within the Netherlands, two regional categories can be distinguished. Firstly, the economic, demographic, political and cultural center of the Netherlands, the so-called 'Randstad', which consists of the provinces North Holland, South Holland and Utrecht (Driessen, 2005). Immigrants – in particular with non-Western backgrounds – are to a great extent concentrated in this area (Shewbridge, Kim, Wurzburg & Hostens, 2010; Van Duin & Stoeldraijer, 2014). In the four largest municipalities located in the Randstad, more than 30% of the inhabitants have a non-Western background (CBS, 2018). The second regional category that can be distinguished are the peripheral areas, such as the province of Limburg in the south of the Netherlands (Cornips, 2013). The schools of this study's interest are situated in the capital of this province: Maastricht. The municipality of Maastricht counts less inhabitants with a non-Western background compared to the Randstad. In the municipality of Maastricht namely 8,52% of the inhabitants have a non-Western background (CBS, 2018). There are thus considerable differences visible between regions to the extent of people with different cultural backgrounds, with a limited proportion of non-Western migrants in Limburg while in urban regions this proportion is particularly high. The report of OECD (2000) stresses that, especially in metropolitan areas, where there is a high concentration of ethnic minorities, the increasing cultural pluralism of society is having a great impact on the education system. However, this does not mean that in regions with a low concentration of ethnic minorities, this does not influence the educational system. On the contrary; Leidelmeijer, Schulenberg and Noordhuizen (2015) bring forward that especially in these regions with a low concentration of ethnic minorities, segregation along the line of ethnicity is visible. Moreover, Bailey and Marsden (2017) state that teachers' confidence, knowledge and, subsequently, practice in less culturally diverse areas may be influenced by a low number of inhabitants with a non-Western background. Further, the geographical region may also have an influence on teacher-training programs. Bailey and Marsden (2017) state that more rural areas, with a low number of non-Western migrants consider training about using and teaching Dutch as additional language less of a priority. To date, research has tended to present a view of home language education in urban, multilingual areas (Bailey & Marsden, 2017). Therefore, this study presents a view of a more peripheral area within the Netherlands. Maastricht is an interesting city to conduct this research, because although this city might be linguistically less interesting, still a large number of non-Western pupils live here.

2.4.2 The Limburgish dialect

In 1997, Limburgish, formerly considered a dialect of Dutch, was acknowledged as a regional language under the European Charter for Regional or Minority languages (ECRML) (Camps, 2017). According to the Council of Europe (CoE), the ECRML serves as “an instrument of protection and promotion of the wealth and diversity of Europe’s cultural heritage and as a means for enabling the use of a regional or minority language in private and public life” (Council of Europe, 2014). For Limburgish in education this means that primary education should be made available in Limburgish or Limburgish should be made part of the curriculum, at least for those pupils whose families are requesting this. Besides, the Dutch government should, next to encouraging teaching in Limburgish, also provide forms and means for the teaching and study of the language (ECRML, part III, 2011).

According to a 2007 State Report (Council of Europe, 2007, par. 1.2, as cited in Camps, 2017, p. 67) on the Limburger language, approximately 83% of the province’s inhabitants could be regarded as speakers of the language. These data come from research conducted in 2002 (Council of Europe, 2011, p. 24). Limburg, the most southeastern province in the Netherlands bordering Belgium and Germany (Camps, 2017) is characterized by a great linguistic diversity, meaning that within the province, many different variations of the regional language are spoken (Camps, 2017). Most people in Limburg, use the label *dialect* to refer to these languages (Cornips, Francot, Van den Heuij, Blom, Heeringa, Buchstaller & Siebenhaar, 2017). Hence, this paper uses the label *dialect* to refer to the locally spoken regional minority language Limburgish, which in this case focuses on the dialect Maastrichts. Cornips et al. (2017) mention that the Limburgish dialects are important to the construction of local identities. They cite a recent panel study in which 42 percent of the participants residing in Limburg revealed that they identified themselves predominantly as Limburgish, compared to 27 percent of the participants who identified themselves predominantly as Dutch. Thus, despite this regional linguistic diversity in local dialects, residents/inhabitants of Limburg also recognize a common Limburgian identity (Camps, 2017). Moreover, Limburgish has, especially in Maastricht, a high social prestige and is not only spoken by the lower classes, but also by the middle and higher classes (Driessen, 2005).

The use of the dialect can differ depending on domains and has various functions. Where Dutch is used in more formal settings, the dialect is predominantly used for informal daily conversations within family or friendship domains (Cornips et al., 2017) and as a symbol of solidarity and intimacy (Deprez, 1984). This is also visible within the school-domain. Here we see that, although Limburgish is not taught as a school subject, it is often used in informal situations (Driessen, 2005) whereas Dutch is used for in-classroom communication (Cornips et al., 2017). Also Delarue and De Caluwe (2015) state that the standard variety is expected in typical instruction situations but there is room for vernacular varieties in other situations.

2.4.3 Teachers attitude and practices towards dialect in education

For children who are raised as dialect speakers, attending school means learning to speak a different language variety i.e., standard Dutch (Cornips et al., 2017). However, the acquisition of a dialect does not hinder or facilitate the acquisition of standard Dutch vocabulary, according to the authors. Cornips et al. (2017) have determined that children in Limburg score even higher than the Dutch national average on a vocabulary test for Dutch (PPVT-NL). Although educators in Limburg attach strong feelings to maintaining the dialect to express local identities, on the other hand they also attribute negative effects to the speaking of dialect in the acquisition of Dutch, like difficulties acquiring Dutch vocabulary, completing higher education and achieving a prestigious professional career (Cornips et al., 2017). The attitude of teachers towards dialect and the use of dialect in the educational setting has been studied by Diederer, Hos, Münstermann and Weistra (1984). This research was carried out in

seven pedagogical academies spread over the Netherlands, both in rural as in urban areas and included views on all regional dialects. The authors found that firstly, teachers from peripheral regions had a more positive attitude towards dialect than the teachers in urban cities. Secondly, teachers who are speakers of a dialect had a more positive attitude towards dialects than non-dialect speakers. These teachers tended to be rather permissive towards a dialect and the use of dialect in the classroom and, in contrast with the results of Cornips et al. (2017), who did not believe that the use of dialect has a negative influence on school performances and learning capacities of primary school pupils. Diederens et al. (1984) explain these differences by the notion of dialect loyalty. Speakers of dialects very often attribute positive values and a certain amount of prestige to their dialect. On the other hand, Cornips et al. (2017) show that although teachers have a positive attitude towards the dialect, they were less positive about the actual use of dialect in the school-domain. Also Vallen (1981) brings forward the existence of large difference between what teachers say about the use of dialect in the classroom and what they actually carry out in practice. In his study in which he aims to locate those areas of education in which children from dialect-speaking backgrounds are at a disadvantage in comparison with children from standard-speaking backgrounds, approximately 75 percent of the teachers say that they use the dialect "often or always" in teaching the standard language. However, the data from classroom observations show that this is rarely the case.

Thus, there seems to be a contradiction between what teachers indicate as their attitude towards dialect (e.g. positive and do not believe in any bad influence on the school performance and learning capacities) and the actual practices of using the dialect at school. Diederens et al. (1984) give as a possible explanation that the attitudes towards dialects are neutralized by the norms of the educational system (which is a strong norm of the standard Dutch as the one and only current language in school). This might tell us something about teacher attitudes. Depending on the teacher and if he or she speaks a dialect, his or her attitudes may lead to implicit or explicit discouragement of the speaking of the dialect. This could be the case in schools in Maastricht if teachers uphold a certain attitude towards (non-)dialect-speakers and the use of Limburgish subsequently shaping their in-class practices.

2.5 The influence of the composition of pupils with a non-Western background in the school on teachers' attitudes, beliefs and knowledge on multilingualism.

2.5.1 Variation in primary education and school segregation

The Dutch educational system is characterized by the principle of freedom of education, which means that public primary schools are accessible for every child (Rijksoverheid, n.d.). This freedom of education has brought the Netherlands a rich variety of schools that give their own interpretation to education in the form of e.g. a special concept or study profile (Inspection of Education, 2018). The Inspection of Education (2018) sees this variety as a great asset which increases diversity and improves the quality of education. As a result, there is a large choice for parents and pupils to select the school that suits them best. According to Denessen, Driessena and Slegers (2005) the reasons for school choice can be classified into four general domains. That is that parents can have ideological (i.e., religious and/or pedagogical) reasons for choosing a particular school. The geographical distance of the school from home or work can influence the choice as well as the quality of the education. Lastly, certain non-educational characteristics of the school such as the characteristics of the school population, can be of importance. When parents from different backgrounds are found to choose a school based on the latter and thus for group-specific reasons, we may speak of segregation. According to the Inspection of Education (2018), school segregation is reinforced due to this concept

of educational freedom that is present in the Netherlands. Thus, freedom of education also has a downside, since it allows parents to choose or avoid schools with a certain composition (Van Avermaet, Pulinx & Sirens, 2014).

Denessen, Driessena and Slegers (2005) write that two characteristics appear to be strongly related to influence the choice of school by parents, namely social environment and ethnicity. Low educated parents and working-class parents tend to choose a school for physical proximity whereas high educated parents and middle-class parents tend to choose the school which best fits their child's interests and personality (Denessen, Driessena & Slegers, 2005). Also the Dutch Inspection of Education (2018) mentions that schools with special educational concepts often attract higher educated parents. The influence of parents' social class is also made visible in a study by Van Avermaet, Pulinx and Sirens (2014) conducted in Flanders, that shows that because middle class parents have more resources, they tend to avoid schools with a high share of working-class and immigrant pupils (even if these schools are situated in their immediate neighborhood). The same issue is visible in the Netherlands, shown in a report by Inspection of Education (2018) stating that parents of primary school pupils mostly choose schools with pupils with the same background as themselves. This means that pupils with a non-Western background often go to a school with other pupils with a non-Western background. Regarding the composition of classroom, this means that there are schools with a majority and minority of pupils with an ethnic minority background.

Not only does a certain school composition has important consequences for minority pupils' educational opportunities (Driessen, 2002), it can also lead to the segregation along the same lines in society (Abdullah, 2009). According to the author (2009), this has serious implications for national integration as it does not contribute to an inclusive environment for young children learning "to live and interact with others from a different cultural background" (p. 163). Given the current situation of school segregation in the Netherlands, which is, according to Inspection of Education (2018) especially visible in primary education, this study takes into account the underlying factor of school composition. By interviewing teachers from schools with a higher and lower concentration of pupils with a non-Western background, this will provide more insight if this factor possibly influences the views of the teachers, which in turn might have negative effects for the minority pupils.

2.5.2 Educational disadvantages of non-Western pupils

At present, teachers are educating children of the first, second and third generation of migrants. According to an OECD report (2016) reviewing the Dutch educational system, fifteen-year-old pupils with an immigrant background (first- and second-generation) score on average lower than their native peers (also after taking into account socioeconomic differences). Children from the third generation of non-Western migrants, if both parents are second generation migrants, still have an educational disadvantage (Statistics Netherlands, 2016, Huijnk and Andriessen, 2016; as cited in Inspection of Education, 2018, p. 67). National test results (Cito-test) show that these gaps are already visible at the start of pupils' attending primary school. The report also shows that in the school year 2010/2011, only 30% of non-Western ethnic-minority pupils were enrolled in HAVO (general secondary education) or VWO (pre-university education), compared to almost 50% of the native Dutch population. This gap is reinforced by teachers' expectations and thus influencing pupils' advice regarding the entrance level of secondary education. When pupils receive this advice, pupils with a non-Western migration background are more frequent eligible for reconsideration of the teachers' advice than pupils without a migrant background. This means that teachers' expectations also influence the further academic career of a pupil.

Not only seem non-Western pupils to have an educational disadvantage, thus also upholds for pupils with a low SES. Pupils with a low SES, both non-Western as native Dutch, are less enrolled in HAVO

and VWO (Inspection of Education, 2018). These pupils were more than five times more numerous in the pre-vocational secondary education (VMBO) than their peers having a higher SES.

This corresponds with the results of Driessen (2002) who demonstrates that a schools' socioeconomic composition is related to academic achievement. This implies that pupils who attend schools with more pupils from a higher SES were found to perform better academically and on the other side that pupils who attend schools with a high percentage of pupils with a low SES have a relatively above-average learning gap (Driessen, 2002). Moreover, Driessen (2002) states that because of school segregation, these quality differences between schools are even increasing.

2.5.3 Explanations for achievement gaps

Above it has been stated that immigrant minority pupils score on average lower than their peers. Many determinants of this lower academic achievement of ethnic minority pupils have been identified over the years. One of them being negative teacher expectancies. Van den Bergh et al. (2010) conducted a research in which they study whether the expectations of Dutch elementary school teachers and the ethnic academic achievement gaps in their classrooms are possibly related to teachers' prejudiced attitudes. They conclude that when a teacher already has in mind that a minority student will probably perform poorly at school, he or she may unconsciously evaluate the pupils' performance in accordance with this expectation. These negative attitudes may not only influence teachers' expectations with regard to academic achievement of particular pupils, but also their evaluation and treatment. Besides, teachers communicate these expectations to such pupils as well, which may create a self-fulfilling prophecy resulting in underachievement. Self-fulfilling prophecies have been defined as "situations in which a false conception of a situation evokes a new behavior that makes the original false conception more or less true" (Merton, 1957; as cited in Van den Bergh et al., 2010, p. 500). Minority pupils may thus expect less of themselves and subsequently perform less.

The achievement gaps have also been attributed to family socio-economic resources and parental education (Duncan & Magnuson, 2006; Gamoran, 2001; as cited in Van den Bergh, et al., 2010). The authors state that parents of ethnic minority children are overrepresented in the lower classes. Moreover, pupils with lower-educated parents are more likely to attend a lower level of education than pupils who have higher educated parents (Inspection of Education 2018). The parents' level of education also plays an important role in the advice of the primary school teachers for secondary education. Thus, pupils with an ethnic minority background are in general more represented at lower levels of education, which could influence the judgement teachers' attribute to the socio-economic status of their parents. The socio-economic background of parents may also influence teachers' attitude towards their spoken language in that certain languages are perceived as having a higher status than other languages. Delarue and De Caluwe (2015) refer to Blommaert (2011) who distinguishes two types of multilingualism. He makes a distinction between 'multilingualism of the elite' (prestige multilingualism) versus 'multilingualism of the poor'. The first refers to "multilingualism of highly educated speakers who have command of various Western European standard languages" and the latter is a label for "the use of various languages by mostly urban, mostly multi-ethnic, very often poorly-educated working class" (Delarue & De Caluwe, 2015, p.11).

The gap can also be explained by inappropriate educational assessment of minority pupils' abilities. Yağmur and Konak (2009) bring forward that studies - conducted in European context- show that a large number of immigrant children are considered to be language impaired. This view is based on the results they achieve, which are often lower than average. However, the language skills of these children are only assessed in the mainstream language, rather than their home language. Thus, these conclusions being not representative for the child's knowledge. The authors (2009) state that in order to provide appropriate schooling for such children, bilingual testing is vital.

Moreover, pupil's academic achievements could be hampered by the teachers' negative attitude towards a language variant spoken by this pupil (Agirdag, Van Avermaet & Van Houtte, 2012, p. 34). It might be the case that teachers assign different values to different languages and base their practices on language prestige (De Angelis, 2011). In these cases, it is claimed that minority children perform less at school due to the home language other than Dutch. However, as Yağmur and Konak (2009) say, instead of pointing the ethnic differences of pupils as reason for performance, the role of social differences should be taken into consideration. Also Edwards (1979, as cited is Deprez, 1984, p. 195) brings forward that the most reasonable explanation of educational disadvantage is one which stresses power differences between groups (p. 138). Thus, not intellectual deficiency causes the minority pupils to perform relatively poorly, but having to accommodate to the mainstream society in which Dutch is perceived and used as the norm. Teachers are the ones from whose perspective comparisons are drawn and therefore have a major influence on the pupils, in case they have a negative attitude towards a minority language.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

This chapter presents a description of the methodological approach with an emphasis on Grounded Theory used in this study. The first section starts with explaining the research design. The second section will discuss the sample strategy. Subsequently, the data collection is described in section 3.3, followed by the data analysis in section 3.4. Finally, the research quality indicators are discussed in the last section.

3.1 Research design

This study aims to answer the following research question: how can teachers' attitudes, beliefs and knowledge on multilingualism in classroom be described? And whether this is influenced by (a) The geographical location of the school? (b) The composition of pupils with a non-Western background in the school? To answer these questions and to gain more insight in teachers' practices, qualitative data based on in-depth interviews is collected. This data is afterwards analyzed following a Grounded Theory approach. According to Charmaz (2003) "grounded theory methods consist of flexible strategies for focusing and expediting qualitative data collection and analysis" (p. 311). Grounded Theory methods provided guidelines for this research that helped study teachers' attitudes, beliefs and knowledge, to direct data collection, to manage data analysis and finally to develop a theoretical framework that explains the study process.

3.2 Sample strategy

3.2.1 Participants

A sample of twenty primary teachers, derived from eight schools in Maastricht took part in the study. From each school it was aimed to include three participants. However, from three schools this was not possible and therefore alternative choices had to be made regarding the sample group. No other control variables than being primary teacher in Maastricht were included. As men are underrepresented within Dutch education, gender was not included as a control variable; all the participants appeared to be female, except for two. As Table 1 demonstrates, there is considerable variation among the participants regarding age. The age range of the participants was 22–63, with a median age of 40. Teaching experience was measured by the number of years that a participant had been working in the educational field. Their experience differs between less than a year to 42 years. On average, participants had 17 years of teaching experience. The participants covered all grades; nine participants work in the lower classes (*onderbouw*; grade 1 and 2), five participants in the middle classes (*middenbouw*; grade 3, 4 and/or 5) and four participants in the higher classes (*bovenbouw*; grades 6, 7 and/or 8). There were two participants who covered all grades and three participants who worked additionally as an educational supervisor. Table 1 provides an overview of the participants' profiles in terms of their age, gender, teaching experience (year), the grade(s) they teach and if they work at a school with <10% non-Western pupils (Western) and >30% non-Western pupils (non-Western).

Table 1: Interview participants and information

Name	Age	Gender	Experience	Grade	Majority
Maria	31	Female	8	High	Western
Martha	62	Female	42	Low	Western
Lola	27	Female	7	Low	Western
Loes	55	Female	26	Low	Western
Ben	36	Male	10	High	Western
Resie	63	Female	20	Middle	Western
Claudia	60	Female	35	All	Non-Western
Simone	47	Female	26	High	Non-Western
Fiona	58	Female	38	Educational supervisor	Non-Western
Clara	22	Female	2	Middle	Western
Claire	28	Female	3	All	Western
Kristien	23	Female	2	Low	Western
Thea	43	Female	20	Middle	Non-Western
Anne	28	Female	3	Low	Non-Western
Tom	33	Male	5	High	Non-Western
Ineke	57	Female	38	Low + educational supervisor	Western
Adriane	35	Female	9	Middle + educational supervisor	Western
Sara	27	Female	8	Low	Western
Carmen	25	Female	3	Middle	Western
Mandy	59	Female	30	Low	Western

Note. Pseudo-names are used.

3.2.2 Primary schools

In this study the school composition of pupils with a non-Western background are taken into consideration. It was aimed to include schools with a homogeneous Dutch ethnic student composition and a homogeneous non-Western student composition. However, Maastricht is predominantly monocultural with only 8,52% of the inhabitants having a non-Western background (CBS, 2018). Therefore the number of schools with a majority of non-Western pupils is scarce, leading to that only three out of eight schools in this study can be viewed as schools with a relatively high percentage of non-Western pupils in comparison with the other schools. The percentage of ethnic minority pupils of a school is indicated during the interview by the participant. Six participants (derived from three schools) indicated that that at least 30% of the school population consisted of pupils with a non-

Western background. Participants working at schools with a homogeneous Dutch ethnic student composition estimated this figure around 10% of the total student population. Thus, in this study the ethnic composition of a school was characterized as: 1) primary schools with >30% of non-Western pupils as schools with a high level of ethnic minority pupils and 2) primary schools with <10% of non-Western pupils as schools with a homogeneous Dutch ethnic student composition. Besides, the participants also determined the school size with the number of pupils varying from 55 in the smallest school to 400 in the largest. In terms of the linguistic make-up of their classrooms, every participant was currently teaching at least one non-native Dutch pupil and the highest number of non-native children in the class of a participating teacher was five.

3.2.3 Contact

Research participants were selected by applying purposive sampling. Via the researcher's personal network contact information was gathered of possibly suitable participants. The geographical location and ethnic background of the student population were taken into account during the selection. The participants were approached via email, Facebook or LinkedIn to ask them if they were interested in participating in the study and if they wanted to participate in an interview. In addition, the messages included more detailed information about the interview. In case the researcher got a positive response, a follow-up message via one of above mentioned media was sent to set up an appointment. An appointment of 1,5 hour for each of the participants was scheduled to conduct an interview. In case the participants did not answer, a follow-up message was sent after a few days. Via the teachers willing to participate, contact was made with teacher-colleagues from the same school.

3.3 Data collection

3.3.1 Data instruments

According to Charmaz (2003), interview questions shape the context, frame, and content of the study. By asking the wrong questions, the interviewer can namely fail to elicit the participant's experience in his or her own language or the researcher may unintentionally force interview data into preconceived categories. To prevent this from happening, the interview questions are carefully prepared. The interview questions used in this study are an adaptation and modified version of a questionnaire developed by De Angelis (2011) to assess teachers' beliefs about the role of prior language knowledge in learning and how these influence teaching practices. Mainly the division of questions into different constructs is taken as an example from this research. Most of the original questionnaire statements are modified to suit the Dutch and local context of this research. Moreover, several new statements unrelated to the original questionnaire were introduced meant to identify the topics and subjects that are relevant to the teachers (e.g. questions regarding the local dialect). Since the questions of De Angelis (2011) were formulated for the use of a questionnaire, the questions for this research are adapted to a more "conversation friendly" formulation to be more fitted for the interview setting. The interview guide contains 54 questions, which can be divided into six main constructs, organized by topic (see Appendix A). Since the attitude of participants towards their pupils might be related to factors such as their age and educational background (Agirdag et al., 2012), this information is included in the first construct as well as contextual and biographical information about the participants and their teaching experience. Specifically, the years of experience as a teacher, years of employment at the school and language background are taken into account. The second construct focuses on the background of the school (e.g. *Can you tell something about the background of this school?*). The third construct contains question regarding diversity in teacher education (e.g. *To what extent was*

attention paid to multilingualism during your pre-service education?). The fourth construct questions the participants' attitudes towards linguistic diversity and the role of language learning (e.g. *How important do you think it is for pupils that they keep up with their home language?*). The fifth construct focuses on the participants' classroom practices (e.g. *Can you give examples from classroom practices involving multilingualism?*). The final construct contains questions about the language policies and language support regarding multilingualism (e.g. *Are you aware of a language policy at this school?*). The essential interview questions are followed up by sub-questions asking the participants to explain their views, or to provide examples of (pedagogical) activities from their classrooms. By asking these follow-up questions the interview follows a Grounded Theory approach in that the interview should be flexible and following up on issues emerging during the interview that are connected to topics of the research (Charmaz, 2003).

