Language and identity of Dutch speakers in Brussels

The act of language choice and the dynamic process of identification in a multilingual context

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Preamble

This examination of language and identity was very interesting to me, and I very much enjoyed doing this research. It feels as if with this project, many things I am interested in came together, and I am glad that I was able to enjoy it - most of the time. Trust and interest were key motivations. I am very grateful of having had the opportunity to do this, for which I would like to thank many, starting with my parents. I would like to thank all the people that helped me by participating in the survey and interviews; without their cooperation and trust this report would be empty! The conversations with my supervisor and second reader have always been very helpful and insightful, and I would like to thank them for their counselling and trust. Lastly, I would like to thank Annelieke Roeleveld for giving the best pep talks one can imagine.

Abstract

The current report is an examination of language and identity in the context of Brussels. Brussels is sociolinguistically interesting as an official bilingual city with great diversity in languages and cultures. Theoretical notions of language attitude, accommodation and social identity are linked in the multilingual context of Brussels. To investigate a possible relation between language and identity, the language choice preferences of speakers of Dutch are mapped, as well as identifications they make on different levels. The link between language choice and identification is examined by investigating three small groups of speakers of Dutch in Brussels. An attitudinal online survey, expert interviews and a rapid and anonymous survey offer data that provide insights in the language, and identifications the speakers make. Qualitative analyses imply that speakers of Dutch in Brussels show a tendency to be flexible towards language switch and being addressed in another language. The Dutch language tends not to be a distinctive feature to the speakers' identity, but multilingualism and positive traits attributed to multilingualism are part of the identity of the speakers of Dutch in Brussels.

1. Introduction

Introducing: Identity

The word 'identity' can be regarded as a name, denoting person. The name, *Identity*, itself sounds static. It seems unchangeable and definite, but the concept it refers to is ever-changing and infinite. One person can act differently amongst different people, in different groups - yet it is still the same person. In addition, one can be regarded differently by different people in different groups, and still be that same person. This is closely related to language; whether or not on purpose, the way one speaks can change by being around different people – a change in an accent, a dialect, a certain code or even a different language. A person's name stays the same - but what happens inside the mind and the heart? Does one's identity change when speaking another language? In English one says *Identity*, in French it is called *l'Identité* and in Dutch it is named *Identiteit*, but what it refers to stays to same – does it?

According to Joseph (2004), the way a person speaks plays an essential role in the appreciation of a speaker. It is the concern of sociolinguistics to investigate how people read each other. Firstly, the meaning of words that are chosen will be interpreted according to specific rules in a certain context. Secondly, speakers are being interpreted in that particular context, "in the sense of the social and personal identities their listeners construct for them based on what they say and how they say it" (Joseph, 2004, p. 30). This notion of identity consists of a multiplicity of identifications at a given moment, by Omoniyi & White (2006, p. 1) referred to as "a problematic and complex concept inasmuch as we recognize it now as non-fixed, non-rigid and always being (co-) constructed by individuals of themselves (or ascribed by others), or by people who share certain core values or perceive another group as having such values". Sociolinguistics focuses on the means of language in this process of identification, and "with reference to all of those variables that are identity markers for each society in the speech of its members" (Omoniyi & White, 2006, p. 1). In a multilingual context, these matters can be tested. Modern urban society is home to a diversity of languages and cultures, where many different people live and work together.

Brussels is such a multilingual context with a high diversity. Brussels is a city with two official languages, Dutch and French, yet not all speakers are bilingual themselves. These two languages are by far not the only languages spoken in Brussels; the speakers of Dutch are even a linguistic minority group in Brussels. What influence do these different languages have on the individuals, and on their identity, their sense of belonging, and their fluctuating group membership?

According to Pavlenko & Blackledge (2004, p. 14), "it is precisely the power of identities to unite and divide individuals, groups, communities, and societies". This power of identities in regard to language choice will be examined in the current report, by a case study of the language choices and identifications of speakers of Dutch in Brussels.

In this first chapter, 1.1 will provide the theoretical framework of some of the above-mentioned notions, and literature and research in the field of language, identity and multilingualism will be reviewed. In 1.2, the current approach of the examination of language choice and identification of speakers of Dutch in Brussels will be introduced, including the research questions and hypotheses.

1.1 Theoretical framework

The definition of 'identity' can be as dynamic and undetermined as the concept it refers to. Identity is a vague concept with fuzzy boundaries, which could be described as a dynamic process of closeness, connectedness and solidarity amongst members of the same group. Identity can be formed through culture, by a feeling of belonging to a certain group, and excluding others from this group. Language has a fundamental role in this dynamic process of identification.

In an attempt to grasp the notion of identity and the role of language therein, several theories will be mentioned in 1.1.1. Firstly, identity and the role of language will be examined by looking at the notions of language attitude (Lambert), social identity (Tajfel, Turner), accommodation (Giles) and the Hierarchy of Identities (Omoniyi). In 1.1.2, language and identity in a multilingual context will be discussed. Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) will form a base of the theoretical ground in this topic, along with theories on the modern urban society (Xu, Blommaert). Researches on the bilingual region of Quebec, Canada, will be mentioned in order to contrast these findings with that of the current examination of Brussels. 1.2 introduces the approach of the current examination by first giving a short historical and linguistic overview of Belgium and Brussels in 1.2.1. In 1.2.2 the research questions will be stated, followed by the hypotheses in 1.2.3.

1.1.1 Language and identity

Language is the means an individual or a group uses to share ideas, hopes, and dreams. It is the means of human communication. Language is used to understand someone else. Understanding the meaning of words creates a world; language creates worldview. Identity is an interaction between a self-image and the image others create, which is formulated and handled by rules of inclusion and exclusion. Identity is rooted in certain acts that acquire individual or group meaning. Language and identity are linked in such a way, that language formulates one's identity. To Tabouret-Keller (1997, p. 315), "the language spoken by somebody and his or her identity as a speaker of this language are inseparable", and "language acts are acts of identity".

To understand the meaning of *Identity*, we must grasp the "identity of identity" (Joseph, 2004, p. 2). Jackson (2014, p. 371) defines identity clearly as "an individual's self-concept or sense of self". According to Edwards (2009, p. 19), "the essence of identity is similarity", for it signifies being identical, being the same: *idem*, in Latin. This identity, certain 'sameness', can be seen as a network of identities, "reflecting the many commitments, allegiances, loyalties, passions, and hatreds everyone tries to handle in ever-varying comprise strategies" (Tabouret-Keller, 1997, p. 321). A person's identity is thus not static, but a "heterogeneous set made up of all the names or identities, given to and taken up by her" or him (Tabouret-Keller, 1997, p. 316). Tabouret-Keller states that one's identity not only entails the identity a person gives to him- or herself, but also the identities given to this person by others. Identity may shift, within a person, but even within a conversation. Which identity is most salient at one certain moment is dependent on different variables.

Variables that may influence one's identities can be the attitudes one has towards a person, or even towards a language with an individual interlocutor as representative (Lambert, 1960). Being around a certain group of speakers, or a social group, may influence the way one perceives oneself and others (Tajfel, 1982). Identifying oneself as a member of that group, and dissociating from another group may happen linguistically, by adjusting

one's speech to one group with using a feature the other group would not use (Giles, 1973). These ideas of different identities with shifting salience, depending on time, place and group (Omoniyi, 2006) will be discussed in the following headings.

Language attitudes

The attitudes people (un-) consciously have about accents or languages were investigated first by Lambert et al. (1960), by looking at people's attitudes towards speakers with a certain accent or language. The report states that "spoken language is an identifying feature" of a member of a certain group, and the attitudes a person has towards this group will be generalised from the language to group characteristics, for "hearing the language is likely to arouse mainly generalized or stereotyped characteristics of the group" (Lambert, 1960, p. 44). People tend to ascribe certain characteristics to speakers of a certain language, which in the case of the research by Lambert were English and French in the bilingual region of Quebec in Canada. The most striking result in this group was that French speakers ascribed more negative characteristics to speakers of French than to speakers of English. English speakers also ascribed more negative characteristics to speakers of French than to speakers of their own language group, English. The insight that French speakers tend to subordinate a speaker of their own language, showed they "apparently adopted the stereotyped values of the more dominant group" (Edwards, 2009, p. 90). The stereotypic characteristics attributed to the individual speaker are associated "with the speech of the group as a whole" (Meyerhoff, 2006, p. 72).

Social identity

Identity does not merely occur by itself; it is not solely based on self-concept. Personal terms that are attributed to the self are referred to as 'personal identity'. Personal identity occurs in comparison with other in-group members; it thus refers to "*me* versus *not me* categorizations" (Onorato & Turner, 2004, p. 259). Identity is a "means of differentiation and of opposition", which calls for other individuals and groups to differ from (Tabouret-Keller, 1997, p. 316). The human kind is a social species that moves in social groups. Turner (1982) claims that membership of a social group is based on a collective perception of social unity that the members of the same group share, and this perception leads to an interdependence of needs, attitudes and values. A social group can be "conceptualized as a number of individuals who have internalized the same social category membership as a component of their self-concept" (Turner, 1982, p. 36). Tajfel (1982, p. 2) defines social identity as "the *part* of the individuals' self-concept which derives from their knowledge of their membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership." According to social identity theory (Tajfel, 1982), "people identify with multiple identities, some of which are more personal and idiosyncratic and some of which are group identifications" (Meyerhoff, 2006, p. 73). Social identity is constructed by these in-group affiliations, by at the same time determining who the out-group is and what distinguishes *us* from *them*. Social identity is not something objective or imposed; it is based on subjective (self-) categorisation, thus emotional significance is an integral part of identity, rather than a trivial side effect (Joseph, 2004). Language features link the identities of the individual and the social group together (Tabouret-Keller, 1997).

Accommodation theory

In interaction with someone, people tend to judge their interlocutors based on how they speak, and one's own speech changes in response to that judgment (Joseph, 2004). Moving

away from or towards a group can be done, consciously or unconsciously, by adjusting one's speech. This process of adjusting or attuning one's speech to their interlocutor's is referred to as *accommodation*. Two strategies that are used to accommodate speech are convergence and divergence (cf. Giles, 1973). Convergence refers to the process through which a speaker "approaches the norms of their interlocutor and accentuates the commonality between the interlocutors" (Meyerhoff, 2006, p. 75). Divergence is the process of differentiating from the interlocutor's speech, which accentuates the differences between the speakers. Speech accommodation operates on reducing or inducing social similarities. Giles et al. (1973, p. 180) suggest "there may be a general set to accommodate to others in most social situations". An individual's or group's retaining the language or code of a minority group can be considered divergent behaviour, when considered "as an expression of group or national identity in the face of the majority culture's language" (Giles et al., 1973, p. 179).

Speakers tend to "perceive their interlocutors to be individual representatives of a group" (Meyerhoff, 2006, p. 72). Therefore the link is made between the individual and the group; the individual as representative for the group identity, and the accommodation of speech might also (re-) construct one's identity in reference to the group one is converging to or diverging from. Speech accommodation is relevant to identity theory, for the accommodation of speech can be considered as adjustment in one's identity; trying to move away from the interlocutor, or to increase favourability (Edwards, 2009). Edwards (2009) also mentions the possible costs of accommodation, when regarding accommodation as a means to modify or disguise oneself. Joseph (2004, p. 72,3) illustrates the relation between accommodation and identity as follows:

> "What linguistic accommodation means for language and identity is that it is not simply the case that I have one linguistic identity and that it is somehow essentially bound up with who I 'really am'. When I accommodate, I become 'someone else' linguistically, based on my perception of the person I am accommodating to. The latter point is particularly important: what I accommodate to is not another person, but the identity I have constructed for that person. Furthermore, my very act of accommodation and the degree to which it extends (for there are individual differences in how much we accommodate), becomes a feature of my own linguistic identity."

A speaker accommodates to the perceived identity of the interlocutor, by which this identity becomes a part of the speaker's linguistic identity. The speaker's identity shifts by the accommodation of speech. The shifting of language and identity will be discussed more thoroughly in the following section.

Hierarchy of identities
When considering identity as a dynamic process within an individual and a group, it is not the goal to categorise an individual or group. Omoniyi (2006, p. 11) proposed to "refocus so that the significance of identification as a process is brought to the fore and we can engage with how the process creates and manages a hierarchy of identities". In this model, Omoniyi puts the focus of identity and identification on their dynamic nature and their construction in social actions that can be separated into moments. The structure of this hierarchy of identities may change from moment to moment, and the most salient identity category might change position without being discarded completely. At one moment, different identity categories may be active in the hierarchy, and the "identity category that is perceived from, or projected through, language behaviour, is the consequence of moment-by-moment factor-driven decisions about appropriateness and position of that category in a hierarchy of identities" (Omoniyi, 2006, p. 13). Omoniyi (2006, p. 19) states that choosing one

language over the other, in bilinguals, would mean there are alternative identities to choose from, and "bilinguals may simply by an act of codeswitching reposition or align themselves with another group different from the one they had seemed to claim leading up to the moment of switching". In this sense, the bilingual is negotiating their identity, and their language choice is dependent on the preferred presentation of self on that particular moment.

In an examination of identity, or identities, of older and younger speakers of Gaelic on the Isle of Skye, Smith-Christmas & Smakman (2009, p. 44) followed Omoniyi's theory; as these speakers "are constantly negotiating their choice of language, they are also negotiating their identities". In the current paper, the negotiation of identity in the hierarchy of identities of Dutch speakers in Brussels will be examined. In 1.1.2, the role of identity in multilingual individuals and multilingual communities will be discussed.

1.1.2 Identity in a multilingual context

When referring to identity in a multilingual context, firstly the notion of multilingualism should be narrowed down. As Clyne (1997, p. 301) states, multilingualism can be commonly defined as "the use of more than one language" or the "competence in more than one language". Multilingualism in situations where both languages have equal status, *symmetrical* multilingualism, is differentiated from *asymmetrical* multilingualism, whereby one language or languages have higher status than the other(s). Multilingual individuals are "people who either belong to more than one language group or function within more than one language group" (Clyne, 1997, p. 307), thus differentiating 'belonging' from 'functioning'. In multilingual societies, "the use of one's mother tongue can serve as a marker of one's cultural or regional affiliation", and the "multilingual individuals may feel they are conveying different dimensions of their identities depending on the language they are using" (Jackson, 2014, p. 135). The use of the same or a different dialect or language can both strengthen and separate a bond between individuals and groups. According to Edwards (2009, p. 248), "speaking a particular language means belonging to a particular speech community; speaking more than one language may (or may not) suggest variations in identity and allegiances". This will be examined in the sections below, where the theories of the negotiation of identities (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004) and multilingualism in urban communities (Xu, 2015; Bommaert, 2010) will be explained. An example will be given by elaborating on the language situation of Quebec.

Negotiation of identities
In their work on identity in multilingual contexts, Pavlenko & Blackledge (2004) elaborate on the negotiation of identity in situations where "different ideologies of language and identity come into conflict with each other with regard to what languages or varieties of languages should be spoken by particular kinds of people and in what context" (p. 1). In such settings, language choice and attitudes are not only interlinked with politics, power and ideologies, but also with the individuals' perception of their own identity and other's identities. Pavlenko & Blackledge (2004, p. 3) use the term 'negotiation' as an outcome of the linguistic inequality in some multilingual societies, where "some identity options are more valued that others". This negotiation "may take place between individuals, between majority and minority groups, and, most importantly, between institutions and those they are supposed to serve", by means of policies and linguistic practices (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004, p. 3). By examining the language options in certain identity negotiation

situations, new identity options for individuals and groups of a lower valued language group can be opted.

The multiplicity of identity is underscored, "since individuals often shift and adjust ways in which they identify and position themselves in distinct contexts" - a thought that is in line with the theory of a hierarchy of identities within an individual. Omoniyi (2006, p. 19), however, mentions "while their [Pavlenko & Blackledge's] idea on negotiation of identities rightly conveys a sense of acknowledgement of the existence of multiple identities, it seems to subscribe implicitly and ultimately to the idea of one-or-the-other identity where a preferred identity emerges at the conclusion of negotiation". Pavlenko & Blackledge (2004, p. 19) summarise their view on identities as "social, discursive, and narrative options offered by a particular society in a specific time and place to which individuals and groups of individuals appeal in an attempt to self-name, to self-characterize, and to claim social spaces and social prerogatives". The negotiation of identities is considered as "an interplay between reflective positioning, i.e. self-representation, and interactive positioning, whereby others attempt to position or reposition particular individuals or groups" (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004, p. 19).

In the current paper, the particular place is the modern urban society of Brussels; the particular group negotiating its identity is the speakers of Dutch in this city. Literature on the modern urban society will be discussed below.

Modern urban communities

In modern urban societies, the official language or languages are often not the only languages spoken. National and global newcomers bring their dialects and languages to the city, and the local languages and the new languages create modern language contact. Language conflicts can result "from the normative sanctions of the more powerful group, usually the majority, which demands linguistic adaption to the detriment of language contact, and thus pre-programs conflict with those speakers who are unwilling to adapt" (Nelde, 1997, p. 290). In situations of contact between language groups within a society, conflict can occur when a dominant language group has control over main authorities, and the "disadvantaged language group is then left with the choice of renouncing its social ambitions, assimilating, or resisting" (Nelde, 1997, p. 290). Bilingualism of speakers whose first language has lower status can be referred to as 'conflict-bilingualism'. To properly function in the society and educational system, students need to acquire the more prestigious dominant language as second language, which may lead to dilemmas and problems of solidarity towards the dominant language (Kroon and Vallen, 2002, p. 110).

A speech community is a social organisation of speakers that share a language system. The Theory of Speech Community (TSC) (Xu, 2015, p. 97) explains that "a group of speakers form a speech community through sustained interactions amongst themselves". The 'language-explains-society direction' of TSC tries to describe society through its speech communities. The Theory of Speech Communities attempts to explain "why the society is the way it is due to its linguistic conditions", by showing how a speech community is formed (Xu, 2015, p. 101). In line with TSC, Xu (2015, p. 101) proposes his Theory of Linguistic Urbanisation (TLU), which focuses on the "changes in the structure of a speech community and changes in the relations among speech communities". TLU, which is based on the changes in contemporary Chinese society, "attempts to model the changing linguistic realities in the societal process of urbanization" (Xu, 2015, p.101).

Mobility and migration have affected societal and linguistic change, and to a larger extend the process of globalisation. Migrant languages and cultures diversify urban

societies, and compose a 'super-diversity' (Blommaert, 2010, p. 7). Blommaert applies this term to the societal and linguistic developments in the neighbourhood Berchem in Antwerp, Belgium. The neighbourhood is described as a mix of communities with different types of multilingualism. Native Belgians that had access to prestige language varieties employ advanced multilingualism, whereas migrant communities that were less advantaged in language education use a multiplicity of incomplete acquired languages.