3.3.2 The interviews

According to Charmaz (2003), conducting in-depth qualitative interviews is a useful method to collect data when following a Grounded Theory approach. Therefore, a total amount of twenty face-to-face interviews was held. Interviews took between 30 and 62 minutes, with an average duration of 45 minutes. Except for two interviews, all interviews were held in the participants' respective schools, allowing them to express their views in a familiar atmosphere leading to increased mutual trust between the interviewer and the participant. The interviews took place in a separate office or classroom, which means that no other people were present. One interview was conducted with two participants simultaneously due to a participant's lack of time. The language used was Dutch. All participants gave their permission to record the interview with a voice recorder. During the interviews, the researcher made use of an interview script that provided guidelines and the essential questions to be asked. The interviews took place between March 15 and April 12.

As an introduction to the interviews, the researcher introduced herself and informed the participant shortly about the purpose of the study and the interview. Furthermore, the participant was informed that he or she should feel free to express both their positive and their negative beliefs about the topics discussed and that there are no correct or incorrect opinions. After this, the participant is asked permission to record the interview and informed about personal anonymity and the use of the data. In order to make the participant feel at ease, the interview started with some general questions about the participant. Questions were not always (fully) formulated by the researcher because some of the topics were initiated by the participants themselves at several points during the interview. Often, the participant already answered questions that would appear later in the questionnaire. As a consequence, the research constructs were not addressed in the same order in every interview but instead followed the natural development of the conversation. This fits the Grounded Theory approach in that the interview does not follow a fixed order, but the interviewer remains active and alert for interesting leads brought up by the participants (Charmaz, 2003). At the end of the interview, the participant was asked about any remaining questions. The participants generally understood the questions well, although additional explanations were in some cases needed. Since the interviews went well, no further adjustments were made to the interview questions. Right after conducting the interview, general notes were made by the researcher regarding the general atmosphere during the interview, participants' body language and any noteworthy issues. The researcher had the impression that all the participants felt at ease. Most participants talked enthusiastically and gave numerous examples of their classroom practices. Moreover, all participants discussed both positive as negative experiences, which may indicate that they did not want to present a brighter image than the actual situation.

3.4 Data analysis

3.4.1 *The transcription process*

According to McLellan, MacQueen and Neidig (2003), the transcript is “a tool that helps qualitative researchers make sense of and understand interviewees’ experiences and perceptions (p.74). The authors (2003) write that although there is no universal transcription format that would be adequate for all types of qualitative data collection approaches, there are some practical considerations that can help researchers prepare the transcripts. Moreover, they emphasize that researchers should always remember that the structure of the transcript very much influences the analysis process. Since in this thesis the analysis focuses on providing an in-depth description of the attitudes, beliefs and knowledge of an individual participant, the whole audio file was transcribed. By transcribing the interview in its whole, it is aimed to identify patterns and salient themes in the subsequent coding process. The transcribed material consisted of approximately 161.000 words. The transcription software Express Scribe was used to make the transcription process more systematic.

According to McLellan, MacQueen and Neidig (2003) it is important to establish a format template so that each transcript has an identical structure and appearance. Therefore, the transcripts were formatted identically and include labeling and content-related information in a transcription header with basic information about the participant (see appendix B for the transcription header). Also, to ensure that all transcripts were created in a standardized manner, elisions, mispronunciations, dialect, nonverbal sounds (e.g., laughs) and background noises were included. Next to this, when the interviewer and the participant were simultaneously talking the phrase “cross talk” is inserted. McLellan, MacQueen and Neidig (2003) state that what is not said is just as important as what is said, hence contextual information regarding silence or pauses in conversation were included in the transcripts.

3.4.2 *The coding process*

Coding is the first analytic step in analyzing the data and of importance since codes reflect the researchers interests and perspectives as well as the information in the data (Charmaz, 2003). The computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software program (CAQDAS) Atlas.ti 8 was used to make the coding process more systematic and to provide a better overview of the data during the analysis. Atlas.ti fits a Grounded Theory approach in that it gives a nonlinear design of analyzing, whereby the researcher moves between the data, coding, categories and memo-writing (Bringer, Johnston & Brackenridge, 2006).

There are four phases to be identified in the coding process. The coding process in line with the Grounded Theory starts with open coding in order to pre-structure the data and to identify potential concepts (Charmaz, 2003). This was done by highlighting a segment of data and labelling this according to what it represented. In the second phase selective coding was used, to sort the most frequently appearing open codes that emerged from the data (Charmaz, 2003). With selective coding, the data was examined for similarities and differences, and similar data (quotations) was grouped together to form categories (codes) (Bringer, Johnston & Brackenridge, 2006). To capture ideas and thoughts that emerged during the process of open and selective coding, comments were noted. This way, the researcher captured what emerged from the data in categories and simultaneously described the data. Quotations could be attached to more than one code meaning that some codes were overlapping. This occurred when multiple codes could apply to one quotation. A quotation could for instance be categorized two times and grouped in the code ‘parental involvement’ and ‘parental language practices’. After coding the first four interviews, the code list was reviewed in order to add some structure to it. Next, the following interviews were reviewed while continuing the interpretive

process of coding and writing comments. During this process, a constant comparison of the data took place in order to explore relations between concepts. The third phase was that of memo writing. The purpose of this phase was to summarize the content of the quotations as a step towards moving from a descriptive to a conceptual level of analysis by elaborating on the selective codes. As a result, categories and connections between codes were established. These memos functioned later as the first draft of the analysis. Since Grounded Theory aims at creating theory based in reality and not in a social vacuum, these memos also contain notes regarding societies' discourse regarding multilingualism (i.e. growing number of immigrant pupils, nearby asylum seekers centers at schools). Finally, all transcripts, codes, quotations and memos were re-read and code groups were made final.

3.4.3 Analysis

Findings from the interviews were first analyzed according to themes emerging from the data and second by each research question. After the coding process conducted with Atlas.ti, 117 code-groups emerged. For the analysis, these groups were classified according to the six constructs of the interview questions and merged into 56 final code-groups. Two more constructs are added in the analysis, when these appeared to be salient themes. This concerns construct 4.7. *The local dialect* and 4.8. *Teachers reflection and final suggestions*. The memo's mentioned in the section above, functioned as a support for the analysis, since these contained thoughts and ideas that emerged during the coding process.

3.4.4 Participant quotations

As this research cannot take place without the participation of participants, the researcher sees it as important that their voices are heard. Therefore is decided to offer them a voice in the form of quotations, included in the analysis. Due to the constraint of available space, selective choices have been made regarding which quotations are selected to be presented. This choice was based on various purposes. Firstly, quotations are presented for the purpose of illustration of themes emerging from the analysis. Secondly, quotations were selected to provide evidence for interpretations made by the researcher. However, according to Corden and Sainsbury (2006) the quotations as such are not evidence. It could be namely possible that quotations are cherry-picked to support any point the researcher might wish to make. The real evidence, the authors say (2006), therefore lies in the thematic analysis of all the data and interpretations in relation to other factors. This is tried to achieve in the analysis chapter of this research. Lastly, quotations were selected aiming to deepen understanding of why participants have particular attitudes or beliefs. By using participants spoken words and choice of words, instead of the researchers' own narrative, greater depth can sometimes be offered of their understandings and feelings.

A few decisions regarding transcribing convention of the quotations were made. Despite decreased readability, verbal hesitations and word repetitions were left in, because they provide insight in participants attitude. In cases the local dialect is spoken, this is transcribed as well.

3.5 Research quality indicators

Within this thesis a few factors regarding dependability, credibility and transferability are taken into consideration to ensure the quality of the research.

The credibility of this thesis could be threatened by participants only giving socially desirable answers. However, by guaranteeing the participants anonymity by using pseudo-names instead of their real names this is tried to diminish. Moreover, data triangulation was used in that various sources have been consulted before coming to any conclusion and that a literature review has been conducted to familiarize the researcher with the content of the research. Moreover, verbatim quotations of participants were used to support findings. These quotations are selectively selected in order to avoid skewing the reader's perspective and to maintain objective, since readers might give more weight to themes illustrated with a quotation.

Dependability was enhanced in several ways. First, is attempted to describe the research design as thoroughly as possible. Besides, consistency was enhanced by using an interview guideline which structured the interview and by generating the transcript systematically. Moreover, in order to discuss the main concept - multilingualism- in a consequent manner, the participants were asked to define their definition of this concept. The researcher did this as well, in order to reduce misunderstandings. Further, all interviews were audio recorded to enhance transparency. A threat to dependability could be that the interviews were transcribed by the researcher herself. However, this can also be seen as an advantage, since she is familiar with the transcription protocol, the research topic, and related terminology, as well as with the dialect used by the participants. Finally, using CAQDAS Atlas.ti enabled the researcher to keep all the insight about the data stored together throughout the process which enhanced transparency in the way of managing and analyzing the data and increases dependability.

The context of the thesis is described as thoroughly as possible to increase transferability. Firstly, contextual factors such as expectations from colleagues or time pressure may influence the answers of the teachers. However, all interviews were held one-on-one in the teachers' respective schools to allow the participants to express their views in a familiar atmosphere. Also, an ample time frame was scheduled, in order to avoid respondents feeling rushed.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

In this chapter, all results will be presented, according to the different constructs of the interview questions, starting with the teachers' personal background in 4.1. Afterwards, the background of the schools and teachers will be discussed in 4.2, followed by diversity in teacher education in 4.3, teachers' attitudes, beliefs and knowledge towards linguistic diversity and the role of language learning in 4.4, teachers' classroom practices in 4.5, policies and language development in 4.6 and issues regarding the local dialect in 4.7. The last construct presents teachers' reflection and final suggestions. Each construct contains themes that are sub-divided in attitudes, beliefs and knowledge. As will become clear, some themes have been discussed more extensively than others during the interview. Yet the decision has been made to include the less-discussed themes as well, since these contribute to more insight into teachers' attitudes, beliefs and knowledge.

4.1 Teachers personal background

As seen in Table 1, there is considerable variation among the participants regarding age. The age range of the participants was 22–63, with a median age of 40. The participants' native language was determined by self-identification. Eleven participants identified themselves as being native Dutch speakers, four participants as native local dialect speakers and five as both native Dutch as dialect speaker. From the total of twenty participants, four did not speak the local dialect. However, they could fully understand and sometimes even partially speak it. Participants were also asked about any second language proficiency. All the participants indicated to speak English as a second language. The second most commonly reported language by the participants was German (by thirteen participants) followed by French (by nine participants). Three participants indicated to speak (or are in the process of learning) Italian. Moreover, information about the number of years the participants were working at the school and the location and graduation date of initial teacher training education was gathered. All participants, except for one, had followed their teacher training in the same region as they were currently teaching in.

4.2 Background of the school and teachers

To get a picture of the background of the school, participants are asked several questions regarding the neighborhood in which the school is located and the cultural background of pupils and teachers.

Neighborhood and pupils' socio-economic background

The schools are located in different neighborhoods of Maastricht, varying between in the inner city to neighborhoods in various outlying residential areas. Participants indicate that depending on the neighborhood, the school receives pupils with a relatively high or low socio-economic background (SES). The neighborhood Sint Pieter e.g., is known for its inhabitant with a high SES, while the neighborhood Malberg e.g. is known for the opposite. At the same time, this relates as well to the ratio of Western and non-Western pupils at the school. In cases where teachers indicate that the neighborhood has a low SES, they also indicate that there are more pupils with a non-Western background in comparison with teachers who indicate that the neighborhood has a high SES. It must be noted however, that one of the three schools with a relatively high percentage of pupils with a non-Western background, is located close to an asylum seekers center. Participants working at this school indicated that they receive multiple non-Western pupils because of this, as is shown by Simone.

Asylum seekers centers are not the only situational circumstances that influences the school composition. Participants also provide examples such as a hospital or an international high school located close to the primary school. Participants say that because of factors such as these, the school receives several pupils with a Western background other than Dutch.

Schools located in disadvantaged neighborhoods have a higher percentage of pupils with a low SES and pupils with a non-Western background. The socio-economic background of the pupils is indicated by the participants themselves (e.g. referring to level of education of parents, parental participation). A comment by Anne shows how populations with a high SES and population with a low SES reside in the same neighborhood. On the one hand there are families with the low SES who are mainly unemployed. On the other hand, there is a small group of families with a higher SES who have recently moved to the neighborhood because they were attracted by new housing estates. Tom makes clear that even though the school is located near the home of a pupil, the recently moved parent(s) chooses not to attend this school, but rather chooses a school located further away from home. This is an example of school segregation. This school segregation has, according to the participants, a direct influence on the pupils with a low as well a high SES background. This is illustrated by participant Tom who works at a school that attracts a vast majority of pupils with a low SES. He also makes a clear distinction between different neighborhoods by referring to “elite neighborhoods” when talking about schools who attract pupils with a high SES.

Simone: Ehm we hebben een relatief hoog percentage kinderen wat je wat je nieuwe Nederlanders zou noemen. Dus die echt pas sinds een paar jáár hier wonen. Uit Syrië of Irak of andere ehm, ja (stamelt) vluchtelingen eigenlijk die hier vanuit het asielzoekerscentrum zijn gekomen

Anne: Het is toch wel ja een ehm achterstandswijk waar toch wel heel veel gezinnen wonen waar verschillende problematieken spelen. Het heeft niet altijd alleen bij de ouders, maar ook de kinderen die zijn verschillende problematieken. Die kom je hier heel veel tegen. Ehm. In ieder geval hier bij de kleuters weet ik dat heel veel ouders ook niet werken. Dus ook thuis zitten, de meeste ouders. Nu is er wel hier in de wijk een stukje nieuwbouw gebouwd. Dus dan merk je dat daar wel een andere populatie zitten. Nou sommigen komen hier naartoe, maar de meeste gaan inderdaad naar Belfort, daar is een school. Of naar België ofzo. Van die populatie.

Tom: Je merkt aan de kinderen merk je heel erg dat ze veel meer leerkrachtafhankelijk hiér zijn, doordat ze thuis bepaalde dingen minder hebben gehad qua opvoeding. Of een ándere manier van opvoeden wat wat minder strak dan vaak op zo'n elitebuurt bijvoorbeeld.

Urban areas versus periphery

Five participants mention in some way an opposition between urban and periphery areas and the influence of this on the number of ethnic minority pupils in the classroom. Loes refers to Maastricht as a ‘white’ city and this not being a reflection of Dutch society. Another participant makes a comparison between Maastricht and neighboring villages and says that in the smaller villages there are barely any pupils with a non-Western background and therefore multilingualism is not a topic of discussion. Four participants refer to Maastricht as a periphery area and the Randstad as an urban area. According to one participant this influences the curriculum of the teacher-training programs in Maastricht, in that NT2 education started relatively late compared to Amsterdam, Utrecht or Rotterdam.

Loes: Ja weet je, Maastricht is zo 'n witte stad he. We hebben ZO weinig.. [...] Ja dat is. Wij zijn gewoon geen afspiegeling van de Nederlandse maatschappij.

Teachers and pupils cultural background

Both the student population and the teaching force is homogeneously of native Dutch origin. This accounts especially for the teachers. When asked about the cultural background of teacher colleagues', participants indicated that there is not one teacher with a non-Dutch background working at their school. As a response, participants made remarks such as "I never realized that" or "that also means something". Moreover, with regard to the native language of the participants, all teachers have Dutch as native language of which sixteen also speak the local dialect. The participants indicate that the majority of teacher-colleagues are speakers of the local dialect as well.

In response to the question "are there pupils with another cultural background than Dutch who attend the school and/or class", most of the participants answer referring to pupils with a Western background: (e.g. United Kingdom, France, Germany, Spain, Japan, Poland). Participants seem aware of the small percentage of non-Western pupils at their school, as made clear by Clara who refers to her school as a "white" school, with few pupils with another cultural background than Dutch.

Clara: En eigenlijk maar heel weinig mensen met ehm een buitenlandse achtergrond. Dus ehm ja. Om het zo maar even heel zwart-wit te noemen; het is wel echt een witte school. De kinderen die van buitenlandse afkomst zijn en die écht thuis een andere taal spreken. Ja, die zou je bij wijze van spreken op één hand kunnen tellen zeg maar.

4.3 Diversity in teacher education

In this section the attitudes, beliefs and knowledge regarding teachers' education is presented. Previously it has been mentioned that - except for one teacher - all participants received their education in Maastricht or a nearby city. In total, six participants indicated that -to some extent- information about multilingualism was provided during their educational career. Of these, four participants referred to subjects informing them about pupils learning Dutch as a second language (NT2). The other two participants referred to classes in which they learned a foreign language, such as English. On the other hand, there are fourteen participants who indicated that no attention was paid at all during their teacher-training with regard to teaching multilingual pupils. In response to the question if teacher-training programs should pay more attention to this topic for future pupils, sixteen participants answered this affirmatively. However, eleven participants said that knowledge regarding this topic is not per se useful during a pupils' education, since they believe that especially through gaining experience (e.g. in the form of internships or work experience) they learned much more about teaching multilingual pupils. This is emphasized by participants who mention that information about this topic during their education is only perceived as useful, in case this information can be put into practice after their education. This is illustrated by Carmen below who mentions that classes during teacher-training program about multilingualism are irrelevant when there are barely any pupils with another cultural background than Dutch to put this knowledge into practice.

Carmen: Want ik kan me voorstellen, als jij geen of weinig buitenlandse kinderen hebt die misschien wel Nederlands praten of hè, je heb er niet zo veel. Dan dan kun je dat wel hebben op de pabo en je kunt je daarin verdiepen, maar dan kun je nergens toepassen. Dus dan is het misschien niet relevant.

4.4 Attitudes, beliefs and knowledge towards linguistic diversity and the role of language learning

This section discusses teachers' attitudes, beliefs and knowledge towards themes related to more general concepts of linguistic diversity. In addition, section 4.4.4 discusses multilingual pupils' academic achievements.

4.4.1 Attitude

Teachers' attitude towards multiculturalism

During the interviews participants made several remarks regarding the current multicultural society that reflect their attitude towards this (e.g. mutual acceptance, social cohesion, mentality and practices of people with a non-Western background). In general, it can be said that this attitude is predominantly positive, that is; more participants showed a positive attitude than a negative attitude concerning this topic. However, although participants adopted a positive attitude towards cultures other than Dutch, they express their beliefs that society in general has not. By making a distinction between them and society, participants dissociate themselves from the somewhat negative remarks they continued the conversation with. This is shown in the example below in which Martha says that among teachers in general, discrimination against non-native Dutch speakers and cultures occurs. Later during the interview, Martha stated that this also takes place at the school that she works at. Further, some participants showed an attitude leaning towards assimilation of people with a non-Dutch background into the Dutch society. This is illustrated by Lola, who refers to the parents of one of her non-Western pupils who try to learn Dutch. Additionally, participants point out certain character traits they attribute to specific ethnicities. Loes for example refers to the perseverance characteristics in the work ethic of a group of Afghan refugees she taught.

Martha: Ik denk dat er nog héél veel discriminatie voorkomt. Véél meer ehm dan ehm die mooie schone schijn. Dat mooie oppervlakte van leerkrachten zus en zo. Nee ik denk dat er ehm heel vaak onbewust hé. Ehm véél meer discriminatie is, geënt op anderstaligheid, geënt op andere culturen dan wat mensen zich kunnen voorstellen.

Lola: Dus dat vind ik wel heel netjes. Dat dat ehm in die, daarin aanpast.

Loes: En ik merk ook wel dat bepaalde culturen heel hard willen altijd. [...]. Ja, we hebben toen eens een groep uit vluch-vluchtelingen uit Afghanistan gehad. Toen werkten we in de bovenbouw. Wow, die hadden een WERKhouding. Gigantisch. En die kwamen in een korte tijd, héél snel verder. Je kunt natuurlijk niet generaliseren, maar van die kinderen op déze school viel dat toen heel erg op.

4.4.2 Beliefs

The advantages of multilingualism

Participants expressed positive beliefs towards the general concept of speaking multiple languages (e.g. enriching yourself, of importance for young people, personal development). One participant expressed her belief that every pupil should be obligated to speak at least one foreign language, next to the native language.

Participants mentioned several reasons why or when being multilingual is in someone's advantage. One of the advantages participants address for being multilingual is that this can work out positively for a pupil's later professional life (mentioned by sixteen participants). Fourteen of them believe that if this works in someone's advantage it is very much depending on the sector or the type of work that he or she does. White collar workers namely gain more advantages than blue collar workers do with being multilingual. Other advantages brought forward are that multilingual people are able to make themselves understandable better in different multilingual situations. Five participants believe this raises mutual understanding between people, because they think that speaking another language increases empathy and ability. Seven participants mentioned the benefits for multilingual pupils' future studies (e.g. secondary education or second language learning). Eight participants believe that multilingual people have a more advanced cognitive development than monolingual people. They state that multilingual people are able to switch between different languages, connect these languages and have a better comprehension of grammar rules. A quotation below shows how Simone attributes various positive traits multilingual pupils have compared to those lacking in monolingual pupils.

Simone: Nou ik heb wel het idee dat ze sneller schakelen zeg maar. Dat dat ook vaardigheden oplevert die ze op andere gebieden kunnen gebruiken. Ja. Dat is echt ehm. Die verbindingen, die linken, dat ze dat ook ehm. Ja ik ga nu zeggen ze zijn slimmer per definitie, maar ze hebben wel een bepaalde vaardigheid die eentalige kinderen niet hebben.

The disadvantages of multilingualism

On the other hand, there are also participants who believe that being multilingual has certain disadvantages. In response to whether participants considered there to be any disadvantages in being a multilingual child, the participants most commonly referred to pupils' confusion when mixing their mother tongue with Dutch words and/or grammar rules which subsequently can lead to a backlog in the Dutch language. Eight participants mention that, as a result of not having a proficient level of Dutch, a pupil's school career may get influenced in the form of e.g. not understanding instructions given in Dutch, repeating a year, lower estimation for the entrance level of secondary education and their academic achievements being below their peers. Simone illustrates that pupils, due to their low command of Dutch language proficiency have to re-take a year. Participants also say that even though a pupil is intelligent, he or she still achieves lower results, as illustrated by Clara.

Tom illustrates his belief that pupils whose strong side is not language, can mix-up languages. This becomes even more difficult because, according to nine participants, the Dutch language is an exceptionally difficult language to learn (e.g. because of the many grammar rules used in the Dutch language). Participants indicate that this causes problems for non-native Dutch pupils to master the Dutch language. Aside from academic progression, participants' responses to whether they considered there to be any disadvantages to being a multilingual child could also be categorized into socio-psychological disadvantages (e.g. confidence, sense of belonging) and social disadvantages (e.g. have difficulties adjusting in an all-Dutch environment, conflicts between pupils).

Simone: Kijk het is ehm, we hebben een behoorlijk aantal leerlingen hier op school wat bijvoorbeeld een jaar blijft zitten, vanwege de taal. En dat is meer omdat je dan weet van dat ze het jaar daarna gewoon nog niet genoeg taal beheersen om mee te kunnen. En dat is een nadeel.

Clara: Dus wat dan jammer is, is dat iemand misschien wel een hoogbloeier is in z'n eigen taal, maar in het Nederlands dat dan ehm dat dat dan een beetje het gemiddelde niveau blijft zeg maar. Dat vind ik wel jammer om te zien.

Tom: Maar ik denk ook dat zoiets als ehm wat ik eerder ook al aangaf, kinderen die niet zo talig ingesteld zijn, dat die daar juist dan dingen door elkaar kunnen gaan gooien.

The importance of languages

When asked about what other languages, next to Dutch, participants believe are useful to master, sixteen teachers referred to the English language. Five of these participants specified this was because of economic reasons and English being useful for someone's career. The second most referred language is Spanish, mainly because of the number of worldwide speakers. Seven participants mention French as being useful and five participants refer to the German language. Participants indicated that they perceive these latter two languages as useful because of the bordering countries with the Netherlands and the southern location of Maastricht in particular. Besides the significance of languages, six participants also specifically mention Dutch as being an unnecessary language to master, when residing outside the Netherlands (e.g. spoken in limited number of countries, small country). In the quotation below Resi refers to a pupil she received in her class who resides only for a limited time in the Netherlands due to his parents' temporary work:

Resi: Ik zeg, dan ga ik dat kind écht niet zitten lastig vallen met z'n Nederlands. Want wat MOET die er in godsnaam nog mee.

The Dutch language and integration

Although participants perceive the Dutch language as unnecessary when residing outside the Netherlands, for integration in the Dutch society however, mastering the Dutch language is of importance. This is especially the case when a person decides to stay for a longer period in the Netherlands (e.g. for work or family). Participants also expressed their belief that being able to speak Dutch influences a person's career (e.g. speaking Dutch is important in finding a job). Fiona expresses her beliefs regarding Dutch language proficiency and the importance this has for the integration process:

Fiona: Maar je moet goéd Nederlands leren om goéd te integreren in de Nederlandse maatschappij. Daar ben ik echt van overtuigd.

Social participation and inclusion of multilingual pupils

Fifteen participants regard a sufficient command of Dutch as important for multilingual pupils' social participation and inclusion at school. They believe that not being able to speak Dutch hinders pupils' contact with peers (e.g. sense of belonging and fitting in, not connecting with Dutch pupils). Sara gives an example of a non-Western pupil who experiences difficulties in connecting with her peers due to not being able to join in the conversation. In some cases, participants indicate that conflicts arise due to the lack of clear communication between pupils. Claudia provides an example of such a conflict between a non-Western and a Dutch pupil. Additionally, limited contact with Dutch peers can lead to non-Western pupils (with the same language and/or cultural background) clustering together and only seeking each other's company. Tom mentions two non-Western pupils who seek each other's company and he believes that this isolation from Dutch peers, hinders their Dutch language learning process.

Sara: Nou het kind viel echt buiten de groep en het was niet dat de anderen van groep haar pestten of dat ze er echt bewust werd buitengesloten, maar ze vond gewoon geen aansluiting. Omdat ja, de kinderen hadden het dan over een bepaald iets en zij kon daar niet over meepraten. En ja, voor háár niet leuk, maar voor hun, ja ook niet.

Claudia: Want dat merk je best wel als ehm. Soms is ook als ze dan aan het spelen zijn en er gebeurd iets. En je kunt je níét uiten in de taal, in het Nederlands, want je bent met Nederlandse kinderen, dan krijgen die kinderen zo'n gevoel van onmacht. Want ze willen dingen kwijt en dat kán niet en dan gaan ze in hun moedertaal -wat heel logisch is- gaan ze dat doen en dat snapt de ander dan weer niet. En dan krijg je hele rare, kun je hele rare dingen krijgen.

Tom: Dat weet ik wel zeker. In die zin, de twee die ik in de klas heb zitten, die plakken heel erg aan elkaar. Met buiten spelen en beginnen dan ook Syrisch te praten. En wij zetten er ook echt op in om ze dus niet ehm om echt aan te geven van 'zoek ook andere mensen waarmee je buiten kunt spelen' zodat ze ook weer veel meer Nederlands gaan praten. Omdat als het alléén maar dat Syrisch is, dat dat dan ja, zij zitten ook altijd afgezonderd daardoor en ehm het léren van die Nederlandse taal. Ja dat dat stopt dan een beetje.

Learning more than one language

In response to the question if participants believe that children can learn more than one language at the same time, eighteen participants said that they believe this is possible, as illustrated by Loes. Moreover, participants refer many times to the existence of great differences between older and younger pupils. Except for two teachers, all teachers made multiple references (fifty quotations in total) to the belief that pupils age plays a significant role in the Dutch language-learning process. Participants believe that the younger a child starts with learning a second language, the sooner and the better this child will master it.

Loes: Daar geloof ik heilig in. En ik wéét het ook zeker. Ik ja, ja ik weet gewoon dat dat. Dat dat zo is. Uit onderzoek is dat al gebleken. Ja dat is gewoon mooi. Mooi om te zien.

Motivation and intelligence of pupils

Half of the participants believe that the motivation, perseverance and/or the intelligence of a multilingual pupil influences this pupil's academic achievements. So next to the Dutch language proficiency of a non-native Dutch pupil, these personal characteristics are, according to the participants, also of influence on the achievements. This is illustrated by Adriane:

Adriane: Dat het echt de ontwikkeling in het echte leren wel vertraagd. Ja en daar speelt dan motivatie en doorzettingsvermogen van een leerling dus ook wel een hele grote rol in.

Importance of maintaining the mother tongue

Participants refer multiple times to the mother tongue of the non-Dutch pupils. They attribute different reasons to why they believe that having and maintaining the mother tongue is important for a child. A quotation of Martine illustrates these beliefs. Most times, mentioned by ten participants, is the home language connected to the cultural identity of a child (e.g. roots, cultural background). Seven times it was mentioned that the mother tongue functions as something familiar for the child and is necessary

for bonding with the family (e.g. communicating with (grand)parents). This is especially the case when the parents of the pupil are not fluent in Dutch. Pupils can also feel more at ease when talking in their home language, as is shown by participant Simone, who witnesses pupils feeling relieved when they are able to talk in their home language to their parents. This feeling is also mentioned by several participants who state that pupils come out of their shell in the NT2 classes (see construct 4.6.2), more than they do in the regular class.

Martha: Kijk, op de eerste plaats is die moedertaal het allerbelangrijkste. Of dat nou Turks is of Marokkaans, Arabisch. Kijk, dát krijgen die kinderen in de navelstreng al meegegeven. Dat blijft ook altijd hé. Dat blijft altijd de de bodem. De basis.

Simone: En ook als ze uit school komen en ze rennen naar hun moeder, vooral de jongste kinderen dan hè, die dan zo. Of hun vader. Die dan zo weet je wel ; (doet brabbelen) in hun eigen taal éven. En dan zie je soms ook een heel ander kind. Ze hoeven dan even niet na te denken en gewoon eeeeven. En vooral als ze héél enthousiast zijn dan ja, dan gaat dat bijna automatisch. Dus ik denk dat dat ook wel veilig is. En vertrouwd.

On the other hand, participants attribute disadvantages as well to having another home language than Dutch. Seven participants expressed their belief that it is not a good idea for non-native Dutch parents to try to speak Dutch in the domestic situation to their child. This is mainly because they believe that the level of Dutch of these parents is insufficient and that somehow the children adopt this ‘poor’ Dutch. Martha shows her belief that non-native Dutch pupils start their school career with a Dutch language deficiency, but they get by by playing with peers and not because of talking Dutch at home. Two participants bring forward their belief that the language division of speaking Dutch during school situations and the mother tongue at home can be confusing for pupils.

Martha: Ik zeg altijd tegen ouder van ehm.. Kijk kijk veel kinderen met een andere taal, die hebben een “taalachterstand”, Nederlandse taalachterstand. Ehm Ik zeg altijd tegen de ouders: op de eerste plaats die moedertaal blijven spreken. En die Nederlandse taal leren ze wel door te spelen met andere kinderen.

On the other hand, participants also state that not speaking the Dutch language at home slows down a child’s Dutch language learning process. The fact that multilingual pupils do not speak Dutch at home with their parents, does not mean participants believe that these children should not receive any Dutch language input in the domestic situation at all. Participants namely also think that school hours do not offer a child the sufficient amount of time he or she needs to master the Dutch language. This gets illustrated by Fiona:

Fiona: Plus dat die thuis toch in hun eigen taal blijven communiceren, wat kennelijk ook wel het verstandigste is, als ouders de taal niet goed spreken. Ehm. Maar daardoor blijft het toch ook vaak beperkt tot de schooltijden. En daar halen ze het niet in in.

Personal (dis)advantages in teaching multilingual pupils

Participants attribute several advantages with regard to themselves in teaching multilingual pupils. Six participants indicate that they perceive it as a personal advantage that they get to learn about the foreign culture of their pupils. Participants also mention that they receive a personal satisfaction out of teaching them, as is mentioned by Lola. This can take the form of being proud of themselves (mentioned by four teachers) or that they see it as a personal challenge (mentioned by six teachers).

But also, that they receive personal satisfaction by knowing that they contribute to widening a Dutch pupils' vision about other cultures (mentioned by six teachers). One participant specifically makes a distinction between a school with a higher percentage of non-Western pupils she used to work at and the school she currently works at, saying that at the first one she felt prouder about both herself and the children.

On the other hand, fourteen participants also experience disadvantages because of teaching multilingual pupils. The most often stated reason was that teaching multilingual pupils is hard work and that having them in the classroom costs them more energy (mentioned by five teachers). Three participants expressed that it can frustrate them when they see these pupils struggle with subjects or not keeping up with their peers and two participants stated that they can feel inadequate in not being able to give the pupils what he or she needs.

Lola: Maar dat is dan wel echt iets, dat geeft je echt voldoening als je na een half jaar bijvoorbeeld ziet dat die kinderen zich wel kunnen redden.

4.4.3 Knowledge

Definition of the terms *multilingualism* and *non-Western pupils*

Participants were asked what they understood by the term multilingualism, to have a clear concept of what is being discussed during the interview. According to seven participants multilingualism means having a home language next to Dutch, as illustrated by Mandy. Four participants indicate that being able to speak one or more languages next to a home language, regardless of which one, makes someone multilingual. Three participants refer more generally to the speaking of multiple languages, independently of a fixed home language. Three participants include the language practices of the parents, saying that a child who is raised by non-native Dutch parents with their mother tongue are multilingual. What is apparent from these answers is that participants refer to multilingualism in comparison with Dutch whereas the Dutch language is seen as the standard variant of which other languages are perceived as additional.

Besides the term multilingualism, participants also clarify when they perceive a pupil as non-Western. Nine participants perceive pupils as non-Western when their parents are born elsewhere than the Netherlands, and they themselves are born in the Netherlands. However, some variation among teachers is visible since one participant mentions that she perceives one of her pupils as Dutch, even though her parents are from Malaysia, but live in the Netherlands for already three generations. Thus, the parents are -just like the concept of multilingualism-, used as an indicator to determine the ethnic/cultural background of a child (e.g. 'pupils who are born in the Netherlands but have parents from another culture', 'one girl has a Polish mother'). Moreover, participants mention instances when they were not aware of parents having another cultural background than Dutch, and therefore were not even aware that their child spoke another home language than Dutch. Other participants mention that they perceive the children as native Dutch since they speak Dutch, despite their parents having a different cultural background.

Mandy: Meertaligheid houdt voor mij in dat de kinderen thuis een andere moedertaal hebben dan het Nederlands.

Knowledge of multilingualism

Thirteen participants believe that knowledge of multilingualism is important in their job as a teacher. They refer both to knowledge about pedagogical practices in teaching multilingual pupils, as to

knowledge about specific languages (e.g. ‘to understand what kind of language mistakes they make’). One participant said explicitly that she did not see the importance of knowledge of multilingualism, because she does not perceive it as a priority due to the small number of multilingual children in her classroom:

Mandy: Ehm ik denk wel dat het nodig is, maar dat het geen prioriteit heeft. En waarom? Omdat er dus het aantal leerlingen nog té weinig is. En ehm dat we, we rédden ons nog. Op de manier waarop we het doen.

4.4.4 Multilingual pupils’ academic achievements

The influence of language competence on academic achievements

Participants indicate that pupils with a cultural background other than Dutch achieve lower academic results compared to their native-Dutch peers. According to participants this is due to their lower Dutch language proficiency and not due to their level of intelligence. Anne illustrates this by saying that many pupils at her school lack a level of Dutch language proficiency necessary to keep up with the rest of the class. According to the participants, Dutch education is very much focused on language, which makes it even harder for pupils to perform according to their capacities. Eight participants say that because of this, pupils face difficulties mainly with the subjects involving grammar and text comprehension. Three teachers mention these pupils have difficulties with world-orientation subjects, because these contain difficult words and the pupils lack the vocabulary to discuss this subject.

Simone shows not only her attitude towards this, but also indicates that a Dutch language deficiency influences the academic results of the pupil. Besides overall academic results, eight participants mention other consequences of an insufficient Dutch language proficiency (e.g. pupils being advised to repeat a class, getting divided in lower grades and subsequently having to socialize with younger pupils, and teachers’ lower estimation for the entrance level of secondary education). It is clear that pupils’ perceived insufficient Dutch language proficiency influences their school career and personal development, as been illustrated by Clara.

Anne: Je geeft in het Nederlands les, als zij het niet begrijpen dan houdt het op hé. Dat zegt natuurlijk niks over zijn capaciteiten, maar ja. Het zal natuurlijk uitwerking hebben op de resultaten.

Simone: Kijk het is ehm, we hebben een behoorlijk aantal leerlingen hier op school wat bijvoorbeeld een jaar blijft zitten, vanwege de taal. En dat is meer omdat je dan weet van dat ze het jaar daarna gewoon nog niet genoeg taal beheersen om mee te kunnen. En dat is een nadeel.

Clara: Dus wat dan jammer is, is dat iemand misschien wel een hoogbloeier is in z’n eigen taal, maar in het Nederlands dat dan ehm dat dan een beetje het gemiddelde niveau blijft zeg maar. Dat vind ik wel jammer om te zien.

Dutch language proficiency and arithmetic

Not only does the Dutch language proficiency determine pupils’ results for subjects which require a certain level of Dutch literacy, also subjects within the field of science, such as arithmetic are influenced by this. Eight participants specifically referred to low results of multilingual pupils for arithmetic. As mentioned above, according to the participants Dutch education is very much focused

on language for which a high level of literacy is necessary. Even for subjects focused on numbers, language still plays a significant role. Calculations take the form of so-called story-calculations, which means that in order for a pupil to solve a calculation, first the narrative explaining the calculation needs to be understood. Again, a certain level of Dutch language proficiency is required. Regarding this topic, participants mention as well that even though they are aware of pupils' capacities to solve a calculation, they see the pupils struggle and subsequently achieve lower academic results. Simone illustrates how pupils score below their capacities because of a Dutch language deficiency:

Simone: Dat je echt merkt dat ze heel pienter zijn, ook met rekenen het heel goed doen, zolang het om cijfers, optellen gaat ofzo. Maar als het dan verhaaltjessommen worden, dat je echt merkt dat ze gewoon ehm héle ingewikkelde sommen kunnen maken als het gewoon nummers met wiskundige tekens zijn. Maar als ze dan een verhaaltjessom krijgen, dat ze gewoon alles fout hebben. Dus dan heeft het niks met de rekenvaardigheid te maken, maar gewoon niet begrijpen wat wat het wat er dan gevraagd wordt. En dan is dat lastig. En dat geldt natuurlijk dan ook voor wereldoriëntatie, geschiedenis, aardrijkskunde ja, daar heb je ook taal voor nodig.

Dutch language proficiency and pupils' assessment

Starting from the first classes of primary school, pupils have to take tests to indicate their level of intelligence and/or progress. In the higher grades these tests are of such importance that it determines the level of entrance for secondary education. However, five participants mention that current testing-methods are insufficient to accurately determine the intelligence level and capacities of pupils. These tests namely expect the pupil to be fluent in Dutch, since in order to solve a question, the question firstly need to be interpreted in the right way. Moreover, participants criticize the often difficult technical formulation of these questions and the young age of pupils who must undergo these assessments (starting at pre-primary level). Thus, in order to perform well in tests, a pupil needs a certain level of Dutch proficiency. Participants are aware of, that even if pupils have a certain level of intelligence, they may underachieve on the test due to the language backlog and not being able to fully understand what is asked of them. This is illustrated by Mandy. Moreover, participants refer to both Western and non-Western pupils who face difficulties because of this, of which two specifically refer to pupils with a Non-Western background. This is made visible by Loes, who says that pupils with an Arabic background score below average on tests.

Mandy: Alle toetsmomenten zijn in het Nederlands. En dan soms dan ehm scoren ze minder. Terwijl in de klas laten ze duidelijk merken dat ze het wel kunnen. Dus dat belemmert dan. En als wij in de mogelijkheid zijn om de toetsen te vertalen, zeg maar, dan had je veel hogere resultaten voor dát kind.

Loes: Terwijl Arabische kindjes vaak. Ja..daar valt dat niet op. Die die blijven soms heel lang laag scoren, ja zonder te willen generaliseren. Maar wat wij op de Spiegel hebben meegemaakt. Hebben we wel zo dat ze enorm achterblijven in het toetsen dan, in het Nederland.

Participants mention experiencing difficulties on how to handle situations in which they need to establish the capacities of pupils who have a Dutch language deficiency. Thea shows her insecurity with regard to making a distinction between the intelligence and the language level of a pupil. In some cases, participants come up with their own initiatives to accurately determine the intelligence level of pupils, in which the Dutch language proficiency is left out of consideration. Four participants mention

translating tests in the home language of the pupil. However, this is only possible if this teacher has some proficiency in this language (e.g. English, French). One of these participants mentions that a pupil's Spanish speaking father was asked to translate a test. Another participant made use of a TAK-test, a language test for children from the first to fourth grade of primary school with another language than Dutch as mother tongue and Dutch as second language. With regard to translating tests, one participant mentioned that, according to her, national policies prohibit translating due to a national average against which each pupils' results are based.

Thea: Ik denk puúr op het gebied van spelling. Dat je dáár. En voor ons is het ook wel moeilijk om daarna een ehm. Bijvoorbeeld bij een Syrisch kind, van goh om hun capaciteit te onderzoeken of ze af te nemen... Want wij weten heel vaak niet wat IS het nou hé. Is het alleen taal, of is het meer?

4.5 Teachers' classroom practices

The fifth construct discusses the attitudes, beliefs and knowledge regarding teachers' classroom practices with multilingual pupils. In addition, section 4.5.5 discusses classroom practices of pupils and section 4.5.6 discusses the parental involvement of multilingual pupils.

4.5.1 Attitude

Teachers' lack of confidence

Participants expressed a perceived lack of their own confidence in handling multilingual pupils. During the interview, three main themes emerged regarding their insecurity. Most participants specifically referred to a low confidence level in their differentiation skills. Secondly, participants referred to a lack of general knowledge and skills and thirdly, participants referred to a lack of linguistic confidence.

Lack of differentiating skills

The most mentioned insecurity, listed by twelve participants, is the feeling of insecurity about their skills in differentiating a class filled with pupils with different needs. Next to multilingual pupils they namely also have to divide their attention between pupils who have specific individual needs as well (e.g. ADD, learning backlog). Especially participants teaching at a school located in a disadvantaged neighborhood bring this issue forward. As will be shown later in this chapter, the lack of time and high work pressure participants experience, hampers them even more to differentiate between pupils. Participants' lack of own confidence in pupils' differentiation can directly influence the multilingual pupils as well as the whole classroom. Adriane provides an example of how she is not able to offer three non-native Dutch pupils with clear instructions because of their various cultural backgrounds. Claudia refers specifically to pupils with a Syrian background who are left to themselves. Carmen expresses her belief that monolingual pupils should not suffer the consequences of the teacher's attention needed to be divided. These comments suggest that the participants are conscious of the monolingual majority in their classroom.

Adriane: Maar het wordt wel als belastend ervaren voor de leerkracht, omdat gewoon niet ja... Hélder is wat je nu precies voor die kinderen ehm moet aanbieden. Iedereen zit weer op een ander niveau. Ik heb één leerkracht met drie ehm kinderen; één Engels meisje, een

Syrische jongen en een Japanse jongen. Dat ligt dan ook weer heel ver uit elkaar. En dat maakt het gewoon heel moeilijk om aanbod vast te stellen, maar ook om de instructie te geven die ze allemaal nodig hebben.

Claudia: Máár als het dan ook nog andere talen zijn, dan is dat héél moeilijk voor die leerkrachten. Want je hebt daarnaast nog zoveel andere kinderen en dan moet je dan doen, dus. Dat merk ik dan wél; dat sommige van die kinderen die als ik, met name Syrische kinderen, dan in het begin echt aan hun lot overgelaten werden, omdat met geen idee had hoe men daarmee om moest gaan.

Carmen: Maar óók van andere kinderen hè. Op het moment dat ik dan één op één met hem bezig zou zijn, dan zou ik op dát moment niet met andere kinderen bezig kunnen zijn. En dan dénk ik dat je je taak als leerkracht ook voorbijgaat, want dan ehm... Já je hebt 25 hè, 26, 27 kinderen onder jouw hoede. En níét maar één kind. Dus je moet je aandacht gewoon echt kunnen verdelen. En door de taalklas kan dat. In dit geval.

Lack of general knowledge and skills

Ten participants express their insecurity regarding a lack of knowledge and/or skills on how to handle multilingual pupils. Participants mentioned that they do not feel sufficiently equipped or miss specific cultural knowledge about a pupils' background. Thea expresses her insecurity when she was informed that she would receive a French pupil in her classroom:

Thea: Ik vind het heel moeilijk hoor, als je krijgt te horen 'je krijgt een Frans kind in de klas'. Ik denk: 'Já en wat nu?! En wat verwacht je van mij? Dus je ziet wel een paar beren op de weg. Dan denk ik nouja, we maken er het béste van (lacht).

Lack of linguistic confidence

The third most mentioned insecurity, mentioned by six participants relates to teachers' linguistic competence. This can be further divided into linguistic competence related to pupils and to parents.

Lack of linguistic confidence with pupils

Participants expressed more often insecurities about non-Western languages (e.g. Arabic) than Western languages (e.g. French, Spanish). Thea provides an example of how she is unable to communicate in words with Syrian pupils and instead makes use of gestures. Many participants however, refer to insecurity regarding their English proficiency. This might be because English is the language all participants come across in their classroom, whilst not all participants have to deal with Non-Western languages and therefore do not report insecurity about it.

Thea: Maar wat ik ook van haar hóorde, van van 'ik heb dan Syrische vluchtelingen in de klas'. 'Ja ik weet het ook niet'. Zegt ze: Ja wij ook niet, ik kan niet.. (stamelt). Ik kan die taal ook niet spreken, dus bij ons is ook álles dan in het Nederlands en met handen en voeten en.