Quebec
An example of a multilingual society is Quebec, French Canada, where Canadian English and Canadian French share the region. Attitudinal researches, of which the earlier mentioned research by Lambert et al. (1960) was the first and most known, has shown French was considered subordinate to English by both speech communities. Not only did both speakers of English and French downgrade the French speakers on traits of solidarity and status, the French speakers considered the French speakers even more subordinate. The French community was not only considered lower in status by the English speaking community, but by their own speech community as well. Bilingual accommodation has turned out positively in these communities, for accommodating French Canadian (FC) speakers "were perceived to be more considerate, and more prepared to bridge the cultural gap than a nonaccommodating FC speaker" (Giles et al., 1973, p. 186). The status of the francophone community has changed over the years, and "francophones in Quebec will undoubtedly maintain the distinct, dynamic identity they have succeeded in forging throughout these past centuries" (Hamers and Hummel, 1994, p. 150). Jackson (2014, p. 151) states that for French speaking Quebecois, "their regional identity is much stronger than their national identity". Whether the results of the abovementioned researches are comparable to the language situation in multilingual Brussels will be examined in this report.

1.2 Language and identity in multilingual Brussels: approach of the present paper

Language is stated to be an important value for identification with members of the same speech community. A speaker is a member of different communities at the same time, and can shift identification with groups from moment to moment. The question is what influence language has, for the speaker to shift salience from one identity to the other in a multilingual context. Through the dynamic process of identification, the speaker negotiates the shifting salience of belonging to different speech communities, and territorial belonging. The speaker negotiates within itself, within a certain speech community, and amongst speech communities, to choose a certain language and identity.

Despite the linguistic policy, the individual inhabitants of Brussels are not all bilingual. The Brusseler is a presumed member of either linguistically determined imagined community, whose members "will never know most of their fellow-members (…), yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (Anderson, 1983, p. 6). In reality, the Brusseler lives in a multilingual and diverse urban society. Language does not merely function as a means of human communication; language and language choice also induce a range of identifications - not merely by the speaker but also by the interlocutor. The question is, to what extent language choice plays a role in the process of identification – and the opposite: to what extent identities play a role in language choice.

1.2.1 gives a historical and linguistic framework of Belgium and Brussels. In 1.2.2, the research questions that will be examined in this paper will be discussed. The main aim of

this paper is to examine what the relation between identity and language choice is. This report might help to get a better insight into a multilingual and complex urban society, in an application of sociolinguistic theory. The present paper is focused on the community of Dutch speakers in Brussels, many of which also speak French and English with varying proficiency, and their language choice and identifications.

1.2.1 Background: Belgium

Belgium has approximately 10 million inhabitants, which includes the Dutch-speaking community the Flanders Region, the officially Dutch-French bilingual Brussels Capital Region in Flanders, near the language border with the French-speaking community in the Wallonia Region, which includes the German-speaking community; Belgium is a country with three regions, three official languages, and four linguistic territories. 58% of the population lives in Flandres, 32% in Wallonia, 0.6% in the German-speaking region, and 9.5% in Brussels (Willemyns, 2002, p. 36). The intricate situation of this country, its languages and regions will be discussed in the following sections. The German-speaking community and the French-speaking community will not be discussed very thoroughly, as the emphasis on the current paper is on the Dutch-speaking community in Brussels. In the first section, a historical and linguistic background of Belgium will be given, and that of Brussels in the second section.

Historical overview

Belgium became independent from the United Kingdom of the Netherlands in 1830, and linguistic freedom was granted in the constitution. This was opposite to the European ideology of linguistic and national uniformity of the nation state of the nineteenth century (Vogl & Hüning, 2010). The ruling bourgeois elite, however, spoke French, the prestige culture language of the former oppressors, while the "government appointed only French-speaking civil servants and the discrimination of Dutch throughout the 19th century was general and very deliberate" (Willemyns, 2002, p. 37). Brenzinger (1997, p. 274) states that in the final third of the nineteenth century, "French developed into a suppressive language", and "started to discriminate against indigenous languages abroad and in France". During this period, the majority of the population of Belgium consisted of speakers of Dutch, the Germanic language that was spoken in the Kingdom of the Netherlands and the Flemish part of Belgium. After the independence, the Flemish Movement started a battle "for cultural and linguistic right for Dutch speakers", which took until 1889 for a law to be introduced claiming Dutch and French as the two official languages of Belgium (Willemyns, 2002, p. 37). The Flemish Movement "created an 'imagined community' as a cultural and linguistic entity with an (imagined) common past and a deeply rooted sense of belonging" (Vogl & Hüning, 2010, p. 237). With a comparable movement in Wallonia, it was in "this struggle between unifying forces and, to some extent, diversifying forces, that Belgium was founded" (Vogl & Hüning, 2010, p. 233).

The modern language policy of Belgium is based on the 'territoriality principle', "referring to a way of institutionalising multilingualism in which territories are allocated specific languages and all public services in a partial territory are only provided in that language" (Vogl & Hüning, 2010, p. 229). This states that the northern part of Belgium, Flanders, is officially monolingual Dutch, and the southern part of Wallonia is officially monolingual French. Historically, the territorial division did not only entail a linguistic schism, but also social and economic differences. In Flanders, linguistic unification is still a

matter of the day, with the extreme right party of *Vlaams Belang*, 'Flemish Interest' aiming at "an independent and monolingually Dutch Flemish state" (Vogl & Hüning, 2010, p. 239), and the *Nieuw-Vlaamse Alliantie* (N-VA), the 'New-Flemish Alliance'.

Vogl & Hüning (2010, p. 239) state the territoriality principle not to be a solution to the language conflict, but even the result of the European 'one nation, one language' ideology which the Flemish and Walloons tended to propagate for their own community; this perhaps has increased the division of the "more liberal and socialist Wallonia versus a more conservative and Catholic Flanders", on top of the linguistic divide. After 1947, Belgium stopped taking linguistic censuses to eliminate hostility of the linguistic communities towards each other. In 1963, the linguistic border between Flanders and Wallonia was established by law, including the four language areas of Dutch, French, German and the bilingual region of Brussels (O'Donnel & Toebosch, 2008, p. 159). This disregarded possible bilingual communication in the regions, for "the language border coincides with the border separating two administrative entities" (Willemyns, 2002, p. 38). According to Blackledge (2004, p. 74), "the non-acceptance of diversity predominates, even among the majority, which tends to view itself as the embodiment of openness and tolerance", which might be due to the ideology of 'one nation, one language', and "relies on the notion of an immutable unity between language and the cultural identity of a population group".

The territoriality principle has led to the current political system, which was established in 1993 by establishing three regions - Flanders, Wallonia and the Brussels Capital Region - and three linguistic communities - the French, Dutch and German communities - under the federal state of Belgium (O'Donnel & Toebosch, 2008, p. 159). The Dutch community counts 5,660,000 speakers, the French community 3,900,000 speakers and the German community counts 41,200 speakers in Belgium in 2012, according to Ethnologue[1]. Appendix A offers an image of the regions and communities of Belgium (Figure 1, page 48).

Language and identity in bilingual Brussels

The Brussels Capital Region, which consists of 19 municipalities, is an official bilingual region inside the Flemish region. The bilingual status of the region "does not refer to individual bilingualism but to a type of societal bilingualism" (Mettewie & Janssens, 2007, p. 119). Brussels City is the capital of Belgium, the seat of the European Union, and the seat of both the Flemish community and the French community. In the current report, 'Brussels' will refer to the 19 municipalities of the Brussels Capital Region, and 'Brusseler' will be referring to an inhabitant of Brussels (Willemyns, 2002, p. 44). French and Dutch are the official languages of the region; English and Arabic are spoken by a large part of the citizens as well. Janssens (2013, p. 11) underlines the shift in governmental policy regarding migration and integration from *multiculturalism*, which refers to the existence of different cultures living together as minority groups, towards *diversity*. Diversity has a more positive connotation, referring to a multiplicity of individual characteristics, which is inherent to an urban society. Table 1.1 shows an estimation of the language situation of Brussels in 2013, as estimated by Brussels' linguistic expert Rudi Janssens, who did several linguistic surveys in Brussels. The table shows French as the only home language has decreased, whereas French together with Dutch, and French with other languages has increased. Dutch as the only home language seems to have stayed the same. Also, the use of other languages than the two official languages of Brussels as home language is estimated to have risen in numbers.

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[1] Retrieved online on May 7, 2015 (https://www.ethnologue.com/country/BE/status)

Table 1.1 Estimation of current language situation in Brussels (Janssens, 2013, p. 40)

Current home language	*% in 2007*	*% in 2013*
French	63.1	38.1
Dutch	5.2	5.2
Dutch/French	7.2	17.0
French/Other language	16.3	23.2
Other language(s)	8.1	16.5

Individuals are free to choose to receive their public services and education in French or Dutch; in this region the 'personality principle' applies, rather than the territoriality principle (Vogl & Hüning, 2010, p. 230). In the Brussels Capital Region, Brussels henceforth, the language groups can have 'parallel monolingual networks' (Vogl & Hüning, 2010). Though 'individual multilingualism' is common and desirable in Brussels, "it is not prescribed by linguistic legislation" (Nelde, 1997, p. 296). According to O'Donnel & Toebosch (2008, p. 161), "bilingualism in Brussels usually means one national language, plus English". Ceulaars (2008, p. 294) calls French the 'default language' of Brussels; O'Donnel & Toebosch (2008, p. 167) state that in the future, English might become the more neutral default language. In 2013, Flemish minister of education Pascal Smet even proposed to declare English as official language in Brussels (EurActiv, 2013). In Brussels, half of the population was born outside the capital, and up to 30% of the Brusselers does not have the Belgian nationality (Mettewie & Janssens, 2007, p. 120).

Research on language attitudes in Brussels can "function as a mirror for the status of a language and as a barometer for the relationship between the language groups" (Mettewie & Janssens, 2007, p. 126). Previous research found that bilingual pupils in Brussels tend not to show different attitudes towards different language communities, as opposed to monolingual pupils that have "rather negative attitudes towards the 'other' linguistic community or towards its language and express at the same time a strong feeling of in-group favouritism or extremely positive attitudes to their own language" (Mettewie, 2004, in Mettewie & Janssens, 2007, p. 126). These results indicate that daily contact between language groups improves the attitudes towards the other group in Brussels. The English language is often favoured positively, and can be considered "a neutral code, a kind of lingua franca between both linguistic communities", and can overcome "the linguistic tensions that dominate the Belgian society" (Mettewie & Janssens, 2007, p. 127). Mettewie & Janssens (2007) state that French is the dominant language in Brussels, where Dutch is only important in the context of employment. Also, the positive attitudes between the Dutch and French language communities are restricted by the fact that the language groups tend to live side by side and hardly have contact with each other. Attitudinal study results indicate that Dutch speakers from a mainly Dutch background, either coming from Flanders or near the Brussels region, "have more positive attitudes to their L1 but also to their L2 than the students involved in French-medium education" (Mettewie & Janssens, 2007, p. 137), whereas French speakers tend to be more positive towards English than Dutch. Their results imply that not merely the knowledge of a language creates a positive attitude towards the language, but the higher the competence, the more positive the attitude. Possibly, the role and utility of the language in the Brussels' society, and in the world, can play a part in the attitude; English and French are more considered world languages than Dutch.

Ceuleers (2008, p. 295) mentions the situated-identity approach to acculturation as

proposed by Clément et al. (1992, 2001) regarding second language learning and identification, which is "based on the idea that an individual not only has multiple self-representations, but also that his or her feelings of belonging may vary depending on the immediate context", which is in line with Pavlenko & Blackledge's negotiation of identities. In the multilingual context of Brussels, "the demands may vary greatly depending on the context in which the interaction or contact occurs" (Ceuleers, 2008, p. 295). By the examination of adolescent pupils in Brussels, Ceuleers (2008, p. 304) found that "adolescents that attend a Dutch-speaking school in Brussels perceive their own identity as consisting of multiple linguistic, national and regional identities", and she confirms that identity is both variable and context-dependent. The importance of multilingualism is underlined by her research, which is in the same vein as Janssens' findings (2001), which show that multilingualism is an important value to Brusselaars. In her examination of language and identity amongst adolescent Brusselaars, Ceuleers (2008, p. 306) found that "the bilinguals and French monolinguals feel mostly *Brusselaar* and Belgian, reflecting an affiliation to an officially multilingual region and nation. The Dutch speakers feel primarily Flemish and Dutch-speaking". Also, the great importance of multilingualism is mentioned in her results, stating that for bilinguals, "like their identification patterns, their motivational orientations display identification with both languages, signalling that for these learners, bilingualism is a core value" (Ceuleers, 2008, p. 307). O'Donnel & Toebosch state that "Brusselaars, like other Belgians, are strongly attached to their linguistic identities" (2008, p. 161).

The presence of parallel monolingual networks and the increasing importance of multilingualism are also visible on the streets of Brussels; advertisements appear in Dutch and French translation. Initiatives to conciliate the language communities, and indeed create a Brussels' multilingual community, is attempted by the platform Nationa(a)l, in advertisements for their festival to unite the Belgian creativity. With multilingual slogans such as *'des objets so mooi', 'read le bon boek'* and *'feel das kunst plastique'*, they try to break down the linguistic wall and unite Belgian creative forces of the Dutch-speaking community, French-speaking community, German-speaking community and even the English community in Brussels. Appendix A on page 48 shows images of the above-mentioned examples.

1.2.2 Research questions

To investigate the interaction of language choice preferences and identifications, the following research questions will be treated.

1. What are the language choice preferences of speakers of Dutch in Brussels?
2. What is the role of identity in language choice for these speakers?
3. How do language preference, language choice, and identity, interact?

The research questions will be operationalised through qualitative analyses of three types of data by a methodology of triangulation. An online sociolinguistic survey will offer insights into behaviour and attitudes of Dutch speakers in Brussels. Analysis of these surveys will focus on language attitudes, identifications, language choices and accommodation. This data will be supported by nine qualitative interviews with Dutch speakers working or living in Brussels; the so-called expert interviews. Analysis of these interviews will create a framework of the language choices made by the informants, some experienced identities of the speakers, along with subjective ideas about regional, national and linguistic identities. In

addition, personal experiences on the interaction of language choice and identity will be evaluated. Inspired by the method of the rapid and anonymous data collection by Labov (1966), the theoretical and qualitative results of the examinations will be supported by responses from 100 speakers on the streets of Brussels, of whom 50 were addressed in Dutch, and 50 were addressed in French. The replies of the speakers will form a supplement to the two qualitative data analyses, and will serve as a sample of the day-to-day multilingual situation of Brussels.

The analyses will focus on language choices and the motivations for these choices, and various identifications. These notions will be mentioned briefly in the following headings by also stating some hypotheses.

1.2.3 Hypotheses

The hypotheses given below are organised by the foci of the research questions; language choice and identity.

Language choice
The emotional significance of identity (Tajfel, 1982; Joseph, 2004) is tested by the motivations of language choices of the speakers of Dutch in Brussels. The online survey will provide insights on language choice when addressed in another language. Also, the expert interviews will offer the emotional significance of language choices, whereby an emotional motivation implies a link with identity. Clyne (1997) distinguished the multilingual individual who belongs to more than one language group, from the one who functions within more than one language group. A certain sense of belonging suggests a link to identity. The ability to function within more than one language group on the other hand is a pragmatic approach of the use of more than one language. A pragmatic motivation of language choice will be distinguished in the expert interviews.

According to Mettewie & Janssens (2007), the knowledge of more than one language can have a positive effect on language attitudes, which might indicate that multilingualism increases positive attitudes towards other languages. Being used to hearing and speaking other languages besides Dutch in the urban environment of Brussels, the Brusselers will expectedly have predominantly positive attitudes towards using other languages, which in most cases is French and English. The Dutch speaking Brusselers will be expected to have a more pragmatic approach to language use and multilingualism, as mentioned by the statement of Clyne (1997) to function within more than one language group. Their hierarchy of identities is therefore expected to have less emphasis on language identity, and more on the pragmatic attitude as referred to by that Treffers-Daller (2002).

The notion of super-diversity (Blommaert, 2010) in Brussels' urban society can be related to the increase of minority groups in Brussels. Kroon and Vallen (2002) claimed that conflict-bilingualism might occur when a bilingual's first language has lower status than the dominant language. Looking at the motivations of language choices in the expert-interviews can test whether these problems of solidarity towards the dominant language do occur. Given that the diversity of languages and cultures grow in Brussels, the experience of one language being more dominant than the other might be decreasing in relevance. The decrease of historical dominance of French is expected to be experienced less by the Dutch-speaking minority group, given the diversity of minority languages and groups in Brussels.

Identifications of Dutch-speaking Brusselers

People have different roles towards others in different groups; people have multiple identities. One's identity may shift according to the situation and social context. Social identity theory (cf. Tajfel, 1982) claims that people have different feelings and attitudes towards the different groups they identify with or differentiate from. People tend to favour their in-group, known as *in-group favouritism* (Edwards, 2009). This form of social categorisation can cause stereotypes to be formed, either positive towards the in-group, or negative towards the out-group. *Out-group homogeneity* is an effect caused by the stereotyping of groups: "*my* group is made of many different individuals, but *you* are all alike" (Edwards, 2009, p. 26). The different identities one holds on to and lets go of is not something static but ever-changing, and like the fuzzy boundaries between groups, "personal and group identities fall on a scale and are inherently blurred" (Meyerhoff, 2006, p.77). In the vein of in-group favouritism, I expect the Dutch speakers to prefer to speak the Dutch language and communities above the French language and communities. I expect the identifying process to have an influence on language choice, when wanting to belong to the group of French speakers by shifting to that language. In addition, divergence can be of influence when speaking French, as a statement of not wanting to belong to the Dutch-speaking community. I expect the Dutch-speaking Brusseler not to shift to French for change of in-group, but for communicative means. I expect the speakers to ascribe French-speaking group membership traits to themselves as a part of the speakers' identities. When speaking Dutch, I do not expect them to identify with the French-speaking community, in this case the out-group of French speakers might be stereotyped, and the French speakers' traits are not applicable to them.

Narrowing the social group more down to the domains of language, the Theory of Speech Community (Xu, 2015) attempts to explain an urban society by its speech communities. The current report does not offer enough time and space to examine thoroughly the speech communities of Brussels in an attempt to explain this urban society, but the collected data can offer insights in the speech community of Dutch speakers in Brussels and show their view on the urban society of Brussels. The Theory of Linguistic Urbanisation (Xu, 2015) tries to explain the changes in the structure of a speech community, and the changes in relations among different speech communities. Within the urban community of Dutch speakers, different speech communities interact, trying to establish a successful communication. The speech community of Dutch speakers consists of monolingual Dutch speakers, and multilingual Dutch speakers. The multilinguals have a trump; they can come to successful communication in more than one language, and move and speak cooperatively and communicatively in more than one speech community. Multilingual Dutch speakers are expected to adapt to the multilingual urban society, by shifting towards different speech communities. The data from the rapid anonymous survey will show the effectiveness of communication on the streets of Brussels. The (un-) conscious shifting of communities and in-group favouritism can be examined by the analyses of the expert interviews and the online survey.

To determine the importance of certain values and attitudes of the Dutch speakers, an online survey will set a base of a general idea of the identities of Dutch-speaking Brusselers. Personal preferences will be analysed from the expert interviews. By these means, the identifications of the Brusselers can be established and these may imply the language preferences and choices these speakers make.

Regional identity is expected to be a more important identification than identification with the language group of Dutch speakers in Brussels, also referring to the affiliation with

multilingualism. These hypotheses can be tested by the analyses of the online survey and expert interviews. Whether the regional identity of the Brusselers is stronger than their national identity, like the French community in Quebec (Jackson, 2014), can follow from the insights of the expert interviews.

Treffers-Daller (2002) describes the Brusselers, based on reviews from the 1970s-1980s, to "see themselves as distinct from the Flemish and the Walloons" (Treffers-Daller, 2002, p. 55). They "can be heard switching languages according to interlocutor and topic", which gives them a "pragmatic attitude" towards language (Treffers-Daller, 2002, p. 56). The Brusseler tends to be "pro-Belgian and anti-federalist", and consider "the hybrid character of the city to be a distinct asset" (Treffers-Daller, 2002, p. 56). The situation of two languages in the city is considered to be "stimulating and enriching" (Treffers-Daller, 2002, p. 56). Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) state that in multilingual societies, some identity options are more valued than others. The Brussels' community of diversity might be regarded as a new imagined community (Anderson, 1983), which is distinct from Flanders and Wallonia; an urban community with linguistic and social diversity as contradictory unifying factor. In the combination of the two territories and its languages, the Flemish with the Dutch language and the Walloon with the French language, and the growing diversity of cultures and languages in Brussels due to migration, a new set of identities may have emerged in Brussels. Urbanisation has increased the diversity, and the Brusseler is expected to be flexible within this multilingual, multicultural, urban society. This "potential emergence of variable and multilayered identities" may even have implications for policymaking and education (Ceuleers, 2008, p. 307). I expect that the increasing importance of multilingualism in this urban society, due to the super-diversity of languages and cultures, might have caused for the emergence of new identity options within the hierarchy of linguistic and territorial identities of the Brusselers. The possible emergence of these new identity options will be described according to the analyses of the Brusselers' self-report from the expert interviews.

1.3 Summary

In the current chapter, many theoretical notions have been elaborated on, to set a framework for the examination of this report. Language attitude (Lambert, 1960) is a useful theory for the examination of identity for it may attribute certain characteristics to speakers, which may influence the speaker's identification. Social identity theory (Tajfel, 1982) explains the dynamics of groups and communities, which is also applicable to language groups and its stereotyped traits. Accommodation of speech, by divergence or convergence (Giles, 1973), may imply an identity shift, and is considered by Edwards (2009) as a form of modification or disguise. The hierarchy of identities proposed by Omoniyi (2006), considers identity categories that are perceived from or projected through language use as a consequence of specific negotiations about appropriateness and position of that category in a speaker's hierarchy of identities. For multilinguals, this implicates multiple identities to choose from. This multiplicity of identities requires a negotiation of identities for the preferred presentation of the self in a certain situation (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). For the urban, multilingual society, Xu (2015) proposes a model for the changing linguistic situation of the societal process of urbanisation.

Belgium, united since 1830, granted the Dutch-speaking community cultural and linguistic rights from 1889, and established a linguistic border between the Dutch-speaking region of Flanders and the French-speaker area of Wallonia. The region of Brussels is

officially bilingual, and for its inhabitants, feelings of identity may vary in different contexts.

Processes of identifications, the shifting and switching between speech communities of multilingual Brusselers by means of language choice, the value of multilingualism for the individuals, and a possible new identity option will be examined in the current report. The interaction between identities, language choice and preferred language of Dutch speakers of Brussels will be determined. Expectedly, for the Dutch-speaking Brusselers, the regional identity of Brussels is high in their hierarchy of identities, linguistic identities are expected to be lower in rank, and they are expected to identify with different language groups and ascribe traits of different language groups to themselves.

In the next chapter, the methodology of the data collection will be discussed, before turning to the results in chapter 3.

2. Methodology

In the current chapter, the methodology of the examination of language choice and identity of Dutch speakers in Brussels will be discussed. The data for this research was collected using a methodology of triangulation. In an online survey, informants' attitudes towards several statements were tested, to get insights in their views on language and identity. This attitudinal survey was supported by nine expert interviews of Dutch speaking informants. Inspired by Labov's method of rapid anonymous data collection, 100 random people were addressed on the streets of Brussels to elicit spontaneous language choice data.

2.1 Online attitudinal survey

By means of an online survey, an attitudinal test was conducted. This survey was completed by 210 informants, of which 70 met the set criteria. The online survey was distributed online amongst people living or working in Brussels. The completed surveys were selected on informants' residency in the Brussels region and their language use.

Participants
The participants were addressed by e-mail, with a kind request to participate in the survey. In the requesting e-mail, the research questions were not mentioned. The e-mail addresses of the participants were found online in contact detail folders of linguistic, cultural and societal organisations and institutions. This choice of organisations was a first mode of selection of participants, assuming the people working for such organisations all received higher education and have a certain affiliation with humanities and social studies. The e-mail requested the participants to distribute the survey among colleagues, so the results include a minor bias towards higher educated Dutch speakers.

In a period of six weeks, 210 surveys were completed. After the completion of the surveys, the surveys were ordered on geographical and linguistic background. The selection found 70 surveys suitable for analysis. 10 of the 70 surveys are considered partially invalid, for the content of the survey changed somewhat after detecting mistakes in the content of the survey. This will be discussed later. Table B.1 in appendix B, page 49, offers a clear overview of the participants, including sex, age, and linguistic and geographical background. These details have been summarised in Table 2.1 below.

Of the 70 participants, there were 36 males and 34 females. The average age of the participants was 46.7; the youngest participant was 25 years, and the oldest participant was 80 years. The majority of the participants use Dutch, or Dutch and another language, in private spheres, and spoke Dutch during their childhood. 3 participants live in Flanders; all others live in Brussels City or the surrounding region.

Table 2.1 Linguistic and geographical background of participants of the online survey

Sex		Language in private spheres		Language of childhood		Current hometown		Born and bred	
male	36	Dutch	47	Dutch	56	Brussels Region	55	Flanders	45
female	34	Dutch, French	16	Dutch, French	8	Brussels City	12	Brussels City	15
		Dutch, French, English	2	Dutch, French, English	4	Flanders	3	Brussels Region	6
		Dutch, English	2	German, English	1			Germany	1
		Dutch, French, Turkish	1	Cantonese	1			Amsterdam	1
		Dutch, French, English, Spanish	1					Netherlands	1
		Dutch, Cantonese	1					Hong Kong	1

Material

The questions of the survey were formulated by making statements in the field of identification and language choice. The identifications were mainly focused on linguistic and regional factors, but other influences of identity formation such as religion and family were included as well. Statements regarding language choice preferences were included as well. The questions were inspired by questions of comparable examinations by Rudi Janssens (2001, 2007) and adjusted by the author. The attitudes towards the statements, by scaling them on level of agreement, imply the identification with the statement and thus the subject. Some questions to elicit stereotypes were included in the survey as well, though many participants refused to complete these for they believed it is not possible or proper to stereotype. These questions also included the above-mentioned invalidity of 10 surveys. These questions were not included in the analysis of the data, thus the invalidity does not apply to the entire survey.

The survey included 24 statements, to be judged on a 5-point Likert scale; 3 questions with open end; 1 multiple-choice question, and 8 questions for personal details. Participants could choose to complete the survey in English, French or Dutch. The questions of the survey in English are to be found in appendix C on page 52.

2.2 Expert interviews

The expert interviews were conducted to elicit data on the subjective ideas of Dutch speakers that are familiar with the linguistic and social situation of Brussels. The nine informants, the 'experts', were selected on their residence in Brussels, and their first language being Dutch.

Participants

Nine people were interviewed in a semi-structured interview by the author. The author requested the informants after contact by e-mail to partake voluntarily, after which the interviews were conducted in the workplace of the informants in Brussels. Table 2.2 shows some details of the linguistic and geographical details of the respondents.

Table 2.2 Informants of the expert interviews

ID	Age	Sex	L1	L2	Other languages	Current hometown	Born and bred
I1	43	f	Dutch	French	English	Brussels City	Brussels City
I2	31	m	Dutch	English	French, German	Brussels City	Flanders
I3	29	m	Dutch	French	English, Spanish, Swedish, Norwegian, Italian, German	Brussels City	born: Niger bred: Flanders
I4	35?	m	Dutch	French	English, Italian	Brussels City	Flanders
I5	52	f	Dutch	French	German, Spanish	Brussels Region	Brussels Region
I6	48	m	Dutch	French	English	Flanders	Brussels Region
I7	46	f	Dutch	English	French	Brussels City	Flanders
I8	34	f	Dutch	French	English, German, Spanish	Brussels City	Brussels City
I9	31	f	Dutch	French	English, Spanish, Arabic	Brussels City	Flanders

The informants were selected on their language use, and their familiarity with Brussels and the social and linguistic situation. Age and sex were not selected as variables. The informants all worked for institutional authorities of either the Brussels or the Flemish authority, which is in the same educational and professional category as the participants that were approached for the online survey. The interviews were conducted in Dutch, which is the first language of all nine informants. The interviews have been recorded, with permission, and transcribed by the interviewer afterwards.

Material
The informants were asked several questions about their language use and their attitudes towards several issues. The interview was semi-structured; thus the informants were not always subjected to the same questions. Some of the questions have been adapted from Janssens (2007). Questions in the field of identity formation, a sense of belonging and community feeling were asked. Affiliation with language and region was discussed, and the role of language and multilingualism in daily situations and the person's identity were asked. Besides attitudinal and pragmatic questions, some personal questions were asked to establish the informant's first language and geographic background. A sample of the questions, the outline of the interview, is added in appendix D on page 54.

2.3 Rapid anonymous data

The method of a rapid and anonymous survey was designed by William Labov (1966), and has been adapted by Xu (2015) to the specific communicative event of asking the way, which he considered "as a window to look into language communication in urban settings" (p. 101). Unlike the work by Labov, who studied the social and phonetic variables of the participants, the effectiveness and language choice of the speech event was tested in the method of Xu (2015). The current method tested for language choice; effectiveness was not included as a variable. 100 random people on the streets of Brussels were addressed in either Dutch or French with a comparable question, asking for directions to a square nearby. A neighbourhood known to have many Dutch-speaking inhabitants was selected, to increase the probability to encounter Dutch-speaking citizens.

Procedure

The area north of the *Grand Place* (*Grote Markt* in Dutch), the central square in Brussels, is known to have many Dutch-speaking inhabitants. The Antoine Dansaert Street (*Antoine Dansaerstraat* in Dutch; *Rue Antoine Dansaert* in French) is considered the cultural Flemish heart of this area, with cultural institutions, organisations, bars and restaurants open to the Dutch language group; information and menus are offered in both Dutch and French, whereas in other parts of the city French is often the only option (Dirks, 2006). Several informants in the expert interviews shared this notion of the Dutch-speaking area, and so did a passer-by who confirmed this viewpoint.

The data was collected by the author, while wearing clothes that would not reveal the academic nature of the question, nor being a tourist asking for directions to a tourist attraction. Directions to the Old Grain Market (Dutch: *Oude Graanmarkt*; French: *Vieux Marché aux Grains*), the New Grain Market (Dutch: *Nieuwe Graanmarkt*; French: *Nouveau Marché aux Grains*), or 'La Monnaie' Square (Dutch: *Muntplein*; French: *Place de la Monnaie*) were asked to passers-by. The data was collected in three sessions. Due to rainfall, the utterances could not be recorded, but the responses were tallied after each speech event. Striking observations were noted as well, as a means of additional qualitative data, which will be treated in 3.2.4. The collected data of the rapid anonymous survey will serve as qualitative data to link language preference, based on perceived accent, to language choice. The observations might imply identification by language choice preference.

Participants

50 people were addressed in Dutch, asking for directions to a particular square with its Dutch name; the *Oude Graanmarkt*, the *Nieuwe Graanmarkt*, or *Muntplein*. In the case an informant would not understand, the question was kindly repeated in Dutch up to three times. When an informant would still not understand, the researcher would switch to French or English, which happened in three cases.

Another 50 other people were addressed in French, asking for directions to the same square with its French name; *Vieux Marché aux Grains*, *Nouveau Marché aux Grains*, or *Place de la Monnaie*. All but one informant replied in French, so the researcher switched to Dutch once. A very basic overview of the passers-by is drawn in Table 2.3 below.

Table 2.3 Overview of respondents in rapid anonymous survey

	50 people addressed in Dutch	*Oude Graanmarkt*
		Nieuwe Graanmarkt
100 random people were addressed		*Muntplein*
	50 people addressed in French	*Vieux Marché aux Grains*
		Noveau Marché aux Grains
		Place de la Monnaie

Though age and sex were not considered as variables in the rapid anonymous survey, approximate age was included in observations that were noted when the author perceived an interesting attitude or attitude switch. The observations and ages are included in the results chapter, to be found in 3.2.4.

2.4 Summary

The three methodological approaches discussed above will complement each other and provide data to answer the research questions in this examination. The first method, an online survey, will provide quantitative data for overall attitudes towards language and identity of Dutch-speakers in Brussels. The second method will offer in-depth qualitative data on affiliations, attitudes and personal experiences, and subjective opinions. The third method is a practical experiment to provide a sample of the situation on the streets of Brussels. These methods will generate the results that will be discussed in chapter 3, and test the hypotheses of the former chapter.

3. Results

In the current chapter, the results of the three methods of data collection will be discussed. The chapter is divided in sections corresponding to the main themes of the research questions; language choice in 3.1, and identity in 3.2. Each section firstly mentions the analyses that were used, followed by the main results of the three methodologies, treated in separate headings. In 3.3, the main findings will be summarised and linked to each other, if relevant to the research questions.

3.1 Findings of language choice

3.1.1 Analyses

The analyses of the online survey, in 3.1.2, will be treated quantitatively and qualitatively. The questions were answered on a 5-point Likert scale of level of agreement with the statement. The tables will show the distribution of the level of agreement, and the average score of each statement. The open-ended questions are analysed qualitatively by deducing tendencies from the answers.

      The expert interviews were analysed qualitatively. Language choice was investigated by looking for utterances of the transcribed interviews regarding language preference. These preferences were organised in tables and analysed, which will be discussed in 3.1.3. The motivations of language choice were coded for having a more emotional motivation, or a more pragmatic motivation. For instance, the quote "When I need something, and I know the other speaks French, I'll use French; when I would use Dutch, I wouldn't get it" (Informant 1, translation by author) is coded as pragmatic, and classified *When I want something done, that won't happen in Dutch*, in the *French* language choice box. On the other hand, the quote "When I perceive certain body language or a certain tone of voice that is arrogant, I would tend to stick to Dutch" (Informant 6, translation by author) is coded as an emotional motivation, classified as *When arrogant or unkind attitude was perceived*, marked in the *No switch* box.

      The data of the rapid and anonymous survey are organised in 3.1.4 by language in which the people were addressed. Each table includes the language of the replies to the inquiry, the perceived accent and their numbers. Noted also are the switches that were made during the small discourse and their numbers.

3.1.2 Online survey

The online survey included several questions to detect the participants' attitudes towards being addressed in a different language than their own, and the possible situation of having to switch between languages. One question with an open end was analysed qualitatively, which asked how the participant would feel when he or she would be addressed in another language. The straightforward question '*Which language has your preference?*' was answered with *Dutch* by 67 participants, 3 of the 70 participants answered *French*.

      Table 3.1 shows the attitudes of the participants towards three statements regarding language switch. The scores are organised from left to right, where a lower score refers to disagreement with the statement, and higher score refers to agreement with the statement. The numbers in the columns refer to the amount of participants that answered that

particular score. The right column shows the average score of the statement. Scores that were given by more than 30 participants are marked.

Table 3.1 Attitudes towards language switching

Statement	Score	1	2	3	4	5	Av.
1. When I can help someone, but that person does not speak the same language as I do, I try to speak his or her language.		-	1	2	***33***	***34***	4.4
2. A stranger walks up to me, and starts talking to me in another language. I don't mind, and I try to reply in the same language, even though I don't speak it very well.		-	3	1	***40***	26	4.3
3. I don't mind to switch between languages, if the situation asks for it.		-	1	1	27	***41***	4.5

The results show that, on average, the participants tend to agree with the statements, showing their self-assessed flexibility towards language switch. In total, there were only three participants that did not agree with the statements, and three participants were neutral regarding the three statements. Given the averages of the scores are high, which reflects agreement towards strong agreement with the statements, the participants show a positive attitude towards language switch. This implicates they would not stick to Dutch when being addressed in another language, and their language choice is flexible, dependent on their interlocutor.

Table 3.2 shows the scores of one statement regarding language choice, in a situation where the participant would be addressed in another language. In this table, and all following tables, a higher score refers to disagreement with the statement; a lower score to agreement with the statement. The amount of participants that gave the same score to the statement is given, and scores that were given by more than 30 participants are marked. The right column gives the average score.

Table 3.2 Attitude towards being addressed in another language

Statement	Score	1	2	3	4	5	Av.
1. When a stranger addresses me in another language than my own, I reply in my own language.		2	1	3	***37***	27	4.2

Only three participants agreed with the statement; the majority disagreed. The average score was 4.2, which means on average the participants disagreed, implying the participants would not reply in Dutch when being addressed in another language, but switch to the language of the interlocutor. These results imply the participants are flexible in language choice and would adapt to the language of their interlocutor.

The open question regarding language choice in the online survey asked the participant what he or she feels when a stranger addresses him or her in another language than Dutch, and what the participant's reaction would be. Analysis of the answers showed similarities that were captured in the seven tendencies shown in table 3.3. Some participants gave more than one answer, thus the total of the answer is higher than the amount of participants.