Lack of linguistic confidence with parents

Eight participants indicated that they feel insecure during communication with pupils' non-Dutch speaking parents. Mostly this communication takes place using English as the common language. Although all participants indicated earlier to have mastered this language, they still express a lack of

confidence when putting it into practice. Comments related to linguistic insecurity with parents, showed that the teachers were particularly concerned about their pronunciation and limited vocabulary. All eight participants referred to occasions related to discussing a pupils' progress (parent-teacher meetings) and that they feel insecure about not being able to accurately transfer the information about the pupil to the parent(s). In the example below, Clara refers to one of these teacher-parent meetings. Moreover, situations occur when parents do not speak Dutch nor English. Carmen expresses her insecurity during these occasions. Some participants indicate that during parent-teacher meetings, pupils can be asked to function as interpreter between them and the parents, as is shown by Thea.

Clara: Ja, ik heb nu weer die moeder op de 10-minutengesprekken en moesten we dat weer helemaal in het Engels doen'. Dan zijn het meer van dat gesprekken. Dat we dan zelf ook zoiets hebben van 'ja, dan moet je dat vertellen en dan voel je je onzeker en dan weet je niet wát en dan begrijp je die moeder ook niet'.

Carmen: Ja oudergesprekken, oudergesprekken met ouders die ook geen Engels of geen Nederlands verstaan. Dat dat is gewoon eigenlijk niet te doen.

Thea: Nee die [de ouders] zitten ook allemaal nog op school. Ja, die zijn ook allemaal nog aan het leren. Dus alles is met handen en voeten. Vervolgens moet een kindje gaan vertalen. Dat vind ik óók niet prettig.

4.5.2 Beliefs

Teachers' responsibility

Eleven participants refer to teachers' position as a role model and the responsibility this entails in educating and preparing pupils as citizens of current multicultural society (e.g. 'influence as a teacher', 'being prepared', 'important job'). They believe education plays an important role in this process. This is illustrated by Martha who says that acceptance of other cultures starts in education, and that therefore teachers should adopt an open attitude in order to transfer this to the pupils. Maria illustrates her awareness regarding the influence of teachers' attitude and behavior on the pupils. In this example the participant refers to the promotion of a positive attitude towards various cultures and her wish for pupils adopting this attitude.

Martha: Ehm in dit land en dan denk ik ja, ik denk dat het moet beginnen in het onderwijs. En dat kan alléén maar beginnen als leerkrachten HElemaal openstaan. Dat dat is het begin. Dus dat leerkrachten VEEL meer moeten weten van ehm hoe mensen leven hier hé, hoe Turkse mensen leven thuis en hoe Marokkaanse mensen leven thuis en Iranese en Spaanse. En ik denk dat dán pas een goede start kan plaatsvinden.

Maria: Nogmaals, we hebben best veel invloed als leerkracht eigenlijk. Dus het is ook, hoe meer ik het erover heb of hoe meer ik dat promoot ehm.

Lack of time and high work-pressure

Half of the participants refer to some extent to experiencing a lack of time to make proper preparations for multilingual pupils and adequately providing for their needs (e.g. individual attention, prepare wordlist). This lack of time coincides with the high work pressure participants indicate they feel as

well. Loes illustrates her belief that a multilingual pupil, next to 'regular' monolingual pupils leads to a higher work-pressure. Because of these two factors, - a lack of time and high work pressure- the amount and the quality of time that is spent on multilingual pupils is negatively influenced. It is shown by Thea, who at the same time also expresses her feeling of a lack of support.

Loes: Dan weten we ook soms als er bóven de 25 kinderen nog bijkomt, dat dat een extra werkdruk oplevert. En dan zoek je wel samen van 'goh' wat kun je dan doen met zo'n kind.

Thea: En soms zie je mij ook echt staan van (houdt armen vragen omhoog) 'nee ik denk niet dat je aan deze les iets hebt gehad, sorry'. Maarja je bent maar alleen. Ik bèn maar alleen. Ik kan niet heb niet iemand tegen wie ik kan zeggen van 'oh doe jij even met hem'.

4.5.3 Knowledge

Cognitive abilities of multilingual pupils

Participants also refer to the knowledge they have regarding the cognitive abilities of pupils. Two participants believe that multilingual pupils face more difficulties in making connections or switching between different languages, as is shown by Tom. Twelve participants on the other hand point to the advantages multilingual pupils have in making connections and switching between different languages. Simone stresses the advantages she believes multilingual pupils have in their cognitive development in contrast to monolingual pupils. Other positive abilities participants mention are that multilingual pupils show more empathy for other pupils and that multilingual pupils also find it easier to learn additional languages.

Tom: Maar ik denk ook dat zoiets als ehm wat ik eerder ook al aangaf, kinderen die niet zo talig ingesteld zijn, dat die daar juist dan dingen door elkaar kunnen gaan gooien.

Simone: Nou ik heb wel het idee dat ze sneller schakelen zeg maar. Dat dat ook vaardigheden oplevert die ze op andere gebieden kunnen gebruiken. Ja. Dat is echt ehm. Die verbindingen, die linken, dat ze dat ook ehm. Ja ik ga nu zeggen ze zijn slimmer per definitie, maar ze hebben wel een bepaalde vaardigheid die eentalige kinderen niet hebben.

4.5.4 Teachers' classroom practices

Languages spoken between and by teachers

All participants are native Dutch speakers, of which sixteen are also speakers of the local dialect. Eleven of these sixteen participants say that they speak the local dialect with colleagues during and after school hours. During school hours this takes place mostly at the school playground and during one-to-one communication. Six participants indicate that also during official teacher-team meetings, the local dialect is used as main language. Five of them are however aware of the fact that not all colleagues are dialect-speakers. They indicate that they keep this in mind during certain situations. Ineke provides an example of switching for dialect to Dutch when a non-dialect speaker joins a conversation. So, the dialect is always spoken between two or more dialect speakers and in case non-dialect speakers are present, the choice of language gets accommodated to the latter. However, some variations exist as becomes visible by a quotation of Mandy. She indicates that even in the presence of non-dialect speakers the teachers continue in the local dialect, since the non-dialect speakers declared not having issues with this. Participants believe that other teacher-colleagues uphold the same

practices regarding the use of dialect in the classroom as themselves. They do however indicate that they cannot know this for certain, since they do not always see them in practice with pupils.

Ineke: Ja onderling als we met alléén dialect pratende mensen zijn wél. Maar zodra er iemand bij komt die Nederlands praat. Dan gaan we gewoon over in het Nederlands.

Mandy: Dat gebeurt in de vrije momenten, momenten op de gang, in teamvergaderingen. De mensen die géén dialect spreken, verstaan het wel. Dus die hebben daar geen problemen mee. Dat hebben we nagevraagd.

Discussion of multilingualism among colleagues

Two participants indicate that they discuss topics regarding multilingualism with colleagues. Six participants indicate this topic never gets discussed. Eleven participants say this gets discussed sporadically. Seven of these eleven participants said this usually happens when they face difficulties with a specific pupil. Situations in which multilingualism is discussed differs. Two participants refer to this taking place during official moments, like team-meetings, but it can also occur during unofficial chats among teachers. Below, Lola and Clara provide of both situations an example.

Teachers who state that multilingualism never gets discussed, also state that they do not miss discussing this topic because it is not relevant for them (seeing the relatively low number of multilingual pupils at their school). This is in line with the attitude participants uphold regarding teacher-training programs, where they state that information concerning NT2 pupils is not missed, since they only see it as useful when needed during their career. Which is, according to participants mostly not the case in Maastricht.

Lola: Dat zou wel kunnen ja. Ja en dan is het meestal bijvoorbeeld een puntje dat een leerkracht inbrengt. Van 'luister, ik heb nu twee meer anderstalige kindjes, ik vind het moeilijk om hiermee om te gaan, heeft iemand tips of wilt iemand eens bij mij komen kijken of wat kan ik hieraan doen' en...

Clara: Ja, daar hebben we het er wel eens over. Niet echt in formele situaties, dus niet in een vergadering. Omdat het denk ik daarvoor, op deze school, niet voldoende leeft.

Interaction and activities that reflect any presence of linguistic and cultural diversity

Teachers' classroom practices can be subdivided into four categories: 1) allowance of other languages other than Dutch, 2) support or instructions adapted to multilingual pupils, 3) the use of languages other than Dutch as language of instruction and language of communication and 4) multilingual pupils being the focus of the activity/teachers' talk to the rest of the class.

1. Allowing other languages in the classroom

Participants expressed positive beliefs towards the general concept of using other languages than Dutch in the classroom for educational purposes. Even though school policies do not allow teachers to speak in foreign languages to pupils, participants have stressed the importance of referring to them in their home language. This will be further elaborated upon in section 4.6.

2. Support or instructions adapted to multilingual pupils

The most commonly mentioned practices within this category was the use of supporting material, such as pictograms to communicate with or give instructions to a pupil (mentioned by nine participants). Three of these nine participants mention that they make use of simple words and short phrases while doing this. Two participants refer to placing the pupils in front of a computer for language exercises

and four participants mention that they created a buddy-system between pupils. This pair-work was used as a tool to encourage collaboration between two pupils to learn from each other. Three times this concerns pair-work between a Dutch pupil and a Western pupil and one time an older Chinese speaking pupil with a younger Chinese speaking pupil. Other examples of instructions adapted for non-native Dutch pupils are providing Dutch books to take home, putting up a list of common words in the pupils' home language and making Dutch language mistakes on purpose to show the pupils that making mistakes is human.

3. The use of languages other than Dutch as language of instruction and language of communication

English is the main language that is used as language of instruction in case a pupil does not speak Dutch. One participant even indicated that she consciously switches to English to capture the attention of pupils when they feel restless. In this, speaking English is used as an education strategy. After English, French is the most commonly used language. English is as well the main language used as language of communication with non-Dutch speaking pupils. This is also the case if a pupils' native language is not English. This is mainly because teachers do not master the mother tongue of these pupils. So English is used as common language between teacher and pupil. Sometimes teachers put effort in speaking the home language of the pupil. There are some individual instances mentioned in which Spanish, Cyrillic and Arabic were used. Ben describes how he tries to communicate in French with a pupil. That teachers make use of their own practices, based on their own knowledge becomes clear from an example by Tom. He believes that when mixing multiple languages, this is confusing for a pupil and therefore he upholds a clear distinction between different languages in his teaching.

Ben: Maar meestal Engels wat ik dan probeer. Ja Frans spreek ik echt maar een heel klein beetje. Dus dat was echt "bonjour" "qu'est-ce que tu dis" ja. Dat een beetje.

Tom: Alleen moet je wel duidelijk inkaderen van 'oké, dit is die taal en dat is die taal'. Dat je dat niet te veel door elkaar gaat halen, ik denk dat verwarrend zou zijn ja.

4. Multilingual pupils being the focus of the activity/teachers' talk to the rest of the class

Multiple examples are given by participants making the multilingual pupil the focus of their talk to the rest of the class. This can be divided in references to the home language and references to the cultural background of the pupil.

References to the home language

Sixteen participants indicate that they make references to the home language aimed at specific pupils during their teaching. They indicate that they consciously try to involve these pupils by asking questions such as: "how do you say that in your language"? Often this language is English, and otherwise languages that the teachers are familiar with, like French or Spanish. Three participants mention they never make a reference to the home language of the pupil. The reason why these teachers do not do this, is because they are not able to speak the pupil's language.

Participants use different approaches in referring to the home language of multilingual pupils according to these pupils' age. In the lower classes participants mention practices that occur playfully, such as singing songs or when a suitable situation arises, as illustrated by Loes. Lola illustrates how birthdays are often used as an occasion to focus on the cultural background of the birthday boy or girl. In the higher grades, teachers refer more consciously to the home language of a pupil. One instance was mentioned during an activity where building awareness of calculation scripts was the focus. During this activity the teacher used a Chinese and Afghan pupil to inform the rest of the class about the counting system they have learned at home.

Loes: Ja, eigenlijk spreek ik vooral Nederlands. En dan doen we inderdaad die spelenderwijs dingen, doen we alles. We zingen die liedjes in het Engels. En we hebben een Italiaans liedje. Maar dat is meer gewoon voor, niet echt het spreken.

Lola: Een voorbeeldje ehm ehm er is iemand jarig, heeft uitgedeeld en dan zeg je 'dankjewel'. Bijvoorbeeld een Grieks jongetje 'oh hoe zeg je dankjewel in het Griek?' dat hé, dat je dat ehm bijvoorbeeld zegt.

Resi: Wat we bijvoorbeeld ook gedaan hebben, nu je dat zo zegt. Ik heb ook eens een kind uit Afghanistan gehad en uit China. En toen hadden we zelfstandig werken en toen heb ik hun gevraagd de anderen te leren tellen in hun taal. En die hebben een boekje gemaakt met met het Chinese schrift en het Afghaanse schrift. Dat was een eye-opener voor alle kinderen.

References to the cultural background

Sixteen participants indicate that they make references to the cultural background aimed at specific pupils during their teaching. One participant indicated that she did this regularly, while the majority of participants indicated that they only make use of this, when a suitable moment occurs. These moments are dictated primarily by months or seasons of the year or celebrations. Martha illustrates how she makes use of a goodbye party of a French pupil to ask other pupils with another cultural background than Dutch about 'their' festive traditions. Some participants believe an appropriate time to study festivals is during those times the festival is celebrated. This is made visible by Claudia, who mentions that during the regional festivity *Carnaval*, she introduces the topic of fasting and links this with the Ramadan. Various other practices are mentioned during the interviews (e.g. reading originally Dutch books translated in the home language of pupils, using images of buildings to talk about the infrastructure of pupils' country of birth, referring to an African pupil's father when discussing the theme cacao). Other classroom practices that are undertaken more regularly by participants are questions aimed at multilingual pupils such as "how do you do that in your country/at your home".

Martha: Ja, we hadden het bijvoorbeeld over feest he. Dat Franstalig kindje nam dan afscheid in deze klas. En dan ehm bereiden we een feestje voor, met een taart en weet ik veel allemaal. En dan vraag ik aan dat Spaanse jongetje, en hoe doen jullie dat nou in Spanje? En wat eten jullie in Spanje en welke liedjes? Dus dat gaat hij zingen. En de Turkse ook. Ja. En de Iranees ook. Dus op zulke manier betrek ik dan allemaal culturen erbij.

Claudia: Als dat ter sprake komt, ja. Ja. Als wij heb, dus hebben over, bijvoorbeeld met carnaval, dan komt 'vasten' en van 'vastenoavond' komt 'vasten'. En dan zeg ik: 'nou Moslimkinderen kennen dat ook' en dan zeggen ze van 'huh?'. En dan zeg ik dat héél veel van jullie hetzelfde is als bij ons. En dan hebben we daar dan over.

Academic support in the form of teaching material

Fourteen participants mention certain material they make use of when teaching multilingual pupils. Six of these participants refer to a specific language method. Four participants make use of visual support in the form of pictograms. Also, digital material is frequently made use of. Three participants refer to their smartboard/Digi board, two participants to Google Translate, one participant to Skype and three participants refer to computer programs in which pupils acquire the Dutch language. In some cases, participants mention that they make use of digital teaching material during situations in which they are not able to provide the pupil with personal attention. Adriane shows that due to being

shorthanded she is unable to provide a child with the necessary attention, but instead puts her in front of a computer and refers to this as occupational therapy. Here we see that digital material and technology is used as a substitute for personal teacher attention.

Moreover, half of these fourteen participants refer to a lack of material to support multilingual pupils or that the material currently being used is insufficient. One participant mentions that although a computer program she works with is very helpful, the content it offers is outdated (e.g. stereotypical images of cultures). Two participants mention that it is up to the teachers themselves to search for teaching material, since the school does not offer any guidance in this. Three participants express their wish for supporting material, as is shown by Resi, who expresses her demand for teaching material, since according to her, only knowledge about multilingual pupil is not sufficient.

Adriane: Staat de leerkracht dus helemaal alleen d'rvoor, wat dat betreft. En ja, dan zie je in de praktijk dat het soms toch maar even iets van bezigheidstherapie is, op het moment dat een kind de les helemaal niet kan volgen. En wordt er zo geprobeerd om zinvolle verwerking te hebben. Voor de computer waar een kind toch auditieve feedback krijgt en dat soort dingen.

Resi: Maar de kennis alleen is niet genoeg. Je moet ook de materialen hebben denk ik. Dat is de ondersteuning en dat miste ik wel een beetje. Ja. Ik denk dat scholen wat dat betreft. Ja. Beter gefaciliteerd kunnen zijn.

4.5.5 Student practices

Attitudes of multilingual pupils

Eighteen participants refer to the attitude of multilingual pupils and their reaction when the teacher or peers refer to the cultural background of this pupil. The examples participants give make clear that pupils' reaction can differ greatly. Seven participants say that in these situations, the pupils feel proud and four participants mention seeing the pupil flourish. On the other hand, pupils can also react less positively. An example of this is given by five participants saying that pupils can feel frustrated. This is mainly the case when they are not able to express themselves in the Dutch language. Simone provides an example of the frustration a pupil can feel in case he or she cannot put into words what they want to make clear. Based on interview data it seems that a pupils' age functions as an important indicator for his or her reaction. Participants teaching lower grades mention more often pupils' negative reactions e.g. confusion or shyness, while older pupils generally adopt a more positive attitude.

Simone: En vooral als het intelligente kinderen zijn, die dan echt vérder willen en hun verhaal kwijt willen, zie je frustratie. Tot tranen toe. Dat ze echt hè, je ziet dat ze willen vertellen, maar dan gaat dat niet.

Attitude monolingual pupils towards multilingual peers

The monolingual children's experience of having a multilingual peer in the class was also prominent in the interview data. Seventeen participants mention that native-Dutch pupils have a positive attitude towards pupils with another cultural background than Dutch. Participants mention that pupils are generally interested in learning about foreign cultures and that they are specifically interested in learning new words in this foreign language. Participants also highlight the openness of pupils, in that they are easily accustomed to having a non-Dutch speaking peer in the classroom and the fruitful collaboration between pupils that arises from this. Four participants mention the caregiving character

of many pupils in that they try to make the multilingual pupils feel at ease. On the other hand is mentioned by three participants a negative attitude of pupils towards multilingual pupils. One participant indicates that pupils are more distant towards a peer who does not speak (sufficient) Dutch. Here, a conflict may arise due to a language barrier. Simone provides an example of such a conflict, that arises during a game in the school break due to the misunderstanding of the game rules. Another example is provided by Fiona, who describes how native Dutch pupils call out to multilingual pupils using character traits they see as specific for their cultural background.

Simone: Maar tuurlijk, als ze dan met een spelletje mee willen doen en dan gaan soms die Nederlandse kinderen van: (praat heel snel) 'dit zijn de regels en blablabla'. En dan zie je soms van die grote ogen van 'ja...'. Dat ze de spelregels niet begrepen hebben of er moet iemand in het doel staan die gaat dan aanvallen met voetbal en dan: (met norske toon) 'ik had toch gezegd je moet in het doel'. En dan zie je zo 'n kind echt zo van... (zet grote ogen op). En dan zijn dat allemaal woorden om te zeggen; je moet dié kant op en dan zie je verwarring en dan komt er ook wel eens ruzie van natuurlijk.

Fiona: Maar kinderen, er worden wel eens opmerkingen gemaakt over achtergrond. En ik heb ook wel eens kinderen horen zeggen 'ga jij maar met je bootje terug naar de eigen land'. Nou dat vind ik heel treurige dingen, vind ik. Ja.

Languages spoken in class by multilingual pupils

Six participants indicate that multilingual pupils who have a certain Dutch proficiency, never speak their home language in the classroom (in case there are more pupils with the same home language). On the other hand, six participants say that sporadically these pupils use their home language during school hours. In the interviews, the participants provide a few examples of activities in which this occurs: at the school playground, to compare words that resemble the home language, or -in case there are more pupils with the same home language in the classroom- to explain to each other subject matter. According to Loes, multilingual pupils feel the need to adjust themselves to the Dutch speaking context of the school and therefore hardly speak their home language in the classroom. Of course, this is highly dependent on the level of proficiency of Dutch of the pupils and if there are any other pupils speaking the same home language to communicate with.

Loes: Nee. Meestal willen ze het goed doen, hoe wij verwachten het Nederlands. Of je hoort ze onderling. Maar héél weinig. Ze gaan heel gauw over op 'hier spreken we Nederlands'. Nee, ze passen zich aan.

References to cultural background by multilingual pupils

Besides teachers who refer to multilingual pupils' cultural background, these children refer to their own home language and or culture themselves as well. This occurs within various contexts, but most often during pupils' presentations and religious holidays. Tom provides an example of a pupil who initiates a conversation about the Ramadan. Another participant, Claudia talks about an instance when a non-Western pupil performed a song in her home language in front of the class. Also, within this construct, participants indicate to notice a difference between younger and older pupils. Older pupils are more likely to share something about their cultural background than younger pupils do. Sara gives an example of younger pupils seeming less aware of their cultural background being different than their peers and therefore does not feel the need to share this. Although these differences can have various other reasons (e.g. the often more developed Dutch language proficiency of older pupils, sense

of security), pupils' age seems an important indicator for the level of references to the personal cultural background.

Tom: Als het ter sprake komt is het vaak dat dan wel een ehm met een vinger aangegeven wordt van 'meester bij ons is dat, wordt dat zo en zo gezegd. Of bij ons viereen we dat op een andere manier'. Of iets dergelijks. Omdat, he, en dan krijgen ze, van mij krijgen ze daar dan ook de ruimte voor.

Claudia: En ehm toen zei ze (imiteert buitenlands accent leerling) "Joef, iek kan rappen in Syrië" en toen had ze zelf die dat die zanger, of die Syrische rapper dan gezocht en die had ze aangezet en voor het bord, ze ging ervoor staan en ze zat Syrisch te rappen en de hele groep zat van (verwonderd)'wat is dit?!

Sara: Ik denk oudere kinderen wel, maar ik denk dat kinderen op deze leeftijd daar nog weinig besef van hebben. Dat de dat de cultuur anders is. Ze merken wel dat ZIJ anders zijn ehm dat zij een andere taal spreken dat zij misschien in situaties anders reageren... Maar ik denk niet dat ze zich er bewust van zijn dat dat door de cultuur komt.

4.5.6 Parents of multilingual pupils

Language proficiency and practices of parents

Parents play a prominent role in the language learning process of their children. The participants seem aware of this fact and refer multiple times to the language proficiency and practices of parents of multilingual pupils. Based on the interviews it seems that these practices take many forms. Participants mention parents who only speak their mother tongue and have no proficiency in Dutch, parents who speak multiple languages including Dutch and parents who speak multiple languages excluding Dutch. The language parents speak with the child may be domain depended. Some parents deliberately speak Dutch at school with the child, whereas in the home-situation they speak the mother tongue, as is shown by a quotation of Lola. Thea provides an example of another situation in which both Dutch and the mother tongue are spoken at home.

Lola: Ik heb bijvoorbeeld een meisje hier, dat is een Turks meisje en ze praat met haar moeder Turks. Maar ik merk dat d'r moeder zegt 'nee op school spreken wij Nederlands'. En dan praat dat meisje wel Turks tegen haar moeder, maar haar moeder praat Nederlands terug. En dan probeert ze ook te leren, we zijn nu op schóól, we praten op school Nederlands. Zodat mensen ons kunnen verstaan. Dus ze praten allebei de talen, maar dat meisje is gewend om tegen haar moeder Turks te praten.