Table 3.3 Tendencies of answers towards being addressed in another language

Examples of answers	*n*
1. I assume this person doesn't know my language. I have no particular feeling towards this situation or person; it is normal to me.	**31**
2. It is dependent on whether I know this language, but I will try to reply in the same language.	**28**
3. This is totally normal in Brussels; I have no particular feeling towards this situation or person.	**24**
4. I enjoy practising another language.	**7**
5. It is dependent on what this person is asking me.	**6**
6. When I perceive a Dutch accent, I will check whether this person also knows Dutch.	**3**
7. At first, I will reply in Dutch, and then switch to the language of the other	**1**

Table 3.3 shows the majority of the participants was quite neutral towards this situation or the person. The participants tend to experience this as a normal situation; in the context of Brussels this is very common. The participants tend to try to reply in the same language as the interlocutor, when the participant is proficient enough in that language. These answers imply a flexible approach of language choice and language switch. Only   one   participant would first reply in Dutch, and switch afterwards. This participant also scored low for the first two statements in table 3.1, and the statement in table 3.2. Interestingly, the participant agreed with the third statement in table 3.1, implying he doesn't mind to switch languages.

Of the overall answers the participants gave, the first three tendencies have a neutral attitude towards being addressed in another language; the fourth answer is particularly positive and mentioned by 10% of the participants.

The participants of the online survey showed a tendency to be flexible in their language choice. Tables 3.1 and 3.2 show low scores, which implies their attitude towards language switching is positive, and they choose a language that works best for communicative needs. There were only two participants that show an average below 3 (neutral), implying they have a more negative attitude towards switching of language. The participants show a tendency to have a neutral attitude when addressed in another language.

3.1.3 Expert interviews

While analysing striking quotes of the transcripts of the interviews, some tendencies occurred that several informants mentioned. Also, divergent quotes were noted and included in the analyses. In table 3.4, the language choice preferences the experts mentioned in the interviews are organised by language choice. Given that the interviews were semi-structured, not all informants made statements on all subjects. A cross (*x*) is stated when an informant made a relevant statement regarding that topic, a spot left blank means the informant did not share any personal insights on this topic. Table 3.4 shows the language choices for Dutch and French of the informants, motivations (M) and a review whether the motivation of the language choice of the informant was more pragmatic (*p*), more emotional (*e*), or both.

Table 3.4 Motivations and situations of language choice for Dutch and French

Informant	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	M
Dutch										
1. With Dutch speaking friends		x	x	x	x				x	p
2. Authorities, institutions	x	x		x						p
3. At the doctor, hospital, health care		x		x				x		p/e
4. Default / most of the time			x			x				p/e
5. When known that interlocutor knows Dutch				x			x			p
6. At a job interview	x									p
7. In a bar or shop				x						p
French										
8. French to show I'm not a nationalist from Flanders							x	x	x	e
9. With friends who speak French	x		x						x	p
10. Default / most of the time		x					x			p
11. French when unknown if interlocutor knows Dutch				x			x			p
12. At a cash register	x	x								p
13. At a bar or during shopping	x									p
14. French when I want something done, that won't happen when speaking Dutch	x									p

All informants of the expert interviews spoke Dutch during their childhood, and it is still their home language. Five of the informants mentioned they mostly have Dutch-speaking friends. Two informants mentioned they preferably use Dutch as default language, when being out of the house. 3 of the 9 participants mentioned they prefer to use Dutch when being in contact with authorities and institutions such as correspondence with the municipality, or with a notary or lawyer. This was due to the jargon used in such branches, and that is mostly known in Dutch. 3 participants particularly mentioned they prefer to speak Dutch when they are in need, such as at the police station or when they need health care. It was in these situations, the participants experienced language being a problem, and they felt the need to express themselves in their own language. This motivation is coded as *pragmatic/emotional*, because a lack of medical jargon in French is impractical and difficult, and the need to speak one's own language when feeling discomfort is considered emotional. Informant 4 (I4) said, "I dare to order in Dutch" in a bar or shop; the use of 'dare' implies a certain courage is needed to do this. A motivation for two informants of choosing Dutch in public, is when they know their interlocutor speaks Dutch, for instance in a bakery that is known to be Dutch-speaking.

The motivation by three informants for choosing French is to communicate that the informant does not consider language to be an issue, and is willing to switch to French - unlike nationalist Flemish, who stick to Dutch on principle, according to three informants. This is considered the most and only emotional motivation to choose French over Dutch. The informants were aware that they probably have a Dutch accent when speaking French, but that would underline the tacit statement of being flexible towards using French. Other motivations and situations mentioned are more pragmatically motivated, such as at a bar, with French-speaking friends or at a cash register. Informant 7 (I7) uses French as default language: pragmatically when unknown whether its interlocutor knows Dutch and because the main part of Brussels doesn't know Dutch, and emotionally to ventilate language is not an issue. Informant 2 uses French as default in Brussels, because the chances are higher the interlocutor knows French than Dutch. He did mention, that he sometimes regrets not trying Dutch more often, for instance when he noticed at a cash register that the cashier did speak

Dutch. This regret is based on the importance of sustaining Dutch in Brussels as an official language, not because he prefers to be served in Dutch. This importance of multilingualism will be discussed in paragraph 3.2.3. I1 mentioned to choose French in a situation where a goal has to be reached, and that goal might not be achieved when using Dutch. This motivation will be discussed later in Table 3.17 in section 3.3 when looking for acts of accommodation.

Table 3.5 shows the motivations and situations mentioned by the informants of the interviews, where they do or do not switch language. *Switch* of language does not only refer to a language switch from Dutch to French, but also to other languages. Again, the right column shows the code for the motivation; emotional or pragmatic.

Table 3.5 Motivations and situations of language switch

Informant	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	M
Switch										
1. With friends that speak French or with mixed group	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	*p*
2. Switch at cash register (FR/EN)	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	*p*
3. I switch languages automatically	x	x	x		x	x	x	x		*p*
4. At work, occasionally or often (FR/EN/ES)	x	x	x	x	x			x		*p*
5. Switch when in a bar or during shopping	x	x						x		*p*
6. Switch when kind attitude of interlocutor					x	x				*p/e*
7. I think it's obvious to switch	x	x								*p*
No switch										
8. When arrogant or unkind attitude was perceived					x	x	x			*e*
9. When interlocutor understood the message in Dutch	x			x						*p/e*
10. When interlocutor continues in other language					x					*e*
11. At a big international store			x							*e*
12. When interlocutor's Dutch is better than my French							x			*p*

As table 3.5 shows, the informants tend to switch language for pragmatic reasons: with friends who speak different languages, a cashier who doesn't speak Dutch, at work with colleagues, when ordering at a bar. Most of the informants mentioned they switch language automatically, without hesitating or noticing. I1 and I2 particularly mention they find it obvious to switch in Brussels, a very pragmatic approach. I5 and I6 mention they are more likely to switch language when their interlocutor has a kind attitude, which is classified as a somewhat emotional motivation to switch language, but pragmatic after all for the informant does choose to switch.

The reasons to stick to Dutch, and not switch to another language, are all more or less emotionally motivated. I5, I6 and I7 mention they tend not to switch when they perceive an arrogant of unkind attitude towards Dutch. As mentioned earlier, I5 and I6 mentioned to switch when a kind attitude is perceived; the act of switching thus seems dependent on the interlocutor's attitude. I5 would also continue in Dutch, when the interlocutor continues in his or her language, both seems to refuse to cooperate. A somewhat pragmatic motivation not to switch is when the interlocutor understood the message in Dutch, assuming the interlocutor has passive knowledge of Dutch, as I1 and I4 mentioned.

Summarising, as Table 3.4 shows that even though Dutch is the first language of all informants, it is not the first language of daily situations in Brussels by all speakers. Dutch is spoken amongst friends, and the preferred language when dealing with authority, institutions and health care.

French is used pragmatically, because the informants are aware French is the language of the majority in Brussels. However, three speakers use French with an emotional motivation, as an act of diverging from the members of their first language group that have different political ideas than they do, which will be discussed in 3.2.3.

The informants mostly have pragmatic motivations to switch to another language, only two participants mention an emotional motivation when switching. However, the motivations of sticking to Dutch and not switching are predominantly emotional.

3.1.4 Rapid anonymous survey

The rapid anonymous survey provided data of the actual situation on the street of Brussels, not by self-assessment of inhabitants of Brussels, but people's actual reactions.

Table 3.6 shows the reactions of the 50 people that were addressed in Dutch. The replies are given, including numbers and percentages. The perceived accents are noted, as well as the case when the participant switched, and whether this was announced.

Table 3.6 Language choices when addressed in Dutch

Addressed	*n (%)*	Reply in	*n (%)*	Accent	*n*	Switch	*n*	Announced
Dutch	50 (100%)	Dutch	24 (48%)	French	9	French	1	
						English	2	
		French	14 (28%)					5
		English	11 (22%)	French	4	French	1	1
		No reply	1 (2%)					

Of the 50 people addressed in Dutch, 48% gave directions in Dutch and 52% reacted differently. The majority thus did not reply in the same language. One participant refused to cooperate and walked away.

Table 3.7 shows the language choices of the 50 participants that were addressed in French; replies, accents and switches are noted.

Table 3.7 Language choices when addressed in French

Addressed	*n (%)*	Reply in	*n (%)*	Accent	*n*	Switch	*n*	Announced
French	50 (100%)	French	48 (96%)	Dutch	21	Dutch	3	3
		Dutch	1 (2%)					
		English	1 (2%)	French				1

All participants that were addressed in French replied, and 96% replied in French. During the speech event of explaining the way to the requested square nearby, 3 participants informed whether the author knew English or Dutch, and they continued the inquiry in Dutch.

In the following tables, the assumed preference of the participants is noted. Table 3.8 shows the numbers of participants that presumably have Dutch as their first language. This assumption was based on the perceived accents of the participants. The table shows the numbers of participants that have Dutch as preferred language, and the choices these participants made when addressed in French. The percentages given in the right column are the percentages of the participants with a preference for Dutch, not of all participants.

Table 3.8 Language choices with assumed Dutch preference

Addressed	n (%)	Assumed preference	n (%)	Choice	n (%)
French	50 (*100%*)	Dutch	22 (*44%*)	French	21 (*95%*)
				Dutch	1 (*5%*)

Of the 22 participants with an assumed preference for Dutch, 95% replied in French when addressed in French. Given 21 of the participants switched to French when addressed in French, shows their willingness to cooperate, also of those three who requested to switch to English or Dutch during the speech event. The motivation of the participant that replied in Dutch can be emotional, in the case the participant was unwilling to switch to French, or pragmatic, if the participant did not speak French.

Table 3.9 includes the numbers of speakers that have an assumed preference for French, when addressed in Dutch, and the choices they made during the speech event. The percentages given in the right column are the percentages of the participants with a preference for French.

Table 3.9 Language choices with assumed French preference

Addressed	n (%)	Assumed preference	n (%)	Choice	n (%)
Dutch	50 (*100%*)	French	28 (*56%*)	Dutch	9 (*32%*)
				English	4 (*14%*)
				French	14 (*50%*)
				No reply	1 (*4%*)

The majority of the participants with an assumed preference for French, 50%, chose French when addressed in Dutch. The motivation can either be emotional or pragmatic. 32% replied in Dutch, and 14% chose English; they switched language to communicate which shows a pragmatic approach, and made a successful speech event. One participant walked away, which is interpreted as a very emotionally motivated act.

Summarising the results of the rapid anonymous survey, speakers with a Dutch preference seem to be more flexible towards using French.

Table 3.6 shows that 48% of the requests in Dutch were actually replied in Dutch, as apposed 96% of the requests in French that were replied in French, in Table 3.7.

As Table 3.8 showed, 95% of the participants with an assumed preference for Dutch replied in French when addressed in French, which shows a pragmatic approach to answering in another language. The reply in Dutch when addressed in French by one man can be emotional or pragmatic; though in view of the fact the Dutch reply was unannounced it seems to be an emotional act.

Table 3.9 showed that 32% of the participants with an assumed preference for French replied in Dutch, when addressed in Dutch.

Though the anonymous participants cannot confirm the assumptions, and the proficiency of Dutch and French of the participants may be highly various, the results seem to imply the speakers of Dutch are more flexible and pragmatic in using another language.

3.2 Findings of identity

3.2.1 Analyses

The data of the online attitudinal survey are treated statistically in paragraph 3.2.2. The data are organised by type of identification: personal, regional and linguistic identifications. Distribution, average and deviation are mentioned, referring to the scores of the 5-point Likert scale, when necessary complemented with percentages.

The data of the expert interviews have been screened for attitudes towards, and affiliation with regional and linguistic issues. Attitudes and identifications that were relevant to the informants are to be found in paragraph 3.2.3 and will offer insights on the attitudes of the informants. Similar statements that have been made by several informants are taken into the tables; as well as relevant deviant quotes by single informants. Trends and tendencies will be discussed.

Observations that have been made during the rapid and anonymous survey on the streets of Brussels are given in paragraph 3.2.4. These observations include attitudes experienced by the author when addressing people in Dutch or French, and a change of attitude when switching languages.

3.2.2 Online survey

In this section, relevant statements that were included in the online survey regarding identity will be analysed. The two headings below denote to the topic of identifications that were found in the statements of the survey. Participants judged their agreement to the statements on a 5-point Likert scale.

National identifications

Regional identifications are made at the national level; in table 3.10 two statements regarding identification with Belgium are found, one with the Netherlands and one with France. A low score implies agreement; mediocre score implies a moderate attitude.

Table 3.10 Attitudes towards national identification

Statement	Score	1	2	3	4	5	Av.
1. During important international games, I feel connected to the people from my country. Even if I might not like the game that much: they're my fellow countrymen, and we are all the same!		3	**35**	18	13	1	2.6
2. I feel connected to all people from Belgium, all over Belgium. Belgium really feels like my country, and I feel a certain closeness to all inhabitants of Belgium.		9	26	17	12	6	2.7
3. I feel a certain connection with inhabitants of the Netherlands.		4	**30**	17	14	5	2.8
4. I feel a certain connection with inhabitants of France.		1	21	24	17	7	3.1

The majority of the participants tend to agree with the first two statements, which implies an affiliation with Belgium. The participants are more neutral towards France, and show more agreement to feeling a certain connection with inhabitants of the Netherlands.

Linguistic identifications
Table 3.11 shows six statements that are relevant to getting insights into the participants' identification with language. A low score implies agreement with the statement; a high score reflects disagreement.

Table 3.11 Attitudes towards linguistic identifications

Statement	Score	1	2	3	4	5	Av.
1. I feel that people, who don't speak my language, will never really understand me.		2	8	9	**31**	20	3.8
2. I always feel a certain connection, closeness or relation with other speakers of my language. Even when I don't know all of them personally.		-	23	16	23	8	3.2
3. I prefer to speak my own language. I don't like to speak another language, even when I speak another language quite well.		1	6	10	**32**	21	3.9
4. When a stranger addresses me in another language than my own, I don't like it.		1	-	4	26	**39**	4.5
5. To me, it doesn't matter where I am. I always feel connected with other speakers of my language, even when I'm in Thailand, Ecuador or Alaska!		1	20	28	15	6	3.1
6. I feel that only people that speak my language would truly understand what I mean.		1	7	19	26	17	3.7

The results in Table 3.11 show the participants tend to disagree with Statement 1, 3 and 4. A striking result is the 39 participants that disagree with Statement 4, which implies they don't mind when being addressed in another language.

The scores for Statement 2 and 5 are more distributed. These statements are regarding feeling a connection with language speakers, which also implies language identity.

These results imply that speakers do indeed feel a certain connection to other speakers of Dutch, but they don't mind to use or be addressed in another language.

3.2.3 Expert interviews

The quotes of the interviews were organised by trends that several informants showed, and deviant ideas that were shared. Regional identifications and attitudes towards 'the Brusseler' and 'the Fleming' are organised in tables in the first heading of this section. Attitudes towards language, language users and multilingualism are found in the second heading, and will show a trend that many informants agreed with. The informants are of varying level proficient in different languages, but they will be considered one diverse group of Brusselers.

Regional identifications
The regional attitudes and identifications are found in utterances regarding their affiliation with Brussels, the Flemish region and national affiliation. The first table below, Table 3.12, includes statements on a general level. A cross (*x*) means an informant mentioned that he or she agrees with that statement.

Table 3.12 Regional attitudes and identifications

Informant	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. I don't want to be associated with a Fleming		x	x			x	x	x	x
2. I'm first and foremost a Brusseler	x	x		x			x	x	
3. I do not feel connected with the Fleming			x				x	x	x
4. I feel at home in an urban context with a diversity of languages and cultures	x	x					x		
5. There is a great contrast between the Brusseler and the Fleming	x			x					x
6. I don't want to be associated with Flemings that think 'us versus them'						x		x	x
7. I feel more connected to Belgians, then with speakers of Dutch	x							x	x
8. I feel more connected to my region, then to my language					x	x			
9. I am primarily a Belgian			x						

The statement made by most informants, 6 of them, is that of not wanting to be associated with the Flemings, now the nationalist movement in Flanders is growing. This is a negative association to many informants; four of them also mentioned explicitly they do not feel connected to the Flemings with the third statement, and the 6th statement clearly mentions the thought of 'us versus them' that is growing in Flanders. Another general tendency to be noted is the agreement to Statement 2; five participants mostly relate to the Brusseler; in making a regional identification they first feel a Brusseler. A tendency to feel more connected to the region than to the language occurs in the 7th and the 8th statement. I3 states he is first and foremost a Belgian; regional identifications follow national identification.

Table 3.13 includes statements regarding Brussels, the Brusseler, and language use in Brussels.

Table 3.13 Attitudes and identifications: Brussels and the Brusseler

Informant	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Brussels is a metropolis; many different languages and communities live side by side			x	x	x	x	x		x
2. The Brusseler is open to the rest of the world with the mix of languages and cultures	x	x	x			x	x		x
3. Brussels nowadays has so many nationalities, a dichotomy of language communities is no longer an issue					x			x	x
4. The Brusseler embraces diversity		x			x	x			
5. There is an upcoming sense of community in Brussels, which is independent of Wallonia and Flanders					x	x			x
6. If you come to live in Brussels, you must accept that you will not be served in your own language	x								x
7. The Brussels community stands increasingly on its own						x			x
8. The multilingual context of Brussels will expand with English, Arabic and languages		x			x				
9. The Brusselers are more open people, progressive	x								x
10. Brussels consists of a hodgepodge of beliefs and individuals		x			x				
11. In Brussels, we often speak different languages with each other				x	x				
12. I do not believe in the Brussels identity		x					x		

The first statement contains the linguistic and cultural diversity of Brussels, which is stated by six informants. Six informants attribute the quality of openness to the Brusseler; to be open for this urban diversity, also mentioned in the 4ᵗʰ statement and 9ᵗʰ statement. The dichotomy in Brussels of Dutch and French is no longer an issue, according to three participants (Statement 3), now so many different people besides speakers of Dutch and French have come to Brussels. A sense of community in Brussels is beginning to stand on its own, which is independent of Wallonia and Flanders, being a hodgepodge of individuals (Statement 5, 7 and 10).

Attitudes towards Flanders and the Fleming are stated in Table 3.14 below.

Table 3.14 Attitudes and identifications: Flanders and the Fleming

Informant	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Flemings are more formal, rational and structured	x	x			x	x			x
2. The Fleming is fearful of what is new and unknown	x		x				x	x	
3. Flemings are more closed, subdued, fencing off certain things	x			x	x				
4. Flanders is more turned towards itself		x	x	x					
5. Flemings consider Brussels a dangerous and scary city	x						x		
6. Flemish are enterprising				x		x			
7. A Fleming is less physical than a Brusseler or Walloon	x					x			
8. There is a growing sense of unity thinking in Flanders		x				x			
9. Flemings are colder	x								x
10. I do not believe in the Flemish identity						x			

Five of the nine informants agree that Flemings are more formal, rational and structured people, in comparison with a Brusseler or Walloon, who are also more physical than a Fleming (Statement 7). Four informants mentioned that Flemings are afraid of new and unknown things, two of these mention a fear of Brussels as well. According to the informants of the interviews, Flemings tend to be a more closed group, turned towards themselves, and Flanders experiences a growing sense of unity and nationalist thinking. Flemish also are enterprising people, and according to I4 many projects and enterprises are initiated by Flemish.

Linguistic identifications
In the current section, attitudes towards language and multilingualism will be mentioned as stated by the informants during the interviews. Table 3.15 includes statements regarding language, both Dutch and French; Table 3.16 includes statements about multilingualism and the role it plays for the informants.

Table 3.15 Language attitudes and identifications

Informant	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. I don't mind when I'm addressed in another language	x	x	x	x		x		x	x
2. To me, language is more a means of communication than a part of my identity		x					x	x	
3. It feels uncomfortable to use another language at the doctor's		x			x			x	
4. I seldom experience language frictions							x		x
5. Francophones are cordial, warm and outgoing			x		x	x			
6. I can find myself in the canon of French literature and art				x	x				
7. I feel more connected to someone who speaks Dutch, than to someone who speaks French		x			x				
8. In the first place, I am a speaker of Dutch, then a Brusseler					x				

Table 3.16 Attitudes and identifications: multilingualism and the multilingual

Informant	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Multilingualism is part of my identity	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x
2. Multilingualism is a door to other communities, you are open to the world	x	x	x	x		x			x
3. Multilingualism is an asset to me, an added value	x		x		x	x	x	x	
4. I am proud that I know multiple languages	x		x	x					
5. I enjoy speaking more languages			x				x	x	
6. Multilingualism is good for your self-confidence			x	x					
7. I enjoy travelling, seeing new cultures and make new impressions		x	x						
8. You become a bit of a different person when you speak a different language				x					
9. Multilingualism is purely to communicate		x							
10. People who don't know multiple languages, will feel less good about themselves				x					

Table 3.15 shows a tendency to be flexible towards being addressed in another language. Also, language is considered to be more of a means of communication and less a part of the informant's identity. Dutch is preferably spoken at the doctor's. Two participants declare they feel more connected to a speaker of Dutch, than a speaker of French.

Table 3.16 shows the tendency that informants feel that multilingualism is a part of their identity. Multilingualism offers a door to other communities, which reflects that the multilingual is an individual who is open to the world. Multilingualism is believed to be a personal asset. Table 3.16 show mainly positive attitudes towards multilingualism: it reflects an open attitude, informants are proud to know more languages, they enjoy speaking different languages and feel it increases their self-confidence. An interesting quote by I4 indicating the multiplicity of identities that is linked to language was "You kind of become a different person when you speak another language". Though this is only one informant, the line of thought is very interesting and it ties in with the theory of the negotiation of identities.

The regional attitudes and identifications show a preference for Brussels, and a dislike of the nationalist movement in Flanders. Also, the connection with the region is experienced stronger than that with the Dutch language.

Linguistic identifications are weak for the informants. Not many identify with their language, and they do not always stick to Dutch when being addressed in another language; many do not even mind, or do not notice. Multilingualism on the other hand is a part of the informants' identity. Multilingualism symbolises openness to them, it is an asset for the informants, and positive attitudes are attributed to multilingualism.

3.2.4 Rapid anonymous survey

During the rapid anonymous survey, interesting reactions of passers-by were noted as observations. Reactions of passers-by with a suspected French preference that were addressed in Dutch were different than those of passers-by with a Dutch preference addressed in French. It is difficult to draw any firm conclusions regarding identity on these observations, but the perceived attitudes and attitude switches are note-worthy. Below the observations will shortly be mentioned.

Dutch
Of the 50 passers-by that were addressed in Dutch, the author noted seven cases in which an interesting attitude or attitude switch was perceived. Estimated age was noted as well.

The most striking reaction was that of a man, approximately aged 60, by looking and walking away after the author kindly smiling repeated the request twice. The motivation of the man walking away will be left unknown, but one can conclude he was not willing to cooperate and reply to the request.

The author switched to French three times, which happened when a passer-by would give a look of misunderstanding of the request. One elderly man, approximately aged 70, gave a look of misunderstanding, and replied in French after the author had switched, without a change of attitude. One case of no change of attitude, was when a lady gave a glassy look when being asked for directions in Dutch. There was no look of recognition of what the utterance might have been; it might have been gibberish. After switching to French, the elderly lady, with an estimated age of 70, replied. An attitude switch was perceived with one lady, also around the age of 70, who first had a look that was not very kind; after the language switch to French she was most kind and wished "Bonne chance!"; good luck.

Three passers-by that announced they did not speak Dutch, had a change of attitude after the author switched to French. After a condescending look, a 70-year-old lady said "Je suis française": I am French. After switching to French, she was kind and gave perfect directions. A gentleman around the same age gave a comparable reaction. At first he had an almost angry look, saying "Qu'est-ce que vous parlez?": what are you saying? His attitude was unkind before switching; afterwards he kindly gave directions. Another lady, approximately aged 60, made an announced switch to French in a nonverbal manner. She hopelessly gestured she couldn't reply in Dutch, and after both switching she was grateful for switching to French and was kind in giving directions.

French
Only one sir, aged around 50 years, that was addressed in French, replied in Dutch. He did this unhesitant and without a change of attitude; he just showed the way.

A change in attitude was perceived with three speakers of Dutch, which had been addressed in Dutch. They asked the author to switch to Dutch, after which they were

relieved for they weren't able to express themselves perfectly in French. The attitude was kind before and after switching, but they acted more at ease using Dutch.

A lady aged around 60, who was addressed in French replied in fluent French. When the author could not keep up with directions and asked if she could speak Dutch, she agreed "It's hard to estimate what language the other speaks, definitely in Brussels. A lot of Flemish people live in this neighbourhood. Dutch is my first language, but I don't mind to switch". Her attitude did not change after the language switch; she was kind.

Overall, there were more cases noted of a switch of attitude from the passers-by with a French preference that were addressed in Dutch. Interestingly, it seems the passers-by that showed a kinder attitude after switching to French, were of the same generation. Informant 6 of the expert interviews mentions this too; she perceives sometimes an arrogant attitude from people of an older generation. Informant 6 reasoned this "*hautain* behaviour is historically grown (…) from rich French-speaking *bourgeoisie*", though she feels this is decreasing. Whether the change of attitude is due to the lack of knowledge of the Dutch language, or the hypothesised historically grown arrogant attitude, cannot be confirmed by these examples.

3.3 Merging some of the findings

In this paragraph, the results relevant to answer the research questions will be summarised and merged if relevant. Also, the separate results of language choice and identifications will be linked. The merging of the findings is organised by method.

Online survey
The participants of the online survey tend to have a positive attitude towards language switching, and being addressed in another language than Dutch. The results of this tendency can be found in Table 3.1 and 3.2. The results of these statements together will be considered as accommodative flexibility: a participant that is flexible regarding language switching, or accommodation, and being addressed in another language will be considered as flexible and show a high score. The participants' averages on the statements of Table 3.11 will be taken together as the participant's identification with language: a high score implies a weak link between language and identity. Analyses can be found on page 63 in Appendix G.

Participants that score low in accommodative flexibility are P5, P15, P39, P46 and P51. Of these participants, three also show strong agreement with language identifications. P39 mentioned in the open-ended question what the participant feels or does in the situation when he is addressed in another language, to be found in Table 3.3, that there should be respect for every person and every language; "this is not the case for my language thus not always for my persona". This answer implies the participant doesn't always feel respect for his language, and even for the participant himself, and that to his interpretation language is linked with its persona.

There were 42 participants that scored high on flexibility and low on language identity, that is a score of 3.6 or higher on level of disagreement with the statements in table 3.13. All participants scored 4 or higher for accommodative flexibility, the average taken of Table 3.1 and 3.2. Participants with a lower language identity tend indeed to be more flexible in language switching, yet 67 participants show high accommodative flexibility; thus not all participants that are linguistically flexible, also have a low language identity.

Considering high disagreement with linguistic identifications and strong agreement with accommodative statements as indication of a low language identity, 60% of the participants have a weak language identity. 36% of the participants are neutral towards linguistic identifications. 3 participants show identification with language; only two of them, 3% of the participants, also show inflexibility towards accommodation.

The open-ended question shows that participants consider it normal to be addressed in another language, even more so in Brussels; many will try to speak the language that the interlocutor speaks. One participant would first try to speak Dutch, and switch afterwards. This is P51, who has a flexible attitude towards switching, but would reply in Dutch first. Results show that P51 doesn't mind to switch languages (Table 3.1), but he would reply in Dutch first (Table 3.2), as confirmed by his statement in the open-end question (Table 3.3).

The national identifications in Table 3.10 show that participants tend to feel a connection with Belgium. Taking the averages of the scores of the first two statements of Table 3.12, 38 participants have an average lower than 2 thus tend to agree to the statements. This means 39% of the participants identifies with Belgium. 36% is neutral towards identification with Belgium, and 26% does not identify with Belgium. Results show the national identification of the participants is distributed; the majority does identify with Belgium.

The main identifications that are relevant to the research questions of the current report are the regional identification, and linguistic identification. Having set the criteria for these two identifications, the results of the online survey show that 39% of the participants identifies with Belgium; 26% does not. 3% of the 70 participants identify with language; 60% does not identify with language. More participants tend to identify with their country, than with their language.

Expert interviews

Use of Dutch at authorities and the doctor are mentioned to be important language choices to the informants. Only two informants mention to use Dutch preferably always, as default language. Two informants use French as default language. Two motivations for choosing French imply accommodation. Statement 8 in Table 3.4 can be considered as divergence: three informants deliberately use French to show they do not agree with Flemish nationalists, who can be considered members of the Dutch language community. They use French, though with their native Dutch accent, to not be identified with this group; they out-group themselves. A case of convergence is the motivation of I1 to use French to get something that she knows she wouldn't get when speaking Dutch, Statement 14. What the reason or situation might be, in which she would be disadvantaged when speaking Dutch, was not mentioned. She moves towards French, converges, for pragmatic reasons.

Table 3.17 Motivations of accommodation

Informant	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	M
Accommodation										
Divergence from nationalistic Flanders by using FR							x	x	x	*e*
Convergence to FR to achieve goal, pragmatic	x									*p*

Cases of language switch are predominantly pragmatically motivated. Switching happens automatically, without reluctance and without thinking about it. Motivations not to switch are more based on emotion. I5 tends to have more emotional motivations to switching and not switching. She is more willing to switch when a kind attitude is perceived, and less

willing when an arrogant attitude is perceived. When her interlocutor doesn't move towards her by switching, she won't either. She feels more connected to speakers of Dutch, than speakers of French. Also, she identifies more with speakers of Dutch, than with Brusselers, and does not mention negative attitudes towards Flemings. I5 is an exception in the group of informants.

The informants show a tendency to identify mostly with the Brusseler. The Brusseler is an individual with an open attitude towards cultural and linguistic diversity, and feels at home in the urban setting of Brussels. The Brussels identity is manifesting, and is separate from Flanders and Wallonia. Most informants want to dissociate from separatist Flemings, that are fearful of new and unknown things that are housed in Brussels, and have a narrow view that is mostly focussed on themselves. The Flemings also have traits that are familiar to the informants, such as their structured and enterprising nature. Five participants clearly mention to identify more strongly on a regional level, than on a linguistic level.

Linguistic identifications are based on multilingualism, rather than on the language Dutch. Language is more a means of communication, than a feature of identity. It is even used to out-group from a group of Dutch speakers with a particular set of ideas. Also, participants claim to identify with products of French cultural history and recognise the warm-heartedness of francophones in the Brussels identity. Multilingualism is linked with having an open view to other communities through language. To know more languages is seen as an asset, and informants are proud of it.

The analyses of the statements of the expert interviews show that language choices are mostly based on pragmatic consideration. French is used to communicate, and this language is often chosen because this is the language the majority speaks in Brussels. Identity comes to the fore in the language choice of French to diverge from the nationalist Flemish-Dutch language group. Properties attributed to multilingualism are identifiable for the informants and in this sense language does play a role in the informants' identity. It is more so the symbolism of multilingualism that is a part of the informants' identity, than their first language Dutch.

Rapid anonymous survey
The results of the rapid anonymous survey show that of the participants with an assumed preference for Dutch, 95% chose to reply in French when addressed in French and thus moved towards the interlocutor; the majority converged towards French. 50% of the participants with a preference for French replied in French, and 1 participant literally moved away from the interlocutor. 46% of the participants moved towards the interlocutor by choosing Dutch or English, thus showing convergence. Whether or not the language choices were emotionally or pragmatically motivated, and what the role of identity might have been: speakers of Dutch tend to be more flexible in language choice.

Overall, language choices tend to be based on a pragmatic motivation; identifications are more based on region and multilingualism, than solely on Dutch. For most speakers of Dutch, identity does not seem to play a role in language choice in daily situations. Yet, language is used as a marker to show what identity should not be attributed to that individual, as shown in the expert interviews.

4. Conclusion

In this final chapter, the links between the chapters will be made, and the research questions will be answered after summarising the main results. Concluding thoughts will follow some comparisons with earlier research, and finalise this examination of the link between language preference, language choice, and identity of the speakers of Dutch in bilingual Brussels.

4.1 Introduction

In the first chapter, theoretical notions in the field of identity formation and the role of language therein are discussed. Language attitude (cf. Lambert, 1960) links language with characteristics that speaker and interlocutor have of each other, and the group one counts oneself and the other to belong to. The groups and characteristic may change within the individual, according to social identity theory, and people have multiple identities to identify with (cf. Tajfel, 1982). These characteristics, based on stereotypes and other influences, can influence the way one speaks by means of accommodation (cf. Giles, 1973). Language can be used as a link between the individual and the social group, and can in this sense be used as a unifying as well as a dissociative factor. Edwards (2009) considers speech accommodation as an implication of identity shifting. Multilingualism also implies the shifting of identity, according to Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004). The hierarchy of identities, proposed by Omonoyi (2006), takes into consideration that an individual can shift identities by shifting salience of these identities. Multilinguals have more than one language available, thus can not only shift between social groups, but also between languages. The influence of identity in language choice, and the possible deliberate shifting of language and language group in the multilingual context of Brussels were investigated in this report.

In the bilingual region of Brussels, the shifting of language and identity in a multilingual context was tested. French and Dutch are the two official languages of Brussels, the former being the historically more prestigious language, the latter being one of Brussels' minority language. By analysing 70 online attitudinal surveys and 9 expert interviews with speakers of Dutch in Brussels, the language preferences, language choices, and identifications of this group of speakers was mapped in this report. These subjective data are supplemented by a sample of every-day interactions with 100 passers-by on the streets of Brussels.

4.2 Main findings

The main findings of the results, as elaborated on in chapter 3, will be summarised below, organised by notions relevant to answer the research questions.

Language choice
The results of the online survey showed the participants predominantly have a rational and pragmatic attitude towards language switch. As summarised in paragraph 3.4, almost all of the participants of the online survey score high on accommodative flexibility. The participants are flexible when it comes to being addressed in another language, and they don't mind to switch between languages when they are proficient enough in the particular language.

The results in Table 3.4 and 3.5 show that the informants of the expert interviews give pragmatic motivations when it comes to using French. They are predominantly flexible in switching between languages. Motivations to keep talking in Dutch are predominantly emotionally motivated.

The rapid anonymous survey implied that 95% of the speakers with an assumed Dutch preference reply in French, when addressed in French, as Table 3.8 shows. 46% of the speakers with an assumed French preference reply in Dutch or English, when replied in Dutch, as seen in Table 3.9. One reaction of a speaker addressed in Dutch is considered an emotional act; the motivations of the other cases could not be tested. These results imply that speakers with a Dutch preference are more flexible in their language choice.

Identity

Results of the online survey show that 60% of the participants showed a low linguistic identity; only 3% showed a high linguistic identity. These numbers were assessed by comparing the participants' accommodative flexibility with their level of agreement with language identifications in paragraph 3.4 The majority of the participants did not identify strongly with language and were flexible in accommodation; the above-mentioned 60%.

The scores of the statements of participants of the online survey that imply national affiliation are distributed, as Table 3.10 shows. A small majority of the participants does identify with Belgium: 39%. 36% of the participants are neutral, and 26% disagreed with identification with Belgium. Comparing the two identifications, the results show that more participants tend to identify with Belgium, 39%, than with their language, 3%.

Three informants of the expert interviews mentioned to choose French because they do not want to be identified with nationalist Flemish, which is considered as divergence from the Dutch-speaking community, as shown in Table 3.17. The accommodative behaviour of using deliberately French instead of Dutch to get something is considered convergence to the French-speaking community.

Table 3.12 shows that three informants feel more connected to Belgians than speakers of Dutch; two informants feel more connected to their region than their language. 5 participants state they are mostly Brusseler, after which other regional identifications follow. Six participants state they to not want to be associated with a Fleming, as seen in Table 3.12. The Brusseler, which several informants identify with, is at home in the urban diversity of languages and cultures in Brussels, as Table 3.13 shows.

The linguistic identifications that the informants make are more regarding the concept of multilingualism, than that they identify with their first language, Dutch. Table 3.17 shows that three participants mentioned language is more a means of communication, than a part of their identity. In this line, the informants don't mind being addressed in another language. Multilingualism plays a role in the informants' identity, as shown in Table 3.16, which is associated with openness.

The results of the rapid anonymous survey cannot draw conclusions regarding identity. Merely can be noted that the author perceived that the unkind attitude when addressing elderly people in Dutch switched in five cases after using French.

4.3 Answers to research questions

After summarising the main results above, the research questions will be answered separately according to the insights that the results have offered.