Thea: En ik, vooral dat meisje met dat. Italiááns meisje en dat ehm Iraakse meisje - ja zij is een Nederlands meisje- maar als ik haar. Hoe snel zij omschakelt met moeder in het Koerdisch en naar mij. Dáárom heb ik het ook nagevraagd. Ik zeg 'praten jullie nou thuis Koerdisch, of alleen in het Nederlands'. 'Ja nee eigenlijk allebei'. Ze praat gewoon perfect Nederlands.

The role of parents in the child's Dutch language learning

Participants indicate that parents should be actively involved in the Dutch language learning process of the child. However, beliefs differ if the parents themselves should also speak Dutch to their child.

Some participants indicate that every Dutch language input a child receives at home is a bonus, since in order to increase the Dutch language proficiency, only the school environment is not enough. However, most participants believe that a parent should only speak Dutch to their child in case their Dutch language proficiency is sufficient. Otherwise, they believe that deficient Dutch has a negative influence on the learning process of the child. What ‘sufficient’ Dutch mean, is not elaborated upon. Loes illustrated this belief by saying deficient Dutch does not help the child in its language learning process. Instead parents should stimulate this in the form of offering their children Dutch material at home, such as TV, books and games. Five participants mention that when they encounter non-Dutch parents speaking deficient Dutch to the child, they advise these parents to speak the home language at home instead of Dutch.

Loes: Als je vader of moeder zo gebrekkig Nederlands gaat zitten spreken. Ja, daar help je ze echt niet mee verder. Dan kunnen ze beter op eh he, op de televisie kijken naar een goed kinderprogramma en en dat de ouders gewoon lekker hun moedertaal spreken.

Support for non-native Dutch parents

Participants indicate that parents who do not have a sufficient command of Dutch may be in need of support of the teacher or school. Two participants mention parents that are in need of help with regard to their integration. They specified that they provided these parents with phone numbers of integration organizations (e.g. Dutch language learning). Most often support is needed with Dutch language related issues (e.g. using a computer program, understanding a report). Also, during parent-teacher meetings support may be required. Six participants indicate that in these situations interpreters may be asked for help. In some cases, the pupil is asked to fulfill this role. Two participants refer to non-Western parents who are not accustomed to Dutch compulsory education and the legislation in applying for official leave for their child, which is illustrated by Thea below. Besides, one school initiated a program called *Project Internationalisering* for parents of multilingual pupils to mutually connect.

Thea: Ja en wat ik ook, ik merk op een gegeven moment met die táál. Dan denk ik ‘o jeetje dan komt het suikerfeest eraan, daar moeten ze allemaal vrij voor krijgen’. Maar ik moet echt letterlijk met de verlófbrief eigenlijk tot aan de deur gaan, van ‘jullie moeten hem wél tekenen’.

Parents’ special role

Next to parents needing teachers’ support, parents sometimes also are given a special role by teachers based on their cultural background. This becomes especially visible during holidays or festivities related to their culture. However, also during holidays and festivities associated with the Dutch culture, non-native Dutch parents are given a role based on their cultural background. Seven participants give as example that during these occasions, parents are invited to prepare a dish that reflect their particular culture, as is made visible by Maria. She gives as example that a Turkish mom is asked to prepare couscous in order to involve her in the schools’ Christmas preparation.

Maria: Of juist met kerst laten we eten maken en ja dan zeggen we ook van ja; wil jij misschien de couscous maken? Want dat komt bij... Want dat is wel de manier waarop ouders dan betrokken worden. Of met suikerfeest. Dat dan. Sommige ouders doen dat ook wel uit zichzelf dat ze dan dingen van het suikerfeest bijvoorbeeld.

Social participation of parents

The combination of parents who have an insufficient Dutch language proficiency and teachers who do not speak the parents' home language may have adverse consequences. This can be noticed in examples given by participants of parents facing difficulties in searching rapprochement with teachers, less participation in after-school activities and less connection with other parents. Two participants express their beliefs that this is due to a language barrier. Tom expresses his belief that the social participation of non-Western parents is lower than that of Dutch parents, due to their lack of Dutch language comprehension. The participants working at schools in a disadvantaged neighborhood mention that the parental participation in general is low, independent of the cultural background of these parents. Participants mention that the educational level of parents, next to the Dutch language proficiency, plays a decisive role in their level of social participation at the school.

On the other hand participants also provide examples of situations in which non-Dutch speaking parents are actively trying to learn the Dutch language. Clara shows how parents make use of programs such as Google Translate when trying to communicate with her. Other examples of non-native Dutch parents participating in school activities, are parents who work at the school in positions such as help-parents, a mother who works as a cleaning employee and a father who works as a supervisor during the lunch break. The latter example is illustrated by Claudia. However, twelve participants indicate that they do not notice any difference between the degree of social participation between Dutch parents and non-native Dutch parents.

Tom: Maar op andere scholen ook vaak genoeg gemerkt dat dat gewoon zo is dat ouders van buitenlandse afkomst gewoon minder snel geneigd zijn om naar school te gaan, omdat ze het toch eigenlijk niet zo goed begrijpen.

Clara: Want d'r zijn dan een paar ouders die een andere taal spreken, maar ze willen wel heel graag contact met de leerkrachten. En soms wordt er dan zelfs Google Translate ofzo bijgehaald.

Claudia: Dan hebben we een Syrische vader, die is overblijfvader. Dus die komt met het overblijven. En dat doet die ook om dan gewoon Nederlands te praten, Nederlands te leren. Want ze kunnen natuurlijk wel als ze, geloof ik drie of vier keer in de week naar school gaan, of misschien nog niet. Maar ze leren het toch alleen maar door te dóen.

4.6 Language policies and language support

4.6.1 Knowledge

National and school language policies

None of the participants were aware of any national language policies in education. Striking is that many participants blamed themselves for not knowing about this. This is illustrated by Tom, who puts the blame on himself for lacking this knowledge. Moreover, when answering this question, participants often softly laughed or asked whether other participants were aware of any policies. Even though participants indicated that they are not aware of any national language policies, they do say that there are certain agreements within the school regarding the use of languages. However, these agreements appear not to be written down, but are taken mostly for granted by the participants. One participant refers to it as an unspoken rule. When asked about the use of languages, participants

indicated that Dutch is the only language that should be spoken during school hours. Lola illustrates how teachers automatically assume Dutch is the official language, when asked how she knows that Dutch is the main language. Participants do not mention that they ever took effort to search for written down policies regarding this subject, nor that they miss this lack of written down policies.

Tom: Ik niet. Maar dat zegt niet. Ik wil niet per definitie zeggen dat dat dan iets. Dat zal meer aan mij liggen dan aan...

Lola: (stilte). Ehm (stilte). Dat is zo (lacht). Ja weet niet. Dat is ehm. We zijn een Nederlandse school en we bieden Nederlands aan en. Je weet dat iedereen dat doet en dat is eigenlijk normaal. Ik denk dat als je op een internationale school of op een ehm Islamitische school gaat werken, dat je dan weet 'ohja, nu zou het misschien kunnen dat ik me aan moet passen'. Maar op een Nederlandse, gewoon.

Languages in the school curriculum

The schools' most taught foreign language in the curriculum is English. Except for two schools, all schools offered this language as a subject. Two schools stopped teaching English, because the Dutch language proficiency of the school population was under average. Therefore, the school board decided to bring this to an acceptable level first, before spending time on a second language. Striking is that these schools are both situated in disadvantaged neighborhoods. After English, French is the most taught language as a subject. Two schools added compulsory French in the curriculum, starting from the first class of primary school. Teaching French is used to profile themselves as a so-called 'Euregio' school. The other schools offer French as an elective course or integrate teaching the language during special programs. One school offers Spanish to high performing pupils who are in need of an educational challenge.

Implementation of schools' language policies by teachers

Although participants are not fully aware of the schools' language policies, they indicate to the importance of following - what is according to them- the agreement about language use in the classroom. Ten participants clearly state that at school, Dutch is the main language and that they do not allow any other languages to be spoken in their classroom. This is illustrated by Claudia. However, there are also participants who take these (not written down) agreements in upholding monolingual policies less strictly and allow pupils to speak other languages than Dutch in the classroom. Thea illustrates her approach: in general Dutch is the main language to be spoken, but exceptions occur. Two participants indicated that pupils who have another home language than Dutch are sometimes allowed to speak their home language at school, but only during their free time. For example, Loes mentions that she allows pupils to speak the home language at the school playground, but otherwise stimulates the use of Dutch.

Claudia: Nee, want eigenlijk is het de bedoeling dat je dus in de klas, op school, ook als ze buiten spelen onder speelkwartier - dus onder schooltijd- dan móeten die kinderen Nederlands praten. En ehm ja dat is een regel en aan die regel heb ik mij geconformeerd natuurlijk op al die scholen. Dan móet ik mij daar ook aan houden.

Thea: Even helpen, maar we hebben de afspraak; we doen het niét, zodat we iedereen kunnen verstaan. Dus dus maar goed. Ik moet ook Frans praten met dat jongetje, want..

Loes: En ik weet ook van de kinderen die het moeilijker hadden, die héél veel naar elkaar toe trokken. Dat er werd gezegd van 'nou, laat ze in de pauze met hun boterhammetje effe lekker in hun eigen taal'. Maar daarna werd echt gestimuleerd. 'Néé, probeer het in het Nederlands'.

4.6.2 Schools' support and initiatives

Language support for multilingual pupils

Schools implement various ways of accessing support for the provision of effective learning of NT2 education. Six participants mention that pupils who are in need of extra language support receive additional instruction by a teacher. This can take place in an individual, in-classroom setting or separately from the class in a small group of pupils. At two schools a teacher specialized at teaching NT2-pupils is present. Eight participants mention that pupils can be referred to a speech therapist either available at school (four teachers) or externally (four teachers). Participants provide more examples of external support; parental help with translating between a pupil and teacher, multilingual parents who supported a pupil in his home language and volunteers who functioned as interpreters between teachers and non-Dutch speaking parents. The first is illustrated by participant Ben:

Ben: Ja, we hebben in het verleden wel mensen gehad die hier zijn komen werken. Maar toen bijvoorbeeld met het Colombiaanse kind hebben we zélf een Spaans docent moeten zoeken die dit in zijn vrije tijd wilde doen. En toevallig ook nog een moeder die Argentinië gewoond had. Maar dat leek weer heel erg op, die kwam dat ook in haar vrije tijd doen. Dus je bent heel erg afhankelijk van mensen die bereid zijn tot hulp zeg maar.

Language support in the form of NT2 classes

Part of language support for multilingual pupils is the presence of so-called NT2 classes. Eleven participants, derived from six schools mention these classes, which are initiated and organized by one of the largest educational umbrella organizations in Maastricht. Pupils attend these classes three mornings a week. Pupils from different schools within the same area are brought together in the same class. According to the participants, the classes started approximately two years ago, because of the increase of pupils with a refugee background. Carmen expresses her view on the reason behind the NT2 classes, which is according to her the influx of refugees. The idea behind the NT2 classes is to provide children with an insufficient Dutch language proficiency with such language support in order for them to be able to fully participate in the regular classes. The NT2 classes consist of smaller groups, whereby the pupil receives more individual attention. Additionally, the teacher(s) in these classes have expert knowledge in educating NT2 pupils. Pupils return to the regular class once they reach a level of so-called 'schoolyard Dutch', meaning possessing a basic command of Dutch. This 'basic command of Dutch' is not further specified. However, multiple participants mentioned that according to them, it is often too quickly decided that a pupil has reached this level and is in fact not yet ready to return to the regular classes.

The NT2 classes seem to work out positively for both the teachers as the pupils. Adriane illustrates how she believes pupils feel more at home in these classes than in the regular class. Not only do participants note that they see improvement - socially and in academic achievements- of the pupils, they also feel that they themselves have been unburdened. Participants express their need to receive support in teaching multilingual pupils and this NT2 class seems to help them. However, as Thea illustrates, this is more a temporary solution since the pupils only attend these classes three mornings in the week. For the remaining days the teachers still feel a need for additional support.

Carmen: Nou volgens mij is die er in eerste instantie gekomen vanwege de ehm vluchtelingenproblematiek. Ehm want toén zag je ook wel heel veel instroom ehm op verschillende scholen. En om dat een beetje te bundelen, is die taalklas... Gelóóf ik tenminste, dat weet ik niet zeker.

Adriane: En je ziet die kinderen, wij zijn daar dan gaan kijken. Je ziet de kinderen daar ook heel anders zijn dan hier. Veel opener en veel meer op hun plek. Dat ja. Dat is wel apart om te zien. Niet dat ze zich hier niet veilig of niet fijn voelen, maar omdat het daar allemaal toch meer op hún niveau is, is dat gewoon veel fijner.

Thea: Maar ook van, ja vaker mensen in de klas dan om te helpen. Of of een leerkracht die die erbij komt en die MIJ ondersteunt hé. Of een assistent. Er móét iets zijn. Kijk, we hebben die taalklas, dus daar gaatie drie dagen naar toe. Maar twee dagen zitie in de klas. Dus soms zit hij echt, ja...

Continued training and activities for teachers

Three participants indicated that they received training during their career in teaching multilingual pupils. One of the participants participated in a course about using sign language with NT2 pupils and one participant voluntarily attended an information evening about customs and habits related to specific cultural backgrounds. Only one school seemed to put real effort in training the teachers in improving their skills as a teacher. At this school it is mandatory for the teachers to attend monthly trainings and workshops in which they are taught by an external organization on how to improve their teaching technique. However, this is not only focused on multilingual pupils, but also on native-Dutch pupils since their Dutch proficiency is under the national average. Additionally, although not at present, Mandy mentioned that next school year, one of her colleagues is going to specialize in the guidance of multilingual pupils. She will then instruct the rest of the teachers.

Schools' initiatives

Besides pupils' language support and teachers' trainings mentioned above, participants indicate that there are no structural initiatives taken by the school to promote multilingualism. However, in some cases participants refer to schools' initiated activities in which attention is paid to various languages and/or cultures. In these cases, schools attempted to promote an inclusive environment and took certain initiatives relating to the concept of celebrating people's differences. Multiple schools discussed for example the Ramadan or Id al-Fitr, whereas the schools located in disadvantaged neighborhoods, actually celebrated them e.g. preparing food for Id al-Fitr. Another example of these school initiatives is that when a few years ago an asylum seekers center was placed nearby one of the schools located in a disadvantaged neighborhood, this school consciously chose to discuss this placement with the pupils. Thea explains that this decision was consciously made, when teachers noticed a negative attitude from pupils towards the center, which they adopted from their parents. Other examples participants mentioned are an exchange with French-speaking pupils from Belgium. One initiative occurred when pupils from the nearby International School came to visit a class and one participant mentions visiting a mosque, synagogue and church as an annual recurring activity. Besides, one school initiated a program called *Project Internationalisering* for parents of multilingual pupils to mutually connect. Also, initiatives are taken to promote the local dialect. One participant mentioned that he is interested in introducing a subject in the schools' curriculum focused on the local dialect.

Thea: Toen een tijdje, toen kwam er een AZC en dan ehm heel veel buurtgenoten die daar toch tegen ageerden en toen heb ik, toen hebben we het wel bewust als school een thema gemaakt, van 'goh'. Nee, we maken het bespreekbaar. Want het komt eraan, er komt een asielzoekerscentrum en daar krijgen we ook kinderen van dan hé. Dus het wordt, gaan er nog meer worden dan dat het nu is en dat is helemaal niet erg maar heel veel ouders.

4.7 The local dialect

During the interviews, the local dialect emerged often as a topic of discussion. Therefore, it has been decided to discuss it as a separate construct. In this section, teachers' attitudes, beliefs and knowledge regarding the local dialect are explored. This will be followed by how this subsequently influences teachers' practices.

4.7.1 Attitude

Teachers' attitudes towards the local dialect

Participants have a positive attitude towards the local dialect and perceive the dialect as a second or in some cases even as native language. Ten participants mention the personal advantages they notice of speaking the local dialect. Especially social factors are given as example (e.g. having a common language background with other dialect-speakers). Besides, participants attribute to the dialect a sense of cultural heritage and indicate that it is part of their identity. All dialect-speaking participants use the dialect on a daily basis to communicate with family, friends and colleagues. Kristien shows her feeling when she speaks in dialect instead of Dutch, saying it creates a less formal ambiance.

On the other hand, participants do also share their beliefs that nationwide, the dialect does not have the same status as Dutch. This can be noticed by several remarks such as indicating that in order to have a successful career, next to dialect, a pupil should be proficient in the standard variety. Other remarks that are given refer to a negative attitude of non-dialect speakers. Resi for example, brings forward her belief that people who are not from Limburg have a negative attitude towards the regional language. Moreover, four participants do not speak the local dialect. One of them refers to herself as the "Hollander" of her school, meaning that she is among the few that does not speak the local dialect. By using the term "Hollander" she creates a certain distance between herself and her dialect-speaking colleagues.

Kristien: Ja wat ik wél vind: als je dialect spreekt onderling, dan is het wat, ja wat gemakkelijker, wat minder formeel.

Resi: Want er wordt helaas gewoon op het Limburgs gediscrimineerd, zo simpel ligt dat. En dat weet je. En dan kun je dat wel goed of niet goed vinden, maar je weet dat dat gebeurt. Het is gewoon zo. Het is een feit.

4.7.2 Beliefs

Advantages and disadvantages of the dialect for pupils

Ten participants refer to several advantages they believe dialect-speaking pupils have over pupils who do not speak dialect. Most often advantages are assigned to cognitive abilities these pupils have. Such as linguistic connections they can make between the dialect and Dutch (or other languages), their overall language proficiency or raised awareness of the general existence of languages other than

Dutch. Carmen illustrates her belief that dialect-speaking pupils enjoy a raised awareness regarding various language structures:

Carmen: Hm nou dat dat kinderen vooral vooral nadenken, of of erváren wat de structuur is van een taal. De structuur van het Nederlands lijkt ook, ja ik bedoel de dialecten kómen natuurlijk ook vanuit het Nederlands. Dus diezelfde structuur kunnen ze misschien in het dialect dan weer terugvinden. Terwijl je in het Maastrichts dialect ook wel veel vertalingen vindt van het Frans en het Duits soms. Dus dán gaan ze die verbanden zien denk ik.

However, participants bring forward that speaking the dialect does not only lead to advantages. Six participants mention the disadvantages dialect speaking pupils may suffer. They mention among others that the Dutch pronunciation is negatively influenced by the dialect as well as applying grammar rules belonging to the dialect to the Dutch grammar. Claudia works at one of the schools in the more disadvantaged neighborhoods where the vast majority of pupils speak dialect. She shows the consequences this has for pupils' future school career, mentioning that these pupils are more often referred to the pre-vocational secondary education (VMBO) instead of general secondary education (HAVO) or pre-university education (VWO).

Also, negative attitudes of non-dialect speakers emerge during the interviews and dialect-speaking children facing stereotypes and discrimination due to this. The participants believe that pupils may face difficulties in their later life when facing stereotypes based on their dialect or accent. Thus, participants believe that speaking the dialect works in advantage for the cognitive ability of pupils but socially works as a disadvantage, partially due to the negative attitude of non-dialect speakers.

Claudia: Die kinderen komen alleen maar met hun dialect in aanraking, thuis en overal. En alleen maar op school met Nederlands. Gaan natuurlijk ook ehm merendeels stroomt écht niet door naar Havo of VWO. En ehm dan blijft dat zo 'n beetje toch dat Maastrichts hangen en dan moet ik altijd een beetje denken aan dat Heerlens Nederlands.

4.7.3 Knowledge

Schools' policies regarding the use of the local dialect

Participants are not aware of any written down language policies regarding the use of the local dialect in the classroom. Then again, they also indicate that this is not missed or that there is a need to have this. Regardless of knowledge regarding written down policies, participants state that they believe that Dutch is the official language of communication and instruction at schools. Fiona shows that no regulations regarding the use of dialect have been mentioned at her school nor does she put effort in finding out what these could be.

Fiona: Of dat nou écht een afspraak is van je er wordt in principe geen Maastrichts gepraat met de kinderen, weet ik eerlijk gezegd niet. Dat zijn ook van die dingen waar, weet je, dat zijn, áls dat al in afgesproken is het allemaal van vóór mijn tijd. Voordat ik daar kwam. En ja, ik ben me niet in alle regels en afspraken gaan...

4.7.4 Practices

Teachers' use of the local dialect in classroom practices

All participants who are dialect-speakers make use of the dialect in their classroom practices. This seems contradictory, seeing their earlier statements saying that at school Dutch is the official language of communication and instruction. Thus, although participants indicate that speaking dialect with pupils is not allowed at school, yet they share situations in which this happens. When elaborating on this question and asking if besides language as a subject (e.g. English) participants make use of other languages in their teaching, they indicate to never do this. However, at the same time, participants mention or give examples of them using the local dialect in the classroom. Often, they are not even aware of this contradiction, as becomes visible in the quotation below by Mandy who teaches the first grade. She mentions using Dutch as main language, unless the dialect is the only language a pupil speaks.

Mandy: Op school houden we het Nederlands aan. Maar als er dus kindjes zijn die echt alleen het Maastrichts dialect spreken, gaan we daar wel in mee.

Situations: official and group communication versus informal and individual communication

Whether Dutch or dialect is spoken by teachers depends on various circumstances. Dutch is used when addressing the whole class and providing instructions. Seven participants mention that the dialect is mostly spoken during informal conversations. Of these seven participants, three refer to the school playground where they allow pupils to speak the dialect with their peers. Four participants refer to individual communication with a dialect-speaking pupil in the class. Only sporadically is the dialect used when addressing the whole class or during instructions. When this latter occurs, this is mainly to explain a pupil teaching material that he or she will understand better explained in the dialect. The dialogue below shows that Carmen does not consider dialect as another language when asked if she speaks other languages than Dutch in the classroom.

Interviewer: En worden er verder nog talen in de klas gesproken?

Carmen: Nee. Nee.

Interviewer: En soms dialect nog?

Carmen: Ja soms wordt er tussendoor dialect. Maar daar wordt niet onderwezen en ook niet tijdens lesjes ofzo ehm.

The local dialect versus Dutch

Participants are well aware of the effects and differences of speaking in either Dutch or dialect. The reason why participants choose to speak in dialect to a pupil is mainly to make them feel at ease or comfort them. Participants state that when using the dialect, it adds a more personal touch to a conversation and facilitates communicating with children raised in dialect. Moreover, participants mention that the dialect is more personal, gains trust, strengthens teacher-pupils bonds and decreases the perceived distance between teacher and pupil, as is illustrated by Claudia. She mentions the relief she witnesses of newly arrived young pupils when being addressed in their mother tongue. This example illustrates at the same time that the dialect is more often spoken with younger pupils, because they are more likely to find themselves in the situation mentioned above. Participants also provided examples of using the dialect instead of Dutch as a tool to get things done by the pupil (e.g. start organizing, being quiet). Further, participants mention that dialect is used to give pupils metalinguistic awareness in helping to explain linguistic knowledge (e.g. explain Dutch grammar using grammar rules of the dialect).

Claudia: Als die komen en die voelen zich niet op hun gemak en dan ehm als je da gewoon in hun moédertaal spreekt. En dat is dan Maastrichts. Dan dan hebben ze even zoiets van (zucht) 'ohhh'.

Yet, some individual variation amongst participants could be observed as well. Simone, who speaks the dialect, shows how she consciously chooses to speak Dutch with all pupils and corrects a pupil who addresses her in dialect.

Simone: Nou naar mij dan. (imiteert leerling) 'juf wie ehm...'. En dan zeg ik: nee niet 'wie', we zeggen hier 'hoe'. Dan moet je dat vanuit het dialect. En dan zeg je van: we proberen Nederlands te praten op onze school.

Next to situations in which using the dialect may work out positively, participants also mention situations in which speaking the dialect has negative sides. They mention that speaking dialect might exclude some of the non-dialect speaking children. This is made clear by Tom, who chooses Dutch for group instructions, since not every pupil understands the dialect. Another example of teachers' awareness regarding the consequences of exclusion among pupils is illustrated by Claudia. She makes the comparison between dialect and Arabic, saying that Syrian pupils do not understand dialect the same way dialect-speakers do not understand Arabic.

Tom: In een wat vrijere, lossere situatie ehm nog wel eens. En ehm in in een grappige manier. Wil dat wel eens, wil dat wel gebeuren, maar in principe tijdens een instructie of iets dergelijks dan niet. Omdat dan, ja goed, lijkt me ook niet handig. Aangezien er ook genoeg kinderen zijn die het niét begrijpen

Claudia: Ook ehm Syrische kinderen als die buiten aan het spelen zijn. Dan zeggen we dat ook. Maar we zeggen dan ook tegen kinderen als ze dus dan, als kinderen dan dialect praten met elkaar en een Syrisch jongetje is mee aan het voetballen. Dan zeggen we ook 'jaaaa als jij natuurlijk dialect praat, dan verstaat ie jou ook niet, dus zorg dat je dan ook als er iets is, je het óók in het Nederland zegt, zodat hij het ook begrijpt'. Dat is dan ook belangrijk. Dus het werkt van twee kanten.

Pupils' dialect practices at school

Besides teachers who make use of the local dialect in their classroom practices, pupils uphold their own language practices as well. Three participants say that dialect-speaking pupils always appeal to them in the local dialect. Two participants indicate this only happens at certain moments, for example when a pupil feels sad. Four participants, who are not speakers of the local dialect, indicate they never are addressed in the dialect by the pupils. This makes clear that the children are highly aware of their teacher being a dialect-speaker or not. Five participants indicate that whenever a pupil speaks dialect with peers, they always allow this. Three participants state that they only allow it whenever this occurs during informal conversations and not during a joint class situation.

Ten participants indicate that pupils who speak the local dialect, always use this language in their communication among peers. Seven participants mention this happens rarely to sometimes. Four participants mention that this only happens during pupils' free time, such as during the school breaks. Four participants mention that dialect-speaking pupils never speak the dialect to each other during school hours. In addition: a difference in dialect use is visible between pupils at a school located in a more prosperous neighborhood and pupils in a more disadvantaged neighborhood. Participants mention that the latter more often address them in the dialect and use the dialect more to communicate with their peers.

4.8 Teachers reflection and final suggestions

Half of the participants state that specific interview questions, or the interview in general were thought provoking. This was made clear by remarks such as ‘that is a good question’, ‘I have never reflected on that before’ and ‘now that I am thinking about it’. This could refer to e.g. checking Dutch language policies, or ideas such as translating the schools’ website. Especially the lack of discussion between teacher-colleagues regarding multilingual pupils was mentioned as the main reflection. Clara illustrates how certain interview topics made her reflect on the absence of guidelines for teaching multilingual pupils and the lack of discussion regarding this issue:

Clara: Nee, je hebt me echt aan het denken gezet. Dat ik er eigenlijk ehm. Dat je hier. Omdat het hier niet leeft gewoon vanuit gaat dat het allemaal maar zo is. Maar dat ik eigenlijk nu denk van, oh we hebben echt wel een paar leerlingen en wat doén we daar dan eigenlijk concreet mee? Dat ik dan nu wel denk van ‘oh, volgens mij denken we er met zijn allen niet zo goed over na’ (lacht).

During the interview, fourteen participants mentioned suggestions that could function as support for multilingual pupils and teachers.

Concerning pupils, the emphasis lays particularly on improving pupils’ Dutch language proficiency. One participant said that after-school care should provide Dutch language classes. Three participants mention that pupils are in need of more extensive language guidance or a so-called ‘language immersion’ at school. However, clear examples of how this should be implemented in practice are not given.

Participants give more specific suggestions concerning themselves. They express their wish for someone helping them providing the multilingual pupils with the attention they are in need of. Seven participants specify this being in the form of some extra hands for differentiating purposes. Two of them use the word ‘unburden’ in this context. Four participants refer to a professional NT2 teacher, who is not only able to spend time with the pupils, but also has specialized knowledge to meet the pupils’ needs. Ineke expresses her wish for such a specialized NT2 teaching assistant. Moreover, she expresses her wish for this support being implemented top-down, instead of the need to request this bottom-up. Furthermore, participants expressed their feeling of lack of time to meet the needs of these children. In addition to the help in the form of human support, three participants suggest material support for teaching multilingual pupils. One participant expressed her wish for an expanded budget to provide this material. Four participants expressed their wish for clear guidelines on how to handle multilingual pupils (e.g. what steps to take as a teacher when receiving a multilingual pupil in the classroom and what goal to set for these pupils). Additionally, one participant mentioned that she would like the school to organize an information evening discussing the subject multilingualism, one participant to have an interpreter present at school and one participant expressed her wish to have a list of difficult English words at her disposal in order to facilitate communication with non-Dutch speaking parents. Some suggestions for current teacher-training programs were given as well. Regarding current teacher-training programs, three participants stressed the need for students to gain more practical experience with NT2 pupils. Therefore, they suggest the option and promotion of a minor NT2 or a mandatory internship at a school with a majority of multilingual pupils as part of the curriculum.

Ineke: Een onderwijsassistente. Of iemand die een beetje gespecialiseerd is op dat gebied. Denk ehm. WIJ moeten dat steeds naar boven toe vragen, maar het zou fijn zijn als er van boven naar beneden eens even een injectie kwam. Wij zijn niet de enige school die ehm die dat ervaren. Dus ik denk dat dat gewoon, dat zou wel eens fijn zijn ja.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

In this chapter, the aforementioned findings are synthesized and discussed in order to show that these themes are interdependent of each other. Some broader themes that emerged from the data are considered to offer further insight into the findings from the interviews, which are linked to the theoretical framework. Each of the following section contains a theme that came up as a relevant outcome. Rather than following the structure according to the constructs, as in the previous chapter, the following sections analyze the main themes that emerged.

5.1 Teachers awareness: attitudes and beliefs regarding multilingualism

In determining the extent to which adopting more multilingual pedagogies in primary school classrooms is feasible and to create inclusive education for all pupils, it is important to consider teachers' attitudes and beliefs. In general, it can be said that the attitude towards multilingualism is predominantly positive, that is; more participants showed a positive attitude than a negative attitude concerning this topic.

In the study of Bailey and Marsden (2017), participants did not refer to any academic benefits of promoting linguistic diversity but they were more aware of its potential for social benefits. In the present study however, participants referred to both. Advantages of being multilingual are linked to socio-psychological factors, such as raised empathic awareness of these children. However, participants also refer to socio-psychological disadvantages, such as these pupils lacking a sense of belonging. When referring to academic benefits, participants refer mainly to benefits for a multilingual pupil's future studies (e.g. secondary education, second language learning). Moreover, participants mention that multilingual people have a more advanced cognitive development than monolingual people. They state that multilinguals are able to switch between different languages, connect these languages and have a better comprehension of grammar rules. Contradictory is that participants believe that although multilingualism has advantages for someone's cognitive development, at the same time it leads to disadvantages as well. Participants refer, for example, to pupils who do not understand instructions given in Dutch, their academic achievements being below their peers, confusion when mixing their mother tongue with Dutch words and/or grammar rules, which subsequently can lead to a backlog in the Dutch language.

However, what participants say they believe might differ from their underlying attitude. This is particularly visible with regard towards different types of languages (Western and regional versus non-Western). This becomes apparent from their body language and the examples they provide. Moreover, it is reflected in their choice of words. One participant refers to native Dutch children as "our" children. By referring to Dutch children as "our" children, non-Dutch children are automatically perceived as not-ours, creating unconsciously a division between native and non-native Dutch pupils. Additionally, by referring to the home language of a pupil as "your language", teachers implicitly give the message that Dutch is not the native language of the pupil. At the same time, these practices may lead to exclusion of the non-native Dutch pupils. Another participant refers to the mother tongue of Arabic pupils as "babbling" (brabbelen). Babbling gets associated with undeveloped language use of babies, and not the developed speech these children actually have.

Thus, although participants express positive beliefs regarding multilingualism, their underlying attitudes might differ from this position. However, it is important for teachers to transfer a positive attitude towards their pupils, seen their function as a role model. Oskamp and Schultz (2005) bring forward that a common type of attitude learning is imitation of the behavior of another person

who serves as a role model. It might therefore be helpful if teachers raise their awareness regarding the influence they have in forming the attitudes and beliefs of children and try to transfer this ‘open’ attitude to their pupils. Since teachers may uphold negative underlying attitudes towards multilingualism, children who speak heritage languages other than the Dutch are supported by fewer resources and are therefore become disadvantaged.

5.2 Prevalence of a monolingual ideology

Although participants uphold a predominantly positive attitude towards multilingualism, the belief that Dutch, as the official language, is the most important language. Two findings reflecting participants’ monolingual ideology stand out.

Firstly, teachers gave little to no benefit to the Dutch language with regard to international usefulness. Other languages, such as English and Spanish were cited as being more useful languages. However, as long as residing in the Netherlands, teachers believe that a sufficient command of Dutch is necessary for full participation in Dutch society. Thus, on the one hand we see participants downgrading the status of Dutch on the international scale, but on the other hand attributing high importance on a national scale. These conflicting views might unconsciously be transferred to the pupils, which in turn can influence their Dutch language learning process.

Secondly, the importance participants attribute to the Dutch language also becomes visible when discussing pupils’ mother tongue. Teachers perceive the multilingualism of these pupils as positive in case – next to their mother tongue- they have a sufficient command of Dutch. By contrast, being multilingual is seen as a disadvantage when a pupil’s heritage language negatively influences the Dutch learning process. Moreover, when participants explain what they perceive as ‘multilingual’ the majority describes this term using Dutch as the norm and any other language as additional. Thus; multilingualism is only perceived as an added value when, next to the mother tongue, a child has a sufficient command of the Dutch language. Moreover, the value participants attribute to different languages differs; participants attribute more prestige to Western languages than non-Western languages as a heritage language.

Based on the participants’ self-reported attitudes and beliefs, they have positive views towards multilingualism. However, at the same time participants also uphold a monolingual approach of Dutch as the standard language, which seems consistent with current Dutch policy documents in which a command of Standard Dutch is seen as the only guarantee of equal opportunities, a proper job and an improved ranking on the social scale (Delarue & De Caluwe, 2015). These views are subsequently transferred to teachers who bring their own attitudes, beliefs and knowledge on multilingualism into the classroom. Participants refer for example, even without being aware of any official school language policies, to Dutch being the official language of communication and instruction. These views combined with the beliefs regarding the mother tongue of a pupil on a secondary position, may lead to practices in which a pupil’s mother tongue becomes downgraded. As long as monolingual attitudes prevail, this view will be transferred to pupils and places them in a disadvantaged position. However, this can have severe consequences since maintaining the mother tongue is of importance for both the pupils’ cognitive as social development (Lee & Oxelson, 2006).

5.3 Contradictory practices regarding the use of home languages

When participants refer to using inclusive pedagogies (e.g. referring to the home language or culture of multilingual pupils), these practices are sometimes contradicted by themselves when elaborating on the exact details of this inclusive pedagogies. Data revealed namely conflicting views as to when home language use was appropriate according to the participants. Participants indicate to the importance of following school agreements regarding the use of Dutch during school hours, indicating to only speak

Dutch in the classroom and not allowing any other languages to be spoken. However, at the same time they provide examples of them allowing dialect-speaking pupils to speak their home language in the classroom and they themselves addressing pupils in the pupils' home language as well.

This thesis shows that in general, participants barely refer to the multilingual pupils' home language by using inclusive pedagogies and in addition, make use of contradictory practices in cases they do. That the maintenance of a child's home language is of importance however has been presented by various studies. Abdullah (2009) and McGilp (2014) stress that the maintenance of the home language is important for a child's acquisition of their second language and it will also enable them to continue in their cognitive and emotional development in a language they are comfortable with. In addition, the connection between one's mother tongue for sense of ethnic identity has been mentioned by Lee and Oxelson (2006) who say that proficiency in one's mother tongue establishes a stronger sense of connection to the cultural group and that conversely, the loss of proficiency in the mother tongue leads to a separation from their roots. These contradictory practices as to when home language use is appropriate may lead to confusion among multilingual pupils regarding in which situation they are allowed to speak their home language and in which situations they are not. This may lead them to feel in a disadvantaged position in comparison with native Dutch peers and to feelings of insecurity in the classroom. Therefore, there is a pressing need for clear guidelines for teachers to follow regarding the use of home languages to promote quality and consistency in teaching multilingual pupils. These practices will support children in their cognitive, social and cultural development.

5.4 Multilingual home language pedagogies can be extended

Earlier it was stated that although teachers have a positive attitude towards multilingualism, at the same time they maintain an attitude supportive to the majority-language-only. Despite a dominant monolingual ideology, participants expressed positive beliefs for the general concept of using other languages and -to some extent- make use of multilingual home language pedagogies in which they use or refer to home languages. These attitudes and beliefs teachers hold are reflected in their classroom practices. Although the teachers did not refer to or use home languages on a daily basis, they generally showed willingness to consider implementing certain activities that incorporated them.

This use of pupils' home languages into classroom learning can be grouped according to three categories distinguished by Bailey and Marsden (2017). Teachers refer to a pupils' home language as a means of helping them access the Dutch language and curriculum. In the present thesis this happens for example when explaining Dutch grammar by using simple words and short phrases in a pupil's home language. In these cases, the home language was more likely to be used as a bridge to Dutch and seemed motivated by a desire to provide more effective Dutch academic provision. Bailey and Marsden (2017) say that the home language can also be used as a way of recognizing children's home lives. This happens when participants make the multilingual pupil the focus of their talk to the rest of the class, for example by referring to their home language or culture. It should be mentioned that during these moments, participants make use of stereotypical examples of which they believe it symbolizes a pupils' culture (e.g. food, gestures, holidays). Thirdly, the authors (2017) state that teachers use home languages as a way of welcoming or integrating pupils into the classroom. In the present thesis this became visible by participants creating lists of common words in the home language of a multilingual pupil to make them feel at ease.

What becomes visible in these practices, is that pupils' home language and culture are not a structural part of the curriculum or using them is not a structural recurring event, but rather, home language and culture could be referred to and demonstrated during informal moments and happens mainly when a suitable moment occurs (e.g. holidays, birthdays) or when referring to specific

practices (eating couscous). These practices stereotype cultures by emphasizing traditional habits, foods and festivities of a particular culture and do not pay attention to the everyday reality of people from this culture. This may lead to other pupils taking over this biased information (Lee & Oxelson, 2006).

However, participants demonstrated reluctance towards home language use in the classroom. Thus, previously it was mentioned that participants listed some advantages of being multilingual, but overall, they did not consider actively drawing on the children's knowledge in lessons. There can be several reasons for this. Teachers' insecurity and lack of knowledge on how to handle multilingual pupils might hold them back in putting inclusive pedagogies into practice. If it were up to the pupils however, inclusive pedagogies should not be left out. Participants mention that both multilingual as monolingual pupils react enthusiastic and are eager to learn about cultures and habits of their peers. It is also noteworthy that the participants did not show awareness of policies, guidelines or teaching materials that could support the inclusion of home languages in their classrooms, which may lead them to these insecurities. This lack of awareness raised the question of how teachers form and implement their own notion of agency in the classrooms.

Thus, we have seen that teachers' multilingual home language pedagogies are influenced by underlying monolingual language ideologies on the one hand and by their own beliefs regarding multilingualism on the other hand. These combined factors do not lead to a clear guideline in how the support of multilingual pupils should take form. This can have severe consequences for the pupils, since what is taught to the pupils is to a large extent determined by the beliefs teachers hold on citizenship education and social reality in general ((Pulinx, Van Avermaet & Agirdag, 2017). It might be the case that teachers assign different values to different languages and base their practices on language prestige (De Angelis, 2011). In line with the results of the research of De Angelis (2011), a large proportion of participants believe that the frequent use of the home language delays the learning of Dutch and confuses pupils' minds. Still, participants sometimes make use of references towards the home language and culture of pupils. These practices of teachers expressing their interest in the home language, have according to Lee and Oxelson (2006) positive effects. It is of importance that teachers include multilingual home language pedagogies. As Bailey and Marsden (2017) show, it improves pupils' self-efficacy towards language learning as well as providing them with a more realistic picture of the world's multilingualism. Additionally, multilingual pedagogies can also be useful when teachers' linguistic knowledge and confidence are limited, as specialist knowledge of one language is not required (Bailey & Marsden, 2017).

5.5 Socio-economic background of minority pupils and school segregation

During the interviews, participants brought up multiple times the socio-economic background (SES) of pupils and their parents. Seven out of twenty participants, derived from three schools, are working at a school which they state is located in a disadvantaged neighborhood of Maastricht. According to these participants this influences the school population in that more pupils with a low SES are attending these schools. Moreover, teachers working at schools located in disadvantaged neighborhoods refer to a higher percentage of (non-)Western pupils (>30%) than teachers working at schools located in more prosperous neighborhoods. Additionally, these teachers indicate that their school attracts more pupils who have the dialect as their home language, than pupils who have Dutch as their home language. Altogether, participants working at these schools refer to a significant share of so-called 'problematic pupils' who are in need of more teacher-attention. Participants working at schools in more prosperous neighborhoods more often have pupils with a Western background than non-Western. In case these participants refer to multilingual pupils they mean more often an English, French or Spanish background than Turkish or Arabic.

Moreover, participants working at schools with a pupil population with a low SES, refer multiple times to the low parental involvement. In doing this, they refer mainly to these parents' general lack of interest in school activities. Participants also indicate a deficient Dutch language proficiency of non-native Dutch parents as an indicator for less parental involvement. By contrast, at schools located in more prosperous neighborhoods, parents are more involved with school practices and participants indicate more often that no difference is noticed between native Dutch and non-native Dutch parents.

However, McGilp (2014) stresses the importance of parent's participation in their children's education and that this is particularly important with NT2 learners, since these parents may feel excluded. She further suggests that the recognition of these families' knowledge and identity strengthens the link between home and school, which subsequently has a positive effect on children's academic results. Moreover, parental participation of minority parents might positively influence native-Dutch parents and teachers' attitudes. This might in turn be transferred to the children, since - as Oskamp and Schultz (2005) mentioned, attitudes and beliefs are learnt through social interaction with parents and teachers. As a result, children may adopt and imitate the attitudes and practices of their parents and teachers.

School segregation

Participants working at schools located in more disadvantaged neighborhoods provide examples of parents who deliberately choose to put their children in schools in neighborhoods where they think the perspectives are better for them. This is in line with the study of Van Avermaet, Pulinx and Sirens (2014) who show that middle class parents with more resources, tend to avoid schools with a high share of working-class and immigrant pupils, even if these schools are situated in their immediate neighborhood. When parents from different backgrounds are found to choose a school for group-specific reasons, segregation may be the case. Due to segregation, social differences are reinforced between schools. This becomes visible in various remarks made by the participants. One school in a disadvantaged neighborhood has for example initiated a plan for upgrading the Dutch proficiency of pupils since this is below the national average. Teachers working at another school in a disadvantaged neighborhood mention the unkempt appearances of many pupils due to their parents' lack of care. School segregation may next to parent's choices, also be maintained by school directors. One of the participants, mentions that during her career as former school director, she more than once witnessed discrimination by directors of other elementary schools. She elaborated on several incidences regarding the allocation of children from the asylum seekers' center over the primary schools in Maastricht, when the schools in more prosperous neighborhood first scanned the children's economic background. These schools expressed a strong preference for ethnic minority pupils with highly educated parents in favor of low educated parents. Pupils with a low SES were referred to other schools and subsequently ended up in schools located in more disadvantaged neighborhoods, of which this participant was the school director in that time.

The Dutch educational system being characterized by freedom of school choice can be associated with increased educational differentiation, which can - in turn- have negative consequences for underprivileged groups in particular (Denessen, Driessena & Slegers, 2005). It can lead to school segregation which can have severe consequences for the pupils, such as implications for language learning opportunities of immigrant children. Pupils with a minority background may be overrepresented at schools in disadvantaged neighborhoods, which can lead to segregation according to the same line of reasoning in the society. Moreover, Driessen (2002) stresses that the ethnic pupil composition of schools has important consequences for these pupils' educational opportunities.

5.6 Achievement gap of minority pupils

During the interviews, participants mentioned multiple times the lower academic results of minority pupils in comparison with their native Dutch peers. This achievement gap is not only visible at schools in this thesis, but is also visible at schools throughout the whole country (Inspection of Education, 2018). This thesis cannot determine that a pupil's academic achievements are hampered by teachers' negative attitude towards a language variant spoken by a pupil, as mentioned by Agirdag, Van Avermaet and Van Houtte (2012), since the participants' underlying prejudiced attitudes have not been measured. The same upholds for attributing these achievement gaps to family socio-economic resources and the level of education of parents. However, some participants do connect the pupils' achievement to the level of education of their parents. One participant refers for example to the surprisingly high results of one of his pupils and immediately follows up by saying this is no surprise since her parents enjoyed a good education as well. Van den Bergh, et al. (2010) state that parents of ethnic minority children are overrepresented in the lower classes, parents whom in general received lower education than native-Dutch parents. This is also visible in the present study, seen that participants working at schools with a higher percentage of minority pupils reported more often of lower results of these pupils than participants working at schools with a low percentage of minority pupils. Thus, the achievement gap of minority pupils may be influenced by teachers' holding lower expectations towards their academic achievement, based on an attitude the teachers hold towards the educational level of parents.

Participants express their awareness regarding the way that pupils' intelligence is measured and the consequences this approach has for non-native Dutch children. Despite this never being raised in any interview questions, this topic emerged as a prominent theme. Participants mention that the achievement gap is not caused by a pupils' lack of intelligence but is caused by the educational assessment of the Dutch language instead of their home language. This becomes apparently apparent in the assessment for arithmetic. This corresponds with the study of Yağmur and Konak (2009) who show that because of these practices, a large number of immigrant children are considered to be language impaired. The authors (2009) state that in order to provide appropriate schooling for such children, bilingual testing is vital. However, in the present study four participants mentioned they actually do this. And if they do it, they take the initiative themselves since there are no school regulations to follow. Besides, translation only occurs in the language the teacher is able to speak, which in these cases is not a minority language.