1. *What are the language choice preferences of speakers of Dutch in Brussels?*

The speakers of Dutch that participated in this examination use Dutch as their home language, and with other speakers of Dutch. They prefer to use Dutch at institutional authorities, health care and police services. The speakers showed flexible behaviour when it comes to language choice, when in contact with people that speak other languages. The preferred language is thus not always their first language, Dutch. The motivations of these speakers to use French, or to switch language during the course of a speech act, are predominantly pragmatic. The attitudes of the speakers of Dutch towards being addressed in another language are neutral and positive. Motivations of speakers to decide not to switch to the language of the interlocutor are predominantly emotional.

2. *What is the role of identity in language choice for these speakers?*

The identifications that the speakers of Dutch make are not strongly linked to their first language. There is a tendency to identify more with the region of Brussels, and Belgium after that, than with Dutch. The language identity of the participants does not seem to be very strong; the participants do not choose Dutch by all costs. In this sense, identity seems not to play a large role in language choice.

    The participants did not want to be identified as a Flemish, due to the negative connotation with a group of nationalist Flemish that is active nowadays. This process of differentiation plays insomuch a role in language choice that in some cases the participants tend to use French. They diverge from this Dutch-speaking community as a means to out-group themselves from this group of nationalist Flemish. It seems that not only one's self-concept plays a role in identity and identity shifting, but also the process of out-grouping plays a role in language choice.

    The identification with multilingualism also plays a role in language choice. The speakers of Dutch in this examination had a positive attitude towards language switching, and would switch languages if their proficiency allows. Multilingualism is associated with openness to other cultures and languages, characteristics also attributed to the urban diversity of Brussels. To be able to express oneself, to some extent, in other languages, shows the willingness to cooperate and communicate.

3. *How do language preference, language choice, and identity, interact?*

The language preference of speakers of Dutch at home and with other speakers of Dutch, is Dutch. When they are in contact with people that speak another language, there is a tendency to prefer French out of pragmatic consideration. Motivations not to switch are predominantly emotional. The language choices the speakers of Dutch make are mostly pragmatically motivated. It is dependent on the interlocutor, and the attitude of the interlocutor, whether the Dutch-speaker is likely to switch. The choice of speaking French to differentiate from the nationalist Flemish community shows the interaction of identity and language choice. The identification with multilingualism, the flexible attitude towards

switching languages, and being addressed in other languages, can also be linked. To the speakers of Dutch in this examination, the urban diversity of Brussels seems the stage to link multilingualism to language choice, by switching between languages.

4.5 Original hypotheses

In 1.2.3, some hypotheses were given, based on the literature that was reviewed in 1.1. Below, these hypotheses will be reiterated, based on the findings.

Language choice
The Dutch-speaking Brusselers were expected to have a positive attitude towards speakers of other languages, due to the predominant multilingual speakers, based on findings of Mettewie & Janssens (2007). Also, they were expected to have a pragmatic approach to language use and multilingualism. They were considered to be a multilingual that functions in more than one group, as opposed to belonging to more than one language group (Clyne, 1997). Based on the findings of Treffer-Daller (2002), the speakers of Dutch were expected to have a more pragmatic approach on language, and give lower salience to language identity in the hierarchy of identities of the Brusselers. Their identification with Brussels is higher than their language identity. Given the growing diversity of Brussels, towards a super-diversity (Blommaert, 2010), it was expected that the Dutch-speaking community experiences to a lesser extent a sense of conflict-bilingualism (Kroon and Vallen, 2002).

The above-mentioned hypotheses, summarised from 1.2.3, can all be confirmed. The participants tended to have a positive attitude towards other languages and the concept of multilingualism. The pragmatic approach towards language choice can be confirmed based on the findings of all three methods. The salience of a regional identity was higher than that of the language identity, and the Brusselers hardly experience negative language conflicts in Brussels.

Identity
The speakers of Dutch were expected to prefer the Dutch language community, above the French-speaking community, and show in-group favouritism towards speakers of Dutch. The community-wide stereotypes speakers seem to have of other groups and also of their own group (Giles), was expected to occur when Dutch speakers shift to French; they were expected to ascribe traits of speakers of French to themselves when using French, not when using Dutch (Tajfel). The shifting from Dutch to French was not expected to occur due to change of in-group, but for communicative goals (Treffers-Daller). The multilingual urban society was expected to be of influence to the speakers of Dutch, by switching between speech communities. Regional identity was expected to be of more importance to the speakers, than the national identity (Jackson, 2014). The Brusseler identity was expected to be of increasing importance to the speakers of Dutch, based on researches of Treffers-Daller (2002), Pavlenko & Blackledge (2004) and Ceuleers (2008).

The summary of hypotheses regarding identity cannot all be confirmed. The speakers of Dutch did not particularly show in-group favouritism towards the Dutch-speaking community. The informants to the interviews stated to not feel more connected to Dutch-speakers in Brussels and Belgium, than to speakers of French and other languages, living in Brussels and Belgium. Thus, this hypothesis cannot be confirmed.

The shifting of in-group, when using French, can be confirmed partly. The informants of the interviews did not all ascribe traits, typical for speakers of French, to themselves - there were only two informants that mentioned to identify with French culture.

The language switch from Dutch to other languages was indeed mostly done to communicate. Yet, change of in-group was also mentioned. In fact, informants to the interviews stated to use French as a means to out-group themselves from nationalist Flemish with whom they share the language of Dutch. The goal to use French was thus not merely communicative, nor to as a means to shift to the French-speaking in-group, but to out-group them and differentiate from a group they do not want to be associated with.

The final hypotheses can be confirmed. The speakers of Dutch tend to switch between speech communities easily in the urban context of Brussels, and find it naturally to switch. The speakers of Dutch show the same tendency as speakers of French in Quebec, to have a stronger regional identity than national identity, which was confirmed by the expert interviews. Indeed, the Brussels identity is establishing increasingly and is of increasing importance to the speakers of Dutch in Brussels.

4.6 Discussion

The current examination of the situation of speakers of Dutch is merely a small sample of the group of speakers in Brussels and the possible choices and identifications they make. Of course, the group that participated in the research is very small, thus the conclusions that were drawn are hardly representative for the whole group of speakers of Dutch in Brussels. Not only was the group of participants small, the bias towards higher educated speakers of Brussels does not make this study a full sketch of the identities and language choices that speakers of Dutch in Brussels make. The data of the rapid anonymous survey would also be much richer if the motivations of the language choices would be known, and if the attitude of the passer-by towards the author had been known. The association of informants of the interviews with a nationalist Flemish, that want to keep talking Dutch, might have been made by the passer-by. Nevertheless, the results do show some tendencies that are interesting. The specific cases of using French, as a means of divergence, are interesting, and examples of these cases would be interesting to research more. Also, the tendency to be flexible towards being addressed in another language, and switching languages, is apparent.

Future research would include a larger group of speakers of Dutch in Brussels. Also, a comparison between speakers of Dutch in Brussels and a monolingual city in Flanders, such as Antwerp, would be interesting. Attitudes towards multilingualism would expectedly be less positive, for inhabitants are less confronted with speakers of other languages, such as French and many minority languages in Brussels. Another comparison between Dutch speakers in Brussels and Dutch speakers in Amsterdam might show interesting results. Amsterdam is officially monolingual, but inhabitants are daily confronted with other languages and cultures. Whether their attitudes towards other languages, and their flexibility towards language shift are comparable to those of Dutch-speakers in Brussels is questionable.

The idea to offer English official status in Brussels would be a very interesting experiment. The English language does not have a history in Brussels, apart from migrants and expats coming to Brussels. In Brussels, English might actually be a *lingua franca*, for now one speaker has to give in to French or Dutch. To indeed have a standard multilingualism of English plus one other language, be it Dutch or French, could be very interesting on many fields. Not only the international business would be easier, it could also increase positive

attitudes towards speakers of other languages, and create better understanding of other cultures. Also, the global nature of the English language, contributes to the idea that multilingualism and multiple identities are closely related. Multilingualism of the individual in the diverse urban context may elicit a global identity; as Jackson (2014, p. 299) states, "through this international language [English], they may forge a global identity, while maintaining a local self". The Brusselers are an interesting group to test this hybridity of identities –personal, local, global and other identities- and language -Dutch, French, English and other languages.

The results of the participating group of speakers of Dutch in Brussels show a high flexibility towards language switching, and positive attitudes towards multilingualism. Of course, this minority language group is strongly supported by official status in Brussels and institutional authorities, which many other minority languages do not have the privilege to enjoy. Still, this official status of bilingualism seems to offer particular openness to the group that was examined in this report. The role of English might also grow, for this language is gaining linguistic ground worldwide, and proficiency in English opens many other doors. Even though this report can only be considered a minor investigation in the field, it does seem that multilingualism offers a certain flexibility in the human mind to cooperate on several levels, and understand other people based on more worldviews; more languages offer more worldviews, thus better understanding can be established.

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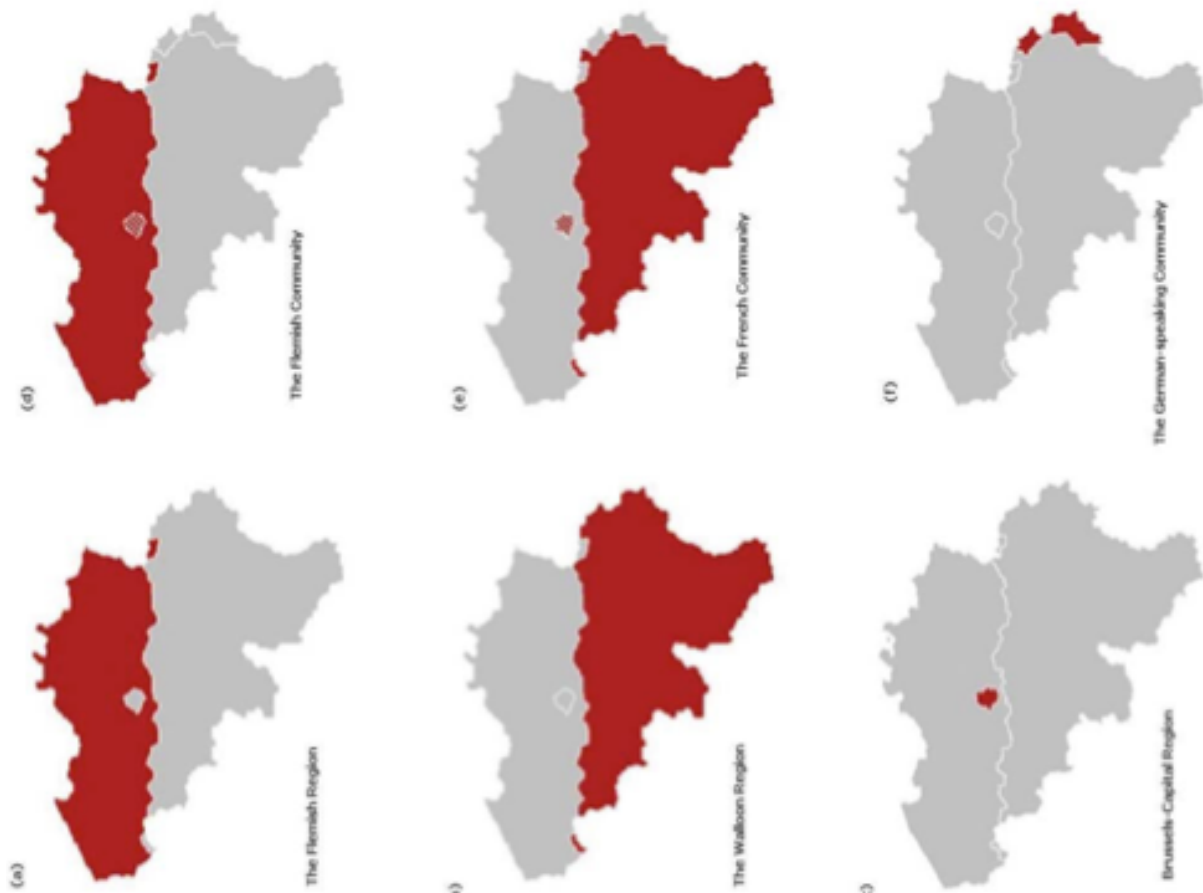
Figure 1 The regions and communities of Belgium (Vogl & Hüning, 2010, p. 231)

Figure 2 Multilingual advertisements of Nationa(a)l talents van demain. *Nationa(a)l Expo//Store. - a show case for Belgian creativity - from 8ᵗʰ to 17 May 2015.* Various online images retrieved on May 10, 2015 from http://pure.createsend1.com/t/ViewEmail/t/F8B2330223E30989

APPENDIX B Participant tables online survey

Table B.1 Participants of the online survey

ID	Age	Sex	Language in private spheres	Language of childhood	Other languages	Current hometown	Born and bred
P1	51	m	Dutch	Dutch	French, English	Brussels Region	Flanders
P2	42	m	Dutch, French	Dutch (Flemish)	English, German, French, Portuguese	Brussels Region	Flanders
P3	50	m	Dutch	Dutch	French	Brussels Region	Brussels City
P4	40	f	Dutch	Dutch	French, English	Brussels Region	Brussels City
P5	49	f	Dutch, Cantonese	Cantonese	Dutch	Brussels Region	Hong Kong
P6	41	m	Dutch	Dutch	French, English	Brussels City	Flanders
P7	28	f	Dutch	Dutch	English, French	Brussels Region	Netherlands
P8	47	m	Dutch	Dutch	French, English	Flanders	Brussels City
P9	49	m	Dutch	Dutch	French, English	Brussels Region	Flanders
P10	39	f	Dutch	Dutch, French, English	English	Brussels Region	Brussels City
P11	49	f	Dutch	Dutch	French	Brussels Region	Brussels City
P12	48	m	Dutch	Dutch		Flanders	Brussels Region
P13	55	m	Dutch	Dutch	French, English	Brussels Region	Flanders
P14	48	f	Dutch	Dutch	French, English	Brussels Region	Flanders
P15	44	m	Dutch	Dutch	French, English	Brussels City	Flanders
P16	50	f	Dutch, French	Dutch	French, English, Spanish	Brussels City	Flanders
P17	63	f	Dutch	Dutch	French	Brussels Region	Flanders
P18	41	m	Dutch, French, English, Spanish	Dutch	French	Brussels Region	Flanders
P19	30	f	Dutch	Dutch	French, Spanish, English	Brussels Region	Flanders
P20	57	m	Dutch	Dutch, French	French, English	Brussels Region	Brussels City
P21	32	f	Dutch	Dutch	English	Brussels Region	Flanders
P22	49	m	Dutch	Dutch		Brussels Region	Flanders
P23	47	m	Dutch, French	Dutch	French, English	Brussels Region	Brussels City
P24	46	m	Dutch	Dutch		Brussels Region	Flanders
P25	41	m	Dutch	Dutch	French, English	Brussels Region	Flanders
P26	68	m	Dutch	Dutch	French	Brussels Region	Flanders
P27	61	m	Dutch	Dutch	French	Brussels City	Brussels City
P28	62	f	Dutch, French	Dutch, French	French, English	Brussels Region	Flanders
P29	25	m	Dutch, French	Dutch, French, English	English, German	Brussels Region	Brussels City

P30	60	f	Dutch, French, Turkish	French	German	Brussels Region	Flanders
P31	63	m	Dutch, French	Dutch, French	English, Turkish	Brussels Region	Flanders
P32	34	f	Dutch	Dutch	French, English, German	Brussels Region	Flanders
P33	35	m	Dutch	Dutch, French	French, English	Brussels Region	Flanders
P34	57	m	Dutch	Dutch (Limburgian)	English	Brussels Region	Flanders
P35	47	m	Dutch	Dutch, French	French, English, German, Spanish	Brussels Region	Flanders
P36	39	f	Dutch	Dutch	French, English, German	Brussels Region	Brussels City
P37	30	m	Dutch, French	Dutch	French	Brussels City	Flanders
P38	51	m	Dutch, French	Dutch	French	Brussels Region	Flanders
P39	60	m	Dutch	Dutch	Swahili	Brussels Region	Brussels City
P40	46	f	Dutch, French	Dutch	French, English, German	Brussels Region	Flanders
P41	55	f	Dutch	Dutch	French	Brussels City	Brussels Region
P42	59	f	Dutch, English	Dutch	French, English, German, Spanish	Brussels City	Flanders
P43	68	m	Dutch	Dutch	English	Brussels Region	Flanders
P44	53	f	Dutch	Dutch	French, English, German, Italian	Brussels Region	Flanders
P45	36	m	Dutch, French, English	Dutch	French	Brussels Region	Flanders
P46	80	m	Dutch	Dutch, French	French, English, German, Spanish	Brussels City	Brussels City
P47	36	f	Dutch, French, English	Dutch, French, English	French	Brussels City	Flanders
P48	42	f	Dutch	Dutch	Spanish	Brussels Region	Brussels Region
P49	65	f	Dutch	Dutch	French	Brussels City	Amsterdam
P50	68	m	Dutch	Dutch	English, French	Flanders	Brussels Region
P51	48	f	Dutch	Dutch	French, English, German, Italian	Brussels Region	Brussels City
P52	35	f	Dutch	Dutch	French, English, German	Brussels Region	Flanders
P53	38	f	Dutch	Dutch	French	Brussels Region	Flanders
P54	42	f	Dutch, French	Dutch, French	French	Brussels City	Brussels Region
P55	41	f	Dutch	Dutch	English	Brussels Region	Flanders
P56	33	f	Dutch, English	Dutch	French, English	Brussels Region	Flanders
P57	55	m	Dutch	Dutch	English	Brussels Region	Flanders
P58	39	f	Dutch, French	Dutch, French, English	French, English	Brussels Region	Brussels City
P59	40	f	Dutch	Dutch	French, English	Brussels Region	Flanders
P60	35	m	Dutch	Dutch	French	Brussels Region	Flanders
P61	52	m	Dutch	Dutch		Brussels Region	Brussels City

P62	41	f	Dutch, French	Dutch	French, English	Brussels Region	Flanders
P63	40	f	Dutch, French	Dutch	French, English	Brussels Region	Flanders
P64	37	m	Dutch	Dutch	English, French	Brussels City	Flanders
P65	56	m	Dutch	Dutch	French, English	Brussels Region	Flanders
P66	39	m	Dutch, French	Dutch (Limburgian)	French, English	Brussels Region	Flanders
P67	35	f	Dutch, French	Dutch	French, English	Brussels Region	Flanders
P68	38	m	Dutch	Dutch		Brussels Region	Brussels Region
P69	55	f	Dutch	German, English	French, English	Brussels Region	Germany
P70	35	f	Dutch, French	Dutch, French	German, English, French	Brussels Region	Flanders

Table B2 Linguistic and geographical background of participants of the online survey

Sex		Language in private spheres		Language of childhood		Current hometown		Born and bred	
male	36	Dutch	47	Dutch	56	Brussels Region	55	Flanders	45
female	34	Dutch, French	16	Dutch, French	8	Brussels City	12	Brussels City	15
		Dutch, French, English	2	Dutch, French, English	4	Flanders	3	Brussels Region	6
		Dutch, English	2	German, English	1			Germany	1
		Dutch, French, Turkish	1	Cantonese	1			Amsterdam	1
		Dutch, French, English, Spanish	1					Netherlands	1
		Dutch, Cantonese	1					Hong Kong	1

APPENDIX C Sample of online survey in English

Thank you for helping! The questionnaire will take about 7 minutes.

Below you find some statements. Kindly mark the box that you find most applicable to you. Do you agree, or disagree with the statement?

I have strong feelings. I act based upon my feelings rather than on rational consideration.
strongly agree / agree / neutral / disagree / strongly disagree

I feel a certain connection, closeness or relation with my religion.
strongly agree / agree / neutral / disagree / strongly disagree

During important international games, such as the Olympics, Champions League or Eurovision Song Festival, I feel connected to the people from my country. Even if I might not like the game that much: they're my fellow countrymen, and we are all the same!
strongly agree / agree / neutral / disagree / strongly disagree

When I'm in Wallonia, I feel more connected to other speakers of my language, than when I'm not in Wallonia.
strongly agree / agree / neutral / disagree / strongly disagree

I feel that people who don't speak my language, will never really understand me.
strongly agree / agree / neutral / disagree / strongly disagree

I always feel a certain connection, closeness or relation with other speakers of my language. Even when I don't know all of them personally.

strongly agree / agree / neutral / disagree / strongly disagree

I feel connected to all people from Belgium, all over Belgium. Belgium really feels like my country, and I feel a certain closeness to all inhabitants of Belgium.
strongly agree / agree / neutral / disagree / strongly disagree

I have certain strong values in life and I try to live up to this. I think it's important to know what values to have.
strongly agree / agree / neutral / disagree / strongly disagree

I appreciate people that share my values.
strongly agree / agree / neutral / disagree / strongly disagree

I prefer to speak my own language. I don't like to speak another language, even when I speak another language quite well.
strongly agree / agree / neutral / disagree / strongly disagree

When a stranger addresses me in another language than my own, I don't like it.
strongly agree / agree / neutral / disagree / strongly disagree

Kindly try to answer the question below in max. 200 words.
What do you feel when a stranger on the street addresses you in another language? What kind of person do you think this is? You may answer in English, Flemish or French.
_____
_____
_____

Kindly try to answer the question below in max. 200 words.
What kind of person is a typical Flemish speaker? You may use stereotypes, examples, comparisons. Feel free.
_____
_____
_____

Kindly try to answer the question below in max. 200 words.
What kind of person is a typical French speaker? You may use stereotypes, examples, comparisons. Feel free.
_____
_____
_____

Below you find some more statements. Kindly mark the box that you find most applicable to you. Do you agree, or disagree with the statement?

I am a very pragmatic person.
strongly agree / agree / neutral / disagree / strongly disagree

I like to act rationally in any situation, even though my feelings tell me I should do something else.
strongly agree / agree / neutral / disagree / strongly disagree

When I'm in Flandres, I feel more connected to other speakers of my language, than when I'm not in Flandres.
strongly agree / agree / neutral / disagree / strongly disagree

When I can help someone, but that person does not speak the same language as I do, I try to speak his or her language.
strongly agree / agree / neutral / disagree / strongly disagree

Imagine: a stranger walks up to me, and starts talking to me in another language. I don't mind, and I try to reply in the same language, even though I don't speak it very well.
strongly agree / agree / neutral / disagree / strongly disagree

I don't mind to switch between languages, if the situation asks for it.

strongly agree / agree / neutral / disagree / strongly disagree

To me, it doesn't matter where I am. I always feel connected with other speakers of my language, even when I'm in Thailand, Ecuador or Alaska!

strongly agree / agree / neutral / disagree / strongly disagree

Below you find some final statements. Kindly mark the box that you find most applicable to you. Do you agree, or disagree with the statement?

My family is very important to me. I feel close to them and they are an important part of my life.
strongly agree / agree / neutral / disagree / strongly disagree

I feel a certain connection with inhabitants of France.
strongly agree / agree / neutral / disagree / strongly disagree

When a stranger addresses me in another language than my own, I reply in my own language.
strongly agree / agree / neutral / disagree / strongly disagree

When I'm in Brussels, I often feel confused when I start talking to someone, because I don't know yet what language they speak.
strongly agree / agree / neutral / disagree / strongly disagree

I feel a certain connection with inhabitants of the Netherlands.
strongly agree / agree / neutral / disagree / strongly disagree

I feel that only people that speak my language, would truly understand what I mean.
strongly agree / agree / neutral / disagree / strongly disagree

When I'm in Brussels, I feel a certain closeness to other speakers of my language. I don't know what makes this city special, but in Brussels I feel more connected to speakers of my language, than somewhere else.
strongly agree / agree / neutral / disagree / strongly disagree

Which language has your preference?
o French
o Flemish - Dutch

My current hometown is:
o Brussels Capital Region
o Brussels-City
o A city or town in Flandres
o A city or town in Wallonia
o Other: _____

I was born and raised in:
o Brussels Capital Region
o Brussels-City
o A city or town in Flandres
o A city or town in Wallonia
o Other: _____

What is your age?
_____

My sex is:
o Male
o Female
o Other

I speak daily at home, with my family, children, parents and friends:
o Flemish
o French
o English
o Other: _____

In a professional / educational environment, I daily speak:
o Flemish
o French
o English
o Other: _____

As a child, what language(s) did you speak?
_____

What other languages do you speak and use regularly?
_____

Do you have any final remarks?
_____

And that's it!
Thank you very much for taking the time. You're a great help!

APPENDIX D Sample of questions of expert interview in Dutch

1. Woont u momenteel in Brussel / Brussels Gewest?
2. Waar bent u geboren?
3. Hoe lang woont u hier al?
4. Welke taal / talen sprak u als kind? Op scholen, met ouders? Gebruikte u verschillende talen op verschillende gelegenheden? Bijv. andere taal op school dan thuis?
5. Welke taal spreekt u met een eventuele partner? En met kinderen?
6. Hoe goed is uw beheersing van het Nederlands? En van het Frans? En van het Engels? Andere talen?
7. In het contact met uw collega's, welke taal spreekt u? Waarom is dat die taal?
8. Beschouwt u zichzelf Nederlandstalig? Franstalig? Anderstalig? Meertalig? Tweetalig?
9. Hebt u Franstalige vrienden? Welke taal spreekt u met hen? Waarom?
10. Hebt u Nederlandstalige vrienden? Welke taal spreekt u met hen? Waarom?
11. Hebt u anderstalige vrienden? Welke taal spreekt u met hen? Waarom?
12. In welke taal gebruik u nieuws- en sociale media? Krant, tv, Twitter etc.
13. Wat doet u wanneer bijvoorbeeld een winkelier u antwoordt in een andere taal dan waarin u hem of haar aanspreekt?
    - Schakelt u over? Met tegenzin? Gaat u verder in uw eigen taal? Combineert u de talen?   Vertrekt u? Iets anders?
14. Tot welke groep / categorie / gemeenschap rekent u zichzelf? In welke mate?
    - Inwoner van uw gemeente? Brusselaar? Vlaming? Franstalige? Lid van een andere taal/ cultuurgemeenschap? Belg? Europeaan? Wereldburger?
15. Tot welke groep voelt u zich minst aangetrokken?
16. Wanneer iemand u in een andere taal aanspreekt, vindt u dit onprettig? Is dit een onaangepast persoon?
17. Bent u zich er bewust van wanneer iemand een andere taal spreekt? Of is de vanzelfsprekend zo groot dat het niet meer opvalt?
18. Voelt u een verbinding met uw landgenoten? Of meer met taalgenoten? Waar is deze verbinding op gebaseerd denkt u? Is het een bepaald type mensen?
19. Voelt u zich meer verbonden met Nederlandstaligen dan met 'de Belg' in het algemeen? Waarin verschillen jullie?
20. Maakt de meertaligheid deel uit van uw identiteit?
21. Voelt u zich anders wanneer u Frans spreekt, dan wanneer u Nederlands spreekt?
22. Hebt u het idee dat u anders wordt behandeld wanneer u Frans spreekt, dan wanneer u Nederlands spreekt? Waarin merkt u dat?
23. Gebruikt u bewust een bepaalde taal in verschillende situaties?
24. Hebt u het idee, dat u zich anders gedraagt als u een andere taal spreekt?
25. Hebt u iets gemeen met Franstaligen? Enkel de taal, of ook gedragingen, ideeën..? En met Nederlandstaligen?
26. Beschouwt u het als een meerwaarde om meerdere talen te spreken? Of voelt het als een soort onderdrukking van uw eigen taal?
27. Heb u het idee dat er in Brussel door de Nederlandstalige spreker een gevoel van verzet tegen de Franse taal is?
28. Is er een Nederlandstalige Brusselse identiteit? Zou u die kunnen omschrijven? En een Franstalige? En met welke kan u zich het best, of liefst, identificeren?
29. Gebruikt u bewust Nederlands in bepaalde situaties? Om u kenbaar te maken?
30. Welke taal spreekt u liever in welke situatie? Thuis, op werk, straat, met vrienden, vreemden?
31. Is voor u kennis van het Nederlands verbonden met Vlaanderen, de Vlaamse gemeenschap en cultuur?
32. Is voor u kennis van het Frans verbonden met Wallonië, of Frankrijk, en de Franstalige gemeenschap en cultuur?

APPENDIX E Raw data language choice

	Transposed data Table 3.1 Attitudes towards language switch			Raw data questions Table 3.1		
P no.	When I can help someone, but that person does not speak the same language as I do, I try to speak his or her language.	A stranger walks up to me, and starts talking to me in another language. I don't mind, and I try to reply in the same language, even though I don't speak it very well.	I don't mind to switch between languages, if the situation asks for it.	When I can help someone, but that person does not speak the same language as I do, I try to speak his or her language.	Imagine: a stranger walks up to me, and starts talking to me in another language. I don't mind, and I try to reply in the same language, even though I don't speak it very well.	I don't mind to switch between languages, if the situation asks for it.
1	5	5	5	1	1	1
2	4	3	4	2	3	2
3	4	4	4	2	2	2
4	5	5	5	1	1	1
5	3	2	3	3	4	3
6	4	4	5	2	2	1
7	5	5	5	1	1	1
8	5	5	5	1	1	1
9	4	4	4	2	2	2
10	5	5	5	1	1	1
11	4	4	4	2	2	2
12	4	4	4	2	2	2
13	4	4	4	2	2	2
14	4	4	4	2	2	2
15	4	4	4	2	2	2
16	5	5	5	1	1	1
17	5	4	4	1	2	2
18	5	5	5	1	1	1
19	4	2	4	2	3	2
20	4	4	4	2	2	2
21	4	4	4	2	2	2
22	4	4	4	2	2	2
23	4	4	5	2	2	1
24	5	4	4	1	2	2
25	5	5	5	1	1	1
26	4	4	4	2	2	2
27	5	5	4	1	1	2
28	5	4	5	1	2	1
29	5	4	5	1	2	1
30	5	5	5	1	1	1
31	4	4	5	2	2	1
32	5	5	5	1	1	1
33	5	4	5	1	2	1
34	5	5	5	1	1	1
35	5	4	5	1	2	1
36	5	5	4	1	1	2
37	4	4	5	2	2	1
38	4	4	4	2	2	2
39	2	2	4	4	4	2
40	5	5	5	1	1	1
41	4	4	4	2	2	2
42	5	5	5	1	1	1
43	4	4	4	2	2	2
44	4	4	5	2	2	1
45	5	4	5	1	2	1
46	4	4	2	2	2	4
47	5	5	5	1	1	1
48	4	4	4	2	2	2
49	5	4	4	1	2	2
50	5	5	5	1	1	1
51	4	4	4	2	2	2
52	4	4	5	2	2	1
53	4	4	5	2	2	1
54	4	4	5	2	2	1
55	3	5	5	3	1	1
56	4	4	4	2	2	2
57	4	4	4	2	2	2
58	5	4	5	1	2	1
59	5	5	5	1	1	1
60	4	4	4	2	2	2
61	5	4	5	1	2	1
62	5	5	5	1	1	1
63	5	5	5	1	1	1
64	5	5	5	1	1	1
65	5	5	5	1	1	1
66	5	5	5	1	1	1
67	4	5	5	2	1	1
68	5	5	5	1	1	1
69	4	4	5	2	2	1
70	4	4	5	2	2	1
AV.	4,428571429	4,271428571	4,542857143	1,571428571	1,714285714	1,457142857
STD.	0,627195935	0,700340053	0,606384254	0,627195935	0,66251294	0,606384254

Raw data Table 3.2 Attitude towards being addressed in another language

Tendencies Table 3.3

P no.	When a stranger addresses me in another language than my own, I reply in my own language.	Ik ga er vanuit dat hij mijn taal niet spreekt, ik vind het gewoon, ik heb er geen bijzondere gevoelens bij	Afhankelijk of ik de taal beheers, zal ik hem helpen in die taal	Dat is normaal in Brussel, ik heb er geen bijzondere gevoelens bij	Ik vind het leuk een andere taal te oefenen.	Het is afhankelijk van wat de persoon vraagt	Ik check altijd even of de persoon ook Nederlands spreekt	Ik spreek eerst Nederlands, en dan hun taal
1	4	1						
2	4	1						
3	5			1				
4	5	1						
5	3		1					
6	4			1				
7	4	1	1					
8	5	1	1					
9	5		1	1				
10	5		1					
11	4							
12	3			1				
13	4			1				
14	4	1	1					
15	1	1	1					
16	5			1			1	
17	4			1				
18	5	1						
19	4		1			1		
20	4		1					
21	4				1			
22	4		1					
23	4	1	1		1			
24	4		1	1	1			
25	3		1	1	1			
26	4	1						
27	4		1					
28	5	1						
29	5			1				
30	5			1				
31	5			1				
32	5					1		
33	5			1				
34	5	1	1					
35	4		1	1			1	
36	4	1						
37	4	1				1		
38	4			1				
39	1	1						
40	5	1						
41	4		1	1	1	1	1	
42	4			1				
43	4			1				
44	4			1				
45	4	1	1					
46	4		1	1		1		
47	5	1			1			
48	5			1				
49	5		1			1		
50	5		1					
51	2							1
52	4			1				
53	4	1						
54	4	1						
55	5	1	1					
56	4	1						
57	4	1						
58	4	1						
59	4	1						
60	4	1						
61	5	1	1					
62	5		1					
63	4	1	1					
64	5	1						
65	5	1						
66	5			1				
67	4						1	
68	5		1	1				
69	4		1					
70	5	1	1					
AV.	4,228571429							
STD.	0,837031133							
SUM		31	28	24	7	6	3	1

56

Data Table 3.4 Motivations and situations of language choice for Dutch and French

	P	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	Age	43	31	29	35	52	48	46	34	31
	Sex	f	m	m	m	f	m	f	f	f
	Active languages incl Dutch	3	3	5	4	3	3	3	3	4
Nederlands										
Meestal / default				x			x			
Nederlands bij sollicitatiegesprek		x								
Bij dokter, ziekenhuis, gezondheidszorg				x	x				x	
Autoriteiten, instanties		x	x		x					
Nederlandstalige vrienden			x	x	x	x				
Als bekend dat er NL gesproken wordt					x			x		
In het cafe, bestellen, vragen					x					
Frans										
Meestal / default			x					x		
Uit pragmatische overweging			x							
FR als op stap of winkelen		x								
Bij Franstalige vrienden		x		x						x
Frans bij kassa		x	x							
FR als onbekend of er NL gesproken wordt						x		x		
Als ik iets nodig heb wat ik in NL niet zou bekomen		x								
FR om aan te tonen dat ik niet nationalistisch Vlaams ben								x	x	x

Data Table 3.5 Motivations and situations of language switch

	P	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	Age	43	31	29	35	52	48	46	34	31
	Sex	f	m	m	m	f	m	f	f	f
	Active languages incl Dutch	3	3	5	4	3	3	3	3	4
Overstappen										
Ik vind het evident om over te stappen		x	x							
Overstappen is een automatisme		x	x	x		x	x	x	x	
Bij sporten met gemengd team				x						
Op werk (FR/EN/ES)		x	x	x	x	x			x	
Overstappen bij een kassa (FR/EN)			x	x	x	x	x		x	x
Overstappen op stap, cafe, winkelen		x	x						x	
Bij Franstalige/gemengde vriendengroep			x	x	x	x		x	x	x
Bij vriendelijke houding, als aangegeven geen NL te spreken						x	x			
Niet overstappen										
Nederlands bij een kassa van grote winkelketen				x						
Bij arrogante of onvriendelijke houding						x	x	x		
Als ik mij wil afzonderen				x						
Als interlocutor doorgaat in eigen taal						x				
Als interlocutor begrepen heeft wat er bedoeld werd in NL		x			x					
Als interlocutor's NL beter is dan P's FR								x		

APPENDIX F Raw data identifications

Raw data Table 3.10 National identifications

P no.	During important international games, such as the Olympics, Champions League or Eurovision Song Festival, I feel connected to the people from my country. Even if I might not like the game that much: they're my fellow countrymen, and we are all the same!	I feel connected to all people from Belgium, all over Belgium. Belgium really feels like my country, and I feel a certain closeness to all inhabitants of Belgium.	I feel a certain connection with inhabitants of the Netherlands.	I feel a certain connection with inhabitants of France.
1	5	3	5	5
2	3	5	2	5
3	2	2	2	3
4	4	4	5	5
5	1	3	1	4
6	2	4	4	4
7	3	4	2	3
8	4	2	4	1
9	4	5	1	2
10	4	4	5	5
11	2	2	2	5
12	4	3	4	2
13	2	2	4	4
14	4	3	4	4
15	2	3	2	3
16	2	1	2	2
17	2	3	1	2
18	2	2	2	2
19	2	2	3	3
20	4	2	2	3
21	2	2	2	3
22	2	2	2	3
23	2	2	2	2
24	2	4	3	3
25	3	2	2	4
26	2	1	3	2
27	4	2	4	2
28	3	1	3	3
29	2	1	3	3
30	2	2	3	2
31	2	5	2	2
32	4	3	3	3
33	2	2	2	2
34	2	2	1	4
35	1	2	2	2
36	3	2	4	4
37	3	3	2	2
38	4	4	3	2
39	2	4	3	4
40	3	3	4	3
41	3	3	2	3
42	4	5	2	3
43	3	3	3	3
44	3	4	4	4
45	2	2	3	3
46	2	2	2	3
47	2	4	4	4
48	3	2	4	4
49	2	2	2	4
50	3	3	3	3
51	2	2	2	5
52	4	3	3	3
53	3	4	2	2
54	3	2	3	2
55	2	5	2	2
56	2	3	3	4
57	3	3	4	4
58	1	2	3	3
59	2	1	5	5
60	2	3	2	4
61	2	3	4	2
62	4	5	2	2
63	2	1	2	4
64	2	1	2	3
65	2	1	2	2
66	3	2	2	2
67	3	4	5	4
68	2	1	3	3
69	3	2	4	3
70	2	4	2	3
AV	2,628571429	2,714285714	2,8	3,114285714
STD	0,887455711	1,156492162	1,057752608	1,000620925