Yağmur and Konak (2009) say, instead of pointing to the ethnic differences of pupils as reason for performance, the role of social differences should be taken into consideration. This becomes apparent in the NT2 classes, set up especially for pupils with Dutch as a second language. Participants indicate that many non-Western pupils who attend these classes feel more at ease here and subsequently express themselves more. Edwards (1979, as cited is Deprez, 1984) brings forward the notion of power differences between groups as the most reasonable explanation of educational disadvantage. It might be that the pupils feel more at ease because they do not feel the pressure to accommodate to the Dutch norm of the regular classroom. Besides, feeling more in their comfort zone might be because of they are surrounded with peers who are in the same situation as themselves. This subsequently can positively influence their social participation with other pupils and their academic achievements. The example of the NT2 classes makes clear that minority pupils' deficiencies do not need to be blamed on themselves, but on the educational system instead. To accommodate to the needs of these children, there is a need to change the school system.

5.7 Teachers' lack of time and confidence

Despite several personal advantages participants attribute to teaching multilingual pupils, more often they refer to disadvantages in doing this. The most commonly cited disadvantage is the lack of time participants experience in providing multilingual pupils with the attention they need. They mention that teaching multilingual pupils is more time-consuming, since they require more attention than monolingual pupils. This feeling of a lack of time is related to participants experiencing difficulties with differentiating between pupils. Classrooms consist of often around thirty children who all have personal and different needs. Although during the interview it was not asked directly if the participants feel confident about their differentiation skills, it emerged out of the conversation that they do not feel competent enough to meet all pupils' needs. This insecurity is also mentioned by the OECD (2016) who shows that Dutch teachers feel less prepared to differentiate education to the specific needs of pupils (OECD, 2016). Moreover, participants expressed a lack of confidence regarding general knowledge and skills in handling multilingual pupils (and parents). This is in line with previous research by Van der Wildt, Van Avermaet and Van Houtte (2017); Haukås (2016); Johnson (2012) and Coleman (2010) that brings forward that teachers feel generally unprepared to teach multilingual pupils. Additionally, teachers may exercise caution when talking about diversity through fear of negatively drawing attention to it. As a result, teachers want to treat pupils with a non-Western background the same as other pupils. But sometimes this is in their disadvantage, since these children often need more attention. Such concerns may be particularly prevalent in monolingual areas, such as Maastricht (Conteh, 2012, as cited in Bailey & Marsden, 2017).

The combination of experiencing a lack of time and insecurity about personal differentiation skills, participants express their wish for specialized support in their classroom. Although the availability of this sort of support may lead teachers to gain time, it does not help them to develop knowledge and become more secure regarding the teaching of multilingual pupils. Therefore, receiving appropriate training or staff development programs which incorporate the necessary knowledge, skills and attitude could support future in-training teachers to overcome this uncertainty by laying the foundation of NT2-learning. As a consequence, they will rely less on their own knowledge about multilingualism, which is often in the disadvantage of minority pupils.

5.8 The absence of multilingualism

Overall it can be said that the topic of multilingualism is not that present in the daily lives of the participants. This can be supported by various findings.

First of all, multilingualism as a topic is barely discussed at schools. Not one of the schools included multilingualism as part of the school curriculum. Moreover, Dutch is the only official language allowed. Kroon and Spotti (2011) refer to this as an oligot policy, meaning that the Dutch language is the only language of instruction in the curriculum. Besides, during their career, teachers barely participate in additional trainings to provide them with knowledge on how to teach multilingual pupils. Because schools in the Netherlands are characterized by great autonomy, they do not have any responsibility to offer this to their employees. But then, teachers who are in need of this information say that they mostly find it by their own initiative. Since there are no clear guidelines or policies they can follow, teachers come up with their own practices, which differ from each other. Because teacher quality is such a strong predictor of student learning, this quality needs to be nurtured throughout the professional career of a teacher. Abdullah (2009) stresses therefore the importance of continuing education on multicultural issues that should be readily available for teachers. Moreover, multilingualism is barely discussed between teacher-colleagues. Nor does the school make it a point of discussion during team-meetings. The only moments when teachers discuss multilingualism is when this concerns a multilingual pupil with whom a teacher faces difficulties.

Secondly, multilingualism is neither extensively discussed during teacher-pre-service training nor are students provided with practical experience on how to teach multilingual pupils. Only half of the participants mention that during their education attention is paid to multilingualism. This lack of education is present throughout the Netherlands, according to the Dutch Inspection of Education (2018), who therefore recommends professionalization activities that can support teachers in dealing with differences among their students. This opinion is not fully shared by the participants in the present thesis, who mention that this should only be adopted in the curriculum for those future teachers who are actually going to experience teaching multilingual pupils. Although sixteen participants mention that nowadays students in teacher-training programs should receive information about teaching multilingual pupils, they are also of the opinion that this information is only useful when it is useable in one's further career. In particular the participants working at schools with <10% non-Western pupils stressed this belief. It has already been stated that during teacher-training programs a lot of work pressure exists and they receive large quantities of information which they think is more necessary than education regarding NT2. Participants say that in case a student has a personal interest in this topic, this student should be able to specialize in it, through a minor or an internship. More than half of the participants also believe especially with hands-on experience, much is learned regarding multilingualism. The few participants who learned about multilingualism during their teacher training, did so because of their own interest. They followed for example a minor in teaching NT2, or chose to gain experience during an internship at a refugee shelter or NT2 school. The importance of this practical knowledge has been stressed by Abdullah (2009), who recommends that within the curriculum, particular emphasis needs to be given to the understanding of how children develop language and that it might be helpful for teachers to gain practical experience in teaching multilingual children.

The absence of discussing multilingualism might be influenced by the geographical location of the city of Maastricht in a peripheral area in the Netherlands.

Firstly, it influences the teachers. The cultural background of the participants is a reflection of the homogenous non-Western population of Maastricht. This is not surprising seen that Maastricht only has 8,53% inhabitants with a non-Western background (CBS, 2018). The homogeneous cultural background of the teachers could influence their beliefs and perspectives on multilingualism, which subsequently can have serious implications for the ethnic minority pupils present in the classroom. Participants stress that personal experience with other cultures is important for developing awareness regarding this subject. However, this development may remain when no experience is gained due to the small number of people with a different cultural background than Dutch in Maastricht.

Secondly, the homogenous population of Maastricht is not only reflected in the teaching force, but also the student population. This does not prepare the pupils for a future learning environment that becomes more diverse (Yağmur & Extra, 2011). As a consequence, participants indicate not missing any knowledge regarding how to handle multilingual pupils, since they barely encounter any situations in which knowledge regarding this topic is required. Since non-Western pupils are in the minority, the language and culture of these pupils receive less attention.

Thirdly, the geographical location may influence local teacher-training programs. Namely, it is possible that training varies according to the geographical region and numbers of pupils who use Dutch as an additional language. Bailey and Marsden (2017) state that more rural areas, with a low number of non-Western migrants consider training about using and teaching Dutch as additional language less of a priority. The small number of minority pupils may also influence the practical experience pre-service teachers gain during their education. Previously, it was mentioned that - except from one teacher- all participants followed their education in Maastricht. Since practical experience e.g. internships are gained in Maastricht (or its surrounding area), these pre-service teachers come into

little contact with children with a minority background. Because of this, they miss a crucial part of their education, namely developing confidence to teach multilingual pupils with other cultural backgrounds than Dutch. Additionally, issues of geography might limit teachers' future possibilities when wanting to teach outside of a peripheral area, such as Maastricht.

Despite Maastricht being a monolingual area, compared to more urban areas in the Netherlands, there are strong rationales for providing wider linguistic and cultural education. Teachers may express less of an immediate need to develop school policy about home languages, since perhaps they only have one multilingual child in their classroom. Yet there is a need to consider how cultural and linguistic diversity gets included in education (via more than just food and holidays). This is especially of importance, due to the fact that participants reported that in the past few years they have noticed a rise in the number of minority pupils in the schools in Maastricht. Despite multilingual pupils being in the minority, it is still the case that these pupils receive the attention they need, especially seeing the number of minority pupils is increasing. Teacher-training programs play a major role in preparing teachers for this diverse student population. The importance of receiving the appropriate training or staff development programs is stressed by Abdullah (2009) since here they learn the necessary knowledge, skills and attitudes to teach multilingual pupils. In addition, the important role of pre-service training is also stressed by Bailey and Marsden (2017), who state that these trainings are likely to play an important role in developing teachers' confidence.

5.9 An ambivalent attitude towards languages and its speakers

Findings show that participants attach different values to Western and non-Western languages and simultaneously to its speakers, reflecting an ambivalent attitude of participants towards various languages.

First of all, Western (e.g. English, French, Spanish) languages are mentioned more often in a more positive context (e.g. more useful in society and for someone's career) than non-Western languages (Turkish, Arabic). Moreover, participants seemed very clear about their opinion regarding non-Dutch parents speaking in deficient Dutch to their child, saying that at home parents should focus on their mother tongue only. However, it is striking that this advice differs for Western and non-Western parents. Non-Western parents are namely advised not to speak Dutch at home, whereas non-Dutch parents speaking a Western language are in some instances even complimented on their attempt to speak Dutch with the children. Delarue and De Caluwe (2015) state that highly educated people do not need to worry about acquiring Dutch, whereas migrants, who often have a lower education, are under pressure to integrate as soon as possible. This becomes visible by one of the participants who mentions a parent with a British nationality, not learning Dutch because there is no need for it, since - according to this parent - everybody can and wants to interact with him in English. For a parent with a minority background who does not speak fluently English, this situation would differ considerably. This selectivity becomes according to the authors (2015) only more emphatic because many schools are faced with an increasing number of pupils who have a home language that is different from the language used at school.

There exists a paradoxical situation, in which some cases of using several languages have positive connotations while others have negative connotations. It seems that participants distinguish non-Western languages from Western languages by viewing the multilingualism of speakers of Western languages as prestige multilingualism whereas that of non-Western speakers as multilingualism of the poor (Delarue & De Caluwe, 2011). The latter is mainly used by working class parents, who often have an ethnic minority background (Van den Bergh, et al., 2010) while the first mostly by highly educated speakers. The parents of non-Dutch Western pupils are often expats,

working for international companies or organizations (academic hospital, international school). For them being multilingual has an instrumental function.

The status participants attribute to a language is transferred to its speakers. This becomes visible in various practices. When assigning parents with school-related tasks, parents of non-Western pupils often get assigned stereotypical tasks of which teachers think this represents their culture (e.g. preparing couscous). In addition, parents of non-Western pupils get attributed different parent-tasks than the parents of Western pupils, due to their Dutch language proficiency. These parents are referred to in contexts of cleaning, physical work and cooking instead of jobs such as accompanying school trips and reading to children. That participants themselves are not free of prejudices becomes clear from several remarks. For example, one participant refers to the skin-color of pupils' parents when connecting their language with their cultural background. Afterwards he mentions that because of their cultural background, these parents are less likely to speak their mother tongue at school since it is a predominantly white school. Such attitudes may, in turn, result in schools, teachers or even parents devaluing languages other than Dutch and their place within schools' curricula. Participants seem aware of the consequences for pupils. One of the participants makes a distinction between Dutch and non-Western pupils and them not having equal chances in society because of the Dutch educational system.

This ambivalent position towards languages and its speakers seems to go beyond teachers' attitudes, but it is more a reflection of society in general. When discussing the topic integration, participants refer to non-Western parents facing difficulties with finding a job due to their Dutch language proficiency. Although parents of Western children often put less effort in trying to learn the Dutch language, it is said that these parents do not face any difficulties regarding this issue. This could be explained by the fact that parents with a Western background often have a higher SES and are employed in English-speaking work environments where Dutch is not necessary to master. However, parents with a non-Western background often have a low SES and work more often in an environment where mastering the Dutch language is necessary.

5.10 Prevalence of the local dialect

Aside of the children raised with either Dutch or another language at home, some pupils are raised with the local dialect. Moreover, in most classes, the vast majority of pupils are dialect-speakers. Also, the participants are, just like many other teachers in Maastricht, speakers of the dialect themselves. According to Cornips et al. (2017) educators in Limburg attach strong feelings to maintaining the dialect to express local identities. The participants seem to be, in terms of Diederer et al. (1984) 'loyal' to their dialect which means they attribute positive values and a certain amount of prestige to it. This might influence classroom language practices in several ways.

Participants mention that the school does not have official regulations regarding the use of the local dialect. However, participants do not indicate that they miss any written down policies, since they are aware that Dutch is the main language of communication and instruction at school. What is striking, is that despite this awareness and participants stating that they confirm to this by not using any other languages in the classroom, multiple examples are given of situations in which they and the pupils speak dialect. This is in line with research from Vallen (1981) who mentions the existence of large differences between what teachers say about the use of dialect in the classroom and what actually happens. In his research (1981) teachers claimed to often use the dialect in the classroom, while data from observations showed this was rarely the case. However, in this thesis it is the other way around. Participants claim to hardly ever speak another language than Dutch in the classroom, yet when asked more thoroughly they provide many examples in which they speak dialect with the pupils. Thus,

participants think they conform to the national norm of using the standard variety, but their practices show otherwise.

Teachers create their own practices when using the dialect. Based on the interviews it is shown that certain policies are hidden in these practices: children with Dutch or another native language are socialized by the teachers in the usage of Dutch, in both group communication and individual communication. Also dialect-speaking pupils are socialized in the usage of Dutch in group communication, however, teachers speak dialect with dialect speaking children during individual communication. The setting in which a dialect is spoken is mainly to make pupils feel at ease or to comfort them. These findings are in line with the research of Cornips et al. (2017) who state that teachers use Dutch in an educational setting and the dialect for informal conversations and Deprez (1984) who mentioned that a dialect is spoken as a symbol of solidarity and intimacy. Although participants value speaking dialect and mention that it is useful for decreasing the distance between teacher and child, they sometimes also attribute negative effects to the speaking of dialect for the children. These are for example difficulties pupils may face in the acquisition of Dutch and a negative attitude of non-dialect speakers (mainly outside of the province) towards the dialect. According to the participants, this might in turn negatively influence a child's secondary education and future career. These findings are in line with the research of Cornips et al. (2017) who mentions that teachers in their research state that dialect-speaking children may face difficulties acquiring Dutch vocabulary, completing higher education and achieving a prestigious professional career. These disadvantages of speaking the dialect may lead teachers to use Dutch in an educational context and for group communication, while the dialect is predominantly used for informal conversations. In these less formal situations, it is according to Delarue and De Caluwe (2015) obvious that teachers easily revert to their 'default' language, which in this case is the local dialect. These language practices are reinforced by teachers' views on multilingualism and by the language policy, too: the current language policy states that Dutch is to be used in group communication. Diederens et al. (1984) give as a possible explanation that the attitudes towards dialects are neutralized by the norms of the educational system (which is a strong norm of the standard Dutch as the one and only current language in school).

Previously, it was mentioned that participants -in accordance to monolingual Dutch school agreements- only speak Dutch in the classroom and do not allow any other languages to be spoken. However, what is striking is that these practices differ for the use of the local dialect, since pupils are rarely addressed at times when they speak dialect in the classroom. During free time, these pupils are always allowed to speak it, in contrast to other home languages. This contradicts participants indicating to never allow any other languages than Dutch in their classroom. Participants being speakers of the local dialect themselves, may influence these practices. This might influence their attitude being more positive towards this language spoken in class than other languages. Since teachers attribute a positive feeling to the dialect, they allow pupils to speak it in the classroom with their peers, whereas they might have a less positive attitude towards minority languages and do not allow this to be spoken. Besides, seen the dialect speakers being in the majority in a classroom compared to speakers of minority languages, these languages become less visible. However, just like dialect speaking pupils feeling more at ease when using the dialect, multilingual pupils feel the same about their mother tongue. These pupils feel also more at ease when being able to express themselves in the mother tongue, which becomes visible by statements of participants saying that in the NT2 classes, these pupils adopt a more open attitude. Thus regarding the languages spoken in a classroom, minority pupils' home languages are at the bottom of the social order since nobody, or only one or two other children can speak their heritage language. Dutch is the language highest in the social order, since it is the language used in most social and educational activities, group communication and instruction. This is followed by the local dialect, which is used in less important individual conversations but still on a regular basis.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS

The main goal of this thesis is to provide insight into teachers' attitudes, beliefs and knowledge on multilingualism. Based on in-depth interviews with primary school teachers in Maastricht, this thesis attempts to answer the following main question: how can teachers' attitudes, beliefs and knowledge on multilingualism in the classroom be described? The underlying factors in this research are the school composition and geographical location.

How can teachers' attitudes, beliefs and knowledge on multilingualism in the classroom be described?

This thesis shows that teachers predominantly have a positive attitude towards multilingualism. This corresponds with their positive beliefs, attributing several cognitive and socio-psychological advantages of multilinguals and the teaching of these pupils. Many informants point out the advantages multilingual pupils hold over monolingual pupils and show rather rich views. However, as it turns out, these attitudes and beliefs are not always reflected in their classroom practices. The practices show that multilingual pupils are often seen as a problem instead of a resource within an educational context. Additionally, the teachers' knowledge regarding multilingualism and multilingual pedagogies can be greatly improved. This becomes visible in teachers' lack of knowledge and confidence in teaching multilingual pupils. Teachers still base their practices on the attitudes, beliefs and knowledge they hold. Thus, in a way, teachers, as individual professionals, create their own language practices based on their own experiences and beliefs about languages and their use in society.

a). Are the teachers' attitudes, beliefs and knowledge on multilingualism in the classroom influenced by the geographical location of the school?

This study is conducted in Maastricht, a city located in a peripheral area of the Netherlands. In the municipality of Maastricht only 8,52% of the inhabitants have a non-Western background (CBS, 2018). As a consequence, teachers have less contact with pupils with a minority background, leading them to feel insecure about how to handle them and not being able to provide these pupils what they need. Moreover, the few minority pupils seem to influence the beliefs of teachers in that they perceive knowledge on teaching multilingual pupils is only relevant when this is necessary in practice. Since multilingual pupils are in the minority, teachers perceive this knowledge mostly as irrelevant. This shows the need that especially in peripheral areas such as Maastricht, there are strong rationales for providing wider linguistic and cultural education. Despite there being a less immediate need to develop a school's policy about home languages, there is arguably a need to consider how diversity is effectively represented in these areas.

The local dialect is clearly present in Maastricht and is spoken by many inhabitants. Except for four, all participants in this research are dialect-speakers themselves. The strong presence of the local dialect might influence teachers' attitudes, beliefs and knowledge in several ways. Dialect-speaking teachers' might be more aware regarding multilingualism since they speak another language, next to Dutch. According to Haukås (2016), teachers who are multilinguals themselves appear to be more multilingually aware than teachers who have less language learning experience. This may lead them to make more use of multilingual pedagogies. On the other hand, the presence of the local dialect might have negative consequences for non-dialect speakers and specifically minority pupils. For minority pupils this means facing not only the Dutch language, but also having to accommodate to their dialect-speaking environment. Although the local dialect is not included in any school policies, it is often used during informal classroom situations. In addition, minority pupils might suffer negative feelings seeing

that teachers do not allow their mother tongue to be spoken in the classroom, whereas the local dialect is allowed. Consequently, both minority and native-Dutch pupils discover that languages are treated unequally, with the local dialect working exclusively for dialect speaking children only. This could lead pupils with a minority background to feel left out or insecure about their home language.

b). Are the teachers' attitudes, beliefs and knowledge on multilingualism in the classroom influenced by the composition of pupils with a non-Western background in the school?

As stated earlier, Maastricht only has few inhabitants with a minority background compared to more urban areas in the Netherlands. As a consequence, no participating primary schools in this study consisted of a majority of non-Western pupils. Therefore, no comparisons can be made between teachers' attitudes, beliefs and knowledge teaching at schools with a minority and majority of non-Western pupils. Yet, seven teachers took part in this research working at schools with at least 30% of non-Western pupils. Although no significant conclusions can be drawn, this study highlighted some cautious findings in that these teachers seem more aware of the negative consequences non-Western pupils face in the monolingual Dutch educational system, due to the low Dutch language proficiency of these children. Moreover, the composition of minority pupils also influences the beliefs of participants regarding the inclusion of multilingual pedagogies in the teacher-training programs. The majority of participants working at schools with <10% non-Western pupils stressed that this information is only necessary when this is required during their career. Whereas, participants working at schools with >30% non-Western pupils reported that they missed receiving this knowledge during their teacher-training and that nowadays pre-service trainings should adopt subjects focused on NT2 in their fixed curriculum. However, teachers working at schools with >30% non-Western pupils also stressed negative consequences for native-Dutch pupils with a low SES background who attended these schools. So, no direct connections can be made between this awareness and minority pupils. Teachers working at schools with pupils with a generally high SES (and <10% non-Western pupils) seemed less aware of multilingual pedagogies. Therefore, the pupils' socio-economic background as well as their cultural background seems of influence for teachers' attitudes, beliefs and knowledge on multilingualism.

CHAPTER 7

REFLECTION

This thesis shows many facets of inclusive education for multilingual pupils, from the viewpoint of primary teachers. Besides answering the main- and sub questions, many themes have been touched upon, although not all have been discussed extensively. This does not mean that these themes are not of importance, however it stresses the need for more extensive research within this field. This is in the interest of teachers, pupils and our increasingly diverse society.

Teachers play a key role in promoting learners' multilingualism. Yet, in order to have a multilingual pedagogical approach in the classroom, there is a need for competent teachers. However, this research shows that no guidelines exist regarding this multilingual pedagogical approach. Moreover, teachers usually feel uncertain on how to enact such visions. Therefore, there is a need to support teachers in practicing inclusive classroom pedagogies by making them aware of linguistic diversity and promoting multilingual pedagogies for inclusive education. This should start with teacher-training programs taking measures to raise the awareness of linguistic diversity in classrooms and inclusive education in their curricula. However, these pedagogies also need to be developed throughout teachers' careers with respect to learning about the appropriate knowledge, attitudes and skills related to the appreciation of different cultures.

Teachers' practices may not always be to the advantage of multilingual pupils. These pupils are the ones who have to carry the consequences of the lack of knowledge of teachers and even more, the attitudes and beliefs teachers hold regarding multilingualism. In particular, this study shows the existence of a variation with respect to non-Western languages. In addition, teachers' attitudes are transferred to other pupils, who may take over these attitudes. In order for pupils to develop tolerant attitudes towards different ethnic groups, their cultural development should include developing interest in cultural diversity. These interests should be fueled by teachers, since they play an important function as a role model for their pupils.