Raw data Table 3.11 Linguistic identifications							
P no.	*I feel that people who don't speak my language, will never really understand me.*	*I always feel a certain connection, closeness or relation with other speakers of my language. Even when I don't know all of them personally.*	*I prefer to speak my own language. I don't like to speak another language, even when I speak another language quite well.*	*When a stranger addresses me in another language than my own, I don't like it.*	*To me, it doesn't matter where I am. I always feel connected with other speakers of my language, even when I'm in Thailand, Ecuador or Alaska!*	*I feel that only people that speak my language, would truly understand what I mean.*	**Average of Participant of Table 3.13 // LINGUISTIC IDENTIFICATION**
1	5	4	3	5	3	3	3,83
2	2	3	4	4	3	2	3,00
3	2	2	4	4	3	3	3,00
4	1	2	1	1	3	5	2,17
5	1	3	3	3	3	1	2,33
6	5	3	4	5	2	4	3,83
7	4	2	2	4	4	4	3,33
8	4	4	2	5	4	4	3,83
9	5	3	5	5	2	3	3,83
10	4	4	5	5	4	4	4,33
11	4	2	3	4	2	4	3,17
12	3	2	2	4	2	3	2,67
13	2	2	4	4	2	2	2,67
14	4	4	3	4	3	3	3,50
15	2	2	4	4	3	2	2,83
16	4	2	5	5	2	4	3,67
17	4	2	4	4	1	3	3,00
18	5	2	4	5	2	5	3,83
19	4	4	4	4	2	4	3,67
20	4	2	4	4	2	4	3,33
21	3	4	4	4	3	3	3,50
22	4	3	3	4	2	3	3,17
23	4	2	4	5	3	4	3,67
24	2	4	5	5	4	2	3,67
25	4	3	4	3	3	4	3,50
26	3	3	4	4	3	4	3,50
27	4	4	4	4	3	3	3,67
28	5	4	5	5	2	5	4,33
29	5	5	5	5	4	4	4,67
30	3	2	4	4	3	3	3,17
31	4	3	4	5	2	5	3,83
32	4	3	4	5	4	3	3,83
33	4	4	3	4	2	5	3,67
34	5	2	5	5	4	5	4,33
35	4	4	4	5	4	5	4,33
36	4	2	4	4	2	4	3,33
37	5	2	4	5	3	5	4,00
38	4	4	4	4	3	4	3,83
39	3	2	2	3	3	2	2,50
40	5	5	5	5	5	5	5,00
41	2	3	3	4	3	2	2,83
42	5	5	5	5	4	4	4,67
43	4	4	4	4	3	4	3,83
44	5	4	5	5	3	5	4,50
45	5	5	5	5	3	3	4,33
46	4	2	3	4	2	3	3,00
47	4	4	4	5	4	4	4,17
48	2	2	3	4	2	2	2,50
49	3	4	4	4	4	3	3,67
50	5	5	5	5	5	3	4,67
51	2	2	2	3	3	3	2,50
52	3	3	4	5	3	3	3,50
53	5	4	5	5	4	4	4,50
54	5	4	4	5	4	4	4,33
55	5	5	5	5	5	5	5,00
56	4	3	5	5	3	4	4,00
57	3	3	3	4	3	3	3,17
58	4	4	5	5	4	4	4,33
59	4	4	4	5	3	4	4,00
60	5	2	4	4	3	4	3,67
61	4	3	4	5	3	4	3,83
62	5	5	4	5	5	5	4,83
63	4	2	5	5	2	5	3,83
64	4	4	2	5	2	5	3,67
65	5	3	5	5	5	5	4,67
66	3	2	5	5	2	3	3,33
67	4	4	4	5	3	5	4,17
68	4	4	5	5	4	4	4,33
69	4	3	4	5	2	5	3,83
70	5	5	5	5	5	4	4,83
AV	3,842857143	3,228571429	3,942857143	4,457142857	3,071428571	3,728571429	3,711904762
STD	1,058241833	1,037994563	0,961365489	0,735944907	0,952820809	0,991579454	0,671433099

Data Table 3.12 Regional identifications

P	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Age	43	31	29	35	52	48	46	34	31
Sex	f	m	m	m	f	m	f	f	f
Regionale identificaties en attitudes									
Ik ben op de eerste plaats Brusselaar	x	x		x			x	x	
Ik stel mij niet op als Vlaming, ik wil daarmee niet geassocieerd worden		x	x			x	x	x	x
Ik ben op de eerste plaats Belg			x						
Ik voel me thuis in een grootstedelijke context met een diversiteit aan talen en culturen	x	x					x		
Ik voel meer verbinding met mijn regio, dan mijn taal					x	x			
Ik voel me meer verbonden met Belgen, dan Nederlandstaligen	x							x	x
Er is een groot contrast tussen de Brusselaar en de Vlaming	x			x					x
Ik voel me niet verbonden met de Vlaming		x					x	x	x
Ik wil niet geassocieerd worden met Vlamingen die denken 'wij tegen hen'						x		x	x

Data Table 3.13 Identifications Brussels and the Brusseler

Brussel en de Brusselaar P	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
De Brusselaar is anders dan de Vlaming	x			x					
De Brusselaar is socialer, warmer, vlotter, losser en directer dan de Vlaming	x								
Brussel is het laatste bastion waar Vlaanderen en Wallonie samenkomen, het enige wat het land nog bij elkaar houdt		x							
De meertalige context van Brussel breidt zich uit met Engels, Arabisch e.a.		x			x				
Chaotische stad		x							
Brussel bestaat uit een samenraapsel van overtuigingen en individuen		x			x				
Wat Brusselaars bindt is een gebrek aan identiteit of saamhorigheid		x							
Brusselaars zijn meestal tweetalig.			x						
Brussel is een metropool, een grootstad; er zijn veel verschillende talen en gemeenschappen door elkaar. Er heerst een stedelijke mentaliteit met een multicultureel karakter			x	x	x	x	x		x
Brussel kan exuberant en extravert zijn				x					
In Brussel spreken we vaak verschillende talen door elkaar				x	x				
In Brussel zie je de hele wereld samenkomen				x					
Brussel wordt een stad van minderheden				x					
Brussel heeft nu zoveel nationaliteiten, dat een tweedeling van taalgemeenschappen niet meer aan de orde is						x		x	x
De Brusselaar staat open voor de rest van de wereld door de mix van talen en culturen	x	x	x			x	x		x
De Brusselaar omarmt de diversiteit		x			x	x			
De Brusselaar kijkt neer op Vlaanderen omdat die zich terugtrekt						x			
Er komt een Brussels gemeenschapsgevoel op, dat losstaat van Wallonië en Vlaanderen						x	x		x
In Brussel probeert men altijd met de eigen taal verder te kunnen						x			
Ik voel me verbonden met mensen die ik tegenkom in Brussel, ook als ze geen Belg zijn							x		
Ik geloof niet in de Brusselse identiteit		x					x		
De Brusselse identiteit is voor mij gebaseerd op iets multicultureels, voortdurend nieuw								x	
Ik denk dat de Brusselse identiteiten geografisch, per buurtje, gefixeerd zijn								x	
Ik ben iemand die in Brussel woont en toevallig in een Nederlandstalig nest is geboren								x	
Je wordt constant geconfronteerd met nieuwigheden en anders zijn in Brussel								x	
Ik zie de positieve kanten van de anonimiteit in Brussel								x	
Brusselaars zijn meer open mensen, progressiever	x								x
Brusselaars kiezen bewust voor openheid en diversiteit									x
Als je in Brussel komt wonen, moet je accepteren dat je niet in je eigen taal bediend wordt	x								x
De Brusselse gemeenschap is steeds meer op zichzelf staand						x			x
Je kunt moeilijk tegen diversiteit zijn als je in Brussel woont									x

Table 3.14 Identifications Flanders and the Fleming

P	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Age	43	31	29	35	52	48	46	34	31
Sex	f	m	m	m	f	m	f	f	f
Vlaanderen en de Vlaming									
De Vlaming is angstig voor wat onbekend en nieuw is	x		x				x	x	
Vlamingen vinden Brussel eng	x						x		
De Vlaming spreekt vaak niet zo goed Frans		x							
Vlaanderen is meer op zichzelf gekeerd		x	x	x					
De generatie van mijn ouders had meer moeite met Brussel		x							
Er heerst eenheidsdenken in Vlaanderen		x				x			
Vlamingen zijn gezellig onder elkaar			x						
Vlamingen zijn bekrompen			x						
In Vlaanderen kennen mensen elkaar vrij goed				x					
Vlamingen zijn ondernemend				x		x			
Vlamingen zijn meer gesloten, ingetogen, schermen bepaalde dingen af	x			x	x				
Vlamingen hebben bepaalde oordelen over gezinsvorming (huisje-boompje-beestje)									
Vlamingen zijn flexibel op het vlak van ethische kwesties als homoseksualiteit en euthanasie					x				
De Vlaming herkent zich in klassieke gerechten die we allemaal bereiden					x				
Vlamingen herkennen zich in bepaalde televisieprogramma's					x				
Bepaalde instellingen maken deel uit van de Vlaamse identiteit					x				
Vlamingen zijn wat meer zakelijk, rationeel en gestructureerd	x	x			x	x			x
Vlaanderen tendeert naar de noordelijke bestuurscultuur						x			
Een Vlaming is minder lichamelijk dan een Brusselaar of Waal	x					x			
Dogmatisch						x			
In Vlaanderen denkt men dat in Brussel weinig Nederlands gesproken wordt							x		
Ik geloof niet in de Vlaamse identiteit							x		
Bepaalde trekjes van Vlaanderen vind ik niet leuk							x		
Vandaag associeer ik mensen die zich als Vlaming uiten als zeer negatief								x	
Toen de taalstrijd heftiger was, de vorige generatie, was het ook een goede zaak Vlaming te zijn								x	
Een Vlaming is een beetje angstig van alles wat anders is								x	
Vlamingen zijn kouder en killer	x								x

Data Table 3.15 Linguistic identifications

P	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Age	43	31	29	35	52	48	46	34	31
Sex	f	m	m	m	f	m	f	f	f
Taalidentificaties en -attitudes									
Ik voel me meer verbonden met iemand die Nederlands spreekt, dan iemand die Frans spreekt		x			x				
Ik voel me meer verbonden met Nederlandstaligen, dan Belgen					x				
Ik ben op de eerste plaats Nederlandstalig, dan Brusselaar					x				
Voor mij is taal meer een communicatiemiddel, dan een eigenheid aan mijn identiteit		x					x	x	
Ik ervaar zelden of nooit taalfricties							x		x
Ik heb er geen moeite mee wanneer ik in een andere taal word aangesproken	x	x	x	x		x		x	x
Ik vind het onprettig een andere taal te spreken bij een dokter		x			x			x	
Franstaligen hebben meer gevoeligheid gekregen hun best te doen voor het Nederlands, ze zijn erachter dat niet iedereen Frans kent		x							
Franstaligen doen meer moeite door een consensus te zoeken met Engels		x							
Ik herken me in de canon van Franse literatuur en kunst				x	x				
Franstaligen zijn hartelijk, warm en extravert			x		x	x			
Als je in Brussel komt wonen als Nederlandstalige, ben je wel bereid de andere taal te leren		x							

Data Table 3.16 Multilingual identifications

P	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Meertaligheid en meertaligen									
Meertaligheid is een deel van mijn identiteit	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x
Meertaligheid is een pluspunt aan mij, een meerwaarde	x		x		x	x	x		
Ik ben er trots op dat ik meerdere talen beheers	x		x	x					
Ik vind het eng als mensen vasthouden aan één taal	x								
Er komen zoveel talen bij, dat Brussel nog meer een meertalige context gaat zijn		x							
Engels kan een consensus zijn in Brussel		x							
Ik reis graag en zie graag nieuwe culturen en indrukken		x	x						
Als je niet meertalig bent, is je leefruimte beperkt		x							
Meertaligheid is puur om te communiceren		x							
Meertaligheid is belangrijk om contact te leggen met anderen			x						
Met kennis van meerdere talen kan je jezelf blijven prikkelen om nieuwe dingen te ontdekken			x						
Meertaligheid vormt een deur naar andere gemeenschappen, je staat open voor de wereld	x	x	x	x		x			x
Mensen die niet meerdere talen kennen, zullen zich minder goed voelen omdat ze de taal niet spreken				x					
Je wordt een beetje een ander mensen als je een andere taal spreekt				x					
Meertaligheid doet je zelfvertrouwen goed			x	x					
Meertaligheid is een noodzaak aan het hedendaagse leven dat we hier hebben					x				
Je wordt iedere dag geconfronteerd met andere talen culturen					x				
Meertaligheid is een troef						x			
Meertaligheid is praktisch						x			
Ik vind het gewoon om verschillende talen te spreken							x		
Ik vind het een verrijking aan een grootstad dat je een talenmix hebt							x		
Ik vind het fijn om meer talen te kennen			x				x	x	

Table 3.17 Accommodation

Accommodation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Convergence to FR to achieve goal, pragmatic motivation.	x								
Divergence from nationalistic Flanders by using FR.		x					x	x	x

APPENDIX G Analyses accommodative flexibility

Transponed data Table 3.1 Attitudes towards language switch						
P no.	*1. When I can help someone, but that person does not speak the same language as I do, I try to speak his or her language.* ***High score = agree***	*2. A stranger walks up to me, and starts talking to me in another language. I don't mind, and I try to reply in the same language, even though I don't speak it very well.* ***High score = agree***	*3. I don't mind to switch between languages, if the situation asks for it.* ***High score = agree***	**Table 3.2** *1. When a stranger addresses me in another language than my own, I reply in my own language.* ***Low score = agree***	**ACCOMMODATIVE FLEXIBILITY:** Average of Participant of Table 3.1 + Table 3.2	**LINGUISTIC IDENTIFICATION** : Average of Participant of Table 3.13	**Average of Participant of Table 3.1**
1	5	5	5	4	4,75	3,00	5,00
2	4	3	4	4	3,75	3,83	3,67
3	4	4	4	5	4,25	3,83	4,00
4	5	5	5	5	5,00	5,00	5,00
5	3	2	3	3	**2,75**	3,00	2,67
6	4	4	5	4	4,25	3,17	4,33
7	5	5	5	4	4,75	4,17	5,00
8	5	5	5	5	5,00	4,00	5,00
9	4	4	4	5	4,25	3,67	4,00
10	5	5	5	5	5,00	3,17	5,00
11	4	4	4	4	4,00	3,83	4,00
12	4	4	4	3	3,75	3,33	4,00
13	4	4	4	4	4,00	4,33	4,00
14	4	4	4	4	4,00	3,17	4,00
15	4	4	4	1	**3,25**	3,00	4,00
16	5	5	5	5	5,00	4,33	5,00
17	5	4	4	4	4,25	3,67	4,33
18	5	5	5	5	5,00	4,00	5,00
19	4	2	4	4	**3,50**	**2,33**	3,33
20	4	4	4	4	4,00	2,67	4,00
21	4	4	4	4	4,00	2,67	4,00
22	4	4	4	4	4,00	3,50	4,00
23	4	4	5	4	4,25	3,67	4,33
24	5	4	4	4	4,25	3,50	4,33
25	5	5	5	3	4,50	4,33	5,00
26	4	4	4	4	4,00	2,83	4,00
27	5	5	4	4	4,50	3,33	4,67
28	5	4	5	5	4,75	**2,50**	4,67
29	5	4	5	5	4,75	3,50	4,67
30	5	5	5	5	5,00	3,67	5,00
31	4	4	5	5	4,50	4,67	4,33
32	5	5	5	5	5,00	3,83	5,00
33	5	4	5	5	4,75	4,50	4,67
34	5	5	5	5	5,00	4,83	5,00
35	5	4	5	4	4,50	4,00	4,67
36	5	5	4	4	4,50	3,83	4,67
37	4	4	5	4	4,25	3,50	4,33
38	4	4	4	4	4,00	3,67	4,00
39	2	2	4	1	**2,25**	3,83	2,67
40	5	5	5	5	5,00	3,83	5,00
41	4	4	4	4	4,00	3,00	4,00
42	5	5	5	4	4,75	**2,50**	5,00
43	4	4	4	4	4,00	3,83	4,00
44	4	4	5	4	4,25	3,67	4,33
45	5	4	5	4	4,50	**2,50**	4,67
46	4	4	2	4	**3,50**	3,83	3,33
47	5	5	5	5	5,00	3,67	5,00
48	4	4	4	5	4,25	4,33	4,00
49	5	4	4	5	4,50	3,83	4,33
50	5	5	5	5	5,00	4,67	5,00
51	4	4	4	2	**3,50**	**2,17**	4,00
52	4	4	5	4	4,25	4,33	4,33
53	4	4	5	4	4,25	4,67	4,33
54	4	4	5	4	4,25	3,17	4,33
55	3	5	5	5	4,50	4,50	4,33
56	4	4	4	4	4,00	3,67	4,00
57	4	4	4	4	4,00	3,33	4,00
58	5	4	5	4	4,50	5,00	4,67
59	5	5	5	4	4,75	3,67	5,00
60	4	4	4	4	4,00	3,50	4,00
61	5	4	5	5	4,75	4,33	4,67
62	5	5	5	5	5,00	3,33	5,00
63	5	5	5	4	4,75	4,67	5,00
64	5	5	5	5	5,00	4,17	5,00
65	5	5	5	5	5,00	4,33	5,00
66	5	5	5	5	5,00	3,83	5,00
67	4	5	5	4	4,50	2,83	4,67
68	5	5	5	5	5,00	4,83	5,00
69	4	4	5	4	4,25	3,83	4,33
70	4	4	5	5	4,50	4,33	4,33
AV.	4,428571429	4,271428571	4,542857143	4,228571429	4,367857143	3,711904762	
STD.	0,627195935	0,700340053	0,606384254	0,837031133	0,554496489	0,671433099	