This study highlights the issue of multiculturalism and its place in education. This is becoming more important, considering the different linguistic backgrounds of pupils. It is therefore necessary for Dutch language policy in education to take into consideration how teachers can learn to take the home language of minority children more seriously and how, next to Dutch, the child's home language can be used as a resource. Because, as Delarue and De Caluwe (2015) point out, Dutch policy can easily demand the use of the standard in every classroom situation, but then it ignores the continuous changes in classroom situations. Although, as the authors (2015) point out, an educational environment in which the norm of Standard Dutch is abandoned completely and where both teachers and pupils can speak any variety or language they like is too idealistic. Nonetheless, policy makers should be aware of the existing monolingual ideologies they base their policies upon in order to create inclusive language-in-education policies. These inequalities in policy are rooted in social inequality in our societies existing social order. Schools are domains where this inequality is reproduced, as we have seen in the differences between Western and non-Western pupils in this study. In order to change deficiencies in education and to accommodate the needs of the disadvantaged child, it is the case that current society needs to accept the value people bring from all backgrounds. Teachers carry the task of implementing these beliefs in their classroom practices. However, as this thesis shows, this ideal way of teaching does not come without challenges.

CHAPTER 8

LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

Some limitation should be mentioned, despite several measures that were taken to enhance the quality of this research.

Firstly, access to primary schools was limited because several schools denied access. In addition, teachers were approached via the researchers' personal network. It might be that this way of sampling influences the research in that there is a certain pattern in the selected schools. However, the participating schools are still geographically spread over the city and show variety in socio-economic background of the neighborhood. Additionally, the data is gathered using interviews. Additionally, social desirability might have occurred during these interviews which means that the participants might have given answers of which they thought the interviewer was eager to hear and might thus provide overly positive reports. According to Haukås (2016) this is particularly difficult when researchers ask for specific teaching practices, which is the case in the present study. Besides, especially in these times in which a monolingual discourse prevails, multilingualism and ethnic diversity might be sensitive topics to discuss, leading participants to not fully express their thoughts. However, participants were guaranteed anonymity to avoid social desirable answers. A third factor brought into consideration is that participants are not always aware that their stated beliefs do not correspond with their actual behavior (Haukås, 2016). This could be the case when teacher practices were discussed. Since the data is self-reported, it might be that the answers the participants provided during the interview do not always correspond with their actual practices. A few remarks concerning the participants should be made as well. Teachers, who volunteered, took part in this research. It is not very clear to what extent only the most motivated teachers were willing to take part in the research and how many of the invited teachers refused to join. The level of motivation to take part in a study on teacher attitudes is self-explanatory. In addition, several participants connected their personal positive attitude towards multilingualism to own experiences with e.g. living abroad or raising their own children bilingual. These personal factors might influence participants' showing them as more willing and positive towards multilingualism than others. Moreover, it should be noted that it was not possible to balance the sample on ethnicity, as the teacher working force in the city of the study is predominantly of native Dutch origin. Nevertheless, the sample of teachers is in this way a reflection of the current teaching force in Maastricht with few male teachers and barely any teachers with a non-Western cultural background. Future research may consider a more diverse sample group.

Additionally, the researcher herself is a speaker of the local dialect. It can be argued that this may lead to a biased attitude towards the dialect-speaking participants. However, speaking the local dialect gave rise to the opportunity for the researcher to establish a more personal bond with the participants which may have led to a more open conversation and more trustworthiness in the answers. This was also of practical use, since the researcher was able to understand when participants gave examples in the dialect. By ongoing critical reflection of methods, data collection and analysis based on a Grounded Theory approach, primarily by means of strict coding of all the data, objectivity was certainly ensured. A final limitation of this thesis is that, as this study primarily focused on teachers, no further data about the children were collected, though it should be recognized that this limits the depth of contextual information that can be used to inform the findings from the interviews. Future research should therefore enhance data triangulation by including classroom observations and by including pupils' voices.

CHAPTER 9

RECOMMENDATIONS

Recommendation 1: develop a national curriculum framework for primary education

This study shows that primary school teachers rely on their own knowledge regarding multilingualism and educating multilingual pupils. This combined with monolingual attitudes and beliefs, can result in a disadvantage for multilingual pupils. Moreover, inconsistent and contradictory teacher practices may be confusing for these pupils. Therefore, a national curriculum framework should be developed in order to provide teachers with guidelines and enable them to form and structure their multilingual home language pedagogies. Since teachers expressed their wish for clear guidelines in teaching multilingual pupils, this national framework needs not only to be established from top-down by language experts, but also bottom-up, in collaboration with teachers. This national curriculum can be adapted to meet local needs, such as taking into account local dialects and differentiation between pupils.

Recommendation 2: increase the involvement of parents with a minority background

When formulating the studies' questionnaire the role parents of minority pupils was not taken into consideration. However, during the interviews participants referred several times to the role of parents in their child's language learning process. Considering the parents' importance in the children's life, schools should pay attention to connecting and involving parents in school activities and their child's literacy development. Schools should create an environment where multilingual parents feel welcome. Therefore, the schools should represent a multilingual perspective that reflects society's diversity in all areas. Moreover, involving parents with various cultural backgrounds, might provide insight into parental group-specific reasons for school choice. Such insights can help understand the role of current existing school segregation and its effect on the composition of school populations.

Recommendation 3: further professionalization and support for teachers

The findings of this thesis show that the didactic qualities of teachers need to be professionalized, and in particular their differentiation skills. These skills are required to adapt to the needs of pupils from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds. This professionalization needs to start in teacher-training programs that should take measures to raise the awareness of classrooms' linguistic diversity and inclusive education in their curricula. It might be helpful for future teachers to become aware of the existence of language alternatives in society and classrooms and be informed of the beneficial functions of inclusive education. Thereafter, teachers' professionalization needs to be nurtured during their career in the form of continued training and activities to deepen and to keep their expertise up to date. Early start and continuous professional development might help teachers obtain more confidence in teaching multilingual pupils.

Recommendation 4: alternative assessment for non-native Dutch pupils

This study shows that non-native Dutch pupils score below their native-Dutch peers, due to an inappropriate assessment of their academic capacities. Therefore, Dutch education should adopt ways in which multilingual pupils are able to show their competences based on their capacities, without testing them on their Dutch language proficiency. This may subsequently minimize the current achievement gap of minority pupils and will give all children an equal opportunity to develop their talents and grow to their full capacities.

Recommendation 5: future research

This thesis, focused on a small number of participants in a local setting, shows there are interesting findings that are worth exploring in further research. Future research should investigate whether the findings of this study are representative not only for local primary school teachers in Maastricht, but also for primary school teachers in other cities and even countries. Multilingualism is a topic that crosses borders and therefore should not remain within local or national boundaries. The present study provides a better understanding of the attitudes, beliefs and knowledge of primary teachers in Maastricht, which can serve as an interpretive mirror to other cities dealing with inclusive education issues. In conclusion, acquiring further knowledge concerning teachers' attitudes, beliefs and knowledge regarding multilingualism is in need to allow teachers to respond better to changes in the current demographic composition.

References

- Abdullah, A. C. (2009). Multicultural education in early childhood: Issues and challenges. *Journal of International Cooperation in Education*, 12(1), 159-175.
- Agirdag, O., Van Houtte, M., & Van Avermaet, P. (2012). Ethnic school segregation and self esteem: The role of teacher–pupil relationships. *Urban Education*, 47(6), 1135-1159.
- Agirdag, O., Jordens, K., & Van Houtte, M. (2014). Speaking Turkish in Belgian primary schools: Teacher beliefs versus effective consequences. *Bilig*, 70, 7-28.
- Bailey, E. G., & Marsden, E. (2017). Teachers' views on recognising and using home languages in predominantly monolingual primary schools. *Language and Education*, 31(4), 283-306.
- Bringer, J. D., Johnston, L. H., & Brackenridge, C. H. (2006). Using computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software to develop a grounded theory project. *Field methods*, 18(3), 245-266.
- Camps, D. M. (2017). Legitimizing Limburgish: The Reproduction of Heritage. In P. Lane, J. Costa & H. De Korne (Eds.), *Standardizing Minority Languages* (pp. 74-91). Routledge.
- CBS. (2018). Statline. Retrieved from <http://statline.cbs.nl/Statweb/publication/>
- Charmaz, K. (2003). Qualitative Interviewing and Grounded Theory Analysis. In J.A. Holstein & J.F. Gubrium (Eds.), *Inside Interviewing: New Lenses, New Concerns* (pp. 311-330). Thousand Oaks, London: Sage Publications.
- Corden, A., & Sainsbury, R. (2006). *Using verbatim quotations in reporting qualitative social research: researchers' views*. York: University of York.
- Cornips, L. (2013). Taalcultuur: Talen in beweging. *Taal en Tongval*, 65(2), 125-147.
- Cornips, L., Francot, R., van den Heuij, K., Blom, E., Heeringa, W., Buchstaller, I., & Siebenhaar, B. (2017). Inter-individual variation among young children growing up in a bidialectal community: the acquisition of dialect and standard Dutch vocabulary. In *Language variation European Perspectives VIII. Studies in Language Variation. Selected papers from the Eight International Conference on Language Variation–European Perspectives*, 6(8) (pp. 85-98). John Benjamins.
- Cruickshank, K. (2004). Towards diversity in teacher education: Teacher preparation of immigrant teachers. *European journal of teacher education*, 27(2), 125-138.
- Council of Europe. (2014). *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, The Charter*. Retrieved from <https://www.coe.int/en/web/european-charter-regional-or-minority-languages>
- De Angelis, G. (2011). Teachers' beliefs about the role of prior language knowledge in learning and how these influence teaching practices. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 8(3), 216-234.
- Delarue, S., & De Caluwe, J. (2015). Eliminating social inequality by reinforcing standard language ideology? Language policy for Dutch in Flemish schools. *Current issues in language planning*, 16(1-2), 8-25.
- Denessen, E., Driessena, G., & Slegers, P. (2005). Segregation by choice? A study of group-specific reasons for school choice. *Journal of education policy*, 20(3), 347-368.

- Deprez, K. (Ed.). (1984). *Sociolinguistics in the low countries* (Vol. 5). John Benjamins Publishing: Amsterdam/Philadelphia.
- Diederer, F., Hos., H., Munstermann, H., & WEISTRA, G. (1984). Language attitudes of future teachers in the Netherlands. *Sociolinguistics in the Low Countries*, 5, 213.
- Driessen, G. (2002). School composition and achievement in primary education: A large-scale multilevel approach. *Studies in Educational Evaluation*, 28(4), 347-368.
- Driessen, G. (2005). In Dutch? Usage of Dutch regional languages and dialects. *Language, Culture and Curriculum*, 18(3), 271-285.
- Extra, G., & Yağmur, K. (2006). Immigrant minority languages at home and at school: A case study of the Netherlands. *European Education*, 38(2), 50-63.
- Haukås, Å. (2016). Teachers' beliefs about multilingualism and a multilingual pedagogical approach. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 13(1), 1-18.
- Inspectie van het Onderwijs. (2018). *Rapport De Staat van het Onderwijs 2018*. Onderwijsverslag over 2016/2017. Retrieved from <https://www.onderwijsinspectie.nl/documenten/rapporten/2018/04/11/rapport-de-staat-van-het-onderwijs>
- Kroon, S., & Spotti, M. (2011). Immigrant minority language teaching policies and practices in The Netherlands: policing dangerous multilingualism. In V. Domovic, S. Gehrman, M. Krüger and A. Petrovic (Eds), *Europäische Bildung: Konzepte und Perspektiven aus fünf Ländern* (pp. 87-103). Münster: Waxmann.
- Lee, J. S., & Oxelson, E. (2006). "It's not my job": K-12 teacher attitudes toward students' heritage language maintenance. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 30(2), 453-477.
- Leidelmeijer, K. Schulenberg, R & Noordhuizen, B. (2015). *Ontwikkeling van ruimtelijke verschillen in Nederland*. Retrieved from <https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/documenten/rapporten/2015/11/16/ontwikkeling-van-ruimtelijke-verschillen-in-nederland>
- McGilp, E. (2014). From Picturebook to Multilingual Collage: Bringing Learners' First Language and Culture into the Pre-school Classroom. *Children's Literature in English Language Education* 2(2), 31-49.
- McLellan, E., MacQueen, K. M., & Neidig, J. L. (2003). Beyond the qualitative interview: Data preparation and transcription. *Field methods*, 15(1), 63-84.
- OECD. (2000). *Early Childhood Education and Care Policy in the Netherlands*. Background report to the OECD-project 'Thematic Review of Early Childhood Education and Care Policy'. The Hague.
- OECD. (2016). *Netherlands 2016: Foundations for the future*; Reviews of National Policies for Education. OECD Publishing, Paris.
- Oskamp, S., & Schultz, P. W. (2005). *Attitudes and opinions*. New York: Psychology Press.
- Pulinx, R., Van Avermaet, P., & Agirdag, O. (2017). Teachers' Beliefs About Citizenship Education: Dimensions and Differences Across Teachers and Schools.

- Rijkschroeff, R., ten Dam, G., Willem Duyvendak, J., de Gruijter, M., & Pels, T. (2005). Educational policies on migrants and minorities in the Netherlands: Success or failure? *Journal of education policy*, 20(4), 417-435.
- Shewbridge, C., Kim, M., Wurzburg, G., & Hostens, G. (2010). *OECD Reviews of Migrant Education-Netherlands*. Retrieved from <https://www.oecd.org/netherlands/44612239.pdf>
- Spotti, M., & Kroon, S. (2017). Multilingual Classrooms at Times of Superdiversity. *Discourse and Education*, 97-109.
- Vallen, A. L. M. (1981). *Dialect als onderwijsprobleem: een sociolinguïstisch-onderwijskundig onderzoek naar problemen van dialectsprekende kinderen in het basisonderwijs* (doctoral dissertation). 's-Gravenhage: SVO: Staatsuitgeverij.
- Van Avermaet, P., Pulinx, R., & Sirens, S. (2014). *Conflicts and contradictions in language policy and practice: How monolingual policies may hamper students' school success*. Ghent University, Linguistic Department.
- Van den Bergh, L., Denessen, E., Hornstra, L., Voeten, M., & Holland, R. W. (2010). The implicit prejudiced attitudes of teachers: Relations to teacher expectations and the ethnic achievement gap. *American Educational Research Journal*, 47(2), 497-527.
- Van Der Wildt, A., Van Avermaet, P., & Van Houtte, M. (2017). Opening up towards children's languages: enhancing teachers' tolerant practices towards multilingualism. *School Effectiveness and School Improvement*, 28(1), 136-152.
- Van Duin, C., & Stoeldraijer, L. (2014). *Bevolkingsprognose 2014–2060: groei door migratie*. Retrieved from <https://www.cbs.nl/nl-nl/achtergrond/2014/51/bevolkingsprognose-2014-2060-groei-door-migratie>
- Yağmur, K., & Extra, G. (2011). Urban multilingualism in Europe: Educational responses to increasing diversity. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 43(5), 1185-1195.
- Yağmur, K., Extra, G., & Swinkels, M. (2012). Cross-national analysis of the Language Rich Europe results. In Extra, G. & Yağmur, K. (Eds.), *Language Rich Europe* (pp. 28 -74). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press & British Council.
- Yağmur, K., & Konak, O. A. (2009). Assessment of language proficiency in bilingual children. *Turkic languages*, 13, 274-284.

Appendices

Appendix A. Interview questions

Introduction

“Alvast ontzettend bedankt voor dit interview. Ik zal eerst even kort uitleggen waarom ik dit onderzoek uitvoer. Ik ben benieuwd naar uw ideeën over meertaligheid en hoe dit een rol speelt in uw werk als leerkracht. Hierbij ben ik geïnteresseerd in zowel positieve als negatieve ervaringen en/of meningen over de onderwerpen en wil ik meegeven dat er ook geen goede of foute antwoorden zijn. Tot slot wil ik uw toestemming vragen om het interview op te nemen. Dit interview is anoniem, dat wil zeggen dat uw persoonlijke gegevens niet gebruikt of genoemd zullen worden. Daarnaast zullen de dingen die u vertelt en de informatie die u geeft alleen voor dit onderzoek gebruikt worden. Allereerst wil ik beginnen met te vragen naar wat algemene gegevens over u en de school”.

Construct 1. Teachers personal background

Nr.	Main question	Follow-up question
1	Kunt u iets over uzelf vertellen?	Gender, leeftijd etc.
3	Hoe lang werkt u al op deze school?	
4	Aan welke groep geeft u les?	Sinds wanneer?
5	Wat is uw moedertaal?	
6	Spreekt u hiernaast nog andere talen?	Welke talen zijn dit? Wanneer heeft u deze geleerd? Wanneer gebruikt u ze? Nog een andere taal leren?
7	Spreekt u een dialect?	Wanneer heeft u deze geleerd? Wanneer gebruikt u ze?

Construct 2: Background of the school

1	Kunt u iets vertellen over deze school?	Sociale omgeving Socio-economische status
2	Weet u hoeveel leerlingen er zijn op de school?	
3	Kunt u iets vertellen over de etnische/culturele samenstelling van de leerlingen?	Percentage?

4	Hoe veel procent van de leerlingen spreekt een andere taal dan Nederlands?	Welke taal? Hoe vaak spreken zij dit? Waar spreken zij dit?
5	Weet u hoeveel leraren werkzaam zijn op de school?	
6	Kunt u iets vertellen over de etnische/culturele samenstelling van de leraren?	Percentage?
7	Hoe veel procent van de docenten spreekt een andere taal dan Nederlands?	Welke taal? Hoe vaak spreken zij dit? Waar spreken zij dit?

Construct 3. Diversity in teacher education

1	Hoe veel jaren ervaring heeft u met les geven?	Waar? Afstudeerjaar? Welke groepen? Andere scholen?
2	In welke mate was er aandacht voor meertaligheid in uw opleiding?	Welke vakken? Was dit verplicht?
3	Kunt u omschrijven wat de inhoud was van deze vakken? (indien van toepassing op meertaligheid)	
4	Was het onderwerp meertaligheid iets dat meer besproken had moeten worden?	Waarom wel/niet? Hoe merkt u dit nu?
5	Is het belangrijk om kennis te hebben van meertaligheid in uw werk?	Waarom? Voorbeelden?

Construct 4. Attitudes towards linguistic diversity and the role of language learning

1	Wat houdt meertaligheid voor u in?	
2	Hoe denkt u over meertaligheid?	Op school In de klas
3	Denkt u dat leerlingen meer dan één taal tegelijkertijd kunnen leren?	

4	Denkt u dat leerlingen met een migratieachtergrond problemen ondervinden met het leren van de Nederlandse taal?	Wat zijn de oorzaken hiervan?
5	Wat zijn uw ervaringen met mensen met een migratie achtergrond?	Wanneer? Wat?
6	Ziet u voordelen aan de meertaligheid van jonge leerlingen?	Voorbeeld?
7	Ziet u nadelen aan de meertaligheid van jonge leerlingen?	Voorbeeld?
8	Denkt u dat het spreken van een niet-Nederlandse taal invloed heeft op de voortgang van een leerling?	Invloed op specifieke domeinen?
9	Hoe belangrijk denkt u dat het voor leerlingen is dat zij hun thuistaal (blijven) beheersen?	Mag dit ook op school?
10	Denkt u dat als leerlingen hun moedertaal spreken om school, dit hun sociale integratie en participatie beïnvloed?	Voorbeelden?
11	Denk u dat kinderen van een niet-Nederlandse achtergrond beter integreren in de Nederlandse maatschappij als zij volledig de Nederlandse taal beheersen?	In hoeverre wordt dit beïnvloed door een niet-Nederlandse thuistaal?
12	Denkt u dat leerlingen die meerdere talen spreken, later meer kans op slagen hebben in hun professionele leven?	Waarom denkt u dat? Geld dit ook voor een dialect?
13	Denk u dat het in onze maatschappij belangrijk is meerdere talen te spreken?	Welke talen?

Construct 5. Teachers' classroom practices

1	Heeft u eerdere ervaring met het lesgeven aan meertalige kinderen?	Zoals?
2	Wat ziet u als positief aan het lesgeven aan meertalige kinderen?	Zo niet, wat zou u verwachten? Voorbeelden?
3	Welke uitdagingen komt u tegen bij het lesgeven aan meertalige kinderen?	Zo niet, wat zou u verwachten? Voorbeelden?

4	Welke talen worden er onderwezen in de klas?	
5	Worden er andere talen dan Nederlands gesproken in de klas?	Welke talen? Wanneer worden ze gebruikt? Lesboeken?
6	Kunt u vertellen of u meertaligheid toepast in uw lesgeven?	Hoe doet u dit? Heeft u hier voorbeelden van?
7	Bespreekt u meertaligheid wel eens met uw collega's?	Wordt dit dan gezien als aanwinst of juist moeilijkheden?
8	Kunt u voorbeelden geven uit de praktijk over meertaligheid in uw klas?	Ziet u hierbij moeilijkheden? Hoe reageert u dan?
9	Gebruikt u in uw lessen verwijzingen naar de thuistaal of cultuur van kinderen uit uw klas?	Naar welke taal? Voorbeeld?
10	Staat u het toe dat kinderen in een andere taal dan het Nederlands spreken tijdens de lessen?	Of andere ruimtes/tijden. Denkt u dat dit tot verwarring leidt?
11	Delen niet niet-Nederlandse kinderen hun culturele achtergrond in de klas?	Op welke manier? Hoe vaak? Hoe reageert u hierop?
12	Spreekt u een dialect met leerlingen? En collega's?	Hoe vaak? Waar?
13	Hebben de ouders van meertalige leerlingen een speciale (talige) rol op deze school?	Wat doen ze? Wiens initiatief was dit? Zou je willen dat ze een rol krijgen? Hoe zou deze rol eruitzien?

Construct 6. Policies and language development

1	Bent u op de hoogte van eventuele beleidsdocumenten van de Nederlandse overheid over meertaligheid in het onderwijs?	Hoe bent u hiervan op de hoogte gesteld? Wanneer is dit ontwikkeld?
2	Bent u het eens met de inhoud van deze documenten?	

3	Bent u op de hoogte van een taalbeleid op deze school?	Hoe bent u hiervan op de hoogte gesteld? Wie heeft dit ontwikkeld? Wanneer is dit ontwikkeld? Waarom is het ontwikkeld? Zijn er ook dingen niet opgeschreven?
4	Bent u het eens met de inhoud van deze documenten?	Waarom wel/niet?
5	Heeft u het idee dat de uitvoering van wat geschreven staat in de documenten werkt? Door u, de school of andere docenten?	Wat werkt wel? Wat werkt niet? Wat zou toegevoegd kunnen worden?
6	Welke talen mogen er officieel gesproken worden in de klas? Door U en door de leerlingen?	
7	Wat onderneemt de school initiatieven omtrent meertaligheid?	Voorbeelden?
8	Biedt de school lessen aan in de moedertaal van niet-Nederlandse leerlingen?	Welke talen zijn dit? Hoe vaak? Waar?
9	Biedt de school ondersteuning aan meertalige leerlingen?	In welke vorm? (bijles) In welke taal? Door wie?

Heeft u verder nog ideeën, observaties of opmerkingen?

Appendix B. Transcription header

Interview details

Participant ID:

Interview Name:

Site/Location:

Date of Interview:

Duration of interview in minutes:

Total amount of words:

Personal Details

Gender:

Age:

Education:

Years of experience as a teacher:

Years employed at school:

Grade:

Mother Tongue:

Other languages:

Dialect:

Impressions after interview

What did you think of the interview:

The informant's underlying attitudes to the topic:

Where there are any discrepancies between what she said and believed (body language):

The type of feeling you are left with: